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Negotiating Adolescent Femininities in School: A Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis

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Abstract

This study contributes to debates on a postfeminist perspective on girlhood. The critical literature review introduces the reader to three dominant postfeminist discourses in education; i) the 'mean' girl, ii) the 'successful' girl and iii) the 'empowered' girl. The theoretical positions of critical realism and poststructural feminism provide a framework from which to explore girls' use and navigation of discourse.

Eight girls participated in four focus groups, exploring the research questions 1) 'how does engagement with dominant discourses open up and constrain opportunities for talk, thought and practice of 'doing' girl in school?' and 2) how do girls use, navigate and resist dominant discourses to shape 'being' girl and their sense of self in school?

A Critical Feminist Discourse Analysis reflected five main strategic discourses which shaped the subjectivities of adolescent girls in school. Namely, the 'mean' girl; the 'pressured' girl; the 'empowered' girl; the 'compared' girl and the 'powerless' girl.

The 'real-world applicability' (Georgaca and Avdi, 2012) of the study is explored by considering research question 3) 'what are the implications for Educational Psychology practice?' Specific diversity and gender related competencies from the Health and Care Professions Council (HCPC) 'Standards of Proficiency for Practitioner Psychologists' (HCPC, 2015) are considered. This research has implications for both systemic practice in education settings and direct work with adolescent girls.

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Declaration

I, the author, confirm that the Thesis is my own work. I am aware of the University’s Guidance on the Use of Unfair Means (www.sheffield.ac.uk/ssid/unfair-means). This work has not been previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, university.

Chapter One

Introduction

“Ten is when the world sat me down, told me to be quiet and pointed towards my cages:

These are the feelings you are allowed to express
This is how a woman should act
This is the body you must strive for
These are the things you will believe
These are the people you will love
Those are the people you will fear
This is the kind of life you are supposed to want”

Untamed, Glennon Doyle (2020, p.4)

Looking back, my Mam in particular embodied my youngest ideas of feminism. An embodiment of the second-wave, she practiced the hard-won gains of the women’s movement in our family; being the primary wage earner and more authoritarian parent, she represented women who refuse to take a man’s name and to lose themselves (to become ‘selfless’). I was encouraged by both my parents to use my imagination to bridge the gap between my own and someone else’s experience.

Yet despite a seemingly critical and questioning upbringing, on reflection I leaned into my ‘cages’ and spent years in the pursuit of perfection. In truth, I am persuaded to believe this is the reason I embarked on a doctoral programme. Rather than any considered aptitude for working with children or people more generally.

“One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman”

The Second Sex, Simone de Beauvoir (1973, p. 301)

It feels fitting, if not a little trite, to call upon the words of Simone de Beauvoir to describe the simultaneous processes from which my gender identity was gradually acquired and well-being eroded. In becoming a ‘woman’, I eventually took up an outward defiance (rather than pursuit) of perfection. But rebellion is as much a cage as obedience, and both mean shaping a life in reaction to ‘ideal’ rather than forging your own.

So then, (fourth-wave) feminism for me became, as Ahmed (2017) puts it, “that which infects a body with a desire to speak in ways other than how you have been commanded to speak” (p. 191). I discovered a framework from which I could reflect on my relationships, my job and my subjective self and wonder how much was *knowingly* chosen.

“To live a feminist life is to make everything into something that is questionable. The question of how to live a feminist life is alive as a question as well as being a life question.”

Living a Feminist Life, Sara Ahmed (2017, p. 2)

Reflective Box:

Clearly, I have a perspective on the role of feminism in my life and the potential it holds for shaping the realities of girls. I suggest that a personal investment is not uncommon in research but recognise the requirement that I also reference a range of academic and professional reasons for its relevance.

Because of my personal interest, and for reasons of reflexivity and transparency, throughout the study I have included ‘Reflective Boxes’ to offer a window into my thoughts and reactions to various aspects of the research. This is intended to contribute to the quality of the research, as such one criteria of comments included in the ‘Reflective Boxes’ is to specifically reference the evaluative criteria of Georgaca and Avdi (2012). This is addressed in more detail in Chapter Three: Methodology.

In addition, whilst I recognise that the entirety of the thesis has a strong reflective and reflexive commitment, the ‘Reflective Boxes’ have also been used specifically to reflect back on the process of conducting the research. I consider documenting the space between conducting and writing up research through reflective thoughts and considerations a useful way of articulating the place of the researcher within the context of research journey.

Why study girls?

“They have no voice”

“they lack a feeling control over their environment”

“their parents feel powerless”

“they don’t want to fail so they opt out”

“it’s hormones”

Gonick (2012, p. 2-3)

This project is aligned with the “relatively young” field of girlhood studies (Mitchell, 2016, p. 88). Girlhood studies is argued to have emerged in the 1980s and 1990s to interrupt the “prevailing academic and public conventions that placed boyhood at the centre of child and adolescent development, and provide the means for girls to give voice to their thoughts and feelings” (Brown, 2008, p. 2). From my reading of Mitchell (2016), it is inadvisable to attempt a definitive overview of girlhood studies. Rather, in this project I highlight some of the relevant

debates in girlhood as a reason to study girls, and focus specifically on an educational context. This endeavour is contextualised by exploring the contemporary shift in girlhood studies towards critical poststructuralist frameworks (Mitchell, 2016). Without such a perspective on girlhood, the practices of educational professionals can unknowingly reproduce deterministic discourses which narrow our assumptions about many aspects of girls' realities, "from how they learn to how they will fight" (Walter, 2010, p. 130). Psychology has a key role in legitimising populist truths about gender; in attachment theory for example, the term 'caregiver(s)' is often substituted for 'mother' without question, thus reinforcing the 'expert' opinion that women are predisposed to nurture where men are not. Therefore, it is our responsibility as educational practitioners to ask questions about the equity and universality of reductionist discourse.

Alternate accounts of girlhood have sought to challenge what they view as narrow and reductive constructions of femininity. Typically, research has taken a sociological perspective of gender inequality, focusing on social cultural descriptions of sexism and objectification (such as Brown, 2011; Currie et al., 2007; Dobson, 2015; Garcia-Favaro and Gill, 2016; Griffin et al., 2013; Goerisch and Swanson, 2015; Ronen, 2018; Walter, 2010). Well publicised quantitative research has sharpened the nation's focus on reported poorer 'mental health' outcomes for adolescent girls compared with boys (Dfe, 2019b; Patalay and Fitzsimons, 2018). Alongside which, the mainstream media reflects a culture in which sexual harassment is worryingly commonplace in the educational experiences of girls (see The Everyday Sexism Project, BBC (2016), BBC (2018c)). This highlights the importance of considering the construction of girl, and girlhood, in education from a critical psychological perspective.

Purpose of the Study

This study sought to explore how gender, girlhood, and education are talked of by adolescent girls. Within the field of education, critical feminist girlhood scholarship has focused on troubling pervasive discourses which dominate 'common sense' ways of speaking about girls, such as their innate meanness. I argue there is a need for research to produce "something of a shift in understanding the identification of the locus of a problem" (Gonick, 2012, p. 3) from individual conceptualisations of girlhood and gender difference to a focus on the underlying mechanisms which perpetuate gender inequality. The use of critical realism provides an established lens to explore such mechanisms in gender discourse. The study draws on postfeminist, poststructural and fourth-wave feminist contexts in which girls construct their gender identities.

My intent with this project, as with all feminist projects, is exploring how the personal is political; how an individual's account can be reconfigured into collective resistance (Ahmed, 2017). Systemic and organisational work, within the field of Educational Psychology, is becoming a greater focus for practice. Despite the profession recognising this shift, the role of Educational Psychology in troubling sociocultural contributors to gender inequality has received limited interest in professional and academic research. The literature available tends to focus on the experiences of girls from a sociological perspective (which lacks the context of education) or utilises a narrative or 'experiential' perspective which intends to privilege voice. It is my intention to critique the voice, or discursive strategies, of adolescent girls, which is less apparent in the literature available in the field of Educational Psychology. The current research begins an exploration of how gender *difference* becomes an encultured *deficit* through dominant and oppressive discourses.

The structure of the thesis is as follows; in the following Chapter, I will review literature in relation to discourses on gender and education as well as relevant theory, providing a background and rationale for this study. Chapter Three focuses on methodological theory and the procedural aspects of the research. Chapter Four presents a feminist critical discourse analysis of adolescent girls' use, navigation and resistance of discourses in relation to gender practices and identity. Chapter Five highlights a discussion of those subjectivities in relation to broader feminist theory. Chapter Six explores the implications of the research for the practice of Educational Psychology, whilst Chapter Seven reports on the potential limitations of the research. Implications for further study are addressed in context in Chapter Six and Seven.

Conclusion

This Chapter introduces the topic and summarises the decision to research this topic area. This Chapter has also guided the reader through an outline of the upcoming format of the thesis.

Chapter Two

Critical Literature Review

The purpose of this Chapter is to present an overview of scholarly articles and media sources on the topic of girlhood. This process began by creating a list of keywords related to my broad research topic, 'girlhood'. A full account of keyword searches can be found in Appendix E; in short, searches included phrases such as "young femininities", "schooling" and "postfeminism". A glossary, defining frequently used and significant terms taken from cited research, is included in Appendix A. Peer-reviewed articles, which utilise focus group methodology and/or discourse analysis, grounds the research in "existing analytic studies" to demonstrate how the thesis builds onto and extends existing literature (Willig, 2013, p.121).

Ahmed (2017) uses the metaphor of citations as the "academic bricks" from which to construct a diverse and innovative research project (p. 148). She argues, it is incumbent on the feminist researcher to "create a crisis around citation, even just a hesitation, a wondering, that might help us not to follow the well-trodden citational paths" (p. 148). And so, whilst I have included relevant publications, I have also been mindful of my responsibility to diversity. It is important to note, I intend to present a *critical* literature review, not a *systematic* review. The distinction is important because I do not claim (nor did I intend) to have systematically exhausted the available literature. Rather, my primary goal was to present a robust and informative review which focuses on critiquing dominant debates, and highlighting conflicting positions and contradictions. The literature review's broad structure is organised by theoretical frameworks; beginning with what I argue to be the most dominant before exploring counter perspectives, described below.

Part 1 introduces and defines 'girlhood', with reference to theoretical positions on gender identity construction. Part 2 introduces the concept of 'postfeminism' and discusses the discourses which constitute popular understandings on girlhood in education. I present these alongside theoretical and empirical scholarship. Part 3 is concerned with troubling the uncomplicated postfeminist account of girlhood by discussing the media and academic landscape of the fourth-wave feminist resurgence in the 2010s. Lastly, I present an argument for the relevance of girlhood studies for the practice of Educational Psychologists. I will conclude by arguing that a more comprehensive account of the complex discursive world of girls in education is required.

Part 1: Defining “Girl”

Within girlhood scholarship, the term ‘girl’ is “variously theorized, with both rich discursive possibilities and varied material manifestations” (Brown, 2011, p. 108). I begin by presenting competing theoretical positions on girlhood, before outlining my own position on gender.

Developmental Psychology

In traditional developmental psychology, girlhood is “typically subsumed under ‘childhood’” as a sequential and fixed advancement along a “maturational ladder” (Brown, 2011, p. 108). Adolescence is described as the developmental site of normative and sex-specific social expectations corresponding to physiological changes (Brown, 2011). Brown suggests that a universal understanding of adolescence, in which the so-called masculine qualities of autonomy and individual achievement are valorised, by default positions feminine qualities as inferior, weak and vulnerable (Brown, 2011). From this critical perspective, developmental pathways may be considered a construction of a patriarchal social reality, in which *difference* is made *deficit*, through the maintenance of patriarchal power hierarchies (Butler, 1990). Walter (2010) writes of the resurgence of developmental psychology as a legitimization of biological determinism, through which gendered differences are seen as an “inescapable result of biology and are assumed to be resistant to change” (p. 11). Gender difference is reified by experimental neuroscience which extrapolates data on the architecture and activity of the brain. In his book “The Essential Difference”, Simon Baron-Cohen argues for the existence of a ‘female’ brain which is naturally predisposed to develop superior social skills (2003). Thus, he suggests, an over-representation of women in undervalued occupations (such as care work, child rearing and personnel staff) is in keeping with the natural order of things. It is intriguing, to say the least, that Baron-Cohen distributes a theory of ‘difference’ without due consideration to the constraining implications for girls’ aspirations and women’s role in society. I recognise that theories of gender difference are not necessarily chauvinistic, in and of themselves but that, in this case, they are encultured to represent outdated and oppressive views. Below I present an introduction to an alternate view on gender identity which, I argue, provides a framework for challenge and resistance.

Away from a universal girlhood

Gender discourses dominated by developmental psychology occlude perspectives informed by sociocultural and intersectional frameworks. Without such perspectives, the default subjectivity of girlhood becomes that of the “eurocentric, middle-class, heterosexual, and able-bodied girl” (Brown, 2011, p. 108). Feminist research is often explicitly theoretically grounded, through citation of literature and reflexivity, in philosophies which hold the potential to refute notions of a universal girlhood, such as critical realism (see Gunnarsson et al., 2016; Parson,

2016; Parr, 2015) and social constructionism (Brown, 2011; Aapola et al., 2005; Jiwani et al., 2006; Humayun et al., 2019). I am aware of the limited representation of girlhood in this project; I remain inside the Western feminist debate and primarily within White, British, heterosexual and middle-class culture. In doing so, I do not suggest that other experiences are not just as valid and vital. From my own reading, I would signpost readers to the following scholars for a range of accounts of girlhood explicitly informed by the concept of intersectionality; hooks (2000), Jiwani et al., (2006) and Ahmed (2017). In the countercultural feminist blog 'Tiger Beatdown', Flavia Dzodan captures the ethos admirably; "feminism will be intersectional or it will be bullshit" (2011). White, middle-class feminism continues to hold intersections of power and privilege. I am, therefore, responsible for managing the tensions of producing a project in which certain representations of girlhood remain hyper-visible while others remain hidden.

An Alternate View

I will begin by exploring the construction of gendered identities as a social process rather than a biological development. Judith Butler is redolent of thinking which challenges conventional notions of biological facticity by theorising gender performativity (Butler, 1990). Gendered behaviour, or that which we commonly associate with femininity or masculinity, is positioned as a social performance informed by dominant norms of heterosexuality (Butler, 1990). Poststructural feminist theory highlights the instability of our identities; Marion Brown (2011) writes that girls are not simply reproduced individually, rather, she argues "being a girl is individually and collectively produced and reproduced, always shifting, neither static nor linear" (p.109). Arguably, largely patriarchal institutions such as schools, constrain and reproduce ritualised gender performances resulting in the categorisation of non-normative gendered behaviour as prohibited or taboo (Jenkins and Finneman, 2018). By extension, the threat of ostracism or persecution compels the maintenance of gender production. By acknowledging gender as a social construction rather than a biological fact; acts of oppression and harassment played out against girls in their educational experiences can (and should) be seen as the empirical product of a socially constructed discourse.

Currently the debates around gender, what is 'real' and what is a social construction, are polarised. Traditionally, poststructural feminism has orientated towards social and discursive scholarship and remained wary of realism (Gunnarsson et al., 2016). My own understanding of critical realism is outlined thoroughly in the next chapter, however it is necessary for clarity to present my critical realist understanding of sex and gender here. I understand biological sex to be 'real', in that it has implications (physical and hormonal for example) for women (however they identify), such as menstruation. Whilst gender identity is not reducible to these empirical markers, it is these biological differences which are the original site of gender development as a social construction; including the opportunity for us to describe the

opportunities and constraints which characterise gender development. I suggest, critical realism provides a theoretical framework to contend that oppressive phenomena (such as sexism, racism or classism) is located in, and maintained by, the material world and is not only a perception (Ahmed, 2017).

Reflective Box:

The previous three subheadings provide a range of ‘definitions’ on what it means to be a girl. I hesitated over critical realism, and how I felt about positioning myself as a ‘gatekeeper’ to ‘being’ a woman. I am aware that a critical realist orientation includes recourse to empirical sex characteristics, which may be read as exclusionary to those who ascribe to a social constructionist orientation.

This highlights my own view on gender as being related (but not reducible) to empirical sex. Taking note of this has been useful in bringing to mind aspects of gender construction and reality which I consider ‘real’ and that which I consider a ‘social construction’, encouraging that interrogation throughout my research.

Part 2: Postfeminist Discourses on Girlhood

I introduce postfeminism as the theoretical underpinning for the pervasive and ‘common sense’ way girls are spoken of, and constructed, in large parts of contemporary culture (Garcia-Favaro and Gill, 2016). Despite some contention around the term postfeminism (Pomerantz et al., 2013), I understand it to denote a socio-cultural climate in which gender equality is assumed thus rendering feminist politics redundant (McRobbie, 2004). From a postfeminist stance, the gendered oppressions which once tormented girls at home, in school and the wider social world have been eradicated by previous feminist movements. Angela McRobbie notes that one consequence of positioning feminism as a “spent force” (2004, p. 4) is that girls and women no longer populate their vocabularies with the language of ‘sexism’. Rather, postfeminism is characterised by discourses of ‘girl power’, and neoliberal sensibilities of choice and agency. Postfeminist discourse reduces the construction of systemic and structural gender inequalities to the individual’s responsibility (Walkerdine et al., 2001). In the section below, I introduce how postfeminism provides a framework from which to explore gender difference and gender inequality.

The roots of the debate over gender *difference* over gender *inequality*, for postfeminism, lie in gender essentialism and denials of feminine devaluation (Ronen, 2018). Gender essentialism is at the forefront of postfeminism because it conceptualises gender difference as innate and consistent with developmental bodily sex differences (Gill, 2007). An acceptance of gender difference, which is not inherently produced by or entangled with patriarchal power structures, determines the denial of feminine devaluation (Gill, 2014). Under neoliberal postfeminist ideology, women’s experience of institutions such as the workplace are “undoubtedly shaped by their gender...but gender is not used against women as categorical grounds for

discrimination or exclusion” (Ronen, 2018, p. 515). Thus, there is no dilemma about how to “inscribe different biological bodies into a social system on equal terms” (Gapova, 2016, p. 10), such as the school system, because the postfeminist assumption of gender equality implies that differential gender policies are not required. Ronen goes on to suggest that, in the workplace, “when women are confronted with instances of discrimination, they are unsure how to account for them, given their ideological commitments to both workplace equality and individual self-determination” (Ronen, 2016, p. 515).

This project explores the explanatory potential of Ronen’s account of women in the workplace, for girls in a school institutional context. The task of the analysis is to explore how girls speak of gender difference; whether as essentialised but not a barrier to their pursuit of equality or “autonomy, recognition and independent subjectivity” (Gapova, 2016, p. 15). Or, difference as socially, culturally and politically enmeshed with systems and structures which reproduce and maintain inequality. The distinction is an important one, theoretically, but arguably a matter of perception rather than verifiable ‘truth’. In the section below, I explicitly explore how postfeminist discourses permeate constructions of gender difference in education.

From the postfeminist perspective, this is a time of unprecedented empowerment and success for girls in education. This success is constructed as a direct consequence of the feminisation of education and labour markets (Ringrose, 2012). As such, girls’ success is represented as a strong-hold of the feminist movement, coming at the direct expense of boys and men (Garcia-Favaro and Gill, 2016). Postfeminism induces panic through the use of notions such as ‘political correctness gone mad’ (Gill, 2014); and constructs men as the confused ‘victims’ or ‘losers’ in the speculated new gender order (Garcia-Favaro and Gill, 2016). In turn, power and success are constructed as “readily available to any girl, regardless of her circumstances or background, as long as she believes in herself and tries hard enough” (Pomerantz and Raby, 2011, p. 550). The legislative gains of second-wave feminism and women’s liberation movements, such as ‘equal opportunities’ laws are often cited to legitimise postfeminism. But contemporary feminist writers such as Natasha Walter (2010) suggest that these ‘conditions for equality’ are a facade. In fact, they argue that the language of second-wave feminism, ‘empowerment’, ‘liberation’ and ‘choice’, has been co-opted by a neoliberal postfeminist society (Mazzei and Rath, 2015) with no acknowledgement of the remaining structural inequalities.

In the next section, I detail three dominant postfeminist discourses in education that have informed popular understandings of girlhood before discussing the research which problematizes it.

Postfeminist Discourses

Within postfeminist research, three interconnected discourses have informed much of what is said of girls in education today. Girlhood is constructed through three feminine subjectivities, namely; the 'mean' girl (see Ringrose, 2012; Ringrose 2006; Bethune and Gonick, 2017; Brown, 2011); the 'successful' girl (see Ringrose, 2012; Pomerantz and Raby, 2011; Harris, 2004; McRobbie, 2007; Walkerdine et al., 2001) and the 'empowered' girl (Ringrose, 2012, Charles, 2010a; Charles 2010b; Budgeon, 1998; Hains, 2012). The postfeminist discursive landscape is complex (if not impossible) for girls to navigate successfully (Griffin et al., 2013). I now turn to academic research and the media landscape to map the discursive effects of these discourse in more detail.

The Mean Girl

The notion of the 'mean' girl evolved from research designed to challenge male-centric psychological theories of aggression (Ringrose, 2012). Prior to the 1990s, much of our understanding of human behaviour normalised the masculine subject. Women's behaviour and subjectivity was largely ignored or given the default position of "more nurturing, caring and relationship oriented than men" (Chesney-Lind and Irwin, 2004, p. 49). A group of researchers led by Bjorkqvist sought to dispel the non-aggressive female by positing a distinct form of aggression unique to girls (Bjorkqvist and Niemela, 1992). In this feminist-inspired reversal of male-centric thinking, Bjorkqvist and her colleagues argued for equivalency but difference, rather than deficit (Bjorkqvist, 1994). Women's preference for relational and communicative approaches was theorised as the site of difference from male physical aggression (Gilligan, 1982). Ringrose (2006) suggests that depictions of female aggression are well received by those searching for a postfeminist desire to demonstrate that 'girls do it too'.

I suggest that a developmental understanding of relational aggression is postfeminist because of its tendency to "pathologize girls through universalizing, essentializing and context-devoid models of girlhood" (Ringrose, 2006, p. 405). The concept of relational aggression has been used to great effect for postfeminism by child psychologists who describe girls' use of social connection to hurt and psychologically injure peers (Crick and Grotpeter, 1995). Across the literature, girls' aggressive practices are variously described as socially excluding, spreading rumours and posting derogatory messages on social media (Bethune and Gonick, 2017). What is intriguing about this discourse is the appetite with which it is consumed and reproduced by the mainstream media as well as 'expert' practitioner and academic text (Bethune and Gonick, 2017). A sensationalised depiction of girls' bullying in the media has contributed to what Maria Gonick terms the replacement of the "vulnerable girl" with the "mean girl" (adolescent girl more specifically) in the public consciousness (2004, p. 395). Ringrose

suggests that developmental psychology is used as a device to construct girls' as naturally (but inevitably) progressing along the continuum from "nice to mean" (Ringrose, 2006, p. 407). Natural female relational aggression implies that girls' drive towards connection and empathy whilst 'nice' in childhood, becomes a source of competition and destruction in adolescence.

However, I suggest that developmental truth claims restrict female subjectivities and reliance on such theories fails to take into account broader social and cultural contexts within which gendered subjectivities are produced (Bethune and Gonick, 2017), as discussed below.

Relational Aggression in Popular Culture

The concept of the mean girl was embraced by the western media to capitalise on societies' voyeuristic fascination with this new and dangerous 'type' of adolescent girl. Arguably the most iconic representation of this discourse is 'Mean Girls' (2004), the Hollywood film adaptation of Rosalind Wiseman's 'self-help book' "Queen Bees and Wannabes" (2002). The film's major story arc follows the social competition of four adolescent girls and the brutal rules of group inclusion and exclusion, based on physical appearance, their sexualised reputations and generally 'fitting in'. A renewed popularity is anticipated with the announcement of a reimagined Broadway production, updated to include "the pressure to be perfect and trolling" (BBCa, 2018). Perhaps because of the ubiquity of meanness in girl culture, newspaper articles are placed side by side which applaud the relevance and importance of the show whilst also criticising it for being too "nice" (BBCb, 2018). Such is the conviction of meanness in girls, that no space is taken to critique the value in unquestioningly reproducing narrow deterministic constructions of girlhood; rather, they haven't been constructed as mean enough.

Emotional Labour

The discourse of adolescent girl's meanness is contingent on an underpinning discourse of relational and emotional competence or, I suggest more accurately described as 'emotional labour' (Goerisch and Swanson, 2015). Goerisch and Swanson (2015) particularly trouble the promotion of emotional labour in powerful girlhood institutions, such as the Girl Scouts, as a way of incentivising emotional repression from a young age. The regulation of girls as 'cute and uncomplicated' becomes problematic as they age into adolescence and "their bodies come to represent a disruption in how girlhood and femininity are constructed in public space" (Goerisch and Swanson, 2015, p. 452). Normalising emotional labour serves the function of further regulating femininity; in order to be successful (academically and socially) girls must repress and control their emotions. This is arguably reinforced as they age into the workplace,

where value is placed on their 'social skills' or emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983) within an economic and political reality in which women still fight for a 'seat at the table'.

I suggest the circulation of truth claims which associate girlhood with the requirement they engage in emotional labour and indirect aggression are important because of the ways they intersect with other gendered discourses such as success and scarcity. They interact to constitute a discursive landscape in which girls cannot be directly aggressive or angry, but are required to succeed in a postfeminist neoliberal culture, as will be discussed below. Where girls compete over scarce resources, meanness and competition surface. I present below an account of success and scarcity to further the discussion beyond 'common sense' understandings of essentialised gender difference in educational contexts.

The 'Successful Girl'

As Pomerantz and Raby (2011) note, the discourse of the 'successful' girl is premised on two overlapping discourses; the abundance of 'girl power' and conversely, the 'failing boy' (Epstein et al., 1998). Whilst the former claims that girls universally have the power to do, and be, anything they want (Pomerantz and Raby, 2011); the second claims that second-wave feminist intervention has harmed boys' ability to succeed in school by feminising the education system (Pomerantz and Raby, 2011; Ringrose, 2012). In this section, I map out the discursive effects of the destabilizing 'successful' girl and the associated panic for the 'failing boy'.

Girl Power

The broad discourse of 'girl power' is discussed in more detail later in this chapter (see page 20-21), however, it's specific role within education is to construct *all girls* as being imbued with qualities for success in academia and the workforce. So-called feminine qualities, such as service, empathy, communication and nurturance, are said to be valued in education above the traditional masculine attributes, such as physical fitness and strength (Walkerdine et al., 2001). Anita Harris (2004) speaks of 'future' girls, constructed as empowered, opportunistic and successful in whatever they do. Congruent with neoliberalism, the postfeminist successful girl achieves her success through individual hard work and diligence, without the need of supportive school networks (Pomerantz and Raby, 2011). And yet, a glance into political power is sufficient to realise that 'girl power' alone has scarcely destabilized the patriarchal power hierarchies. With only 34% of MPs being female (Uberoi et al., 2020), far from the purported empowerment of girls; women remain underrepresented in positions of political power. And yet, against a backdrop of postfeminist claims of girls' success; claims of gender inequality in education and wider society appear implausible (Pomerantz et al., 2013).

The 'failing' boy

Within the UK, the origins of this discourse were founded in the 1990s during a time characterised by great expansion in Further and Higher Education (Ringrose, 2012). Despite the proportion of girls *and* boys receiving GCSE level qualifications increasing (Sullivan et al., 2011); the heightened attention on high-stakes summative assessment and performance targets revealed a supposed gender attainment gap (Ball, 2012; Ringrose, 2012). It was not within the scope of this project to present an exhaustive review of the truth claims around the attainment gap; I would direct readers to Ringrose (2012) for a comprehensive account. However, what is most significant to consider is how the adoption and maintenance of these claims shaped education policy. By constructing high-stakes assessment data as *the measure* of gender equality, the Department for Education (DfE) effectively 'closed the book' on claims of inequality in education (Ringrose, 2012). The panic over whether education is failing boys remains present in the DfE to date; Education Secretary Gavin Williamson wrote an open-letter to Universities UK echoing calls to improve access and participation to "white working-class boys" (DfE, 2019a). Necessary though calls to enhance representation are, Mr Williamson and the DfE make no specific mention of the gender inequalities facing girls in recent guidance, Equality Act 2010: Advice for schools (DfE, last updated 2018). The only included reference to gender-based discrimination facing girls in schools is archaic enough to be considered quaint. Schools are directed thus, "it would be unlawful for a school to require girls to learn needlework while giving boys the choice between needlework and woodwork classes" (DfE, last updated 2018, p. 20). It is noted in the document that previously schools had a statutory duty to coordinate a 'gender equality scheme'; however, this has now been replaced by a 'general equality duty' (DfE, last updated 2018, p. 20). Thus reproducing gender inequality as redundant for today's adolescent girl.

Feminist commentators reflect on an educational shift informally known as "feminism has won and, as a result, boys have lost" (Pomerantz and Raby, 2011, p. 549). Thus, one of the most significant implications of the discourse of success for this study is how it has shifted constructions of gender and education away from the wide spectrum of gender-based issues facing girls in school (differently according to race, class, culture and location); such as gendered violence and bullying (Ringrose and Renold, 2010), and gendered behavioural issues like self-harming or eating disorders (Crudas and Haddock, 2005). My intention in this project was to explore gender as a facet of academic identity through the use and navigation of postfeminist discourses.

The Empowered Girl

Third-wave feminism in the 1990s became synonymous with notions of 'girl power' permeating the cultural landscape. Particularly through music, artists (such as the Spice Girls) were described as challenging traditional stereotypes and redefining what it meant to be a woman or girl (Hirsch, 2018). At the time, the literature often portrayed 'girl power' as a reductive approach to feminism which commodified female empowerment (for discussions see Aapola et al., 2005). In the 1990s, Shelley Budgeon wrote that many young women championed neoliberal girl power; they privileged "'self-determination' over collective action, and expressed the need to be strong, authentic and 'true to oneself'" (1998, p. 122). The language of sexism and feminism seemingly had no place in their construction of femininity (Budgeon, 1998); rather women gravitated towards an overwhelmingly postfeminist version of womanhood. However, the significance of 'girl power' should not be underestimated. Girlhood scholar, Rebecca Hains, revisited the 'Spice Girl' phenomenon in the 2010s to explore with young women their evolved positions on feminism. Hains noted that far from being wholly negative, for some the oversimplified version of 'girl power' provided a catalyst to "feminism or deeper feminism" (2012, p. 68). Hains constructs the women she interviewed as critical agents, rather than mindless consumers, of 'girl power'. The findings of Bugeon (1998) and then Hains (2012) could be constructed as an evolution towards a more sophisticated understanding of female empowerment. However, I believe there is explanatory potential in viewing it as an example of engagement with discourse as always shifting and never static. Poststructural feminist theory affords this study a theoretical framework to explore contradiction as a means of undermining the smoothed-over accounts of postfeminism.

The most commercially successful and iconic representations of third-wave feminism were overwhelmingly White and had a heavy emphasis on 'sexual empowerment' (Hirsch, 2018). Postfeminist 'girl power' remained, in many ways, unchanged in the latter 2010s. Moving on from the Spice Girls, a plethora of postfeminist artists have shaped the culture of girlhood; Beyonce ("Run the World (Girls), Columbia 2011) constructs girls as "outspending, outsmarting and outshining their male counterparts" (Pomerantz et al., 2013, p. 186), empowered to take on the world. However, contemporary research presents a complex and contradictory relationship with postfeminist discourse, wherein fourth-wave feminist movements disentangle the equation of empowerment and liberation with objectification (Walter, 2010). I will begin to explore the implications of fourth-wave feminism for less prominent discourses of girlhood in education and society generally.

Part Three: Troubling Postfeminism

The postfeminist discourses presented above elide the presence of gender inequality in the educational experiences of girls. As noted, reality shaped predominantly by postfeminist discourses are unlikely to contain the vocabulary to recognise and name sexism and inequality (McRobbie, 2004). And yet, I will present empirical research and accounts from the media which are indicative of cultural incentives for particular ways of 'doing' girl which are inherently oppressive (Renold and Ringrose, 2008). I am interested in how the associated social practices, required to successfully navigate social, cultural and political reality, are internalised and begin to shape girls' sense of self. I will begin by exploring the term feminism before discussing the presence of gender inequality. I end by suggesting that navigating an often impossible and contradictory discursive landscape has implications for well-being.

A Return to Feminism

A feminist identity is, by its very nature, contentious (Humayun et al., 2019). Ahmed warns, to live a feminist life one must embrace the roles of agitator, misfit, pest and killjoy (2017). In its most basic definition, feminism can be described as a movement to uproot systematic oppression and create equality for all women (Humayun et al., 2019). In my reading, I have found it useful to turn to various definitions, for example, bell hooks defines feminism by that which makes it necessary; thus, feminism is "the movement to end sexism, sexual exploitation and sexual oppression" (hooks, 2000, p. 33). Other definitions have been more influential in language and discourse research; Mary Bucholtz (2014), for example defines feminism as "a diverse and sometimes conflicting set of theoretical, methodological, and political perspectives that have in common a commitment to understanding and challenging social inequalities related to gender and sexuality" (p. 23). I include this definition because it conceptualises the pluralistic and yet united nature of feminism.

In this study, I applied a poststructural feminist theoretical framework to analyse gender identity construction. Poststructural feminism deconstructs binary categories (e.g. boy/girl, heterosexual/homosexual etc.) and reveals how power operates through causal structures to create patriarchal hierarchies (Cannon et al., 2015). Poststructural feminism contends that hierarchical binaries are inherently unstable because of the subjugation of one in order to define the other (Cannon et al., 2015). Therefore, poststructural feminism provides the most useful framework from which to trouble dominant accounts of girlhood within the contradictory accounts presented below.

Everyday Sexism

The newly invigorated fourth-wave feminism of the late 2010s is described as "notable for focusing in particular on issues concerning the representation or treatment of women in the

media” (Garcia-Favaro and Gill, 2016, p. 380). Prominent ‘grassroots’ campaigns such as “No More Page Three” (nomorepage3.org) and the “Everyday Sexism Project” (<http://everydaysexism.com>) are celebrated for their inclusivity and creative use of social media. Feminism of the 2010s, emphasises the seemingly unremarkable ‘everyday’ yet insidious face of sexism, in particular objectification and harassment. The accessibility and relatability of ‘fourth-wave’ feminism acts as a catalyst promoting accounts of gender inequality to emerge in the mainstream media. A feminist discourse, encompassing the concepts of consent, objectification and harassment appears in BBC coverage of incidents of girls in school uniform being verbally and physically harassed (BBC, 2018) and sexually harassed (BBC, 2016). By focusing on ‘categories’ of girl (i.e. the school girl), the media landscape illustrates a culture in which gender inequality is moving beyond individual accounts towards a broader collective issue, and becoming increasingly articulable (Calder-Dawe and Gavey, 2016). It is now pertinent to explore how this feminist movement is reflected in academic literature.

Objectification

Feminist scholars, such as Naomi Wolf, have spoken at length about the relationship between women’s oppression and the scrutiny of their physical beauty (1990). In her ground-breaking work, *The Beauty Myth* (1990), Wolf hypothesised that “the more legal and material hindrances women have broken through, the more strictly and heavily and cruelly images of female beauty have come to weigh upon us” (p. 10). My reading of Wolf suggests that legislative gains of second-wave feminism afforded an appearance of equality which preceded the fortification of oppressive beauty standards. Media theorist, Rosalind Gill suggested that:

“in today’s media, possession of a ‘sexy body’ is presented as a women’s key (if not sole) source of identity. The body is presented simultaneously as women’s source of power and as always unruly, requiring constant monitoring, surveillance, discipline and remodelling (and consumer spending) in order to conform to ever-narrower judgments of female attractiveness” (2007, p.149).

Gill’s commentary, now over 10 years old, offers relevant insights for girls’ production of the ‘self’ under the oppression of hegemonic masculinity. Walter (2010) reflects that whilst the association of femininity and beauty is not new, the sexualisation of girls occurs at a younger age and more pervasively than ever before. As noted in my discussion of relational aggression (see pages 16-18), the bodies of adolescent girls inhabit a uniquely complex social space. They are described as existing “at a precipice of adolescence and womanhood...considered women by some societal standards, but are also viewed as children based upon their perceived lack of agency and autonomy” (Goerisch and Swanson, 2015, p. 451). Adolescent

girls evolve their gendered subjectivity, and construction of normative feminine beauty, shaped by explicit and semi-pornographic representations of “ordinary-looking girls” in ‘lads magazines’ (Walter, 2010, p. 21). Exaggerated feminine sexuality, as part of the ‘everyday’, takes on postfeminist sensibilities where all women are ‘empowered’ to achieve narrowed standards of beauty. When British feminist campaign, “Loose the Lads Mags” (2013), sought to have such magazines removed from the shelves; the mainstream media constructed the movement as an attack on ‘men’s rights’ and identified men as ‘under threat’, ‘victimised’ and ‘demonised’ (Garcia-Favaro and Gill, 2016). Within the dominant socio-cultural landscape of postfeminism, one can see how evolving a gendered identity becomes entangled with subject positions dictated by hegemonic feminine beauty and sexuality.

A central tenet of neoliberal postfeminism is the broad application of ‘choice’ as the primary rhetorical device in the production of sexualised femininity. Charles highlights the contradictions within the discourse of ‘choice’ by arguing that performances of sexualised girlhood are culturally incentivised (Charles, 2010a). Girls are simultaneously required to enact their “empowerment” and sexual “know-how” within the acceptable parameters of femininity, they mustn’t “give it away” (Charles, 2010a, p. 62). The construction of girls as empowered and “in possession of a healthy sexual identity” (McRobbie, 2007, p. 732) is not, in and of itself, problematic. It complicates the discourse when, as Walter states; “young women have been encouraged to believe that stripping to their knickers for lads’ magazines is their best possible route to success” (2010, p. 4). Girls learn that in order to be independent and successful within a neoliberal society, they must conform to normed beauty standards dictated to them by hegemonic masculinity. Therefore, one has to ask whether there is an available ‘choice’ about how to perform feminine beauty and sexuality on “women’s terms” (Walter, 2010 p. 32).

My intention in the next section is to present academic literature describing the erosion of girls’ well-being. Introducing the available evidence base for girls’ poorer well-being, compared with boys, justifies an exploration of the process by which girls construct their sense of self whilst negotiating competing and impossible discourses.

The Erosion of Well-Being

I would suggest that the discourses in the mainstream media and academic literature presented thus far illustrates both the complexity and the necessity of shaping a fluid and multifaceted sense of self. However, a recent focus in academic literature has been on quantifying and categorising girls’ well-being and mental health through large-scale research. Patalay and Fitzsimons (2016; 2018) published findings based on their interrogation of the Millennium Cohort Study (MCS) data. In 2018, they set out to explore the stability and

relatedness of mental ill-health and well-being as separate constructs but also drew specific conclusions on 'sex differences' between girls and boys. They concluded that by age 14, girls reported significantly higher internalising symptoms (related to a depression measure) as well as significantly poorer well-being across the domains of satisfaction with appearance, school work, friends and family (Patalay and Fitzsimons, 2018). This departed from their previous publication when the children were aged 11, in which they reported no significant 'sex differences' in well-being or the broad mental ill-health constructs (Patalay and Fitzsimons, 2016). However, looking beyond statistical significance revealed that by age 11, girls on average had higher *emotional* and lower *conduct* problems, compared to boys (Patalay and Fitzsimons, 2016). The trend around girls' diminished well-being was replicated in the "State of the Nation" report published in 2019 which reported that peer and family groups, alongside their school and neighbourhood environment, have the strongest links to girls' reduced well-being compared to boys (DfE, 2019b). The diminishment of girls' well-being and the particular intersections of social and psychological reality (such as emotional problems, peer relationships and school environment) is of particular interest to this study. There is an absence of literature which focuses on the contradictions within discourse (outlined in this chapter) and the impact this has on girls' sense of self.

Patalay and Fitzsimons' findings could be said to 'prove' that girls experience reduced well-being and poorer mental health (compared to boys). However, I suggest that a critical discursive interpretation of this data provides a more useful starting point for further investigation. It could be argued that the findings reflect that girls have learned to perform acceptable feminine 'emotional' responses rather than unacceptable masculine 'behavioural' responses. And whilst their diminished well-being causes concern, I argue that without criticality, the findings only serve to further reproduce discourses of girls as 'innately emotional' and 'vulnerable'. Again, what is needed is a critical feminist discourse analysis which is able to analyse girls use and navigation of discourse to construct their sense of self.

Educational Psychology and Girlhood

The Health and Care Professions Council standards of proficiency for practitioner psychologists (HCPC, 2015) place an emphasis on the development of practice which is both anti-discriminatory and anti-oppressive. In addition, Educational Psychologists (EPs) are required to demonstrate knowledge and understanding of gender and the impact of stigmatising constructions. Training for EP praxis is thoroughly permeated with the theory of epistemological oppression, or "structuring and leading an understanding of the world through unequal participation in knowledge construction" (Sewell, 2016, p. 2). In his discussion of Educational Psychology practice, Billington (2000) suggests that EPs reproduce and regulate accounts of children through the language they use in assessment and report writing. It is

incumbent upon EPs to recognise their role in legitimising ways of speaking about gender difference and inequality in education.

The literature presented in this chapter suggests that there is a role for EPs in developing their knowledge of issues pertaining to sexism and objectification in education. Therefore, EPs are required to reflect on their own held gender related beliefs and assumed theories. Reflexivity of this nature is essential if EPs are to be able to “balance competing voices or lines of evidence” during their work (Sewell, 2016, p. 10). The role of the EP is to recognise and work with tension around the voices of various stakeholders (such as schools, parents and children), and to challenge assumed gender discourses which reproduce inequality.

The study of girlhood presents a unique opportunity for the practice of Educational Psychology to reflect on its role in constructing knowledge about gender. The British Psychology Society maintains a “Psychology of Women and Equalities Section” (POWES). The main aims of the POWES are:

- “to address gender issues and inequalities in the psychology curriculum
- to facilitate and develop feminist and emancipatory research, theory and practice
- to influence public policy in areas such as equal rights, parenting, and employment.”

(BPS, 2020)

Despite this emphasis, a search on the practice of Educational Psychology and girlhood, led to limited examples of research which speaks to those aims. The recent focus on girls’ well-being, alongside burgeoning discursive research, suggest that further exploration of the impact of discursive strategies on girls’ sense of self and identity will contribute to Educational Psychology theory and praxis.

Conclusion

The aim of the critical literature review was to introduce the reader to available literature on girlhood. The Chapter began by introducing competing definitions of girlhood, with a focus on psychological theories of gender development. I then moved through to discussing postfeminism and the dominant associated discourses in education. I then presented relevant theory and empirical scholarship which trouble the uncomplicated account of girlhood presented by postfeminism. I have ended by describing the relevance of this study for the practice of EPs because of limited literature which explores girls’ complex engagements with the discursive culture around them with reference to a reported erosion of well-being.

Chapter Three

Methodology

Introduction

Chapter Three introduces the reader to the methodological theory and procedure of the current study. First I provide the philosophical orientation, including ontological and epistemological theory, and rationale for methodological choices in the current study. I then move on to discuss procedural aspects; including an overview of participant recruitment, data collection and procedural analysis.

The goal of this study was to examine how girls define and understand femininity, specifically how they navigate discourses of girlhood. Therefore, a necessary goal was also to explore the space available for girls to contradict dominant representations of girlhood within the previously suggested culture of postfeminism, gender difference and equality.

In this chapter, I will justify the methodological choices taken to answer the following research questions:

1. How does engagement with dominant discourses open up and constrain opportunities for talk, thought and practice of 'doing' girl in school?
2. How do girls use, navigate and resist dominant discourses to shape 'being' girl and their sense of self in school?
3. What are the implications for Educational Psychology practice?

The research questions have evolved through supervision and reference to theses which used similar methodologies, such as (Begon, 2016).

Philosophical Position

This research is underpinned by the philosophical assumptions of critical realism. Whilst I was influenced by the ideas in critical realist work, I do not claim to have enacted the principles dogmatically. Critical realism, as I understand it, is outlined below.

Critical realist theory presupposes a differentiated ontology in which 'being in the world' is distinguished between the three domains of: 'the real', 'the actual' and 'the empirical' (Parr, 2015). As in social constructionism, language is understood to construct reality; however, these constructions are theorized as being shaped by the possibilities and constraints inherent in the material world (Sims-Schouten et al., 2007). The material world is given an ontological status that is independent of, but related to, discursive practices (Sims-Schouten et al., 2007).

The ontological status of 'being' in the material world, therefore, is shaped by events, such as social practices and processes, which operate regardless of whether they are experienced or not by individuals. Thus, critical realists agree with other philosophical positions (e.g. social constructionism) in their commitment to 'epistemic relativity' or that all accounts of reality are transient, fallible and socially produced; but rejects 'judgemental relativity' or that all accounts are equally valid (Parr, 2015). Perspectives on girlhood are, therefore, presented without the intent that one theoretical account should replace another as the dominant 'regime of truth' (Foucault, 1980). Archer et al., (2017) put forward criteria for judging which accounts of reality are more plausible than others. Archer and her colleagues suppose that the theorised 'real' is constituted by structures with causal powers which generate the events which, in turn, may be experienced in the material world (Parr, 2015). Therefore, this study analyses contradictory and divergent accounts of reality and presents a judgement (based on theorised 'real' causal structures and mechanisms) of the validity of the account.

As noted, a critical realist position contends that whilst social reality is constructed through interactions and human agency, non-discursive elements (such as causal structures) will impact on people's actions and available ways of being (Sims-Schouten et al., 2007). That said, causal structures are not thought to impact on individuals' accounts of reality in a deterministic manner (Parr, 2015). Therefore, interpretation and analysis must include inference about the nature of the underlying causal structures which generate the discursive account provided (Willig, 2013). Applying a critical realist approach to the construction of girlhood requires the examination of the material world such as girls' use of spaces in school, their embodied practices, and institutional policies. Gender inequalities, for example, can be experienced *empirically* but originate from *real* causal structures which regulate and maintain patriarchal power imbalances (Majstorovic and Lassen, 2011).

The advantages of a critical realist ontology are as follows; the provision of a framework which theorises the mechanisms underlying the availability of dominant over counter discourses. As such, critical realism "does not only map the ways in which participants use discourse in order to construct particular versions of reality, but it also positions their talk within the material reality that they also have to negotiate" (Sims-Schouten et al., 2007, p. 103). These points are considered by critical realists to have ethical implications. In the sense that, analysis which takes into account a participant's material world does greater justice to their lived experience than one which interrogates only their talk (Clarke and Braun, 2019). For example, considering girls' use of 'empowerment' as a discourse to justify aspirations of glamour modelling as purely rhetorical; provides a thin understanding of the powerful structures and mechanisms which incentivise sexualised ways-of-being and constrain other agentic and aspirational 'choices'.

Feminism and Critical Realism

Both critical realist and feminist theory are described as inherently critical-emancipatory frameworks (Gunnarsson et al., 2016). Poststructural feminism in particular, shares the view that “the world has depth and that ‘the real’ cannot be reduced simply to experience, including the experience of the subject” (Parr, 2015, p. 195). Feminist research informed by this philosophy is concerned with understanding what gives rise to the complex phenomena directly experienced in the everyday empirical world (Parr, 2015). I suggest that theorising about the underlying structures within society which produce inequality is congruous with this project and provides a novel perspective in feminist literature. In a move away from a constructionist discursive orientation, feminist theorists have searched for ‘the essence of gender’ or something common to some women which could explain their subordination as well as their complicity (New, 1998). Scholars, such as New, suggest this as being brought about by mechanisms set in motion by attributions of sex, rather than sex itself (New, 1998). However, I recognise the need to outline my understanding of the theoretical dispute on ‘essence’ between poststructuralist and critical realist positions in feminist research (Flatschart, 2017). This is done so below; after which I will present an account of how I have drawn on each approach to inform my thinking.

Alongside my belief in the potential benefits of critical realism, I have also been committed to adopting what can broadly be labelled a poststructural feminist theoretical standpoint on the construction of gender identity. In adopting these seemingly incompatible philosophies, I suggest that the research questions I pose are best answered by combining learning from both traditions whilst valuing their differences (Clegg, 2006). A particular concern is the aforementioned dispute on the ‘essence’ of sex and gender. I support the critical realist ontological position which claims a ‘real’ essence or materiality of sex categories; whilst simultaneously making reference to the poststructuralist standpoint which refutes a ‘real’ or biological basis of gender. I assert that this tension does not render poststructural feminist theory irreconcilable with critical realism, or as Flatschart (2017) suggests, in referencing poststructural feminist theory researchers are not required to “abandon critical naturalism and its emergent-power materialism which, amongst other things, yields a specific understanding of the materiality of the categories ‘sex’ and (consequently) ‘women’” (p. 287-288). I will now outline how each theoretical position has been applied to most effectively address my research questions.

Poststructural feminist theory holds the potential to analyse discursive and regulatory practices of everyday life (Davies and Gannon, 2005). It allows the researcher to ask questions of the construction of the gendered subject, and is able to make visible and analysable the constitutive nature of linguistic practices, dismantling the apparent innateness

and inevitability of gender identity (Davies and Gannon, 2005). Research from a poststructural feminist standpoint theorises the role of power in shaping a sense of self, making certain ways of being more available or incentivised, such that they are adopted and reproduced willingly by subjects. Binary identity categories, such as male/female, are deconstructed to expose how discourse maintains dominance or 'normality' to one of the pair (e.g. male), and in response, how the subordinated term is positioned as 'abnormal' or lacking (e.g. female) (Davies and Gannon, 2005; Flatschart, 2017). I suggest, therefore, that poststructural feminist theory affords this research the theoretical framework to answer questions of incentivised and resistant ways of 'doing' and 'being' a girl in school, in relation to hegemonic masculinity, through the analysis of their everyday talk.

As noted, poststructural feminist theory breaks with theoretical traditions in which gender identity is understood as inevitable and therefore resistant to change. It therefore theorises the possibility of an agency which allows subjects to become aware of the constitutive role of discursive practices (Davies and Gannon, 2005). Individuals are thus capable of critiquing the discursive process through which they construct themselves and are constructed by others in turn (Davies and Gannon, 2005). The agency and resistance that poststructural feminism claims to make available is that which comes as a consequence of recognising gender identity not as an immutable by-product of 'being a girl' but as fluid and multiple ways of being, of which they are agentic authors. Poststructural feminist theory supports the role of critical awareness raising pedagogy which produces strategies for critiquing and resisting the dominant discourses through which girls and women are understood (Davies and Gannon, 2005).

However, whilst the view that poststructural feminism has persuasively demonstrated the fluidity and multiplicity of gender and identity is accepted; it continues to receive criticism over the prioritisation of theory over practice. As such, poststructural theory's 'fit' with emancipatory feminism and collective political action is questioned (Clegg, 2006). My understanding of this critique has been influenced by the writing of Sue Clegg (2006) and Margaret Archer (2000); both writers suggest that critical realism holds the potential to theorise the issue of embodiment which is claimed to be fundamental to selfhood and individual and collective agency (Clegg, 2006). Critical realism asks ontological questions of the "pre-discursive conditions for the emergence of the discursive in a way that does not deny the discursive or collapse into reductionism" (Clegg, 2006, p. 316). As such, critical realism allows this research project to disentangle the pre-discursive materiality of sex from gender identity, as well as theorising the structural conditions under which new subjectivities can emerge. An example of this is the 'successful girl' discourse which incentivised an academically successful identity for girls in education. Furthermore, Archer distinguishes between a concept of the self which

is discursively produced (a socially produced identity) and a non-discursively formed embodied sense of self. Whilst the former is shaped by discourse, the latter is theorised as material and more constant through life (Archer, 2000). The use of critical realism, therefore, allows researchers to theorise embodied aspects of the self, which are tied to the broader social, cultural and historical conditions which make agency for particular bodies and identities possible at that time.

To summarise, whilst I am not suggesting that poststructural feminist theory and critical realism are compatible at a philosophical level, I believe I have argued for how they can be used alongside one another to usefully answer my research questions.

Epistemology

My epistemological stance moves away from generating essentialist understandings of girlhood towards that which is able to map the discursive worlds girls live in and explore the multiple ways-of-being made available by them. This research aspires to understand the underlying social, cultural and material mechanisms which give rise to conditions which make possible the formation of certain discourses (Sims-Schouten et al., 2007). It does this by looking at the theorised relationship between epistemology and ontology. In other words, how talking of and 'doing' girl comes to shape a sense of self and the experience of 'being girl'. This process includes understanding how girls construct gender through the language they use and how they perform their gendered identities. I am also interested in exploring how aware the girls are of the positions they take up in response to discourse, whether their resistance or contradiction is knowingly in response to discourse, and what this means for constructing gender difference or gender inequality. I then consider why certain discourses are more available or incentivised due to social and/or material factors and the underlying social, cultural and material mechanisms that constrain or open up feminine subjectivities.

There are considerable reflective and reflexive elements to this research, where I consider my own assumptions and ways in which I relate to discourse and the theorised non-discursive aspects of this study. This is made more transparent through the explicit positioning of the researcher in a reflexivity statement (see Appendix D). In practical terms, when reflecting on the structure of the focus groups, I was required to consider how the language choices I made could influence the ways-of-being available. As such, the language I used during the research process will influence the findings (Willig, 2013). Erica Burman critically and reflectively examined the role of dominant psychological theories (such as those on child development) in constructing the objects and subjects which they claimed to explain (Burman, 1994). I consider myself to 'author' rather than to 'discover' the knowledge produced.

Discursive Psychology

Discursive psychology is recognised as a broad field with diverse philosophical and methodological approaches united by the assumption that reality is constructed through language. The 1970s saw a notable move away from cognitivism towards a focus on language (Willig, 2013). Prior to this, language was understood by some scholars to be a true means of describing empirical reality. Discursive psychology, however, suggests that an objective or 'true' description of reality cannot exist due to the multiple and interconnected ways the world can be constructed (Willig, 2013). Thus, rather than analysing girls' accounts as 'true' representations of their embodied gender practices, it is more relevant for this project to consider the discursive strategies used by girls to construct their accounts. This allows for greater insight into the discursive world girls inhabit and how the process of practicing gendered identities comes to shape their sense of self.

Discourse Analysis

Discursive psychology gave rise to an alternate lens from which to conduct research and analyse data, namely discourse analysis (DA). The literature variously defines discourse, for the purposes of this study discourse signifies a "systematic, coherent set of images, metaphors and so on that construct an object in a particular way" (Burr, 2003, p.202). I believe that to explore the use of language, alongside imagery, provides a comprehensive perspective on the discursive realities of adolescent girls. Wetherell (2001) identifies as many as six different methods of DA, but purports that two versions dominate the literature; conversation analysis and poststructuralist or critical DA. Although it is recognised that the approaches have the capacity to answer different research questions, they are not seen as exclusive of one another. Potter and Wetherell (1995) suggest analysis should include both; therefore, I have explicitly signposted where the analysis includes recourse to the use of language to achieve inter-personal objectives as is required in conversation analysis. The main body of the analysis is more closely aligned to poststructural or critical DA, discussed below.

Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis

The fields of DA and Feminist theory share an explicit commitment to the values of reflexivity, methodological diversity, as well as prioritising interpretation over procedural, epistemological and disciplinary orthodoxy (Clarke and Braun, 2019). Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (known as FCDA from hereon) is particularly adept at describing and critiquing gender discourses (Lazar, 2007). FCDA provides a theoretical framework to analyse how discourses of girlhood are imbued with the constitutive power to shape the gendered subjectivities of girls. In particular, I am interested in how gender difference is framed as a logical or 'common-sense' way of thinking which perpetuates structural misogyny (Parson, 2016). Since

patriarchal gender identities are structural, they are enacted in institutions of power such as schools and reflected in their culture and ethos. Therefore, “the task of FCDA is to examine how power and dominance are discursively produced and/or resisted in a variety of ways through textual representations of gendered social practices” (Lazar, 2005, p. 10). Through a framework of poststructural feminist thought, FCDA uncovers the ways that girls talk about the gendered practices of themselves and how they are replicated in the school environment.

Butler’s formative concept of performativity is a relevant one for FCDA for two reasons. Firstly, it theorises the role of discourse in positioning girls to embody particular performances in school (Butler, 1990). Secondly, as Pomerantz and Raby (2011) recognise, performativity also acknowledges the possibility of multiplicity, where girls negotiate their identities by navigating various contradictory and competing discourses; drawing on multiple understandings of their gender and how it is shaped by school experience. Poststructuralist FCDA utilises a Foucauldian conceptualisation of power to explain how certain discourses become entrenched or constitutive of a ‘regime of truth’ (Foucault, 1980). According to Foucault’s understanding, power operates in a field of relations, and is temporal and transient in nature (Cannon et al., 2015). Power is entangled with maintaining the dominance of particular discourse but is not essentially oppressive. Individuals are able to conform to or resist power, and so alternate ways-of-being are always available. The task of the analysis becomes one of analysing under what conditions the ‘power’ of a structure maintaining a dominant discourse is diminished. FCDA interprets how the girls use both postfeminist and feminist discourses to account for their experience of gender in education. In doing so, I highlight the many ways that girls are required to perform their subjective femininities, thus challenging the de-contextualised framing of postfeminism.

Limitations of DA

Poststructuralist or critical forms of DA have been described as more ambitious than conversation analysis in that they make substantial knowledge claims about the interaction between discourse and subjectivity (Willig, 2013). These forms of DA attribute the processes by which human beings gain access to particular ways of seeing the world and ways of being in the world entirely through discourse (Willig, 2013). However, there is debate both amongst discourse analysts and those in other conceptual fields over whether it is defensible to suggest that discourse is *all* that is required to fully theorize subjectivity (Willig, 2013). Frosh et al., (2002) applied complementary psychological theory to thicken the discursive analysis. For example, their “Young Masculinities” (2002) publication adopted a psycho-social approach, which took into account early years experiences and relationships, to explain the motivational basis upon which the children took up various discursive positions. The manner in which this project draws on psychological theory is more explicitly outlined in Chapter Four.

Participants

Ethical approval from the University of Sheffield review board was obtained prior to purposive recruitment of participants (see Appendix F). The criteria for involvement in the study was that the young person identified as 'female' and was aged between 11 and 14 (it transpired all participants were aged 14 years). The designated age range was informed by research, specifically Patalay and Fitzsimons (2018) and "The State of the Nation" report (DfE, 2019b) as mentioned in the literature review.

All the participants attended a mainstream Secondary Academy which was typical in many respects and had recently received "outstanding" OFSTED status. The school was located in a de-industrialised town in the North of England with high unemployment and a higher than national average level of residents with zero or only one GCSE qualification (Census, 2011). Research has noted that in such locations, "girls struggle to find a place for themselves as traditional gender roles bump up against postfeminist promises" (Pomerantz and Raby, 2011, p. 552).

I gave the school no specific stipulations in terms of the academic status of the potential participants. I made this decision principally in the hope that it would broaden the scope of the research to 'typical' girls rather than individual instances of Special Educational Need or mental ill-health. Despite great changes in the practice of EPs (see Bill Gillham's work on *Reconstructing Educational Psychology*, 1978), there is residual debate around the extent to which psychologists reinforce 'within-child' conceptualisations of difficulty or distress. So, to encourage thinking of and talking about gender as indicative of wider societal, cultural and political issues, there were no academic barriers to participation.

Whilst I have outlined my reasoning with regards to the recruitment criteria around the gender identity and the Special Educational Needs status of the participants, I have yet to discuss their other demographic information. The absence of the participant's intersectional identity is reflected upon throughout this thesis; specifically, implications are discussed in the analysis (page 57) and the decisional process is discussed reflexively on pages 84-85. Here, I make a note of the absence both to bring it to the reader's attention and to aid transparency.

It was the purpose of my research to explore girls' constructions of girlhood; how they spoke of their interactions with peers and teachers, the curriculum and spaces in school. From the conceptualisation of this research project, I did not set out to ask intersectional questions of race and class (to name two potentially relevant demographic categories) as well as gender. As noted, my interest has always been with the construction of girlhood, within different

contexts, through language; how the girls did and did not refer to their own intersectional identity is discussed throughout this project.

Reflective Box:

I went to lengths to discuss with colleagues and tutors whether the absence of identified Special Educational Needs would be of detriment to the practical relevance of this study for EPs. In addition, the participants did not self-select because of their interest in feminism or because they necessarily shared sexist experiences. I was worried that I was being (or would be seen to be) self-indulgent.

On reflection, I am proud that I produced research which contributes a systemic and socio-cultural perspective to the field of EP literature. I pursued a research topic which allowed me to be authentic and encouraged me to be vulnerable when I presented it to others.

Focus Group Rationale

I was interested in finding out how adolescent girls do and do not engage in postfeminist discourses of relational aggression, academic success, and empowerment. Furthermore, I wanted to hear what girls have to say about their everyday experiences of 'being' a girl in secondary school. I wondered if being a girl was as easy or advantageous as postfeminism makes it seem, and if so; do girls, understandably, feel as though gender inequality and sexism is redundant in their experiences of education. Seeking to explore gender discourse, this research explores these ideas using data collected from focus groups.

Previous research claims that focus groups have advantage over other qualitative methodologies in that they generate more naturally occurring speech, including multiple and alternative perspectives, compared with one-to-one interviews (Pomerantz and Raby, 2011). Within feminist research, focus groups are described as facilitating a 'collective perspective', or the synthesizing and validation of individual views (Jowett and O'Toole, 2006). They are, therefore, congruent with emancipatory or critical research which intends to move away from individual voices towards an organised collective movement. As Pomerantz and Raby (2011) note, this kind conversation produces multi-layered talk which allowed me to hear constructions of feminine identity whilst also gathering detailed knowledge about their schools' culture.

The positives of focus groups notwithstanding, in practice they can be chaotic and disorganised, untethered from the 'focus' which defines them (Krueger and Casey, 2008). The extent to which I thought (and felt) the relevance of this point is further discussed in the analysis and interpretation section. Chaotic group dynamics can be experienced as emotionally unsafe and have the potential to discourage the participation of certain members (Hopkins, 2007). I anticipated, for instance, that group dynamics could serve to police and

monitor each other's talk. It was, therefore, of utmost importance that group dynamics were moderated to decrease feelings of exclusion and hostility and to increase participation (Kennedy et al., 2001). The reflective boxes in Chapter Four discuss these points within the context of the analysis.

An Ethical Consideration

It was anticipated that sensitive topics, such as sexual harassment, could be raised during the focus groups. An advantage of focus groups are that they encourage restorative interpersonal qualities such as openness, honesty, listening and perspective taking (Gibb, 2012). This is of particular interest because girls are so often made aware that the similar qualities of care, nurture and emotional attunement are desirable. Not wishing to perpetuate this assumption, I utilized a 'trigger warning' system to forewarn participants of the likelihood of potentially distressing topics as a "small act of empathy that minimizes harm" (Wyatt, 2016, p. 23) For this reason, each session started with a recap over previous topics and care was taken to have a 'debrief' following particularly sensitive discussions.

Focus Group Procedure

The rationale used to establish optimum group size (a maximum of five participants per group) and duration of group meetings (up to one hour) was drawn from recommendations from studies related to conducting focus groups with children in this age group (Walkers et al., 2015).

Pilot Group

Six girls attended the pilot group meeting (which lasted approximately one hour) with the purpose of discussing the research and getting to know one another (this was not transcribed). All the participants attended school full-time and were on track to achieve GCSE grades Level 5-9. When asked, they all expressed aspirations to attend college and University, with most talking about specific careers in areas such as Psychology, Law and Medicine. A number of them spoke about extracurricular activities such as Rugby, music lessons and/or academic tutoring.

During the pilot, I was able to ask them various questions about themselves which were of a similar complexity to those included in the interview schedule. As a result, it offered an approximation of any language, communication, learning and/or emotional needs which may have required additional support. We also co-produced a 'group rules' poster which gave me some insight into how the girls would interact as a group. The pilot group meeting allowed me to prepare my mediatory style specific to this group and their particular interpersonal group dynamics. The participants were split into two groups, I met with each group twice (a total of

four focus groups). Focus group A (FGA 1 and 2) contained three girls (Anna, Jo and Kara) with focus group B (FGB) containing five girls (Sam, Emily, Elisa, Kayla and Dana in FGB1 and Sam, Emily and Kayla in FGB2). The aims of each session are presented below:

Session One: The aim of the first group was to discuss the questions included in the interview schedule. The decision was made not to conduct a pilot focus group to trail the questions primarily because they were taken from published peer-reviewed research (Frosh et al., (2002)) and so their quality and appropriateness had been established. At the end of the session, participants were invited to a final session to which they could bring their own images to represent issues raised in the session.

Session Two: The aim of the second group was to reflect on the previous session, discuss their own images and collate the two to create a collaborative 'object' to share with school (i.e. poster, collage or presentation).

The extent to which I was able to adhere to this plan is discussed in the Ethical Considerations section, pages 37-38.

Focus Group Questions

As noted, a semi-structured interview schedule guided the focus groups based on questions reported by Frosh et al., (2002, p. 271-273), see Appendix L. The interview schedule was intended only as a guide for the areas I wanted to cover. This is in keeping with critical realist research which favours a responsive and flexible moderation style where knowledge is constructed 'with' participants (Jowett and O'Toole, 2006). The questions were designed to expose the participants' understanding of gender difference and inequality, including what 'doing girl' and 'being girl' meant to them in the contexts of school. I hoped to extend the girls' discussion by asking questions about the discourses they used including where they were located and their implications for education provision and schooling.

Reflective Box:

Whilst mediating the focus groups I felt that my questioning moved too far away from the interview schedule. Certainly, when first transcribing the groups I felt as though they lacked the focus which would have been fostered had I more rigidly adhered to the schedule.

However, following discussions with my supervisor, colleagues and my own multiple readings of the transcripts I realised that I had been closely led by the girls and followed their interests and focus points. Encouraging them to pick up on one another's utterances and build collective discussion is central to Georgaca and Avdi's (2012) evaluative criteria. Whilst it was not without problems (which will be addressed through Chapter Four: Analysis and Interpretations), I feel it allowed them space to naturally generate their own discussions and hopefully to feel heard.

When authoring the interview schedule, I came across scholarly debate around power imbalance within focus groups. Writers, such as Burman (1994), argue that the claimed

informality of focus groups risks obscuring the inherent power dynamics. Certainly, Pomerantz and Raby (2011) perhaps flippantly suggest that focus groups “reduce the power imbalance between adults and youth” (p. 551). As a novice researcher and someone who feels uncomfortable being perceived as ‘powerful’; it was important that I was mindful of and reflected on attempts to obscure or ease my discomfort with holding power. If one rejects the premise that power is a finite resource, in favour of a relational definition; the use of creative and informal activities can be seen to foster power through co-production (Bradbury-Jones et al., 2018). This was evidenced through my mediatory style and inclusion of creative co-production activities (such as a group rules poster and ‘mind-map’ ice-breaker).

Ethical Considerations

I aimed for transparency with ethical considerations by addressing and discussing issues at the point at which they arose in reflection boxes or throughout the text. However, two ethical concerns of great significance require specific discussion. Firstly, the process of gaining informed consent with child participants and secondly, issues around the dissemination of research. The sections below are designed to address these points.

The University of Sheffield’s ethical approval board describes children as a potentially vulnerable client group. As such, there are additional processes to follow in order to protect young people from distress, harm or disappointment caused before, during or after the research process. There are agreed measures in qualitative research to support gaining informed consent from children. I provided differentiated information sheets and consent forms for participants, their parents/legal guardians and school staff (see Appendix G-K). The information for participants was made accessible by including simple language and visuals alongside reduced content (Mitchell, 2010). The Head of Year 9 acted as gatekeeper for the participants (and their legal guardians) and assured me that information sheets were accessible for both groups in terms of their literacy skills as well as language comprehension. As an additional measure, both legal guardians and participants were invited into school to discuss the nature of the research and to explain the mechanisms for withdrawing, outlined below.

It was important to think of consent as an ongoing process rather than an isolated event (Gallagher et al., 2010; Mitchell, 2010). Regardless of my perceived forethought and preparation, during the project the participants could become exposed to distressing experiences which they considered unforeseen. It is important then, that participants were familiar with the mechanisms to withdraw, or raise doubt, at any point to a number of different people (Gallagher et al., 2010). As noted before, an attitude of informality is unlikely to be sufficient to overcome the power differentials between the participants and myself. And so, at

the beginning and end of each session, I reminded participants about our agreed processes i.e. they could leave at any time without providing a reason. The notion of children as vulnerable is readily accepted because they are at greater risk of being coerced by more powerful adults. As such, they require trusted adult 'advocates' with whom they can depend on to assert their right to withdraw. I think this speaks to a larger issue within my practice as a TEP, in that vulnerability so often connotes undesirable dependence. As social beings, I consider positive interdependence a necessary and desirable aspect of human connection.

A further, more complex, issue than the last is the ethics around debriefing and dissemination. I consider the issue complex because it speaks to whether it is sufficient in research to avoid malfeasance or if one is ethically bound to promote beneficence (i.e. doing good). I would argue that I have demonstrated steps undertaken to safeguard children against harm. However, I have yet to demonstrate how this project managed the expectations for those who participated and actively promoted good in their community. Co-produced research is said to minimise the risk of disappointment and maximise the potential reach of dissemination by involving young researchers throughout the research stages (Bradbury-Jones et al., 2018). Co-production with young researchers is underpinned by legislation such as the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, UNICEF, 1989 referenced in Bradbury-Jones et al., 2018). Article 12 outlines a broader conceptualisation of children's knowledge about their experiences as being unique and valuable (Bradbury-Jones et al., 2018). I do not consider this a co-produced project; at the point at which I decided to embark upon FCDA (an analytic method of which I had no prior experience) I also decided it would be too risky to ask co-researchers to engage in practices of which I knew so little. However, aspects of the research do speak to a participatory ethos. It was my intention that in the second focus group session the participants and I would co-produce an 'object' which would capture our discussion and I could leave with them or their school. However, in the pilot meeting the participants informed me they did not wish to co-produce an 'object'. Thus my intention for dissemination was required to change, the literature reflects this experience in that analysis and dissemination are still overwhelmingly carried out by lead adult researchers (McLaughlin, 2006). I intend to share my analysis with the participants and a school group (including the Year Leader, Assistant Head/Behaviour Lead, SEN Co-Ordinator and Education Improvement Teacher). The school and I have agreed to collaborate on a 'Girls Group' for Year 10 girls at risk of 'permanent exclusion'. Therefore, whilst the dissemination of the project was not wholly as anticipated, I believe there is demonstration that the project aspired to 'do good' for girls in school.

Procedural Guidelines for Analysis

There are a number of ways in which FCDA may be conducted. Clarke and Braun (2019) advocate for “the continuing importance of methodological innovation and diversity in feminist qualitative research in psychology” (p. 4-5); they privilege theoretical sensitivity and reflexivity over adherence to disciplinary orthodoxy and established procedure. In response, I have emphasised theoretical orientation over an overly manualized approach to analysis. Indeed, Tosh (2016) adds that the researcher’s orientation can be more revealing of their method than a methodological description. For that reason, I have authored a reflexivity statement to outline my orientation in Appendix D.

For reasons of transparency and a preference for structure, I opted for guidance from the six procedural stages by Willig (2013) for an overall critical perspective on DA. I considered her guidance to provide a useful and efficient analytic toolkit. To ensure rigour, I adhered to the evaluative criteria of Georgaca and Avdi (2012), discussed at the end of this Chapter.

Transcribing the data

The initial listenings, transcription and readings of the data followed the guidance of Willig (2013). For a detailed explanation of my transcription technique and the process by which extracts were coded and selected for analysis, see Appendix M.

Stage 1: Discursive Constructions

This stage involves identifying all references, both implicit and explicit, to the discursive object in the text. The discursive object in this instance is ‘doing’ or ‘being’ girl, that is to say all references to girlhood and gender. For clarity, an example of this is taken from FGB1 where ‘being’ girl is constructed as both “*two-faced*” (Kayla, FGB1, 03:48) and “*trust*” (Sam, FGB1, 05:39). Poststructuralism takes a sceptical view on the use of ‘truth’ claims to reify discursive constructions, advocating for multiple meanings available to construct reality (Tosh, 2016).

Noting indirect reference to ‘girl’ in constructions of gender difference or inequality, such as direct talk about ‘doing’ or ‘being’ boy, implies a gender binary. Again, Dana comments “*boys just batter each other*” (Dana, FGB1, 07:57), the implication being that girls do not engage in direct physical aggression. This establishes the discursive boundaries, as Parker (2008) describes; “boundaries divide concepts and separate the ‘accepted’ from the ‘excluded” (p.43).

The girls had different versions of accounts, emphasizing and omitting certain aspects or details. Their comments illustrate conflict regarding whether or not their construction of girlhood was characterised by structural inequality or gender difference. FCDA analyses

beyond what is immediately said and explores concepts which lack existing forms of description (Parker, 2008). This is relevant because there is reason to believe that girls may experience gender inequality but lack the explicit vocabulary to describe it (McRobbie, 2004).

Stage 2: Discourses

Stage two requires the analyst to focus on the variety of ways the discursive object has been constructed. My intention, therefore, was to abductively locate the various constructions within wider discourses found in the literature on 'doing' and 'being' girl and girlhood more generally. For instance, doing girl as 'indirectly aggressive' could be simultaneously constructed as the result of an innate characteristic gained through developmental processes (e.g. "*I've changed so much since primary school*" (Anna, FGA1, 19:53)) and as an implicit indication of the incompatibility of femininity and self-assertion (Zuckerman, 2019) (e.g. "*you're sticking up for your mate*", Elisa, FGB1, 06:58). Thus, in one text, the discursive object is constructed through numerous discourses simultaneously.

Stage 3: Action Orientation

Similarly to conversation analysis, this stage of analysis examines the group interaction and use of language to achieve interpersonal aims. This refers to what is gained from constructing objects in particular ways and the effect that this has on the unfolding interaction (Willig, 2013). This allows us to speculate as to what the various constructions of the discursive object are capable of achieving within a specific interaction.

This is notable in FGB1 where Elisa uses rhetorical questioning as a strategy to evoke group affirmation of her experience, to which the others respond by validating and corroborating it with their own (FGB1, 21:02). Rhetorical questioning served to strengthen group cohesion and connection between members. Other strategies included 'drawing on public opinion'; Gill (2012) instructs analysis to treat such claims as rhetorical rather than true reflections of opinion. I also analysed instances where 'othering' was employed to gain the discursive effect of creating psychological distance between themselves and a 'type of girl' who performs femininity by doing those 'types of things'.

Stage 4: Positionings

This stage is concerned with how discourses construct subjects by looking at adopted subject positions. Willig (2013) explains this as the process in which discourses "make available positions within networks of meaning that speakers can take up (as well as place others within)" (p. 132). For instance, by constructing sexualised practices as a 'choice'; Emily constructs the subject position of the liberated and empowered girl who practices 'body confidence' by taking revealing photos.

However, as is anticipated in poststructuralist feminist theory; subjects can resist dominant discourse positions by drawing on available counter-discourses which allow them to forge and embrace new subject positions. Through the adopting and rejecting of various subject positions, participants embrace diverse and fluid ways to speak about themselves and others.

Stage 5: Practice

This stage is concerned with mapping out the ways in which discursive constructions (and the subject positions within them) “open up or close down opportunities for action” or “what can legitimately be said and done” (Willig, 2013, p.132). This relates to the ways in which the developmental discursive construction of the mean girl legitimates the practice of bullying as an adolescent right of passage. The performance of gendered practices in turn, reproduce the discourses which legitimate them, in an iterative manner.

Where practices are legitimated by a dominant discourse, it follows that resistance to this through the embodied practice of a counter discourse (i.e. the girl you can “*trust*”) has implications. Girls who adopt a subject position of *trust* may open up non-aggressive practices in their peer interactions.

Stage 6: Subjectivity

This final stage is concerned with the subjective experience of the participants, their social and psychological realities. It relates to what can be felt, thought and experienced from the various subject positions taken up (Willig, 2013). Subjectivity and the construction of a feminine identity are intertwined with ontology and what it means to ‘be’ as a girl. Whether this is recognised through practices associated with dominant femininities or an identity positioned as resistant or subversive; they are both constructed around what ‘being girl’ means. Subjectivity, therefore, has the most transformatory potential for what it is to be a girl.

Interpretive Choices and Evaluation

Qualitative research quality is aligned philosophically with notions of rigour and richness rather than reliability and replicability. There is a responsibility for the analyst to transparently evaluate and adhere to criteria for ‘good quality’ qualitative research. Less naive forms of realism, such as critical realism, have a “great deal in common with constructionist approaches because they recognise the subjective element of knowledge production” (Willig, 2013, p. 172). As such, analysts should not be overly prescriptive but engage with evaluative criteria as a tool for rigour and transparency. I followed the evaluative criteria presented by Georgaca and Avdi (2012) which is epistemologically congruous with the assumptions and methods of DA.

The criteria are outlined below:

1. *Internal coherence* refers to crafting a consistent account of the data;
2. *Rigour* is achieved through accounting for inconsistency to provide richness of detail;
3. The analysis should be *transparent and situated* so that the reader can judge the quality of findings and the context of their generation;
4. *Reflexivity* is achieved through attention to the researcher's role in generating the data;
5. *Usefulness* in terms of providing new theoretical insights, enhancing existing research and real-world applicability.

(Georgaca and Avdi, 2012, p. 157)

I make explicit reference to these criteria at various points in the analysis and interpretation through a series of reflective boxes, including the extent to which I succeed in demonstrating them.

Clarke and Braun (2019) suggest that it is incumbent upon researchers to own their perspective and be reflexive. As with any research, a process of selection and exclusion was involved in the analysis (Carter, 2006). I maintain a reflective appreciation that I am liable to construct a version of events based on my own described subjective experience and orientation. However rather than consider this study a work of my own personal agenda, I take inspiration from Tosh (2016) who suggests drawing on wider discourses and theory to produce a coherent and persuasive study.

Braun and Clarke (2019) argue that coding is an inescapably interpretative process in which consistency and simplification risk losing the richness attained from situated insight. From a feminist perspective, they warn against the risk of doing a disservice to those who entrust their 'voice' to researchers by restricting nuance and diversity to valorise consensus through restrictive coding practices (Clarke and Braun, 2019). Again, I would point readers towards the reflective boxes to demonstrate the rigour applied to coding and interpretation. Analysis and interpretation should be evaluated by assessing the extent to which the analyst has "successfully grounded observations within the context that generated them" (Sims-Schouten et al., 2007, p. 174). The context, in this case, includes the social and institutional practices and even structures in a school institution, in order to produce an analysis which is internally coherent (Sims-Schouten et al., 2007).

Sims-Schouten et al., (2007) highlight that critical realist research is criticised for having no systematic method of distinguishing between the discursive and the non-discursive, or 'real'. The construction of factors as one and not the other is the result of a researcher's reflexive standpoint. This is an entangled and subjective process, made more transparent through the

explicit positioning of the researcher in the reflexivity statement (Appendix D), which includes ideological foundations in feminism, social justice, power and privilege.

Conclusion

This Chapter provides the reader with information about the philosophical underpinning of the research, such as the ontological theory and associated epistemology. With reference to theory, I then discussed methodological aspects of the current study including research design and procedure. Finally, I presented evaluation criteria to demonstrate robustness and quality.

Chapter Four

Analysis and Interpretation

The four transcripts for Focus Groups A and B were 'coded' sequentially from Stage 1 to Stage 6 as per the guidelines in Willig (2013). As described in greater detail on pages 39-41, Stage 1 is concerned with identifying how the "discursive object" is constructed within the text (Willig, 2013, p.131). The goal of Stage 2 is to locate the various discursive constructions within the wider discourses (Willig, 2013). For clarity and transparency, a table detailing this process (analysis readings one and two) can be found in Appendix O. At this stage in the analysis, I shared my progress in supervision to gain perspective on the robustness of the processes thus far. I do not categorise this as 'consensus coding' (Clarke and Braun, 2019) but rather an iterative process of monitoring internal coherence with the philosophical orientation of the project and the robustness of the analysis.

The first two analytic readings enabled me to loosely group the discursive constructions into discourses (Appendix O). I then proceeded to read for Stage 3 (Action Orientation), Stage 4 (Positionings) and Stage 5 (Practice) in the transcripts (analysis readings three, four, and five, see Appendix P). At this point, it intuitively felt most efficient and informative to begin the iterative process of revisiting literature whilst conducting, writing and refining the analysis. Willig's final analytical stage (Stage 6: Subjectivity, analysis reading six, see Appendix P) explored the relationship between discourse and subjectivity (2013). Again, with reference to Willig's (2013) procedure, I read for, and will discuss, subjectivity last.

Willig (2013) is not overly prescriptive about how one should report the combined six stages of analysis; suffice to say she recommends the "structure should reflect both the research questions and the emphasis of the analysis" (p. 121). In this case, the study is primarily concerned with discursive strategies and their consequences for positioning, practice and subjectivity. Therefore, this chapter is structured around the discursive strategies themselves (and the girls' negotiation of them) rather than in the linear manner in which the analytic procedure was operationalised. Necessarily, each considered discursive strategy includes recourse to Stages One to Six, with Stages One to Five primarily addressing research question one and Stage Six answering research question two. This Chapter simultaneously analyses and discusses the findings, again informed by Willig; "findings cannot be presented first and then discussed" (p. 122). Before that, it is important to address a point of philosophy regarding how the analysis intersects with reasoning, discussed below.

Abduction and Retroduction

This study utilises abductive reasoning, or abduction, as is necessary when critical realist scholarship aims to link observation to social structures using established theory (Vincent and O'Mahoney, 2016), in this case, postfeminism and poststructural feminism. Abduction implies an initial commitment to *theoretical pluralism* as “multiple theoretical lenses can be considered for what they tell us about the various and stratified influences that are affecting the things we observe” (Vincent and O'Mahoney, 2016, p.14). The role of abductive analysis is to determine which of the theories present within the field provides the most plausible conclusion, it does not expect to verify it. Interpretations and conclusions are, therefore, qualified as having a remnant of doubt. Abduction involves combining observations, often in tandem with theory, to produce the most plausible explanation of the mechanisms that caused the events observed (Vincent and O'Mahoney, 2016).

To clarify, within this study I have observed (1) that in certain organisational contexts (such as schools and Educational Psychology Services) individuals are more inclined to accept postfeminist versions of girlhood, however, this might be constructed. And (2) there is empirical evidence for the erosion of well-being linked to structural gender inequality such as experienced objectification and harassment. These contradictory observations, in turn, suggest several other causal processes are at play to affect the mechanisms observed. Abduction allows research to understand more about the relationship between the mechanisms observed and the underlying contexts in which they operate (Vincent and O'Mahoney, 2016). Drawing on existing theory, I considered the nature of discourse in school to explain why adolescent girls may position themselves in relation to postfeminist discourse, whilst also discussing empirical experiences of objectification. Abductive reasoning provides a robust explanation for the contradictory use of discourse noted in literature (Griffin et al., 2013, Pomerantz et al., 2013; Ringrose, 2012). As a result, abductive interpretations enable a new perspective which situates the contradictory use of dominant discourse with broader cultural and institutional contexts. New lines can be drawn between the operation of a mechanism and the material worlds within which the mechanism resides (Vincent and O'Mahoney, 2016). Vincent and O'Mahoney (2016) suggest that, for simplicity, abstraction and retroduction can be viewed as one movement, from qualitative data to the best theory that explains it.

Reflective Box

It is important to acknowledge the implications for internal coherence which arise from purporting to conduct *abductive reasoning* whilst also identifying oneself as a feminist.

It could be suggested that my allegiance to feminist theory renders this a *deductive* study based on the assumption that I am intending to ‘test’ feminism as the best theory to explain the discursive choices of girls.

Whilst I acknowledge this, I maintain this study is better thought of as *abductive* because I do not subscribe dogmatically to a unified feminist theory. That is to say, I draw on the advice of Sara Ahmed (2017); she advocates that we “temper the strength of our [feminist] tendencies with doubt; to waver when we are sure, or even because we are sure. A feminist movement that proceeds with too much confidence has cost us too much already.” (p. 7). I evidence the process of ‘wavering’, through an open and curious analysis, transparently documented in reflective boxes. I discuss this again in Chapter 7, Limitations.

RQ1: How does engagement with dominant discourses open up and constrain opportunities for talk, thought and practice of ‘doing’ girl in school?

This section of the analysis focuses primarily on the first research question, outlined above. I consider exploration of talk, thought and practice to be most closely linked to Willig’s procedural Stages One to Five. The discourses presented in the literature review were evident in the transcripts but not without divergence and contradiction, as follows:

Research Question 1: How does engagement with dominant discourse open up and constrain opportunities for talk, thought and practice of girlhood in school?	
Dominant Discourses	Participant Discursive Strategies
The ‘Mean Girl’ (see Ringrose, 2012; Ringrose 2006; Bethune and Gonick, 2017; Brown, 2011)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● being a girl means, “everyone’s got a snakey side” ● being a girl means, “some girls are different”
The ‘Successful Girl’ (see Ringrose, 2012; Pomerantz and Raby, 2011; Harris, 2004; McRobbie, 2007; Walkerdine et al., 2001)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● being a girl means, “they’re always pushing you to be the best” ● being a girl means, “I’ve got no time to do anything”
The ‘Empowered’ Girl (Ringrose, 2012, Charles, 2010a; Pomerantz et al., 2013); Charles 2010b; Budgeon, 1998; Hains, 2012)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● being a girl means, “nowadays there’s a lot of women positivity” ● being a girl means, “if you want to do it it’s your choice”

<p>Objectification (Walter, 2010; Garcia-Favaro and Gill, 2016; The Everyday Sexism Project; No More Page 3).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● being a girl means, “making sure you look perfect” ● being a girl means, “I have had a male teacher touch my skirt” ● being a girl means, “you can’t win” ● being a girl means, “I’d rather be invisible”
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Being a Girl Means...

“...everyone’s got a snakey side”

This section explores how the girls engaged with discourses of emotional labour and relational aggression to open up and constrain peer-related positioning and practices in school. The most available constructions of girls in FGB were as duplicitous or “two-faced” (Kayla, FGB1, 03:48) and “snakey” (Elisa, FGB1, 03:49). Such was the ubiquitous presence of female relational aggression; the girls readily told me “most girls (1s) everyone’s got a snakey side” (Dana, FGB1, 04:25), and Elisa confirmed “yeah definitely (.) there’s always a side to you (.) you say summat to one person (2s) it’s just what girls are like” (Elisa, FGB1 04:30). How this initial construction was negotiated, is outlined below.

Anna in FGA1 draws on developmental discourse to construct a subject position in which relational aggression is inevitable for adolescent girls;

“[high school] is something that changes the way you are(.) like(.)I’ve changed so much since primary school (.) cos we were surrounded by friendlier kind (1s) caring environment to high school were its more(4s) brutal on people’s feelings and (3s) a lot more stressful and (2s) like in primary school everyone would like you you’d all get along (1s) whereas high school I think it’s more (2s) a bit like bitchy” (Anna, FGA1, 19:53)

The girls in FGA constructed practices such as social exclusion alongside developmental notions of identity formation. Kara reflected, “I don’t want to hang around people who don’t like me for who I am (2s) so (1s) yeah (.) friendships change” (Kara, FGA1, 22:47) and “once I’ve like started to actually be me (2s) rather than someone I’m not (1s) that’s how (2s) they’ve decided they don’t like me” (Kara, FGA1, 23:43). I suggest that during this discussion, the girls were resigned to the inevitability of meanness and the risks of social exclusion. This opened up self-protective practices, both Anna and Jo acknowledged shortly after Kara’s account that their means of navigating the social dynamics of high school were inherently protective; “now I’ve started not getting close to people cos I know” (Anna, FGA1, 24:40) followed by “I’ll just

have *one* [close friend] *cos I know (1s) she's my mate and I can trust her (2s) and she just won't tell anyone about me (1s) or go behind my back or owt*" (Jo, FGA1, 25:16). I consider this aspect of girl practice (to withdraw and protect the self) as closely connected to the gendering of emotion discussed below.

All the girls constructed 'doing' aggression indirectly as underpinned by their innate introspection and emotional capabilities. Within FGA1, the girls discussed their beliefs about emotion as a site of difference between girls' and boys' aggressive practices. Anna commented, "*girls are more prone to over think things*" (Anna, FGA1, 17:44) which was corroborated by Kara "*girls are more emotional too*" (Kara, FGA1, 17:47). As was often the case in the focus groups, when discussing how this way of doing girl had come to be, the girls deferred to universal girlhood and biological determinism; "*I think it's just (3s) the way we are (.) I think we all do it at points*" (Anna, FGA1, 18:54). Tellingly, Jo constructs dampening or controlling her external emotional expression with likeability; she comments "*I think we just want everyone to like us ((laugh)) to be honest really*" (Jo, FGA1, 19:11). Constructions of girls with a tendency to internalise and engage in emotional labour was more explicitly touched upon by Anna when discussing an 'emotionally well' girl; first Anna describes her as "*like happy smiley (1s) like laughing (.) just like being happy and (2s) like never seen out of (.) like (2s) out of their natural emotion and you see them happy all the time (2s) never seen them being more upset or (2s) crying for instance*" (Anna, FGA1, 30:08). This construction was quickly problematised by Kara who speculated that Anna's 'well girl' was "*covering something up (.) like you're putting this face on (.) but it's not actually what you feel*" (Kara, FGA1, 30:40). In response, Anna was able to restructure her previous construction to account for hidden distress, "*you can tell in their behaviour (1s) like they'll be more quieter (1s) if they've got summat (2s) on their mind*" (Anna, FGA1, 32:33). Even when acknowledging distress, it was generally agreed that a more anticipated practice of girls would be to minimise or hide their emotional distress. I continue to explore the constructions of doing the perfect girl later in this analysis, here the expected performance of femininity includes non-confrontational displays of emotional distress.

The language in FGA2 similarly essentialise the 'bitchy' quality of girls and their emotional repression as a mandatory by-product of a recognisable adolescent female performance within a high school environment. The talk of gender difference, and whether there was a binary in aggression, became an interesting point of contradiction. Initially, the girls spoke of normative overt male aggression as similarly essentialised but more authentic; Kara explained "*I think (2s) boys aren't bothered what they say (.) what they think to each other (.) they just say it as it is (2s) but I think (.) girls (.) like (1s) they'll say stuff behind each other's backs will*

girls (.) and (1s) then they'll deny it to their face (.) or they won't confront them about it" (Kara, FGA2, 38:49). Girls are implicitly positioned as non-confrontational and duplicitous; more particularly characterized as repressed by Anna and Kara: "*acting tough over messages and [then]*" (Anna, FGA2 38:28) "*[then] you come to them (.) and they're proper quiet*" (Kara, FGA2, 38:30). Much of this talk replicated what was noted in the literature review around deterministic and binary notions of gender difference.

Contradictions began to emerge in the girls' accounts particularly regarding overt or direct female aggression. Unsurprisingly, Elisa in FGB1 reflected how adopting a subject position which norms relational aggression can open up ways of policing direct female aggression, "*when you hear about a girl (.) in a fight it's like (2s) OH ((facial expression surprise and disgust))*" (Elisa, FGB1, 09:07). As our discussion progressed, I was intrigued by how they began to reach for the socially constructed nature of this binary and how it invalidated their emotional experience. When asked what makes school a 'tricky place', Dana offered "*this is off-topic (.) but if you say you're upset or in a mood (.) you're constantly known that you're on your period (.) twenty-four seven*" (Dana, FGB1, 30:31). This was immediately acknowledged by Elisa "*I was crying in school and people were like ah she's in a mood she's on her period (.) I was like (.) I'm not I've got something going on (.) they're like ahh have you got personal problems*" (Elisa, FGB1, 31:03). Emily used the term 'mock' (Emily, FGB1, 32:05) to typify the practices of boys which serve to undermine and invalidate overt expressions of girls' emotions. The gender difference noted above has been constructed as an unequal expectation that girls' practice an unemotional way of being.

Reflective Box:

This extract highlights the importance of hearing inconsistencies across the transcripts (criteria 2, Georgaca and Avdi, (2012)). The girls in FGB's use of discourse had been singularly deterministic until they began to speak about their emotional experience being 'known' by boys as 'premenstrual tension'.

During the focus group, I was not aware that the discourse of premenstrual tension and feminine repression were being used to take away their access to valid emotional expression. I heard their talk as an unremarkable account of the female experience. This highlighted to me the power of discourse and the importance of listening for Positioning (Stage Four) and Practice (Stage Five) when considering the discursive implications of phenomena. Whilst I recognised the unfairness of their experience, I did not hear it as sociocultural oppression which requires an organised and collective understanding and response.

I consider the girls' use of phrases such as "always" and "everyone" as a device to portray the 'universal truth' in their accounts of feminine aggression, perhaps to alleviate personal accountability for a trait that connotes few positive attributes. Similarly, the language has the effect of ridding themselves of complexity and nuance, and reduces them to predictable one-

dimensional beings. In this way, the denigration of female emotion is linked to oppressive constructions of doing girl. The performance of girl in school requires an almost inhuman absence of overt emotion; as touched upon shortly, an external performance similar to being an image of a girl rather than a thinking, feeling being. This provides an example of how the discursive constructions intertwine and overlap with one another. As in life, their accounts refer to multiple discourses, both complementary and contradictory. Below is an example of how they negotiated the tension between what is constructed as inevitable and yet simultaneously undesirable.

“...some girls are different”

The girls in FGB1 problematised the naturalisation of relational aggression as a developmental stage which would inevitably jeopardise their peer interactions. The girls constructed close female friendships without the presence of relational aggression. Elisa suggests “*some girls are different and they do keep it themselves (.) but you gotta be watch who you tell people*” (Elisa, FGB1, 05:06). I offered the group the term ‘loyalty’ to characterise the absence of meanness from their practices; they acknowledged this and added “*trust*” (Sam, FGB1, 05:39). Kayla summed up this alternate dimension to their social reality by saying “*there’s like (1s) your best friends and your friends (2s) it’s a totally different thing*” (Kayla, FGB, 05:56). The causal structure, developmental feminine meanness, was unable to operate in the social space which exists between close friends. The absence of this mechanism allowed a new and safer way of ‘being’ with one another, discussed later in this Chapter.

Reflective Box:

I found this part of the focus group heartening. Their dialogue more closely reflected my own experience of female friendships in which I have found connection and belonging. I do, however, note that I suggested the term ‘loyalty’ which is a very clear example of how I shaped both production and interpretation of the data.

The girls went on to discuss how this ‘trust’ intersects with ‘relational aggression’ to create practices that reflect the incompatibility of femininity and self-assertion found in the literature (see Zuckerman (2019)). This aspect of the girls’ talk reflects a culture which “refuses girls access to open conflict, and it forces their aggression into nonphysical, indirect, and covert forms” (Simmons, 2002, p. 3). When discussing the nature of relational aggression in school; Elisa explained, “*if someone said something to my mate (2s) like (1s) I know (.) a lot of people are very strong about that and they would (2s) like (3s) I dunno (.) if you hear someone say something (.) you’re sticking up for your mate (.) cos maybe they don’t want to say anything cos it’s about them*” (Elisa, FGB1, 06:58). This was corroborated by Kayla, “*if someone said*

something about you (1s) then you're not really bothered (.) but if someone [says something about your friends (.) then you (.)]" (Kayla, FGB1, 07:19) and Sam "*[I'm more bothered about] that then what people say about me*" (Sam, FGB1, 07:26). Forced to be 'indirect', they adopt a position that draws on their supposed relational strengths to open up ways of actively protecting their friendships. In taking up these subject positions, their relationally aggressive practices become courageous and dependable, rather than repressive, weak, and inherently vulnerable (Gilligan, 1982). Sam went on to name this phenomenon between girls as "*like a bond*" (Sam, FGB1, 08:22).

Rather than presenting a simplistic account where *all girls* are at risk *all the time* from one another, the girls in FGB navigated the discourse of relational aggression in ways which both reproduced it as a universal truth and troubled it in ways which allowed for agency, trust, and connection; the foundations of collective feminist action. I will revisit the implications of the various positions and practices taken up by the girls when answering research question two, later in this Chapter.

Being a Girl means...

...“they're always pushing you to be the best”

Postfeminist constructions of normative girl identity make being successful (even excelling) in academia appear attainable for *all girls, all the time* (Ringrose, 2012; Pomerantz and Raby, 2011; Harris, 2004; McRobbie, 2007; Walkerdine et al., 2001). The girls in FGA constructed 'being' girl with the *pressure* to succeed academically. When broadly asked about their experience of school, Anna commented:

“I think it's very (1s) stressful and (.) er (.) pressure (3s) and like (1s) cos they're always pushing you to be (1s) the best (1s) and they're always pushing you to like (1s) achieve the best (2s)” (FGA2, Anna, 02:24).

Jo added that class teachers "*expect you to like (.) know it straight away (.) all stuff*" (FGA2, Jo, 02:47); with Anna clarifying the expectations of perfectionist female success as "*very high achievers (2s) good grades all the time (1s) straight As*" (Anna, FGA2, 03:51). In turn, they were positioned through the neoliberal ideals of hard work and individual accountability. Anna spoke of the school's role in legitimising this subject position by validating certain ways of practicing the 'successful' girl; she commented that in assemblies pupils are told "*revise three hours a night (2s) like (1s) spread your revision out over the week (.) and (1s) just revise revise revise all week and stuff like that*" (Anna, FGA2, 06:51). Kara articulated a feeling of being '*pushed*' when positioned as a 'successful' girl. This positioning operates within (and is

reproduced by) the school as an institution of power in their lives. The location of power as separate from the individual appears to close down opportunities for accomplishment for Kara: *“pushing us to do all this revision...it’s (1s) a lot that they put on us”* (Kara, FGA2, 06:56). I would suggest that without conscious resistance, Kara has access to agentic practices which potentially serve as a protective mechanism, she commented on her behaviour, *“I give in”* (Kara, FGA2, 11:13) rather than on her sense of self, as discussed below.

In Anna’s utterance *“they don’t really do anything to (2s) like they get (.) they do the like (1s) boosters and stuff like that (.) but they don’t really do anything to like manage stress”* (Anna, FGA2, 02:24); she implies that the school has responsibility for managing the emotional well-being of pupils. Whilst she can recognise the lack of structural support in school, this ‘knowing’ does not seem to protect her from internalising a subject position of deficit; *“I get really stressed out when i’m like doing revision. I get really stressed out”* (Anna, FGA2 10:07) then later *“I feel like I’m not good enough”* (Anna, FGA2, 11:12). Anna’s statement speaks to the construction of self (i.e. I am not good enough); the emotional content of that experience that she calls *stress*, in literature is noted as shame which results from failing to perform the expected ‘way-of-doing’ girl effortlessly and independently. I will revisit the effects of shame on subjectivity later in this Chapter. Next, I explore gender difference as the divergent factor between Kara’s and Anna’s construction.

Reflective Box:

Anna’s comments about the emotional content of experiencing being ‘not good enough’ resonated with me. When I read the transcripts, I recall strongly identifying with her subjective reality on several occasions. Regarding point four of Georgaca and Avdi (2012), I consider my own ‘within-ness’ on constructing the social and psychological realities of girls and refute my findings as ‘truths’.

“...whereas girls we more put us heads down”

It remains to be explored whether the girls constructed school pressure through a postfeminist discourse; perhaps associated with gender difference but not perceived as unequal or sexist. The girls in FGA2 differed in their perception of a gendered difference in their experience of pressure. Anna uses ‘we’ as a rhetorical device to makes sense of her known experience of diligence as a necessary female characteristic which is absent from her construction of ‘doing boy’ under pressure in school:

“Boys mess about (1s) a lot more than girls do in classes (.) like my geography class I’ve just come from (.) there’s six girls in it (.) and it’s (.) the rest of them are just (.) boys who mess about (1s) shout and talk (.) hardly do anything (.) whereas girls we more put us heads down I think (.) yeah we’ll talk but (1s) we won’t mess about all lesson like boys do” (Anna, FGA2, 12:09)

Anna constructs the classroom behaviour of girls and boys as different, but not explicitly unfair or discriminatory for either sex. When I sought to explore this binary further, Kara resisted notions of gender difference by constructing an individual (e.g. you) experience through the discourse of individualisation. She commented:

“I think it can depend on (1s) what lesson you’re in (.) what teacher you have (.) and who you’re surrounded by (.) like (1s) if you’ve got a strickter teacher than you’re scared to play up cos you don’t know their reaction (.) or if you’ve got a teacher whose a bit more (.) like (.) quite chilled with you then (1s) you can push (.) if you get me” (Kara, FGA2, 12:37)

In her construction of experienced ‘pressure’, gender is not an issue; rather she references individual teacher practice to explain divergent classroom behaviour. For Kara, being a ‘chilled teacher’ is excusable, because they are likely to treat any pupil with lenience regardless of gender.

All the girls recognised their educational experiences being influenced by pressure and hard work. However, I suggest that they adopt divergent positions on gender differences. From my reading, Anna alluded to an experience of gender inequality but seemed unable to access a subject position which resisted the pressure placed on her to achieve perfection in academia; these forces outside her control combine to create a sense of self that is “not good enough”. Kara appears to have made sense of the pressure placed on her through a more neoliberal postfeminist lens, her experience is the result of individual differences rather than gender differences, which allowed her to ‘opt-out’ of academic pressure.

Reflective Box

This section of analysis arguably exemplifies Stage 1 (e.g. girl as academically pressured), Stage 2 (‘Successful Girl’, Ringrose, (2012), ‘perfectionism’ (Starley, 2019)), Stage 3 (the use of ‘you’ and ‘we’) Stage 4 (I’m not good enough) and Stage 5 (hard work, revise revise revise) of my procedural guidelines. This demonstrates the appropriateness of structuring the analysis through discursive strategy rather than a series of disjointed procedural stages.

I would argue that this approach provides a holistic account of how a discursive construction can locate a subject position and make available certain practices. Whilst I believe it adds to coherence, it was not straightforward and I routinely grappled with the inherent ‘messiness’ in trying to interweave the various procedural stages to produce a meaningful account. Necessarily, this required a process of multiple readings and re-draftings and the use of supervision.

“...I’ve got no time to do anything”

I was intrigued to hear how the construction of girls as academically pressured was navigated outside of the school institution and whether the causal structures of individualism or gender difference operated equivalently. This led to an interesting discussion where ‘time’ was constructed as a scarce resource and unruly ‘object’ which required boundarying. In keeping with previous research on ‘successful’ girls, they directly refer to the explicit requirement that they effortlessly juggle their academic, social, and family life (Ringrose and Walkerdine, 2007). Kara articulates this as “*they expect us to like (2s) take part in hobbies (1s) and go out and be social (2s) but then we have to revise beyond that and (.) have a wash and do homework (2s) it’s (1s) a lot that they put on us*” (Kara, FGA2, 06:56). Anna elaborates “*and then if you have like (.) family time (1s) either like watching TV (1s) having your dinner with family (1s) you haven’t got enough time to (1s) do it (.) like (.) I don’t know about you two but I go to bed at (2s) quarter to ten (.) ten o’clock and I haven’t got time (.) cos like when I get home it’s half four (1s) and if I’ve been (.) if I’ve stayed at school (1s) so then I’ve got no time to do anything*” (Anna, FGA2, 07:19). The girls both adopted ‘busyness’ as a subject position; Kara, in particular, emphasised the role of the individual, self-discipline and time management; “*You’ve just got to replace things (3s) like you can’t fit everything into a week (1s) you just can’t (.) can’t do it*” (Kara, FGA2, 20:20).

I was surprised to hear their accounts were so shaped by neoliberal discourses of autonomy, productivity and status (Bellezza et al., 2017); in both their school and private lives. It was implicit within all the girls’ talk that the responsibility for managing competing demands lay with themselves. I believe this presents a compelling argument for the role of education in shaping feminine subjectivities to be self-reliant, adept and productive subjects for the workplace. Later, they become women who can achieve everything ‘men can’ with enough hard work and self-discipline. I will revisit the notion of busyness, scarcity, and perfectionism when answering research question 2 later in this Chapter.

Being a Girl means...

“...nowadays there’s a lot of like women positivity”

This section explores the postfeminist assertion that girlhood can be constructed without the oppressions of a ‘sexed’ body (Butler, 1990) under misogynistic power systems. My findings indicate that the girls unanimously construct ‘doing’ girl as synonymous with practices to regulate and alter their bodies and physical appearance. What is of note, is the divergence in positions taken up, as either empowered subjects who practice ‘self-improvement’ and ‘confidence’, or compared subjects whose practices appear similar but allude to a wholly different subjectivity.

The findings suggest representations of femininity on social media were experienced positively when communicated through the discourse of 'health and aspiration', in keeping with literature such as Camacho-Miñano et al., (2019). A number of the girls used Instagram purposefully to gain information on physical workouts and diets, some specifically followed fitness accounts set up for women. In FGB2, Emily's experience of Instagram was a source of positivity; *"I think it's more positive (2s) than Snapchat (.) cos nowadays (1s) there's a lot of (.) like women positivity (2s) like they make (2s) their own accounts for like (1s) women (1s) or for like (3s) healthy eating and lifestyles (1s) like there's a lot more positive stuff on Instagram (2s) I don't (.) I don't really see negative things on Instagram"* (Emily, FGB2, 06:42). Kayla added that the imagery she saw representing women on Instagram *"inspires you to (2s) get up and (2s) go to the gym and look after your body"* (Kayla, FGB2, 11:49). My reading of the 'positivity' in their accounts is closer to the 'pressure' noted above; Emily and Kayla construct their bodies as deficient when compared to imagery used on Instagram. However, their subject position as willing and enthused participants opened up the language of 'self-improvement' and 'opportunity' to their experience (Camacho-Miñano et al., 2019). It is not my intention to undermine the girls' agency in how they respond to media messages by privileging my interpretation, rather I want to add to their perspective by exploring the discursive effects of the 'health and fitness' discourse used to fund an industry built on reproducing often doctored exaggerated images of femininity. I address this again in research question two.

... "we're always being compared to each other"

I was interested to hear the girls recognised some aspects of beauty practices or their image as socially policed. Jo remarked *"we're always being compared to each other"* (FGA1, 08:28) to which Anna responded:

"Like (2s) the stress of being like perfect all the time and making sure that you (2s) you look perfect (.) it's like (2s) the boys are like (1s) big boobs big bum and skinny waist and you feel like (.)really pressured because (1s) like I look at other people and compare myself to them (.) I don't know what people are going to think about me (2s) when they see someone else"
(Anna, FGA1, 08:33).

Jo and Anna both speak from a position that rendered them an object to be sculpted and consumed with hegemonic beauty ideals in mind. My reading of the text was particularly interested in the manner in which 'comparison' practices were present in their social realities, with reference to exaggerated femininity (i.e. big boobs, big bum, and skinny waist). For Anna, comparison practices demanded agentic active efforts to achieve such a body; she shared: *"I go to the gym (.) like every day with my friends (2s) and we will say(.) I'm working on my bum today I'm working on my bum today (2s) every day we try to change us selves (.) I don't think that they [boys] are the same to like (2s) compare themselves or to think they are like (3s) bad*

looking and stuff like that (.) but it's like (.) we want (2s) to look (2s) the (.) way (.) that (.) girls should look" (Anna, FGA1, 09:48). I hesitated over Anna's use of the word 'should'. In my reading, it not only implied the innateness of the standards she failed to meet but also betrayed the absence of choice. The feminine position is one of the passive object to be gazed upon, rather than the active agent 'doing' the gazing. I reflect on this point of subjectivity later in this Chapter.

Reflective Box

In the accounts of their bodies as projects and the role of social media in promoting "aesthetic labour" (Camacho-Miñano et al., 2019), I account for multiple complexities and contradictions in the data which opened up multiple Positions (girls as compared or as empowered). Georgaca and Avdi (2012) suggest the richness of detail and thorough grounding of the analysis in extracts enhances the quality of the research, which I hoped to achieve.

"...If you want to do it it's your choice"

The talk in FGB2 corroborates previous research on 'empowered' subjectivities which construct girls as requiring the 'know-how' to practice a 'healthy sexual identity' within the boundaries of acceptable femininity (McRobbie, 2007). As noted in the previous section, exaggerated femininity is inextricably linked to practices that render the self desirable with reference to hegemonic practices of masculinity. In FGB2, a discussion about social media prompted me to ask what needed to be considered when taking a 'good photo'. They immediately constructed good practice when representing themselves online as risk-aware; especially in the context of heterosexual interactions. Kayla explained, "*once you've put something out there (2s) then it's always going to be on that like (.) drive (2s) ... you may delete it so no others can see it (.) but (3s) the amount of people that will screen shot it (2s) and forward it everywhere*" (FGB2, 13:41). At this junction, the conversation moved to instances where girls had overstepped the acceptable boundaries of femininity by posting images of their bodies which were categorised as 'too revealing'. Such is the stigma around this practice, it was implicit between the girls that none of *them* had taken sexualised images and they appeared shocked when I asked if they had. Sam commented, "*well I'd just say (2s) compared to some other girls (.) like (2s) they just ((laugh)) put their bodies out there really*" (Sam, FGB2, 14:44) and "*I think it's fake*" (Kayla, FGB2, 14:51). Kayla warned, "*if that got spread round then people would be (.) look at you totally different (.) like (2s) you'd get called a slag (.) if it were a girl (.)*" (Kayla, FGB2, 15:51). 'Othering', as a rhetorical device, enabled the girls to remain in subject positions in which being a 'slag' or the girl who transgressed acceptable feminine performances was not possible. Psychologically distancing oneself from a social practice has a role in policing and punishing girls who are seen to violate the

boundaries of promiscuity. I suggest that this closes down positions from which girls can interrogate the sociocultural motivators for engaging in overt 'sexually empowered' practices.

Reflective Box:

Through supervision and re-reading my transcripts, I have noted there is a lack of references to intersections of identity (such as class and race) in the analysis. This is particularly a limitation here as the role of sexism, classism, and racism in the social process of 'othering' remains absent (Bettie, 2003).

On reflection, I consider this to be linked to my inexperience as a researcher. During our interactions, I undoubtedly felt uncomfortable directly questioning the girls on their class and race identifies and assumptions. I also discussed in supervision the decision I made (or, more accurately, didn't make) to ask the girls for their class or race identity. I come back to this in Chapter Seven, as a limitation of this project.

An interesting interaction opened up between Emily and Sam about the availability of empowerment. As an alternative to the 'othered' subject position, Emily evokes the neoliberal discourse of choice and empowerment to open up a hypothetical discussion:

"But then like (2s) if you uploaded photos like (.) of (2s) your body (2s) I feel like it could be positive too (.) like maybe (2s) I feel like people don't have as much confidence (3s) so if you were to post it (.) and maybe not completely nude (2s) but like a bit more fleshy (.) then you'd like (2s) but if you could say I'm not bothered what people are saying so I feel like would be better (.) because (2s) if you want to do it then it's your choice but for me personally (3s) I'd have to think no cos people will say something (3s) I don't want that happening (1s) but if I wasn't bothered (2s) then do you know what I mean" (Emily, FGB2, 16:25)

Emily implicitly troubles the notions of liberation and choice by questioning the conditional acceptance of girls' physical appearance. She suggests two caveats; either, girls must be positioned beyond the influence of hegemonic masculinity (i.e. *I'm not bothered what people are saying*) or their body is beyond reproach. Emily adopts neither position, her reluctance to represent her body on social media is due to the perceived shaming ramifications (i.e. *I'd have to think no cos people will say something*). It is evident to Emily that although girls supposedly have the choice to represent themselves however they want, they often do not choose to do so, for fear of ridicule and derision.

In response to this, Sam articulated her resistance through the supposed distinction between mind and body articulated by Budgeon (2003); in which femininity, associated with the body, is devalued. Sam comments:

"...I really wouldn't (2s) I'm quite (.) obviously a smart person and I don't do anything like that (.) I think (2s) it's (2s) stupid (.) and (2s) there's just some people who (.) just (.) who are willing to do that (2s) and I don't think (.) erm (.) it can get screen shotted to (.) like that's (2s) one thing and boys like (.) they get (4s)" (Sam, FGB2, 17:22).

The position Sam takes up does not allow 'rationality' and 'sexuality' to co-exist as two aspects of one girls' subjectivity. Sam's rejection of being seen as only a body is a rejection of broader objectification. Sam uses the familiarity of this binary between 'smart' and 'sexy' as a rhetorical strategy to establish herself as a 'smart girl' in opposition to the consensus of 'dumb girls' who subjugate themselves. Within the group, Sam assumes that her audience already accepts the 'smart-sexy' binary and any notion of empowerment gained from overt sexuality practices is occluded by references to stupidity and risk.

Postfeminism continues to represent new and dominant normative images of feminine beauty ideals demanded of girls which are ostensibly oppressive bodily practices (Tankard-Reist, 2010). The available positions and practices, I suggest, constrain girls' constructions of themselves. Understanding the constraints of Emily's 'liberation' due to body shame means exploring with her the social and cultural expectations enforced on women. To fully explore the issue of 'choice', girls must be equipped with a systemic and emancipatory pedagogy to raise critical awareness of the choices available to them. I address this further in research question two, later in this Chapter, as well as Chapter Six Implications for the practice of Educational Psychologists.

Reflective Box

As noted, I believe the analysis and interpretation are most coherent when the stages for procedural guidelines are presented simultaneously. In this section, I address aspects of Stages 4 (possible confidence), 5 (not posting revealing photos), and latterly 6 (subjective experience of shame). The interpretation is grounded in utility and real-world applicability of findings (point 5 of Georgaca and Avdi's criteria) and will be continued in Chapter Seven.

Being a Girl Means...

The following accounts of 'doing' girl in school evoked a discourse that was captured in fourth-wave feminist notions of objectification and harassment. They share aspects of the hegemonic masculinity practice noted in other discursive strategies but resonated with phenomena particularly linked to masculine authority and constructions of girls as powerless. I discuss the impact of school culture in relation to gendered inequalities which specifically problematise the notion of postfeminist gender difference. Within both focus groups, the girls constructed 'doing girl' in relation to school authority as linked to subject positions which diminished their agency, objectified and harassed them. I will also explore how the girls' tenuous use of feminist discourse made a shared language of inequality possible.

“...making sure you look perfect”

Lyn Mikel Brown (2003) suggests, “as girls move through childhood, the messages about what it means to be an acceptable girl come from everywhere, as do pressures to conform to an ideal beauty image” (p. 26). All the girls’ expressed a strong awareness of the pressure to adhere to acceptable girl “stereotypes”; including Kara, “*girls are supposed to have like long hair perfect (.) wear make-up and be super pretty*” (Kara, FGA1, 07:20). I was interested in how she staked out a divergent or ‘other’ subject position through her embodied resistance of gendered practices;

“but (.) if you haven’t noticed I’ve got short hair (1s) so I think that’s what makes me quite unique and different to a lot of girls so (.hhh) like (.) I’m maybe approached differently because of how I look (2s) and I think (.) it’s (1s) the way you dress (.) and the way you look kind of effect how somebody approaches you” (Kara, FGA1, 07:20)

As Kara points out, the way a girl ‘looks’ affects how people will ‘approach’ her; these comments suggest an awareness of the socially constructed ideal beauty image. Kara, somewhat knowingly, positions herself counter to dominant stereotypes by cutting her hair short. Thus, opening up a non-stereotypical positioning and resistance to constraining beauty ideals.

As noted, the girls reported practices such as comparing their appearance. However, here they discuss the role of boys in policing impossibly narrow standards of femininity. Dana said “*I think it’s worse for girls because (.) boys are sat there judging all day everyday*” (Dana, FGB1, 29:37) and “*girls just have to take it*” (Sam, FGB1, 29:45). Dana spoke of the ever-present threat from practices of hegemonic masculinity in her account of school “*one time you could just be sat in a lesson and a boy will come up to you and say oh you’re fat you’re ugly (.) I wouldn’t dare be you*” (Dana, FGB1, 29:46) and “*but then like you’ll go home and put it on your snapchat story (.) ranting or something (.) and something and they’ll pop up and say like ha ha (.) you’re so stupid (.) I wouldn’t dare put it on my story (2s) and they’ll apologise like two days later*” (Dana, FGB1, 29:56). The analysis makes links between the already noted pressure to look perfect and comparison to social media imagery with the policing of these standards in their empirical reality. The rise of social networking (e.g. Instagram) circulates impossible ideals as an everyday part of young adolescent life. In FGA2, Kara comments “*like if you saw somebody on the street (.) you’re not gonna (.) like fully (2s) analyse what you’re looking at (1s) whereas on social media they can’t see that you’re looking at it*” (Kara, FGA2, 41:31), followed by Anna “*recently I’ve got really bad with (.) comparing myself to other people (2s) I’m very bad for it now (1s) I just compare myself to anyone who I think is better than me (.) cos I’m (4s) I wouldn’t say scared (.) but I worry (.) quite a bit of not being (3) enough (.) so*

I always feel that I want to look like someone who is better (.) who is (5) yeah (Anna, FGA2, 42:08). The structures which reproduce hegemonic narrow beauty ideals operated pervasively in the practices of adolescent girls. I revisit how this threat from boys and social media shapes the girls' subjectivities later in this Chapter, however below I discuss more explicitly how this phenomenon was understood as an empirical embodiment of hegemonic masculinity.

The 'popular' boys

The notion of popularity and culturally incentivised behaviour resonated in all the focus groups. Anna reflected that the comparison and surveillance practices spoken of previously were not enacted equally across all male peers; rather *"I also feel like it's the popular boys who talk about it (1s) than the unpopular boys"* (Anna, FGA1, 14:09). Kara more explicitly references the link between hegemonic masculinity as means of reproducing boy's dominance over girls through socially rewarded behaviour; *"if one boy starts saying something about another (1s) girl and that makes him well-liked by other boys (1s) then obviously lots of others are going to do the same (.) ... if it makes them look good for it then obviously (.) that other boy is going to try and do the same to (.) work his way up"* (Kara, FGA1, 15:07). The girls in FGB1 discussed how hegemonic gender performances constrain boys, Elisa comments *"it takes a lot (1s) a lad a lot longer to open up because (1s) then they feel like (.) if they open up too quickly it makes them look eager (3s) I dunno"* (Elisa, FGB1, 09:56). To which Emily responded *"they've gotta reputation for being strong haven't they"* (Emily, FGB1, 10:05) and Elisa was able to introduce the notion of girls' complicity in policing hegemonic masculinity *"if that (1s) if for example (.) if they open up to a girl (1s) and that girl goes and tell all the lads (.) all the lads make fun of him for it"* (Elisa, FGB1, 10:09). The girls appeared to recognise this social constraint on male performance and the terms under which boy are allowed to soften:

Dana: *They act like they don't care but [they really do]*

Kayla: *[I think (1s)] they act different in school than they do on [messages]*

Elisa: *[Oh my god] on their own they're so much (.) different to round their mates*

Kayla: *Like if you're on messages (.) they're nice to you (.) little cuties*

Elisa: *Yeah they're actually so cute on message and then you see them and like (1s) what you being so different for*

(FGB1, 10:40-10:57)

Their account suggests that the causal mechanism which enables hegemonic masculinity to thrive in institutes of power, such as schools, is less able to operate during interactions in virtual reality. 'Messaging', in contrast to the circulation of imagery, becomes a practice in which girls and boys are less constrained by hegemonic masculinity and the strict requirement they adhere to and police restrictive gender roles.

“...I have had a male teacher touch my skirt”

The girls in FGB1 discussed the ways of ‘doing’ girl in school during interactions with male figures of authority. Their position as a girl is heavily informed by navigating the practices of teachers which are legitimised by the school as an institution. Elisa begins by saying “*do you know what I think is proper weird (2s) when er (1s) a lad teacher tells you off for your skirt*” (Elisa, FGB1, 21:02). Elisa’s experience is immediately validated by Kayla “*Yeah (2s) it’s really weird*” (Kayla, FGB1, 21:06). Elisa clarifies that in addition to ‘lad teachers’ telling her off, she has been subject to unwanted touch “*...and I have had a male teacher touch my skirt*” (Elisa, FGB1, 21:07). In the group space, sharing their experiences served to validate each other’s discomfort and created the possibility of a shared language and collective viewpoint. The success of Elisa asking the group a rhetorical question rests, perhaps without conscious thought, on the girls engaging in typically feminine practices such as listening, empathising and sharing. By constructing themselves within the group as such, subject positions linked to innate female empathy and nurture open up. A few moments after this interaction, Sam, who up till this point had been quiet, contributes:

Sam: ... they [school] care a lot more about boys (.)

Cross Talk: yeah they do

Sam: So, for instance, I’d use rugby (.) they put boys before anyone (.) and say that’s a prime example right there ((points to poster on the wall)) (.) I don’t understand why girls aren’t there as well (.)

(FGB1, 26:20-26:28)

Sam points to a poster in which the total of ‘final’ matches reached by the girls’ team and boys’ team are displayed. Despite the girls reaching more finals, the poster prominently displays only one photo of the boys’ team.

Sam: like at an event they let the boys do what they want (.) and I think it’s fair to have the back seat (.) you know sometimes girls want to go there but boys proper shove you (.) they just let boys off with everything and it’s just like (.) sexist and it’s obvious what they’re doing

Ellen: Yeah (.) it’s obvious what the boys are doing or obvious what school are doing

Sam: I think it’s both (.) they let boys off a lot more with everything

(FGB1, 27:09-27:39)

Sam becomes the first person to explicitly use the language of feminism, by calling out the “sexist” complicit practices in school which allow boys to dominate girls, be more visible and dictate male spaces.

Reflective Box

I suggest this section exemplified Stage 3 of my procedural guidelines (Action Orientation) in that I analyse the function of naturally occurring discussion within the immediate discursive context. The quality of the analysis is enhanced by allowing the reader to judge the quality of the extract by situating it in the discursive context from which it was taken (criteria 2, Georgaca and Avdi's, 2012).

Following on from Elisa's experience of male teachers, Kayla states:

"I don't think it's right (1s) I feel like if you're getting done for your skirts (.) I feel like (2s) it should be (.) like (2s) women teachers (2s) because (2s) it just (1s) makes you feel a bit (2s) awkward in some way (.) and it's just like (2s) why (.) why are you actually (2s) coming up to me and (2s) feeling my skirt" (Kayla, FGB1, 21:15)

The girls' account includes vague language, such as "really weird" and "it's not right", without being able to name objectification or sexual harassment in their experience. The comment above suggests that it is not the practice of policing adolescence bodies, nor the practices of particular male teachers, which is 'weird'. Rather, the girls account indicates that there is something inherently sexual in the policing of the body by the opposite sex. Absent from this discussion is their sense of agency or action, at no point do they negotiate a practice that actively responds to being the target of male touch or gaze. The patriarchal power of institutional authority closes down their ability to construct agentic subjectivities. Dana goes on to hypothesise about how the legitimised practices of male teachers may influence the hegemonic masculine subjectivity of their male peers; she wonders:

"I think if a male teacher (1s) tell you to wipe your make-up off (.) or (2s) tells you to (2s) pull (2s) your skirt down or tells you to get a different skirt (2s) it's making you think that (.) other boys will think that way about you as well as the teacher" (Dana, FGB1, 21:52)

Dana speculates that hegemonic practices by males in authority serve to construct femininity as subordinate to the wants and needs of masculinity. The girls have learned that their bodies are subject to control and surveillance in response to the male gaze. The example below speaks to how hegemonic masculinity operated in school culture to legitimise boys' practices.

"You can't win (.) whatever you do (1s) there's something wrong"

A strategy used by male peers to use sexual terms to shame and control girl's bodies was remarked upon, *"it's also clothing too (1s) like (.) if you wear a certain type of clothing (1s) say for instance (.) you wear a short (.) like erm short shorts (2s) you get like (.) called a slag (2s) like a skirt (2s) but if you like (.) wear (1s) if you wear (.) different type of things (.) you get called (.) like (1s) a lesbian and everything"* (Sam, FGB1, 13:39). Elisa reflects Sam's frustration by summarising *"so (1s) you can't win (.) whatever you do (1s) there's something*

wrong” (Elisa, FGB1, 13:57). Sam and Elisa directly refer to what Currie et al., (2007) call the “no-win situation” when they talk of the double standards that position girls as either “sluts” if they pay too much attention to their appearance, or “lesbians” if they don’t (p.194). The talk of ‘lesbian’ suggests an imposition of an ‘asexual identity’ (in normative heterosexual interactions) given to them by “*the more popular boys*” (Emily, FGB1, 14:15). They become entirely excluded from ‘being’ girl if their appearance deviates from prescribed norms, “*if you wear trousers (1s) you want to be a boy*” (Dana, FGB1, 13:59) and Elisa reflects comments such as “*do you not want to show yourself off (1s) why don’t you want to show yourself off (1s) do you not think you look good (1s) and you wear another (1s), ah you’re too (1s) you think too much of yourself*” (Elisa, FGB1, 14:02). The practice of doing girl is conflated with being consumed. Following this, I asked the girls whether this impacted on their lives in school; they responded:

Kayla: *Makes you nervous*

Dana: *It lowers (1s) girls’ self-esteem and stuff*

Elisa: *It’s like (1s) I understand why you have a uniform at school (1s) because (.) you would get judged on actually anything you wore (1s) like (.) there’s even a thing going round at the moment (.) cos lasses at the moment (.) are just putting their hair up (.) in like messy buns (.) and messy ponies (2s) and then we’re assumed to not care about us appearance (1s) and then we look like (1s) I’ve heard people (.) call people tramps (1s) because (.) apparently (.) cos we don’t care what we look like (.) but (1s) it’s like (1s) why should you care*

Dana: *Boys don’t care about what they look so [why do we]*

Sam: *[Exactly]*

Elisa: *Why should we have to care about us hair in the morning*

Sam: *What’s more concerning is waking up early in the morning to do that*

Elisa: *EXACTLY (1s) shove it up (.) its school (1s) it’s not like a prom or anything (.) CALM DOWN*

(FGB1, 16:00-16:46)

This very much speaks to my earlier interest in their constructions of beauty practices as socially constructed; Elisa captures this by beginning to say “and then we look like” before she retracts and rephrases “I’ve heard people call people tramps” to better reflect that this is something socially constructed and policed. Their collective validation of the double standards appears to reduce its potency within the group dynamic, despite recognising that their well-being (i.e. self-esteem) is diminished by how their appearance is policed. Their exclamations of ‘exactly’ reflected a ‘light bulb’ moment where they could vent their frustration at being always ‘visible’ to masculinity.

“I’d rather be invisible”

Whilst the example above captured something of resistance, the account described below reflects how differently hegemonic masculinity operates in school under slightly different circumstances. I interpreted this as an example of how Dana’s hypothesis (page 62) has

played out in the embodied practices of boys. Jo constructed 'girl' as being "compared" and "talked about";

"Yeah (.) like when I'm in engineering (.) I've just come out of (3s) cos you hear them talk about it a lot (.) sometimes they do forget that there's a lass in that class (.) so they'll have proper boy talk and you'll hear them talking about (2s) lasses and comparing them" (Jo, FGA1, 11:42).

Jo went on to say "*and you'll hear them talking about other stuff as well ((laughs))*" (Jo, FGA1, 12:13), when I asked to her elaborate she remained silent but laughed nervously and eventually said, "*it's like (3s) like (4s) a lot of stuff like (2s) stuff that boys (2s) do (3s) yeah*" (Jo, FGA1, 12:22). Jo appeared visibly uncomfortable whilst sharing this experience. What is particularly interesting here, is the context of the interaction of which Jo speaks, an Engineering classroom with one girl and the rest boys. It is possible to speculate about the interrelated factors which enable hegemonic masculinity to operate pervasively. Engineering forms one aspect of the STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Maths) subjects that are traditionally male-dominated. Discourse analysis of STEM syllabi suggests that power and gender are reinforced through identified discourses within the curriculum (Parson, 2016). Rather than 'forgetting' there was a girl in the classroom, I suggest boys are conditioned to construct such spaces as 'male' and sites where hegemonic masculinity practices (such as boy talk) are legitimised. This institutionally reinforced context provides a foundation to legitimise the practices of boys in objectifying girls and closing down opportunities for Jo to feel or act. She confirms this by describing her available practice as far less agentic than the boys; "*I've kind of just got used to it (.) like its (.)like(.) over time you just learn to block it out (2s) so like when they talk about it now it just (.) doesn't bother me (.) I just get on with my work and ignore it all*" (Jo, FGA1, 12:45). Whilst Jo recognises empirical aspects of this event, she does not have the language to fully articulate or emotionally respond to the experience. I have drawn on feminist ideas of sexist classroom practices to give language to the mechanisms which operate to produce inequality.

Reflective Box

On reflection, this extract exemplifies my attention to my role in constructing the data (see point 4 in Georgaca and Avdi's criteria) in that there are many ways in which an ambiguous phrase, such as "other stuff", could be interpreted. To me, Jo clearly felt uncomfortable when I pressed her to elaborate and so I interpreted this as an event or object which whilst unnamed, held meaning and power. In this way, I acknowledge the critical realist nature of my interpretations of unseen structural power and I demonstrate rigor in my thinking and the process of knowledge production within this research.

The Engineering lesson is constructed as a location in which conversations classed as "boy talk" and "comparing lasses" are legitimised. Given Jo's lack of options to enact resistance to

this (i.e. teachers are complicit by their absence from her account), one cannot but conclude that Jo sees her place in the world as powerless. Later in the discussion, Anna eloquently seeks to empathise with Jo's perspective; *"If I were in XXX's class and I were hearing stuff (.) I'd think like (.) oh am I not good enough then (.) am I (2s) not enough and (2s) stuff like that"* (Anna, FGA1, 14:10). Rather than position practices underpinned by hegemonic masculinity as 'not good enough' and resist them, Anna acknowledges that she would most likely internalise the discomfort caused by objectification and dominance. I would argue that Jo's psychological reality is shaped by the shame of not being 'enough'. Her available response is to shrink out of sight, lest she become a target of ridicule, she later comments:

"I'd rather be invisible cos then I don't have people staring at me(.) like comparing me (2s) I'd rather just (.) stay back and just not (.) be seen" (Jo, FGA1, 27:18).

What Jo says has significant implications for the development of feminine subjectivities. As Jo learned what performance was expected of her in the classroom (to be silent and invisible, Brown, (1998)), she learned to silence any anger felt at realising her subordinate position with the classroom (and wider society). As Brown argues, "without anger there is no impetus to act against any injustice done to [girls]. If we take away girls' anger, then, we take away the foundation for women's political resistance" (1998, p. 13). I revisit this later in this Chapter with reference to research question two.

What is also of interest in this account is the positioning Kara takes up which constructs Jo's experience as natural and inevitable. She comments, *"I think (.) every lad has got something to say about a girl in (.) every lesson (.) its unavoidable (.) cos that's always going to be the most common talk you're going to hear in a school (1s) it's either that or sport (2s) so it's like(.) it's just something that you hear every day that (.) it's gone on for so long (2s) it's just natural"* (Kara, FGA1, 13:06). Kara normalises talk which objectifies and diminishes girls' value. By doing that, she erases misogyny's powerful influence from her view of the world, dictating and reproducing subordinate feminine subjectivities. Kara goes on to say *"personally I don't think it causes a problem at all (.) but it's when they take it too far to a (.) stage where it's going to offend other girls"* (Kara, FGA1, 13:44). I suggest this is an example of where girls take an active role in reproducing the misogynistic rhetoric which robs them of collective action. She acknowledges that there is a *"too far"* but the abstractness of this concept makes reaching this threshold difficult. Any critique of sexism or misogyny could be constructed as 'complaining' or 'playing the victim' if it fails to reach the threshold. I argue Kara's construction of 'doing girl' as stoically and determinedly navigating misogyny is postfeminist because it implicitly refutes or dismisses inequality as an individual weakness (i.e. if a girl is offended it is because she is

easily offended). Therefore, to be a feminist is to be judged as being “removed from the world rather than engaging with it” (Ahmed, 2017, p. 38). Feminist accounts are dismissed as sensationalising the matters of fact.

Reflective Box:

Of interest was the way I felt positioned by Kara, in terms of my own evolving identity as feminist, and whether this whole project was indeed ‘sensationalising the matters of fact’. I felt a little disappointed and frustrated with Kara that she did not feel this mattered as much as I did.

On reflection, I think it is a sign of the quality of the research that Kara was able to profess her viewpoint (*‘I don’t think it causes a problem at all’*) seemingly without adapting it for me, a feminist researcher. This point refers to criteria 2, accounting for inconsistency and disagreement in data (Georgaca and Avdi 2012)

So far, Chapter Four has illustrated how girls engage with discourses to open up and constrain opportunities for talk, thought and practice. I have also demonstrated how, in their navigation of dominant discourse, they have constructed contradictory practices by drawing on counter discourses. I will now illustrate how the navigation of positions and practices contained in discursive strategies shape girls’ gendered identity and sense of self in school.

RQ2: How do girls use, navigate and resist dominant discourses to shape ‘being’ girl and their sense of self in school?

The table below represents each discursive strategy noted in research question one, I will now discuss the role it plays in shaping subjectivity or ‘being’ girl and their sense of self in school.

Research Question 2: How do girls use, navigate, and resist dominant discourses to shape ‘being’ girl and their sense of self in school?	
Participant Discursive Strategies	Participant Subjectivities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● being a girl means, “everyone’s got a snakey side” ● being a girl means, “some girls are different” 	The ‘Mean’ Girl The ‘Unemotional’ Girl
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● being a girl means, “they’re always pushing you to be the best” ● being a girl means, “i’ve got no time to do anything” 	The ‘Pressured’ Girl

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • being a girl means, “nowadays there’s a lot of women positivity” • being a girl means, “if you want to do it it’s your choice” 	<p>The ‘Empowered’ Girl The ‘Compared’ Girl</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • being a girl means, “making sure you look perfect” • being a girl means, “I have had a male teacher touch my skirt” • being a girl means, “you can’t win” • being a girl means “I’d rather be invisible” 	<p>The ‘Powerless’ Girl</p>

The Mean Girl

The postfeminist discourse of relational indirect aggression resonated with all the girls. The findings corroborate previous developmental literature on relational aggression through the apparent innateness of subject positions taken up by the girls (Crick and Grotpeter, 1995). The findings seem to suggest that meanness is most able to operate in the institution of ‘high school’ because many of the girls view it as an innate quality that dictates their way of being with one another. In this way, the findings are congruous with much of the literature on girlhood and relational aggression. Their adoption of biological determinism provides a window into their world view on indirect aggression and gender relations. Of note was the presence of a developmental discourse of relational aggression, used to not only legitimise existing gender binaries but also monitor and police the gendered subjectivities of one another.

The findings around ‘being’ a girl in close and trusting friendships was a point of divergence from much of the literature on indirect and relational aggression. Within these relationships, the innateness of meanness could not operate; they found a way of being dependable and agentic with one another. A subjective identity that was much more desired than that of the psychological bully. There seemed to be an experience of safety in their trusting friendships, which was in contrast to the vulnerability and need to protect the self connoted by meanness. In these spaces, similarly to social media ‘messaging’, more positive ways of being with one another became a part of their social and psychological reality.

The Unemotional Girl

As I have shown previously, the stories of girls’ aggression constitute the multiple complex and contradictory ways of being with others in school. They indicate that many of their social

interactions are constrained by the available ways of 'being' girl which make relational aggression a normative 'right of passage'. However, as with their use of all discourses, the girls found contradictions in spaces that enabled a different sense of self to emerge.

In my analysis, I suggested that developmental psychology and biological determinism were used as a means of mitigating the 'bitchiness' they owned as part of their identity. These discourses were also found in their construction of girls' as emotionally literate and introspective. In the absence of a formal pedagogy by which they'd learned their competence, the girls constructed a subjectivity in which it was innate. The innateness of girls internalising and repressing their emotions is linked to a psychological reality in which being non-confrontational and 'likeable' is key. The discussion allowed for a range of emotional experiences of girls but they agreed on their tendency to experience emotions dominantly as cognitive experiences (i.e. over-thinking) than overt messy behavioural displays, reflecting the requirement for an unemotional way of being. Girls are expected to know of emotion, well enough to be able to control and manipulate one's own and others. This, I suggest, was more successfully critiqued by the girls in FGB1 who also discussed girls' well-being. The girls in FGB1 did not construct a worldview in which their emotional experience was naturally repressed and reflective, they grasped at the socially imposed and constraining nature of the gender performance for their psychological reality. The girls experienced their emotions as being silenced (rather than naturally internalised) by boys, a phenomenon noted in literature (such as Radke et al., 2016; Zuckerman, 2019). By resisting the inevitability and certainty of the discourse, the girls rejected perceptions of them as irrational and over-emotional and took up subjectivities in which their experience (emotions and thoughts) were valid but silenced.

The Pressured Girl

The discourse of academic pressure presented as significant for the girls in FGA. The school institution played a role in maintaining the discourse and operationalising its power. However, the girls' accounts diverged from the literature available and from one another, in the subjective worldview their positioning and practices made available to them.

Neoliberalism and postfeminism theorise academia in girlhood as categorised by opportunity, freedom and choice; the current findings constructed academic success as '*pressure*' to perform self-governance, surveillance and self-discipline (Jóhannsdóttir, 2018). This presents a divergent experience to some poststructural feminist literature which suggests that successful girls, at least in part, construct their lives as "highly individualised projects infused with freedom and personal choice" (Pomerantz and Raby, 2011, p. 561). The findings suggest that one of the most significant factors for subjectivity in the academic pressure discourse was

being able to identify and access autonomy. Throughout most of the analysis, Kara presented herself as a postfeminist subject; she recognised the experience of pressure in her psychological reality but understood it to operate without the imposition of gender difference. Kara positioned the causal mechanism behind her experience of pressure as being located in individual teacher practice, rather than gender inequality. By not viewing academic pressure as a gendered performance, I speculate she felt less personal investment to conform to such an identity despite the negative psychological impact. As such, she resisted harmful practices which enabled her to protect her subjective sense of self in education. Anna, however, drew on notions of innate feminine diligence to account for her performance in school and at home; and saw gender difference as the mechanism underlying academic pressure. I suggest that by constructing girls as innately hardworking, gendered expectations were able to operate in her experience of pressure resulting in her subjective experience of being 'not good enough' as she continued to 'fail' to measure up (Cutright, 2014). I will explore further the phenomenon of 'not enough' with reference to psychological theories of 'perfectionism' in shaping the subjectivities of girls in school.

I analysed these findings in the context of recent research on a cultural phenomenon known as the 'Culture of Scarcity', which suggests that busyness and overwork, rather than leisure and material goods, have become a type of status symbol in the modern workplace (Bellezza et al., 2017). Contemporary writers on scarcity acknowledge it thrives in cultures where individuals are collectively aware of 'lack' (Cutright, 2014). The findings indicate that schools, as institutions of power, create 'lack' through the absence of provision to support the well-being of girls, as noted in FGA2. Causal mechanisms operate through school policies that reduce access to material resources such as intervention groups, well-being support, and tutorials, which in turn, reduce access to perceptual resources such as time, safety and security (Barker and Blower, 2017). As noted in poststructural feminist writing, it is the goal of neoliberalism to construct the worldview of workers through characteristics such as independence and autonomy. I note that Kara, as a postfeminist subject, views her academic and social roles as achievable if she takes responsibility for managing and boundarying time through self-discipline.

I would suggest Anna, most vocally, experienced external pressures from a subjective position of deficiency. The focus on the external location of pressure brought to mind literature on 'perfectionism', specifically that of Dawn Starley (2019). Starley delineates perfectionism into three sub-categories, of paramount interest here is socially prescribed perfectionism (SPP). SPP, she contends, reflects a worldview from which others are perceived as demanding exceptionally "high standards or expectations" (Starley, 2019, p. 127). The current findings

suggest that for some adolescent girls, their subjectivities are positioned by SPP despite acknowledging the impossibility of such pressure. Anna, in particular, embodies “a desire to be perfect, fear of imperfections being seen as evidence of personal defects, and an emotional conviction that such imperfections make one personally unacceptable” (Greenspon, 2014, p.986). She continued to experience *struggle* as *failure* to meet multiple demands of the perfect grades, perfect life and perfect body. Brene Brown suggests that a culture of scarcity creates subjectivities for girls (and women) in which they feel ‘never enough’ and experience shame centred on being unable to measure up to their multiple and competing roles (Brown, 2006; Cutright, 2014). I readdress the notion of SPP in more detail in Chapter Six where it has implications for EP practice. Suffice to say, the intersections of environmental influences, systemic reproduction and prevalence amongst adolescent children (Starley, 2019), make it relevant in this study and for EP practice.

The Empowered Girl

The girls in FGB2 uniquely adopted the discourse of ‘health and fitness’ as a postfeminist vehicle for empowered subjectivities. My findings are congruous with research portraying Instagram as a form of pedagogy aiding the know-how to align one's body with narrow and restrictive beauty norms (Camacho-Miñano et al., 2019). I noted the divergence between the girls’ interpretation of their experiences and my interpretation of their talk. The girls spoke of freely choosing their participation in available beauty practices (Stuart and Donaghue, 2012). Whereas, I heard them being systematically taught to see themselves as agents only in their capacity to actualise as objects of masculine desire. As Mulvey puts it, “women are simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact” (Mulvey, 1989, p.19). Longitudinal research has found that “body dissatisfaction exacerbated the effect of perfectionism” (Boone et al., 2014, p. 416). As noted above, the pressure for perfection (and what perfection looks like) was located in external power systems, such as Instagram. Arguably, adolescent girls occupy social, economic and cultural positions which offer them very little ‘power’ to self-advocate against external causal mechanisms that underpin incentivised and normalised exaggerated femininity. This has implications for their available ‘choices’ based on intrinsic power inequalities. The power of the discourse of ‘body as a project’ (as referred to in the girl’s views of social media) is tied to the sexualisation of women (Walter, 2010). The dissonance between what is experienced, as choice and liberation driven by the individual, and what it theorised, as perfectionism and sexual objectification driven by powerful industries, is a point of interest. The findings suggest this dissonance shapes subjectivities in which the girls are not seen (or see themselves) to need pedagogy around critical awareness, aesthetic labour practices and perfectionism.

When considering 'empowered' subjectivities, I was interested in the girls' experienced agency in their navigation of their developing sense of self and identity, in particular their awareness of their positionality to incentivised and normalised exaggerated femininity. There were examples of a rejection of dominant feminine culture enmeshed with the girls' developing identities, through discourses of 'individuality' and 'authenticity'. Kara and Jo (from FGA) in particular represented subjectivities which were formed as a result of conscious positioning 'at odds' with dominant ways of being which felt incongruous with their personal interests and values. The girls spoke of rehearsing their new identities, Kara commented "*I wanted my hair short for quite a long time but when I did get it short(.) I think it just made me feel more comfortable about myself so*" (Kara, FGA, 08:11) and Jo "*out of school I am (.) like (1s) sort of like really gothy (1s) and stuff (1s) so I follow stuff like that (2s) clothing (.) like to do with that*" (Jo, FGA2, 29:55). It is interesting to consider that fundamental to both girls' practices was changes to their physical appearance. However, I considered the girls' negotiation of their divergent identity, in contrast to incentivised ways of being, a point of difference.

Kara spoke of her new identity as "*quite unique and different to a lot of girls*" (Kara, FGA1, 07:20), she later comments "*I've been friends with friends from primary all the way up to this year (1s) and it was this year they changed (2s) it (3s) personally I think it were better for me that they changed (2s) because I don't want to hang around people who don't like me for who I am*" (FGA1, 22:47). Again, for Kara resistance to the ways girls' 'should' look and behave is enmeshed with the experience of authenticity and congruous selfhood; "*once I've started actually be me (2s) rather than someone I'm not (1s) that's how (2s) they've decided they don't like me (1s) so*" (FGA1, 23:42). Kara explicitly notes the incentivised ways of doing and being girl in her understanding of the loss of friendships "*they've met everyone else (1s) that's when they've changed (.) they've tried to (2s) work their way towards these other people to be somebody that they're not*" (FGA1, 24:11). Kara's sense of self appears to be inextricably linked to her experience of agency and resistance to incentivised femininity, in her account the cost of friendship appears to be an inevitable but necessary loss.

Jo, alternately, appeared to acknowledge a greater level of compromise or negotiation in her emergent 'goth' identity. Her account particularly references a practice that she engages in 'outside of school'. Jo's subjectivity in school has already been noted to be shaped by an experience of invisibility and smallness; Jo's identity practices appear to be contingent on her experienced need to maintain a non-confrontational and less visible persona whilst in school. Jo is required to balance the importance of congruousness with one's self alongside her need to avoid being a subject of exclusion and derision. I believe this subjectivity is one in which her adoption of an alternative identity is less grounded in conscious resistance to dominant femininity. Whilst this subjectivity provides an example of the multiplicity and fluidity required

of girls' identities, I do not consider it an agentic and critical response to discourse. Jo successfully balances her own authenticity without disrupting norms and expectations of normative femininity.

The 'Compared' Girl

The broad postfeminist discourse of 'empowerment' was a prominent feature in the girls' understanding of what it means to 'be' a girl. As were the cultural incentives to embody exaggerated femininity and risk-assess the imagery used to portray it (see Renold and Ringrose, 2008). The intersections of sexual empowerment and objectification are constituted in the interactions and practices of hegemonic masculinity, reproduced in patriarchal institutions such as schools (Charles, 2010b). As I have discussed, the task of the analysis was to add to the empirical perspective of the girls, by theorising the causal mechanisms which underpin incentivised identities making them more available as a 'choice' than other identities. The findings reflected fractured and contradictory ways of experiencing the interaction of their body with their social and psychological worlds. As noted, Kara positioned herself outside the idealised and exaggerated vision of femininity (i.e. big bum, big boobs and a small waist) through her embodiment of perceived resistant beauty practices (i.e. cutting her hair short). Her position gave her access to a way of being in which she experienced her value not to be judged based on those criteria. Kara's sense of self in school was much less about being subjugated through patriarchal hierarchical practices, such as comparison and surveillance.

The findings corroborated research from Riley and Scharff (2013), who suggest that girls' way of being in and seeing the world continue to be dominated by a central focus on disciplining, governing and fixing their sexualised body. The findings suggest that being a girl is constructed with having an obligation to commit (scarce) time and resources to 'aesthetic labour'; a term coined by Elias et al., (2017) to describe the practices to achieve the body and appearance of exaggerated femininity. Furthermore, the findings also corroborate an experience of aesthetic labour which is devoid of enjoyment or even functionality (Camacho-Miñano et al., 2019). Rather, Anna's use of the word '*should*' highlighted there was something inherently wrong or 'other' about her body which did not belong with the images and expectations of 'girl' she is exposed to. Research has suggested that girls' perceived worth and potential for happiness is dependent on their ability to be categorised as desirable (Carey et al., 2011). The subjective experience of shame acts as a catalyst for her gendered practices such as self-comparison and working out at the gym which, in turn, reproduce postfeminist discourse of self-discipline and hard work.

Powerless Girl

In answer to research question one, I touched upon how discursive strategies in response to hegemonic masculinity shape girls' sense of self. The findings suggest that girls were most able to articulate inequality, harassment and objectification in response to their school institution and the practices legitimised by it. Specifically, the practices of others appeared to directly close down their access to agency and power. The findings highlight that while schools may have gender equality policies in place, and would, therefore, be assumed not to overtly allow harassment or sexism; the restrictive gender roles enacted within remain impervious to change.

The girls explicitly referenced the dilemmatic quality of girlhood when they spoke of the policing of their bodies by male teachers and peers. The strength of their feelings about the controlling practices of masculinity and their powerlessness within the school was evident. This conversation was particularly important in galvanising a collective viewpoint and shared perspective, which within the group dynamics did have an 'empowered' quality. The social process of sharing and validating each other's experiences served to open up the appearance of connection and togetherness. It is worth noting the potential, then, that group spaces have for collective agency, it was apparent that the girls did not experience themselves in this dilemma as vulnerable or "passive dupes in need of rescuing" (Charles, 2012, p. 10) but they had no suggestions as to how they might respond to such contradictory messages and double standards. I suggest there is a need to explore ways of educating with and for girls collectively, and as Walter (2010) suggests "girls need renewed leadership from one another, or role models, to be encouraged into seeing themselves as valued for more than their sexiness" (p. 81).

The girls in FGB1, in particular, illustrated the impossibility for the self; navigating the contradictory expectations under hegemonic masculinity and postfeminism. The girls' way of 'being' in school was constrained by the direct violations of their body and space when they are constructed as transgressing the normalised boundaries of femininity. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to profess a thorough understanding of Feminist phenomenology, however, I believe that attention to the contradictory nature of girls' lived-experiences in school offers an interesting perspective on the findings. Feminist research reflecting on the works of R. D. Laing (The Divided Self is of particular relevance) warns of an increasing medicalisation of understandable responses to living through patriarchal and misogynistic power structures (Tonkin, 2019). The British Psychological Society (BPS) claims that categorising these experiences as 'mental health' illnesses misses the "relational context of problems and the

undeniable social causation of many such problems" (BPS, 2011, p. 4). This perspective bridges this research with the findings published by the DfE (2019b) and Patalay and Fitzsimons (2018) which professes to highlight a crisis in mental health and well-being for adolescent girls. I consider the contribution of this research as being to highlight the difficulty for girls shaping a sense of self and worthiness in a contradictory space which is "almost impossible for young women to inhabit" (Griffin et al., 2013, p. 184). The two accounts above demonstrate that, despite the advances towards gender equality, the girls in the study still perceived that they were more confined and less powerful in their social roles than boys, and feminist initiatives must address this (Jóhannsdóttir, 2018).

Reflective Box:

I consider this discourse incredibly important when considering girlhood in education. I think it links back to my motivations for embarking on this research, and the contradictory nature of my observations about girlhood and education. The opportunities and constraints of girlhood, in the hands of patriarchal power systems, highlights the 'problem' with being a girl rather than anything innate about girlhood itself.

I noted that Kara, in particular, used postfeminism as a strategy to avoid placing blame for the inequalities around her (Pomerantz et al., 2013). I consider her subjectivity to be shaped by a rejection of the feminist roles of agitator, misfit, pest, and killjoy (Ahmed, 2017). This way of seeing harassment and surveillance of her peers reduces it to "part of the course of growing up a girl" (Dobson, 2015, p.150). This makes agitating or questioning practices maintained by patriarchal institutions difficult, because to resist what is seen as routine or commonplace is to be seen to "protest, whine, and asks for special treatment rather than dealing with their problems" (Pomerantz et al., 2013, p. 203). In this way, it is possible to understand why the central arguments of feminism, which require one to accept one's identity as subjugated or oppressed by misogyny, could be incompatible with a subjectivity such as Kara's. Theorists, such as Walter (2010), suggest that feminism must evolve to move nearer to a consumer viewpoint in that it makes demands as an agentic movement.

Because postfeminism was unable to account for the inequality and oppression they experienced, at times their talk opened up to recognition and naming of gender inequality, harassment, and objectification. This study makes clear the complexities of girls' interaction with discourse and suggests the pressure to successfully negotiate contradictory and impossible subjectivities erodes their well-being. The girls struggled to articulate their understandings of gender inequality given their belief that choice, empowerment, and

autonomy were central to their experience. They used the “language of postfeminism to individualize and rationalize gender inequality” (Charles, 2010a).

Conclusion

My findings have shown a range of contradictory subjectivities in relation to girls’ performance of ‘doing’ girl in school. Through this lens, the girls constructed their experience of girlhood as a pressurised, but highly individualised project, of which they alone had the responsibility to manage. I would suggest that for some girls, the objectification and harassment they experience has become so normalised by postfeminist reductionist discourse it is difficult to adopt a subject position from which to challenge. I suggest that my findings demonstrate the impossible terms within which postfeminism constructs girls. The girls necessarily began to trouble and contradict reductive construction of themselves.

The girls spoke of gender inequality as the dismissal and silencing of their emotions, double standards, and harmful objectification of their bodies. They spoke of realising their voice and perspective was being diminished by a hegemonic masculine authority. They named the oppression which policed their bodies, and controlled the friendships and spaces within which they could be safe. The findings suggest that girls struggle within an often bewildering discursive landscape to understand what performing a ‘girl’ identity means (Pomerantz and Raby, 2011). They recognise the socially constructed nature of certain aspects of ‘being’ girl and, importantly, they experienced a collective voice and perspective within which to name their experience.

Next, I will discuss the implications of my findings with reference to broader theoretical orientations. I have dedicated Chapter Seven to my final research question, acknowledging Georgaca and Avdi’s (2012) final criteria; demonstrating usefulness in terms of providing new insights with real-world applicability.

Chapter Five

Discussion of Interpretations

As is typical in DA, the Analysis and Interpretations (see Chapter Four) includes discussion of the findings with reference to research literature. It goes some way to discussing postfeminist and feminist theory in girls' use, negotiation and resistance of various discourses. This chapter, therefore, will further develop the ideas raised; with particular emphasis on discussing the theoretical relevance of feminism in shaping adolescent girls' subjectivities (Willig, 2013).

FCDA was utilised to address research questions one and two; I argued for the best explanation of how the inner subjectivities of girls are shaped by the outer material and structural world through their interaction with (and navigation of) dominant discourses and discursive strategies. In doing this, there is some reference to the usefulness of postfeminist and poststructural feminist theory; however, I will now more explicitly discuss their use as frameworks to explain how the findings simultaneously accept and reject contradictory positions (such as the empowered yet compared girl). To do this, I must account for the context and conditions necessary for girls to use (albeit tentatively at times) the language of feminism to communicate their experience. Given that I found very few explicit references, I consider if and how feminist theory can be relevant to adolescent girls' subjective gendered reality.

The Relevance of Feminist Theory

Through the process of abductive reasoning, I remained transparently curious about the girls' use of postfeminism as a discourse in their discursive constructions of 'doing' and 'being' girl in school. Postfeminism had a role in many of the accounts of girlhood in school, specifically in affording a "strategic move away from victimization, in that they [girls] did not wish to describe themselves as disempowered" (Pomerantz et al., 2013, p.203). This came across in their navigation of academic pressure and social media representations of women and fitness. Postfeminism guided their experience of 'health and fitness' discourses as positivity and opportunity rather than pressure and objectification. For academic pressure, the rejection of gender difference (in favour of individual difference or equality) did, at times, even appear to serve as a protective mechanism for the self. Whilst this might be at odds with my ethos, it seems to be a factor worth considering. The experience of agency and empowerment was present in their accounts of girlhood and indicates that any feminist theory needs to similarly reflect their preferred subjectivity and not focus solely on issues of oppression, harassment, and objectification.

However, a clear issue with engaging in postfeminist individualistic theory as a means of constructing a gendered identity is that it closes down opportunities for girls to see and name the oppressive practices which maintain hegemonic masculinity, such as the misogynistic policing of space and bodies. Postfeminism renders this assault on girls' ways of being in the world a non-issue; or as Walter (2010) puts it, an essential aspect of gender difference they cannot change, so must grin and bear (literally at times). It is this gap, this tension, between discursive locations in which girls are and are not able to access the language of gender inequality which is of interest to the project of feminism. As I have demonstrated in Chapter Four, the social processes by which discursive constructions shape the most available way of 'being' in the world, are multiple and fluid. Poststructural feminism provides the most robust theory to account for this phenomenon in its capacity to theorise complex and interchangeable viewpoints (Pomerantz and Raby 2011). When orientated with critical realism it can provide a useful framework to explore the structural mechanisms which make feminism an accessible framework to explore empirical experiences of gender inequality.

In addition to gender differences (such as biological determinism) in the girls' use of discourse, I suggest they also recognised instances where the *difference* operated differently to reproduce experienced gender *inequality*. Thus, this research joins other poststructural feminist literature to refute the postfeminist assertion that feminism is no longer required (McRobbie, 2004). The girls spoke of the diminishment to their sense of self which occurred as a result of 'being' girl during more overt and well-worn examples of sexism, such as the mocking of their emotions as 'premenstrual tension'. The findings illustrate that a shared subjectivity, created through similar experiences, validated a collective viewpoint of inequality. The girls were most able to speak their frustration and name oppression in their lives during these shared experiences, in a group context in which empathy and validation were felt. The fleeting nature with which the girls were able to name inequality in their subjective experience of the world, highlights the complexity and dilemmatic quality of identity construction for adolescent girls within the context of education (Pomerantz and Raby, 2011). They simultaneously accept and refute gender as an aspect of their evolving sense of self, at times gender was merely a difference between them and their male peers and at others it was used against them to exclude or discriminate.

This study has highlighted the potential role for poststructural feminism in raising critical awareness about how discourse and power operate, reproduced through unseen causal mechanisms which legitimise hegemonic masculinity. In school, mechanisms such as behaviour policies, the gendering of spaces and policing of their emotions and bodies make

certain ways of being more available and desirable for girls than others. These school-based mechanisms interact with wider social and cultural power structures, such as the health and beauty industry and Instagram, to circulate and incentivise ways of performing narrow exaggerated images of femininity. Gender inequality, maintained by hegemonic and misogynistic masculinity does not require the use of force to gain girls' compliance. Rather, girls are complicit in reproducing narrow constraining regulatory discourses lest they transgress norms and be socially excluded. There is, therefore, justification in using critical awareness pedagogy as a reflexive tool that affords girls epistemic authority, as social agents, to construct various and diverse subjectivities which are conscious of the role of patriarchal power. I revisit this again in Chapter Seven as an implication for EP practice, however, here I argue poststructural feminism and critical awareness has already taken a role in University pedagogy. Jemma Tosh and third-year university psychology expound the benefits of being taught a critical and explicitly feminist means of appraising discourse (Tosh et al., 2014). They report, "feminism has enabled me as a student to think critically about my personally held beliefs and experiences and to view them through many lenses" (p.6); therefore, I suggest there is reason to explore the role of poststructural feminism, as a collective movement, to support critical awareness-raising about the role of power and discourse in the lives of adolescent girls.

Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to discuss the analysis and interpretation of adolescent girls' use of, navigation and resistance to dominant discourse in relation to their accounts of 'doing' and 'being' girl in school. The discussion draws on relevant theories such as postfeminism and poststructural feminism, as well as literature in relation to concepts such as empowerment and objectification. I have discussed the explanatory potential of both postfeminist theory and poststructural feminist theory to strengthen my abductive analysis. The discussion moved towards suggesting the role of poststructural feminism as a critical-awareness pedagogical tool for adolescent girls.

Chapter Six

Implications for the practice of Educational Psychologists

The regulatory and contradictory discourses discussed have implications for educational practice. As practicing psychologists in education, EPs are required to consider how their practice is affected by acknowledging girls constructed as pressured and perfect educational subjects. The reproduction of essential gender difference and absence of gender inequality from practitioner accounts fails to acknowledge the role of EPs in promoting the well-being of girls through positive change in institutions such as schools. EPs are well placed in educational institutions to orchestrate change at the individual level (such as direct work with girls) as well as, perhaps most importantly, systemic levels. I suggest that without conscious awareness of the use and presence of regulatory dominant discourse, we risk promoting smoothed-over postfeminist accounts of girlhood. And thus, contribute to a context where the gendered oppression and harassment girls may experience is neglected or individualised rather than situated in the structures and mechanisms which provide a generative context. Good quality research must demonstrate it's 'real-world relevance' (Georaca and Avdi, 2012), as such this chapter addresses research question three, 'what are the implications for Educational Psychology practice?'

To answer this, I have chosen to use the Standards of Proficiency for Practitioner Psychologists (HCPC, 2015). These are the standards which every practitioner psychologist must meet (and maintain) in order to remain registered with the HCPC. I chose the most pertinent competencies as discussion points, they highlight an emphasis on non-oppressive practices, as well as gender and diversity.

Standard of Proficiency Number 2.9

Take appropriate professional action to redress power imbalances and to embed principles of anti-discriminatory and anti-oppressive practice in all professional actions.

The insidious, everyday and overlooked issues of gender inequality are explored in detail as part of the current research. As well as, the continued presence of hegemonic masculinity producing and maintaining dominant discourses of gender difference. The current study illustrates how adolescent girls' subjectivity is shaped through dominant sexist and oppressive

discourses which operate in school contexts. The findings have shown that discourses of gender difference are often called upon to explain empirical experience of inequality associated with unseen powerful structures such as sexist behaviour policies which objectify girls' bodies and silenced anger in gendered spaces. It is hoped that by highlighting the 'common sense' nature of these dominant and pervasive discourses, a process of 'defamiliarization' takes place in which practice takes a fresh perspective on "familiar categories and politics" (Henderson, 2013, p. 2468). I anticipate that seeing gender difference (and inequality) a-new will support EPs to feel more able and more willing to explore and confront power imbalances in their everyday practice.

Proficient EPs are required to reflect on their role in disrupting oppressive practice. This study highlights the centrality of educational institutions as contexts in which patriarchal power mechanisms can operate to varying degrees. At their most prevalent and pervasive, girls are silenced and controlled by legitimised hegemonic masculinity. As noted, EPs are able to intervene at a systemic level to assist schools in taking a broader look at gender difference and inequality, with reference to legislation such as the Equality Act 2010: Advice for schools (Dfe, recently updated 2018). Schools are legally obliged to maintain a general duty to promoting equality; and arguably, it is incumbent upon EPs to use their understanding of discourse and power to support schools to understand how their institution, including behaviour policies, the curriculum, practices of teachers and social groups intersect to shape gender identity.

I am mindful that up to this point, I have only suggested how EP practice can be shaped through awareness and reflection. Therefore, I wish to raise a point for further research; around practical critical awareness pedagogy and the role of EPs in supporting anti-oppressive orientated practice. The current findings indicate that social media 'messaging' provides a location in which the power structures which maintain incentivised hegemonic gender roles are less able to operate. 'Messaging' provided a context in which girls and boys could interact with each other in a manner which was less constrained by binary gender performances. Fourth-wave feminism is celebrated for its digital inclusivity and youth-driven presence (Sowards and Renegar, 2006). Despite claims that neoliberalism has depoliticized youth culture, Retallack and colleagues write that "a renewed and collectivized feminism has re-entered political and civic life" through social media (Retallack et al., 2016, p. 5). As a practical means of orchestrating shared spaces for critical-awareness raising, I suggest that EPs have a role in contributing to conversations regarding the development of educational communities online. Conversations about social media typically include discourses of risk and (at best) play, they are often delegitimised as pedagogical tools in professional conversations without

consideration for the evidence-base (Kim and Ringrose, 2018). Kim and Ringrose (2018) conclude their paper by suggesting that “schools need to cultivate social media as a legitimate pedagogical space by developing informed adult support for youth engagement with social justice-oriented online content” (Kim and Ringrose, 2018, p. 46). I corroborate their suggestion for an action research project.

Standard of Proficiency Number 5.1

Demonstrate knowledge and understanding of gender and sexuality and the impact of stigmatising beliefs.

The current research has illustrated how dominant discourses open up and constrain available ways of ‘doing’ girl, and consequently, available ways for girls’ social and psychological realities to ‘be’. By exploring discourse, this project has demonstrated how ‘stigmatising beliefs’ or the reproduction of constraining and oppressive discourse can maintain and legitimise gender inequality. An area for consideration for EPs is the construction of girls in everyday conversation through discourses that essentialise gender difference, such as the feminisation of the education system and girls’ innate meanness. This study has demonstrated that such use of discourse overlooks the range of issues girls do face, notably, pressures from external sources of power to be ‘high achievers’ and seamlessly manage the multiple roles in their school, home, and social lives as well as their physical appearance.

The findings highlight the role of the school institution, social media and hegemonic masculinity in shaping girls’ subjectivities through the shame of not being enough. Various, this was accounted for as not clever enough, not pretty enough, and not good enough. Greenspon’s (2014) work highlights the potential benefits of EPs working systemically with schools to construct an ethos or culture of unconditional acceptance to counteract the pervasive message that worthiness is contingent on succeeding under scarcity and perfection. To facilitate environmental change, EPs consider both the hard systems in an institution (i.e. support groups, tutorials, reduction in high-stakes summative assessment) as well as the soft systems (i.e. the ways in which achievement, aspiration and progress are spoken of). Perfectionism provides a psychological theory from which EPs can approach these systemic factors to support positive change. Research has already speculated on the role of EPs in delivering training on perfectionism and related “internalising disorders” focusing on SPP in particular (Starley, 2019, p.137). Starley speculates that training could support the identification of ‘warning signs’ that a young person might be experiencing shame and distress exacerbated by perfectionist tendencies. Starley recommends paying particular attention to high achieving, well-attending students whose social and emotional needs may be overlooked;

I argue that this study adds to this suggestion a gendered perspective. I would suggest this is a key implication for EP practice.

Reflective box

The effect of perfectionism for EPs is noted to be an area of attention for further research (Starley, 2019). On reflection, I found perfectionism salient in the data and an aspect of my recommendations for EP practice, as this resonated with me as an individual and a practitioner. To demonstrate robustness, I was required to consider my role in the construction of 'perfectionism' in the data. As outlined in Chapter Three, the ontological and epistemological assumptions that informed this research presuppose a reality which is multiple and subjective. By extension, knowledge constructed about such a reality is also considered contingent and cannot be claimed to be objective or independent of the researcher (Smith, 2018).

Furthermore, it remains a goal of my research to explore the lives of girls in rich detail, and as noted by Smith "to achieve that goal, small numbers of people are often chosen through purposive or purposeful sampling strategies" (p.138-139). I have reflected on the implications of such sampling for the concept of 'generalisability' in qualitative research. Based on the philosophical position stated above, it is incorrect to suggest that my interpretations of the data are "final, objective and divorced from context rather than provisional, subjective and contextual" (p.139). I argue that the theory of perfectionism has 'naturalistic generalisability' in that it resonated with my own personal engagement with girlhood (as both a reader of the data and researcher). Smith (2018) suggests that "to facilitate naturalistic generalizability thick descriptions and rich interpretations of the research are needed so that the readers themselves can discern what is similar and different to their own situations" (2018, p. 140). I suggest that I have demonstrated the theory of perfectionism has the potential to be generalizable because of the multiple ways in which I have interpreted girls' subjectivities to be shaped by 'not enough' and 'comparison'. However, I also recognise that this concept of generalisability is reciprocal and that the responsibility for producing generalizable research sits both with the researcher and the reader (Smith, 2018). If one accepts that the knowledge authored by researchers is subjective, then it follows that the researcher alone cannot have final say in the implications and generalisations made from their research.

Another important aspect of the findings for the consideration of EP practice is the intersection between emotional labour (Goerisch and Swanson, 2015), a 'nice persona' (Pomerantz et al., 2013) and the 'culture of scarcity' in schooling (Bellezza et al., 2017). To challenge stigmatising beliefs, EPs must interrogate the ways girls are spoken of; I contend that a systemic approach to the social and emotional curriculum be promoted which raises pupil and school staff awareness of specific gender-based issues. I have theorised in this project that girls are coached to minimise or repress their emotions from a young age (Goerisch and Swanson, 2015); whilst being educated in a culture which robs them of equal access to power and representation (Uberoi, et al., 2020), structural support and the language of sexism (McRobbie, 2004). When girls come up against inevitable barriers to their success and progress, rather than identity and name the system in operation (such as sexism,

objectification, devaluation) their most available means of rationalising this experience is through postfeminism and specifically, relational aggression. As practitioners who work with and support colleagues in early years and primary settings, we are obligated to become comfortable with the anger of little girls and open about the structural inequalities they face. Girls need a social and emotional curriculum which teaches them to become direct communicators rather than emotional labourers.

A constraint for EPs is that the work they negotiate can only be done on the basis of who a stakeholder (such as a school) makes visible. As noted by Patalay and Fitzsimons (2018) and developed in this study, an accepted way of 'doing' girl is to internalise an emotional experience rather than externalise it through overt messy behavioural display. I suggest that internalising behaviours (such as self-harming or eating disorders (Crudas and Haddock, 2005)) are more likely to be overlooked when compared with physical aggression (as suggested by Ringrose, 2012). EPs need to be a key voice in not only raising the profile of girls who 'withdraw' or internalise but also adding to the conversation about the role of discourse and power reproducing girls as 'emotional' and indirect rather than aggressive and direct.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the implications of the current study for EP practice. I suggest that EPs are well placed to flexibly apply this study; either through their own reflexivity practices, their conversations about gender in consultation or training as well as individual work with adolescent girls. An appreciation of the multifaceted nature of girlhood is important for EPs when considering their role in promoting anti-oppressive and gender-aware practices. The chapter also relates to potential areas for further research about the topic.

Chapter Seven

Potential Limitations

In this final chapter, I acknowledge the potential limitations of the study and suggest how I sought to mitigate them where possible. As I have already considered the potential limitations of DA (see Chapter Three p. 32) as highlighted by Willig (2013), in the interest of brevity I intend to focus only on the issues which are pertinent to this particular study rather than DA generally.

One of the potential limitations of this study is how theories of intersectionality (see Crenshaw (1991)) were inconsistently applied to orientate the data, analysis and interpretations. I have sought to be transparent about my own intersectional identity and experiences, and the impact of that on my construction of this research. Clarke and Braun (2019) suggest that “given the predominance of White, middle-class women in academia” (p. 16) researchers are required to take responsibility for their interpretations of “marginal or vulnerable groups of women” (p. 16). They advise researchers to refer to Lather’s (1991 p. 827) question “have I kept my authority from being reified?” and how this is possible. With reference to Clarke and Braun’s advice (2019), throughout the research I have avoided positioning my interpretations as “accurate and unbiased” (p. 16). I have been clear about the role my experiences play in interpreting data in a particular way. I do not claim to have captured the ‘voice’ of the girls who participated, rather I have been transparent that my purpose was to analyse and interpret. To that end, I was clear when my interpretation differed from the perspective of the girls and included both viewpoints.

Reflective Box

As I near the end of writing my thesis, I am mindful of Clarke and Braun’s suggestion that feminist psychologists “must learn to trust themselves and their judgements and be prepared to defend their interpretations and analyses” (2019, p.16). Which seems like no small feat, especially when one also calls to mind Ahmed’s (2017) advice to waver one’s ‘sureness’ (see page 46). Maintaining this balance is a particularly challenging aspect of the academic process and one which I will continue to grapple with.

However, despite these efforts towards myself, I recognise that the intersectional identity of my participants remains absent from the analysis and interpretation. I consider this to have occurred for two interrelated reasons; timing and my novice status as a researcher. At the time I was offered access to participants, I was still in the infancy of my reading around the topic of girlhood. Perhaps in my keenness to obtain data (and being mindful of the timescale to complete the thesis), I overlooked this important aspect of contextualising the participant

responses. As my journey into the literature matured and I began to transcribe and analyse the data, I was required to judge to what degree this oversight would be to the detriment of my project. To support this process, I turned, not for the first time, to Willig (2013) and my research supervisor.

Willig (2013) is clear that the inclusion of “standard demographic information (e.g. age, gender, social class, ethnicity, education) is not always appropriate” (p.121). The researcher must reason as to whether presenting the information imposes social identity categories on the participants. She suggests; “discourse analysis is about exploring how social reality is constructed within particular contexts through language” (2013, p. 121). The participants themselves did not self-refer to a particular identity category or mention them during their construction of girlhood, which is of interest itself and referred to in my analysis. Also, as my research questions did not specifically ask intersectional questions of race, class, or (dis)ability; I decided on balance that the research stands without this orientation, although is a recognised limitation.

Finally, a further area for consideration centres around the tensions between a deductive and abductive approach to the analysis and interpretation of my data. Perhaps atypically in qualitative research, I considered myself initially to be taking a deductive approach to reasoning in that I was testing out a theory, specifically poststructural feminism, to see if it would explain how girls used, navigated and resisted gender discourses. Again, through supervision and consulting academic literature, I believe that on balance I have approached my analysis and interpretation abductively. That is to say, I do not hold (and so could not test) a universal orientation towards poststructural feminism. I certainly acknowledge that I brought preconceived knowledge and experience to the data collection and analysis and that I was sensitised to certain discourses within the literature; but I utilised Georgaca and Avdis’s (2012) evaluative criteria (stated in the reflection boxes) to guard against reading the data to confirm or refute a preconceived feminist hypothesis. As mentioned in the paragraphs above, I am transparent that my interpretations are inescapably personal to me but they are grounded in the transcripts.

Conclusion

The purpose of this section was to highlight key areas for discussion in light of potential limitations of this study. The chapter also relates to potential areas for further research about the topic.

Chapter Eight

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Appendix A: Glossary of Terms

Emotional Labour	The act of inducing or suppressing feelings for the benefits of others (Goerisch and Swanson, 2015; Hochschild, 1983).
Gender Difference	Distinctions in attitude, aptitude, behaviour, physicality (and so on) between women and men, whether innate or socially constructed. “Studies concerning the validity and veracity of gender differences came into prominence during the women’s movement of the later 1960s” (Sullivan, 2009).
Intersectionality	A theoretical position which allows for the exploration of the intersections between two or more phenomena, such as gender and race, or sexuality, gender and class (Crenshaw, 1991).
Hegemonic Masculinity	Theorised as the institutionalization of men’s dominance over women through oppression and domination (Demetriou, 2001).
Masculinity and Femininity	The terms refer to “values, meanings, and behaviors culturally associated with men and women” (Mills et al., 2010). Mills and colleagues go on to say “they represent concepts associated with gender identities and practices and do not necessarily coincide with the categories of men and women”. Aligned with poststructuralism, masculinities and femininities are regarded as “contingent, fragmented, and socially constructed images of maleness and femaleness” (Mills et al., 2010)
Neoliberalism	Defined by Gill and Scharff (2011) as a political and economic philosophy which “advocates for a steady withdrawal of government support and social services, increased privatization, and veneration of individualism as the highest human achievement” (Pomerantz et al., 2013, p. 186)
Oppression	The unfairness of a dominant “in group” over an “out group” in the form of limited access to resources and coveted opportunities, as well as social devaluation and isolation (Nzira and Williams, 2009).
Othering	In the context of research, the term is used to communicate instances

	<p>of “perpetuating prejudice, discrimination, and injustice either through deliberate or ignorant means. Othering is most obvious where paradigms and processes have objectified or exotified a person, group, or community. Othering in research usually portrays a particular case or set of cases in an essentialized or overly simplistic manner. This highly stereotyped characterization ignores similarities among cases and holds difference as contributing to problems, in a blaming manner” (Mills et al., 2010).</p>
Patriarchy	<p>“A system of domination constructed on the basis of gender roles in which men generally are valued more highly and have more power than women. As the institutionalization of male power, patriarchy is maintained through the family, the polity, religion, the economy, and specific forms of sexuality and is reinforced through symbolic representation and language” (Mills et al., 2010).</p>
Poststructural Feminism	<p>A broad theory that “pays attention to the issues of knowledge, power, difference, and discourse and how these intersect and entwine in the lives of women” (Mills et al., 2010).</p> <p>“Poststructuralist feminism may be considered a branch of feminism that is interested in the minutiae of everyday experience, especially in how women affect and are affected by their interrelationships with each other and the world around them” (Mills et al., 2010).</p>
Subjectivity	<p>In the social sciences refers mainly to individual experience, perception, and interpretations of the world as well as the material conditions and social relations that mold a person's vision (Sullivan, 2009).</p> <p>Some researchers see subjectivism as a perspective, and others regard it simply as a state of being that applies to both the researcher and the research participants (Sullivan, 2009). Awareness of subjectivity constitutes the researcher's attempt to position herself in relation to her study subjects (Sullivan, 2009).</p>
Well-Being	<p>State of optimal health, often including physical, mental and</p>

	emotional aspects. Wellness is not only the absence of disease, it also includes the presence of lifestyle choices that lead to increased wellness; including a healthy diet, moderate exercise, and participation in positive social relationships (Sullivan, 2009).
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Appendix B Original Proposal

Registration number: 170109943

Module: Final Research Proposal

Assignment Title: Exploring Girls' well-being and Resistance: A Foucauldian Discourse Analysis.

Word count: 5,368

Research Proposal

Title: Exploring Girls' Well-being and Resistance: A Foucauldian Discourse Analysis.

Introduction

The proposed research intends to explore discourses of gender and the associated impacts on well-being. By talking to girls in education, I hope to uncover the ways in which they adopt or resistance dominant discourses. The structure of this research proposal aims to guide the reader by firstly, providing a background and rationale before suggesting appropriate literature searches and research questions. I will then go on to outline how suitable methodology and procedure, and a coherent approach to analysis. Along the way I will consider practicalities, ethical considerations, the underlying values and assumptions of the knowledge created.

Background and Rationale

Feminist Theory

There is a growing body of knowledge whose aim is explicitly to represent the concerns of women across academic, activist and professional contexts. Arguably, knowledge which fosters the development of theory, research and practice concerning gender and social inequalities, whilst destabilising patriarchal institutions of power, can claim Feminist theoretical underpinning and emancipatory potential. The proposed research aims to align itself with previous Feminist writing to critique girls' experience of gender discourses and how these impact on well-being. As is common in Feminist writing, I will first present various perspectives on gender identity formation, focusing on one which has potential to theorise the oppression of women. Next, it is usual to offer the reader a description of the "everyday conditions of a life under the patriarchy" (Gavey, 2011 p. 183), in this case an exploration of literature around the well-being of girls. Finally, I present an argument for Feminist post-structuralist research

as a vehicle for sharing counter-discourses and instances of resistance. However, it is pertinent to acknowledge literature which argues society has reached 'post-feminist' times (Pomerantz et al., 2013) rendering the work of Feminist research redundant. I seek to challenge this in the following paragraph.

Alongside Feminist theories gender-based inequality is one of neoliberal 'post-Feminism' (Pomerantz et al., 2013). The political, social and cultural climate since the 1990s has seen a rise in the dominance of *diversity, choice and competition* discourse in education policy. Rejecting the Feminist perspective, neoliberal post-Feminism intends to erase terms such as '*sexism*' '*oppression*' and '*inequality*' from the discourse of girls' experience (Pomerantz et al., 2013), rendering claims of gender-based inequality in education to appear not only unfounded but implausible (Pomerantz et al., 2013). However, contrary to education being a meritocratic site of social mobility schools are thought of as powerful institutions that socialise girls with dominant exclusionary discourses which seek to oppress and control (Butler, 1997). The proposal will now critique the literature around girls' well-being in education, presenting a reasoned argument for why an "explicit framework for cultural critique" (such as Feminism) is vital for girls to be able to "deconstruct the harmful gendered assumptions... and articulate alternative ideals" (Gavey, 2011, p. 185).

Gender

The proposed research recognises that there are multiple competing theories of gender development, Miller (2016) offers an overview of noted examples such as biological and hormonal approaches, evolutionary theories (Geary, 1998), social learning theories, and cognitive approaches. For the purposes of this project, the research is adopting an alternate Feminist perspective, namely Judith Butler's theories of gender performativity (Butler, 1990), which is coherent with my philosophical position and analytic choices made. Ontological claims of binary gender, based on a medicalised discourse of biological facticity, are critiqued by works on gender performativity (Butler, 1990). The available gender discourses are representations of ongoing social moulding and surveillance practices legitimised in patriarchal institutions of power, such as schools. The socialisation of girls through dominant gender discourses categorises counter-discourses as prohibited or taboo (Jenkins and Finneman, 2018). Discourses which establish gender as a natural fact, legitimise oppression and exclusion as the natural expression of sex differences (Butler, 1999). By acknowledging gender as a social construction rather than biological fact; acts of violence, intimidation and coercion against girls can be understood as a product of a socially constructed discourse.

Establishing this as a premise of gender discourses justifies further exploration of the impact of such discourses on girls' well-being.

Well-Being

Mainstream media has noted that girls' experience of education is fraught with sexism and sexual violence in ways which were unimaginable decades ago. There are discourses of *pervasiveness* with reports such as "1 in 3 girls sexually harassed whilst in school uniform" (BBC, 2018), "over 50% of girls ages 10 through 19 say they hear boys making sexual comments or jokes about girls several times a week" (Girls Inc., 2019). Rights-based movements such as 'The Everyday Sexism Project' (found at <https://everydaysexism.com>) highlight the prevalence of sexism in both online and physical reality, with particular emphasis on the seemingly unremarkable 'everyday' yet insidious assault on well-being perpetuated by gender inequality. In addition, discourses also reflect a lack of *agency* and *consent* feature heavily in reports such as "Girls go along with sex acts, says teacher" (BBC, 2017) and "#ISayItsNotOk" an online movement around consent and sexual assault. Similarly, discourses of *resistance* are found in reports of "#FREEPERIODS" a US movement where 2000 young activists protested against the high taxation of menstrual products. The media portrays a culture in which overt attacks on girls' well-being is normalised. To consider the impact of such a climate on girls' well-being, I will discuss recent literature which seeks to explore the potential connection.

Recent Department for Education (DfE, 2018) guidance has continued to raise the profile of well-being in schools. Perhaps as a result, research has begun to turn its focus to the well-being of girls specifically. Patalay and Fitzsimons (2018) present a unique longitudinal perspective citing ages 11-14 as critical for study of well-being and mental health in girls. Poor mental health, conceptualised as a two-domain construct (mental ill-health and reduced well-being), is reported as more prevalent in girls aged 14 years old than boys. Factors such as family income, school connectedness and having a special educational need (SEN) were reported as having a greater bearing on girls' well-being. Girls were also claimed to have significantly greater self-reported mental ill-health, attracting labels such as 'depression'. One interpretation of this research is that girls experience greater threat to their well-being because of inequalities perpetuated by gender discourses. The aforementioned culture of normalised sexism and harassment is likely to impact on girls' experience of 'school connectedness'. As girls already experience reduced social capital, being categorised as having low 'family income' or 'cognitive ability' potentially adds to their experience of distress. It does not appear to be within the articles remit to consider the social, cultural and historical underpinnings to girls' reduced well-being. An obvious critique to large-scale research is that it lacks the depth

required to explore the experience of reduced well-being and increased mental ill-health. Einberg et al., (2015) considered the same point when they explored the lived experiences of teenage girls through a phenomenological approach. It was reported that the girls within the research were conscious of the gender differences in school and in the media in their everyday lives (Einberg et al., 2015). They discussed the importance of feeling safe and secure in their environment (Einberg et al., 2015). Whilst I anticipate the emergence of similar phenomenon in my own research, I wonder if the situatedness of the knowledge neglects to consider the wider socio-political context which perpetuates the lived experiences of girls. I considered it important that research be empowering, and as such contain the potential to expose the power structures which seek to oppress certain groups. This research intends to evidence the nature of gender performance and its relation to the lives of girls. Such an ambition is depicted in *Young Masculinities* (Frosh et al., 2001), where gender performance is seen as an ongoing social process, that the boys were unaware of, but lived through. What my own research intends to build on is the female perspective and the now more pervasive nature of social media consumption. In order to provide an insight into where these 'ideologies' come from, explore the reified mediated message communicated as discourse. The proposed research is not only concerned with how the girls act, but the discourses they draw upon as social actors that inspire and concretize their lifestyle.

Research aim

The aim of the proposed research is to use Feminism as a framework to critique the available discourses related to gender and explore their associated impact on well-being. I will then consider how and if girls resist dominant discourses, use counter-discourses and police other their own and others' gender performance.

Value

The proposed research has relevance on a number of levels. For transparency in qualitative research, the researcher's positionality requires explicit exploration and discussion within the research context. I have, over a number of years, constructed an understanding of my gender performance as being influenced by power structures beyond my empirical reality. Aware of the impact such assumptions have on the way I experienced reality, it is important for me to align myself with a philosophy and profession which not only values the psychology of women but recognises the need for emancipatory research and practice. The British Psychological Society (BPS) recognises perspectives on gender-based inequality and as such promotes a specific division for the advancement of psychological theory and practice around women-known as the Psychology of Women and Equalities Section (BPS, 2019). The Psychology of Women Section Review is a peer-reviewed publication which aims to advance theory and

practice around gender and social inequalities. It is plausible that the completed research could be sent for consideration in such as publication. It could, of course, be argued that creating a 'safe space' for 'women's issues' within the BPS perpetuates binary- 'Feminist or Not'- thinking, rendering it the responsibility of women, rather than everyone, to challenge and explore the intersections of inequality.

In terms of relevance for the Local Authority (LA), there is growing interest to legislate for gender equality in education, linked to research which indicates the gender-beliefs of young people (YP) are indicative of wider societal measures of economic prosperity and social progression (Dotti Sani and Quaranta, 2017). Political groups, such as the Women's Equality Party (WEP), are campaigning for whole-school gender equality measures, including obliging the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) inspection to include gender equality as stand-alone criteria (WEP, 2015). In keeping with the WEP, research on the topic of Relationship and Sex Education (RSE) has noted without collaboration from educational professionals and social care, there is a danger the curriculum will perpetuate a medical and clinical discourse with little obligation for schools to tackle personal, relational and well-being issues, such as *agency, consent, coercive control, gender attitudes, and body image/problematic eating* (Hayter et al., 2008). Within the LA, the Educational Psychology Service (EPS) is planning to offer schools a traded training package which would outline what is required to achieve 'Good' to 'Outstanding' status based on the well-being of pupils. It is plausible that a training package which doesn't consider issues around well-being specific to certain groups (i.e. girls, black and minority ethnic pupils and/or pupils with SEN) would be reductive in its homogenous approach to well-being.

Finally, and perhaps of greatest value, is the potential to build on girls' capacity to resist dominant discourses which could have detrimental impact on their well-being. Offering boys alternative avenues of construction of masculinity was seen as the most vital element of the Frosh et al., (2001) project. This research could support the development of skills to navigate discourse on online social media platforms, which is beyond the understanding of the adults in their lives.

Literature Searches

In preparation for this research project, it will be pertinent to establish a grounding in seminal research as well as more recent interpretations.

In order to cover relevant background literature, search terms will need to include phrases such as:

- Subjectivity and the discursive creation of ideological positions

- Gender performativity and identity
- Sexism or gender inequality
- Theories of resistance by writers such as Slavoj Zizek
- Well-being and connectedness in education (ways of being in school)

However, it is recognised that key relevant literature, such as “Young Masculinities:” (Frosh et al.), would not be found using only those relevant terms. As such, I have engaged in conversations with others (such as my research supervisor) and have followed their recommendations which fall outside this potentially limiting remit. The ‘critical literature review’ will contain critical appraisal of the philosophy and methodology of previous research.

Research Questions

To explore the research area and consider the implications for EP practice, the following research questions will be considered:

1. Where might girls’ gender beliefs come from?
2. What is the impact of gender on life in school?
3. How do girls resist dominant gender discourses?

To support the transparency and accessibility of the research, it will be necessary to include definitions of the frequently used and significant terms. Suggested definitions are preliminary rather than definitive explanations of terms which are undoubtedly contentious and remain widely debated. It is anticipated that the definitions may be revisited once the analysis and interpretation is complete. Within the main body of the thesis, a table will offer a list of terms and definitions for the reader; such as ‘identity’, ‘gender’, ‘sexism’, ‘feminism’, ‘subjectivity’, and ‘resistance’.

Methods and Procedure

Methodological Theory

To justify the philosophical perspective of the intended research, it is important to briefly outline reasoning which rejects the realist-relativist polar stances in favour of a critical position. Explanations of social phenomena rooted in realist meta-theory tend to privilege empirical evidence which is said to reflect a ‘truth’ or irrefutable reality. Whilst the proposed research intends to analyse imagery and language, an empirical means of capturing discourse, it does not intend to dismiss the impact of non-empirical social, cultural and historical systems on those discourses. In contrast, relativist meta-theory rejects claims of a shared reality. However, this perspective is often criticised as undermining those who identify as part of

marginalised or oppressed communities. Where there is no shared reality, systems of oppression such as sexism, racism and ableism are reduced to the perceptions of the individual. To avoid dismissing the experiences of people who are subjected to discriminatory or oppressive systems, research is required to take a critical position.

Attributed to Bhasker in the 1970s (Bhasker, 1979), critical realists tend to subscribe to notions of a stratified reality where events which are '*empirical*' are only one aspect. These events are indicative of and are impacted upon by '*real*' unseen causal mechanisms. Analysis of empirical data, such as spoken imagery and language extracts, are understood as tangible indicators of unseen social, cultural and historical forces such as 'austerity politics' or 'rape culture'. Girls' experiences of gender discourses will therefore be contextualised in the wider social and political climate, illuminating the systems and structures which are designed to oppress and control.

Recruitment of Participants

Purposive sampling will be employed to recruit girls (aged 11-16 years old) who access education in a mainstream secondary school. Intentionally, the proposed research project resists the use of provisos or restrictions to participation. The voice of YP who are perceived by adults to have SEN is often lost in research due to ableist and paternalistic discriminatory practices (Cameron and Murphy, 2002). It is not anticipated that any specialist modifications will be needed, however the proposal acknowledges that mainstream secondary schools provide education for girls with SEN including visual and hearing impairment, and/or physical disability. Where adaptations may be required, the girls, their families and school will be consulted with.

For reasons of pragmatism (and avoiding criticisms of tokenism) it would not be appropriate to select participants in order to create a group which reflected diverse class, race, and ability characteristics. Where differences in class, race or ability emerge, they will be explored with reference to the intersections within the group and relevant theorists. Consequently, this has implications for the extent to which the research could be seen to represent different groups.

Pilot Study

Following ethical approval, a pilot study will be conducted to address two main areas of quality assurance. Firstly, the focus group materials (discussed in more detail below in *Method and Data Collection*) will be trialled through a pilot study. FDA is primarily concerned with the analysis of language; however, the proposed research suggests that in the age of social media, advertising and online streaming platforms (for example YouTube) imagery has

become a powerful carrier of discourse. Therefore, a key element of the pilot will be to offer the girls different types of images and use their expertise to uncover what each image evokes of gendered discourses.

In addition, a pilot focus group will provide me as the mediator with guidance about how to navigate group dynamics. As a fairly inexperienced mediator, reflection on my own practice will be invaluable for the smooth running and consequent well-being of participants.

Method and Data Collection

The proposed methods are the means by which data is collected. A brief rationale for the suitability of focus groups for this project is offered followed by a description of some materials and questions.

Focus Group Rationale

My decision to use focus groups is justified by establishing a 'group dynamic' (Morgan et al., 2002) which could facilitate open and unrehearsed discussion. I hope that the participants feel strongly about the topics of gender and well-being, and I anticipate both to lend themselves to diverse and disparate constructions. In addition, focus groups depersonalise discussions about sensitive issues which potentially reduces perceived levels of threat. How the proposed research will navigate tensions around sensitive and potentially distressing topics is discussed in the '*Ethical Considerations*' section. Recognising the potential for girls to police one another's use of discourses, it is possible the communal aspect may silence counter-discourse. However, the pilot study is intended to provide the opportunity to recognise this phenomenon and adapt protocol as necessary.

As well as the individual perspective, focus groups also facilitate a 'collective perspective' which encourages synthesised group validation of ideas (Halcomb et al., 2007). Participants may reach more detailed and considered perspectives, and ultimately provide a more nuanced and profound indication of their collective views (Begon, 2016). My own experience of practice mirrors that of Frosh et al., in that often, when presented with an opportunity to focus on their social world, YP take advantage of this interest and speak insightfully and lead the discussion (Frosh et al., 2010).

Focus Group Materials

The focus groups will take place over two sessions. The first will be semi-structured, taken from procedural guidance in similar research, Frosh et al., (2001). Focus groups should

produce as naturalistic and authentic environment as possible so that the participants can take ownership of the dialogue.

To support their discussion, participants will be presented with 20 different images which represent the discourses which are evoked by the questions (following protocol in Frosh et al., 2001). The girls will be asked to choose images to support their discussion throughout the focus group. I recognise that to secure Ethical Approval; a complete selection of images will be necessary. However, at this stage a selection of possible images can be found in the Appendix.

The second session will include photo elicitation and require the participants to take their own photos which represent their experience of discourses of gender.

Procedure

- Potential participants will be approached in school by either myself or an agreed gatekeeper. The research and their potential role will be presented to them.
- They will be invited to participate and asked to sign a consent form which will need to be countersigned by their legal guardian.
- For the group who opt to participate, a pilot focus group will be asked to discuss particular questions and visual materials, to explore their meaning and associated discourses. We will then regroup one week later, to discuss the images or photos they have brought to represent their gender discourses.
- An audio recording will be made of each focus group to aid transcription. They will be asked to provide feedback on the materials, questions and experience of the focus group.
- Following any amendments, the main research will include a focus group of between 3-6 participants. The participants will be asked if they want to attend both sessions.
- The transcript of the focus group discussions will be made to support the analysis procedure.
- Following the analysis stage, the participants will be approached again and the findings presented to them.
- Participants will contribute to the dissemination of the findings, they'll be offered the choice of a collage, a PATH or a presentation.

Quality Issues

The research aims to critique gender discourses and their impact on well-being and resistance. The criteria by which quantitative research is judged, namely; validity, reliability

and replicability, are arguably inappropriate as a means of measuring quality in qualitative research. Mullet (2018) presents specific evaluative criteria for the philosophical assumptions of FDA, therefore I will refer to the following criteria in my proposed analysis:

- Reflexivity
- Subjectivity
- Adequacy of data
- Adequacy of interpretation
- Deviant cases
- Authenticity
- Consequential validity
- Accessibility
- Theoretical triangulation

Analysis

Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis encompasses a range of different approaches united by the assumption that language is productive rather than descriptive. Discourse is the term used to describe “sets of statements which construct objects and an array of subject positions” (Parker, 1994, p. 245), and has a prominent role in facilitating and limiting, enabling and constraining, what can be said, by whom, where and when (Parker, 2002). The view in the proposed research is that language shapes identity and social reality, which in turn shapes one’s subjectivity and how one’s identity is performed to achieve social objectives (Willig, 2008). There are two main versions which presented in the literature, the first; conversation or discursive analysis and the second; critical or Foucauldian discourse analysis. It is recognised by Potter and Wetherell (1987) that whilst the two have key differences, they need not be treated as incompatible. It will therefore be necessary in my thesis to justify my approach in this respect.

Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) appears preferable at this stage due to its post-structuralist foundations. FDA is concerned with language and the role it has in the constitution of social and psychological life (Willig, 2008). Post-structuralist ideas are concerned with dismantling power structures within society, as such FDA uncovers the available ways of seeing and ways of being in the world (Willig, 2008). Since the exponential growth of social media access for YP, discourses are arguably communicated with greater efficiency than ever before. The role of imagery in articulating discourses through a more accessible and consumable format is an under researched area. FDA offers the potential to explore the images which are intended to perpetuate certain discourses.

Rationale for FDA

FDA is known for its potential to capture counter-discourses by exploring the discursive resources that shape and construct subjectivity, selfhood, and power relations (Willig, 2008). Dominant discourses legitimise existing power relations and social structures which privilege one perspective on what it is to 'be a girl'. In addition, FDA is able to explore how dominant and counter discourses have evolved over time. This temporal perspective allows analysis to consider whether girls today are experiencing a greater threat to their well-being than other generations.

Finally, FDA is uniquely able to explore the relationship between discourses and institutions, or the ways in which discourse is bound up with organisational practices which regulate and control social life (Willig, 2008). The girls in the proposed research are likely to be socialised into powerful institutions through compulsory schooling. By this association, gender and well-being are spoken of and understood through education practices from which girls may experience a diminished sense of agency. They are subject to disciplinary and controlling practices made legitimate by local and national education policy.

Selecting Texts for Analysis

FDA can be carried out 'wherever there is meaning' (Parker and the Bolton Discourse Network, 1999 in Willig 2008), interpreted as not exclusively with words but with any symbolic system (Willig, 2008). This allows for a potentially wide range of materials, chosen for their ability to answer the research questions(s). FDA strives for transparency over what kinds of texts are available to us, including those which already exist in the public domain such as documents from DfE, WEP and school policies. The nature of the texts will be explicitly noted, including its purpose (e.g. part of a campaign), how it was produced, who has access to it, and what type of material it is (Willig, 2008).

Procedural Guidelines for FDA

The procedural guidelines for my proposed analysis were initially based on the six stages presented in Willig (2008). However, to adopt an overall critical Foucauldian perspective, I have made the decision to not include the elements which speak more to Conversation Analysis or Discursive Psychology (such as Action Orientation and Practice). This will allow the analysis to focus more thoroughly on the remaining elements which are more aligned to FDA and to include a further stage, Historical Context, which is conceptually aligned with Foucault's methods. This addition enshrines a temporal contextual perspective of the history of resistance and how gender has been constructed over time.

The five stages are as follows:

1. Discursive constructions
2. Discourses
3. Positionings
4. Subjectivity
5. Historical Context

It will be important for me to approach this task methodically with the guidance of my research supervisor. The length of time it is anticipated to take to complete the analysis is likely to depend on the degree of difficulty I experience in analysing and interpreting the verbal and non-verbal responses from the participants.

Time Management and Logistics

The table below is intended to provide estimated dates for key events during the proposed research. They will provide an indicator if it appears the project is beginning to deviate too much from the desired timeline.

What	When
Submit final research proposal	4 th March 2019
Ethical Approval	End of April 2019
Pilot study	May 2019
Data collection	June-July 2019
Analysis and interpretation	August 2019
Hand draft methodology chapter to Supervisor	November 2019
Hand draft results chapter to supervisor	January 2020
Present research to participants and write-up findings for participants	January 2020
Hand draft discussion chapter to supervisor	February 2020
Hand draft of completed thesis to supervisor	March 2020

Table 1.2 Approximated timeline for proposed research.

Dissemination of Results

- The research findings will be written up as a thesis as part of the qualification of a Doctorate in Education and Child Psychology (DEdCPsy).
- The research will also be presented verbally to the EPS in the research LA.
- I will present the findings of the research to the participants and we will collaboratively design and publish a brief written summary to offer to schools who participated.

- The collaboratively produced object (i.e. collage, PATH or presentation) will be shared with relevant parties.
- Finally, a verbal presentation will be delivered to trainees and tutors on the DEdCPsy course at the University of Sheffield (UoS).

Ethical considerations

The proposed research project will need to receive approval from the UoS and research LA ethics boards. Carrying out research with YP is likely to raise concern from Ethics Boards. The submission will therefore require sufficient detail as to assure the Ethics Boards of the participants' safety and that their right to protection from harm and distress has been comprehensively planned for. This will include outlining the specific procedures in place to ensure the confidentiality and anonymity of participants is protected, including data storage, as well as examples of consent and debrief forms. However, given the limited word count here, it seemed more useful to explore some of the considerations particular to this project.

YP involved as participants are described as being a vulnerable group. As such, it will be particularly important that attention is paid to ensure that participants are given appropriate autonomy. The following are some procedures which have been noted in previous research:

- Parents will be asked to countersign for YP under 18 who agree to take part.
- All information about the study will be presented in simple language. If there is any doubt as to whether potential participants are able to understand it, it will be further explained to them verbally with the help of someone who knows them well (Mitchell 2010)
- To limit the chance of YP feeling pressured into participating, an ongoing process of monitoring non-verbal indications of a wish to withdraw, including social withdrawal or distress, will be monitored (Morrison, 2013). YP will be asked before each meeting whether they still consent. The YP and their relevant gatekeepers (legal guardians and/or school staff) will also be asked to actively monitor consent (Tozer et al., 2013)

The nature of the focus group could be described as potentially distressing given its focus on the experiences of sexism and well-being. If the focus group materials include text or images which reflect relevant but sensitive topics such as sexual harassment, it is possible a 'trigger warning' system could be utilised. Whilst the notion of forewarning people about trauma-inducing material is not new, the phrase has resurfaced recently in academic and popular cultural discourses (James, 2017). Research has suggested that comparatively more students are entering academia having experienced past traumas, such as poverty, rape, racism and war (Sturgis, 2016). However, it is plausible that instead of there being 'more' instances of

trauma, certain groups in society have created a forum whereby sharing these experiences is more socially acceptable i.e. the young using social media. Offering trigger-warnings has the following ethical reasoning (Wyatt, 2016 pp. 22–23):

- It facilitates appropriate accommodation for students who experience high levels of distress or “mental illnesses”
- It constitutes a “small act of empathy that minimizes harm,”
- It helps to “ensure transparency”
- It “fosters authentic discourse”

Overall, advocates maintain that trigger-warnings are beneficial because they provide students with the ability to make informed decisions (James, 2017). It may also be pertinent to signpost various avenues for well-being support on the participant debrief forms.

Notes on Practical Issues

- No anticipated problem with technical equipment- voice recording soft-wear may be secured from the university.
- Gatekeepers and participants may be provided with my university email address as a point of contact. I will also provide my research supervisor’s agreed contact details as an alternate point of communication.
- The booking of rooms and agreeing times will be negotiated with the relevant gatekeepers (i.e. head teachers, senior leadership team).
- The most likely cause for deviation may be associated with difficulty gaining ethical approval, and recruiting enough participants for a pilot and main focus group. If this is not possible, the transcripts from the pilot group may be subject to analysis.

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Appendix C: Discussion of Alternative Methodologies

Alternate Qualitative Methodologies

In this section, I will outline a number of plausible methodologies I considered when planning the study and the reasons why I ruled them out for this research project.

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

It is my understanding that Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) and DA share similarities in that they both align with inductive methods of enquiry. Furthermore, they both hold that language creates meaning and so in that sense they were both suitable to gain insight into girls' experiences. However, IPA is said to offer insights into how a given person makes sense of a given phenomenon, furnishing it richly with cultural and social context (Willig, 2013). Usually these phenomena relate to experiences of some personal significance, such as a major life event. However, when contemplating methodologies I wondered whether the focus on events of significance was congruous with my focus on the everyday quality of gender discourse I am interested in. The research focuses specifically on typical experiences shared through discussion with one another. As is often the case with FDA, it was not necessarily anticipated that the girls would be aware of the impact of gender discourses on their subjectivity and as such may not constitute personal significance.

A further fracture appeared between this research and IPA when considering the nature of reality, or ontological position. IPA suggests that the knowledge created through an interview is subject to double hermeneutics, in other words; it is the researcher's experience of the participants' experience. Neither can disregard or 'bracket' their prior knowledge and belief. The analysis and interpretation made by the researcher, therefore, cannot be verified or 'member-checked' for validity. I would describe this as a Relativist ontological position, and as such, it is incompatible with this research which accepts that natural and social mechanisms exist and contribute to a shared reality. Furthermore, the debrief process used in the research relied heavily on sharing my analysis with the participants (as described later in this chapter).

Thematic Analysis

Thematic Analysis (TA) was discounted based on its theoretical position on language. TA assumes that language communicates internal psychological processes such as thoughts, feelings and experiences. Analysis, therefore, is focused on the words used in the text. In addition, the process of grouping similar words and phrases together (as is practiced in TA) would have done little to answer my research questions. Without the explicit focus on how

language is productive and how it maintains and perpetuates certain established power relations, as is noted in FDA, the analysis would have been incomplete.

Appendix D: Reflexivity Statement

Reflexivity and awareness of subjectivity is a hallmark of feminist research. Within the main body of my thesis, I have been transparent about facets of my identity, personal standpoints and experiences which inform my work as a feminist psychologist (in training) and researcher. However, I have chosen this space to more explicitly outline how these intersections influence my practice and research.

Clarke and Braun (2019) suggest that feminist psychologists should include autobiographical material that reveals their socio-political 'agenda'. Of most relevance to this paper, is my identity as a white, middle-class, cisgender, professional, able-bodied, heterosexual, Western woman, amongst other descriptors. In naming these facets of my identity, I openly recognise the many intersections of privilege and power I occupy. In training to become an Educational Psychologist, I have been required to consider not only how these facets of my identity intersect to shape my automatic ways of 'being' with people, including 'othering' and stereotyping (in socially constructed and power differentiated ways). I also consider how I am likely to be seen by those I work with. Acknowledging these characteristics reminds me to practice empathy, as an effortful and conscious process, to better connect. I was motivated to embark on training to 'become' an Educational Psychologist for the same reasons as many others, I hold values around respect and value for people; the anti-oppressive practices redolent of Educational Psychology are driven by an acknowledgment of social injustice and I desire to contribute positively in some way. But in addition, I recognised the importance of aspects of life I considered 'real', such as having a stable income and being able to own a home, which I thought could be realised through such a career.

My research background is limited and includes mainly qualitative inquiry. The skills I am developing as a psychologist practitioner are undoubtedly also those which I used to conduct this research. My developing consultation skills (such as active listening, repeating key words or phrases and paraphrasing) shaped my focus group mediation, and thus, the data produced. Considering myself an author of qualitative research, I thought of the role of 'making the personal political'. Whilst I recognised the importance of personal investment and was encouraged to research a topic of which I felt (at least) interested in; I was wary of producing

work which could be considered a diarised account. It is important to me that my work should have a broader, socio-political purpose; and so whilst I want it to resonate with others it should also be transferable. I thought it important to ground myself in the writing of others, that I found resonated with me. Authors such as Glennon Doyle, Brene Brown, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie and any fiction from the Women's Press. I imagine an iterative process occurs, in which my voice as an author begins to take shape; sculpted by other works along the way. This is a process which I consider to be in its infancy.

From many intersections of privilege, I am required to engage in 'radical empathy', or the effortful process of compassion and perspective-taking, to best enable me to acknowledge my own lens, to listen and respond beyond it. My identity as a woman has undoubtedly influenced my worldview. My relationship with femininity and feminism has changed over the years, and I have enjoyed developing a more critical awareness about how I perform my social role. And whilst I hope to remain aware and critical of my values and assumptions, I will finish by recognising that my attempt at reflexivity is just that, an attempt. Reflexivity is never complete, Clarke and Braun (2019) liken self-knowledge to all knowledge, in that, it is at best, partial.

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Appendix E: Details of Search Terms used and Methods Employed in Literature Review

- Searches aimed to move from general to specific. Initial searches focused more generally on girlhood, femininity and feminist theory relating to education.
- Keywords were systematically entered into the University of Sheffield library catalogue and on occasion, Google Scholar. The most relevant publications were noted through re-occurring citations.
- Initial searches into girls included the terms: young femininities, sex, girlhood, being and doing girl. These terms were coupled with educational terms such as 'schooling' 'education' and 'educational psychology'.
- Initial searches into theory were led through supervision sessions. Through supervision, over- arching theoretical positions, such as critical realism, social constructionism, postfeminism, poststructural feminism and discourse analysis were discussed. Key texts were used as a point of further reference to explore theories in more detail. For example, references cited in key texts were searched for, and articles citing key texts were also searched for, using the 'snowball' method. This led to the use of other key ideas such as intersectionality.
- Concepts such as 'gender difference', 'gender inequality' and 'emotion' were also searched for independently. For example, keywords used in both search engines (Sheffield University and google scholar) included 'emotion' 'internalising externalising' 'emotional labour' 'emotional literacy' coupled with terms such as 'well-being' 'distress' and 'mental health'.
- A small number of texts relating to girlhood in education (not focusing on emotional or contradictory discourses) were uncovered. These were used to search for further references in the 'snowball' method.
- A majority of searches unearthed literature without a focus on adolescence, discourse analysis, education and psychology.

Appendix F: University of Sheffield Ethics



Application 025442

Section A: Applicant details

Date application started:
Sun 10 March 2019 at 14:13

First name:
Ellen

Last name:
Powell

Email:
epowell2@sheffield.ac.uk

Programme name:
Doctor of Education and Child Psychology

Module name:
Research Project

Last updated:
18/04/2019

Department:
School of Education

Applying as:
Postgraduate research

Research project title:
Exploring Girls' Well-being and Resistance: A Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

Has your research project undergone academic review, in accordance with the appropriate process?
Yes

Similar applications:
- not entered -

Section B: Basic information

Supervisor

Name	Email
Antony Williams	anthony.williams@sheffield.ac.uk

Proposed project duration

Start date (of data collection):
Sat 1 June 2019

Anticipated end date (of project):
Thu 10 September 2020

3: Project code (where applicable)

Project code:
- not entered -

Suitability

Takes place outside UK?

No

Involves NHS?

No

Human-interventional study?

No

ESRC funded?

No

Likely to lead to publication in a peer-reviewed journal?

Yes

Led by another UK institution?

No

Involves human tissue?

No

Clinical trial?

No

Social care research?

No

Involves adults who lack the capacity to consent?

No

Involves research on groups that are on the Home Office list of 'Proscribed terrorist groups or organisations'?

No

Indicators of risk

Involves potentially vulnerable participants?

Yes

Involves potentially highly sensitive topics?

No

Section C: Summary of research

1. Aims & Objectives

Research aim

The aim of the proposed research is to use Feminism as a framework to critique the available discourses related to gender and explore their associated impact on well-being. I will then consider if and how girls resist dominant discourses, use counter-discourses and surveil their own and others' gender performance. I will focus on the experience of girls between the ages of 11-14 years who access education in a mainstream secondary school. More specifically, the term 'girls' includes both cisgender and transgender young people who identify as female. This means, young people are eligible to participate if their gender identity is female regardless of their sex and assigned gender at birth. The debate around gender is touched upon later in this section where the adopted position on gender is made clear.

Research Questions

To explore the research area and consider the implications for EP practice, the following research questions will be considered:

1. Where might gender beliefs come from for girls aged 11-14 years old?
2. What is the impact of gender on life in school for girls aged 11-14 years old?
3. How are dominant gender discourses resisted by girls aged 11-14 years old?

Feminism, Education and Well-being

Feminism is a growing body of knowledge whose aim is explicitly to represent the concerns of women across academic, activist and professional contexts. As is common in Feminist writing, the proposed research will consider various

perspectives on gender identity formation, focusing on one which has potential to theorise the oppression of women. I will draw on theory published by Judith Butler on 'gender performativity' as the main framework from which to understand gender (Butler, 1990). My understanding of Butler's notion of 'performativity' is coherent with the inclusion of both cis and transgender girls, as gender is viewed as a construction or performance, situated in social interactions rather than biology. Whilst I recognise that gender is a widely contested concept, it is not within the scope of the proposed research to explore this debate. Therefore, it will be sufficient to acknowledge the debate around gender and provide the reader with a list of 'working definitions' for contested terms which supports transparency without wedding the research to one stance over another. It is usual within feminist research to offer the reader a description of the "everyday conditions of a life under the patriarchy" (Gavey, 2011 p. 183), in this case an exploration of literature around the well-being of girls in education. This will include reference to peer-reviewed academic literature such as Patalay and Fitzsimons (2018), governmental policy on the well-being of children and young people (Department for Education, 2018) as well as citing articles from mainstream media sources such as the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and social media. Finally, I will present an argument for Feminist post-structuralist research as a vehicle for sharing counter-discourses and instances of resistance. This is intended to provide the participants and their schools with a collaboratively produced 'object', such as a poster, collage or presentation, which could inform gender discourses in school policy around well-being.

2. Methodology

Design and Methodology Methodological Theory

The proposed methodology is described as taking a Critical Realist standpoint. This is coherent with feminist research and Foucauldian discourse analysis (discussed in more detail later in this section); as it adopts a critical perspective of reality which neither privileges empirical phenomena (as Realism does) nor does it ignore unseen power systems (such as austerity policies) which impact on shared reality (as Relativism does).

Design

The method of the planned research is focus groups. The focus group will be conducted with between 3-4 participants (as suggested in Willig, 2008) in a familiar room within the participants' secondary school. The participants will be asked to participate in two focus groups.

Session One: The aim of the first group will be to discuss questions asked by me (group mediator) and visual elicitation materials. The interview schedule and visual elicitation materials are included in Section F. At the end of session one the participants will then be asked if they would like to return for a final session to which they could bring their own images which represent dominant or counter discourses raised in the session.

Session Two: The aim of the second group will be to discuss their own images and create the collaborative 'object' (i.e. poster, collage or presentation).

The limits to confidentiality and anonymity will be discussed with participants at the start of each session. This would apply if a participant disclosed something which raised concerns about the risk of harm to themselves or others. It will also be explained that there is a possibility that anonymised information will be used in a published article based on the research (this is included in the information sheets and consent forms in Section F).

Rationale for use of Focus Groups

The use of focus groups is justified by the benefits of establishing a 'group dynamic' (Morgan et al., 2002) which could facilitate open and unrehearsed discussion. It is hoped that the participants will feel strongly about the topics of gender and well-being, and that both concepts lend themselves to diverse and disparate constructions.

Focus groups are said to depersonalise discussions about sensitive issues which potentially reduces perceived levels of threat and distress. If the focus group materials include text or images which reflect relevant but sensitive topics such as sexual harassment, a 'trigger warning' system will be utilised. Whilst the notion of forewarning people about trauma-inducing material is not new, the phrase has resurfaced recently in academic and popular cultural discourses (James, 2017). Offering trigger-warnings has the following ethical reasoning (Wyatt, 2016 pp. 22-23):

- It facilitates appropriate accommodation for students who experience high levels of distress or "mental illnesses"
- It constitutes a "small act of empathy that minimizes harm,"
- It helps to "ensure transparency"
- It "fosters authentic discourse"

Overall, advocates maintain that trigger-warnings are beneficial because they provide students with the ability to make informed decisions (James, 2017). It may also be pertinent to signpost various avenues for well-being support following the focus groups such as the named Designated Safeguarding Lead for the school and on-line support through Kooth (<https://www.kooth.com/>)

Interview Questions and Visual Elicitation Materials

The focus groups will take place over two sessions. The first will be semi-structured through the use of an interview schedule and photo elicitation taken from procedural guidance in similar research, namely Frosh et al., (2001). As noted, these are found in Section F. The use of imagery is important, the role of imagery in articulating discourses through a more accessible and consumable format is an under-researched area.

Participants will be presented with up to 20 different images which represent the discourses which are evoked by the questions (following protocol in Frosh et al., 2001). The girls will be asked to choose images to support their discussion

throughout the focus group. The protocol for selecting images will be explicitly noted, including the purpose (e.g. part of a campaign or advert), how it was produced, who has access to it, and what type of material it is (Willig, 2008).

Participants

Purposive sampling will be employed to recruit girls aged 11-14 years (justified by the evidence in relevant research by Patalay and Fitzsimons 2018) who access education in a mainstream secondary school. I intend to recruit 8 participants, allocated to two separate focus groups. Each focus group will contain no more than 4 participants. It is hoped that each grouping will remain the same for session one and two, however if this is not possible participant will be forewarned. Recruitment will cease on a pre-agreed cut-off date, this is made clear on the participant information sheets. If there are an excess of individuals who wish to take part then participants will be selected at random from the completed consent forms.

It is not anticipated that any specialist modifications will be needed, however it is acknowledged that mainstream secondary schools provide education for girls with Special Educational Needs including visual and hearing impairment, and/or physical disability. Where adaptations may be required, the girls, their families and school will be consulted with.

Procedure

Potential participants will be approached in school by either myself or an agreed gatekeeper in either the Summer or Autumn term of 2019. The research and their potential role will be presented to them verbally and through the participant information sheets.

They will be invited to participate and asked to take an information sheet for their parent/carer. They will be asked to take a consent form for themselves and one for their parent/carer.

Pilot Study

A pilot study will take place prior to the main research, this will be to address two aspects of quality assurance. Firstly, the focus group questions and visual materials will be trialled as to their capacity to elicit discussion on gender and well-being. Secondly, the pilot will provide me (as researcher) with the opportunity to reflect on the management of group dynamics and facilitation of group discussion.

For the group who opt to participate, a pilot focus group will be asked to discuss the questions and visual materials (outlined in Section F), to explore their meaning and associated discourses. They will be asked to provide feedback on the materials, questions and experience of the focus group.

An audio recording will be made of the pilot focus group to aid transcription. A voice-recorder will be loaned from the University of Sheffield Resources service.

Main Research:

- Following any amendments from the pilot study, the main research will include a focus group of between 3-4 participants. The participants will be asked if they want to attend both session one and session two.
- The transcript of the focus group discussions will be made to support the analysis procedure. As the researcher, I will be the only person to listen to the recordings and they will be deleted once they have been transcribed. They will be transcribed anonymously through the use of pseudonyms.
- Participants will contribute to the dissemination of the our discussion, they'll be offered the choice of a poster, collage, or a presentation.
- Following the analysis stage, the participants will be asked if they would like to discuss my interpretations and provide feedback. This can be through the means most convenient, either through email (via school) or face to face in school.
- Once the research has been completed, all participants and parents/carers will be notified as to how they can access it.

Analysis

Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis encompasses a range of different approaches united by the assumption that language is productive rather than descriptive. Discourse is the term used to describe "sets of statements which construct objects and an array of subject positions" (Parker, 1994, p. 245). Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) is a post-structuralist analysis concerned with language and the role it has in the constitution of social and psychological life (Willig, 2008). Post-structuralist ideas are concerned with dismantling power structures within society, as such FDA uncovers the available ways of seeing and ways of being in the world (Willig, 2008). Since the exponential growth of social media access for young people, discourses are arguably communicated with greater efficiency than ever before. The role of imagery in articulating discourses through a more accessible and consumable format is an under researched area. FDA offers the potential to explore the images which are intended to perpetuate certain discourses.

FDA is known for its potential to capture counter-discourses by exploring the discursive resources that shape and construct subjectivity, selfhood, and power relations (Willig, 2008). Dominant discourses legitimise existing power relations and social structures which privilege dominant perspectives on what it is to 'be a girl'. In addition, FDA is able to explore how dominant and counter discourses have evolved over time. This temporal perspective allows analysis to consider whether girls today are experiencing a greater threat to their well-being than other generations.

Procedural Guidelines for FDA

The procedural guidelines for my proposed analysis were initially based on the six stages presented in Willig (2008). However, to adopt an overall critical Foucauldian perspective, I have made the decision to not include the elements which speak more to Conversation Analysis or Discursive Psychology (such as Action Orientation and Practice).

The five stages are as follows:

1. Discursive constructions

- 2. Discourses
- 3. Positioning
- 4. Subjectivity
- 5. Historical Context

3. Personal Safety

Have you completed your departmental risk assessment procedures, if appropriate?

Not applicable

Raises personal safety issues?

No

The research will take place off University premises, however it will take place on a school site during school opening hours. A secondary school environment is not considered dangerous nor it is anticipated that it would contain potentially threatening people. I will inform my research supervisor of the scheduled visits to school. I will also ensure that the school have agreed my visit dates well in advance and have a copy of my up-to-date DBS certificate. I will be familiar with and adhere to the school's protocols around health and safety and safeguarding. This may include accommodations which are usual in Trainee Educational Psychologist practice such as; using rooms with windows, seating participants nearer the door, having school staff arrange the room booking, ensuring school staff know where the participants are for the duration of the focus group and where they should return once completed.

Section D: About the participants

1. Potential Participants

The Local Authority will provide names of secondary schools within the area. Once contacted, the gatekeeper (for example Head of Year or Form Tutor) within the school will identify girls aged 11-14 who are able to participate. Either myself or a named gatekeeper will present the research to the potential participants through either year group assembly or individual form groups. Potential participants will then self select by taking an information sheet and signing the consent form (alongside the legal guardian) or first communicating the intent to participate with the gatekeeper who can support the formal process of gaining informed consent.

Intentionally, the proposed research project resists the use of provisos or restrictions to participation based on learning and/or communication needs. The voice of young people who are perceived by adults to have Special Educational Needs is often lost in research due to ableist and paternalistic discriminatory practices (Cameron and Murphy, 2002).

2. Recruiting Potential Participants

Secondary schools will be contacted in the first instance and invited to participate. The aims and objectives of the research will be presented to school through a School Information Sheet. The potential participants will be informed about the research by either myself or the gatekeeper through a school procedure (i.e. year group assemblies or form groups). The parents/legal guardians of girls who are interested in participation will be offered a twilight session in school to discuss the aims and objectives of the research, providing an opportunity to meet with myself and have any questions answered ahead of participation.

If potential participants are unable to understand it, it will be further explained to them verbally with the help of someone who knows them well.

Potential participants indicate initial interest by taking a written information sheet for themselves and their parent/carer. They should then get both forms signed and returned to school. Potential participants will be informed that a maximum of eight volunteers can be accepted. If there are an excess of volunteers who wish to take part, participants will be selected at random from the completed consent forms. To avoid disappointment, the information sheets will include a cut-off date after which no more participants can be recruited. This is to ensure the research can be submitted at identified stages, as outlined by tutors on DEdCPsy. In order to reduce feelings of rejection, I will provide the unsuccessful volunteers with a standard letter which thanks them for their interest but explains that recruitment has closed.

Participant numbers are kept to a maximum of 8 to ensure that the research remains at a manageable size (in terms of data produced and commitment to feedback) for the Doctoral Programme time-scale.

2.1. Advertising methods

Will the study be advertised using the volunteer lists for staff or students maintained by CICS? No

- not entered -

3. Consent

Will informed consent be obtained from the participants? (i.e. the proposed process) Yes

As the girls will be between the ages of 11-14, they will need their informed consent counter-signed by their parent/carer (see Section F). Legal guardians will be identified by school (i.e. parent, special guardianship or Looked After Child). Parent/carers will be given a separate information sheet which will outline the purpose of the research and the ongoing means by which consent is monitored (see Section F).

The potential participants are described as being a vulnerable group due to their age. As such, it will be particularly important that attention is paid to ensure that participants are given appropriate autonomy. The following are some procedures which have been noted in previous research:

- Legal guardians will be asked to countersign for girls who agree to take part.
- All information about the study will be presented in simple language. If there is any doubt as to whether potential participants are able to understand it, it will be further explained to them verbally with the help of someone who knows them well (Mitchell 2010)
- To limit the chance of girls feeling pressured into participating, an ongoing process of monitoring non-verbal indications of a wish to withdraw, including social withdrawal or distress, will be monitored (Morrison, 2013). The girls will be asked before each meeting whether they still consent. The girls and their relevant gatekeepers (parents, legal guardians and/or school staff) will also be asked to actively monitor consent (Tozer et al., 2013). The information sheets and consent forms will be explicit about there being no requirement for a reason to be provided if a participant should wish to withdraw.

4. Payment

Will financial/in kind payments be offered to participants? No

5. Potential Harm to Participants

What is the potential for physical and/or psychological harm/distress to the participants?

Focus Groups:

Inconvenience and potential distress if the group discussion is found to be challenging.

Sensitive Topic:

The topics of gender, well-being and resistance have the potential for unexpected distress.

Expectations and Scope:

A final consideration is the potential harm caused by mismanaging the participants' expectations of the research.

How will this be managed to ensure appropriate protection and well-being of the participants?

Steps to minimise distress during the focus groups include:

- ground rules such as listening, respect, non-judgemental comments and confidentiality. An agreed system will be used whereby if rules are disregarded the participants have a predetermined number of warnings then are asked to leave (as is common in school intervention groups).
- Myself as mediator; reasonably experienced in running group interventions and working with young people.
- The benefits of focus groups have been noted in Section C; both in terms of the quality of the research and to allow participants to explore topics through a methodology less personal and invasive than individual interviewing.

Steps to minimise harm around the sensitive topic include:

- Participants will be informed that, if they reveal something during the research that raises concern, then their confidentiality will need to be breached. The University advises researchers to pursue the most effective means of protecting the child, which in this instance will be to adhere to the school's Safeguarding Policy initially, followed immediately by following the Local Authority's policy. See https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/polopoly_fs/1.165641/file/SREGP-Children-Young-People.pdf for details. Alongside this, I will contact the Supervising Researcher to inform them of any disclosures and seek relevant advice and support.
- Participants will have been forewarned about any particularly sensitive material in this area (see informed consent and trigger warnings).
- Participants will be instructed in both sessions that they have the right to leave the group at any point (without asking permission).
- For some participants there may be potential for significant or even unexpected distress, this will be planned for by arranging an agreed point of contact with school (such as the Head of Year and/or Designated Safeguarding Lead) to coordinate the pastoral support mechanisms already available in school, such as Learning Mentor support, access to quiet spaces or referral to external agencies such as Futures in Mind or the Educational Psychology Service.

Steps to minimise harm around mismanaging the participants' expectations are:

- It will be made clear to the participants that this research is exploratory, and as such their views, experiences and perspectives are of interest.
- Participants will be told that the research will be disseminated to school, who may wish to seek further advice about

implementing change however this is not a guaranteed process of participation.

Section E: About the data

1. Data Processing

Will you be processing (i.e. collecting, recording, storing, or otherwise using) personal data as part of this project? (Personal data is any information relating to an identified or identifiable living person).

Yes

Which organisation(s) will act as Data Controller?

University of Sheffield only

2. Legal basis for processing of personal data

If, following discussion with the UREC, you wish to use an alternative legal basis, please provide details of the legal basis, and the reasons for applying it, below:

According to the data protection legislation, the legal basis I am applying in order to process personal data is that: 'processing is necessary for the performance of a task carried out in the public interest (Article (6)(1)(e)).

Will you be processing (i.e. collecting, recording, storing, or otherwise using) 'Special Category' personal data?

No

3. Data Confidentiality

What measures will be put in place to ensure confidentiality of personal data, where appropriate?

Participants will be assigned a pseudonym and this will be used in the transcription, analysis and discussion process.

The only descriptive data gathered will be age and gender. As the transcription will be of focus group discussions which is then analysed with reference to discourses, it will be very difficult to identify individual participants views or voice.

As noted in Section DS, in the event that participants disclose something of a safeguarding nature (informed by the school's safeguarding policy) than confidentiality will be breached. Parents/Carers and participants are informed about this in the information sheets and consent forms.

4. Data Storage and Security

In general terms, who will have access to the data generated at each stage of the research, and in what form?

The audio recording of the focus group discussion will be accessed only by myself (as researcher). I will independently transcribe the audio recording into a written document which will be anonymised through the use of a pseudonym.

The anonymised transcription may then be shared with my main research supervisor (Dr Antony Williams) to ensure quality during the analysis process.

The analysis and interpretations will then be shared with the participants for their suggested amendments. Any amendments will be consider and adopted as decided by myself, these will be anonymous and incorporated into the final analysis.

The collaborative dissemination project (such as a collage, poster or presentation) will be stored and owned by the participants in school. However, a photo will be taken to be included in the written Thesis.

What steps will be taken to ensure the security of data processed during the project, including any identifiable personal data, other than those already described earlier in this form?

The transcription will be stored onto a secure laptop. To maintain confidentiality, participants will be assigned a pseudonym and only this name will be used to identify them. A list of participants and any descriptive information will be stored password protected, in a document on a secure server within the University of Sheffield.

Electronic data will be stored on a secure laptop and a back-up kept on the University of Sheffield secure server. Hard-copy data will be stored in a locked cabinet in the Educational Psychology Service offices in the LA.

Will all identifiable personal data be destroyed once the project has ended?

Yes

Please outline when this will take place (this should take into account regulatory and funder requirements).

All identifiable personal data will be destroyed one year after thesis completion. This date has been requested to allow

time for subsequent publication (in a peer-reviewed journal) or conference presentation.

Section F: Supporting documentation

Information & Consent

Participant information sheets relevant to project?
Yes

Document 1058710 (Version 3) School Staff Information Sheet	All versions
Document 1058709 (Version 3) Parent/Carer Information Sheet	All versions
Document 1058708 (Version 3) Child Information Sheet	All versions

Current forms relevant to project?
Yes

Document 1058712 (Version 3) Parent/Carer Consent Form	All versions
Document 1058711 (Version 2) Child Consent Form	All versions

Additional Documentation

Document 1058643 (Version 3) Research Proposal-passed.	All versions
Document 1058639 (Version 3) Photo Elicitation Material 'Counter-Discourses'	All versions
Document 1058638 (Version 3) Photo Elicitation Material 'Sexism in Advertising'	All versions
Document 1058637 (Version 1) Photo Elicitation Material 'How to be a Girl'	All versions
Document 1057712 (Version 1) Interview Schedule	All versions

External Documentation

- not entered -

Section G: Declaration

Signed by:
Elen Powell
Date signed:
Wed 17 April 2014 at 20:02

Official notes

- not entered -



Downloaded: 16/04/2020
Approved: 18/04/2019

Ellen Powell
Registration number: 170109943
School of Education
Programme: Doctor of Education and Child Psychology

Dear Ellen

PROJECT TITLE: Exploring Girls Well-being and Resistance: A Foucauldian Discourse Analysis
APPLICATION: Reference Number 025442

On behalf of the University ethics reviewers who reviewed your project, I am pleased to inform you that on 18/04/2019 the above-named project was **approved** on ethics grounds, on the basis that you will adhere to the following documentation that you submitted for ethics review:

- University research ethics application form 025442 (form submission date: 17/04/2019); (expected project end date: 10/09/2020).
- Participant information sheet 1058710 version 3 (17/04/2019).
- Participant information sheet 1058709 version 3 (17/04/2019).
- Participant information sheet 1058708 version 3 (17/04/2019).
- Participant consent form 1058712 version 3 (17/04/2019).
- Participant consent form 1058711 version 2 (17/04/2019).

If during the course of the project you need to [deviate significantly from the above-approved documentation](#) please inform me since written approval will be required.

Your responsibilities in delivering this research project are set out at the end of this letter.

Yours sincerely

David Hyatt
Ethics Administrator
School of Education

Please note the following responsibilities of the researcher in delivering the research project:

- The project must abide by the University's Research Ethics Policy:
<https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/rs/ethicsandintegrity/ethicspolicy/approval-procedure>
- The project must abide by the University's Good Research & Innovation Practices Policy:
https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/polopoly_fs/1.6710661/file/GRIPPolicy.pdf
- The researcher must inform their supervisor (in the case of a student) or Ethics Administrator (in the case of a member of staff) of any significant changes to the project or the approved documentation.
- The researcher must comply with the requirements of the law and relevant guidelines relating to security and confidentiality of personal data.
- The researcher is responsible for effectively managing the data collected both during and after the end of the project in line with best practice, and any relevant legislative, regulatory or contractual requirements.

Appendix G: School Staff Information Sheet



Staff Information Sheet

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Ellen Powell and I am a 2nd Year Doctoral student of Educational and Child Psychology at the University of Sheffield. I am currently undertaking a research project that aims to look at girls' experience of 'being a girl' and how that can impact on their well-being. I hope to provide a new perspective on how girls resist ideas about 'being a girl' that can be harmful.

I would like to invite your school take part in this research project. Before you decide, please take some to read the following information which will give some additional information about what the research will involve.

What is the purpose of the research?

Some people think gender has an impact on the lives of young people, in terms of their friendships, their experience of school and how their well-being is understood. I am interested in discourses of gender, otherwise known as messages and stereotypes or the different ways girls are expected to behave or think. I want to find out how these stereotypes effect girls; if they are aware of them and how they can be helpful or harmful.

This is particularly important at the minute because of the rise of social media. Recently, there has been a growing concern about the impact social media has on young people and their well-being. By sharing images (such as photos or memes) through platforms such as Snapchat, Facebook and Instagram girls are exposed to different messages and stereotypes more than ever before. For some girls, this can take place without the direct supervision of adults. I would like to know what girls say about the images they see every day and how they think girls and women are represented now.

Do pupils have to take part?

It is up to the child and their parent/carer to decide whether or not they want to take part. If they both agree for the child to take part, they will each be given an information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. Both parent/carers and pupils can withdraw from the research at any time. They do not have to give a reason if they choose to withdraw.

If there are an excess of girls who wish to take part, participants will be selected at random from the completed consent forms (please see attached). I can only meet with eight volunteers. Please ensure your pupils' consent forms (the parent/carer and the pupil's) are available for collection by XX/XX/XXXX to avoid disappointment. I will provide the school with a brief letter explaining why volunteers were unable to participate if either they were not selected or if they provided consent forms after the cut-off date.

What will happen to pupils who want to take part?

If a pupil were to take part, they will be invited to attend two focus groups taking place in Summer or Autumn term 2019.

I am planning to use small focus groups (3-4 participants in each) with girls aged 11-14 years. Each focus group will last no more than an hour in length.

First group: I will ask questions relating to school (e.g. do teachers prefer girls or boys?); gender (e.g. do you think boys and girls are similar?); well-being (e.g. what are some of the things girls worry about?) and social media (e.g. If you could design a platform for girls your age, what would you put on it?). During the focus group I will show the participants images taken from advertising and social media representing 'girls'.

Second Group: I will then ask participants if they want to join the group for a second time to share different images about 'being a girl' they have come across. Then, together we will hopefully make something to share the things we have discussed with school. This is likely to be a poster, collage or presentation.

Later On: I would like to meet up again with the group when I am writing the results so they can let me know what they think about my ideas. Once my research has finished, I will let parent/carers, pupils and school know where to find it. I hope that when I have finished the research I will be able to write it up as an article which will be published in a journal.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

There are no physical risks posed to participants. However, I understand that participants might find talking in groups uncomfortable or embarrassing. Every effort will be made to ensure that the participants feel as safe and comfortable as possible.

For some participants there may be potential for unexpected distress, this will be planned for by arranging an agreed point of contact with school (such as the Head of Year and/or Designated Safeguarding Lead) to coordinate the pastoral support mechanisms already available in school, such as Learning Mentor Support and access to quiet spaces. Either myself or a member of school staff will inform parents/carers if this applies to their child.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

I hope that taking part in this group may be an enjoyable and empowering experience for participants. It could highlight to girls the messages and stereotypes they see and how they can impact on well-being. At the end of the group, the

participants will decide how to share our discussion with school. This could have implications for how the well-being of girls is understood in school.

What if something goes wrong?

If you have a complaint you wish to share at any time during the research you can contact the student researcher via email: epowell2@sheffield.ac.uk. However, should you feel that your complaint has not been handled to your satisfaction or you would prefer an alternate point of contact you can contact the Supervising Researcher via email: anthony.williams@sheffield.ac.uk.

Will pupils' participation be kept confidential?

Ethical guidelines will be followed and all information that is collected from participant's involvement in the research will be kept confidential. Participant's names will not be used in the writing up of the focus group or in the final report.

During the research; participants will be informed that if they disclose something which raises concern, their confidentiality will be breached. In this event, I will adhere to the school's Safeguarding Policy around disclosures immediately.

Will pupils' be recorded, and how will the recorded media be used?

I will record the sessions using a Dictaphone. The audio recordings will be deleted once they have been transcribed. The audio-recordings will be used only for transcription. No other use will be made of them and no one outside the research will be allowed to access the recordings. All information will be completely anonymous and confidential, unless there are concerns about a situation where a child may be at risk of harm. In that instance, the school's Safeguarding Procedures will be followed.

What is the legal basis for processing the data?

The research project is GDPR compliant. According to the data protection legislation, I am required to inform you that the legal basis I am applying in order to process personal data is that 'processing is necessary for the performance of a task carried out in the public interest (Article (6(1)(e))).

Further information can be found in the University's Privacy Notice:

<http://www.sheffield.ac.uk/govern/data-protection/privacy/general>.

Who is the Data Controller?

The University of Sheffield will act as the Data Controller for this study. This means that the University is responsible for looking after your information and using it properly.

What will happen to the results of the research project?

I hope to meet up with participants to get their feedback on my interpretations. The results of the project will be drawn together to be included in a thesis. Once the research has been completed, all participants, parent/carers and school will be notified as to how they can access it. There is a possibility that anonymised information will be used in a published article based on the research.

General findings which may improve educational practices will be reported to the school. Pupils who participate in the research will have the chance to share their group's discussion with the school through a collage, poster or presentation. The school will be responsible for keeping this once the research has finished.

Who is organising and funding the research?

The research project is part of the requirements for completion of the Doctorate in Educational and Child Psychology and does not have any sponsorship or funding.

Who has ethically reviewed the project?

This project has been ethically approved via the University of Sheffield's Education Department ethics review procedure.

Taking part in this research is voluntary and so a pupil and/or their parent/carer can withdraw at any time without giving a reason.

Many Thanks,

Ellen Powell



epowell2@sheffield.ac.uk



Appendix H: Parent Information Sheet



Parent/Carer Information Sheet

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Ellen Powell and I am a 2nd Year Doctoral student of Educational and Child Psychology at the University of Sheffield. I am currently undertaking a research project that aims to look at girls' experience of 'being a girl' and how that can impact on their well-being. I hope to provide a new perspective on how girls resist ideas about 'being a girl' that can be harmful.

I would like to invite your child take part in this research project. Before you decide, please take some to read the following information which will give some additional information about what the research will involve.

What is the purpose of the research?

Some people think gender has an impact on the lives of young people, in terms of their friendships, their experience of school and how their well-being is understood. I am interested in discourses of gender, otherwise known as messages and stereotypes or the different ways girls are expected to behave or think. I want to find out how these stereotypes effect girls; if they are aware of them and how they can be helpful or harmful.

This is particularly important at the minute because of the rise of social media. Recently, there has been a growing concern about the impact social media has on young people and their well-being. By sharing images (such as photos or memes) through platforms such as Snapchat, Facebook and Instagram girls are exposed to different messages and stereotypes more than ever before. For some girls, this can take place without the direct supervision of adults. I would like to know what girls say about the images they see every day and how they think girls and women are represented now.

Does your child have to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether or not you want your child to take part. If you do decide for your child to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. Your child will also be given a consent form to sign if they wish to take part. Both yourself and/or your child can withdraw from the research at any time. You do not have to give a reason if you choose to withdraw. If you do not want your child to volunteer or if they are withdrawn from the research, it will not have any

detrimental effect on their school life, their assessment, or the way they are viewed by myself or the staff at the school.

If there are an excess of girls who wish to take part, participants will be selected at random from the completed consent forms (please see attached). I can only meet with eight volunteers. Please ensure your child's consent forms (the parent/carer and the pupil's) are returned to school by XX/XX/XXXX to avoid disappointment.

This may mean that if your child volunteers, they may not be selected. The school will give your child a brief letter explaining why they were unable to participate if either they were not selected or if they provided consent forms after the cut-off date.

What will happen to my child if they take part?

If your child were to take part, they will be invited to attend two focus groups taking place in Summer or Autumn term 2019.

I am planning to use small focus groups (3-4 participants in each) with girls aged 11-14 years. Each focus group will last no more than an hour in length.

First group: I will ask questions relating to school (e.g. do teachers prefer girls or boys?); gender (e.g. do you think boys and girls are similar?); well-being (e.g. what are some of the things girls worry about?) and social media (e.g. If you could design a platform for girls your age, what would you put on it?). During the focus group I will show the participants images taken from advertising and social media representing 'girls'.

Second Group: I will then ask your child if she wants to join the group for a second time to share different images about 'being a girl' she has come across. Then, together we will hopefully make something to share the things we have discussed with school. This is likely to be a poster, collage or presentation.

Later On: I would like to meet up again with the group when I am writing the results so they can let me know what they think about my ideas. Once my research has finished, I will let you and your child know where to find it. I hope that when I have finished the research I will be able to write it up as an article which will be published in a journal.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

There are no physical risks posed to participants. However, I understand that your child might find talking in groups uncomfortable or embarrassing. Every effort will be made to ensure that the participants feel as safe and comfortable as possible.

For some participants there may be potential for unexpected distress, this will be planned for by arranging an agreed point of contact with school (such as the Head of Year and/or Designated Safeguarding Lead) to coordinate the pastoral support mechanisms already available in school, such as Learning Mentor Support and access to quiet spaces. You will be informed immediately by either myself or a member of school staff if this applies to your child.

There will be a named member of staff in school your child can talk to in the event of them appearing to become uncomfortable or upset during the group. They will be reminded that they can leave the group at any point. They will also be reminded of their right to choose not to answer certain questions or to fully withdraw from the research.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

I hope that taking part in this group may be an enjoyable and empowering experience for your child. It could highlight to girls the messages and stereotypes they see and how they can impact on well-being. At the end of the group, the participants will decide how to share our discussion with school. This could have implications for how the well-being of girls is understood in school.

What if something goes wrong?

If you have a complaint you wish to share at any time during the research you can contact the student researcher via email: epowell2@sheffield.ac.uk. However, should you feel that your complaint has not been handled to your satisfaction or you would prefer an alternate point of contact you can contact the Supervising Researcher via email: anthony.williams@sheffield.ac.uk.

Will my child's participation be kept confidential?

Ethical guidelines will be followed and all information that is collected from your child's involvement in the research will be kept confidential. Your child's name will not be used in the writing up of the focus group or in the final report.

During the research; participants will be informed that if they disclose something which raises concern, their confidentiality will be breached. In this event, I will adhere to the school's Safeguarding Policy around disclosures immediately.

Will my child be recorded, and how will the recorded media be used?

I will record the sessions using a Dictaphone. The audio recordings will be deleted once they have been transcribed. The audio-recordings will be used only for transcription. No other use will be made of them and no one outside the research will be allowed to access the recordings. All information will be completely anonymous and confidential, unless there are concerns about a situation where a child may be at risk of harm. In that instance, the school's Safeguarding Procedures will be followed.

What is the legal basis for processing the data?

The research project is GDPR compliant. According to the data protection legislation, I am required to inform you that the legal basis I am applying in order to process your child's personal data is that 'processing is necessary for the performance of a task carried out in the public interest (Article (6(1)(e))).

Further information can be found in the University's Privacy Notice:

<http://www.sheffield.ac.uk/govern/data-protection/privacy/general>.

Who is the Data Controller?

The University of Sheffield will act as the Data Controller for this study. This means that the University is responsible for looking after your child's information and using it properly.

What will happen to the results of the research project?

I hope to meet up with participants to get their feedback on my interpretations. The results of the project will be drawn together to be included in a thesis. Once the research has been completed, all participants and parents will be notified as to how they can access it. There is a possibility that anonymised information will be used in a published article based on the research.

General findings which may improve educational practices will be reported to the school. Children who participate in the research will have the chance to share their group's discussion with the school through a collage, poster or presentation. The school will be responsible for keeping this once the research has finished.

Who is organising and funding the research?

The research project is part of the requirements for completion of the Doctorate in Educational and Child Psychology and does not have any sponsorship or funding.

Who has ethically reviewed the project?

This project has been ethically approved via the University of Sheffield's Education Department ethics review procedure. Should you decide to take part, you will keep this information sheet and be asked to sign a consent form.

Taking part in this research is voluntary and so your child can withdraw at any time without giving a reason.

Many Thanks,

Ellen Powell



epowell2@sheffield.ac.uk



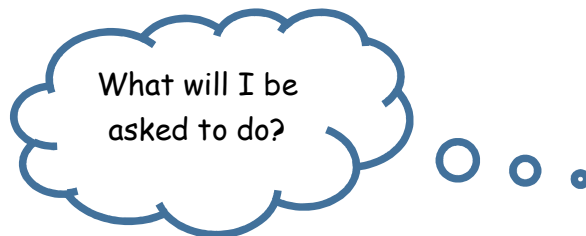
Appendix I: Participant Information Sheet



Child/Young Person's Information Sheet

Hi,

My name is Ellen and I am a student at the University of Sheffield. I am doing some research about what it's like to be a girl, how girls are represented on the internet and social media and how that can impact on your well-being. I would like to invite you take part in this research project, but before you decide please read the following information carefully, and talk to a teacher or your parents about it if you like.



I am going to ask girls from your school to take part in this research. I will invite you to two group sessions.

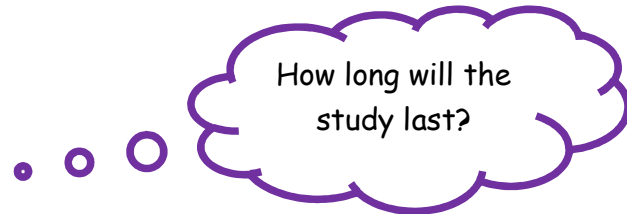
First group: I am going to use small groups (3-4 girls in each) to ask some questions about your day-to-day life. I will also show you some images I've found online which represent different stereotypical 'girls'. I'd like to you talk about the images and your thoughts on 'being a girl'. I will then ask if you want to come back for a second time to share your own images in a small group.

Second Group: We will talk about the different images. Then, I would like us to make something to share the things we have talked about with school. This is likely to be a poster, collage or presentation.

Later On: I would like to meet up again when I am writing the results so you can let me know what you think about my ideas. Once my research has finished, I will let you and your parents/carers know where to find it. I hope that when I have finished the research I will be able to write it up as an article which will be published in a journal.

I will record the sessions using a voice recorder but only I will listen to the recordings. They will be deleted once I have written it all down. I won't use anybody's names when I write it up so no-one will know who said what. Instead of using your real name in the write-up, you can choose a 'pseudonym' (a made-up name) or I can give you one.

To keep everyone safe, if you share anything which makes me worry about yours or someone else's safety, I have to tell the Designated Safeguarding Lead in school. If this happens, I will try to tell you before I inform a member of school staff.



You can be involved in the groups and deciding how to feed back to school. This will take place in June, July or September 2019. The whole project should be written up in Summer 2020.



BENEFITS:

- ✓ Information gained from you and other children may help to change how school staff work with children
- ✓ Talking about your experiences and having someone interested in your story and listening to you can make you feel good.
- ✓ Others can learn of your hopes and aspirations and all things important to you

RISKS:

- No physical risk – you will not be hurt.
- You might feel uncomfortable talking about your experiences in a small group.
- You might become upset before, during or after the group. To support you, there will be a familiar adult to provide follow-up support if you want it. You can also leave the group at any point.



It is completely up to you whether you would like to take part in this research but your parent/carer will have to sign to say that it is ok. You should speak to them about it before you both decide. If you decide not to volunteer or to withdraw, it will not have any negative effect on your school life, assessment, or how you are treated by me or your teachers at school.

I can only meet with eight volunteers. Please return the consent forms (yours and your parent/carer's) as soon as possible, the cut-off date for volunteering is xx/xx/xxxx. School will give you a letter to let you know if you have not been selected for this project.

Even if you agree to take part, you can change your mind at any time and you don't have to give a reason. I will be coming into school soon so we can talk about this research and so you can ask any questions that you might have. If you need any more information you should speak to your parents and ask them to contact me.

Thanks,

Ellen



epowell2@sheffield.ac.uk



Appendix J: Participant Consent Form



Child/Young Person Consent Form

Name of Student Researcher: Ellen Powell

Institution: The University of Sheffield

Course: Doctor of Education and Child Psychology

Title: Exploring Girls' Well-being and Resistance

Please make sure you have read (or listened to) the Information Sheet before filling in this form. Please read the statements below and put your initials at the end if you agree with them.

<p>I have read (or listened to) and understood the Information Sheet for the above study.</p>		
<p>I have had time to think about the information, ask questions and have had these answered.</p>		
<p>I confirm that I am choosing to take part in this project and have not been pressured.</p>		
<p>I understand that I can withdraw from this project at any time without giving a reason.</p>		
<p>I understand that I do not have to answer any questions during the group that I do not want to or feel able to.</p>		
<p>I understand that the things I talk about in this research will be written in a report. My name will not be used in the report. Extracts from the recordings may be used as quotes to illustrate certain points however no names will be used.</p>		
<p>I understand that if I disclose something of a safeguarding nature, my confidentiality must be breached in order for the researcher to follow the school's Safeguarding Policy.</p>		
<p>I understand that the groups will be audio-recorded so that there is a good record of what was said. I understand that the interview recording will be heard by the student researcher (Ellen Powell). Typed up group discussions (transcripts) will be looked at by the research supervisor from the University of Sheffield. Transcripts will be stored in a locked cabinet in the student researcher's office.</p>		

YES!!! I agree to take part in the above study.



Appendix K: Parent Consent Form



Parental Consent Form

Name of Student Researcher: Ellen Powell

Institution: The University of Sheffield

Course: Doctor of Education and Child Psychology

Title: Exploring Girls' Well-being and Resistance

Please make sure you have read (or listened to) the Information Sheet before filling in this form. Please read the statements below and put your initials at the end if you agree with them.

Please tick the appropriate boxes	Yes	No
Taking Part in the Project		
I have read and understood the project information sheet dated DD/MM/YYYY or the project has been fully explained to me. (If you will answer No to this question please do not proceed with this consent form until you are fully aware of what your participation in the project will mean.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree for my child to take part in the project. I understand that taking part in the project will include them being part of up to two focus groups and being audio recorded.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that it is voluntary for my child to take part and that I can withdraw them from the study at any time ; I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want them to take part and there will be no adverse consequences if I choose to withdraw.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that if my child discloses something of a safeguarding nature, their confidentiality must be breached in order for the researcher to follow the school's Safeguarding Policy.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
How my information will be used during and after the project		
I understand personal details, such as my child's name, will not be revealed to people outside the project.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand and agree that my child's words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs. I understand that my child will not be named in these outputs.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I give permission for the transcript of the focus group that my child participates in to be stored in a secure server in the University of Sheffield so it can be used for future research and learning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
So that the information you provide can be used legally by the researchers		
I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any materials generated as part of this project to The University of Sheffield.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Name of participant [printed]

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Name of parent [printed]

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Name of Researcher [printed]

Signature

Date

Appendix L: Interview Schedule

- Do you all know each other? What group rules can keep us safe and secure here? (The Group)
- Can you tell me three things you think are important about yourself? (Self-description)
- Have you changed much in the last two or three years, if so how? (Development)
- What do you like/dislike about school? Are some girls popular in school? What makes them popular? Do teachers prefer girls or boys? (School)
- Do you mix much with boys? Do girls have boys as friends? Do girls in your year have boyfriends? (Relations with Boys)
- Do you think girls and boys are similar or different? If different, how? Are there different kinds of girls/boys? Do girls do things boys usually do? If so, what do you think of them? Do girls and boys get treated the same at school? Do you think everyone is treated fairly at school? Have you ever thought it was easier for girls or boys? What kinds of names to girls get called? (Comparing Girls and Boys)
- Do you think girls are more emotional than boys? How do they show it? Are girls tough? What are some of the things which girls/boys get most worried about? (Well-being and emotions)
- Are there some women you admire? Are there women you wouldn't like to be like? (Identificatory Figures)
- Do you watch films/videos? What kinds? Do you use social media or streaming platforms? What kinds? If you could design a 'their chose of media' for girls your age, what would you put in it? (Media)
- How did you find the group? Would it have been different if there had been boys present? Would it have been different if it were a man interviewer? (Reflections)

The questions above are taken from Frosh et al., (2002).

Appendix M: Transcription, Reading and ‘Coding’

Jeffersonian Transcription Notation includes the following symbols:

Symbol	Name	Use
[text]	Brackets	Indicates the start and end points of overlapping speech.
=	Equal Sign	Indicates the break and subsequent continuation of a single interrupted utterance.
(# of seconds)	Timed Pause	A number in parentheses indicates the time, in seconds, of a pause in speech.
(.)	Micropause	A brief pause, usually less than 0.2 seconds.
. or ↓	Period or Down Arrow	Indicates falling pitch.
? or ↑	Question Mark or Up Arrow	Indicates rising pitch.
,	Comma	Indicates a temporary rise or fall in intonation.
-	Hyphen	Indicates an abrupt halt or interruption in utterance.
>text<	Greater than / Less than symbols	Indicates that the enclosed speech was delivered more rapidly than usual for the speaker.
<text>	Less than / Greater than symbols	Indicates that the enclosed speech was delivered more slowly than usual for the speaker.
°	Degree symbol	Indicates whisper or reduced volume speech.
ALL CAPS	Capitalized text	Indicates shouted or increased volume speech.
underline	Underlined text	Indicates the speaker is emphasizing or stressing the speech.
:::	Colon(s)	Indicates prolongation of an utterance.
(hhh)		Audible exhalation
? or (.hhh)	High Dot	Audible inhalation
(text)	Parentheses	Speech which is unclear or in doubt in the transcript.
((italic text))	Double Parentheses	Annotation of non-verbal activity.

Jeffersonian Transcription Notation is described in G. Jefferson, “Transcription Notation,” in J. Atkinson and J. Heritage (eds), *Structures of Social Interaction*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

- Once transcribed, I followed guidelines from Willig (2013) to approach reading the transcripts. Willig suggests that the analyst reads the transcripts through at least once before coding (this is known as reading one).
- I then read and re-read the transcripts to select materials for analysis, in light of the research question (Willig, 2013). At this stage, “all material that is potentially relevant is included” (Willig, 2013, p. 120).

- My research question then decided which particular aspects of discourse I explored in detail. As Willig states “there are always many aspects of the discourse that we will not analyse” (2013, p. 120).

References

Atkinson, J. and Heritage, J. (1984). *Structures of Social Interaction*. New York, USA: Cambridge University Press.

Appendix N: Transcripts

Focus Group A1

Time (min:sec)	Participant Name	Transcription
00:00	Ellen	Right I'm guessing that's fine (Laughter) (.) carry on eating (.) it's all good (.) erm yeah I might get something actually (.hhh) okay (.) so what (.) I sort of wanted us to do first (.) I thought of something that (.) erm (1s) you know like an ice breaker (.) that's how people describe these sort of (1s) Just (.) you don't have to think too much about it but (1s) I thought if (.) I was going to say split into groups but if there's just three of you it's kind of up to you you could work just do it all (.) the three of you or we could just do it (.) as a big group (2s) write down (.) I want sort of erm (2s) do you know almost like a word association mind map type thing so I'm going to (.) give you the topic and I just want you to write (1s) anything that comes into your head about it and I'll give you kind of prompts as we're going (.hhh) there's paper there (1s) I probably should have made this more organised shouldn't I (.) so again do you wanna work as a big (.) as a three
00:55	Cross talk	[Yeah] [yeah]
00:56	Ellen	Is that alright (.) so if I said right (.) write down everything that comes into your head about (2s) what (1s) what it's like (1s) what is it to be a girl (.) what's it like being a girl (.) what does being a girl mean to you (.) and then (1s) you've got shall we say (.) I want to time it so you feel a sort of time pressure (1s) so I'm going to say (1s) a minute okay to just (.) you don't have to do it together you can literally just (.) put your own down (.) there's pens (.) what does (1s) what does being a girl mean to you (.) you can get your own piece of paper you can do whatever you like
01:34	K	I'll do that then (.)do you two want to share and I'll do
01:35	Anna	Yeah
01:39	Jo	I don't even know
01:40	Ellen	So it could be (2s) different words that you think describe being a girl (.) it could be (1s) eh (2s) like role models (.) it could be like what you think girls are supposed to do (.) what do you think girls (3s) if you were trying to describe like being a girl to an alien or something what sorts of things come to mind (.)what do you see in your head (3s) it's a big question (.) I've thrown you in with a ginormous big one
02:05- 02:23		(Sound of writing and inaudible talk)
02:24	Ellen	So it might be (.) what do girls look like or (.) what do girls (.) what are they supposed to sound like (.) what do they (2s) do they have different friendships to boys (.) Is there a different way of (1s) eh (1s) that girls (.) are (.) do they act differently to boys in school (2s) is it the same (.) does it depend (.) am I talking absolute rot (.) which has been known (.) there's about 10 seconds or so to finish up some thoughts
03:03	Jo	How do you spell acne
03:05	Anna	A c n e
03:07	Ellen	You're alright for spelling if (.) as long as I get the jist (.) eh (.) okay (2s) so (.) that were just to kind of blast some (.) thoughts to get us started (.) does anyone wanna read anything that they've put (.) go on then ((looks towards Anna)
03:24	Anna	Dangerous
03:25	Ellen	Dangerous (.) that's interesting (.) right so (.) I'm not going to take notes cos it's all being recorded so I'm going to try (1s) and remember as we're talking (.) but shall we dig into that a bit further (.) what do you mean by dangerous
03:39	Anna	Erm(.)like(2s) walking the streets you don't know what's going to happen (.) if someone will like if you're on your own and you look like you're (.) a good target (1s) then you never know who's going to approach you (2s) they could do anything like if they're (.) older than you (.) it might be a male or it might be an older female
03:36	Ellen	Yeah

03:57	Anna	They could abduct you and like take you (.) or like (.) drug gangs and stuff like that
04:03	Ellen	Right that's interesting (.) does that kind of (.) if I said like resonate(.)does that sound(2s)
04:08	K	I don't even know what that means ((laughter))
04:10	Ellen	Ehhh (.) so yeah sometimes I'll just talk absolute nonsense
04:12	CT	((laughter))
04:13	Ellen	and that's fine you just go(.)what (.) errr(.)does that sound (3s) similar to(.)do you think like ah yeah that makes sense to me or do you go oh no I didn't think of it like that before (2s) what do you think
04:28	K	I kind of get where she's coming from(.).cos(.)it is seen as (.) that(.)girls are meant to be weaker gender and (.) easier to(2s) say if it were abduction it would be (.) easier that way cos they're meant to be(3s)like(1s) not as tough(.)and I think that's quite stereotypical (1s) so I do (.) yeah agree with you Anna
04:50	Ellen	So there's a kind of (1s) am I right in thinking (.) there's a sense of it being(.)it could be more dangerous then to be a girl because of (1s) there's like a physical (.) the stereotypes
05:00	K	Yeah
05:01	Ellen	Are based on those (.) sort of (.) physical differences between boys and girls (.) does that sound about right
		(Yeah)
05:11	Ellen	So there are (.) dangerous to me sounds sort of (2s) what's that(.)it's a negative thing (.) is that something to be worried about (.) is that something people are worried about do you think (.) walking (1s) on their own
05:26	Jo	Yeah cos like (.) when you see someone walking up a street (.) and you'll notice them (1s) and if they don't look right you'll cross a road (1s) or (2s) like walk a different way
	Ellen	Okay (.) so there's thing you have to do (2s)
05:37	Jo	Like it just doesn't feel (.) like (2s) right to walk past them (2s) like you feel like somethings going to happen
05:44	Ellen	So there's a feeling attached sometimes to it (.) like a negative feeling or (2s)
05:52	Anna	And I live in quite a bad area like (1s) on the outskirts of like quite a bad place to live (.hhh) and there's lots of like crime and (.) like robbings and stuff like that and you don't know like what's going to happen to you like if you just like(.after school when I'm walking home and I'll walk down my street and there'll be like(2s)someone who just looks suspicious and then you just start thinking the worse
06:14	Ellen	Yeah(.) yeah (3s) do you think (2s) do you think that's(.)at the minute that's kind of (.) different for you guys than it would have been (.) five years ago ten years ago (.) or has it stayed the same
06:26	Jo	Yeah cos (.) when we were younger we used to be able to go out on the streets (and) sJo out and run about (1s) where now(.)my cousins won't even be let out sometimes (.) round where they live
06:43	Ellen	So(.)there's a sense maybe things have changed in the past couple of years (1s) how old are your cousins?
06:45	Jo	Erm (.) they're five and seven
	Ellen	Right (.) would you have been allowed out then do you think?
06:50	Jo	Seven (1s) yeah I been (.) used to be allowed (2s) like running around my neighbourhood (.) and(.)and running around the street with my mates
	Ellen	That's really interesting (.) so there's (.) something about dangerous and maybe it's to do with (1s) a kind of physical (1s) differences between (2s) a vulnerability (.) that's maybe getting worse (.) okay (2s) was there anything else that (.) resonated (.) anything else that came out
07:20	K	Er(.)I put that(.).cos when you were saying about the alien thing(.)I started to write(.)I put(.) girls are supposed to have like long hair perfect (.) wear make-up and super pretty but (.) if you haven't noticed I've got short hair (1s) so I think that what makes me quite unique and different to a lot of girls so (.hhh) like(.)when Anna were on about the dangers (3s) I'm maybe approached differently because of how I look (2s) and I think(.)it's (1s) the way you dress(.)and the way you look kind of effect how somebody approaches you
07:45	Ellen	Yeah (.) so (2s) that stereotypical word you wrote down (.) the stereotypical (2s) look of a girl is (.) you were saying like long hair and you feel like you're (1s) are you(2s) do you see yourself as kind of different to that
07:46	K	Yeah
08:05	Ellen	How have you (.) did(1s)is that a thing you decided to do?

08:11	K	Yeah well (.) I wanted my hair short for quite a long time but when I did get it short(.)I think it just made me feel more comfortable about myself so
08:19	Ellen	That's interesting (.) what about(.)have you kind of noticed that there's a pressure to look a certain way (.) or act a certain way (.) what would you say about that
08:28	Jo	Like we're always being compared to each other
	Ellen	Oh okay (.) how do you mean
08:33	Anna	Like (2s) the stress of being like perfect all the time and making sure that you (2s) you look perfect (.) its like (2s) the boys are like (1s) big boobs big bum and skinny waist and you feel like (.)really pressured because (1s) like I look at other people and compare myself to them(.)I don't know what people are going to think about me (2s) when they see someone else
08:53	Ellen	Yeah (2s) so there's(.)did you say Keira there's perfect?
09:00	K	Yeah (2s)
	Ellen	That seems like a pressure to(2s) look perfect (.) so is there (2s) a perfect(.)perfect girl (.) you'd said big boobs little waist type (.) where does that come from (.) what's that about
09:21	Jo	Magazines
09:22	Anna	Instagram
09:22	Jo	Internet
09:23	Anna	Kim Kardashian
	Ellen	Yeah (3s) she's a massive cultural figure isn't it (.) I suppose (.) that we all look to (2) I don't know(.)what does that (1s) do you think girls generally in your year (.) is that something that most people (.) would find (2s) a pressure to look a certain way (.) or to resist looking a certain way
09:48	Anna	I go to the gym (.) like every day with my friends (2s) and we will say(.) I'm working on my bum today I'm working on my bum today (2s) every day we try to change us selves (.) I don't think that they are the same to like (2s) compare themselves or to think they are like (3s) bad looking and stuff like that (.) but it's like (.) we want (2s) to look (2s) the (.) way (.) that (.) girls <u>should</u> look
10:13	Ellen	Wow (2s) does that sound(1s) about right (.) I hadn't (2s) erm (.) I hadn't thought about the idea of (.) the <u>going to the gym</u> (.) you must be trying to juggle a lot of other stuff right now (.) school work and social life and (3s) so there's going to the gym which plays in to (.) how do you work on your bum
10:53	Anna	Squats°
10:57	Ellen	So you said we are being compared to each other (.) is that (2s) other girls comparing girls is that boys comparing girls (.) is that
11:11	Anna	Most times it's like a (2s) boy comparing a girl to another girl (.) erm (1s) I don't think girls compare themselves to each other (1s) but its always the boys that have got comments (1s) to say
	Ellen	Right okay
11:27	Anna	So they'd say things like (2s) ah she's <u>duh duh duh</u> better than you or she's <u>duh duh duh</u> better than you and(3s) like body wise (.) face wise(.)stuff like that
11:42	Ellen	So (.) when you were saying <u>duh duh duh</u> That (.) can be(.)physical characteristics (.) that's
11:49	Anna	Yeah
	Ellen	(3s) is that something that you've noticed?
11:54	Jo	Yeah(.)like when I'm in engineering(.) I've just come out of(3s) cos you hear them talk about it a lot (.) sometimes they do forget that there's a lass in that class (.) so they'll have proper boy talk and you'll hear them talking about (2s) lasses and comparing them
12:12	Ellen	So that's boy talking?
12:13	Jo	And you'll hear them talking about other stuff as well ((laughs))
12:14	Ellen	What kind of stuff (.) do they talk about?
12:19	Jo	((laughter))
	Ellen	You don't have to answer questions if they make you feel uncomfortable
12:22	Jo	It's like(3s) like (4s) a lot of stuff like (2s) Stuff that boys (2s) do (3s) yeah
	Ellen	So stuff that (1s) potentially makes you feel or could make (1s) other people feel uncomfortable to be around
12:33	Jo	Yeah
	Ellen	So what's it like to learn in that environment

12:45	Jo	I've kind of just got used to it (.) like its(.).like(.)over time you just learn to block it out (2s) so like when they talk about it now it just (.) doesn't bother me (.) I just get on with my work and ignore it all
	Ellen	So you can block it out?
12:59	Jo	Yeah
13:03	Ellen	So is that like across lessons (.) do you find there's like (3s)
13:06	K	I think (.) every lad has got something to say about a girl in (.) every lessons (.) its <u>unavoidable</u> (.) cos that's always going to be the most common talk you're going to hear in a school (1s) it's either that or sport (2s) so it's like(.)it's just something that you hear every day that (.) it's gone on for so long(2s)it's just natural
13:26	Ellen	So it's(2s)part of like (.) the school environment You can't avoid it there's
13:30	K	No
	Ellen	Does it feel then like(2s)it's not(2s)it doesn't cause a problem cos it just is what it is and we just have to get on with it Or does it feel like it is(3s)causing a problem
13:44	K	Personally I don't think it causes a problem at all (.) but it's when they take it too far to a (.) stage where it's going to offend other girls It's going to make (.) other girls think like they're not good enough (.) because like obviously if you say like what XXXX said (1s) and (2s) she's in a lesson and maybe there might be another girl if their hearing this and she might be okay with it but the other girl might compare herself to this and what to change something about herself
14:09	Anna	If I were in Jo's class and I were hearing stuff (.) I'd think like (.) oh am I not good enough then (.) am I (2s) not enough and (2s) stuff like that (.) I also feel like it's the popular boys who talk about it (1s) than the unpopular boys (.) all my close friends are boys and they don't talk about it as much as (1s) other boys do (2s) my boyfriend's friends (.) are not like they don't talk about girls (.) they're more bothered about sports and biking and going out
14:37	Ellen	Yeah (1s) so there's (2s) the thing that stands out (2s) is there's popular boys and (.) presumably popular girls (.) is part of that popularity(2s) talking about girls in particular ways (.) or is that just
15:07	K	(.hhh) I think it's keeping up with what everyone else thinks (2s) that encourages people to think they're cool(.).if you get me (.) so it's like (.) if one boy starts saying something about another (1s) girl and that makes him well liked by other boys (1s) then obviously lots of others are going to do the same (.) cos that's how they see it (.) I don't know how to put this into words(2s) say if someone who wasn't as popular and didn't have as many friends as say the rugby team and the football team (2s) and they heard another lad say something about a girl and they (.) found it amusing or (.) it makes them look good for it then obviously (.) that other boys is going to try and do the same to (.) work his way up
15:44	Ellen	So (.) yeah it becomes part of (2s) part of I suppose a social hierarchy (1s) like a social ladder (3s) that sound (1s) like maybe something that would have happened when I was at school (.) but has it changed?
16:09	Anna	It's stressful ^o
	Ellen	Yeah (.) stressful(.) explain
16:14	Anna	Like (2s) periods and growing up (.) and hormones and moods and (.) just things like that and (2s) and like if you are being off (.) and if you are being like moody because of like your hormones (.) the boys will be like (.) <u>stop being so moody all the time</u>
16:30	Jo	Or <u>look who's on their period</u>
	Ellen	Okay(.) so (1s) there's (2s) what I heard was (.) the stress around (1s) having a period and (.) the hormonal change(.).that's one level of (1s) crap that we deal with (2s) but then there's also something about people going (.) <u>stop having your period</u> (2s) there's the commenting on it or accusing you of being mardy (3s) is it more stressful to be a girl than a boy or (2s) is it just different?
17:16	K	I think that boys go under (.) a lot of pressure and stress like we do but I think girls do have it harder
17:24	Anna	I think we do ^o
17:25	K	(.) because (.) sounds awful to say that boys don't go through as much as girls but girls do go through more (1s) eh (.) like (2s) it's not like girls sit around and talk about (1s) how good boys look(.).and some probably will(.).and some wont (.) but (2s) it's not as harsh (1s) on them as it is on girls

17: 44	Anna	Like (.) boys take things a different way than girls do (.) girls are more prone to over think things
17:47	K	And I think girls are more emotional too
17:48	Ta	Cos boys will just like (1s) laugh it off but girls will (.) think about it more
17:54	Jo	Play on their minds°
17:54	Anna	Yeah
17:55	Ellen	Right there's a lot there (.) cos your talking about you mentioned XXX that girls (1s) will talk about boys(2s) but there's a sense its different (.) we're saying it's not as harsh
18:14	K	It's not like a girl (1s) is going to talk about a lad's figure to other girls and another lad take offense (2s) I mean it can happen and it (.) will but I don't think it's as common
	Ellen	Mmmm (2s) and then we went on to (2s) girls as(.)was the phrase over thinking (3s) is that (.) is that something(.)why do you think girls are described as over thinkers (4s)
18:54	Anna	I'm not sure (.) I think it's just (3s) the way we are (.) I think we all do it at points (1s) some more than others (2s) but just (2s) over think about (2s) what people have said or (.) what people are doing
19:11	Jo	I think we just want everyone to like us ((laugh)) to be honest really
	Ellen	Is there a pressure to be (1s) to be likeable?
	Jo	Yeah
	Ellen	To worry if (1s) someone doesn't like you (4s) do you think (3s) that's part of who were are (1s) or do you think it something we've learned to do (2s) cos of things like(2s) I don't know (.) is it pressures from (3s) when we're little and you're told to act a certain way(.)it is school(.) or the friendships we have
19:53	Anna	I think school puts a lot of pressure on it(2s) being surrounded by a lot of different personalities (2s) is something that changes the way you are(.) like(.)I've changed so much since primary school (.) cos we were surrounded by friendlier kind (1s) caring environment to high school were its more(4s) brutal on people's feelings and(3s) a lot more stressful and (2s) like in primary school everyone would like you you'd all get along(1s) whereas high school I think it's more (2s) a bit like bitchy
20:32	Ellen	What does bitchy in high school look like?
20:33	Anna	Talking about each other (.) like girls to girls(3s)like slagging each other off (.) you could say
	Ellen	What would girls slag each other off about?
20:41	K	Anything they can pin point
20:45	Anna	Yeah(.) anything they can get
20:47	Jo	Yeah (.) like if they've done one thing wrong(2s) you'll talk about that to each other(1s) behind their back Or like(.) if you're mates with them you'll get about it to a different mate(.) anything they can do wrong or (1s) how they annoy you
21:01	Anna	We'll have all done it (.) before like at least once but some more than others (.) obviously (1s) but they'll(.) girls will just not like someone at first sight and (.) they'll just start judging them start away(1s) not on looks but they'll just think(.) I don't like her and not give a reason
	Ellen	That happens more (2s) as you get older than it did do in primary school
21:28	Jo	I think it cos there were less people around you (2s) so like (2s) like now we have over a thousand people around us (1s) and back in primary there was about (2s) five hundred and about half of the school we didn't even see
	Ellen	Of course
21:46	Jo	We just used to be in year groups (.) rather than be surrounded by everyone else (2s) just more like maybe fifty kids
21:53	Ellen	Yeah (1s) and now
21:56	Jo	There's like three hundred
	Ellen	And there's all those kind of competing (3s) competing (1s) vibes
22:03	Anna	There was only twenty-four people in my(.) year in primary (.) cos we were only a really small school(.)twenty-four twenty-five people (2s) we all got along(.)we all went out together after school like (2s) Not all of us together but most of us we had a really close friendship group we used to like (2s) text each other (.) video call (.) play on x-box together but now we just (2s) it's all different
22:26	Ellen	So the friendships look different (2s) like the sorts of things you do together (.) does that change?
22:33	Jo	Friendships change as well I think (1s) like (1s) I'm not <u>even</u> friends with anyone in my primary anymore

22:39	K	Neither am I
22:45	Ellen	(2s) Did that evolve (1s) did it change over time
22:47	K	It did for me cos I've been friends with friends from primary all the way up to this year (1s) and it was this year they changed (2s) it (3s) personally I think it were better for me that they changed (2s) because I don't want to hang around people who don't like me for who I am (2s) so (1s) yeah (.) friendships change but like I can still talk to them (.) and be really nice friendly (1s) and we can have memories (2s) but (.) it doesn't work out as well as it did in primary
23:13	Ellen	So you feel that (.) this year was a turning point
23:18	K	Yeah
	Ellen	(2s) do you think that's (3s) is that because this is a (2s) year 9 (3s) is (.) lots of things do change (3s) is it identity or (2s) do you work out (.) you want people to like you for who you are
23:40	K	Yeah
	Ellen	Do you feel you have a stronger sense of who you are?
23:43	K	Yeah (4s) because I think (2s) like over the past two years it has been fine with this person (.) but I think (1s) once I've like started actually be me (2s) rather than someone I'm not (1s) that's how (2s) they've decided they don't like me (1s) so
24:00	Ellen	Does that fit into (3s) the world of (2s) bitchy or
24:11	K	Yeah cos if it was (3s) say when it was like (.) the first few months of (.) school it was me and these other two people (2s) but then once they've met everyone else (1s) that's when they've changed (.) they've tried to (2s) work their way towards these other people to be somebody that they're not (2s) and do you know when you've known someone for that long and you know everything about them you know them inside (2s) out its kind of like that
24:38	Jo	Change yourself to become popular
24:40	Anna	I haven't (2s) I don't have many close friends but I used to (1s) now I've started not getting close to people cos I know (1s) well I always over think (1s) like people are going to talk about me behind my back (2s) I'm only close with two people now (1s) whereas in year 7 I used to have (2s) fifteen close friends (.) or (2s) loads more closer friends than I do know
	Ellen	Does that sound kind of similar(.)would you say you've(.)would you worry that people(.)
25:13	K	I mean I know I do
25:16	Jo	Yeah so like year 7 (1s) I had like loads of mates but now I really only talk to <u>one</u> (.) I'll just have <u>one</u> cos I know (1s) she's my <u>mate</u> and I can trust her (2s) and she just won't tell anyone about me (1s) or go behind my back or owt
	Ellen	That's important
25:33	Jo	Yeah (1s) cos like (3s) I've had it happen to me before and it (.) <u>does</u> hurt and you don't want it to happen again
25:44	Ellen	Um (1s) yeah that makes sense
25:44	Anna	And I'm the sort of person if (.)someone came up to me (.) and said something about another person (.) like I'd tell them (.) if someone else has said something about them (1s) because I always feel like it's right (.) to tell (1s) the other person cos I'd like it if(.)someone else told me something about me
26:03	Ellen	Yeah (.) it sounds like (2s) so there's values about the right thing or trying to be fair and (2s) erm (.) not enter the world of being bitchy (.) but the pressure to (2s) so what do (.) we talked about like people (.) maybe not being true to who they are (.) In order to be able to
26:46	K	make friends with other people
	Ellen	So what do (2s) is there a(.)cool kids(.)what do popular girls look like (2s) how do they act
27:10	Anna	Big group (2s) big group(.) all together
	Ellen	Mm(.) are we in there? ((gestures to group)) (1s) would we consider ourselves part of that
27:18	CT	[No Used to be]
27:20	K	Yeah used to be
	Ellen	That's interesting
27:26	Jo	I'd rather be invisible cos then I don't have people staring at me(.)like comparing me (2s) I'd rather just (.) stay back and just not(.)be seen
27:31	Anna	I still talk to the people (.) but I'm not part of their group(.)like (.) I don't go out with them I don't talk to them in school
27:36	Ellen	Mm

27:38	Anna	Erm (1s) I don't stand around with them cos I feel like it's better(.)to not be involved cos (.) most of them get involved with like drama and gossip whereas I prefer not to be in (.) as much
	Ellen	So there's a kind of (1s) gossiping that's part of that social world (2s) is it is there(.).how would I(.).if I was walking round your school(.).how would I know who was popular and part of that crowd
28:07	Anna	Loud they are quite loud
28:12	K	The way they look at other people
	Ellen	So (1s) that kind of
28:16	K	Insinuates that they think they're better than everybody else
	Ellen	So it's as much about who they are as (1s) how they act or treat other people (2s) is it (2s) something aspirational for others (.) do other people want to be part of that (2s) or do you think there a core of people who go fuck off I don't wanna be like you
28:53	K	I think always be people who (1s) want to be the most popular person (.) who want to be well liked (.) but I think a lot of people are just happy as they are (2s) like they know everybody they'll talk to everybody (1s) but they won't ever attach themselves to people at the hierarchy (.) straight at the top
29:09	Ellen	So (.) on a slightly different (.) tangent (2s) If I said(.). are we okay with the idea of wellbeing and sort of that its (.) the way I see it as whether internally how good you feel how happy you feel you are (.) whether you're able to (1s) kind of (.) err (2s) balance that natural swarm of emotions we all have but(.).whilst its within here ((points to self)) (1s) I think it can be influenced by things on the outside (.) so like social media things (1s) the atmosphere in school (1s) the culture of (1s) wherever you hang out (2s) do you think(.).are girls more emotional (1s) are girls described as being more emotional than boys (1s) what's a <u>well girl</u> look like?
30:08	Anna	Like happy smiley (1s) like laughing (.) just like being happy and (2s) like never seen out of (.) like (2s) out of their natural emotion and you see them happy all the time (2s) never seen them being more upset or (2s) crying for instance
	Ellen	So that's like (.) that's a <u>well</u> person (.) emotionally well
30:25	Anna	Yeah
	Ellen	Does that sound (.) kind of similar or do you think there's room for variation
30:40	K	I think that being happy and smiley a lot of the time could (1s) like (1s) kind of <u>suggest</u> that you are covering something up (.) like you're putting this face on (.) but it's not actually what you feel
30:52	Ellen	So (2s) we can have (.) we can have room for (1s) maybe (2s) happiness looking like smiling and laughing (1s) or maybe not (.) maybe that's the (1s) I suppose like you were saying ((points to Jolor)) (.) in that room with groups of lads talking about stuff you're trying to (.) ignore it or just accept it's going to happen but it's got nothing to do with me (2s) might that impact on (1s) people's well-being in school (1s) people's happiness in school (5s) are those big questions (1s) so what do you think (1s) what do you think boys are expected to (.) do they their handle emotions differently
31:35	K	I think boys are built to (1s) just take it as it is (.) not show their emotion (2s) but obviously there will be some boys that do cos (.) they should care what people think but (.) its just natural to cry and be upset but (1s) I don't think they should be bothered if people see them upset but they don't
31:55	Anna	It's a stereotype of boys to be more <u>tough</u> and not cry and (1s) not show their emotions just keep it all in
	Ellen	So that's a kind of toughness (1s) outside face (1s) are girls(.).in school(.).are girls kind of tough (.) is that similar
32:15	Jo	Really depends like(.).like (2s) who they are So like (.) some will (.) hide it (1s) and some wont (.) just try to <u>mask</u> their emotions and just look normal(.).no matter like (1s) what they're feeling (.) sad angry they'll just try to (.) put a smile on
32:33	Anna	Like they'll try to hide it but you can tell in their behaviour (1s) like they'll be more quieter (1s) if they've got <u>summat</u> (2s) on their mind or less talkative
32:43	Ellen	So there's things that kind of(.).you'd notice that would signal if someone was well (2s) what do you think(.).girls worry about (1s) is there a (.) difference between what worries a girl and what worries a boy or is it the same sorts of stuff that (.) comes up?
33:02	K	Bit of both (1s) I think boys will always worry about similar things to girls but I think (1s) they'll always worry about different things as well (2s) yeah ((laugh))

33:16	Ellen	So (.) can you (1s) can you describe or give me an example of
33:19	K	Girls might worry about not having the most perfectly clear skin (.) but so could boys (1s) like not having the most perfect face and (.)but (.) as well as hair (.)boys hairstyles(.)girls hairstyles(.)not keeping up with <u>everything</u>
33:34	Jo	With clothes
33:35	K	Yeah clothes
33:38	Anna	Trainers
	Ellen	Is that something (.) do you think that everybody(.) sort of (1s) boys girls(.) anyone worries about that sort of stuff
33:44	Ta	Boys and girls(.)I think
	K	[(not everyone <i>unclear</i>)]
33:48	Anna	[Adidas trainers] (.) like staying up with the trends
33:51	Jo	I find Primark comfy
		[Laughter]
33:56	Ellen	Is that (.) resisting that (1s) pressure to have brands
33:59	Jo	I think it's just comfier (.) it's cheaper (1s) its comfy
34:02	Anna	I follow all the trends (1s) but I don't feel <u>pressure to</u> (.) I just I feel more (1s) that it's my <u>own preference</u>
	Ellen	Yeah (1s) it feels like a choice that (1s) you've [made]
43:21	Anna	[if you'd rather] wear a pair of Primark trainers than (1s) Nike trainers
	Ellen	So what are (1s) we talked a <u>little</u> yesterday about (1s) like uniforms(.)and that (2s) you've got to buy uniform from a specific place (1s) what do (1s) are the uniforms for boys and girls the same or do you have differences (2s) are you told to wear <u>particular</u> things or
34:35	Anna	You're not allowed (2s) well I got told off for my hair bobbles this morning (.) erm [then]
	Ellen	[Your head of year] or form tutor told you off
34:47	Anna	My form tutor told me off for them (1s) she told me to take them out (2s) you're usually not allowed acrylic nails (2s) but I've had mine on for (.) two months and no bodies never said anything
35:04	Jo	Like (1s) you're not allowed them (so tall) (1s) so only allowed a tiny little bit(.)above(.)so like my nails are natural (1s) but mine would still be classed as <u>too long</u> and I'd have to cut them
35:19	Ellen	So <u>who</u> decides [how long you can grow your nails]
35:18	K	[Who ever's in step up](.) Ms Wells (1s) yeah who ever's in step up
	Ellen	So someone looks at the length of your (1s) nails (2s) is this one of those things that's written down as a rule (1s) but no one would (2s)
35:39	Anna	<u>A lot</u> of people go against it
35:36	K	Yeah
35:37	Anna	Also make-up (2s) make-ups a big thing (.) cos obviously (1s) it's like <u>confidence</u> for a girl (1s) if she's got bad skin (.) or if she's got red patches (.) like (1s) and she wanted to cover it up (1s) but then like if she went over the top and did like <u>full eyebrows</u> eyeliner they'd tell you to take <u>all</u> your make-up off
	Ellen	(2s) so (1s) so I presume it's more common for <u>girls</u> to wear make-up than boys (1s) in school
	CT	Yeah
	Ellen	But your saying girls can get away with some (1s) and you think it makes girls feel more confident
36:15	Anna	Then if you go (1s) a <u>slightly bit</u> over the top (.) I once done my eyebrows (.) a little bit too dark (1s) and they've told me to take off <u>all</u> of my make-up (2s) which
		((door opens)) hi (1s) oh are you doing it XXX (1s) am I early
36:34	Ellen	You are a bit early(.) we're finishing at one ((door closes)) (2s) so (2s) if you put on (.) you wouldn't be allowed to wear (2s) full make-up (1s) what about like (1s) your uniform (1s) are you allowed to choose how you wear the uniform
37:04	K	No (1s) [it's got to be a certain temperature (.) for you to take your blazer off]
37:04	Anna	[You're not allowed to wear shorts either]
	Ellen	It's got to be a certain temperature for you to take your blazer off
37:09	Jo	Or your tie
37:10	K	Yeah
37:11	Jo	(I don't think I've even been a school where you can take your tie off)

37:12		((door opens)) Hi Miss (1s) the other girls are going to wait on the blue benches just outside
	Ellen	I'll pick everyone up (1s) okay thank you ((door closes))
37:20	Anna	You're not allowed to wear shorts either(.)you can wear a skirt and don't have to wear tights...you can't wear shorts
	Ellen	You're not allowed to wear shorts
37:23	K	Only in P.E
37:26	Ellen	So are you allowed to wear (2s) so it's hot (1s) are we talking skirt no tights (.) or trousers or
37:33	Anna	You don't have to wear tights (1s) but you can't wear shorts
37:39	K	It's got to be a certain temperature on the corridors
37:41	Anna	You have to ask permission
	Ellen	But you said that changes next year?
37:47	K	Yeah
37:49	Jo	Well (1s) unless you've been like (1s) (you've been) too many times for not having it on in corridors (1s) they force you to keep it on all year (1s) for the rest of the school year
	Ellen	That's absolutely mad (2s) erm. (2s) okay we <u>are</u> nearing the end (1s) we've got about 10 mins or so (.) so I might ask you one more thing (1s) and then we can have a quick chat about (1s) Thursday and (.) if or not you want to come on Thursday (2s) erm (3s) I suppose (1s) in terms of <u>school</u> (1s) what is (1s) are there any kind of (1s) is there anything that could change that would make life easier(.) either that (.) specific issues to being a girl (.) or something that (.) school could do that would (3s)
38:44	K	I think the rule about the toilets (2s) I mean it's a <u>basic human right</u> to go to the toilet whenever you need it and I think us being told <u>when and where</u> we can go is that's wrong
38:54	Anna	I think that school should stop blaming (2s) mental health on who you surround yourself with and take <u>more</u> of the blame because school is <u>very</u> stressful(.)and especially no we've gone into us GCSEs we got more homework(.)we get more work (2s) and like (1s) they put more pressure on us in these last years (2s) instead of in year seven and year eight (2s) and I think they should take some of the blame (.) for how (1s) we are in (2s) stress levels and (1s) but they more blame it on (3s) not on like us friendship groups and where we live
39:29	Ellen	I think that's really interesting (1s) some things to think about for school(.)the idea of (1s) mental health is a massive thing in the media and the impact of (1s) well-being(.) and girls having a tendency to maybe to (2s) you said over think (3s) is there anything else have we missed anything (3s) these are maybe things we can take forward on Thursday and (.) think about if and how you'd want to talk about
		((door opens)) sorry to interrupt I've added somebody called D to the next lesson
	Ellen	Is there signed parental consent?
		She's got signed consent form yeah(.)she's got it with her.
40:19	Ellen	Nice one thank you ((door closes))
		I'll round up now (2s) I might as well stop recording cos I don't need to

Focus Group B1

Time (min:sec)	Participant Name	Transcription
00:00	Ellen	Okay (1s) right (.) so I think it's on (2s) but if that ((points to Dictaphone)) starts flashing at any point and one of you notices (.) just (1s) let me know cos it means it's not actually recording what we're saying (3s) okay (1s) so (.hhh) what I wanted us to start doing (2s) and actually there's a group of you so it will work (1s) do you when people say ice-breakers (.) that idea of (.) something that's quite straightforward (1s) I just want you to sort of (1s) not think about too much (2s) and (.) I'm going to give you some paper (1s) there are pens somewhere on the desk (2s) I've got more (.) if you wanna go into two (1s) groups (.) I don't mind (1s) how you split (1s) if you wanna shift about or if you're happy where you are (3s) I want you to write down (1s)) you can move your cards around ((points to name cards)) write down (1s) erm (1s) what (2s) what words come into your head when I say (2s) what's it like being a <u>girl</u> (1s) what's being a girl about (2s) and write down (1s) it might be (.) different words that describe being a girl (.) it might be (.) if you had to describe being a girl to an alien (.) you can talk about it (3s) I'm going to give you about a minute (2s) you can <u>draw it</u> if drawings easier (3s) erm (2s) and just without giving it <u>too much</u> thought (3) what do girls <u>look like</u> (.) how to girls <u>act</u> (5s) are there famous girls that you wanna be like (.) or (2s) don't wanna be like
		(inaudible)
01:42	Ellen	Spelling isn't massively important
01:45	D	I've got a lot in mind (.) but none of its (.) like ° (2s) massively appropriate °
	Ellen	Ah okay (1s) well I'll say now (1s) in terms of school rules (2s) they kind of (3s) I'd rather you didn't throw tables across the room (2s) but I don't work for your school (1s) so you can use language that might not be appropriate outside of here (2s)
02:11	D	That's what I was gonna say
	Ellen	That's fine (2s) you don't need to (2s) sort of censor (.) your language or your answers for the school
02:23	K	° Have I been (2s) I'm just saying horrible things (.) got to say good things as well °
		° (inaudible whispers, pens writing) °
03:00	Ellen	Okay (1s) we've kind of done our (1s) 10 more seconds or so (1s) finish up your thoughts (20s) Alright then (1s) so (2s) what I thought was starting with that (.) is (2s) is there anything anyone's written that they kind of want to share (.) or (2s) I don't wanna pick anyone (1s) that's a bit schooly
03:44	K	(unclear)
		((laughter))
03:47	K	It's true it's the most ever
03:48	A	I wrote [two faced]
03:48	K	[I put] snakey
03:50	D	Pressured
	Ellen	Right okay (.) erm (.) I have no idea (.) what is snakey?
03:57	K	Snakey (.) right (.) basically (2s) for example (1s) if I told XXX something and went (.) don't tell anybody (1s) and she then went (1s) that's like slagging somebody off (1s) it's like (1s) it's just not being very (.) nice (.) very truthful (.) it's like lying (1s) yeah
04:12	Ellen	Oh okay (1s) so that's something (.) you said ((points to Al))
04:15	A	Yeah two-faced
04:17	H	Yeah I put that as well
	Ellen	So what (2s) is that part of what (1s) being a girl (.) is about (2s) are all girls like that or (.) particular types
04:25	D	Most girls (1s) everyone's got a snakey side
04:30	K	Yeah definitely (.) there's always a side to you (.) you say summat to one person (2s) it's just what girls are like (1s) [you'll say]
	T	[Gossip]
04:36	K	You say something to one person and then you say (1s) it to your mate (1s) summat else (1s) that's not (1s) the same as what you say to them (.) I don't know
04:44	T	So it gets a bit twisted

04:45	K	Yeah
04:49	Ellen	So there's (.) so what sort of stuff do (.) girls say to each other
04:53	T	It's about yourself (2s) like if you find stuff out about anyone
04:58	D	Yeah so (.) say like (1s) if someone's lost their virginity (2s) you go round (1s) telling everyone (.) and they told you not to tell everyone (1s) and you do anyway
05:06	K	But some girls are different and they do keep it themselves (.) but you gotta be watch who you tell people (2s) like (.) yeah
05:15	Ellen	So there are girls who kind of (1s) resist that (1s) idea of how girls act
05:21	K	(I'm a <i>unclear</i> person) (1s) so (.) I'm not gonna lie (1s) like (2s) if someone told me something (.) who I'm not really close to (.) I'd go and tell my mate (.) but if its someone I'm close to (.)
05:30	T	Yeah
05:32	K	And it's like (.) if know that it's (.) something that's cause arguments (1s) so (.) I'll just keep it to myself
	Ellen	Is that (1s) loyalty
05:38	T	Yeah
05:39	H	And trust
05:41	Ellen	So then (1s) for some (2s) is it important for then (.) with certain friends (.) or for certain (1s) people you're close to (1s) that sounds like loyaltys important (.) trusts important?
	CT	Yeah
05:55	Ellen	But maybe for (1s) the wider circle of girls
05:59	A	There's like (1s) your best friends and your friends (2s) it's a totally different thing
	Ellen	There's a difference in how we (2s) I say we (2s) is that something you see in yourselves
06:15	CT	(yeah definitely)
06:18	D	I think girls are more mouthy than boys so
	CT	((laughter)) (yeah definitely)
06:21	D	They get in more trouble with their mouths than they do like (.) their fists
06:23	Ellen	Okay (1s) so the comparison then is that (1s) so girls (.) what's mouthy?
06:28	D	They're all mouth and no (1s) bite
06:32	H	No action it's just mouth
06:34	Ellen	Yeah (.) yeah (.) no action (2s) so boys are fists (.) are they (1s) they're more likely to fight (1s) is that in school
06:40	D	Girls go up to each other mouthing (1s) I've seen it before
06:45	K	Yeah I have (2s) <u>many</u> arguments with people
06:49		[[((LAUGHTER))]]
06:55	Ellen	So what do you (3s) like (.) what sort of things do you fight about?
06:57	A	Other girls
06:58	K	They're the main thing (1s) I'd probably argue about it (1s) if someone said something to my mate (2s) like...I know (.) a lot of people are very strong about that and they would (2s) like (3s) I dunno (.) if you hear someone say something (.) you're sticking up for your mate (.) cos maybe they don't want to say anything cos it's about them (.) but they feel a bit (2s) like (.) you're mates are like (1s) there to
07:19	A	I think if people (2s) if someone said something about you (1s) then you're not really bothered (.) but if someone [says something about your friends (.) then you (.)]
07:26	H	[I'm more bothered about] that then what people say about me
		[Yeah]
07:30	Ellen	Okay (2s) is that (.) erm (3s) does that sounds like (1s) that's quite a nice thing then (1s) about being a girl (1s) as long as (2s) [you've got those people who are]
07:38	T	[I'd say it is]
07:39	Ellen	It sounds like it's quite a (.) positive thing (2s) I guess it (.) has the other edge that (1s) girls will (1s) throw you under a bus if
		[laughter]
	Ellen	[they don't like you] (2s) but for those people you're close to (1s) is that (1s) is that different for boys (.) do boys have that
07:53	A	(I think boy are for themselves)
07:57	D	Boys just batter each other (2s) if a boy's got a problem with another lad (2s) he'll go [up and]

07:58	K	[Get in their face to do it]
07:59	D	Yeah
08:01	K	[they do it for themselves]
08:01	D	[they do it for themselves]
08:03	K	cos otherwise if they get their mates involved (1s) then they can (1s) make it seem like they're soft (.) and they're not hard enough to do it themselves
08:05	D	If a girls got a problem they'll go to their best mate
08:11	K	You're best mates like (2s) if summat (1s) if you get something told (1s) you're like right (1s) I need to find my best mate (.) cos then she can do summat ((laughter))
08:16	Ellen	Right okay (.) so there's a kind of (3s) what's that word
08:22	H	It's like a bond
08:26	Ellen	So there's more of a bond is there (.) do you think (2s) than with boys (2s) I like the idea that (3s) so if a boy was to (1s) you know (.) ask his mate to step in and do something (.) it would make him (1s) was it soft (2s) do you think that's (2s) that's part of (1s) like (.) having a reputation in school
		[yeah]
08:42	Ellen	So do girls (1s) what would be said of (.) like (1s) if a girl was to have like an actual fight (1s) like a physical fight
08: 52	A	I feel like (.) they'd look more (1s) like boys would think (2s) better of them (1s) like not better but (.) they'd be like (1s) ah yeah watch out for her and everything (1s) like
	Ellen	Ah okay (1s) so you might get a bit more (1s) attention (1s) boys might look at you a bit more (3s)
09:06	K	They might also (.) like (2s) I dunno (2s) [like]
09:09	T	[I dunno] (1s) it's more expected in boys innit
09:11	K	When you hear about a girl (.) in a fight it's like (2s) <u>OH</u> ((facial expression surprise and disgust))
09:14	T	When it's a lad
09:17	K	Yeah (.) its just normal
09:18	Ellen	So it's (1s) when you said oh (.) sounds like it's (1s) it would be (1s) surprising
09:22	K	You know if girls have a fight then (.) something really bads happened (.) cos you know (1s) usually they wouldn't have fought (1s)but with boys it will be summat stupid like (2s) they've touched their girl friend or summat (.) and they're having a fight over it (2s) it's like <u>get over it</u>
09:45	Ellen	Okay so it's (2s) to a place beyond where you can just be mouthy
		[yeah]
09:41	Ellen	Are we better at like (2s) are we better at we better at (.) talking then <u>boys</u> or [is that not true]
09:46	D	[Yeah we open up a lot more] than boys do (1s) cos if they open up they'll like (2s) they're [not]
09:52	T	[Not] hard
09:53	D	Laughed at
09:56	K	Then (1s) like (.) it takes a lot (1s) a lad a lot longer to open up because (1s) then they feel like (.) if they open up too quickly it makes them look eager (3s) I dunno
10:05	T	They've gotta reputation for being <u>strong</u> haven't they
10:09	K	If that (1s) if for example (.) if they open up to a girl (1s) and that girl goes and tell all the lads (.) all the lads make fun of him for it (.) like
10:19	Ellen	There's a role for
10: 19	H	Being a lad
10:21	Ellen	They're (1s) kind of monitoring each other (1s) and you know (1s) if one lads is soft (1s) all the other lads go (.) <u>ah your soft</u>
		[yeah]
10:28	K	I swear (1s) one of them said are you alright to me and all the lads were laughing at him (.) cos he asked if I were okay
10:34	Ellen	They made [him feel]
10:37	D	[Lads come across] as not caring (.) I think girls [are more]
10:39	H	[They're immature]
10:40		[yeah they're immature]
10:40	D	They act like they don't care but they really do

10:43	A	I think (1s) they act different in school than they do on [messages]
10:47	K	[Oh my god] on their own they're so much (.) different to round their mates
10:52	A	Like if you're on messages (.) they're nice to you (.) little cuties
10:57	K	Yeah they're actually so cute on message and then you see them and like (1s) what you being so different for
		[Yeah]
10:59	Ellen	I hadn't really thought about that (.) so (2s) messages is this like (1s) whatsapp or
11:05	T	No like [snapchat]
11:07	Ellen	Right (1s) you're going to have to explain snapchat to me (.) I don't have snapchat
11:15	K	You can take pictures (.) but you can also message on it (1s) you can also take pictures to post on your story
11:20	T	You can send them to individual people (1s) like on Instagram and on Facebook
11:26	Ellen	So boy's being cute (.) then (1s) what does that look like on (2s) messages
11:33	A	Compliments
11:36	T	Asking if you're alright
11:39	K	Actually [care]
11:39	T	[But in a] group (2s) it's not expected for a boy to (.) ask if you're alright (1s) so then it's trying to like
11:45	Ellen	So what's (1s) do you think girls have got two different (1s) is there like girls in (2s) groups in school versus girls on messages (2s) or do you feel it's more the same
11:55	H	([the same] [its more the same])
11:56	K	Some lasses (.) are nice to lasses in school (1s) to your face (.) if I think someone's pretty I'll then like (1s) I'll just say it to them (2s) it's being nice innit
12:05	D	I think girls have two sides as well (1s) cos over messages (.) girls can be really mouthy (.) and then you say (2s) [say it to my face]
12:10	K	That's true
12:12	D	and they're all scared and timid (2s) and they won't do it
12:14	H	[That goes back to snakey]
12:15	K	[I remember (.) someone said come fight me] (.) then they blocked me (1s) I was like (2s) I thought you were gonna come fight me (.) then you're too scared to (1s) so why say it on message
12:22	Ellen	Right (.) okay (1s) so there can be (1s) that like (1s) that (1s) snakey (.) is there any (2s) is there anything else that stands out from what you've written
12:39	D	Stereotypes
12:40	Ellen	Okay (1s) yeah that's kind of (1s) that's something interesting (1s) what do you mean
12:47	D	Like (1s) all the popular girls are really pretty and skinny and (2s) they've all got boyfriends and they're like (1s) all <u>not</u> virgins (1s) cos they've got a boyfriend and (2s) then that makes them slaggy
13:02	Ellen	So (3s) let me try to remember all that (2s) there's (3s) girls who are (2s) popular and that's about being (.) pretty and (.) skinny
13:19	D	Yeah
	Ellen	And there's also (.) girls who have boyfriends (1s) and if girls have got boyfriends (1s) we maybe think (.) they're (.) not virgins
13:25	CT	[Yeah]
13:30	Ellen	And then (1s) it's like a (2s) short leap between being (2s) called (.) not a virgin and (.) a slaggy reputation
	CT	[Yeah]
13:33	Ellen	So what (2s) stereotypes (2s) pretty and skinny (2s) that's like our (.) physical appearance
13:39	H	It's also clothing too (1s) like (.) if you wear a certain type of clothing (1s) say for instance (.) you wear a short (.) like erm short shorts (2s) you get like (.) called a slag (2s) like a skirt (2s) but if you like (.) wear (1s) if you wear (.) different type of things (.) you get called (.) like (1s) a lesbian and everything
13:55	Ellen	(hhh) ah okay
13:57	K	So (1s) you can't win (.) whatever you do (1s) there's something wrong
13:59	D	If you wear trousers (1s) you want to be a boy

14:02	K	Do you not want to show yourself off (1s) why don't you want to show yourself off (1s) do you not think you look good (1s) and you wear another (1s) ah you're too (1s) you think too much of yourself
14:10	Ellen	Who would (1s) who would be (1s) saying this sort of stuff to you
13:14		[Boys]
14:15	A	And girls
14:17	T	I'd say more popular boys
14:20	K	More like (1s) there's like (1s) you can <u>tell</u> there's a split between people in our school (1s) there's the popular people (.) who are mainly all sporty (1s) and then there's like the (2s) I'm not going to say unpopular (1s) but the (1s) lower (2s) I don't know how to describe it (1s) but <u>those</u> kind of people (.) the lower people (1s) wouldn't say something like that (1s) it's more people not that (.) its more people (.) who are popular (1s) they just come out with it (1s) and I don't see why
14:1	T	Everyone like backs them up (.) like (1s) cos they're popular
14:43	K	Just cos they're popular (1s) they'll think they're like (1s) it's like an <u>army</u>
14:50	D	I think there's a split between school (.) Like (2s) there's like (1s) popular girls and popular boys who go together (1s) and then there's less popular (1s) girls and boys go together (1s) but like (.) if anyone mixes (.) there's (.) theres (1s) like (.) conflict
15:04	K	People always say that like (1s) I'll have like (1s) if I have (.) like (1s) some my mates <u>are</u> like (.) the most popular people (1s) but they're <u>nice</u> (2s) but if I go stand with them at break (1s) none of my mates want to come and stand with me (1s) cos they think its weird (1s) it's like (.) they're nicer than <u>people who are most popular</u>
15:22	Ellen	So there's still like (1s) groups (1s) people stick to (1s) and if you go outside your group (2s) is that the same for boys as well
15:27		[Yeah]
15:30	Ellen	That's something that's (.) kind of (.) between us both (2s) I'm kind of (2s) shocked (1s) that idea of (2s) you wear your short skirts (.) and that makes you a slag (2s) and you wear shorts or (.) whatever and that makes you a lesbian (2s) is that directed at girls (.) from boys <u>and</u> girls
	CT	[Yeah]
15:53	Ellen	I'm wondering (.) does that make (3s) I suppose I'm wondering (.) does that have impact on (.) what life's like (.) in school
	CT	[Yeah]
16:00	A	Makes you nervous
16:02	D	It lowers (1s) girls self-esteem and stuff
16:05	K	It's like (1s) I understand why you have a uniform at school (1s) because (.) you would get judged on actually anything you wore (1s) like (.) there's even a thing going round at the moment (.) cos lasses at the moment (.) are just putting their hair up(.) in like messy buns (.) and messy ponies (2s) and then we're assumed to not care about us appearance (1s) and then we look like (1s) I've heard people (.) call people tramps (1s) because (.) apparently (.) cos we don't care what we look like (.) but (1s) it's like (1s) why should you care
16:31	D	<u>Boys</u> don't care about what they look so <u>why do we</u>
16:2		[Exactly]
16:34	K	Why should we have to care about us hair in the morning
16:37	H	What's <u>more</u> concerning is waking up early in the morning to do that
16:40	K	EXACTLY (1s) <u>shove it up (.) its school (1s) it's not like a prom or anything (.) CALM DOWN</u>
		[Laughter]
16:47	Ellen	So that's (1s) that's pressures (.) from (1s) where does that come from (1s) for girls to care more than boys
16:55	T	Social media
16:58	H	Just lads in general (.) being idiots
16:59	A	School
17:02	H	I think school
17:04	T	I think schools a really bad place (1s) to get like (.) pressure from
17:08	Ellen	What does school do to contribute?

17:11	T	It's like (1s) whatever you wear (.) cos its so strict (1s) obviously they (.) pull you up on everything (2s) and then it makes you feel like (1s) you've <u>got to</u> look like a certain person (1s) and (.) it puts pressure on you don't it
17:22	K	There's like (1s) I was saying about tying up your skirt (1s) with a hair bobble (2s) they put you in <u>connect for it</u> (2s) its like (1s) sort out your sizes then (2s) not everyone is going to be within (.) their strict (.) twenty-two twenty-four twenty-six sizes (2s) there's in the middle ones (1s) cos there's like (.) people that have (1s) smaller waist (1s) and bigger legs (.) there's people with small legs but bigger waist (2s) like (1s) you've got to be fitting for everyone's sizes (2s) not just (.) the ones that you fit for
17:51	D	And (1s) they're all about us wanting to be ourselves (.) and (2s) being ourselves (.) but they don't care (.) [they want us to be]
17:53	K	[they really don't care]
17:54	D	What <u>they</u> want us to be (2s) cos if we wanted us nails or hair doing a certain way (1s) they'd be like no you can't have it done cos it's against <u>our</u> rules
18:00	K	Exactly (.) yeah
18:03	T	I think make-ups bad (.) because people wear it to
18:05	D	Express themselves
18:06	T	They'll (1s) we'll do us eyebrows (.) light cos (1s) we don't want nothing on us eyebrows but then we'll get done (2s) so then like (.) it pressures you to go into lessons without not having any make-up on
18:17	Ellen	So you feel (3s) there's a kind of (2s) it's like a messy mix (1s) I heard a sense of (2s) well why should I <u>have to</u> bother doing my hair if I can't be arsed (1s) but actually if I <u>want to</u> and its part of my identity then why shouldn't I (1s) why should it not be allowed (2s) is that different to boys
18:37	H	Girls definitely more than boys
18:40	K	I think the only rule boys have actually (1s) ever got told off for (1s) is for their hair being too short but (.) like
18:43	H	Most boys do it anyway
18:45	K	Yeah (1s) they just get in step up for it
18:48	H	But with us it's nails (.) your hair (.) your make-up (.) your skirt (.) like (hhh)
18:53	D	I got told off for my trousers being too tight
18:54	K	Yeah if you're trousers are too tight (1s) how can you help that
18:59	A	I got told off for that actually
18:59	K	I once wore trousers cos they told me off for my skirt (1s) and went if you don't (1s) you'll have to wear trousers cos you never wear a suitable skirt (1s) and then my trousers weren't suitable
19:08	T	And I got done for my hair being this colour (2s) cos it's not a natural colour (1s) but this is a natural colour
19:11	H	And now you're getting told off for them (.) colourful scrunchies (2s) [we're not allowed to wear colourful scrunchies anymore]
19:16	T	[They take them off you]
19:21	Ellen	You're not allowed to wear scrunchies (2s) do you think
19:24	H	It's gone too far
19:25	A	It's too <u>extreme</u> now
19:30	H	it's like you're in a prison
19:31	D	I wore white sock once (.) and they went (1s) no you're gonna have to change em (1s) I'm like
19:36	K	Yeah (1s) in year 8 (1s) I'm not even joking (1s) Mr Vardy were walking round in the <u>end of year tests</u> (.) like (1s) helps you to go (.) into right grades (.) set you're in next year (2s) she was making people get out (.) for the socks (1s) she were like checking (.) like (1s) pulling peoples [trousers up and stuff]
19:59	H	[Your uniform checks and stuff] (1s) random ones
20:00	T	What about shoes (.) [if you've got]
20:02	D	[you're not allowed buckles on it] velcro
20:04	T	Inside (1s) that little stitch (1s) you've gotta have that white (1s) if you've got black stitching <u>inside your shoe</u> you're not allowed them (2s) but you can't even see inside you shoe
20:16	Ellen	So (1s) <u>outside of school</u> (2s) is (1s) are things like clothes and being able to express yourself (1s) is that (1s) an important part of life outside of school

20:27	A	I feel like (1s) you feel like you can (1s) you can do what <u>you want</u> outside of school
20:33	K	I feel like the year 11 that left (.) and stuff (1s) not mainly this year but like (1s) previous years as well (2s) as soon as they've got out of school they've all dyed their hair
20:38	T	Or they've got piercings (2s) cos you're not allowed piercings
20:43	A	You're allowed one in each ear (1s) you're not allowed your nose (1s) you're not allowed your tongue (2s) you're allowed your belly cos they can't really see it (.) can they
20:49	D	No I got told to take my belly piercing out (1s) because in P.E (.) she saw whilst I was getting changed (1s) and I were like why you looking anyway
20:55		[Laughter]
21:57	D	She told me off (2s) and told me to take it out anyway (2s) even though I had a plaster over it
21:02	K	Do you know what I think it proper weird (2s) when er (1s) a lad teacher tells you off for your skirt
21:06	A	YEAH (2s) it's really weird
21:07	K	They'll be like that texture doesn't look (.) like it's (1s) because you're not allowed to wear stretchy skirts either (.) and I <u>have had</u> a male teacher touch my skirt
21:13	D	<u>I've had a male teacher</u>
21:15	A	I don't think it's right (1s) I feel like if you're getting done for your skirts (.) I feel like (2s) it should be (.) like (2s) women teachers (2s) because (2s) it just (1s) makes you feel a bit (2s) awkward in some way (.) and it's just like (2s) why (.) why are you actually (2s) coming up to me and (2s) feeling my skirt
21:31	Ellen	So there's (2s) a kind of tension around (2s) male teachers who think they can
21:38	A	Because of the behaviour policy (2s) yeah
21:42	Ellen	Approach you (2s) and (2s) tell you to (1s) to (2s) look (3s) differently
21:52	D	I think if a male teacher (1s) tell you to wipe your make up off (.) or (2s) tells you to (2s) pull (2s) your skirt down or tells you to get a different skirt (2s) its making you think that (.) other boys will that way about you as well as the teacher
22:06	Ellen	That's interesting (3s) so there's a message from (2s) teachers that might (.) sorry shall we have a little juice break
22:15-23:08		((movement)) inaudible chatter whilst participants get juice and crisps
23:09	A	I feel like cos were all girls (.) and were kind of like (.) mates I don't feel like (.) we feel (.) like (2s) sometimes girls don't like eating in front of other people
23:16	CT	[Oh yeah] [yeah]
23:17	K	You get like (2s) <u>sent</u> to the lunch room and its like (1s) I don't wanna eat in front of people
23:18	A	You get called fat
23:21	T	I feel like we're all right
23:22	H	I'm actually I really bad eater (1s) I'm really messy
23:28	K	Yeah you are (2s) you are a really messy eater
23:29	Ellen	So how did you describe it ((points to Aly))
23:31	A	Yeah like (2s) some people like (2s) like (2s) if you (2s) if you get sent to the lunch room (.) you don't really want to eat (1s) cos it's mainly like (1s) [boys who go in there]
23:41	D	[It's mainly boys who go there] (1s) cos they're naughtier (.) than girls
23:41	K	The other day I literally (.) just bought chicken for my dinner (2s) and about <u>five people</u> looked at me and said is that <u>all your eating</u> (2s) and I said (1s) I'm not hungry (2s) and they were like (1s) you're going to get really skinny (1s) and you're not gonna eat enough (.) and I was like (1s) that's what I wanna eat
23:54	Ellen	So (1s) who would have said that (.) to you
23:55	K	Literally (2s) about five lads (1s) came up to me (1s) is that all your eating for you dinner (.) I was like yeah (1s) why (1s) why does it concern you
24:02	Ellen	Why does it concern them?
24:00	A	[I like the rice and curry]
24:01	H	[just takes like curry]
		((Ellen moves away from table to get crisps))
24:21	Ellen	Erm (1s) that's interesting (2s) what did you just say (1s) why does it concern them

24:26	K	Yeah like (2s) why does it concern them what I'm eating (2s) I know it's not cos you care (.).they're just nosey (1s) it's like (1s) leave me alone I'm eating (2s) cos I haven't got a good appetite recently
24:36	A	My appetite goes (2s) comes and goes depending on the days
24:38	K	I just can't (2s) eat recently (2s) and then like today (2s) I've been so hungry today (2s) but yesterday I had nothing to eat (1s) like nothing (1s) and then like (1s) day before (2s) I just had chicken (2s) and then I had some cereal at home (1s) like I'm still eating
24:53	A	But like in the (well) (.) today (.) I just got some mash and gravy (2s) and a bunch of lads behind you (1s) like is that all your eating (.) that's a good snack that (2s) and it just (.) makes you feel like (2s) weird that you're only eating that much but
25:07	K	Should I be eating more
25:08	Ellen	Why do you think (.) people say stuff to you about your eating
25:26	A	I don't think they're really bothered (2s) I feel like afterwards if something were to happen that's when they realise I shouldn't have said that (.) at that moment in time if you don't think about it they'll just say whatever they want to say
25:41	Ellen	So there's a kind of not thinking?
25:46	K	I don't think teacher pick up on stuff as much as they should
25:49	T	Yeah I feel like cos Miss Wells just stands there and walks around (.)
25:53	K	she doesn't actually listen to what people say (.) but if we went up to her and said they just mocked me about my food they'd just be like okay (.)
25:59	T	Yeah they're more bothered about the reputation of the school then the children
26:03	K	That's so true
26:07	D	Yeah like our appearance (.) they're more bothered on that
26:11	Ellen	So they're more bothered about the reputation than the children? So (.) what about the children
26:20	H	I think its boys (.) they care a lot more about boys (.)
26:25	CT	Yeah they do
26:28	H	SO for instance I'd use rugby (.) they put boys before anyone (.) and say that's a prime example right there (points to poster on walls) (.) I don't understand why girls aren't there as well (.)
26:35	Ellen	Yeah
26:37	K	As you can see there there's more girls in the finals and another example (.) boys go to Australia (.) they go to Canada (.) and they only went to Canada cos someone complained (.)
26:47	T	and they didn't go to Canada until someone complained this year
26:49	Ellen	Explain that to me again (.) the rugby team goes (.)
26:52	K	TO Australia (.) and the girls go to Canada cos one of the girls complained and that only started this year (.) boys just get to do it
26:58	T	Boys have been going for a while now
27:04	Ellen	You feel that schools looks after
27:09	H	Like at an event they let the boys do what they want (.) and I think it's fair to have the back seat (.) you know sometimes girls want to go there but boys proper shove you (.) they just let boys off with everything and its just like (.) sexist and its obvious what they're doing
27:34	Ellen	Yeah (.) its obvious what the boys are doing or obvious what school are doing?
27:39	H	I think its both (.) they look boys off a lot more with everything
27:42	Ellen	You were saying in the lunch room there might be someone watching whats happening but they're not listening to the conversations? What sort of conversations does happen? What stuff would I hear (.)
27:54	A	They'd be talking about their day (.) or going back to being snakey (.) if someone had heard something then it would mainly be brought up at lunch (.) so (.) and then you'd go and confront them about it...and it's just (.) that's when everything like blows up
28:20	Ellen	So what's were social things happen? ((inaudible talk, laughter))
28:41	K	It's not a good world
28:44	Ellen	It's not a good world?
28:47	T	School's an awful place (.)

28:48	K	Like I have one of my mates she'll (.) the other week she sat in Mr Young's office just crying cos she like (.) didn't want to be in school anymore (.) its makes her sad to go (.) it's not a place you want to be in (.) if making you sad
29:01	D	Last year I purposefully made myself sick (.) everyday cos school were getting that bad with people saying stuff and nothing at all (.) like head of years and stuff (.) and nothing got done (.) they tried to stop it but nothing got done (.)
29:15	Ellen	Is that (.) that sounds like something you...kind of (.) two both have experience of (.) I don't want erm (.) I don't want to put anyone in a position where they have to talk about something that they're either not comfortable to (.) is there something about school's not being (.) a good place (2) For anyone or is it different for boys and girls
29: 37	D	I think it's worse for girls because (.) boys are sat there judging all day everyday (.) like (2s)
29:45	H	Girls just have to take it
29:46	D	One time you could just be sat in a lessons and a boy will come up to you and say oh you're fat you're ugly (.) I wouldn't dare be you...but then
29:54	K	Like (.) are you purposefully trying to get somebody down just cos you're bored?
29:56	D	But then like you'll go home and put it on your snapchat story (.) ranting or something (.) and something and they'll pop up and say like ha ha (.) you're so stupid (.) I wouldn't dare put it on my story (2s) and they'll apologise like two days later
20:08	T	They are known for that
30:11	Ellen	So you can take something outside of school (.) and if you try to (.) think about it through social media (.) but if they see that (.)
	CT	Laughter ((talk about making a mess on the table))
30:41	Ellen	So school can be a tricky place to be a girl? What are the kind of main worries for girls in school?
30:51	T	How you look (.)
30:32	D	Yeah how you look and if you're like (2s) this is off topic (.) but if you say you're upset or in a mood (.) you constantly known that you're on your period (.) twenty-four seven
31:03	K	Literally (.) all last (.) this week (.) cos I've had a lot on this last week (.) I was crying in school and people were like ah she's in a mood she's on her period (.) I was like (.) I'm not I've got something going on (.) they're like ahh have you got personal problems (.) I was like (.)
31:17	T	They'll sit there and mock you
31:19	K	Sorry like (.) it's not just you that goes through things (.) we also go through things (.) don't assume its something else cos you don't know whats going on (.) and also I'm not going to tell you (.) like why would I tell you if you're going to assume its something else (.) trying to make it a bad situation (.) I'm not going to tell you if I don't trust you and you're just going to say that (.) and then you say that and they're like ah you're even more in a mood and it's just like no I'm reacting cos you're making a point that's not valuable (.)
31:42	D	I think girls are a lot more emotional so when a girl starts crying the boys automatically take the mick out of you
31:51	Ellen	Okay (.) if you respond to what someone says (.) they might go ah why you being moody for
	CT	Yeah
32:05	Ellen	There's kind of (.) reducing everything you to ah its cos you're on your period its cos your moody (.) and that sounds really frustrating
32:20	H	Yeah it's really annoying
32:25	K	Why can't you just be sad (.) but then it's not all boys cos I have quite a few like lad mates and they're like (.) message me like are you alright and there the ones who actually care but none of them are popular (.) the ones who messaged me
32:43	T	I don't think it's about popularity anymore (.) I feel like it's about personality and if they're nice to you (.) you wouldn't want to be like best mates with a lad who is popular but they're not nice to you
32:51	D	So say like (.) if a popular lad got an ugly girlfriend (.) he'd be taken the mick out of (.) or if a pretty got an ugly boyfriend (.) people would say (.) low standards
33:04	K	If any of the popular lasses go out with anyone who's not viewed popular...it be like why have you chosen them (.) do you not actually care about if you're happy or not
33:15	Ellen	How would I spot someone popular?

33:20	A	I feel like you'd see it
33:21	K	You'd see it honestly (.) there's massive groups (.) if you walked into our break you could pick out popular ones just by looking (.)
33:30	A	There's a couple of groups of lads and a couple of groups of lasses
33:32	T	I've got some popular friend who are boys though and they are (.) I still understand what you mean cos even though they're my friends they'll still how you saying (.) but when you actually get the meet them (.) it's just the reputation (.) no you are nice (.) .so it's hard
33:54	D	If they're on their own or in a small group they're a lot nicer (.) but when like at break they're in a massive group and they're shoving each other pretending they're hard (.) .thats when they're really horrible
34:03	A	I feel like you've got to get in with them (.) when you're stood outside of it its really nasty (.) you've got to get to be in that group
34:17	K	Some lasses think that about some of the popular lasses (.) like I even had some people message me like oh I didn't know you were this nice (.) and I'm like why (.) its like cos of the people you hang around with but its like that doesn't
34:32	D	All popular girls are known as being a bitch
34:34	K	Yeah exactly it's like you can't assume just because of the friends most of mates I'm with now I've known them since primary that's why I hang around with them but I'm assumed to look (.) threatening before (1s) why (.) .i'm not a horrible person (.) just speak to me (.) I'm not going to judge you cos you dont talk to me.
34:50	Ellen	Does this go across boys and girls
35:05	A	Especially if there's rumours going round (.) like if someone (.) if a lad was to go to a lass about something than it wouldn't just be him it would be everyone else everyone else behind him and it would just be you and you would feel surrounded by everyone and you don't really want to say something
35:25	K	But if you ask them to go on their own (.) if you go (.) its assumed you like them (.) like if you go up to a lad in a group and ask them to speak with you it's like ooh why do you want to be alone with them...like can I not (.) uh I dunno
35:41	T	It's really immature world (.) get a grip (.) cos they haven't grown up yet
35:27	D	I think girls are more mature than boys
35:49	H	Yeah I put that down
35:58	D	Girls are mature (.)
35:59	Ellen	How do you think girls are more mature?...is it biology or cos we have to or because that's what society tells us
36:10	K	Its known to be (.) girls are more mature
36:15	D	I think girls have got to be more mature (.) I'm going to be really stereotypical here but (.) but they're the ones who look after the children and so they have to buck they're ideas up because (.)
36:29	K	they're more motherly
26:33	D	if boys will still mess about once babies are here but you cant have a child and then go out partying
36:41	K	And if you do then your looked down on (.) to be a bad mother
36:44	Ellen	Right so there's messages about being a mam (.) becoming a mam (.) and at some point you have to be mature (.) you don't want the label of the bad mam
36:55	A	I think (.) back in the olden days it didn't matter but now the worlds more advanced and we've got all this social media and phones and new technology that like they didn't have when my mum were a child so (.) cos shes like (2s) 30
37:23	D	My mum didn't have a phone so if she went out she wouldn't be embarrassed if her mates video her cos you couldn't send it anywhere (.)
37:34	T	Where's now (.) if you do one thing wrong it's all over social media (.) straight away
37:49	Ellen	I'm kind of interesting in we've just started talking about how things are different for young people you're age (.) I'm in interested to know how that impacts on your lives (.) we can pick that back up on Thursday (.) school and well-being, how you keep yourself well
38:40	D	I think girls should do something just for girls (.) like an assembly talking about how to cope because (.) girls do talk (.) but some girls keep it to themselves and then it all blows up and they can do something stupid

	Ellen	SO issues that impact on girls differently (.) that could be something to think about for Thursday
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Focus Group A2

Time (min:sec)	Participant Name	Transcription
0:02	Ellen	That's my single flash (.) right I'm in (.) okay so (3s) I'm just gonna shift things out the way (2s) er (.) let's put that somewhere (.) so (2s) as I was (.) kind of (.) listening back to our conversation (2s) there were bits (.) that yeah (.) things I made a note of the sorts of things we were talking about (.) and I dunno (.) I dunno where to start really (2s) I mean is there (.) was there anything (2s) <u>you remember</u> talking about (.) that pings into your head (3s) from what we were saying
00:37	Ta	Talking about boys (.)
00:38	Ellen	Yeah we were talking about boys (.) yeah (.) boys get mentioned (1s) I think (.) there was some idea of (.) maybe emotions being different (1s) was it the idea of (1s) boys don't show emotions as much (.) maybe they keep it inside and (.) we talked about (.) sometimes girls (2s) girls are maybe better at managing it (.) or putting on a happy external front (.) which might not always be the truth (.) or the full picture (2s) yeah we did talk about boys (2s) what else did for talk about
01:21	Ta	School
01:23	Ellen	Mmmm (2s) yeah we did (2s) we talked about boys in classrooms and (1s) what else in school (2s) what we're you thinking
01:31	Ta	Just like (3s) annoying and (3s) loud
01:43	Ellen	Annoying and loud (1s) Yeah yeah yeah (.) I remember that (2s) does that fit into the popular idea (.) of people (1s) being quite loud (1s) or acting a certain way to (.) kind of (.) get in to those particular groups (3s) so what do we (1s) kind of (.) you mentioned school and mental health last time ((gestures to XXX)) (2s) what (.) what do we sort of (.) what do you (.) if I said mental health in schools (.) what do you think about (3s) what do schools do (1s) should they be doing anything differently (4s)
02:24	Ta	I think it's very (1s) stressful and (.) er (.) pressure (3s) and like (1s) cos they're always pushing you to be (1s) <u>the best</u> (1s) and they're always pushing you to like (1s) achieve <u>the best</u> (2s) but erm (.) like (1s) but they don't really do anything to (2s) like they get (.) they do the like (1s) boosters and stuff like that (.) but they don't really do anything to like manage stress
02:47	TY	Like one on one sort of stuff (.) it's more (1s) groups and (2s) just (1s) learn you (1s) and they expect you to like (.) know it straight away (.) all stuff
02:54	Ellen	They expect you to know it straight away
02:56	TY	Like understand it (.) and sometimes like (.) it'll confuse them
02:29	Ellen	Yeah (.) so is this (.) are we talking like (2s) learning (.) sort of (.) academic exams and stuff
03:09	TY	Yeah (2s)
03:10	Ellen	So (2s) there's pressure from school (1s) to (1s) know stuff so you can pass exams (.) what kind of (2s) where does that come from
03:29	Ta	I'd say it's massively from (2s) teachers (.) but (.) also like (1s) I feel like (.) also you get stressed from your parents (1s) like if they see your report (.) and they might say like (1s) say that it's (1s) <u>not good enough</u> (.) or <u>not meeting their expectations</u> (2s)
03:42	Ellen	So its teachers <u>and</u> parents (1s) expectations (3s) so what do you think (1s) what are the expectations of you
03:51	Ta	Very high achievers (2s) good grades all the time (1s) straight As
03:59	TY	To actually be smart
04:03	Ta	To know everything
04:04	Ellen	Yeah (.) you've got to be smart (.) yeah (1s) and know everything (.) high achievers (3s) so how do people cope with that at the minute (.) what (2s) how to people keep themselves (1s) well (.) what do people do (3s)
04:14	K	(3s)I think having sports teams help (.)
04:24	Ellen	How's that
04:25	Ke	Well (2s) you're representing your school by having (.) like (.) good achievements (1s) but (.) going out of school to play sports (1) I think (.) that also like (1s) say if you've had a really bad day (.) but then you've got a rugby match after school that's gonna (1s) bring you up a lot
04:38	Ellen	Yeah (3s)

04:44	Ta	Take your mind off (.) stress
04:45	TY	Like (.) swimming used to help me (.) like (1s) take my mind off my stress (2s) and everything
	Ellen	So its (1s) does it feel like a break in the day
04:56	Ta	A way to escape (.)
	Ellen	A way to escape (2s) so there's (1s) is that (.) do you think that's promoted by school (.) does school (2s) encourage you to ain sports clubs
05:06	K	It's a choice
	Ellen	But it feels like (1s) something that (1s) it's a way of keeping yourself (2s) keeping yourself (.) what does it do for you
05:20	K	It (.) kind of relaxing (.) but (.) pushes you at the same time (1s) cos they want you to be the <u>best team</u> (.) and you need to win (1s) but it's a different (2s) it's a different (.) type of push cos you want to do it yourself or you wouldn't take part
05:33	Ta	Like an adrenaline rush
05:35	Ellen	(2s) You've invested in it
05:38	K	Yeah
05:40	Ellen	There is kind of (.) feeling (1s) the adrenaline makes you feel good (2s) is it good to (.) do you think it's (.) linked to winning or is that not part of it
05:50	K	I think (.) winning is (1s) something you can get <u>out of it</u> but it's not the main (1s) part of playing
05:59	Ellen	So (.) sports provide that (1s) escape (.) is there (2s) where do you think the need to (.) have like (1s) high achieving grades all the time (1s) you said straight As ((gestures to XXX)) (1s) where (.) like (.) does that come from (2s) how is that communicated to you
06:15	Ta	You can just tell with (.) what they speak about (1s) like in assemblies (2s) like (.) they'll say to us when we had all us exams (.) like in assembly (.) before that they were like (.) revise three hours a night (2s) like (1s) spread your revision out over the week (.) and (1s) just revise revise revise <u>all week</u> and stuff like that
06:43	Ellen	That message is (1s) clear (.) you've got (2s) a commitment to be (.) bringing work home with you (2s) how does (.) how does htat create tension (.) or does it create tension (2s) how does it impact on life
06:56	K	I just think (1s) that pushing us to do all this revision (1s) you got to think that (.) we've got like (.) seven subjects we have to do proper exams on (.) like GCSEs (1s) but they expect us to like (2s) take part in hobbies (1s) and go out and be social (2s) but then we have to revise beyond that and (.) have a wash and do home work (2s) it's (1s) <u>a lot</u> that they put on us
07:19	Ta	And then if you have like (.) family time (1s) either like watching TV (1s) having your dinner with family (1s) you haven't got enough time to (1s) do it (.) like (.) I don't know about you two but I go to bed at (2s) quarter to ten (.) ten o'clock and I haven't got time (.) cos like when I get home its half four (1s) and if I've been (.) if I've stayed at school (1s) so then I've got no time to do anything
07:39	Ellen	Yeah (2s) that's (1s) it sounds like it (2s) can take over (.) so do you have to put in (2s) do you try and (1s) like boundary it (.) do you try and (1s) make sure you <u>do have</u> time to do different things
07:53	K	Yeah (.)
07:54	Ta	I don't really [revise that often]
07:58	TY	[I don't really] (.) revise cos it makes me freak out for tests (1s) and I just forget it all when I revise
08:02	Ellen	Okay so (.) there's a kind of (1s) you feel like (1s) you can revise <u>too much</u>
08:05	TY	Yeah (.) I'll freak out and if I freak out I'll forget
08:10	Ellen	Yeah (1s) yeah so (1s) have you worked that out
08:14	TY	Yeah
08:15	Ellen	Through experience (1s) you have to (.) limit
08:20	TY	So (1s) maybe like (1s) sometimes maybe like night before (.) I'll do maybe like an hour of revision (1s) just to refresh (.) then I'll go in (.) and I'll do it
08:27	Ellen	The test
08:28	TY	Yeah
09:31	Ellen	Is that something you two would try or [would you try]
08:33	K	[Uh (.)] I do it (.) like (.) spread it out (.) cos say like my P.E test (1s) I'd spread my revision out (1s) but like the way they've given us (1s) like (.) we got given booklets to do in a lot of subjects for revision but (.) everyone revises differently (1s) so just working through a

		booklet (1s) like I mean that didn't help me (.) at all (.) so I'll have to do side revision as well as still doing that for homework
	Ellen	So (.) that was what had school asked you to (1s) work through this booklet for revision
08:59	K	No that's not the way I revise (.) so
09:03	Ellen	Would you be able to (1s) like (.) can you say that to school (1s) can you go like (.) that's not my style of revision
09:06	K	I mean (.) in science its always (.) like (1s) you get given (.) stuff to copy down and copying down (.) like some people would get it like that but (.) I don't (.) so
09:15	Ellen	It doesn't work for you (1s) so you said you have [to]
09:19	K	[So I] have to do it at home
09:21	Ta	For me I really like writing (1s) I love (.) making really pretty notes on the page (.)like really beautiful highlighted (.) sort of (.) notes (.) but school just give you some questions (.) like make post it make flash cards
09:37	Ellen	Yeah so they've got their way (.) of doing it (2s) can you (.) you've got no choice in doing them
09:46	K	No you've got to do them
09:53	Ellen	Is it (.) what's the stressful bit (.) is it the pressure to get grades (.) is it the amount of time it takes
09:57	TY	I think it's both really (.) it's like (.) they expect us to have high grades (1s) and maybe like (.) spending two or three weeks to revise
10:07	Ta	After a while I get really stressed out when I'm like (1s) doing revision (.) I get really really stressed out
	Ellen	Yeah
10:18	Ta	For doing the same thing for (2s) hours
	Ellen	So what does (2s) like stressed out look like (.) or what does that feel like
10:25	Ta	Like if I'm not (.) if I'm revision the night before (.) for a test (1s) and I'm doing like an hour and like (.) 15 mins I'll get really stressed out cos I'll just get bored
10:38	Ellen	Hmmm (1s) what happens when you get bored
10:43	Ta	My mind (.) starts thinking about other stuff
10:50	Ellen	So (2s) let's think about stress a bit more (.) what does (2s) so stress feels like a negative thing (.) we don't want stress in our home life or stress in school life (.) what (.) does it feel like (1s) or (.) what happens (1s) to you (.) when you get stressed
11:12	Ta	I feel like I'm not good enough
11:13	K	I give in
11:13	Ta	Yeah
	Ellen	Is stress in the sports world the same?
11:21	K	I'm more passionate about sports so (.) I just keep going but if it's something I'm not interested in then (.) its (2s) hard to carry on going with it
11:34	Ta	I only like (.) do revision for the subjects (.) that (1s) I'm interested in (.) like (.) like erm (1s) science and (1s) geography (.) but everything else I wouldn't revise for
	Ellen	So do you think (1s) there's (2s) is there (.) an element of school work that (.) do you notice differences between (1s) kind of yourselfs and your male friends (1s) boys in school (.) in terms of (2s) approaches to learning (1s) do you deal with it differently or (.) similar sorts of things
12:09	Ta	Boys mess about (1s) a lot more than girls do in classes (.) like my geography class I've just come from (.) there's six girls in it (.) and it's (.) the rest of them are just (.) boys who mess about (1s) shout and talk (.) hardly do anything (.) whereas girls we more put us heads down I think (.) yeah we'll talk but (1s) we won't mess about all lesson like boys do
12:35	Ellen	Does that sound familiar or does it depend
12:37	K	I think it can depend on (1s) what lesson you're in (.) what teacher you have (.) and who you're surrounded by (.) like (1s) if you've got a strickter teacher than you're scared to play up cos you don't know their reaction (.) or if you've got a teacher whose a bit more (.) like (.) quite chilled with you then (1s) you can push (.) if you get me
12:57	TY	Especially if they let you on your phones (1s) to do revision
	Ellen	Right okay (.) so there's differences between (1s) how teachers will approach lessons (.) what is it about phones
13:09	TY	Yeah right so (.) some you'll just be given like information sheets and you'll have to copy it down (1s) into questions (.) and some will sometimes (.) rare occasions (.) let you go on your phone and use it (.) in some lessons (1s) to research stuff

	Ellen	Do you think that's (1s) what do you make of that (.) being able to research stuff on your phone
13:25	TY	I find it helpful but some people get distracted and go on other stuff
13:32	Ta	Like all boys (1s) when we do it in geography (.) well (.) they just go on snapchat or they just (1s) like mess about
13:39	TY	Start ringing each other (.) face timing each other
13:42	Ta	Taking pictures of each other
	Ellen	Like (.) ringing each other in the classroom (1s) so there's (2s) there's a difference between teachers being strict and laid back (1s) do you have a preference (.) between (.) those two
14:06	K	I'd rather have a teacher that (2s) will tell you what they want from you (1s) and (1s) but they can have a joke and they can (1s) be quite lenient with you (.) not a strict (.) not a teacher that's strict all the time (1s) cos (.) that's what us lessons not enjoyable (.) so
	Ellen	Not strict all the time (.) what does (2s) like (.) how is a teacher strict
14:36	K	It's the rules (.)
14:38	TY	Yeah it's the rules (.) no talking (.) no looking across the classroom (1s) or anything like that
14:44	Ta	And writing writing writing (1s) just like (.) talking and writing
	Ellen	So you've got kind of (1s) preferred (1s) either teachers and classes (.) in school (2s) do you revise more for those more
15:04	Ta	Subject I think cos (.) like (2s) product design I'm not interesting in and I'm really bored of that now (.) I really want to (.) like (1s) swap it (2s) but my class is alright but my teacher nice (.) not too strict and not too (.) like calm (.) erm (2s) but I'm just not interesting in it so I just won't revise for it (.) or put in as much effort as I could do
15:32	Ellen	For something that you're more interested in
15:34	Ta	Yeah
	Ellen	So do you think that's the same for you guys
15:34	K	Yeah
15:35	Ellen	Is that linked to (.) like (.) have you started being encouraged to (.) the very first session we met Ke (.) you talked a little bit about (.) what happens (.) what people are interested in doing after (.) next (.) the next steps (.) is that part of that conversation (2s) is it thinking about what you wanna do next
15:43	K	I think if you're (.) (1s) interested in like (.) pursuing something you're doing (.) so for me (.) I like my media I like my art I like my P.E (.) so like (.) them three subjects (1s) there the ones I would like to put all my energy into revising for (1s) and stuff I know I'm good at (.) and I know that I can (1s) revise not as much as them but I can still do alright (.) is like English (1s) but when it comes to maths and science (.) there two that I hate (.) I don't like at all (.) but (.) it does come down to teaching styles as well (2s) with them I feel like (.) I've got a maths teacher (.) I've got two (1s) and I haven't got this thing for weeks (.) teaching with one of them (1s) and next ones taught me it and I've got it straight away (1s) do you know when you have that one teacher that can just (.) change how (.) you work stuff out (.) completely different
	Ellen	Yeah (.) that sounds important
16:51	K	Yeah
	Ellen	If only we could (.) condense that down (1s) find out what that magic thing is (.) give it to them all
	K	Yeah
	Ellen	So there's pressure (.) it sounds like at the minute (.) especially maybe it's (1s) you're going into your GCSE years
17:08	TY	We do us first GCSE next year (2s) end of year ten
	Ellen	Will it be (1s) like will you all do the same exams (1s) same subjects
17:20	K	Yeah it's mocks at the end of the year (.) so like (2s) if you picked an option (.) so like you've picked media haven't you ((gestures to XXX)) so me and XXX will sit Media but you haven't have you ((gestures to XXX))
17:28	TY	No
17:30	K	So you wouldn't sit it
17:37	Ta	And in maths (.) there's (1s) two sides (.) there's a b side and a side (1s) all the b side (.) they're the higher side (.) they do higher (1s) and like a would do higher as well (1s) but the rest of a side do lower
	Ellen	So those as well at the end of the year (2s) so are you already working towards those
17:50	K	We've just done a few (.) so like (1s) they will decide what sets we're in next year

	Ellen	Right okay (2s) so (1s) you've already had some tests to work out (.) sets for next year
18:03	K	We've had all of them
	Ellen	So you've had all the tests (.) to work out what sets next year (2s) and then you won't have any more until the end of next year
10:10	TY	[no we'll have them all the way through next year]
18:14	K	[No we'll have em (.)]end of every term (2s) another test
	Ellen	End of every term you have another test for everything (.) to work out if you're making (2s)
18:20	K	Yeah (1s) to see where you're at
18:25	TY	At the end of year 10 we'll be doing a lot <u>more</u> (1s) of them (.) to get us ready for these mock (.) mock exams (.) we're doing at the end (1s) and then year 11 is practically just tests all the way through
	Ellen	So you've got (1s) this stuff (.) we were talking about (1s) pressure for grades (2s) and high achieving (.) and (2s) it's there in these assessments every (.) every term (.)
18:50	K	Yeah at the end of every topic that you do
18:54	Ellen	So we talked about sport as a way to kind of keep well (.) is there other stuff you do too (.) that helps
19:03	K	Socialise
19:06	Ta	Yeah socialise (.) I (2s) like bullet journaling (.) do you know what that is
	Ellen	No explain that to me
19:11	Ta	It's like a blank (.) A3 (.) sketch book and (.) do you know what it is ((gestures to XXX and XXX))
19:16	K	I know what it is
19:18	Ta	You get calligraphy pens and it's all fancy writing and drawing
	Ellen	What did you call it (.) something journaling
19:22	Ta	Bullet journaling
	Ellen	So what makes it (.) bullet journaling (1s) how does it (.) keep you well
19:29	Ta	It's just relaxing
19:31	K	Yeah relaxing
19:34	Ta	I find it enjoyable
19:36	TY	I go to cinema (1s) cos I have a cine-world pass and spend time with friends (.) so me and Nat will go to the cinema (.) like (1s) three times a week (1s) so we'll go maybe twice (2s) Friday Saturday and maybe on Sunday (.) cos we have a card so (1s) it's cheaper
	Ellen	So what does (1s) how do you feel once (.) you're waiting to go in (2s) is it (.) exciting to think about something else (.) afterwards do you feel (2s) calm
20:06	TY	I guess it's become normal now (.) like (.) a routine type of thing (.) cos we've been doing it for that long
20:14	Ellen	Yeah (.) so it's (.) kind of (1s) how do you manage to keep that (1s) there when you've got all these other things going on
20:20	K	You've just got to replace things (3s) like you can't fit everything into a week (1s) you just cant (.) cant do it (1s) so like one week you might have a routine to do (1s) English Maths and Science all week (.) then other three subjects and just switch it through weeks
20:43	Ellen	Yeah how do you manage that (3s) like (.) write it down (1s) or (.) just (1s) keep a note in your head (2s)
20:45	Ta	Sometimes I write it down
20:56	Ellen	That's a lot of stuff you've all got going on (2s) so what about socialising (.) what does (1s) what does that look like
21:01	Ta	I see my boyfriend everyday (1s) he comes to my house straight after school (2s) and he only leaves my house at (.) 9 o'clock on a night
	Ellen	Yeah
21:09	Ta	So I see him most (.) all days (2s) and all night
	Ellen	And that's important?
21:17	Ta	Yeah (.) takes a lot of stress away from me (1s) and like (.) distracts me (2s) cos I'm around like (.) my favourite person (2s) so it's a distraction
	Ellen	Yeah that's an important (.) it's a distraction from (2s) it's an interesting word (2s) why distraction (.) does it shift focus
21:39	Ta	Yeah it makes me think more (1s) about (1s) my friends and Alex (.) an instead of like (.) school and tests and (1s) the fact that we're in year 10 next year and (2s) everything else
21:51	Ellen	That's a way of socialising (2s) I guess it's like XXX said about routine

21:25	Ta	And (.) if I've had an argument with my mum (.) it'll like (2s) stop me thinking about that
	Ellen	Mmm (1s) it gives you something to (2s) focus on (.) how do you guys socialise
22:21	TY	It's like (.) erm (.) me and my friends (.) me and my friends have finally been allowed to have (.) week day sleep overs (1s) so we'll have them maybe like (.) Monday night or (1s) well (1s) I'm having one tonight cos it's sports day tomorrow (1s) and she needs to use my curlers ((laughs)) yeah (1s) and I had one (1s) Monday night with her (2s) and I'll have one Friday night and Saturday as well (.) it just help calm me (1s) and maybe we'll work as well (.) and if we're stuck on summat (.) we'll bring it and (.) we'll help each other
	Ellen	With your school work
	TY	Yeah (.)
	Ellen	So a mid-week sleep over (2s) that gives the same sort of (2s) is it a distraction or (.) why is it good for you
	TY	Takes your mind off school (.) like (1s) mid-way through the week (.) takes your mind of it
23:21	Ellen	Gives yourself something (.) it's important
	TY	Yeah (.)
	K	I just (2s) wait till weekend to go out (2s) I like being (1s) I like my own company to be honest (.) I wait till the weekend (.) and then I go out shopping or down to Escape (.) I don't go out much (.) so
23:48	Ta	I don't go out much
	TY	I never used to go out (1s) at all (.) last year (.) I think I maybe went out with my mates (2s) like three times (.) last year (.) because (.) I just sat at home (2s) just doing (1s) like work (.) and everything
	Ellen	What do you think changed?
24:08	TY	Err (1s) I got new friends really (1s) I've become part of a different friend group (1s) and involved more in the friend group (1s) I can talk more with them
	Ellen	Does it feel (2s) like a positive shift for you (.) did it just happen or
24:24	TY	Yeah it kind of just happened (2s) like (1s) we were (.) friends before but like (.) like (.) we got proper close (.) now her mum calls me her third daughter
	Ellen	That sounds nice (1s) that sounds like (2s) a close friendship (.) you can trust
24:54	TY	Yeah
	Ellen	So...if we kind of shift again (.) a little bit to (2s) I suppose (.) when I think about things like social media (.) and that (2s) it's not really something that I'm (1s) you guys now are the experts in all this (1s) I think it's gone (1s) beyond what people of my generation or teachers really understand (1s) it moves so quickly (1s) and it weren't around in the same way (2s) what I'm kind of interested in is (.) sort of what impact that has on (.) well-being (1s) and that (2s) do you each (.) I asked on Monday (.) you each have some sort of (.) or use some form of (.) social media
	Ta	Yeah
25:37	Ellen	What's the (2s) most popular type
	K	Snap chat
	Ta	I'd say Instagram
	Ke	Do you think
25:44	TY	I use them both me
	Ta	I use Instagram more than snapchat (.) I just use snapchat just to text I don't really post (1s) like pictures (1s) er often (1s) but just to message my friends (1s) cos it's quicker (.) and I don't have many people's like (.) phone numbers (2s) but Instagram (.) I like looking at like (2s) other stuff (1s) like other pictures from other people (1s) famous people (1s) and just like (.) looking at pictures
	Ellen	So you're looking at pictures of famous people (.) either celebrities (.) or (1s) famous people mostly
26:19	Ta	Erm (.) like if my friends pop up now (.) I'll look at their pictures (.) but (1s) if like (.) I'm just scrolling down my recommended page (.) and like (1s) I'll get hooked on to summat (.) and then I'll start scrolling down (.) and there'll be more related stuff (2s) so I use Instagram more than snapchat
	Ellen	You think snapchat is more popular ((gestures to Ke))
	K	I think snapchat is probably one of the most popular ones but I do use Instagram more
26:41	Ellen	Yeah (2s) what's (.) what's the thing about snapchat
	Ke	Just streaks (.) and (2s) looking through what people are putting on their stories (1s)
	Ellen	So people have (.) like (1s) streaks (.) and stories (2s)

	Ke	Streaks are like (1s) what you send to each other (.) so you take a picture of summat (.) and put streaks on it (2s) and then you get a little number next to it for how long you send them for (1s) like (.) I think my highest is like four hundred days
	Ellen	So It's like (.) consecutive
27:10	TY	I got only got to forty-four ((laughs))
	Ta	Mines two hundred days (.) forty-seven
	Ellen	So is it (2s) is it the same as having likes (.) and that (2s) is it good to (1s) do people talk about (1s) how many streaks like (.) how long or (1s) how big your streak is
	Ke	Yeah
27:29	Ta	I have only one streak ((laughs))
	Ellen	So (2s) do you have people (2s) is it just (.) like your friends or just celebrities on snapchat
	Ke	Just friends
27:42	Ta	You can add celebrities but they don't add you back
	TY	You more like follow them on snapchat
27:50	Ellen	Ah right (1s) so (1s) I suppose (.) thinking a little bit again about (1s) the world of (2s) stereotypes (1s) of particular types of girls (1s) or the ways that (2s) women are expected to look (1s) so (.) if we're thinking about celebrities (2s) are there people (1s) do you think (.) there's role models (.) that you have on these platforms (1s) what kinds of (.) people do you follow
28:17	Ta	Fitness people
28:19	Ellen	Who's (.) [which fitness people]
28:23	Ta	[Girls who] just like (.) girls who (1s) work out (.) and post (1s) work out videos (.) work out pictures (2s) fitness meals (.) erm (2s) all normal celebrities like (2s) Selena Gomez (.) the Kardashians (1s) Taylor Swift (.) people like that
	Ellen	Does that sound (1s) similar for you guys or different
28:42	K	Er (.) I follow (1s) like (2s) actors and Netflix (2s) and that
	Ellen	Okay (.) so (2s) what kind of actors (1s) who (.) I suppose
28:54	K	Er (3s) Stranger Things cast (2s) er (1s) like (2s) people from series' and then like (.) do you know(.) Amanda Seyfried
	Ellen	Yeah
29:06	K	From Mama Mia
	Ellen	Yeah
29:04	K	Yeah (.) and like Britney Snow and that (.) yeah (1s) all of them them
	Ellen	Okay (1s) so (.) do you think (2s) there's like a (1s) have you each chosen to follow (.) different people (3s) how does it (1s) evolve (2s) what your online world looks like
29:33	TY	Like a preference really (1s) like (2s) I've always (.) like (2s) I've always liked (1s) my Uncle (.) we watch WWE (2s) I've always been obsessed with it (1s) it's not really (1s) it's really fake but it's funny to watch
	Ke	I love it me ((laughs))
	TY	but I'm absolutely obsessed with it (1s) so that's what I follow (2s) and (.) out of school I am (.) like (1s) sort of like really gothy (1s) and stuff (1s) so I follow stuff like that (2s) clothing (.) like to do with that
	Ellen	Yeah (1s) so (2s) like gothy (.) as in (2s) describe the world of (1s) gothy stuff (.) describe what that would look like
30:15	TY	So like (1s) skulls
	Ke	Have you ever been to the ridings in **XXX**
	Ellen	No what's that
30:24	Ke	It's just a shopping centre (1s) and there's a shop called like (.) Hellraiser or summat (2s) yeah ((looks to XXX)) (1s) and it's like (.) heavy metal clothing (.) like Iron Maiden
	TY	It's like black (1s) dark (2s) you know like Whitby
	Ellen	Yeah
30:41	TY	That's like a really gothic scene
	Ellen	Yeah (2s) yeah (.) they have weekends don't they (1s) I think I've heard of that
	TY	Yeah
30:48	Ellen	So (.) you've kind of (2s) how did you come across (1s) or how did you realise that was something (1s) that you were interested in

		My cousins a really big goth ((laughs)) and er (2s) it's like (1s) she's married to a heavy metal person (1s) like (.) a person whose in a heavy metal band (1s) so I think I get it from her
	Ellen	That's interesting (2s) I'm trying to work out (.) like (2s) how do we work out what we're interested in (2s) what we're not interested in
31:17	Ke	I think you just try it out
	Ellen	Yeah (2s) does that (.) I wonder if that's (2s) is that different now (1s) do you find like (2s) you can see loads of different types of things (.) on like social media (2s) you can work out (1s) which bits you are interested in and which you aren't interested in
	Ta	Yeah definitely
31:39	TY	Cos you can always unfollow someone
	Ta	Yeah cos you've always got like a (1s) recommended page (3s) which like shows you stuff related to what you've been looking at (2s) so it'll show you stuff related to that and you look at it and see if you're interested in it and then you'll like (.) look more into it and start following (2s) that sort of thing (.) like (1s) cos you can follow hashtags now (3s) so like (.) hashtag music (1s) you can follow and there'll be (.) like different bands pop up that tagged music (1s) or (1s) and you might seem interested in them and start listening to (.) them
32:11	Ellen	So it can start (.) I can picture like (2s) a rabbit hole or something (.) you start following one (.) and you suddenly find yourself somewhere completely different
	TY	Yeah like (1s) my recommended (.) you know those videos that pop up (.) on that TV thing now that you've got (.) they've got like a TV thing that's just videos that you can just swipe across them (2s) I can just sit there and I've been sat there for maybe like seven hours just watching videos (.) you know (3s) I've just ended up somewhere <u>completely</u> different to where I started
32:44	Ellen	And all this times gone by (2s) have you <u>known</u> you've been sat for so long
	TY	((Laughs)) no
	Ellen	You get kind of (.) absorbed in something
	TY	Yeah
32:55	Ta	I feel like Instagram is more of a safe place as well (1s) more than snap chat is (.) because (2s) once you've sent a snapchat message it just disappears if you don't save it (1s) so you can send anything and (.) you won't ever know
	Ellen	Right okay (2s) so I think I did know that about snapchat (3s) so once you've (.) you could take a picture (2s) and once you've sent it (.) [it's gone]
	Ke	[It's gone]
	Ellen	And it's gone from <u>my</u> phone and
	TY	[The moment they've]
33:19	Ke	[Yeah once they've] opened it (.) replay it once and that's it
	Ellen	Right okay
	TY	Unless they've screen shotted it
33:25	Ta	(2s) and it shows you if they've screen shotted it
	Ellen	You know they have (2s) so (.) and snap chat is something you said you'd use more with friends (2s) more than celebrities (2s) so does that (2s) do you use it with people in school ((Rustling from a packet)) ((laughter))
	Ellen	I haven't got any scissors or anything (2s) I dunno why I'm offering like I'm gonna be able to if you can't (2s) oh here we go (.) there you go
33:57	Ellen	What erm (2s) so is (2s) what's it like on Snap chat (1s) what sorts of things do you do (.) on there
	Ke	Just update people with what you're doing
	Ta	[I don't really]
	Ke	[on your story]
34:08	Ta	use it that much at all
	TY	I mainly use it to keep in touch with my mate in Cornwall (2s) cos he used to live here (2s) but now he's moved all the way down (.) for college
34:16	Ellen	Okay (2s) so then (.) how does it help your friendship
	TY	Helps us keep in touch and like (2s) what each other are doing (2s) and like (2s) phone each other
	Ellen	Yeah (.) so I guess you were saying (2s) it can help (2s) like you were saying ((gestures to Ke)) helps update your mates
	Ke	Yeah

	Ellen	With what you're doing (2s) and then you were saying you don't use it (.) snapchat (.) as much ((gestures to XXXa)) (2s) how come
34:42	Ta	I don't use it as much because it's more (4s) I don't <u>really know</u> (2s) I just prefer Instagram (2s) I feel like it's more (2s) suited to me (5s) more like (.) based off what I like (2s) cos people from school will just post <u>random</u> stuff (.) wont they (.) and it'll be the most <u>unnecessary</u> thing (.) you won't even want to see it (3s) and you'll be (.) scrolling through stories and it'll be (.) friends of friends as well that you have on snapchat (.) you won't want to see what they're (1s) posting
	Ellen	What kind of (.) like unnecessary (3s) unnecessary in that it's
35:19	Ke	Just not interesting
	Ta	[Posting videos of (unclear) blasting music]
	Ke	[Yeah (1s) boring]
35:24	Ta	Music through speakers and post a video of it (2s) or like (.) taking a picture outside their window and saying
	TY	Pop up for a streak or summat like that and it'll be the most unnecessary thing and you don't wanna see
	Ellen	Yeah (2s) so its not as (2s) erm (.) you can't kind of (.) tailor it as much to something you're interested in (3s) so someone was (.) erm (.) talking to me about snapchat (2s) and it was around like (1s) if there was something gone off in school (.) then it can like (.) then (2s) continue outside of school on social media and that (2s) like bullying and that (.) does that (.) does it influence you using it (.) do you know if it happens
36:10	Ta	You don't know what's going on (.) like ever
	TY	I practically just live under a rock me
	Elen	How does that (.) explain that
	TY	Like (2s) sometimes I won't even be on my phone for hours (2s) and honestly I don't know anything that's going on and like (2s) my best mates just got a boyfriend (.) and I didn't even know that till like three days after (1s) because I literally (.) practically live under a rock (.) I just barely talk to anyone
	Ellen	So had you (.) was this a break from school (.) had you not seen your friend
	TY	She doesn't come to school
	Ellen	Ahh rate okay (.) so you didn't see them elsewhere (3s) so you have these gaps where you don't use it (3s) you step out of that world (.) what about you guys (.) is it a thing (.) if there's conflict in school does it
37:02	Ke	Oh yeah (.) like somebody will (1s) there'll be that one person whose been involved (.) that's gone home and put something about it on their story (.) just bring it back up (1s) something that's passed (2s) yeah put it so everyone else can see it (.) if they didn't know about it they do now cos they've looked at this story (2s) and then it just develops
	Ta	It just spirals
37:20	Ellen	Hmmm (2s) could that be something different (.) from (2s) what older people have deal with (.) does it seem like it's something new
	Ke	Umm
	Ellen	So what do you (.) is that something you avoid (1s) is that something you have to be mindful of
37:38	Ta	You just learn to ignore it (2s) you learn to ignore the (1s) silly comments
	Ke	Or you have to put something on your story <u>knowing</u> what you'll get back in return
	Ta	You've got to put something on your story (2s) knowing what you'll get back
37:50	Ke	Yeah don't act shocked when (.) someone comes back and says summat to you
38:	Ta	If someone had a fall out with someone and then posted (.) ah you stupid little bitch or something like that (.) they know that people will (1s) er (.) reply with like (1s) what's happened (.) stuff like that (.) but then they'll be like (.) ah I don't wanna tell you (2s) so they'll post about it but expect no one to say anything
38:13	Ellen	So it kind of (4s) sounds complicated (.) there's (2s) do people act one way on line and presenting differently in school
	Ke	Yeah
	Ellen	What's that look like
38:28	Ta	Acting tough (2s) over messages and [then]
38:30	Ke	[And then] you come to them (.) and they're proper quiet
38:34	Ta	They're like (.) ah I didn't mean what I said (2s) and then they'll be really chilled out (.) and calm but then say (2s) <u>loads</u> of stuff on social media

	Ellen	So where does gender play in to that (1s) is that a thing that we all do (2s) or is that
38:48	Ta	I think it's more girls who are like that
38:49	K	Yeah I agree (2s) I think (2s) boys aren't bothered what they say (.) what they think to each other (.) they just say it as it is (2s) but I think (.) girls (.) like (1s) they'll say stuff behind each other's backs will girls (.) and (1s) then they'll deny it to their face (.) or they won't confront them about it
	Ellen	Yeah (.) so that sounds hard to navigate (.) that (1s) you've got people who (.) does happen in friendships
39:18	Ke	Yeah
	Ta	Yeah (.) but now most of my friends are boys so
	Ke	Used to (1s) for doing it (.) ex friendships
39:24	Ellen	And how (2s) how did you respond in that situation (.) what did you do
	Ke	I just distanced myself from people
39:30	Ta	I just won't get involved unless its (2s) someone I also feel the same about (.) like I can't deny that I've been (5s) like (.) talking behind peoples back (.) cos we all have
	Ke	Everyone's done it
39:45	Ta	And I'll admit that I have before (.) but now (.) I'll just distance myself from it (.) I'm not really interested if someone's got something to say (.) or (2s) if someone else has got (2s) a problem (2s) with someone else (3s) I prefer not to know about it
40:02	Ellen	You can avoid it by stepping away (.) from that (3s) erm (.) we've got about 10 ish minutes left (2s) although I think I'm (3s) keeping you from your next lesson as well (.) is that okay
	TY	We're in form
	Ke	Yeah we're in form
	Ta	I don't have to go back
40:15	Ke	I'm doing banner
	TY	I've got nothing to do in my form me
	Ta	I've got nothing to do in mine neither (.) I've finished it
40:23	Ellen	We'll sort of finish up (.) erm (.) soon (.) but I suppose (3s) I'm kind of interested in (2s) the kind of the expectation maybe of (2s) I dunno if you think it (.) impacts on you guys (.) or if you think it's younger or older girls (1s) women (.) but (1s) is there something about (2s) celebrities and (2s) looking or acting a certain way (.) how does that filter in peoples (.) like conversations or experience of the online world
40:56	Ta	I'll never look at one of my friends and think (1s) ah I want to look like her (2s) but if I (.) if I'm on snapchat or Instagram and I see someone (.) who is (.) who I think is like (.) prettier than me I'll (1s) want to be like them (.) I'll want to look like them (.) or I'll compare myself (1s) to them
41:11	Ellen	Is it (2s) is it (1s) different from doing it online than (.) it would be to if you just saw somebody
41:18	Ke	Yeah
	Ellen	out and about (.) what's that about (.) how is it different
41:22	Ke	Because
41:24	Ta	You portray your perfect life on social media (.) and you don't really show what's going on (2s) behind the scenes
41:31	Ke	Yeah (.) like if you saw somebody on the street (.) you're not gonna (.) like fully (2s) analyse what you're looking at (1s) whereas on social media they can't <u>see</u> that you're looking at it (1s) they can see that you've liked it but (2s) its like (1s) going through other people's posts (1s) say if it was somebody famous (2s) and you were comparing (.) you could go onto their profile look at what else you've posted (1s) cos they don't know you're looking at it (.) so
41:46	Ellen	So you kind of (.) can become a bit (.) absorbed with it
41:51	Ke	Yeah
	Ellen	Comparing yourself to something (2s) so how does that (1s) does that (1s) how do you keep yourself alright there (2s) do you move away from it
	Ke	I think everybody does it (.) it's unavoidable really
42:08	Ta	Recently I've got really bad with (.) comparing myself to other people (2s) I'm very bad for it now (1s) I just compare myself to anyone who I think is better than me (.) cos I'm (4s) I wouldn't say scared (.) but I worry (.) quite a bit of not being (3) <u>enough</u> (.) so I always feel that I want to look like someone who is better (.) who is (5) yeah
	Ellen	Yeah (3s) is that something that is familiar
42:38	Ke	Yeah

		(4s) do you think that (.) goes across (.) is that a common experience or (.) do you think it's just (2s) more likely to be girls
42:55	Ta	I always think that I'm the only person who does it but nobody else speaks about it (2s) other people do it (.) but they won't say anything (.) but (3s) I (2s) I say it to my mum (.) mum I feel bad today (.) I feel like I'm not myself (2s) and I'll speak about it but I feel like I'm the only person who will speak about it (2s) and like (3s) what I'm feeling (2s) so I feel like I'm the only but I know I'm not
43:22	Ellen	How do you know (.) you're not the only one who feels that way
	Ta	Well I mean there's seven billion people in the world I can't be the only one
	Ellen	Yeah
	Ta	I always feel like someone must be going through the same thing
43:40	Ellen	So how (2s) talking about not feeling enough (.) comparing ourselves to people (2s) do you (.) how does that (.) how does that (.) following celebrities or looking at actors (.) people that you might aspire to (.) how do you (3s) negotiate that and still look after yourselves
44:04	TY	Taking a break from it
	Ke	Yeah (.) or limiting yourself
	Ta	Yeah limiting yourself (.) just like (2s) put your phone down (2s) I'll go for a run or (.) have a bath (.) or (2s) I'll eat food (.) just chill out really
	Ke	I mean (.) for me it's like football (2s) that takes my mind of a lot of things
	Ellen	Yeah and that's (3s) something that helps relaxation and something important to you
	Ta	Or I'll just talk to my mum about it (.) cos I have a really good relationship with my mum (.) and (4s) I would say that my mum is like my best friend (.) so I'll just talk to my mum about it (.) if I'm ever (2s) if I'm feeling stressed out
	Ellen	Yeah (.) so you've got (3s) someone there who you can talk it (.) which is good (.) to have people there
	Ke	Yeah
	Ellen	It's keeps us all ticking over
		We've sort of got (.) somewhere about 5 minutes left (.) so (.) is there something (.) around looking at well-being (.) and feeling good about ourselves that I haven't asked (.) is there something important (.) school should know (.) I sort of theme about what's going on (.) I'll be here in September (.) I'll ask Mr Young and get in touch and see what you'se are up to and see if there something extra we can do

Focus Group B1

Time (min:sec)	Participant Name	Transcription
00:03	Ellen	Hang on we need (3s) there we go we've got single flashing light (.) so were good (.) erm (4s) so is there anything you remember sort of either (1s) what we were talking about on Tuesday (.) was there anything we said that stood out (2s) or was there anything that (.) er (.) you thought was a surprise or was interesting
00:25		(erm)
00:29	A	What about the girls and the boys (2s) and the mixes between them
	Ellen	Hmmm (2s) yeah what were you thinking (.) about that
00:33	A	Like (2s) its different (4s) like different groups of us (2s) and (1s) most of them change around friends (3s) rather than being on social media
00:50	Ellen	Yeah (2s) that kind of (2s) split between what people can be like (.) either on their own or in groups (3s) yeah like (.) in person versus social media (2s) presentation people give (3s) so that's (2s) my hearing of that was that(2s) people can be quite different in the social media world (3s) what do you think
01:07	Emily	Yeah
	Ellen	So I did ask on Monday but cos I didn't meet all of you guys (2s) do you (.) do you use social media
01:19	Sam	Yeah (2s) pretty much everything
01:21	Emily	Yeah
	Ellen	So what kind of (2s) what's the most (.) is there a most popular one
01:17		Snapchat
	Ellen	Explain snapchat to me (.) cos I've (2s) I don't understand it
01:33	Sam	So you can look at peoples stories (.) so like (2s) if you take a photo you can put it on your stories and all your friends can see it
	Ellen	Okay
01:41	Sam	You can message one another (1s) and (.) you can (2s) just (.) also (.) like send each [other]
01:49	Emily	[Shall] we show you?
	Ellen	Yeah why not (2s) let's have a look (2s) so what sort of things do you take
01:53	A	You can do streaks
01:56	Sam	Just like photos of yourself
02:22	Emily	So like (2s) you have like your own (.) little (2s) person (2s) and that's where you (.) add people (4s) and then you can make (.) like stories for certain people to see (3s) and then
02:08	Ellen	What's a story
02:10	Emily	Like
02:12	A	If you took a photo of this now and put something (2s) like wrote something for everyone (.) posted it (1s) that's a story
02:19	Emily	If you put it this way you can see everyone's stories (.) and like (2s) famous people (.) and its like news (.) like Kea's stories there
02:25	Ellen	Oh right okay
02:26	Emily	And it's like news (.) but then if you swipe that way you can like message people
	Ellen	Ah so is this (2s) messaging is like streaks
02:35	Emily	Yeah (.) that's like (2s) you get like a best friends lists for people you message most (2s) and you can save photos and things on it (.)
	Ellen	Okay
02:45	Emily	So if I took a photo (2s) I could put (.) send it to someone (2s) or I could just (2s) make a story so like only people can see it
02:56	Ellen	Ah right okay (.) so why would you do (2s) what would be important in a good story
03:01	Emily	Like maybe if you wanted to show someone (.) like if you didn't want to show (1s) everyone who you've got (1s) something (.) a bit more <u>personal</u> (.) you could just do it
03:12	Sam	Because like (.) you tend to have (.) like people from other year groups on it (.) as well
03:15	Ellen	Right okay (.)
03:17	A	You might just embarrass yourself

03:21	Emily	If you just (.) didn't want to be (.) like yourself (.) you'd post it on your story (1s) but then if you wanted to like (3s) you wanted to be a bit more private (.) you could post it to just your friends
	Ellen	Oh okay (1s) so you can (1s) choose (2s) depending on what kind of thing you're taking a picture of (1s) or what message you've got
03:36	A	Yeah (.) you create you own (1s) different stories
	Ellen	So what's streaks about
03:41	Sam	Its like (.) I don't even know how you start them
03:42	Emily	If you message for like three days (2s) then you get a three day streak
	Ellen	Ah right (2s) so if you're sending them back and forth back and forth
03:53	Emily	Yeah
03:56	A	And there's blue chat red chat and videos (2s) blue chat is just messaging (.) red chat is then (1s) you're taking photos and then (1s) like (1s) videos are purple
	Ellen	Is that (.) what you would do with (2s) people in school
04:15	A	Yeah
04:23	Ellen	So (2s) when we were talking about (1s) social media (3s) what sort of things do you talk about or (.) what things tend to come up
04:28	Emily	Just general life (.) really (.) just like (3s) like when I walk my dog (.) I put a photo of my dog (2s) like (.) it's just (2s) or when it's someone's birthday (2s) you could put happy birthday and then press app button and then type in their username and put it on your story and it would automatically go to them (3s) then everyone would know it were there birthday
	Ellen	SO is it something to keep in touch with people
04:52	Emily	Yeah
	Ellen	Does it seem (3s) beneficial for (.) like (.) friendships or does it cause kind of cause tensions
05:07	H	Both
05:08	Ellen	How does it do both
05:11	Sam	Cos erm (.) depends who you're messaging (2s) they either send like awful messages to you (1s) arguing (.) or (2s) send a right load of rubbish (.) like (2s) and then on their stories they can put really disgusting things off (1s) say for instances the ISIS (.) they can put them chopping people's head off (2s) disgusting
	Ellen	So that's (2s) an example of (2s) from people you know or
05:39	Sam	People do actually put it on (2s) like from my friends list (.) like (2s) people put like stuff like on there (.) I dunno (2s) I just think it's an (3s) unusual thing to put on
05:49	Ellen	Unusual (.) Yeah (2s) how do you (2s) can you keep it a space that's positive
06:00	A	It's got both sides to it
06:06		((sound of chair adjusting)) and unclear talk about chair height
06:14	Ellen	So (2s) do you have like (.) celebrities and that on snapchat
06:16	Emily	You can subscribe to them (1s) so you see it (1s) but it'd be on a different place (2s) its below your friends
	Ellen	Right okay (2s) s it's not the same as when you and your friends message each other (4s)
06:35	Sam	No you don't get messages back
06:36	Ellen	Do you have like (.) Instagram as well
		[Yeah]
	Ellen	What does Instagram do
06:43	Emily	I think it's more positive (2s) than snapchat (.) cos nowadays (1s) there's a lot of (.) like women positivity (2s) like they make (2s) their own accounts for like (1s) women (1s) or for like (3s) healthy eating and lifestyles (1s) like there's a lot more positive stuff on Instagram (2s) I don't (.) I don't really see negative things on Instagram
07:08	Ellen	So Instagram is a place for (2s) you can follow (.) like positive (.) so like (1s) healthy eating (3s) does that sound like what you would use Instagram for (2s) what sort of things would you guys look at
07:22	A	Probably looking for that (.) like (3) and you can also have celebrities on there (.) (1s) and you can keep up with them (1s) and see what they're doing
	Ellen	What does (2s) so like (.) in the same way (1s) you can keep up with your mates
07:43	Sam	You can have stories on Instagram as well
	Ellen	Ah I see (.) I've seen those little circles (3s) So (1s) you can keep up with celebrities (.) like images of people (2s) and what they're up to
07:56	Sam	If you follow them you can (.) but (2s) it depends what you follow really

	Ellen	So you choose to follow somebody
	H	Yeah
	Ellen	Do you think there's a sort of difference (1s) in how (2s) different ways of (.) pictures of women or girls (.) or female celebrities (2s) are like role models (2s) or are there people you see as negative (2s)
	CT	[Yeah]
	Ellen	What would you (2s) say (.) as examples
08:30	Sam	More positive (2s) obviously (.) I play rugby (.) so I'd say like a rugby player
	Ellen	What makes them positive
08:39	Sam	Er (1s) obviously it's (.) kinda like (3s) its (.) when they're like (2s) I'd say (1s) women's rugby is growing in importance (.) it's just starting to like kick off (.) it's getting more popular (.) so I just (1s) I'm into that (.) really
	Ellen	So that's (2s) you pointed out that poster in the other room (1s) that blew my mind (2s) cos the girls team made all those finals and it's the picture of the boy's team (2s) and we were talking about (.) erm (1s) sexism in school sport (3s) so that (.) we did start talking about school (1s) as a place (.) that cares more about (3s) I dunno (.) how did we describe it
09:28	A	Like more towards boys (.) it's like (2s) I'd say because we like (.) are a sports school (.) especially in sport (1s) its more towards boys (.) if you comes to humanities corridor (2s) and things (.) it's more split between boys and girls
	Ellen	Okay (.) so does it feel different (1s) how do you know it's different
09:48	Emily	Just like (2s) I feel like (1s) cos we're well known for sport (2s) so when you go to sport it's more like (2s) I dunno (.) say if it's raining girls are more likely to be inside (2s) which is fair (.) but then like (1s) say when we go on trips its more boys (1s) do you know what I mean
		[Yeah]
10:09	Emily	But then if you're in (.) like (1s) <u>any</u> other department it's like split (.) between boys and girls
	Ellen	Yeah (1s) so (2s) does that mean different departments (.) kind of <u>feel</u> differently in school
	CT	[Yeah]
	Ellen	Do teachers act differently
	CT	[Yeah]
	Ellen	How would I know teachers were acting differently?
10:27	A	Just like (1s) treat us the same (1s) just like (.) they just act the same between boys and girls
	Ellen	Is that different to the (2s) sports parts of school
10:49	A	Yeah (2s) I feel like they like us (.) like (2s) they're fair with us both (1s) but I feel like (2s) if it were one (2s) boys would come first
	Ellen	Yeah (.) we talked about competitiveness (2s) cos it is a sporty school (.) and you've got the massive sports day tomorrow (1s) but there can be some unfairness in that (3s) okay (2s) so is there a difference in the way that (2s) boys and girls use social media
11:24	Emily	I feel like for (.) the healthy eating its equal amounts (2s) you'll see men doing workouts and women doing work outs (3s) but (.) like (1s) I feel like they are quite similar (.) like (2s) you'll see women going to the gym as well as men (1s) and you can like see (1s) both accounts
	Ellen	Yeah (2s) so the pictures (.) give you a message (.) about (1s) what do they tell you about
11:49	A	They try to (2s) inspire you to (2s) get up and (2s) go to the gym and look after your body
	Ellen	So they can be (1s) kind of (2s) inspirational (2s) some of those sporty healthy pictures
	CT	[Yeah]
	Ellen	Does that sound (2s) is there anything else about them (2s) that you get from looking at (5s) so is it just pictures of healthy people
12:10	H	Basically there's everything (2s)
	Ellen	Everything
		[Yeah]
12:16	Sam	So you can get (.) er (2s) dunno (.) what else could you get (3s) if you really wanted to (2s) like motivational like (1s) stuff (.) quotes (1s) you know (1s) just to like (.) keep yourself going [not give up]
12:28	Emily	[Food] (2s) there's a lot of food on there int there (2s) ((laughs)) like
	Ellen	What kind of
12:33	Emily	Like restaurants have their own things (.) like (2s) their own accounts (3s) but I feel like a girl would be more (2s) to post (1s) than a boy (3s) I don't know why (.) but it's like if you scroll down your feed I feel like girls post more than boys do

	Ellen	Okay (.) you feel like girls post more (.) do they use it more
12:56	Sam	Erm (.) I think girls probably (3s) use it more than boys (.) boys probably use snapchat
	Ellen	Oh so there might be more girls on Instagram looking (2s) or posting
		[Yeah]
13:13	Ellen	So (2s) you have conversations with boys you know and (1s) girls you know on Instagram and snapchat (3s) as well as those who you don't know
	T	Yeah
	Ellen	Pictures you can just take of
13:25	Emily	Anything
13:27	Ellen	Do you try and (2s) is there like a (2s) a way to (3s) represent yourself on snapchat (.) do you kind of (2s) have certain things in mind when you're taking pictures
13:34	A	Yeah definitely
	Ellen	What sort of stuff do you have to (2s) sort of (.) think about
13:41	A	Once you've put something out there (2s) then it's always going to be on that like (.) drive (2s) even if you delete it (.) or (1s) like save it to your camera (1s) like your memories (.) snapchat can always (.) so like (.) get to that (.) once you post something its posted (.) like (2s) you may delete it so no others can see it (.) but (3s) the amount of people that will screen shot it (2s) and forward it everywhere (.) like
	Ellen	So once it's been screen-shotted
14:11	A	It's not going to go back (2s) once you've saved something (2s) you can't
14:15	Sam	You can save it too (.) like (1s) on Instagram (.) other people's posts (.) there's like a (2s) this icon thing (.) you just tap it
	Ellen	Yeah (2s) so you have to be mindful before putting anything out there (.) it's not going anywhere (2s) is that from experience (2s) have you put stuff out and gone waah (1s) shouldn't have done that
	CT	[No]
	Ellen	How do you get to be very careful (2s) what do you do
14:44	Sam	Well I'd just say (2s) compared to some other girls (.) like (2s) they just (l(augh)) put their bodies out there really (.) and
14:51	A	I think it's fake
14:56	Emily	Yeah and it all comes back to you doesn't it (2s) like there's been a lot of incidents in school (2s) arguments and things (.) between snapchat int there
15:01	Sam	Yeah (.) it's a problem (1s) social media is probably the worst thing for school (.) it always (.) brings back to you
15:09	Ellen	So there's (3s) something about (2s) erm (3s) the sorts of pictures girls take cos once they're out there they're out there
		[Yeah]
15:20	Ellen	There's also arguments that happen (3s) so (.) thinking of pictures we take (.) are there (3s) certain (.) sorts of pictures you wouldn't wanna take or send out there
		[Yeah]
15:37	Ellen	What is then said (1s) what gets said in school about (.) either between boys or girls (2s) when someone takes a picture of their body
15:51	A	If that got spread round then people would be (.) look at you totally different (.) like (2s) you'd get called a slag (.) if it were a girl (.) like and then boys
15:58	Emily	I feel like boys don't really care as much if their nudes get sent round (.) but because (.) like (4s) girls have more things (.) like (2s) it's just (4s) you (.) you (2s) people look at you differently
	Ellen	So you're all in year 9 (.) so does that happen within (3s) your year group
16:23	Sam	Some people
16:25	Ellen	Do you use the word nude (3s) what does that mean
16:27	Emily	Yeah
16:31	Sam	It can be really everything
16:35	Emily	But then like (2s) if you uploaded photos like (.) of (2s) your body (2s) I feel like it could be positive too (.) like maybe (2s) I feel like people don't have as much confidence (3s) so if you were to post it (.) and maybe not completely nude (2s) but like a bit more fleshy (.) then you'd like (2s) but if you could say I'm not bothered what people are saying so I feel like would be better (.) because (2s) if you want to do it then it's your choice but for me personally (3s) I'd have to think no cos people will say something (3s) I don't want that happening (1s) but if I wasn't bothered (2s) then do you know what I mean

17:10	Ellen	Yeah (2s) what do you guys think about that (.) would you (2s) is there a space for people to (2s) are there people in school who just think yeah I'm going to send these pictures and
17:19	Sam	There's a lot to be fair
17:22	A	There is
		[[((laughter))]]
17:22	Sam	I just don't think they're really bothered (.) I just (.) like (2s) I really wouldn't (2s) I'm quite (.) obviously a smart person and I don't do anything like that (.) I think (2s) it's (2s) stupid (.) and (2s) there's just some people who (.) just (.) who are willing to do that (2s) and I don't think (.) erm (.) it can get screen shotted to (.) like that's (2s) one thing and boys like (.) they get (4s)
17:47	A	I've got some boys on snapchat and they're always asking and I'm like no (.) not doing that (.)
17:50	Ellen	Oh okay
17:51	A	I think boys (.) that what boys (.) like (2s) that boys initiate it (.) boys ask you to do stuff like that (.) I dunno
	Ellen	So (3s) there (.) if you're in a conversation with someone (2s) these might be lads you know (.) from school (2s) or could these be (.) would people you know from school be like (.) ah send me
18:09	A	Some people can (.) I'd say it's mainly different schools though
	Ellen	Why do you think that is
18:41	Emily	So they don't see you (2s) they don't have to face that they've said that (2s) cos then (.) like (3s) with popular boys (.) if you went up to them with their friends (2s) and said why did you send that to someone (2s) it gives you like a bad reputation doesn't it (2s) and if it gets brought into school (.) like (2s) all your screen shots (.) your teachers are going to see (3s) so you have to think about that as well (.)
	Ellen	So (.) are school (3s) do you think school (.) if someone in school was asking for pictures (.) is that something school have a grip on
18:47	Emily	Yeah
	Ellen	How do they deal with it
18:50	A	They're really good with stuff like that
	Ellen	So what sort of thing (.) what would happen then
18:53	A	They'd get (1s) the police get involved straight away and then they get done for it (2s) but then (.) sometimes <u>you</u> can get done for it (.) but (2s) it's more the people asking for it (.) who get done for it
	Ellen	So that include people from outside this school
19:07	Emily	They still (.) if you're like (2s) from a different school they'd still (1s) get the police involved (.) but
	Ellen	So is that a kind of way of (2s) does that stop people asking and sending pictures or do they do it anyway
19:19	A	People still do it anyway (1s) they don't really think before they do it anyway (.) think of the consequences (2s) that can happen (.) cos (2s) it can get really serious really quick (.) especially if its older people
	A	What time is it
	Sam	It's 47
	Ellen	Ah rate crumbs (.) what an abrupt end (.) erm (.) that (3s) is probably (.) we'll have to pause (.) is everyone alright (.) cos that's kind of (.) ah (.) that feels like a heavy thing to talk about (.) it might be commonplace so it may be something you talk about amongst your friends
	CT	[Yeah]
	Ellen	Does it seem like an okay place to end that conversation cos of time
	CT	[Yeah]
	Ellen	I don't want to keep you longer than the bell
	Ellen	What I'll do it sort of write up everything we talked about (.) over the summer (.) so when we come back in September (.) October (.) I might (.) It'll still be Mr Young (.) I'll get back in touch and give you the chance to either have a look and feedback or I might pester for you more stuff (.)

Appendix O: Stage One and Stage Two of Analysis

Discourse: Pressured Girl/Perfectionism/Productivity in Scarcity				
Transcript	Time stamp	P	Quote	
A1	P5	Jo	We just want everyone to like us	postfeminist- likeable and nice persona
A2	P1	Anna	Stressful Pressure They're always pushing you to be the best Pushing you to achieve the best	pressure- well-being? successful girl
		Jo	They expect you to like know it straight away	lack of agency expectation located in school
	P1	Anna	Not good enough not meeting expectations Very high achievers Very good grades all the time	shame, worthiness universal
		Kara	Winning is something you can get out of it but its not the main part of playing	play rather than pressure
		Anna	Just revise revise revise all week	pressure
	P2	Kara	Pushing us It's a lot they put on us	lack of agency
		Anna	You haven't got enough time I havent got time Ive got no time to do anything	scarcity time as object
	P3	Jo	I don't really revise cos it makes me freak out for tests	
	P4	Kara	I'm more passionate about sports I just keep going	
	P5	Kara	If you're interested in like Pursuing something you're doing	
	P6	Kara	You've got to replace things Cant fit everything into a week	time as object- boundary
A2	P13	Anna	You portray this perfect life on social media You don't really show whats going on behind the scenes	duplicitous
		Kara	On the street...you're not gonna fully analyse what you're looking at They can't see you're looking at it	
B2	P3	Emily	Cos nowadays theres a lot of women positivity They make their own accounts for like women Healthy eating Lifestyles I don't really see negative things on Instagram	Discourse of health and positivity Healthy teas, celeb endorsements?? body as a project
		Kayla	You can also have celebrities on there You can keep up with them	keep up- project. role model?
		Sam	More positive I play rugby Women's rugby is growing in importance	role models

	P4	Emily	Healthy eating it's the same You'll see men doing workouts women doing workouts See women going to the gym as well as men going to the gym	What do I do – healthy What other girls do – nudes
		Kayla	They inspire you Go to the gym and look after your body	project health and fitness discourse

Discourse: Mean Girls				
Transcript	Time stamp	P	Quote	
	P3	Anna	Boys comparing girls to girls It's always the boys that have got comments to say	Boys as bullies or bitchy? Relational bullying??
A1	P5	Kara	It's keeping up with everyone else Work their way up	Relational comparison hegemonic
A1	P5	Jo	We just want everyone to like us	Nice persona?
	P6	Anna	High school I think its more bitchy Girls talking about each other Girl to girl Slagging each other off	Enter the mean girls at secondary Developmental 'Slag'
		Kara	Anything you can pin point	No-Win Risky
		Jo	If they've done one thing wrong Behind their back If you're mates with them you'll talk to a different mate Anything they can do wrong	'Wrong' is about surveillance Connection and shame Universal- right and wrong
		Anna	We have all done it Straight away Start judging and not give a reason	Make themselves irrational No positive connotations
	P7	Kara	They think they're better than everybody else	
A2	P11	Kara	That one person That's gone home and put something about it on their story So everyone else can see it	Othering
	P12	Anna	Someone had a fall out Posted ah you stupid little bitch or something like that	Escalation from fall out to abuse?
		Anna	Acting tough over messages Ah I didn't mean what I said They'll be really chilled out Calm	Girls Duplicitous, repressed Weak
		Kara	And they're proper quiet	Repressed
		Anna	Its more girls who are like that	
		Kara	Boys aren't bothered what they say They'll just say it as it is	Authentic Genuine Direct aggression

			Girls will say stuff behind each others backs then deny it to their face	
A2	P1	Kayla	I wrote two faced	Indirect duplicitous
		Elisa	Snakey	Indirect duplicitous
		Dana	Pressured	
		Elisa	Slagging someone off Not being very nice Very truthful Its lying	Slagging slag, sexualised language Boys as authentic girls as lying
		Dana	Most girls Everyone's got a snakey side	Innate reductionist. Side not the whole of a girl universal
B1	P2	Elisa	Theres always a side to you Its just what girls are like	universal innate resigned
		Emily	If you find stuff out about anyone	
		Dana	Lost virginity	sexual policing
		Elisa	But some girls are different You gotta watch who you tell people	People- she's instructing the group
		Sam	Trust	connection- counter discourse?
		Kayla	You're best friends are you friends and that's a totally different thing	connection- counter discourse?
		Dana	Girls are more mouthy than boys They get into trouble with their mouths more than they do their fists They're all mouth and no bite	Mouthy- argumentative, language based- intellect?
		Sam	No action just mouth	indirect
		Dana	Girls go up to each other mouthing Ive seen it before	indirect
		Elisa	I have many arguments with people	owning it?
	P3	Kayla	Other girls	What do girls fight about?
		Elisa	If someone said something to my mate Sticking up for your mate	agency- less indirect and more courageous?
	P3	Kayla	If someone said something about you Then you're not really bothered	not allowed to self advocate
		Dana	Boys just batter each other If a boys got a problem with another lad hell go	See masculinity
		Elisa	Get in their face	
		Elisa	They do it for themselves	direct agentic
		Elisa	If their mates get involved makes them seem like their soft They're not hard enough to do it themselves	toxic masculinity
		Dana	If a girls got a problem they'll go for their best mate	not self-assertion
		Emily	It's more expected of boys innit	
	P4	Elisa	When you hear of a girl in a fight it's like OH	disgust policing

		Emily	When it's a lad	
		Elisa	Its just normal	innate developmental
	P11	Dana	All popular girls are known as being a bitch	hegemonic, cultural incentive
	P12	Elisa	I'm assumed to look threatening	positioning?

Discourse: Naturally Emotional, binary to aggression				
Transcript	Time stamp	P	Quote	
A1		K	Girls are meant to be the weaker gender Not as tough	not accepted?
	P3		I don't think they're the same to compare themselves or to think they are like bad looking	Boys as immune to social standards
	P3	anna	We want to look the way girls should look	should- expectations and shame
	P5	Anna	Periods Hormones and moods Boys will be like- stop being so moody	Not bullying Reduced to biological mechanisms- hysteria! silence anger
		Jo	Or look whose on their period	Reduced to biological mechanisms- hysteria! silence anger
	P5	K	Boys go under a lot of pressure too But girls do have it harder	
		k	Girls do go through more Girls- not as harsh on boys as it is on girls	Accomdating boys? Do they know why girls have it harder?
		Jo	Boys take things a different way to girls Girls are more prone to overthink things	internalise
		Anna	Girls are more emotional too	internalise?
		Jo	Cos boys will just laugh it off Girls will think about it more	
		Jo	Play on their minds	ruminate well-being
		Anna	I think its just the way we are Over think about what people have said or what people are doing	innate- developmental biological?
	P8	Anna	Happy smiley Never seen out of their natural emotion Happy all the time Never seen them upset	First go at what 'well' looks like..
		K	Being happy all the time suggests you are covering something up	counter idea...
		K	Boys are built to just take it as it is Not show their emotion	built to- biological
		Jo	Mask their emotions Look normal	
		Anna	Try to hide it Be more quieter You can tell in their behaviour	Girls about toughness and well-being internalise
		K	Boys will always worry about similar things to girls but I think they'll worry about different things as well Clear skin perfect face hairstyles	

A2	P6	K	Socialise	
		Anna	Bullet journaling Its just relaxing	
		Jo	Cinema A routine type thing	
	P7	Anna	See my boyfriend	
	P7	Jo	Week day sleep overs	
	P7	K	I like being in my own company	
B1	P2	D	Girls are more mouthy than boys	Mouthy- argumentative, language based- intellect?
	P4	D	We open more than boys do If they open up they'll like they're not	emotionally literate
		Emily	Hard	
		D	Laughed at	
		K	It takes a lad a lot longer to open up All the lads make fun of him for it	girls have to work hard
		D	Lads come across at not caring	
	P10	Sam	They care a lot more about boys It's just sexist and it's obvious what they're doing	School sexist- feminism?
		K	Didn't want to be in school It makes her sad to go	well-being
		D	Last year I purposefully made myself sick People were saying stuff They tried to stop it but nothing got done Boys sat their judging all day every day	well-being
	P11		You're constantly known that you're on your period	Reduced to biological mechanisms- hysteria! silence anger
		K	She's on her period No I'm reacting cos you're making a point that's not valuable	Reduced to biological mechanisms- hysteria! silence anger
		D	Girls are a lot more emotional Boys automatically take the mick out of you	Reduced to biological mechanisms- hysteria! silence anger

Discourse: "Not all Boys"- hegemonic masculinity or popularity				
Transcript	Time stamp	P	Quote	
A1	P4	ANNA	It's the popular boys who talk about it All my close friends are boys and they don't talk about it	It is never named hegemonic- not all boys
A1	P5	K	It's keeping up with everyone else Work their way up	Relational comparison
A2	P12	Anna	Most of my friends are boys so	Friendships are easier with boys than girls girls as complicated?
B1	P4	D	They act like they don't care but they really do	boys as duplicitous

		A	I think they act different in school than they do on messages	boys as duplicitous
		K	On their own they're so much different than round they mates	Surveillance boys as duplicitous
		A	They're nice to you Little cuties Compliments	boys as duplicitous bare minimum??
		Emily	Asking if you're alright	low expectations girl have for boys
		K	Actually care	
	P5	K	Don't you want to show yourself off Do you not think you look good	no win
		Emily	I'd say its more popular boys	hegemonic
		K	Popular people who are mainly sporty Unpopular lower wouldn't say something like that	hegemonic
		Emily	Everyone backs them up cos they're popular	hegemonic
		D	Popular girls and popular boys to together Then theres less popular girls and boys go together	hegemonic
	P8	A	Its proper weird When a lad teacher tells you off for your skirt	authority- not being able to name why weird
		K	I have had a male teacher touch my skirt	agency- been touched
		D	Ive had a male teacher	sharing perspective
		A	Makes you feel awkward in some way Coming up to me and feeling my skirt	not being able to name why its weird
	P11		Its not all boys But none of them are popular The ones who message me	
	P11	D	Shoving each other Pretending their hard	duplicitous performance of masculinity they get that
B2	P5	Emily	I feel like boys don't really care as much if their nudes get sent round Girls have more things People look at you differently	Toxic masculinity

Discourse: Physical Stereotypes and Shame, comparison from hegemonic masculinity				
Transcript	Time stamp	P	Quote	Thoughts
A1	03.24	Anna	Dangerous You don't know what's going to happen If you're on your own Good target They could do anything	Vulnerable
A1			Could abduct you	In relation to male/older Vulnerable

		K	Girls are meant to be the weaker gender Not as tough	resist vulnerable?
A1		Jo	You feel like something is going to happen	Erosion, ongoing, hidden danger....
		Anna	You don't know like what's going to happen and you just start thinking the worse	Builds on the quote above- confirms. How behaviour of others impacts on thoughts and feelings?
		K	Girls are supposed to have quite long hair Perfect Wear makeup Be super pretty But ive got short hair That's what makes me quite unique and different to a lot of girls	Shame around physical appearance, expectations, policing? Also in identity formation, position self from 'a lot of girls' in relation to stereotypes- not aware.
A1	P3	Jo	Being compared to each other The stress of being perfect all the time You look perfect Big boobs big bum skinny waist	Physical expectations emotion exaggerated femininity
	P3	Anna	Boys comparing girls to girls It's always the boys that have got comments to say	compared surveillance
	P3	Anna	Body wise Face wise	
	P10	Anna	Make-ups a big thing Its like confidence for a girl	
A2	P8	Anna	I like looking at like other stuff Other pictures of people famous people Looking at pictures Add celebrities Fitness people Girls who work out and post work out videos fitness meals Normal celebrities selena Gomez the kardashians taylor swift	not emotion choice empowerming? body as project
	P9	K	Actors and Netflix and that Stranger things Amanda seyfried Britney Snow	
		Jo	Preference really We watch WWE Really gothy stuff Stuff like that clothing I think I get it from her	
	P13	Anna	I'll never look at one of my friends and think ah I want to look like her I think is like prettier than me I'll want to be like them I want to look like them	Be like them Look like them?
B1	P5	D	All the popular girls are really pretty and skinny They've all got boyfriends	cultural incentives sexualised reputation

			All not virgins Then that makes them slaggy	
		Sam	Its also clothing too Called a glad Called a lesbian	too- making a point
		K	Whatever you do there's something wrong	Surveillance no win
		D	If you wear trousers you want to be a boy	
		K	Don't you want to show yourself off Do you not think you look good	no win
	P8	A	Girls done like eating in front of other people	perfectionism body to be consumed not for consuming food
		K	I don't wanna eat in front of other people	
		D	You get called fat	ance shaming?
		S	I'm a messy eater	
		A	Cos its mainly boys who go in there	g spaces gendered
	P10	D	You'll just be sat in a lesson and a boy will come up to you and be like oh you're fat youre ugly I wouldn't dare be you	agency for boys shaming
	P11		How you look	Main worries
B2	P3	Emily	Cos nowadays theres a lot of women positivity They make their own accounts for like women Healthy eating Lifestyles I don't really see negative things on Instagram	Discourse of health and positivity! Healthy teas, celeb endorsements
		A	You can also have celebrities on there You can keep up with them	
		Sam	More positive I play rugby Women's rugby is growing in importance	
	P4	Emily	Healthy eating it's the same You'll see men doing workouts women doing workouts See women going to the gym as well as men going to the gym	What do I do – healthy What other girls do – nudes
		A	They inspire you Go to the gym and look after your body	body as project
	P5	Sam	Put their bodies out there really	

		A	It's just fake	
		Emily	It all comes back to you	
	P6	Emily	It could be positive too Confidence If you could say I'm not bothered what people are saying so I'd have to think no cos people will say something I don't want that happening But if I wasn't bothered then do you know what I mean	Post-feminist discourse of empowerment choice but confidence? barrier to empowerment
		Sam	Smart person and I don't do anything like that Its stupid Just some people who are willing to do that	sexy smart binary
		A	Boys on snap chat They're always asking and I'm like no	boys- agency

Discourse: powerless against Policing/Surveillance in stereotypes				
Transcript	Time stamp	P	Quote	
A1	P3	Jo	Being compared to each other	Outside practices, social practices being internalised into 'stress' All the time, erosion of self.
			The stress of being perfect all the time You look perfect I look at other people and compare myself to them What are people going to think about me when they see someone else.	Outside practices, social practices being internalised into 'stress' All the time, erosion of self.
	P3	All	Magazines Instagram Internet Kim Kardashian	Locate the discourses
A1	P4	Jo	You hear them talk about it a lot They do forget They'll have proper boy talk Lasses and comparing themselves Stuff that boys do	Ownership of the STEM space Never name 'It'
		K	Every lad has got something to say about a girl Every lesson Its unavoidable Most common talk You hear that everyday Its just natural	Resigned not emotional about it Natural- see biological facticity downplay sexism, inequality
		ANNA	Oh I'm not good enough then	shame
A1	P5	K	It's keeping up with everyone else Work their way up	Relational comparison
		Anna	Its stressful	Erosion of well-being/subjectivity

		Anna	Staying up with the trends	
A2	P10	K	Just update people with what you're doing	Social media and extra space for surveillance
	P11	Anna	People from school will post the most random stuff You won't even want to see	
		Ke	Just not interesting	Don't be boring
		Jo	Most unnecessary you don't wanna see	
B1	P2	Emily	If you find stuff out about anyone	
	P4	K	One of them said you alright and all the lads were laughing at him cos he asked if I was okay	
	P6	K	You would get judged on actually anything that you wore Assumed to not care about us appearance Call people tramps Cos we don't care what we look like Why should we care	See also lesbian and slag no win Positioning against expectations?
	P8	D	She saw whilst I was getting changed and I were like why you looking anyway	own body- autonomy
	P9	K	About five people looked at me and said is that all you're eating	policing
	P12	A	She wouldn't be embarrassed if her mates videoed her If you do one thing wrong it's all over social media straight away	not embarrassing if its not document risk
B2	P1	Sam	Look at peoples stories Take a photo All you're friends can see it You can message one another Just like photos of yourself	
		A	Something for everyone Posted it	
		Emily	You can see everyone's stories Famous people Its like news	
	P2	Emily	You get a best friends list	
		Sam	You tend to have people from other years groups on it	
		A	You might just embarrass yourself on it	Precariousness
		Emily	Be more private	risk
		Emily	Message for three days and get a three day streak Just general life Walk my dog Someone's birthday	
	P4	A	Especially in sports its more towards the boys Humanities corridor its more split between boys and girls	
	P5	Emily	Anything	Pictures you take of...
		A	Once you've put something out there	Self monitoring

			Its always going to be on that like The amount of people that will screenshot it and forward it everywhere	risk
		A	Look at you totally differently Youd get called a slag	sexual reputation risk
		Emily	I feel like boys don't really care as much if their nudes get sent round Girls have more things People look at you differently	harm to boys? they don't need support?
	P6	Emily	So they don't see you It gives you like a bad reputation doesn't it	

Appendix P: Example of Stages Three, Four, Five and Six of Analysis

Time (min:sec)	Participant Name	Transcription
00:00	Ellen	Okay (19) right (.) so I think it's on (29) but if that (point) know cos it means it's not actually recording what we're a group of you so it will work (19) do you when people say you to sort of (19) not think about too much (29) and (.) I got more (.) if you wanna go into two (19) groups (.) I don't are (39) I want you to write down (19) you can move you come into your head when I say (29) what's it like being a words that describe being a girl (.) it might be (.) if you had you about a minute (29) you can draw it if drawings easier (.) how to girls act (59) are there famous girls that you want (inaudible)
01:42	Ellen	Spelling isn't massively important.
01:45	D	I've got a lot for in mind (.) but more of its (.) like * (29) mass
	Ellen	Oh okay (19) well I'll say now (19) in terms of school rule don't work for your school (19) so you can use language it that's what I was gonna say
02:11	D	That's fine (29) you don't need to (29) sort of censor (.) you
	Ellen	- Have I been (29) I'm just saying horrible things (.) got to * (inaudible) whippers, post writing! *
02:23	K	Okay (19) we've kind of done our (19) 10 more seconds of Alright then (19) so (29) what I thought was starting with that (.) is (29) is there anything anyone's written that they kind of want to share (.) or (29) I don't wanna pick anyone (19) that's a bit sketchy (unclear)
03:00	Ellen	(laughter)
	K	It's true it's the most ever
	K	I wrote two faced
	K	I put snaky
	K	Pressured
	Ellen	Right okay (.) erm (.) I have no idea (.) what is snaky?
	K	Snaky (.) right (.) basically (29) for example (19) if I told Tim something and went (.) don't tell anybody (19) and she then went (19) that's like dragging somebody off (19) it's like (19) it's just not being very (.) nice (.) very truthful (.) in 's like being (19) yeah
04:12	Ellen	Oh okay (19) so that's something (.) you said (points to A))
	A	Yeah two-faced
	Sara	Yeah I put that as well
04:17	Ellen	So what (29) is that part of what (19) being a girl (.) is about (29) are all girls like that or (.) particular types
	D	Most girls (19) everyone's got a snaky side

- keeping a critical position on girls
 - ambivalent pt. mostly
 - pt. tension between girl and
 - these girls
 - pt. person ambivalently
 - took over writing (.) case for
 - writing on kids (.)
 - ambivalent (ambivalently) over (reluctant)
 - ambivalently
 - is ambivalently

most girls?
 this "pressured"
 ambivalently -
 pulling together
 all or all well from
 most?
 ambivalent - that only
 everyone's got it
 most girls
 most girls
 most girls

04:36	K	Yeah definitely (1) there's always a side to you (1) you say summit to one person (2a) it's just what girls are like (1a) [you'll say]
	Emily	[Gossip]
	K	You say something to one person and then you say (1a) it to your mate (1a) summit the (1a) that's not (1a) the same as what you say to them (1) I don't know
	Emily	So it gets a bit twisted
04:49	K	Yeah
	Ellen	So there's (1) so what sort of stuff do (1) girls say to each other
	Emily	It's about yourself (2a) like if you find stuff out about anyone
05:00	D	Yeah so (1) say like (1a) if someone's lost their virginity (2a) you go round (1a) telling everyone (1) and they told you not to tell everyone (1a) and you do anyway
	K	But some girls are different and they do keep it themselves (1) but you gotta be watch who you tell people (2a) like (1) yeah
05:15	Ellen	So there are girls who kind of (1a) resist that (1a) idea of how girls act [Yeah] <i>you're gonna tell her she's different</i> <i>I'm a work/fear person (1a) so (1) I'm not gonna lie (1a) like (2a) if someone told me something (1) who I'm not really close to (1) I'd go and tell my mate (1) but if its someone I'm close to (1) → actually → worse → trust over dating</i>
	K	Yeah
	Emily	And it's like (1) if you know that it's (1) something that's arguments (1a) so (1) I'll just keep it to myself
05:28	Ellen	Is that (1a) loyalty
05:39	Sam	Yeah
	Emily	And trust
	Ellen	So then (1a) for some (2a) is it important for them (1) with certain friends (1) or for certain (1a) people you're close to (1a) that sounds like loyalty's important (1) trust's important?
05:55	CT	Yeah
	Ellen	But maybe for (1a) the wider circle of girls
	A	There's like (1a) your best friends and your friends (2a) it's a totally different thing
	Ellen	There's a difference in how we (2a) I say we (2a) is that something you see in yourselves
06:18	D	(yeah definitely) I think girls are more moody than boys so
06:21	D	(laughter) (yeah definitely)
06:23	Ellen	They get in more trouble with their mouths than they do like (1) their fists
	D	Okay (1a) so the comparison then is that (1a) so girls (1) what's moody?
06:32	Sam	They're all moody and no (1a) here!
	Ellen	No action it's just moody
	D	Yeah (1) yeah (1) no action (2a) so boys are fists (1) are they (1a) they're more likely to fight (1a) is that in school
06:49	K	Yeah I have (2a) many arguments with people [L.A. CHATTER]

over confident
complex
as virgin
moody, not knowing
universal
moody, argumentative
arguing a point as personal
universal, telling trust in different ways
why we may disagree
universal
universal
universal
universal
universal

Group B1 A. Sam, Emily, K D

06:54	F then	No what do you (3s) like (1) what sort of things do you like about?
06:57	A	Other girls
	K	They're the main thing (11) I'd probably argue about it (11) if someone said something to my mate (23) like... I know (1) a lot of people are very stupid about that and they would (25) like (31) I know (1) if you hear someone say something (1) you're sticking up for your mate (1) you might be... they don't want to say anything cos it's about being (1) but they feel a bit (25) like (1) you're mates are like (11) there to I think if people (25) if someone said something about you (11) then you're not really bothered (1) but if someone says something about your friends (1) then you (1) ... they don't go through their ...
07:19	A	If no more bothered about that then what people say about me ... (23) ...
	Sam	[Yes]
07:30	F then	Okay (23) is that (1) from (2s) does that sounds like (1s) that's quite a nice thing then (1s) about being a girl (1s) as long as (2s) [you've got those people who are] ... [I'd say it's right]
07:59	F then	It sounds like it's quite a (1) positive thing (25) I guess it (1) has the other edge that (1s) girls will (1s) throw you under a bus if [laughter] [they don't like you] (23) but for those people you're close to (11) is that (11) is that different for boys (1) do boys have that (1) I think boys are for themselves ...
07:59	D	Boys just hater each other (25) if a boy's got a problem with another kid (23) he'll go [by and]
07:59	K	[Get in their face to do it] Yeah
08:01	D	They do it for themselves!
08:05	D	They do it for themselves!
	K	you otherwise if they get their mates involved (1s) then they can (1s) make it seem like they're soft (1) and they're not hard enough to do it themselves
08:16	E then	Right okay (1) so there's a kind of (1s) what's that word ...
08:26	E then	Right okay (1) so there's a kind of (1s) what's that word ...
08:42	F then	So do girls (1s) when would be said of (1) like (1s) if a girl was to have like an actual fight (1s) like a physical fight ... I feel like (1) they'd look more (1s) like ... boys would think (23) better of them (1s) like not better but (1) they'd be like (1s) jib yeah works out for her and everything (1s) like ...
09:01	F then	Ah okay (1s) so you might get a boy's (1s) attention (1s) boys might look at you a bit more (2s) ...
	K	They might show (1) like (23) I know (23) like ...
	F then	If someone (1s) is someone expected to be ...

Handwritten notes in green, blue, and orange ink are scattered across the page, providing additional context and corrections to the transcribed text.

Handwritten notes (green):

- 06:57 Other girls
- 07:19 If no more bothered about that then what people say about me ...
- 07:30 [Yes]
- 07:59 They do it for themselves!
- 08:05 They do it for themselves!

Handwritten notes (blue):

- 07:59 Boys just hater each other (25) if a boy's got a problem with another kid (23) he'll go [by and]
- 08:05 You otherwise if they get their mates involved (1s) then they can (1s) make it seem like they're soft (1) and they're not hard enough to do it themselves
- 08:16 Right okay (1) so there's a kind of (1s) what's that word ...

Handwritten notes (orange):

- 06:57 They're the main thing (11) I'd probably argue about it (11) if someone said something to my mate (23) like... I know (1) a lot of people are very stupid about that and they would (25) like (31) I know (1) if you hear someone say something (1) you're sticking up for your mate (1) you might be... they don't want to say anything cos it's about being (1) but they feel a bit (25) like (1) you're mates are like (11) there to I think if people (25) if someone said something about you (11) then you're not really bothered (1) but if someone says something about your friends (1) then you (1) ... they don't go through their ...
- 07:30 Okay (23) is that (1) from (2s) does that sounds like (1s) that's quite a nice thing then (1s) about being a girl (1s) as long as (2s) [you've got those people who are] ... [I'd say it's right]
- 07:59 [they don't like you] (23) but for those people you're close to (11) is that (11) is that different for boys (1) do boys have that (1) I think boys are for themselves ...
- 08:05 Boys just hater each other (25) if a boy's got a problem with another kid (23) he'll go [by and]
- 08:16 Right okay (1) so there's a kind of (1s) what's that word ...

Group B1 A. Sam, Emily, K D

09-17	K Emily	When you hear about a girl (1) in a fight (K like (23) JFH (facial expression surprise and disgust))
09-22	K Ellen	So if (1) when you said oh (1) sounds like it's (1) it would be (1) surprising You know if girls have a fight then (1) something really bad happened (1) coz you know (1) usually they wouldn't have fought (1) but with boys it will be summer staged like (23) they've touched their girl friend or summer (1) and they're having a fight over it (23) it's like <u>get over it</u> they say it's (23) to a place beyond where you can just be meanly
09-45	Ellen	Are we better at like (23) are we better at we better at (1) talking then boys or (1) that not true?
09-41	D Emily	Yeah we open up a bit more than boys do (1) coz if they open up they'll like (23) they're fool
09-53	K Emily	I laughed at them (1) like (1) it takes a bit (1) a bit longer to open up because (1) then they feel like (1) if they open up too quickly it makes them look eager (23) I dunno They've got a reputation for being strong haven't they If that (1) if for example (1) if they open up to a girl (1) and that girl goes and tell all the boys (1) all the boys make fun of him for it (1) like there's a rule for being a lad
10-11	K Ellen	They're (1) kind of monitoring each other (1) and you know (1) if one lads in with (1) all the other lads go (1) do your self
10-19	Sam	Yeah
10-28	K Ellen	I answer (1) one of them said are you alright to me and all the lads were laughing at him (1) can be asked if I were okay They made [him feel]
10-17	D Sam	[[I talk over across] at not caring (1) I think with [our mood] [They're immature] [I'm really nervous] [I'm really nervous] [I'm really nervous]
10-29	D	They just like they don't care but they really do
10-44	A K	I think (1) they act different in school than they do [offensive] * * * [I'm not good] on their own they're so much (1) different to round their mates I like if you're on messenger (1) they're more to you (1) a little context Yeah they're actually <u>on text</u> to message and then you see them and like (1) what you being on different for
10-54	K Ellen	Yeah
11-28	Ellen	I hadn't really thought about that (1) no (23) messages is that like (1) a strategy or No like [strategy] Right (1) is you're going to have to explain something to me (1) I don't have anything You can take pictures (1) but you can also message on it (1) you can also take pictures to post on your story You can send them to individual people (1) like on Instagram and on Facebook So they're being sent (1) then (1) what does that look like on (23) messages

is a reminder to have a copy of the text, suggest it

is a more... well a good copy of the text

Why to understand of some things

facial (feedback) expression surprise and disgust
not on message
of (front)

Time	Participant	Text
11:34	A	Compliments
11:36	EMily	Asking if you're alright
	K	Actually, sure
11:39	Tia	But in a group (2s) if I'm not expected for a boy to (L) ask if you're alright (1s) so then it's trying to like
	Elben	So what (11s) do you think, girls have got two different (1s) is there like girls in (2s) groups in school versus girls on messages (2s) or do you feel it's more the same
		[the same] [is more the same]
11:56	K	Some lasses (L) are nice to boys in school (1s) so you'd face (L) if I think someone's greedy, if I then like (1s) [I] just say it to them (2s) it's being nice isn't it
	D	I think girls have two sides as well (1s) can over messages (L) girls can be really muddy (L) and then you say (2s) [say it to my face]
	K	[I have a face]
	D	and they're all scared and timid (2s) and they won't do it
12:12	Sam	[That goes back to snaking]
12:15	K	[I remember (L) someone said come fight me (L) then they blocked me] (1s) I was like (2s) I thought you were gonna come fight me (L) then you're too scared to (1s) so why say it on message (1s) [I'm not saying it on message]
	Elben	Right (L) okay (1s) so there can be (1s) that like (1s) that (1s) snaking (L) is there any (2s) is there anything else that stands out from what you've written
12:39	D	Stereotypes
	Elben	Okay (1s) yeah that's kind of (1s) that's something interesting (1s) what do you mean
	D	Like (1s) all the popular girls are really pretty and skinny and (2s) they've all got boy friends and they're like (1s) all the virgins (1s) cos they've got a boy friend and (2s) then that makes them snaky
13:07	Tia	So (1s) let me try to remember all that (2s) there's (1s) girls who are (2s) popular and that's about being (L) pretty and (L) skinny
	D	Yeah
	Elben	And there's also (L) girls who have boy friends (1s) and if girls have got boy friends (1s) we may be think (L) they're (L) not virgins
13:25	Elben	[Yeah]
		And then (1s) it's like a (2s) sort loop between being (2s) called (L) not a virgin and (L) a bad reputation
		[Yeah]
13:30	Elben	So what (2s) stereotypes (2s) pretty and skinny (2s) that's like one (L) physical appearance
	Sam	It's also clothing (1s) like (L) if you wear a certain type of clothing (1s) say for instance (L) you wear a short (L) like erm about shorts (2s) you are like (L) about a top (2s) like a short (2s) but if you like (L) wear (1s) if you wear (L) different type of things (L) you get called (L) like (1s)
	Elben	A 'hooky' and everything
	Elben	[hook] oh okay
13:59	K	So (1s) you can't win (L) whatever you do (1s) there's something wrong
	D	If you wear trousers (1s) you want to be a boy
14:02	K	Do you not want to show yourself off (1s) why don't you want to show yourself off (1s) do you not think you look good (1s) and you wear trousers (1s) oh you're too (1s) you think you're really good
	Elben	Who would (1s) who would be (1s) saying this sort of stuff to you

noticed way of being

gotta play

gotta play

with someone - I remember what happens in the world

Group B1 A, Sam, Emily, K D

14:15	A	[Boys]
	Emily	I'd say more popular boys
14:20	K	More like (15) there's like (15) you can tell there's a split between people in our school (15) there's the popular people (1) who are mainly all sporty (15) and then there's like the (25) I'm not going to say unpopular (15) but the (15) however (25) I don't know how to describe it (15) but those kind of people (1) the <u>loner people (15)</u> wouldn't say something like that (15) it's more people not that (1) the more people (1) who are <u>popular (15) they just come out with it (15)</u> and I don't see why
14:43	Emily	Everyone like backs them up (1) like (15) cos they're popular
	K	Just cos they're popular (15) they'll think they're like (15) it's like an arm.
15:04	D	I think there's a split between school (1) like (25) there's like (15) popular girls and popular boys who go together (15) and then there's less popular (15) girls and boys go together (15) <u>but like (15) if anyone misses (1) there's (1) there's (15) like (1) conflict</u>
	K	People always say that like (15) I'll have like (15) I'll have (1) like (15) some my mates are like (1) the most popular people (15) but they're nice (20) but if I go stand with them at break (15) none of my mates want to come and stand with me (15) cos they think it's weird (15) it's like (1) they're nicer than people who are most popular
15:27	Ellen	So there's still like (15) groups (15) people stick to (15) and if you go outside your group (25) is that the name for boys as well
	Ellen	[Yeah]
	Ellen	That's something that's (1) kind of (1) between us both (25) I'm kind of (25) shocked (15) that idea of (25) you wear your short skirts (1) and that makes you a slag (25) and you wear shorts or (1) whatever and that makes you a lesbian (25) is that directed at girls (1) from boys and girls.
15:43	Ellen	I'm wondering (1) does that make (15) I suppose I'm wondering (1) does that have impact on (1) what life's like (1) in school
	A	[Yeah]
16:01	A	Makes you nervous
	D	It bothers (15) girls, self-esteem and stuff
16:05	K	If a like (15) I understand why you have a uniform at school (15) because (1) you would get judged on actually anything you wore (15) like (1) there's even a thing going round at the moment (1) cos ladies at the moment (1) are just putting their hair up (1) in like messy buns (1) and messy ponytails (25) and they're accused to not care about appearance (15) and then we look like (15) [See behind people (1) call people triangles (15) because (1) apparently (1) cos we don't care what we look like (1) but (15) it's like (15) why should you care
16:11	D	Boys don't care about what they look <u>so why do we</u> <u>other people</u>
16:14	K	[Laughs]
	Sam	Why should we have to care about our hair in the morning
16:40	K	When's <u>being concerned to washing up early in the morning to do that</u>
	K	FNACTY (1) about it up I do school (15) <u>it's not like a group or anything (1) CALM DOWN</u> <u>or whatever</u> <u>English</u>
16:55	Ellen	So that's (15) that's pressure (1) from (15) where does that come from (15) for girls to put more than boys
16:58	Emily	<u>Social media</u>
	K	Just like on general (1) being advice
	A	School
	Sam	I think school

social status
 awkward
 → them + us

getting advice
 from other people
 getting advice
 from other people

connect
 has some
 social status
 group

Group B1 A, Sam, Emily, K D

17:03	Emily	I think schools is a really bad place (15) to get like (1) pressure from
	Ellen	What does school do to contribute?
	Emily	If it's like (15) whatever you wear (1) cos it's so strict (15) obviously they (1) pull you up on everything (25) and then it makes you feel like (15) you've got to look like a certain person (15) and (1) it puts pressure on you don't it
17:22	K	There's like (15) I was saying about tying up your skirt (15) with a hair bobble (25) they put you in contact for it (25) it's like (15) soon out your sizes then (25) not everyone is going to be within (1) their strict (1) twenty-two twenty-four twenty-six sizes (25) there's in the middle ones (15) cos there's like (1) people that have (15) smaller waist (15) and bigger legs (1) there's people with small legs but bigger waist (25) like (15) you've got to be fitting for everyone's sizes (25) not just (1) the ones that you fit for
17:51	D	And (15) they're all about us wanting to be ourselves (1) and (25) being ourselves (1) but they don't care (1) [they want us to be]
	K	[they really don't care]
17:54	D	What they want us to be (25) cos if we wanted us nails or hair doing a certain way (15) they'd be like no you can't have it done cos it's against our rules
	Emily	[Exactly] [yeah]
18:02	Emily	I think make-ups bad (1) because people wear it to
18:06	EMily	Express themselves
18:17	Ellen	They'll (15) we'll do us eyebrows (1) light cos (15) we don't want nothing on us eyebrows but then we'll get done (25) so then like (1) it pressures you to go into lessons without not having any make-up on
	SAM	So you feel (35) there's a kind of (25) it's like a messy mix (15) I heard a sense of (25) well why should I have to bother doing my hair if I can't be arsed (15) but actually if I want to and its part of my identity then why shouldn't (15) why should it not be allowed (25) is that different to boys
	SAM	Girls definitely more than boys
18:42	K	I think the only rule boys have actually (15) ever got told off for (15) is for their hair being too short but (1) like
	SAM	Most boys do it anyway
18:48	K	Yeah (15) they just get in step up for it
	SAM	But with us it's nails (1) your hair (1) your make-up (1) your skirt (1) like (15) like (15)
	D	I got told off for my tights being too tight
	K	Yeah if you're tights are too tight (15) how can you help that
18:59	A	I got told off for that actually
	K	I once wore trousers cos they told me off for my skirt (15) and went if you don't (15) you'll have to wear trousers cos you never wear a suitable skirt (15) and then my trousers weren't suitable
	Emily	And I got done for my hair being this colour (25) cos it's not a natural colour (15) but this is a natural colour
	SAM	And now you're getting told off for them (1) colourful scrunchies (25) [we're not allowed to wear colourful scrunchies anymore]
19:21	Emily	[They take them off you]
	Ellen	You're not allowed to wear scrunchies (25) do you think
	SAM	It's gone too far
	A	It's too extreme now
19:31	SAM	It's like you're in a prison
	D	I wore white sock once (1) and they went (15) no you're gonna have to change em (15) I'm like

add to her argument but strongly be real?

the introduction - not
→ give like colour → reason

→ that one in school
→ that one through doing
→ gender eg form trousers

making weight to claim appearance + quality

inside out or something

20:00	Sam	Y'eah (15) or your 8 (15) I'm not even talking (15) Mr Vardy were walking round in the field of your team (1) like (15) helps you to get (1) into right grades (1) not you're in over your (25) she was making people get out (1) for the rocks (15) she were like checking (1) like (15) pulling peoples [encourges up and snail]
	Emily	[Your form checks and stuff] (15) random ones What about shoes (1) [if you've got]
	Emily	[you're not allowed backles on it yehes inside (15) that little stitch (15) you've gotta have that white (15) if you've got black stitches inside your shoe you're not allowed them (25) but you can't even see inside you shoe So (15) outside of school (25) is (15) are things like clothes and being able to express yourself (15) is that (15) an important part of life outside of school
20:33	A	I feel like (15) you feel like you can (15) you can do what you want outside of school
	K	I feel like the year 11 that left (1) and stuff (15) not mainly this year but like (15) previous years as well (25) as soon as they've got out of school they've all died their hair
	Emily	Or they've got piercings (25) cos you're not allowed piercings
	A	You're allowed one in each ear (15) you're not allowed your nose (15) you're not allowed your tongue (25) you're allowed your belly cos they can't really see it (1) can they
20:49	D	No I got told to take my belly piercing out (15) because in P.E (1) she saw whilst I was getting changed (15) and I were like why you looking anyway
20:55	D	[laughter] She told me off (25) and told me to take it out anyway (25) even though I had a plaster cover it
21:02	K	Do you know what I think it proper weird (25) when or (15) a bad teacher tells you off for your skirt
21:06	A	YEAH (25) it's really weird
	K	They'll be like that teacher doesn't look (1) like it's (15) because you're not allowed to wear stretchy skirts either (1) and I have had a male teacher touch my skirt
	D	I've had a male teacher
21:15	A	I don't think it's right (15) I feel like if you're getting done for your skirts (1) I feel like (25) it should be (1) like (25) women teachers (25) because (25) it just (15) makes you feel a bit (25) awkward in some way (1) and it's just like (25) why (1) why are you actually (25) coming up to me and (25) feeling my skirt
21:31	Ellen	So there's (25) a kind of tension around (25) male teachers who think they can
	A	Because of the boys/our policy (25) yeah
21:42	Ellen	Approach you (25) and (25) tell you to (15) to (25) look (35) differently
21:52	D	I think if a male teacher (15) tell you to wipe your make up off (1) or (25) tells you to (25) pull (25) your skirt down or tells you to get a different skirt (25) its making you think that (1) other boys will that way about you as well as the teacher
22:15	Ellen	That's interesting (35) so there's a message from (25) teachers that might (1) sorry shall we have a little juice break (movement) inaudible chatter
23:09	A	I feel like cos were all girls (1) and were kind of like (1) mates I don't feel like (1) we feel (1) like (25) sometimes girls don't like eating in front of other people
	CT	[Oh yeah] [yeah]

we have power on institutions to control/maintain & suppress

Group B1 A, Sam, Emily, K D

23:16	K	You get like (25) sent to the lunch room and its like (15) I don't wanna eat in front of people
	A	You get called fat
	Emily	I feel like we're all right
23:22	S.A.M	I'm actually I really had eaten (15) I'm really messy
	K	Yeah you are (20) you are a really messy eater
	Ellen	So how did you describe it (points to Aly)
	A	Like (15) boys who go in there
23:41	D	[It's mainly boys who go there] (15) cos they're naughtier (1) than girls
	K	The other day I literally (1) just bought chicken for my dinner (25) and about five people looked at me and said is that all your eating (25) and I said (15) I'm not hungry (25) and they were like (15) you're going to get really skinny (15) and you're not gonna eat enough (1) and I was like (15) that's what I wanna eat
23:54	Ellen	So (15) who would have said that (1) to you
	K	Literally (25) about five lads (15) came up to me (15) is that all your eating for your dinner (1) I was like yeah (15) why (15) why does it concern you
24:02	Ellen	Why does it concern them?
	A	[I like the rice and curry]
	Sam	[Just takes like curry]
24:21	Ellen	Erm (15) that's interesting (25) what did you just say (15) why does it concern them
24:26	K	Yeah like (25) why does it concern them what I'm eating (25) I know it's not cos you care (1) they're just nosy (15) it's like (15) leave me alone I'm eating (25) cos I haven't got a good appetite recently
24:36	A	My appetite goes (25) comes and goes depending on the days
	K	I just eat (15) eat recently (25) and then like today (25) but yesterday I had nothing to eat (15) like nothing (15) and then like (15) day before (25) I just had chicken (25) and then I had some cereal at home (15) like I'm still eating
	A	But like in the (well) (1) today (1) I just got some mash and gravy (25) and a bunch of lads behind you (15) like is that all your eating (1) that's a good snack that (25) and it just (1) makes you feel like (25) weird that you're only eating that much but
25:07	Ke	Should I be eating more
	Ellen	Why do you think (1) people say stuff to you about your eating?
	Ellen	I don't think they're really bothered... I feel like afterwards if something were to happen that's when they realise I shouldn't have said that (1) at that moment in time if you don't think about it they'll just say whatever they want to say
	Ellen	So there's a kind of not thinking?
	Ellen	I don't think teacher pick up on stuff as much as they should
	Emily	Yeah I feel like cos Miss Wells just stands there and walks around (1) she doesn't actually listen to what people say (1) but if we went up to her and said they just mocked me about my food they'd just be like okay (1)
	K	Yeah they're more bothered about the reputation of the school than the children
	K	That's so true
	D	Yeah like our appearance (1) they're more bothered on that
	Ellen	So they're more bothered about the reputation than the children? So (1) what about the children?...

entry
really
part
read
ought
quite
dinner
stomach
perfect

no autonomy directed

not sorry disapprove
rejection

uses notes
to strengthen
point
fluency
fluency
fluency
fluency

Group B1 A, Sam, Emily, K D

	Sam	I think its boys () they care a lot more about boys ()
	CT	Yeah they do
26:28	Sam	SO for instance I'd use rugby () they put boys before anyone () and say that's a prime example right there (points to poster on wall) () I don't understand why girls aren't there as well ()
	Ellen	Yeah
	K	As you can see there there's more girls in the finals and another example () boys go to Australia () they go to Canada () and they only went to Canada cos someone complained ()
	Ellen	Explain that to me again () the rugby team goes ()
	K	IO Australia () and the girls go to Canada cos one of the girls complained and that only started this year () boys just get to do it
	Emily	Boys have been going for a while now
	Ellen	You feel that schools looks after
	Sam	Like at an event they let the boys do what they want () and I think its fair to have the back seat () you know sometimes girls want to go there but boys proper shove you () they just let boys off with everything and its just like () sexist and its obvious what they're doing
27:39	Ellen	Yeah () its obvious what the boys are doing or obvious what school are doing?
	Sam	I think its both () they look boys off a lot more with everything
	Ellen	You were saying in the lunch room there might be someone watching what's happening but they're not listening to the conversations?
27:54	A	What sort of conversations does happen? What stuff would I hear ()
	Ellen	They'd be talking about their day () or going back to being snaky () If someone had heard something then it would mainly be brought up at lunch () so () and then you'd go and confront them about it... and it's just () that's when everything like blows up
	Ellen	So what's were social things happen?
	CT	
	K	If's not a good world
	Ellen	It's not a good world?
	Emily	School's an awful place ()
	K	Like I have one of my mates she'll () the other week she sat in Mr Young's office just crying cos she like () didn't want to be in school anymore () its makes her sad to go () it's not a place you want to be in () if making you sad
	D	Last year I purposefully made myself sick () everyday cos school were getting that bad with people saying stuff and nothing at all () like head of years and stuff () and nothing got done () they tried to stop it but nothing got done ()
	Ellen	Is that () that sounds like something you... kind of () two both have experience of () I don't want term () I don't want to put anyone in a position where they have to talk about something that they're either not comfortable to () is there something about school's not being () a good place? For anyone or is it different for boys and girls?
	D	I think it's worse for girls because () boys are sat there judging all day everyday () like
	CT	Girls just have to take it
	D	One time you could just be sat in a lessons and a boy will come up to you and say oh you're fat you're ugly () I wouldn't dare be you... but then
29:54	K	Like () are you purposefully trying to get somebody down just cos you're bored?
	D	But then like you'll go home and put it on your snapchat story () reading or something () and something and they'll pop up and say like ha ha () you're so stupid () I wouldn't dare put it on my story ()
	K	And they'll apologise like two days later

all her outside
over dinner
spend evening
all her outside
over dinner
spend evening

extra language
I've happened while I've missed
not but
not but

fracks...
was with
fracks...

	Emily	They are known for that
	Ellen	So you can take something outside of school () and if you try to () think about it through social media () but if they see that ()
	CT	Laughter
	Ellen	So school can be a tricky place to be a girl? What are the kind of main worries for girls in school?
		How you look ()
		Yeah how you look and if you're like () this is off topic () but if you say you're upset or in a mood () you constantly know that you're off your period () twenty-four seven
	K	Literally () all last () this week () cos I've had a lot on this last week () I was crying in school and people were like ah she's in a mood she's on her period () I was like () I'm not I've got something going on () they're like ah have you got personal problems () I was like ()
	Emily	They'll sit there and mock you
	K	Sorry like () it's not just you that goes through things () we also go through things () don't assume its something else cos you don't know what's going on () and also I'm not going to tell you () like why would I tell you if you're going to assume its something else () trying to make it a bad situation () I'm not going to tell you if I don't trust you and you're just going to say that () and then you say that and they're like ah you're even more in a mood and it's just like no I'm reacting cos you're making a point that's not valuable ()
	D	I think girls are a lot more emotional so when a girl starts crying the boys automatically take the mick out of you
	Ellen	Okay () if you respond to what someone says () they might go ah why you being moody for ?
	CT	Yeah
		There's kind of () reducing everything you to ah its cos you're on your period its cos your moody () and that sounds really frustrating
	K	Yeah it's really annoying
		Why can't you just be sad () but then it's not all boys cos I have quite a few like lad mates and they're like () message me like are you alright and there the ones who actually care but none of them are popular () the ones who messaged me
32-43	Emily	I don't think it's about popularity any more () I feel like it's about personality and if they're nice to you () you wouldn't want to be like best mates with a lad who is popular but they're not nice to you
	D	So say like () if a popular lad got an ugly girlfriend () he'd be taken the mick out of () or if a pretty got an ugly boyfriend () people would say () how standards
	K	If any of the popular lasses go out with anyone who's not viewed popular.. it be like why have you chosen them () do you not actually care about if you're happy or not
	Ellen	How would I spot someone popular?
		You'd see it honestly () there's massive groups () if you walked into our break you could pick out popular ones just by looking ()
		There's a couple of groups of lads and a couple of groups of lasses
		I've got some popular friend who are boys though and they are () I still understand what you mean cos even though they're my friends they'll still know you saying () but when you actually get the mick them () it's just the reputation () no you are nice () so it's hard
	D	If they're on their own or in a small group they're a lot nicer () but when like at break they're in a massive group and they're showing each other pretending they're hard () that's when they're really horrible
		I feel like you've got to get in with them () when you're school outside of it its really nasty () you've got to get to be in that group
	K	Some lasses think that about some of the popular lasses () like I even had some people message me like ah I didn't know you were this nice () and I'm like why () its like cos of the people you hang around with but its like that doesn't
	D	All popular girls are known as being a bitch

Handwritten notes in orange and blue ink:

- Handwritten in orange: "I've got some popular friend who are boys though and they are () I still understand what you mean cos even though they're my friends they'll still know you saying () but when you actually get the mick them () it's just the reputation () no you are nice () so it's hard"
- Handwritten in blue: "Handwritten in orange: 'I've got some popular friend who are boys though and they are () I still understand what you mean cos even though they're my friends they'll still know you saying () but when you actually get the mick them () it's just the reputation () no you are nice () so it's hard'"

	K	Yeah exactly it's like you can't assume just because of the friends most of mates I'm with now I've known them since primary that's why I hang around with them but I'm assumed to be book (<input type="checkbox"/>) threatening before why (<input type="checkbox"/>) I'm not a horrible person (<input type="checkbox"/>) just speak to me (<input type="checkbox"/>) I'm not going to judge you cos you didn't talk to me.
35:10	A	Does this go across boys and girls? Especially if there's rumours going round (<input type="checkbox"/>) like if someone (<input type="checkbox"/>) if a lad was to go to a lass about something than it wouldn't just be him it would be everyone else everyone else behind him and it would just be you and you would feel surrounded by everyone and you don't really want to say something.
	K	But if you ask them to go on their own (<input type="checkbox"/>) if you go (<input type="checkbox"/>) to assumed you like them (<input type="checkbox"/>) like if you go up to a lad in a group and ask them to speak with you its like cosh why do you want to be alone with them... like can I not (<input type="checkbox"/>) uh I didn't
35:41	D	It's really immature world (<input type="checkbox"/>) get a grip (<input type="checkbox"/>) cos they haven't grown up yet
35:49	Sam	I think girls are more mature than boys Yeah I put that down
	D	Girls are mature (<input type="checkbox"/>) How do you think girls are more mature?... is it biology or cos we have to or because that's what society tells us
	Ellen	Its known to be (<input type="checkbox"/>) girls are more mature I think girls have got to be more mature (<input type="checkbox"/>) I'm going to be really stereotypical here but (<input type="checkbox"/>) but they're the ones who look after the children and so they have to back they're ideas up because (<input type="checkbox"/>) if boys will still mess about once babies are here but you can't have a child and then go out partying
	Ellen	And if you do then your looked down on (<input type="checkbox"/>) to be a bad mother Right so there's messages about being a man (<input type="checkbox"/>) becoming a man (<input type="checkbox"/>) and at some point you have to be mature (<input type="checkbox"/>) you don't want the label of the bad man
	A	I think (<input type="checkbox"/>) back in the older days it didn't matter but now the worlds more advanced and we've got all their social media and phones and new technology that like they didn't have when my mum were a child so (<input type="checkbox"/>) Mum didn't have a phone so if she went out she wouldn't be embarrassed if her mates video her cos you couldn't send it anywhere (<input type="checkbox"/>)
	Ellen	Where's now (<input type="checkbox"/>) if you do one thing wrong it's all over social media (<input type="checkbox"/>) straight away I'm kind of interested in we've just started talking about how things are different for young people you're age (<input type="checkbox"/>) I'm interested to know how that impacts on your lives (<input type="checkbox"/>) we can pick that back up on Thursday (<input type="checkbox"/>) school and well-being how you keep yourself well
	D	I think girls should do something just for girls (<input type="checkbox"/>) like an assembly talking about how to cope because (<input type="checkbox"/>) girls do talk (<input type="checkbox"/>) but some girls keep it to themselves and then it all blows up and they can do something stupid SO issues that impact on girls differently (<input type="checkbox"/>) that could be something to think about for Thursday
	Ellen	

Mean't prove

one thing wrong

upheld someone's community expectations

