

“I love my body”

The representations of body image in television advertising
and the child audience

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"Mi cuerpo me gusta".
Las representaciones de imagen corporal en la publicidad televisiva y la audiencia infantil"

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Abstract

This dissertation analyzes the representation of body image in television advertising and its mediating role in children's body imaginaries. Based on a theoretical framework supported on the social theories of the body and the media studies, this work analyzes the body image representation in the most-viewed television advertising by young children (ages 6 to 9) during the first semester of 2015 and its mediating role among such audience. Research encompasses a quantitative content analysis to identify the structural features of advertising and the body image prescribed to children. The research is complemented by the qualitative analysis of ten focus groups conducted in Barcelona. Findings indicate the prescription of hegemonic body image in this advertising. Concerning these representations, minors elaborate discourses that reproduce and/or rectify such corporal representations in their imaginaries. This work deepens into an incipient research field: the advertising consumed by young children and advertising's implications on children's body image and imaginaries.

Keywords: Television Advertising; Advertising to Children; Body Image; Body Image Portrayals; Body Image Representations; Child Audience; Content Analysis; Reception Study; Advertising Literacy.

Resumen

Esta tesis doctoral analiza la representación de imagen corporal en la publicidad televisiva y sus mediaciones en la audiencia infantil. A partir de un marco teórico sustentado en las teorías sociales del cuerpo y el estudio del mensaje mediático, este trabajo analiza la representación de la imagen corporal en la publicidad más vista por menores de 6 a 9 años durante el primer semestre de 2015 y su rol mediador en dicha audiencia. A partir del análisis de contenido, se identificaron los rasgos estructurales de esta publicidad y los modelos de imagen corporal prescritos a los menores. La investigación se complementa con el análisis cualitativo de diez grupos de discusión en escuelas de Barcelona. Los principales hallazgos evidencian la prescripción de modelos corporales hegemónicos en esta publicidad. Frente a estas representaciones, los menores elaboran discursos que reproducen y/o rectifican las representaciones corporales. Esta investigación profundiza en un campo aún poco explorado: la publicidad consumida por menores y su implicación en la imagen corporal infantil.

Palabras Clave: Publicidad Televisiva; Publicidad Infantil; Imagen Corporal; Representación Mediática de la Imagen Corporal; Análisis de Contenido; Audiencia Infantil; Estudio de Recepción Alfabetización Publicitaria.

Resum

Aquesta tesi doctoral analitza la representació d'imatge corporal en la publicitat televisiva i les seves mediacions en l'audiència infantil. A partir d'un marc teòric sustentat en les teories socials del cos i l'estudi del missatge mediàtic, aquest treball analitza la representació de la imatge corporal en la publicitat més vista per menors de 6 a 9 anys durant el primer semestre del 2015 i el seu paper mediador en aquesta audiència. A partir de l'anàlisi de contingut, es van identificar els trets estructurals d'aquesta publicitat i els models d'imatge corporal prescrits als menors. La investigació es complementa amb l'anàlisi qualitativa de deu grups de discussions en escoles de Barcelona. Els principals resultats evidencien la prescripció de models corporals hegemònics en aquesta publicitat. Davant d'aquestes representacions, els menors elaboren discursos que reproduïxen i/o rectifiquen les representacions corporals. Aquesta investigació aprofundeix en un camp poc explorat: la publicitat consumida per menors i les seves implicacions en la imatge corporal.

Paraules Clau: Publicitat Televisiva; Publicitat Infantil; Imatge corporal; Representació Mediàtica de la Imatge Corporal; Anàlisi de Contingut; Audiència Infantil; Alfabetització Publicitària.

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INTRODUCTION

We come from a generation of audiovisual revolution. Many of us have witnessed the transformation in communication technologies since our early childhood. Either as children or as teenagers, we were engaged in media and its content. We used to meet with family or friends to "do something with it." Media was another corner of socialization. Many of us may still remember spending time in family watching Eurovision, playing with friends to copy movie scenes or dancing the popular song at the school festival. Media has opened and configured social landscapes as well as it has forged our relations, identities, and, corporalities.

Children's relation with television is more complex than being exposed to information. As David Buckingham argues media "conveys images and fantasies, provides opportunities for imaginative self-expression and play, and serves as a medium through which intimate personal relationships are conducted" (Buckingham, 2013, p.264). Media provides minors data as well as contexts to build up reality.

Children build their body in media culture (Buckingham, 2011; Livingstone, 2002). In comparison with former generations, modern-day children grow up in media environments made up images, narratives, and discourses that appeal their corporealities. They are immersed in media landscapes which mediate in the construction of identities and subjectivities (Appadurai, 2010).

Television advertising has a relevant role in the production and reproduction of literacies (Appadurai, 2010; Buckingham, 2003; Livingstone, 2002). Advertising provides representations or grammars to make sense of the world children live in (Buckingham, 2015). Child audiences categorize, integrate, and reformulate such grammars arranging a homogeneous and homogenizing discursive construction of media and social representations (Sánchez-Reina, 2018).

Advertising is an essential factor of influence on people's body image (Diedrichs, Lee & Kelly, 2011; Grogan, 2016; Holmqvist & Frisé, 2012). It performs as a mediator in the interpretation and appropriation of corporeality and appearance. As discussed in different research, advertising is one of the primary sources of

information concerning the body image (Carrillo, Jiménez-Morales & Sánchez, 2011), a provider of representations, norms and beliefs (Halliwel & Dittmar, 2004), a device to regulate the body image and the body ideals (Holmqvist & Frisé, 2012).

The representation of body image in television advertising contributes to the processes of socialization and incorporation of body literacies. Children are raised and confronted by advertising content that promotes both the body care and the body cult and mediates in their body image perceptions and attitudes (Carrillo, Jiménez-Morales & Sánchez, 2011; González, Luna & Carrillo, 2011).

Different studies have discussed the effects of advertising on children's body imaginaries (Dittmar, Halliwel, & Ive, 2006; Grogan, 2016; Hayes & Tantleff-Dunn, 2010). Although research has traditionally argued that adolescents are more likely to manifest concern for body image, recent studies have documented a changing pattern (Blashill, 2011; Grogan, 2016). Body image discontent is increasingly becoming a major issue among young children (Anschutz et al., 2011; Smolak, 2011; Taylor et al., 2012).

The representation and exposure of children to body image content is a growing concern in media and health research (McLellan, 2002). Body image dissatisfaction may be inoculated during early childhood (Biolcalti et al., 2017; Daraganova, 2014; Grogan, 2016; Smolak, 2011). Although psychological factors may be decisive in body image construction and self-esteem (Holmqvist, Frisé & Anderson-Fye), the influence of socio-cultural components may also play a leading role in the configuration of body and identity (Sama, 2011). While the cognitive development of children is related to the discovery of their physical body through experiences, sensations and emotions during their growth (Dittmar, Halliwel & Ive, 2006; Grabe, Ward & Hyde, 2008; Grogan, 2016), the construction of body image is also connected to identitarian processes: the recognition and amplification of social structures and values (Esteban 2013; Featherstone, 2010; Le Breton, 2011).

Body image is a field in dispute. It is an object of regulation on which both society and the individual exert power and agency. Both societal and psychological structures influence the perceptions and attitudes towards the body image (Cash, 2004; Esteban, 2013; Foucault, 1998; Raich & Escursell, 2000). Nevertheless, there is still a dearth of research exploring the body image representations aimed at young children; likewise, the mediation of advertising content on children's body literacies.

Television is still the most powerful device to reach children, and therefore, it is still the primary source to disseminate advertising message (Buckingham, 2009), Current studies affirm that Spanish children consume an average of two and three hours of audiovisual content in a day (Kantar Media, 2017). Consumption of audiovisual advertising among children in Spain is not precise, however. Depending on the type of medium, children are exposed to a large number of advertisements. For instance, a study conducted by Royo-Bordonada et al. (2016) suggests that children consume an average of 7 000 – 10 000 food advertisements in a year.

On her doctoral dissertation, Jiménez-Morales (2006) established that advertising was a relevant mediator in children's body imaginaries. Children (ages 8 to 12) found advertising discourse as a provider of representations and information concerning the body image, the beauty canons, the body norms, and the body practices. Results also suggested that advertising-mediated attitudes and perceptions of body image were already present among the youngest children (8-year-old).

Current studies suggest young children (5 to 9) may experience negative attitudes towards their body, and thus, they may be prone to develop any type body dissatisfaction (Biolcalti et al., 2017; Pallan et al., 2011; Smolak, 2011). Research in Spain suggests that obese and overweight children are more likely to experience body image dissatisfaction (Pallares & Baile, 2012). Nonetheless, a recent survey in Barcelona city indicated that a fifth child population is not satisfied with any aspect of their bodies (Barcelona.cat, 2017).

Most existing media and advertising research have focused on content analyses to study the body image representations as well as the media effects on adolescent and adult populations (Grabe, Ward & Hyde, 2008; Grogan, 2016; Tiggemann, 2004). Nonetheless, there is still little research addressed to younger populations. With this regard, this research has been delineated to answer the following research questions:

How is body image represented in television advertising consumed by young children (ages 6 to 9)?

How do these advertising representations mediate in children's body imaginaries?

RESEARCH AIMS AND GOALS

In order to answer the preliminary research questions, this dissertation has been based on the following research aims and goals:

RA1: Analyze the body image representations in the most-viewed television advertising by young children (ages 6 to 9).

SG1. Analyze the structural and general features of the most-viewed television advertising by young children.

SG2. Analyze the body image prescribed via advertising characters.

SG3. Describe the character's body image observing gender differences.

SG4. Identify the cases when body image is prescribed as part of the key message.

RA2: Analyze the mediating role of advertising in children's body imaginaries.

SG5. Explore children's understandings of television advertising and depicted body image.

SG6. Analyze the social implications of advertising in children's body imaginaries.

STRUCTURE OF THIS DISSERTATION

This research began with the literature review; by searching the works concerning the representations of body image in media and advertising. Existing literature conducted to appraise the current theories and approaches. As it was possible to observe, much of the existing research is still in the field of psychology. Indeed, media studies are in debt with the significant contributions given in this area of knowledge. Nevertheless, the socio-cultural perspective is a missing gap. To this respect, chapter one introduces the social theories of the body to understand the body image representations as embodied identities. Our consideration has been to observe advertising as a mediating agent in the construction of identities and culture. The chapter frames, according to the current (and selected) literature, those we consider the modern embodied images and identities in postmodern advertising.

Analyzing the child audience was the second aim of this dissertation. With this regard, it was necessary to explore the current state of research concerning children. Advertising to children is a wide field of research. With a long tradition

in the media and psychology studies, it has provided a sophisticated understanding of how children deal with advertising (and market corporations). Chapter two compiles a summary of the latest works. It chiefly focuses on four issues: the importance of children for marketers and advertisers, the role of television advertising in child consumption, the academic research exploring advertising and its effects, and the actions to counterbalance advertising influence.

The study of body image in advertising to children is discussed in Chapter three. The lack of research intentionally focused on television advertising and young children has conducted to included research works that broaden minors in general, as well as advertising in overall terms. Such literature review helped us to determine the model of analysis to be implemented in this dissertation. The model is also introduced in this chapter.

For the implementation of the research model, we expressly worked on a research design. This dissertation considered both quantitative and qualitative research methods in order to study the advertising content and the child audience. Research techniques and protocols are fully explained in this section.

Chapters five and six introduce the findings from this study. We firstly focus on describing the quantitative data to reconstitute the body images children consume. Afterward, we target the results from qualitative analysis. Chapter seven discusses the main results with the overviewed literature. The discussion has been systematized according to the research aims and goals highlighting the relevant remarks with those commented in similar studies. The chapter also argues on the theoretical, the methodological and the social implications of the conducted research. Finally, conclusions are presented as a closing chapter.

1. BODY IMAGE, THE MEDIA, AND ADVERTISING IN THE POSTMODERN CULTURE

Body image is not a new issue. Since ancient civilizations to present, the body has come to manifest the values, beliefs, and ambiguities in culture (Duch & Mèlich, 2012; Vigarello, 2013). In the current era of global communication, body image has become the objective and subjective dimension to read and write the narratives, premises, and anxieties of the body in society. The image of one's body is a psychological and social construction on which both individuals and society exert control and agency. Thus, the representations of the body — including one's body image— make evident the power relations and transformations in society and culture (Bourdieu, 2016; Foucault, 1998; Le Breton, 2011; Turner, 1994).

Several theorists have discussed the growing relevance of body in postmodernity (e.g. Boltanski & Chiapello, 2002; Bourdieu, 2016; Butler, 2012; Esteban, 2013; Featherstone, 2010; Foucault, 1998; Le Breton, 2002; Sennet, 2000; Schepper-Hughes & Lock, 1987; Scribano, 2012; Shilling, 2012; Turner, 1994). Likewise, some others have claimed the importance of media and advertising in body image construction and representation (e.g. Botta, 2000; Carrillo, Sánchez & Jiménez-Morales, 2012; Ferguson et al., 2011; Goffman, 1987; Grogan, 2016; Jiménez-Morales, 2006; Vandenbosch, & Eggermont, 2004). This chapter aims to discuss the role of media and advertising in the body image construction.

1.1. BODY IMAGE IN THE POSTMODERN SOCIETY

The production of the self is a primary project in postmodern society (Beck, 2006; Giddens, 1991). To this respect, *the body* has become vital support in the election and construction of his/her biography (Turner, 2006). Body meets as an object of subjugation and resistance (Esteban, 2013; Schepper-Hughes & Lock, 1987). By exerting power and agency on the body —their actions, emotions, and appearance— individuals embody identity(-ies) and image(s) (Giddens, 1991; Foucault, 1998).

The imbrication of self, body and body image has been widely argued in the social theory (e.g. Csordas, 1999; Featherstone, 2001; Goffman, 2002; Le Breton, 2002; Pink, 2015; Turner 1994). Indeed, as most theorists agree, there is no self without a body and neither a body without image¹ (Turner, 2006; Featherstone, 2006). Nevertheless, the dualistic position that separates biology and culture, mind and body, reason and emotion, has affected the study of the body considering it either as experience (body-identity) or representation (body-image), but rarely has it been treated as the same matter (Esteban, 2013; Stockle, 2010).²

The postmodern approach in the social theory has converged the natural and social dimensions of the body to reunite both identity and image. Such conceptualization has emerged under the premise of different theories (e.g. Aguado-Vázquez, 2004; Featherstone, 2010; Kogan, 2003; Scribano, 2012). The need to understand body image as a complex set of interactions is referred to as the concept of «*body politic*» (Foucault, 1998; Shepper-Hughes & Lock, 1987).

Body politic recognizes the bodies (individual and collective) as social construction under the regulation, surveillance, and control in order to reproduce the logic of institutional power (Shepper-Hughes & Lock, 1987). From this perspective, body image is not merely conceived as an individual cognitive experience and representations but a complex construction supported on the laws of biology and culture.

Building the body image is connected to power relations that shape identity (Esteban, 2010). Body image emerges as an objective and subjective construction, which is permanently in dispute. Nevertheless, body image is not only an object of discipline, but also the conduit to manifest unconformity, ambiguity, and resistance (Carter, 2016; Esteban, 2013; Gill, 2008). The body is an artifact of social and political control which/*who*³ is also able to display agency in structure (Esteban, 2013). How people feel, build and project their bodies refer to contextualized actions and situated factors that mediate in the construction of people's body and identity.

¹ As argued by Duch & Mèlich (2012) there is a body for every person, animal or object. Even collective actors such as institutions and organizations have a body and identity

² Body has been observed as a phenomenological (embodied) experience (Merleau-Ponty, 2013) or as a symbolic construction (metaphor) in culture (Douglas, 2010) but rarely has it been treated as the same matter.

³ Note the use of WHO to emphasize the body is also a body-subject.

The way to refer to one's body reveals the position it (oneself) has in society. Therefore, body image representations not only merge as cognitive constructions but also as social interactions that evidence the (body) values in society (Featherstone, 2001; Lakoff & Johnson, 2008). Social discourses, narratives, and metaphors articulate and shape bodies and identities (Le Breton, 2011). Hence, any approach to the study of the representations of the body may look into the body image as a process of building body, identity and societal values (Figure 1).

The interconnection of body, identity, and image can be explored from two concepts: the embodied identity and the embodied image. The following sections will discuss in detail both perspectives.

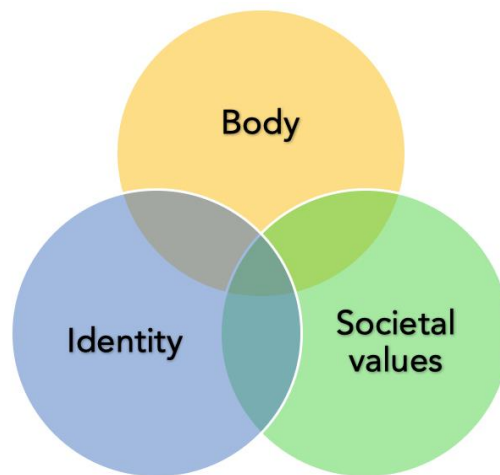


FIGURE 1. Mediating spheres in body image construction. SOURCE: Author.

1.1.1. The embodied identity

Late modernity project focused its premises under the concept of individualization (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2012). The construction of a reflective self whose identity is based on a selected biography on which the body is considered the subject and object to perform his/her agency (Giddens, 1991). Nevertheless, as observed by the individualist theorists, the constitution of identity is neither an independent nor a fragmented project. It operates in connection with the political and economic spheres (market, labor, laws, media). Identity is not merely observed as a calculated construction, rather an *embodied identity* in continued construction and volatile value (Esteban, 2013; Le Breton, 2002; Schepper-Hughes & Lock, 1987).

The destructuring of traditional institutions (family, labor and religion) set on the individual—but on his body—the medium and access to achieve goals as well as the way to manifest his existence (Beck, 1998; Giddens, 1991). Body and identity consolidated as are part of the same project: an *embodied identity* (James & Hockey, 2007). In comparison to modern societies where traditional institutions were the 'factories of identities'⁴ (Martuccelli & De Singly 2012), in the context of postmodern society, the construction of identity was no longer dependent of established or permanent structures. Instead, identity is observed as fluent (Beck, 1998; Bauman, 2013; Giddens, 1991). It comes to intersect and be intersected in a common arena, 'the body'.

Individuals have forged on their bodies a new form of structure. They work on their corporealities as their 'new enterprise' performing competence, specialization, and distinction (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2002; Bourdieu, 2016; Lipovetsky, 2005; Martínez Barreiro, 2004). Body—its performance and appearance—has become the new credential. Success and achievement, early connected with social class, working positions, salary or school degree, are more likely to depend on the body as a capital⁵.

Although identities seem to be more flexible projects in the postmodern society, they are still constrained by the social structure. However, compared to formal times, the regulation of bodies comes from the self-discipline of its flesh, and appetites. The body is an entity on which the political economy rules through the agency of the individuals. As argued by Michel Foucault (1998; 2004), identities are compelled through a new form of power, a bio-power that controls populations by achieving the subjugations of their bodies. The 'anatomy-politics' deploys as a form of governmentality to raise and discipline the body, to make it docile and efficient (Foucault, 1999).

An example of the aforementioned can be given in Wolf (2002). As the author argues, the fact that women in the western world have achieved different trajectories by obtaining new rights during the second half of the XX century does not mean they are living disaggregated biographies nor achieved real emancipation from patriarchy (Medina-Bravo & Talarns, *in press*). Instead, today

⁴ Following Martuccelli (2012), in most of the western societies, individuals were assigned by three important statuses at their birth which defined along their existence their identities: a family name, an occupation and a political party which. Contrary to this, post-modern identities are framed in connection to more complex structures and societies.

⁵ In this way, it is not strange that in some professional fields (e.g., fashion, advertising, modeling and customer service), people's body gets better valued than their technical skills (Hakim, 2010; Moreno-Pestaña, 2016).

men's institutions exert power on women through new rationalities conditioning their biographies through the control of their bodies. Although the economic independence of women has grown up, also has the anxieties for their bodies and appearance.

The industry of beauty has gotten significant control over women's bodies through disciplinary devices such as marketing and advertising. Body image concerns have increased among the female population in the same way the market pressures have (Lopaciuk & Loboda, 2013). Although activist movements have struggled against the pro-beauty and pro-slim lobbies, both women and men naturally advocate for the importance of beauty, slimness and healthy bodies (Carter, 2016; Gill, 2008). In this way, the discipline of the female body is highly related to achieving success, getting job positions, building enduring bodies or being happy (Engeln-Maddox, 2006; Harper & Tiggemann, 2008).

Governing bodies is not a new issue. As a matter in fact, the domination of the body has been present a long history, and it has been compatible with ideology and hegemony through history⁶ (Duch & Mèlich, 2012; Vigarello, 2013). However, focusing on the postmodern societies, the body performs as the medium whereby individuals participate in the consumer culture and assimilate the economic politics of neoliberalism (Bauman, 2012; Bifo, 2003; Boltanski & Chiapello, 2002).

As individuals have moved away from rigid to more flexible structures, new identities and communities are stick to body practices and ideas. Eating, exercising and grooming the body are some ways to construct identity and manifest adhesion to social groups (Fischler, 2015). Similarly, they are part of large political projects which redefine the sociocultural ecosystems. Dieting, physical activity or health practices are more than contemporary lifestyles. They are aligned to body policies that attempt to reproduce societal values by building/transforming identities and subjectivities (Gracia-Arnaiz, 2010; Lacey, 2015).

The fluctuation of identities has brought individuals to work on their body as an active value (Bourdieu, 2016; Moreno-Pestaña, 2016). Richard Sennett has discussed much of this phenomenon in the labor market. As argued by Sennett

⁶ For instance, in early civilizations, such as Greece and Mesopotamia, the body was the mean to reach divinity but also the object for punishment and torture (Duch & Mèlich, 2012). In preindustrial societies, fattening the body was associated with power and class distinction meanwhile in the industrial societies slimming the body became part of a modernization project (Vigarello, 2013).

(2000), the premise of permanent youth and recycling is the condition of labor existence for many individuals. Thus, to live in capitalism is to assume the labor and personal risks which are permanently embodied. The continuous acquisition of job skills is immanently linked to the body project — professional discipline their bodies to excel and manage their careers. Focusing on the proficiency of their jobs, individuals work on breaking records and fulfilling goals to rejuvenate their mind and bodies. They do yoga, care about their physical appearance or do coaching training (Freiden & Krause, 2017).

In the rise of the consumer culture, the construction of embodied identities has become an object of political and economic exploitation (Bauman, 2012) People's body is compelled by internal and external forces that construct, classify and separate the body/bodies (Foucault, 2004). Although the exploitation of the body is not a new issue, a dimension of its body has become a predominant source of its exploitation; this is the body image. Building the body image is held as a medium and expression to frame and shape identities and to interact/deal with the policies that attempt to regulate it in postmodernity.

1.1.2. The embodied image

Body image has been defined by different disciplines (e.g. psychology, psychiatry, gender studies, and sociology of body). According to the approach, scholars have referred to it, focusing on different characteristics.

On the one hand, body image has been defined as an individual cognitive construction. Schilder (2013) —who outlined one of the first definitions—, refers to it as the picture every person has of its own body or the mental image of the bodily experience involving thoughts and feelings. Aligned with this, Slade (1994) addressed the influence of internal and external factors that affect its construction. From this perspective, body image is considered as the broad mental representation of the body figure (shape and size), mainly influenced by historical, cultural, social, individual and biological factors that vary over time.

Most current approaches have opted for broader conceptualizations connecting both cognitive dimensions and the influence of sociocultural factors. Nevertheless, they are still primarily focused on the individual: the self-perception, his cognitive processes, attitudes, and behaviors. For instance, Cash (2004) argues that body image refers to the multifaceted psychological experience of embodiment, especially but not exclusively one's physical appearance. "Body image is body images; it encompasses one's body-related

self-perceptions and self-attitudes including thoughts, beliefs and behaviors” (p.1-2). On their part, Raich & Escursell (2000) observe body image as the subjective experience of attitudes, thoughts, feelings, and evaluations that people make and feel about their bodies. Following the authors, the image of one’s body is studied as a cognitive process conditioned by behaviors that model the movement and the limits of the body.

Body image is not only attached to individual cognitive processes but also linked to complex social interactions. As widely discussed in social theory, body image is connected to two main concepts: identity and culture.

In words of Le Breton (2002), the image of one’s body is supported by the confluence of symbolic and structural factors that meet the person and alter the subject and his identity (Le Breton, 2002). The ideas, beliefs, and values transmitted around the body are decisive factors in its construction (Gracia-Arnaiz, 2010). However, compared to static processes of internalization —as underscored in cognitive theories—, social theory claims for the body image construction as a process of permanent interaction. In this sense, body image is observed as a situated construction; an active process of embodying identity/identities by the embodiment of cultural images and representations in society (Esteban, 2013).

Individuals embrace and share significations in culture, making sense of their bodies. They exchange and appropriate images, representations, and discourses that model their body schema and identity. From this standpoint, body image is not merely conceived as the prescription and internalization of body ideals (Featherstone, 2002). Instead, it is assumed as a subjective construction of an objective world by which individuals perform agency, embody existence and participate in culture (Aguado-Vázquez, 2004).

Building the body image is supported by individual processes in combination with sociocultural factors. Nevertheless, the premises of the social theory focus on the construction of identity as one of the relevant determinants. As observed by Carter (2016) “the body is no longer seen as necessarily illustrative of an individual's life stage or age, but as controllable and changeable, by desired self-representation an identity” (p.3). Identity and selfhood are dependent upon the possession of a physically bounded body; this is the body image.

Body image performs like an object in dispute. As individuals construct identity, they are subjected to forms of power relations that regulate and discipline their body image (Sossa-Rojas, 2011). Thus, to understand the construction of body

image, it is necessary to observe both cognitive and social processes in relation to the cultural schemes, representations, and discourses.

1.1.2.1. The body in dispute

The structure of postmodern society is supported on corporality. Most objects that signify in culture are obtained through the body (Featherstone, 2007). The body is the key to all of the enjoyments and sensations, tastes and activities in the consumer society (Featherstone, 2002; Scribano, 2015). Nonetheless, the body is also recognized as a field in dispute (Butler, 2012). Bodies are sites of struggle through which individuals learn and attempt to emulate identities within the current socio-historical moments (Skeggs, 1997).

The constitution of the body as an active value has conducted to the structuring of it as both commodity and agent (Figure 2). Bodies are produced and consumed in the market economy. They are observed as transferable objects in the global economy. Such fetishization of body has been absorbed by the market and its rules, transferring the body an economic value (Hakim, 2010; Moreno-Pestaña, 2016). Nonetheless, bodies are also configured as consumers. They emerge as active embodied actors who exert power and participate in the market economy by appropriating and reconfiguring the body values (Bauman, 2013; Esteban 2013; Muñíz, 2015).

Paraphrasing Sossa-Rojas (2011), individuals participate in consumer society as subjects that interact willingly, but also as subjected individuals. They operate as consumer bodies. Through their bodies, individuals are compelled by the laws of the economy and market, acquiring a double representation: as a *capital* and as a *fetish*. Thus, the body is constituted as a *sign*, and as a *message* that speaks by its owner.

The intersection of a body-commodity and a body-agent occurs in the traceability and demarcation of identities which are subjected to body representations and social imaginaries. From this standpoint, body image is observed as an object of discipline through the incorporation of market values (Carter, 2016; Esteban, 2013; Gill, 2008). Body image is a dimension of manipulations on which industry and market target their economic interests. Similarly, it is a field in dispute where individuals put their effort to embody and deploy identities.

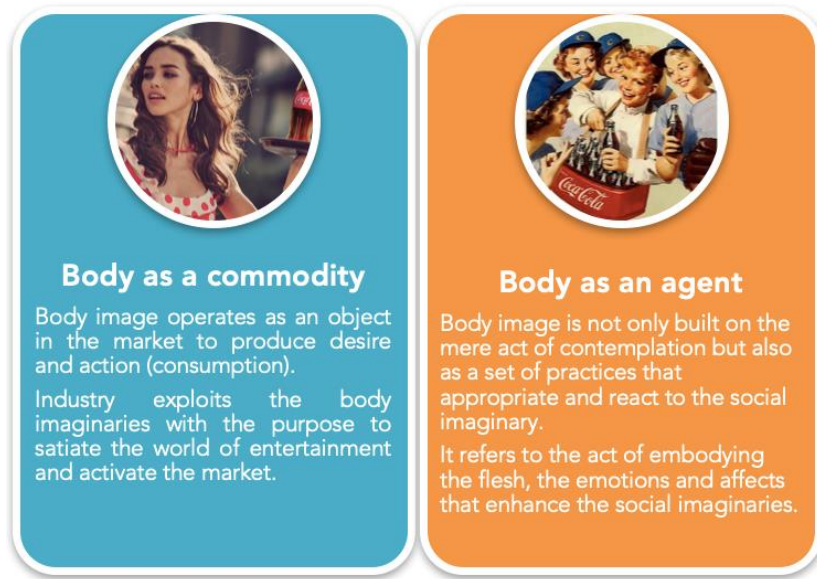


FIGURE 2. The body in the consumer society. SOURCE: Author.

Building the body image is a project to be evaluated by the expert knowledge, advised by marketing and advertising, disciplined and punished by the social institutions; improved or brought to recovery by the body sciences. As Susan Bordo (2004) argues, the exploitation of the physical force has been replaced for the exploitation of the body image. With this regard, the body of esthetics is just a reflection of the expansion of capitalism.

Embodied images are for sale in the free market colonizing people's identities and nullifying diversity (Izquierdo, 2008). Postmodern societies rule by managing the body and the set of its multiple parts by making pressure on aspects such as the physical appearance (Diedrichs, Lee & Kelly, 2011; Holmqvist & Frisé, 2012). Beauty and slenderness, slimness and attractiveness are pointed as values of exchange in the consumer society and as such, they are used, recycled, and discarded in the configuration of identities and sociabilities.

1.1.3. Constructing body image

As it has been discussed along this section, body image construction has come exerted through the manipulation of emotional, cognitive, and social processes. In comparison to what has been noticed in cognitive studies, social theory observes body image construction from a holistic approach, examining the

confluence of internal and external factors that converge in the constitution of body and identity (Esteban, 2013; Gracia-Arnaiz, 2010).

With this regard, social theory claims for understanding body image as a process of transferring and acquiring rationalities —forms of power and knowledge— that influence on body and appearance (Foucault, 1990, 2014; Sossa-Rojas, 2011). By embodying the body image, individuals adhere to situated actions and contexts that allow them to incorporate body values actively. Likewise, they deal with disciplinary devices and deploy mechanisms to perform agency (Esteban, 2013; Gill, 2008).

Different disciplinary devices are articulated on the body (e.g. diet, exercise, health care, etc.) which in combination with situations, interactions and physiological processes may mediate in the appropriation and the configuration of body imaginaries. Furthermore, body image is subjected to identitarian projects (Turner, 2006). Gender, ethnicity, social class, and age may be important determinants in its configuration.

Different factors affect people's body image. Carrillo, Jiménez-Morales & Sánchez (2010) classified such factors in three dimensions: the *Individual or personal factors*, mainly connected to psychological aspects; the *family and the peers* as the primary spheres of socialization; and the *sociocultural factors* addressed as direct and indirect sources of body image pressure (Figure 3).

Moreover, Carrillo, Jiménez-Morales & Sánchez (2010) underscore the relevance of the sociocultural aspects linked to the body cult (e.g. the body talk, the social pressure among friends and family, the dissemination of body ideals in media and advertising). Grogan (2016) groups such factors into four major issues that have become prominently important in the consumer society. These are mainly related to the dissemination of body image ideals, the promotion of the healthy body, body modification, and the diffusion of gender imaginaries and stereotypes.

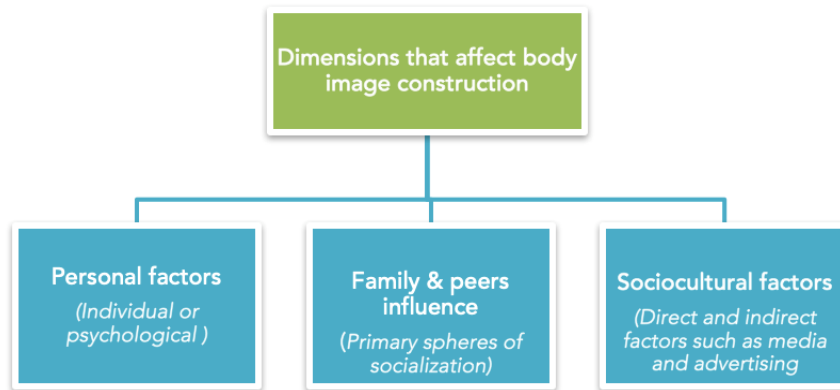


FIGURE 3. Dimensions that affect body image construction. SOURCE: Carrillo, Jiménez-Morales & Sánchez (2010).

1.1.3.1. Body image ideals

The idealization of slenderness has prevailed in most western societies (Bordo, 2004). Contrary to the irrupting moral panic of the early twentieth century fearing extremely thin bodies, the western ideal thin has been largely present so far (Grogan, 2016). Slenderness is associated with happiness, success, youthfulness, and social acceptability (Azzarito, 2009; Evans, 2003; Grogan, 2016; Van Amsterdam et al., 2012). A large number of studies has observed the internalization of the ideal thin among different populations referring to it as a positive body value (Dittmar & Howard, 2004; Grogan, 2016; Grabe, Ward, & Hyde, 2008; Harper & Tiggemann, 2008). Similarly, different studies have determined that achieving the slim body is highly present in women of all ages and related to the social demands of femininity in culture (Forbes et al., 2004; Goodman, 2002; Sands & Wardle, 2003).

In opposition to the ideal thin, the representations of the overweight body have expanded with negative traits and associated with the unattractive body image. Whereas slenderness symbolizes control, being overweight is linked to laziness, lack of willpower, and being out of control (Grogan, 2016). As a paradoxical phenomenon to the political movement against the pro-slimming culture, the excess flesh has come to be linked with low morality, reflecting personal inadequacy or lack of will (Bordo, 2004).

It is widely argued that body image and physical appearance have emerged as the 'ethics' of the embodied subject in the consumer culture⁷ (Featherstone, 2007). Physical appearance emerges as a symbol that summarizes the character, morals, and values of individuals (Sossa-Rojas, 2011). During the last decades, there has been a growing tendency to link physical attractiveness with positive personal qualities. Such phenomenon can be observed from advertising to social imaginaries. Chiefly oriented to the personal values of the self, consumer culture has focused on the physical appearance, manufacturing and praising its value as a synonym of empowerment and entrepreneurship.

The prescription of beauty canons has been essential to foster personal values, lifestyles, and self-references which are useful/profitable for the market in the consumer culture. Beauty canons vary from culture to culture; nevertheless, it is widely known that the «*white model of beauty*» has become hegemonic. Much research has discussed the over-representation of the white characters in media and the effects on people's perception of beauty (Hunter, 2011; Saraswati, 2013; Trampe et al., 2010).

Praising whiteness in the postmodern culture is no longer associated with the physical attribute rather than a series of positive social and economic traits (Echeverría, 2010). Whiteness is linked to forms of life and performance in society, to esthetic acceptable appearance and social values, to a hierarchy mostly grounded in the world of work and consumerism. Paraphrasing Echeverría, such model of whiteness might be closely related to the construction of a civilizatorian model of life and culture.

The emergence of body image ideals has been on demand in the capitalist markets. Along with the prevailing body references, different ideals have transited and disappeared. Thus, other models have become a growing tendency such as the "fitsinspirational model" (Boepple & Thompson, 2016; Carrotte, Prichard, & Lim, 2017; Tiggemann & Zaccardo, 2015). As overweight and skinny bodies became a matter of public scrutiny in the recent decades, the firm and toned body appeared as the key to deal with the modern health preoccupations (Tiggemann & Zaccardo, 2016). Similarly, muscle body has risen as a sign of will power, energy, and control. Physical bodywork continues to be rendered by the logic of capitalism, formerly as a labor force, now as a sign of personal success and distinction (Washington & Economides, 2016).

⁷ Following Featherstone (2002), this idea might be connected with the endeavors of the new spirit of capitalism (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2002), the construction of the neoliberal subject (Laval & Dardot, 2013), or the entrepreneur subject (Alonso & Rodríguez, 2013).

1.1.3.2. The prescription of the healthy body

The current trend shows a positive appeal to the slim body⁸ and, on the contrary, a negative perception of an overweight and extremely slim body. Most appreciations of the slim body have been held on judgments such as its positive social values, as previously discussed. However, they have also been supported on the discourses such as the healthy body (Díaz-Rojo, Morant & Westall-Pixton, 2006).

The growing number of overweight and obesity cases in most developed economies has boosted the preoccupation, and thus, the body pressures and anxieties among individuals. The conducted research has demonstrated that populations have modified their eating and exercise habits by claiming health reasons (Caudwell et al., 2009; Radnitz, Beezhold & DiMatteo, 2015).

The declaration of overweight and obesity as a global epidemic⁹ has disseminated a global fear of fat (Dalley & Buunk, 2009). In this sense, much of the modern attitudes and perceptions of obesity and overweight have been constructed by claiming the medical opinion (Sykes & McPhail, 2008). Similarly, they have been associated with negative stereotypes and stigmatization of heavy body (Dalley & Buunk, 2009; Levitt, 2004).

Most arguments centered on this idea have contributed to the constitution of a new moral supported on the healthy attributes of the slender body (Moreno-Pestaña, 2010; Martín-Criado & Moreno-Pestaña, 2005). Likewise, such moral might be promoted with the emerging of the pro-slimming culture. Books, slimming plans, diet foods are currently sold fostering the avoidance of fatness/feeling fat under the premise of health reward, self-esteem, and life satisfaction (Grogan, 2016).

⁸ Current trend is highly mediated by the global alert for the pandemic of obesity. Although slender body has been prevalent during the modern and postmodern societies, such image has changed according to historical moments and cultures. Thinness has been associated with illness: tuberculosis, aids, hepatitis, eating disorders and the use of drugs. In some cultures, such as the emerging economies, plump body is still linked to well-being and progress. Ideals are changing with globalization, though (Helman, 2007; Loober & Moore, 2002).

⁹ Cfr. OMS, 2018 "Controlling the global obesity epidemic". Available on: <http://www.who.int/nutrition/topics/obesity/en/>

1.1.3.3. Body modification

The body has been an object of modification in history. Nonetheless, in the context of postmodern society, physical appearance and body image in the full range is allied to health context (e.g., cosmetic and reconstructive surgery, dental medicine, dermatology, endocrinology, neurology, nursing, obstetrics and gynecology, physical therapy, rehabilitation medicine, urology, etc.) (Grogan, 2016).

Cosmetic surgery has gained popularity during the last decades (Rohrich, 2000). With a wide offer and demand, cosmetic surgery is a growing market. The global cosmetic surgery and procedure market are expected to reach USD 43.9 billion by 2025 (Grand View Research, 2017). Both women and men undergo invasive (e.g., breast augmentation, liposuction, tummy tuck, eyelid surgery, breast lift) and non-invasive treatments (e.g., botulinum toxin, dermal fillers, laser hair removal, photo-rejuvenation, microdermabrasion) every year for aesthetic or health reasons (Davis, 2002). For many theorists and social critics, cosmetic surgery is the ultimate symbol of invasion of the human body for the sake of physical beauty (Grimlin, 2000). Besides, different research has related the subjugation to cosmetic surgery and treatments to body image dissatisfaction or dysmorphia (Grogan, 2016; Sarwer & Crerand, 2004; Vargel, & Uluşahin, 2001).

The modification of the body also includes branding, cutting, tattooing, and piercing (Featherstone cited in Grogan, 2016). Tattooing and piercing the body has become a mainstream phenomenon widely acceptable with the young generations. From early childhood, children become familiar with tattooed figures, color-in tattoo kits, and temporary tattoos for kids to apply to their bodies (Kosut, 2006). Body art (tattooing and piercing) have gone increasingly popular among teenagers; likewise, the numbers of outlet stores/boutiques where they tattoo or pierce their bodies (Wohlrab, Stahl & Kappeler, 2007).

1.1.3.4. The gender imaginaries

Most research has been quite consistent with demonstrating that the pressure to achieve ideal thin is more significant on women than on men (Biolcalti et al., 2017; Ferguson, 2013; Grogan, 2016). Thus, body image has been mostly perceived as a female issue in social imaginary (Hargreaves & Tiggemann 2006). Nevertheless, scientific research has found that almost all populations—both female and male,

youngsters and adults— are affected by the body pressures (Grabe, Ward & Hyde, 2008; Knauss, Paxton, & Alsaker, 2007; Pope et al., 2000).

Modern female body image is a product of exploitation by industries such as media and advertising (Bordo, 2004; Featherstone, 2002; Gill, 2008). The current imaginaries of female body image are aligned with the visible role of women in labor and market (Wolf, 2002). In this sense, the slender body has prevailed as a referent body image in the postmodernity. As discussed by Orbach (cited in Grogan 2016), since the early '60s, women's bodies have been exploited as associated with positive social traits and values. Since then, corporations have addressed women the slim body as a synonym of freedom, youthfulness and social status, causing major acceptance and less controversy with its public acceptance.

Media has been the leading promoter of the female body imaginaries (Grabe, Ward & Hyde, 2008). Nevertheless, the construction of beauty and positive body image has been connected with the socio-cultural values throughout history (Rubin et al., 2008). Global communication has contributed to the sophistication of the ideal thin. Beauty models have transitioned from the wide-hip women to skinny models, from the round-shape faces to surgically modified faces (Featherstone, 2010). The modified body has become an essential asset in global capitalism, and female beauty is an economic driving force in the beauty market (Muñiz, 2015).

In 2015, the UK medical website Superdrug Online Doctor¹⁰ invited a group of female designers from 18 different countries to an experiment that explores body image. Designers were invited to photoshop and retouch the picture of a woman in order to make her more attractive to the citizens of their country. The purpose of the experiment was to explore how the perceptions of beauty vary from country to country. Likewise, the way female designers deal with body and beauty pressures.

The experiment found that some of the designers kept the woman largely looking like herself, while others changed her appearance. Similarly, designers in some countries gave her an exaggerated hourglass figure, while others gave her an apparent BMI of 17.5, or near anorexic. Countries like China and Italy returned the thinnest photoshopped figures (China's had an estimated BMI of 17), while Spain returned the heaviest (Super drugonline, 2018).

¹⁰ <https://onlinedoctor.superdrug.com/perceptions-of-perfection/>

Similar to the female body, the masculine body has become increasingly popular in western societies. However, the sophistication of the masculine figure is a more recent phenomenon. Male body image has become relevant as it has inhabited mainstream media (television, films, and advertising). Male portrayals are used as icons, fetish or body-commodities to engage with audiences (Fouz-Hernández, 2013).

Different research has claimed an increasing objectification of male figure in advertising (Patterson & Elliott, 2002; Rohlinger, 2002; Thompson, 2000). Following Grogan (2016), mainstream advertising sells everything from ice cream to perfume and orange juice. Such objectification has followed the conventions of photographing the female nude. The art of depicting the male body focus in body trunk, toned and shaped muscles.

The muscular body is still preferred and valued in society. It has been connected with the values such image represents (strength, masculinity, force, and empowerment). However, the rise of the male image in advertising and social imaginary has contributed to the modification and consolidation of new models of masculinity (Boni, 2002). The influence of gay culture has modified the gender perspectives blurring the edges of men and women's sexual identities and extending a range of body images (Patterson & Elliott, 2002). The appearance of the 'male waif' in media, fashion and cosmetic industry has much contributed to the (re)configuration of masculinities. Although keeping the moral values of a refractory macho culture, men are persuaded to care for their appearance and body: moisture their body, remove facial and body hair, splash on perfume (Baker, 1994).

In line with this, research has documented an increase in body pressures among young male adults and adolescents (Grogan, 2016; Knauss, Paxton, & Alsaker, 2007). Men are under increased social pressure to conform to the muscular, well-toned, mesomorphic (medium-sized) shape which may lead them to consume and abuse of toxic substances such as steroids or cosmetic surgery (Fanjul-Peyró & González-Oñate, 2011).

Other sociocultural macro factors such as globalization and migration have been related to body image construction (Goulão, Santos & Carmo, 2015; Swanson et al., 2012). Likewise, social variables such as social inequalities and poverty have been determinant factors (Frederick, Forbes & Anna, 2008). Nevertheless, most research in the field agrees on the prominent role of media and information (Carrillo, Jiménez-Morales & Sánchez, 2010; Grogan, 2016; Serra-Vinardell &

Añaños, 2016). From all are imbricated factors in the construction of body image and body dissatisfaction, the most powerful and pervasive is media (Tiggeman, 2011).

1.2. BODY IMAGE AND THE MEDIA

Social imaginaries of the body are imminently connected to the consumer culture. Both body and appearance are linked to capital values such as success, distinction, and prestige. Media plays a vital role in the construction and reproduction of such values. Media products disseminate and prescribe information which interferer in the appropriation and signification of the body image and the body culture (Featherstone, 2010).

For Grevilla (2003) (cited in Carrillo, Jiménez-Morales & Sánchez, 2010) "the media is today the most influencing means of reproduction of body esthetics, because they explain, create, and reproduce behavioral patterns and lifestyles, this way legitimating people, group and institutional behavior" (p.11). Moreover, media communication is a conduit of expression for the political economy of the market and the body. Corporations and industries target and reach audiences supporting on the body image as a referent icon in communication message. Body image is transferred-acquired by processes of media socialization (Lemish, 2003). "Market seeks the conception of body image to be a reflection that determines success and that its prolixity interrupts as ineffable to compete with others" (Sossa-Rojas, 2011, p.11). Media message conducts body and subject to their individualization and privatization.

1.2.1. The role of media on body image construction

Media participate as transmitters of information. Films, soap operas, advertising talk shows disseminate information related to lifestyle, body image and appearance (Carrillo, Jiménez-Morales & Sánchez, 2010). Such dissemination of information occurs intentionally or unintentionally. Media portrays the body as referring to it either as an object of reference in its content or constructing body imaginary by framing and portraying representations (Tebbel, 2000).

Current role of media is highly connected with the development of capitalism and consumer society (Featherstone, 2006; Wolf, 2002). With this regard, advertising has traditionally depicted representations to refer to lifestyle and modernization. Body images in advertising encode the social imaginary. They are

the referent of social class and the sophistication of taste in consumption (Jacobson, 2004).

Body imaginary has been endorsed by cinema and the structuring of the Hollywood star system. During the '60s, female stars such as Audrey Hepburn, Marilyn Monroe, Grace Kelly, to mention some examples, became cultural icons who were praised for their body, beauty, and personality (Featherstone, 2010). Modern celebrities brand the values of consumer capitalism. Many of them are related to the art and performance of beauty (Grogan, 2016). The world of celebrities has taught people much of the modern lifestyle and consumer culture. Much of the celebrity star system has been adopted by every format of audiovisual communication and entertainment: television, magazine, and advertising. (Figure 4).



FIGURE 4. Media, celebrities and body image. 1. Marilyn Monroe, actress. 2. Audrey Hepburn, actress 3. Twiggy, singer and model. SOURCE: Google Images (2018).

Media has contributed to the legitimization of boy image ideals. As it has participated in the depiction and dissemination of body imaginaries, people have internalized body image constructions and stereotypes. The promotion of the ideal thin has been mostly supported by media representations in magazines,

television programs, and advertising (Frith, Cheng & Shaw, 2004; Harrison & Cantor, 1997). Similarly, beauty canons have traditionally been transferred in almost all media formats (Lopaciuk & Loboda, 2013).

The hegemonic model of beauty has become popular and accepted by the audience of different age and gender (Jefferson & Stake, 2009; Saraswati, 2013). Praising for body image ideals has been connected with moral values, virtues and pro-social behaviors (Coyne et al., 2016). Content analyses of television programs, films, and advertising have shown body image is allied with actions, roles, attitudes, and values of characters (Bazzini, 2010; Herbozo et al., 2004). Similarly, research has been consistent with determining the influence of depictions in people's perception and actions (Engeln-Maddox, 2006).

Although beauty has historically been communicated through art, music, and literature, current research has harshly criticized the increasing role of media in the promotion of beauty ideals. Media sends the false idea that the perfect body is attainable, causing anxieties and risk behaviors in almost all populations (Gray and Gringsberg, 2007; Levine & Smolak, 1998). Repeated exposure to media content leads viewers to begin to accept media portrayals as representations of reality (Gerbner, Gross, & Morgan, 2002; Brown, 2002).

Media technology has also contributed to the construction and reproduction of body and beauty ideals. Digital modification of body image in media content reflects how people are educated about body imaginaries. Following Bordo, "These images are teaching us how to see. Filtered, smoothed, polished, softened, sharpened, rearranged... Digital creations, visual cyborgs, teaching us what to expect from flesh and blood". (Bordo, 2004, xviii).

The over-representation of characters has constrained and naturalized body image canons and has played a decisive role in the configuration of identities. Many gender stereotypes in society are linked to media representations. For instance, female beauty has traditionally been depicted as the slender Caucasian, with soft tanned skin and curves. On the other hand, the male image has mostly been referred to his slender and muscular appearance but above all to his performed actions. Different content analyses have demonstrated the active role of men and the subordinate role of women in media (Tartaglia & Rollero, 2015; Uribe et al., 2008). Similarly, different research works have discussed the extensive commodification of female image (Boni, 2002; Miller, 1998).

Media participates in the dissemination of information, but also the appropriation and reconfiguration of values and culture. Such phenomenon has unfolded in two

different issues. Body image ideals have become naturalized by media representations and discourses through the appropriation of body policies (norms and regulations) and practices (Sossa, 2011). On the contrary, the audience has manifested resistance by re-signifying and re-appropriating media discourse (Holmqvist & Frisé, 2012).

The internalization of the ideal thin and the models of male and female beauty have been supported on a large amount of information and discourse. Body talk is largely present in television content, advertising, and social media consumed by almost all populations (Ghaznavi & Taylor, 2015; Grogan, 2016; Jiménez-Morales, 2008). The make-over culture has been quite popular in recent decades with programs and reality shows that exacerbate the positive values of losing weight or changing appearance (Sperry, 2009).

Media consumption has changed many people's habits and lifestyles (Lull, 2000). Media content has exerted a pedagogical role in the acquisition of body practices and techniques (Lemish, 2003). People have learned about diet and nutrition (Bergsma & Ferris, 2011), in the same way, they have learned about the treatments to avoid hair loss or wrinkles (Carter, 2016). Media has been the chief promoter of sanitization and medicalization during the XX century (Simpson-Hebert & Wood, 1998).

Recent studies have pointed out the relevance of digital media in enhancing the body imaginary. Websites, forums, YouTube channels are essential mediators as they influence people's perceptions, attitudes, and practices (Jiménez-Morales, 2010). Different research works have documented different observations about these media channels. On the one hand, some researchers have observed positive effects. As internet users can exchange experiences, informational websites and blogs have become significant learning communities (Thornburg & Hill, 2004). Online communities have performed as learning environments through which people exchange knowledge about body imaginary and practices.

Conversely, it has been widely discussed the presence of critical information which may lead to unhealthy behaviors and threats. Learning communities also congregate a wide range of topics such as dieting, body care, fashion, cosmetic surgery, and more which exert body pressure (Tiggemann & Slater, 2013). Additionally, it is entirely known the overabundance of disinformation and communities that promote unhealthy practices such as *pro-mia* and *pro-ana* websites or self-jury blogs¹¹ (Hanson, 2003).

¹¹ Pro-ana refers to the promotion of behaviors related to the eating disorder anorexia nervosa.

Furthermore, internet content has gained ground in the world of information and entertainment. Studies such as Euro Kids Online have evidenced the role of digital communication and content on young peoples' well-being and health practices (Almenara, Machackova & Smahel, 2016; Ní Bhroin & Rehder, 2018). Both children and adolescent have found the internet useful to consult information related to how to look more attractive: eliminate pimples, lose weight, gain muscle, etcetera. Similarly, they get to know about their favorite celebrities. They look up information not only related to celebrity's performance. They get to know details about their life such as lifestyle and habits.

Modern media has focused on praising the value of the body as the locus of individualization. Firstly, because it has contributed to the commodification of the body with the prescription of image ideals (Boni, 2002; Carter, 2016; Forero, 2015). Secondly, because it has favored the expansion of beauty and health business from make-up to cosmetic surgery. Industries aiming at body have enlarged their presence on the market as well as the medicalization of health beauty (Lopaciuk & Loboda, 2013). In this regard, media content such as advertising has had a decisive role in the growth of such markets as new fears and anxieties are perpetrated in television content: Fear of fat, getting old, being out of style (Carter, 2016).

1.2.2. Framing the media effects

A long trajectory of studies has documented the role of media in body image construction. While some authors discuss the psychosocial effects (see for instance, Grabe, Ward & Hyde, 2008; Harper & Tiggemann, 2008; Harrison & Hefner, 2008), some others argue people's ability to understand body image representations and the cultural appropriation of it (Bair, Steele & Mills, 2014; Diedrichs, Lee & Kelly, 2011; Harrison & Hefner, 2008).

The most conducted research is determinant; media exerts power in people's cognitive constructions and attitudes. Although there is not a consistent agreement on which is the most powerful medium, most researchers assume that visual representations are the chief visual element encouraging body image attitudes and behaviors among people (Dittmar et al., 2009). Consistent with this, most research has focused on the adverse effects of media.

It is often referred to simply as ana. The lesser-used term pro-mia refers likewise to bulimia nervosa and is sometimes used interchangeably with pro-ana. (Wikipedia, 2018).

For Hogan & Strasburger (2008) media is an agent to socialize unhealthy body image. As observed in studies media advertising and the mass media plays a part in creating and reinforcing a preoccupation with physical attractiveness (Grogan, 2016; Harrison & Hefner, 2008; Tiggemann & Slater, 2013). According to these empirical researches, most media consumers may experience to some extent negative inputs regarding their self-body after content exposure. Moreover, exposition increases any degree of dissatisfaction although images are visually modified.

Furthermore, media may influence consumer perception of what constitutes an acceptable appearance (D'Alessandro & Chitty, 2011; Diedrichs, Lee & Kelly, 2011; Holmqvist & Frisén, 2012). Studies with young populations have described the role of media in social comparison and the aspiration to body image ideals (Fardouly et al., 2015; Grabe, Ward & Hyde, 2008; Harper & Tiggemann, 2008). Many of these studies have found the prevalence of the normative ideals when describing the idea of the future image, plus the body image preference for future partner.

In this line, Spettigue & Anderson (2004) have suggested that media advocates as promoters of unrealistic and dangerous ideal thin fostering and maintaining a normative discontent on women's and men's body. Likewise, experimental research has revealed that exposure to body images may conduct to body image dissatisfaction (Grogan, 2016). Research on the etiology of men and women's dissatisfaction revealed that media sources might have the potential to influence how men and women evaluate their bodies (e.g., Grabe, Ward, & Hyde, 2008; Tylka, 2011; Want, 2009). In a meta-analysis, Grabe & Ward (2008) observed that exposure to media images depicting the thin-ideal body is related to body image concerns for women. On their part, Anne & Debra (2003) have demonstrated a link between female beauty ideals and the pressures and anxieties it causes among women.

Furthermore, Tiggemann & Miller (2010) have supported this notion to indicate associations between greater body dissatisfaction and higher levels of overall TV viewing. On her part, Harrison (2003) experimental study demonstrated that women's exposure to ideal-body images on television was correlated with their perceptions of the ideal female bust, waist, and hip sizes and their approval of surgical body-alteration methods.

Although body image dissatisfaction has traditionally been associated with adult and adolescent women, recent research has found an increasing prevalence

among male teens and adults. The influence of media representation in men's appearance is becoming increasingly prevalent (Grogan, 2016). Male body ideal is highly homogenous consisting of the tall, mesomorph, V-shaped body, with a specific focus on muscular arms, chest, and abdominals (Henwood, Gill, & McLean, 2002).

Studies such as Hogan & Strasburger (2008), Homan et al. (2012), Liechty (2010), and Spettigue & Anderson (2004) have proven a correlation to media message and eating and shape disturbance. Furthermore, research is highly consistent with describing the relation of media exposure and eating attitudes and disorders (Burwell, et al. 2002; Mazzeo et al., 2007; Sperry et al., 2009).

Nevertheless, Hausenblas et al. (2013) meta-analysis identified that there is partial support for the causal effect of viewing idealized media images on increasing eating disorder symptoms. According to the authors, eating disorders may not be a consequence of media exposure but body image dissatisfaction. Exposure may increase depression and anger but no distortion. Eating disorders might be the outcome of a complex series of interrelated factors. Although image consumption may increase people's anxieties and body image comparison, there is no reason to consider image consumption as the sole trigger.

In short, most experimental and non-experimental research has made evident the outcomes of media influence. In a long trajectory, conclusions show that to some extent media exposure/consumption may play a relevant role in the internalization of body image ideals, body satisfaction, and eating behaviors (Figure 5).

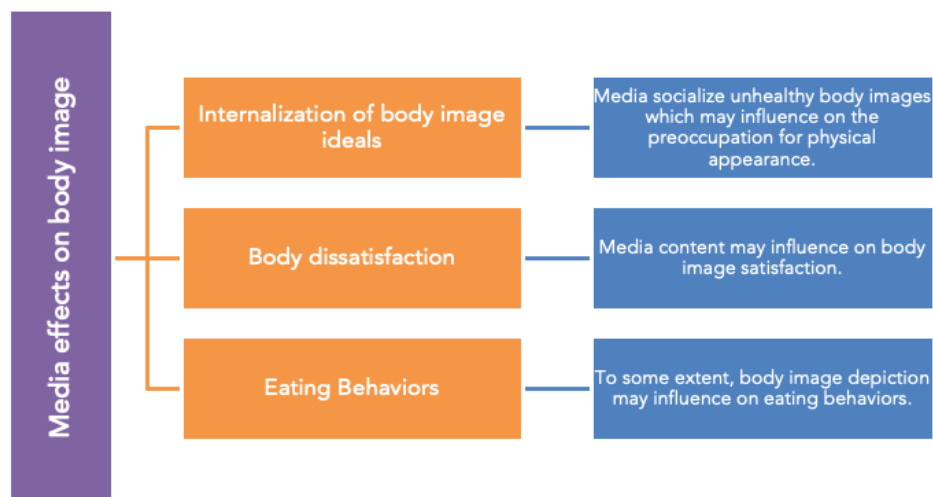


FIGURE 5. Media effects on body image construction. SOURCE: Author.

1.3. BODY IMAGE AND ADVERTISING

Advertising is a cultural product double determined. On the one hand, it is considered communication support to encourage the functioning of the economic system. On the other, it is observed as a causal factor of socialization and cultural representation (Corrales, 2005; Eguizábal, 1998; Ibáñez, 2012). Whatever the stance is, advertising is a current form of communication which not only does assure the manufacture and consumption of goods and services but the production and accumulation of symbolic capital, contributing to the creation and satisfaction of demands and the accumulation of cultural capital (Ibáñez, 2012).

The way advertising participates in constructing a symbolic universe of consumption has given it a leading role in the consumer society. However, beyond representing the world, advertising message contributes to the production of forms of power and knowledge as well as the embodiment of experience (Featherstone, 2007; González, Juárez & Ludeña, 2012; Sossa-Rojas, 2011). It models structures and determines people's perceptions and attitudes. Moreover, it universalizes the mass culture through a style of communication and stereotyped discourse (Sierra-Caballero, 2017).

Contrary to what has been usually argued, advertising is not a neutral communication. It is aimed to fulfill solid objectives (Rodgers & Thorson, 2012). It seeks to influence, determine, and direct behaviors and perceptions through

artificial references integrating values, attributes and symbolic characters to its message to promote consumption. Advertising is a space for the socialization of dominant cultural patterns whose essential function is the reproduction of society and its values (Caro, 2010).

Modern advertising is not only designated to call for brands, products or services, but to construct and make sense of cultural forms and identities in the consumer culture. "The central role of modern advertising is to produce the new *homo consumens*" (Sierra-Caballero, 2017, p.10). The purpose of advertising is not to provide information to the consumer (subject) about the products (objects), but to shape the consumer (transform him/her into an object). (...) (Ibáñez, 2012)

Beyond inviting to consume, advertising encompasses a set of interpellations that invite individuals to become subjects in specific modalities, which even related overflow the specific merchandise they are associated. In this regard, citing Corrales (2005),

"La principal función que la publicidad estaría cumpliendo hoy en día, lejos de lo que se piensa, no sería la de convencer-seducir al público para que adquiera los productos y servicios disponibles en el mercado, sino más bien la de insertarse como un dispositivo subjetivante, es decir, como un dispositivo que genera unas ciertas condiciones de posibilidad para la constitución (o disolución) de determinados sujetos sociales mediante el establecimiento y la delimitación de un conjunto de espacios de reconocimiento e identificación que nos llevan a entendernos y relacionarnos con nosotros mismos y con los demás como si fuésemos (y fueran) sujetos de un determinado tipo, contribuyendo de este modo al desarrollo de lo que Foucault ha llamado el gobierno de la subjetividad" (p.1).

The modern way to represent identities/subjectivities is mostly suggested by the mediating role of advertising (Corrales, 2005, 2015; Ibáñez, 2012). Within the advertising message, consumers (their identities) are classified, ordered, and measured by market brands (Odi, 2007). Advertising has stopped drawing people's attention to the products to address individuals in multiple ways, proposing different ways to build their identity and location in the social sphere (Bauman, 2007).

Brands operate as decoys that identify and claim the consumers (Ibáñez, 2012). Through products transformed into metaphors and consumers into metonymies, advertising dematerializes both objects and consumer to the point of personalizing products through the projection of desired values, norms and

lifestyles (Eguizábal, 1990). Advertising communication reifies consumers while subjectifying products.

Advertising operates in the simulation regime. In this sense, as pointed by Sierra-Caballero (2017), an advertising message is considered a type of electronic dream which does not promote products, but pleasures. Advertisements do not precisely show a materialized world but an aesthetic and imaginary enjoyment.

Consistent with the aforementioned, advertising is conceived as a structural part of the production of society to the extent it does not refer to promoted goods or services but the symbolic world that is created through its discourse. By consuming ads, people do not buy the product; they buy the right to participate in the advertisements (Ibáñez, 2012). The act of consuming ads is a vicarious projection of the subject's experience. Through advertising message, wishes can materialize in an objective way, even if they are aspirations. Through the process of identification, a simple receiver can become a consumer, and a wish can become a reality (Corrales, 2015).

As discussed by Friedman (2018), advertising exploits everything: rituals, myths, and values that make up the sociocultural structure of a given symbolic universe. It integrates the attributes of sociability in culture for marketing purposes. Through the seduction of its forms, colors or music, advertising aims to consolidate fragmented discourses in culture. Conversely, it contributes to the process of social atomization with contradictory messages and the overabundance of banal information which overlap (Corrales, 2015).

Advertising representations are vacuous forms of seduction that mask real and concrete alienation dynamics (Sierra-Caballero, 2017). One of the common features of modern advertising is the loss of its referentiality. Advertised products are deprived of their referential framework and acquire their own life. Advertised products have lost content and gained expression; advertisements have switched from informing about the products to referring to the symbolic world of consumption (Ibáñez, 2012). In this sense, as stated by Sierra Caballero (2017), products appear decontextualized in an unreal, phantasmagoric, surrealistic, and simulated perspective while consumers are surreptitiously influenced on their imaginary projection. Advertisements organize the public sense of a semantic universe that presses and guides the attitudes of consumers to persuade them about the value of products.

From the deep structure of persuasion (desire, lack or gratification), advertising aims to connect a product with a varied audience to target individuals. In order

to achieve its purpose, advertising discourse eliminates —among other operations— the cognitive mediations operating in the structure of its message. To this respect, advertisers employ some common resources such as the exploitation of language, aesthetics, and audiovisual features. Advertising message structures information for the formation and change of cognitive, affective and volitional attitudes. The production and decoding of ads occur in concordance with different factors that mediate in their comprehension of its message.

Advertising is likely to use poetic language, lyrical, euphemistic, hyperbolic, and even euphorically exalted. The intertextuality of its message contributes to the economy of its language. Thus, it refers to other texts, images, and quotes. It searches for aesthetic pleasure: colors, forms, and audiovisual effects. Beyond any informative purpose, advertisements are rather evaluative, ornamental and aesthetic forms of communication. Sensuality, object-sensory pleasure, desire, imitation, conservation, negative projection are some of the influence factors used by advertisers in their messages to influence the form of public consumption.

The commitment of advertising is to associate consumption with a series of positive individual aspirations: happiness, sociability, youth, joy, fun, etcetera. There are countless products, even the banalest and modest - from electric razors to cereal flakes, from sanitary towels to detergents - which are associated with sometimes extravagant images of personal fulfillment. Advertisements generate attitudes of imitation of models and lifestyles, internalization of beliefs and values and submission to the product of desire, the promise or benefit suggested in the same advertising.

“Advertising as a form of communication together with the media is set up as the most obvious mirror of the social tendencies, recreating the forms and beliefs surrounding body cult” (Carrillo, Jiménez-Morales & Sánchez, 2010, p.13). Advertising collects and reflects the body imaginary in society, reflecting the reality of corporality as well as the ways people appropriate and construct body image (Featherstone, 2007).

Following body ideals such as those of slenderness and beauty, advertising provides a life project for the management/control of corporality. Due to its sedimentation and repetition, body ideals in advertising have become part of common sense. They work as disciplinary devices that enhance imitation among people to build referent models for a body image project (Kogan, 2003).

1.3.1. The body as a message

Advertising has become a system of representation, and therefore an object for the consumption of body imaginary. Aligned with the global tendency to construct identity through the body (Schilling, 2012), advertisers have observed on the body and its image a referent object in the advertising message.

As argued by Wortman (2004), advertising has become the conduit to legitimize the ethos of consumer society. Moreover, as discussed by Carrillo, Jiménez-Morales & Sánchez (2010), it is the evident display to worship positive body values such as beauty and slenderness, putting particular emphasis on the differences and the different stereotypes.

Surplus value is produced in advertising, transforming the aesthetic criterion of the body into a normative ideal (Bordo, 2004). In this sense, body imaginaries are regulated by the representations and discourses of the body in media and society. Advertising does not communicate the objective characteristics of what it promotes. It instead seeks to build new meanings stick to the products and body image ideals. Through this process, consumption is transformed as an act of affirmation and conformity with the dominant values. Consumers are motivated to emulate, change their tastes, practices, and their bodies.

Advertising is one of the most important devices for the production of social meanings. Advertising message continually reconstructs the body to adapt it to the norm. It prescribes recommendations for everyone and usually reminds consumers of the norm (Sossa-Rojas, 2011).

To this respect, as argued by Carrillo, Jiménez-Morales & Sánchez:

“The professional role of the publicist is to collect what fashion establish in our society, and make these known, in order to diversify consumption options. In order to accomplish this objective, creative publicists are used to add the symbolism of the objects of consumption, using or adding whatever is needed, for them to be interpreted as desirable for audiences, representing different social groups, and life habits which the public this message is targeted at can identify with” (2010, p. 39)

Advertising has a relevant role in body image construction (Borland & Akram, 2007; Carrillo, Jiménez-Morales & Sánchez, 2010; Grabe, Ward & Hyde, 2008). As mostly documented in research, studies have focused on two main issues: the representations of the body and the influence of its message. The following

section will focus on discussing the structuring of body image representations which is the main object of this research.

1.3.2. The embodied image representations in advertising

Advertising provides meanings in the construction of bodies and identities (González, Juárez & Ludeña, 2012; Goffman, 2002; Izquierdo, 2008). Advertising contains certain collective representations envisioned to be shared, including those related to the body image. These visions of the world represent interpretations of reality that the producers of the information shared, and that the consumers of information appropriate according to different processes of mediation.

Body image representations in advertising are usually legitimized by a series of structural elements which aim to reproduce the social order: actions, roles, and contexts (Martín Serrano, 2008). Representations in advertising anticipate the visions of the world in a particular manner. Representations in advertising display according to the body value in the culture.

Advertising is an essential source of collective representations which provide signs of identity. However, it is also a communicative product where it is possible to find stereotyped representations related to the body and its appearance. Advertising message shows the constitutive features of corporality and identities. It also fragments reality and nulls cultural diversity, however.

Representations in advertising are elements to be shared in a public communication system. The construction of body image is based on sociocultural referents with which people socialize in everyday life. Moreover, advertising is linked to corporal values. It is through advertising that global bodily values have been reinforced.

Body image representations in advertising adopt different form depending on the intentions of brands and corporations, cultural values, and situated contexts (time and space). In this sense, advertising can be observed as a communicative product within two referential axes (Table 1).

TABLE 1. The body image representations in advertising.

SUPPORTED OBJECT OF REFERENCE (<i>Depicted body image</i>)	EMBODIED REPRESENTATION (<i>what is prescribed</i>)
Ethnicity	Whiteness is constructed as the cultural imaginary of modernity, social status, and accumulation of capitals. The colonization of the white model grants the values to racial and ethnic diversity.
Shape and body type	Slender and curvy body is related to the idealization of beauty and femininity whereas slender and muscled to the strong masculine ideal. Slim and toned has become synonymous of health, and balanced while being overweight or obese is recriminated.
Performance and endurance	Postmodern bodies are subjected to performance and production. They are 'fabricated' under the regulation of diets, exercise and body care. Such body figure has become embodied by the sporty, multi-tasking and capable body.
Gender	The domination of masculinity and heteronormativity has been reflected in advertising. Physical traits, attitudes, roles, and actions constitute gender differences in characters. Current gender construction and differences are built-in gender fluidity but also in the (hyper)sexualization of body.
Sexuality	The depiction of the sexualized body is an essential feature in advertising as it has been considered a pull for people's curiosity. Naked and hypersexualized bodies are used to promote almost everything.
Life and maturity	Youth is observed in relation to the material values of late capitalism (status, beauty, and success). Youth is praised as it keeps aligned with the cultural values of capitalism (beauty, on shape and successful). Re-signifying youth and aging are one of the most critical roles of consumer society and advertising.
Imperfections	The makeover body is introduced as a way to disappear or make invisible the body imperfections. From body airbrushing to modified bodies, the body is customized. The natural body is rarely observed on the screen.
Fragmented anatomy	Advertising has introduced the anatomization of the body to talk about body parts and prescribe products for it. Attractiveness has been focused on facial appearance, on the body type or muscles. Seizing some body parts is essential in advertising language.
The body with no image	Body image in advertising is not always objectified. Instead, it is a cognitive construction composed of social discourses. The lack of physical materiality (body) is regulated through the control of sensations and sensibilities, though.

SOURCE: Author.

1.3.2.1. The white body, the image of modernity

Advertising has supported on ethnicity to depict body image. From the early days to present, depictions of ethnicity have traced a world of relationships and identities. Whiteness has prevailed as a dominant representation, mostly referred to as a symbol of power, status, and distinction. By the contrary, ethnic diversity has remained inferior. Although ethnicity has become more visible in postmodern advertising, many of such depictions are still encoded under the rules of a stereotyped whiteness: slender body, delicate traits, upper social status, sophisticated roles and actions (Kincheloe et al., 2000).



FIGURE 6. Ethnicity in advertising. 1. Guinness (1950). 2. Golly Mis' Maria (1930). Shiseido Elixir (2014). 4. Lacôme Paris (2015). SOURCE: Google images, 2018.

The representation of white middle and upper-middle classes have traditionally dominated in media advertising. Since the golden age of advertising, white American bourgeois families have depicted the cultural imaginary of modernization and consumerism. Conversely, black people have remained subordinated, performing as secondary actors or funny and silly characters who promote demeaning products (Jacobson, 2004). Following Shue (cited in Izquierdo, 2008), black characters have repeatedly been represented low occupational categories and/or in service occupations such as maids or waiters.

Current content analyses have demonstrated that white skin is still the most relevant representation in advertising. In comparison to this, the portrayal of non-white people is relatively rare and highly constrained (Baumann & Ho, 2014; Burton, & Klemm 2011; Izquierdo, 2008; Maher et al., 2008; Prieler, 2010). Different authors have considered that this is a global phenomenon. For instance, in a content analysis of Japanese television advertising, Prieler (2010) observed that white people appeared more often than black and non-Japanese Asians. On their part, Izquierdo, Martínez & Gálmes (2016) found a low representation of ethnic groups in Latin America advertising campaigns.

Although postmodern advertising has featured new racial representations, it is widely argued that the portrayal of white and black characters is still associated with stereotypes exemplifying what Jacobs & Baldasty (2003) consider a new racialization in the consumer market. In a content analysis of prime time television commercials, Jacobs & Baldasty found that white characters stood for luxury brands, beauty, and health products while black characters appeared in low-cost ads, eating low nutrition food and sponsoring demeaning products.

In Nayak's (1997) consideration, the incorporation of ethnic diversity in advertising has mostly occurred under the white gaze, through the exoticization or the normalization of *the other's body* which is consistent with Echeverría's (2010) discussion about modern whiteness. Echeverría observes whiteness in media communication not merely as a process of racialization but the incorporation of western values. Such phenomenon can be observed, for instance, in the globalized pattern of beauty where depictions followed isomorphic representations to express attractiveness: western manners, attitudes, and postures (Frith, Shaw & Cheng, 2005).

Advertising has attempted to translate the socially negative portrayals of discriminated groups into useful representations in its message. In a content analysis of Spanish advertising, Izquierdo (2008) observed the way ethnic women have become valuable assets by addressing their image as hypersexualized and

exotic beauties in fashion advertising or illustrating ideas such as cosmopolitanism and ethnicity of foreign/global products.

Align with this; other studies have documented the influence of ethnicity portrayal in advertising. While some studies argue that race bias affects people's body perception and satisfaction (Martin & Kwai-Choi, 2004; Nguyen & Ryan, 2008), other research has evaluated the impact of racial stereotypes in people's attitudes toward ethnic groups (Appiah, 2001; Qualls & Moore, 1990). The desirability of whiteness is manifested in the growing cosmetic market, which targets the non-white population persuading them to achieve the global ideal of beauty (Sutton, 2009). In this sense, as stated by Gram (2007), that the white model is the significant reference of beauty in advertising is a reference of what is going on in the west and the expansion of capitalism (Gram, 2007), a post-colonization of the individuals by dominating their body: the mind, the performance and the materiality (Echeverría, 2010; Scribano, 2015). On his part, Hunter (2011) has demonstrated that the focus on individual attitudes in all three discourses obfuscates color-based discrimination and encourages the purchase of racial capital.

1.3.2.2. The slim body, the new healthy body

Advertising has focused on depicting a standardized body image which besides supporting on ethnicity has emphasized the body shape and constitution. With this regard, the slender body has been normalized since it has become a consistent representation (Peterson, Xu & Limbu, 2009; Redmond, 2003; Robinson & Callister, 2008).

Slenderness has traditionally been connected with particular representations and discourses in every society. However, there is a general agreement that the current conceptualization of the slim body is imbricated to a global vision and values promoted by media communication and advertising. That is, the association of the slim body with beauty canons, the misrepresentation of different body types and the stigmatization of the oversized body (Greenberg et al., 2003; Hackett, 2008; Himes & Thompson 2007).

The slender body has usually been connected with the female ideals of beauty and perfection promoted by the media culture (Featherstone, 2002). In this sense, the slim female body has mostly been emphasized as a critical feature in the advertising message. Such body type has been depicted accompanied by different attributes and values (i.e., success and social status). As Bordo (2004)

states, slim body is the idealization of beauty and femininity whereas slender and muscled to the strong masculine ideal. Conversely, the plumb body has been observed with scrutiny. Different research has come to the same conclusion; weight and shape are the scales to ponder beauty and attractiveness (Grogan, 2016; Harrison, 2000; Slate et al., 2012).

The imperative of slimness has resulted in the control of women's body by manipulating the representation of their image. Former advertisements from the golden age of advertising already depicted such reality. Modern advertising is not so different with most female portrayals retouched to squeeze tummy and flaccid flesh, to tan pale skin and to erase wrinkles (Bordo, 2004). Real women are depicted by unreal portrayals which express joy and satisfaction (Harrison, 2010).



FIGURE 7. Slenderness in advertising.1. Anti-obese tablets. 2. Keds. 3. Salud Madrid. 4. Health Tap. SOURCE: Google Images, 2018.

Current constructions of the slender body are not exclusively connected with appearance. Nevertheless, they are linked to psychological health and well-being. The current panorama of obesity as a global threat has shaped much of this idea. As discussed in Sánchez-Reina & Brito Fuentes (2016), there is a growing tendency to persuade that slim is the new healthy body. Advertising campaigns—including health promotion—have normalized slenderness as the hegemonic construction of well-being by depicting a negative portrayal of the overweight and obese body as a symbol of health risks and illness, besides the negative status, plus other stigmatizations.

In comparison to the past, the representation of the slender body is no longer limited to any specific advertising. Advertisers have coped with the idea that slim is the synonym of health, dynamicity, balanced life, and moderate temperament while being overweight or obese is despicable or recriminated. Health and diet industries have just naturalized this figure (Gracia-Arnáiz, 2010). The slender body is shown in every ad as part of its aesthetics. Just as the old anti-obese advertisement claims: “no figure can be really beautiful unless one’s bodyweight is normalized.”

Advertisers have embellished and normalized every commercial ad by sliming the bodies. Therefore, as discussed by Sossa-Rojas (2011), the slim body has become *the body of propaganda*. Thin bodies have become the icons, signs, and symbols of advertisements around the globe. The slender, toned and attractive body is used to promote almost anything. Such commodification of body has conducted advertisers to play with the idea of slenderness to the extent of depicting extremely thin bodies.

The size and shape of the body have come to operate as “a market of personal, internal order (or disorder) as a symbol for the emotional, moral or spiritual state of the individual” (Bordo, 2004:193). The slim body is constructed as a new morality from which different values are built and exchanged. The depicted idealization of the slim body in advertising is the construction of referent societal values which are highly pursued in the consumer culture.

1.3.2.3. The athletic body, the body of endurance

Although slenderness has been the predominant physical trait to draw advertising portrayals, the aesthetics of body shape has presented variations¹². Compared to the past, today's representations stress on muscularity as a physical trait connected to contemporary values such as empowerment and physical performance.

Advertisers have linked the representations of the muscular and toned corporality to the athletic and sporty stereotype. As stated by Bordo (2004), advertisers lay on the athletic body to manifest "the hero's and heroine's commitment, will and spiritual integrity through the metaphors of weight loss, exercise and tolerance of and ability to conquer physical pain and exhaustion" (p.196). On the other, through the depiction of strong and muscular bodies, advertisers refer to the constitution of empowerment, self-development, and well-being.

Athletic body in advertising is the expression of transference and acquisition of social and economic capitals by working out the body (Emiliozzi, 2013). The depiction of the athletic body to promote almost every product has come up as an imperative imaginary which incorporates the current body policies of market and society (Ricciardelli, Clow & White, 2010). In this sense, muscled body is exploited almost in the same terms than beauty and slenderness and therefore, it is merely observed as a commodity (Boni, 2002; Jackson & Andrews, 2004; Patterson & Elliott, 2002)

For Natarajan & Chawla (1997), the relevance of the athletic body in advertising is related to the growth of the fit-inspirational market. Similar to the pro-slimming culture, advertising has also focused on powering the athletic body to normalize its representations and practices. Current research has found out the much digital communities stick to sport or diet products have grown as a way to participate in the fit-inspirational market and culture (Heinecken, 2015).

The rhetoric of the athletic body in advertising has been useful to prescribe images of health, beauty, pleasure, fun, and well-being, which are very close to what some author has called the medicalization of the body (Conrard, 2008; Díaz Rojo, Morant, & Westall Pixton, 2006). Advertising plays an essential role to diffuse message but also works as an expert system which dialogues face to face

¹² An example can be observed in the transformation of female and male portrayals (See Grogan, 2016). Both representations have varied according to every sociohistorical and cultural context as they have been connected to cultural schemes such as the construction of beauty, health and social class.

with the audience to provide knowledge and certainty (González, Juárez & Ludeña, 2012). From this perspective, the body cult is not only observed as the act of worshipping well-shaped figures but getting to know how to achieve and keep an athletic body.

Athletic bodies not only evoke the representations of hero and heroine but also they transfer the cultural values beyond the fitness culture. They communicate the rhetoric of self-empowerment. Sports celebrities have come to play as referent figures to recreate people's imagery. Advertisers have taken advantage of athletes' names to appeal their physical appearance, charisma, and personality to brand their products. Athlete celebrities are inspirational characters whose followers care in many aspects, and the cultivation of the body is not exceptional (Andrews & Jackson, 2002; Jackson & Andrews, 2004).

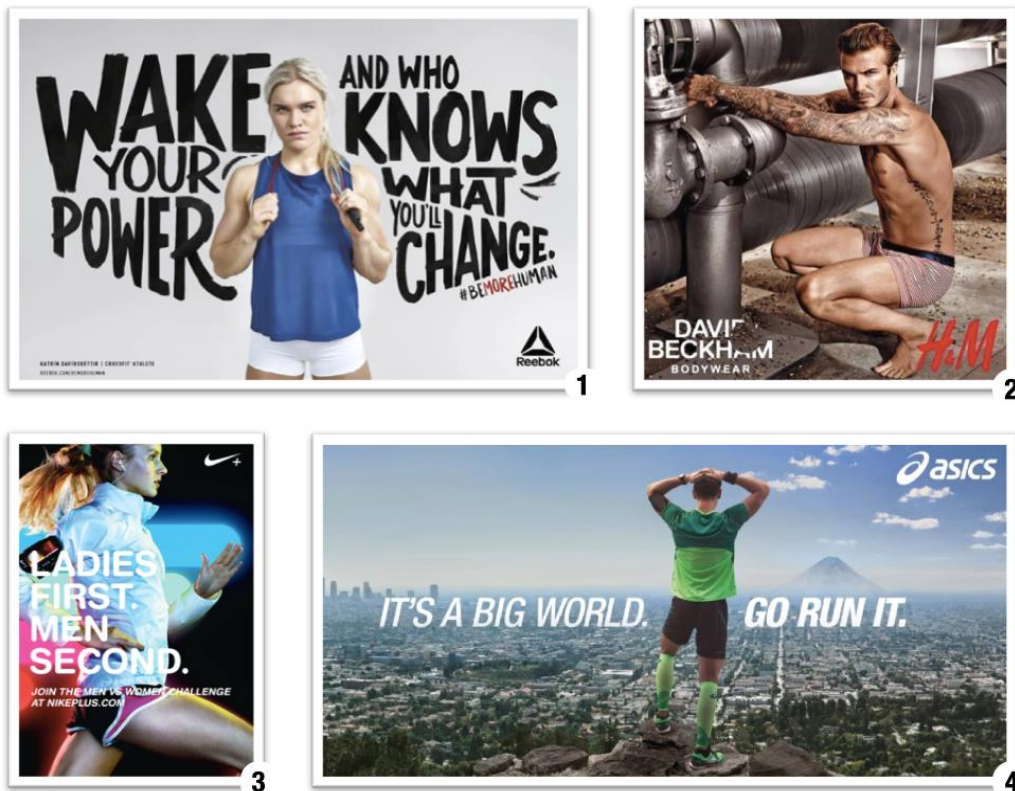


FIGURE 8. The athletic body in advertising. 1. Reebok. 2. H&M. 3. Nike. 4. Asics. SOURCE: Google Images, 2018.

Before athletes appeared in everyday advertising, they were mostly shown in fitness and sports commercials. Conversely, today, athletes advertise many products and services such as perfumes, autos, clothes, holidays or insurance. Some sportswomen and sportsmen continue careers as advertising models. Athletes are not only praised for their fame but also their physical appearance as it can be observed in many recent advertising campaigns. Similar to athletes, famous actors and actresses have become branded celebs in advertising due to their fit-inspirational bodies.

V-shaped torsos, chocolate abs, flat bellies, and toned curves have become the key features of body image in advertising. Different research has discussed the implications of such representations. Most authors discuss the commodification and the sexualization of the body (Boni, 2002; Elliott & Elliott, 2005; Reichert et al., 1999). Furthermore, researchers have observed modifications in body perceptions and attitudes associated with the exposure of advertised body ideals (Grogan, 2016; Humphreys & Paxton, 2004; Pope et al. 2001).

1.3.2.4. The genderized body, the stereotyped body

Advertising has drawn upon gender representations to engage with individual and socio-cultural values (Uribe et al., 2008). Physical traits, attitudes, roles, and actions are some of the typical traits that constitute gender portrayals in advertisements. Despite a process of social restructure and the shifts in advertising, traditional gender imageries prevail in its message.

The domination of the masculine gaze — which Mulvey (1975) once referred— is still highly reflected in the depiction of advertising portrayals. Thus, gender representations are scrutinized under the instrumental norms of patriarchy, the imposition of codes and values that reproduce the normative gender ideals (González, Juárez & Ludeña, 2012).

“Advertising reproduces the consolidated roles of men and women and perpetrates traditional feminine and masculine stereotypes, in a systematic way” (Gallego, 2010 in Carrillo, Jiménez-Morales & Sánchez, 2010, p.14). As observed by Gallego, most roles have remained the same along the years, giving men primary roles, status, and expertise in comparison to women. (Table 2).

TABLE 2. Observed roles for women and men in advertising

Women	Men
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •As a <i>buyer, not a consumer</i>: When products or services are not especially for her, but the rest of the family (for example, food and home products), are advertised. •As a <i>buyer consumer</i>: When products or services she is going to consume (beauty, clothes, hygiene, etc.), are advertised. •As a <i>provoker to consumption</i>: When the products and services that maybe the woman will not purchase nor personally use, but that requires personal attention are advertised (for example, cars, products for men, insurance, touristic promotions). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •As a <i>buyer, not a consumer</i>: When products or services are not especially for her, but the rest of the family (for example, food and home products), are advertised. •As a <i>buyer consumer</i>: When products or services she is going to consume (beauty, clothes, hygiene, etc.), are advertised. •As a <i>provoker to consumption</i>: When the products and services that maybe the woman will not purchase nor personally use, but that requires personal attention are advertised (for example, cars, products for men, insurance, touristic promotions).

SOURCE: Gallego cited in Carrillo, Jiménez-Morales & Sánchez, 2010

Although gender representations vary according to culture, body image portrayals in advertising have become supported by some standard features. The representation of female characters is likely to be reduced to the appearance. Alternatively, any female beauty and attractiveness are usually commodified.

Female characters have traditionally been confined to their physical aspect: body shape, figure, and face. In comparison to men who are usually depicted claiming for their attitude and performance (Tartaglia & Rollero, 2015; Uribe et al., 2008), women are simplified to mere objects of decoration; women made dolls and dolls that resemble women (Bernárdez, 2009).

Consistent with this, women's portrayals are highly dominated by beauty canons and beautifying techniques. Female beauty is almost exacerbated as commodified in every advertisement. Female images are digitally modified to make up idealizations and to correct imperfections to achieve the beauty standards (Harrison, 2010). As observed in Castillo, Moral & Meléndez (2010), female characters are likely to be depicted slimmer when playing the role of protagonists. However, most women's portrayals have been retouched to slim or enlarge their bodies.

Female portrayals in advertising have been subjected to other esthetic and non-esthetic codes which influence on their representations. For instance, different

content analyses have shown the overtaken role of women when appearing in advertising. Women are usually shown in private spaces and home places whereas male portrayals are mostly depicted outdoors (Furnham & Mak, 1999; Valls-Fernández & Martínez-Vicente, 2007). Aligned with this, Uribe et al. (2008) have observed an association of products and services to each gender: female characters are likely to promote beauty and health products whereas masculine actors are more likely to sell any product.

Moreover, researchers have also underscored the inequalities in character performance. Men are usually depicted as active characters who perform and show the products. By contrast, women appear to support male characters or to hold the product (Bernárdez, 2009). Men appear to give credibility, whereas women are portrayed to draw attention. Nevertheless, as Uribe et al. (2008) discuss, this may depend on the type of advertised products.

Likewise, the stereotyping of the female figure in advertising has been related to social hierarchy. Uribe et al. (2008) have identified that while men are depicted as independent actors, performing self-directed roles, women are assisted by men. On their part, Furnham & Mak (1999) concluded that women are systematically portrayed as wives, partners, and mothers in comparison to men who are usually depicted acting solo. Similarly, the cited works have admitted that gender stereotypes are associated with intellectual and emotional status. Where masculine roles are mostly associated with intellectual attitudes, female characters are connected with emotions.

Like in Goffman (1987, 2004), gender representations in advertising are connected with the hyper-ritualization of body and its image. Thus, the portrayals of masculinity and femininity introduce naive and factious scenes of reality, abbreviated statements, and simulated actions that reflect the gender structures in society. However, they do not usually cope with reality. Instead, they manifest the expected gender differences and similarities of the real world.

Current gender constructions manifest the new roles of masculinity and femininity in society. However, they still reflect the social division and hierarchies. For Bordo (2004), this is just the inversion of the male gaze where women take the male power.

“The taking on of the “male” power as a self-mastery is another locus where, for all their surface dissimilarities, the shedding of weight and the development of muscle intersect. Appropriately, “the joy of cooking” (ad) takes place in the gym... advertising exploits the association of female body-bundling with liberation from a traditional, domestic destiny” (p. 211)

Modern advertising has employed new esthetic and rhetoric codes to portray gender. Many of these new representations are connected with the new masculinities. As Del Moral (2000) argues, advertisers have found on the male body an instrument for drawing the attention of women and men. For Boni (2002), this is much more like a device of monitor and control, in the way male portrayals have come to encourage the self-surveillance of body, appearance, and health, almost in the same way that representations do with women. Male bodies are on the target of both male and female gaze with marketing purpose and its influence on the body practices that regulate: health, beauty, and sexuality.



FIGURE 9. Gender in advertising. 1. Hunky Dorys. 2. Axe. 3. Nivea. 4. Abercrombie & Fitch. SOURCE: Google Images, 2018.

1.3.2.5. The sexualized body, the commodified body

Sexuality has become an essential feature in postmodern advertising (Gill, 2007). Textual and audiovisual language such as metaphors and snapshots claim for the sexualization of the body. The use of sexual imaginary supports the commodification of the body to promote almost everything (Reichert & Lambiase, 2014).

Advertisers have been prone to objectify the body valuing its sex appeal. Sexual objectification in advertising has implied “valuing people primarily for their sex appeal and setting sexiness as a standard of physical attractiveness” (Nowatski & Morry, 2009). Likewise, advertising has supported an increasing fetishization of the naked body to draw people’s attention on the body rather than the promoted products (Sassatelli, 2009).

Women in advertising are usually depicted as sex objects available for visual inspection, evaluation, and the pleasure of others (Moradi & Huang, 2008). Due to their influence in the body practices and fields such as health, beauty, and sexuality, female bodies are an object for the male gaze and marketing purpose (Boni, 2002). In a content analysis conducted by Tartaglia & Rollero (2015), it was found that female characters were more sexually objectified. Women were depicted as more attractive and seductive in comparison to men. Additionally, women were more frequently presented as subordinate to men and used as decorations or sex objects.

The sexualization of the male body has become relevant in postmodern advertising. Nevertheless, in comparison to female corporality, the commodification of the male body is more fragmented (Méndez, 1995). The male target in advertising is reduced to specific social classes and age groups. Sportswear, perfumes, or underwear focus on the male body to claim their target. Different authors have referred an inversion of the masculine gaze for a female one which focuses on the male body (Boni, 2002).

In combination with hegemonic masculinities (Connell, 2005), the homoerotic esthetic has become prevalent in advertising (Boni, 2002; Fouz-Hernandez, 2013). The commercial value of such esthetic is highly debatable due to the increasing use of such imagery in different products. Homoerotic aesthetics has been assumed as natural in Western societies. Similarly, the sexualized male body has been adopted as a commercial pull (Reichert & Lambiase, 2014).

The depiction of sexuality in advertising is an essential component for people's curiosity. Naked and sexualized bodies are usually attractive, especially for male adolescents (Merskin (2004). With this regard, current research has claimed the fetishization of young girl's sexuality (Das & Sharma, 2016). An overabundance of erotic codes permeates in advertising, making children vulnerable to this content. Fashion advertising imagery is full of photographs with women dressed down while young girls are dressed up as adults. Advertising has hypersexualized the image of young girls in body figures such as Lolita, in body portrayals for male consumption (Durham, 2010; Merskin, 2004).

The hypersexualization of body is a more frequent phenomenon presented in all type of advertising. Authors such as Gill (2007) and Medina-Bravo & Talarns in press) reflect on an increasing commodification of the sexualized body connected to postfeminist values. For Gill, advertisers have attempted to incorporate the cultural power and energy of feminism constructing a figure that materializes the female sexual agency. However, this is a simultaneously neutralizing or domesticating force which deserves a social/political critique.

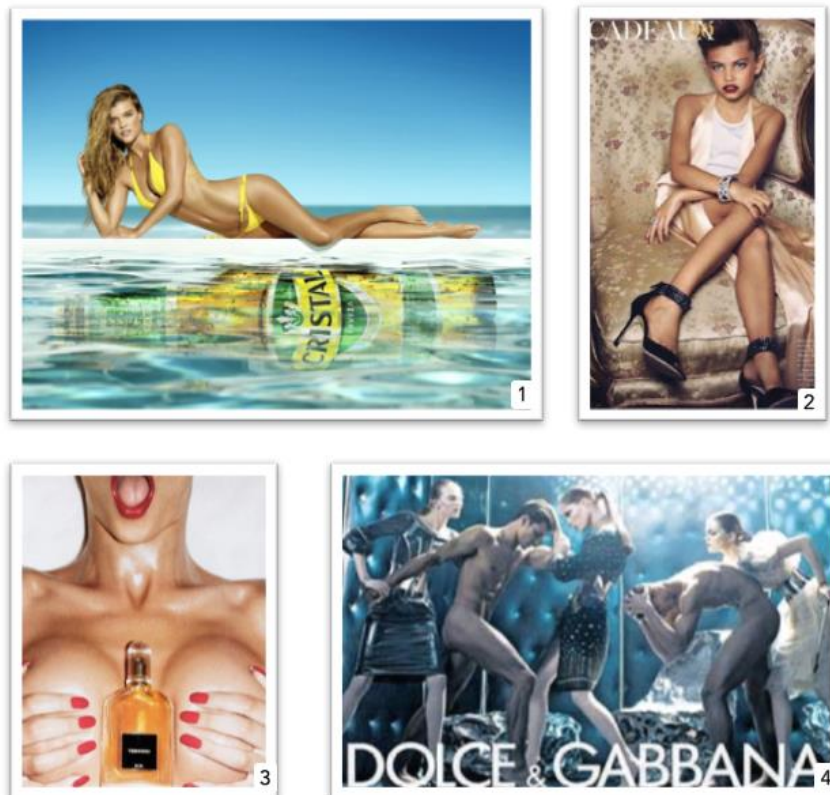


FIGURE 10. The sexualized body in advertising. 1. Cristal. 2. Cadeux. 3. Tom Ford. 4. Dolce & Gabbana. SOURCE: Google Images, 2018.

1.3.2.6. The young body, the body of prestige

As the beautiful or the slender body, the image of the young body represents many positive aspects of advertising. Youth is observed in relation to material values such as success, happiness, and prestige (Carter, 2016; Wolf, 2002). Conversely, advertising is still far from featuring the old body (Simcock & Lynn, 2006). As Brown & Knight (2015) discuss, it seems that in the last 50 years, aging has become problematic.

Advertising has been defined either for struggling aging or accepting this relativizing the age as an indicator (Pochintesta, 2012). Images of the body are retouched to avoid wrinkles or flaccid flesh (Harrison & Hefner, 2014). Furthermore, advertising features textual and visual effects to praise the youthful body image (López-Cantos, 2016).

Female bodies are usually shown hiding the distinctive signs of physical aging (wrinkles and grey hair) confirming that the old body is not a desirable image or appropriate image (Pochintesta, 2012). In their content analysis, Brown & Knight (2015) determined that advertisements provided a narrow range of images representing women's physical appearance and age. On their part, Robinson, Gustafson, & Popovich (2008) observed that the image of senior adults is still stigmatized.

Both aging well and successful aging are two critical issues in advertising (Brown & Knight, 2015; Carrigan & Szmigin, 2000). Advertising claims people for body care through the consumption of products and the incorporation of new habits (Crawford, 2006). Corporations rely on advertising message to spread and modify cultural beliefs informing individuals of a range of options that propose liberation from the problem of aging (Brown & Knight, 2015). Food, health and beauty corporations feature beautiful, youthful models in their advertisements to introduce their products as a cure for the aging process.

Re-signifying aging is one of the most critical roles of advertising in consumer society (Carter, 2016). To this respect, advertising claims to keep young as a way to rejuvenate and prolong life and career. Advertising takes part as an expert knowledge which advice on how to avoid losing youthful appearance (Bordo, 2004).

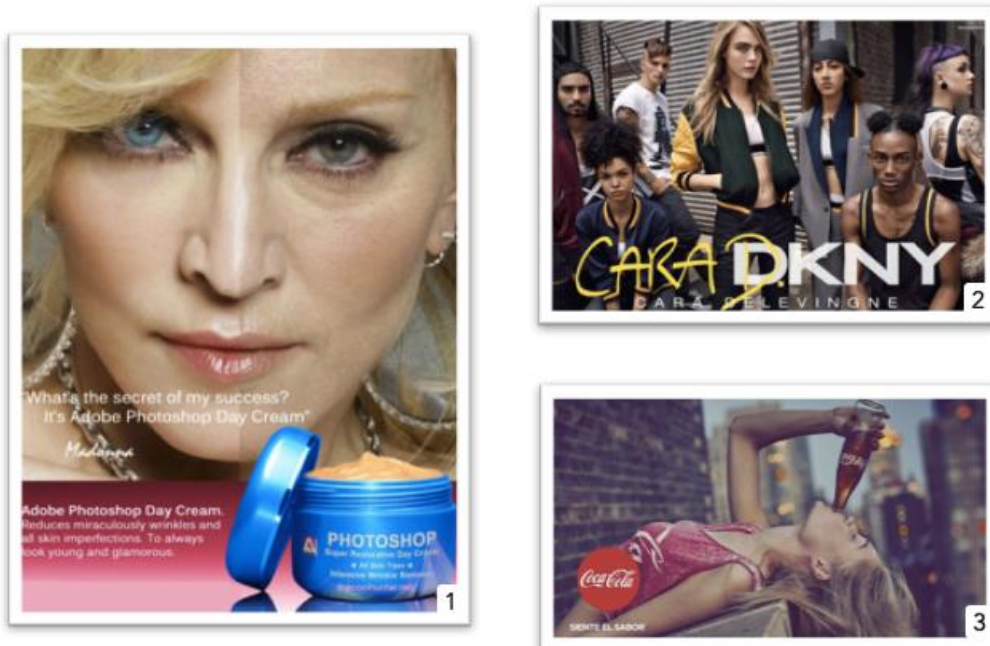


FIGURE 11. The young body in advertising. 1. Adobe Photoshop. 2. DNK. 3. Coca Cola. Source: Google Images, 2018.

1.3.2.7. The modified body, the body of the makeover culture

Modifying the body is a common practice in people's life (Duch & Melich, 2012). Media culture has introduced new ways to modify/alter the body image and appearance making invisible the body imperfections (Grogan, 2016). Advertisers are likely to edit images in advertising to change their composition. From airbrushing to full manipulations, body image portrayals become aesthetic compositions that catch the attention of consumers. By contrast, real or natural body images are rarely observed on the screen (Bissell, 2006).

Photoshop is a universal applied technique in advertising. From beauty products to fashion and entertainment, editing image is a common practice in almost all advertisements. Altering image has become an ordinary practice that most people modify their appearance on social networking and online dating sites (Donovan, 2012; Fox & Vendemia, 2016; Hancock & Toma, 2009).

The manipulation of body image has become a requisite in commercial production. Advertisers alter the appearance of characters to promote products and services for the fashion, health, entertainment, and beauty industries (Harrison, 2010). "The advent of Photoshop has made a once unattainable image

of beauty and perfection much less a figment of the imagination and much more tangible reality, leaving beauty in the hands of its digital creator" (Brown, 2014, p.87).

Body image modification in advertising considers facial modifications such as wrinkle elimination, make-up, styling, lighting which are used to produce outcomes that remove natural physical features and body imperfections (Harrison, 2010). Moreover, advertising has been widely criticized for body seizing and the enlargement of body parts, managing body image ideals impossible to achieve (Waller, 2015).

Advertising has contributed to the idealization of beauty and slender ideals. To this respect, it has frequently emphasized the idea that the female body is imperfect, an incomplete body or a project in construction. In fact, according to the type of advertising, different degrees of perfection or imperfection are highlighted (González, Juárez & Ludeña, 2012).

Body image modification is a powerful drive to conduct body image dissatisfaction (Owen & Spencer, 2013). As different research has shown the exposure to thin models and celebrities may conduct to body image dissatisfaction (Harrison 2010). The discrepancy between the portrayals of beauty or slenderness and self-body image may be a source of anxiety for adult and young populations (Cano, 2003).

Although the use of digital retouch in advertising is widely recognized, most people still experience some trouble to identify modified the altered elements in advertising (Harrison & Hefner, 2014). Conversely, providing people with skills to identify how body image is digitally altered may help them to deal with the pervasive effects of advertising (Harrison, 2010).

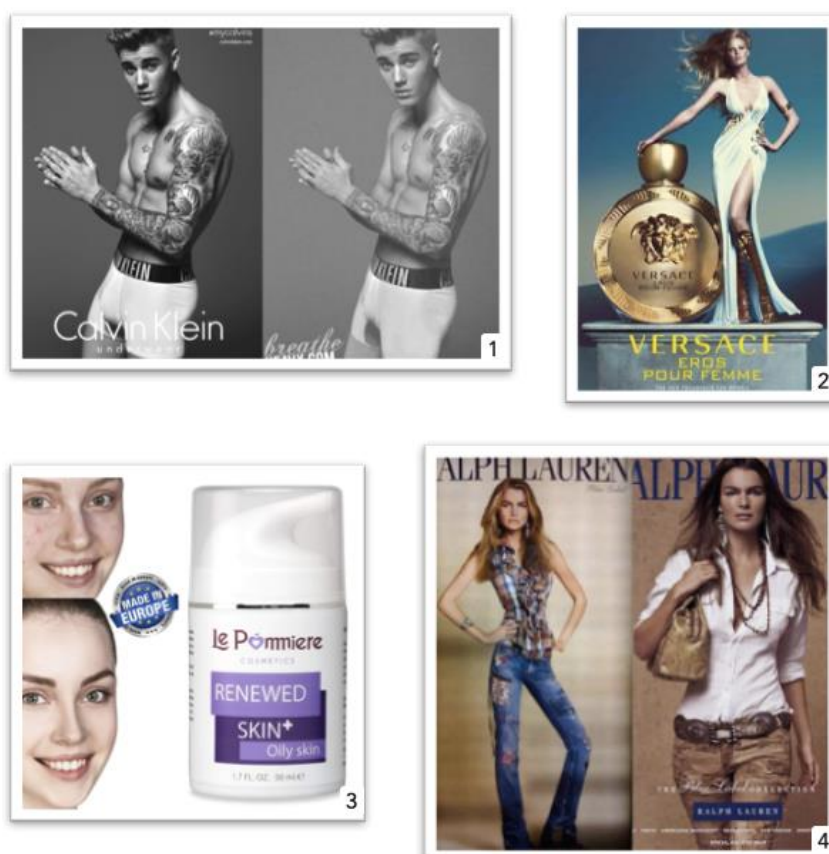


FIGURE 12. The modified body in advertising. 1. Calvin Klein. 2. Versace. 3. Le Pommier. 3. Ralph Lauren. SOURCE: Google Images, 2018.

1.3.2.8. The fragmented body, the anatomized body

Advertisers have played with body representations in different ways. As previously discussed, the depiction of body image portrayals has been the object for visual modifications. Furthermore, the image of the body has been used as a rhetoric resource in advertising language (Tebbel, 2000). In this sense, advertising has not necessarily focused on depicting a full-body image, but on cognitively creating it by focusing on the body parts.

Advertising has introduced the anatomization of the body to promote specific products, to objectify the body (as a commodity) or to sexualize it. For instance, advertising for beauty products has emphasized the beauty ideals focusing on the appearance of face connecting attractiveness with stereotypes such as the white, youthful and beautiful model (Kaur, Arumugam & Yunus, 2013). Fashion advertising has praised the slender body type. Garments and accessories are

shown in very slim models (Donovan, 2012). Advertising for diet products has seized those body parts where fat is accumulated (Krahé & Krause, 2010). Lastly, a large variety of products have seized body parts such as the abdomen, buttocks or genitals to catch audience attention (Gill, 2009).

Body image representations are hardly separated from identities. In this sense, the female body has been mostly represented. With this regard, following Goffman (2002), the feminization in advertising is part of a ritualized language. Seizing female body parts is essential if not naturalized resource in advertising composition. Female hands have become a very common element in advertising to demonstrate products. Female face and mouth are visual components used to infer emotions.

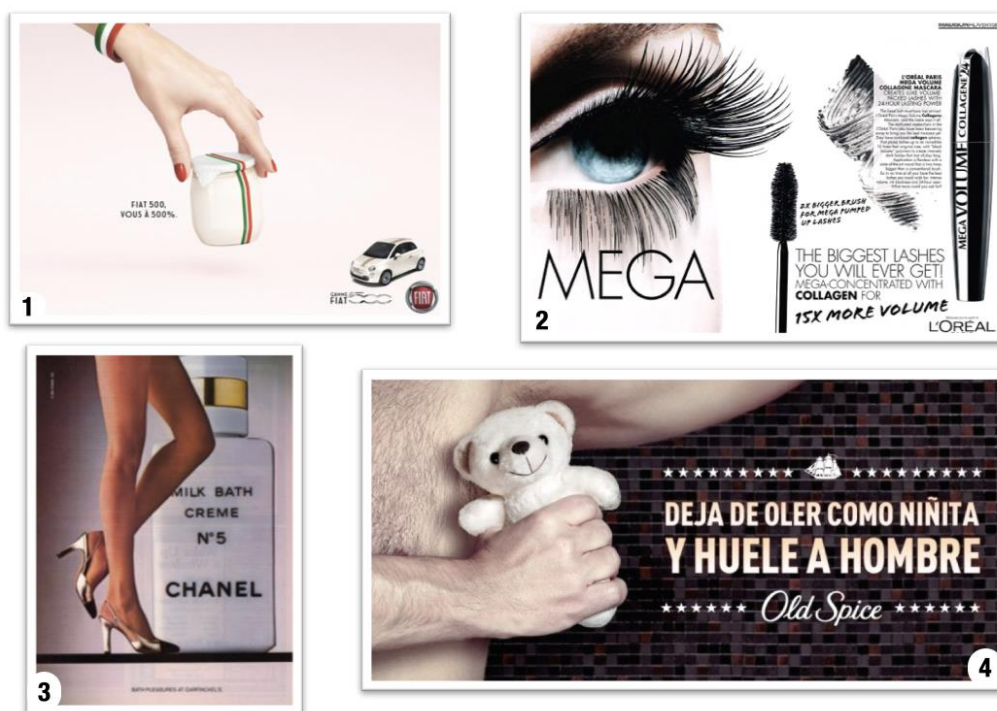


FIGURE 13. The fragmented body in advertising. 1. Fiat. 2. Mega L’Oreal. 3. Chanel. 4. Old Spice. SOURCE: Google Images, 2018.

Modern advertising has focused on new physical traits such as the skin and its appearance (Hunter, 2011). In this sense, skin currently works as a proliferating metaphor indicating status, youth, and attractiveness. Although this discourse may have been mostly targeted to middle-aged women, there is an increasing number of products that target men and young population. The audiovisual

language used in advertising works as a hermeneutical resource that shows the quality and defects in the skin. Advertising introduces anxieties such as skin aging or flaccid flesh at the same time it seduces the audience showing the benefits of advertised products (Bordo, 2004).

1.3.2.9. The body with no image, the cognitive body

Body image is not always depicted in advertising. However, it does not mean advertising discourse does not refer to body imaginary. Not all advertisements use character portrayals to show the products or services they advertise. Nevertheless, body image emerges as a cognitive construction composed of social discourses, metaphors, and the intertextuality of its message.

With brand personalization, advertised products have been featured as characters with personality (Eguizabal, 2007). Similarly, many of these have been depicted with physical and personal traits of humans. Advertisers play with shapes, colors, and figures to recreate images of friendly products. They have made-up fictional situations to refer to fictional features of products/brands as characters.

The lack of physical materiality (body) is regulated through the control of sensations and sensibilities, though (Featherstone, 2006; Scribano, 2012). In this sense, as discussed by Lakoff & Johnson (cited in Featherstone, 2006), the bodily experience is embedded in 'the bodily mind'. Metaphors and intertextuality of advertising message suggest the way to perceive the body and reconstitute the body imaginary.

Although the mind itself is embodied and delimited by the horizons of the flesh, it is insufficient to see the body as a mere surface to subscribe, as a carrier of social signs (Featherstone, 2006). The body goes beyond itself: its materiality (flesh), image, and movement (Scribano, 2012). The body is the locus where information meets, the object/subject that shapes society and culture.



FIGURE 14. The body with no image in advertising. 1. Special K. 2. Thiomucase. 3. Nutriclinic. Ellen. SOURCE: Google Images, 2018.

1.4. SOME CONCLUDING IDEAS

This chapter has introduced the main concepts and theories to understand the role of body and body image in postmodern society. Furthermore, it has discussed the role of media in body image construction. Following some exemplary research works, it has underscored the significant media effects on body image construction. Finally, under a sociocultural perspective, it has deepened on the role of advertising, specifically on body image representations. Some relevant arguments to highlight from the chapter are:

- The body is an essential support in the postmodern society. Either as an object or a subject, the body is a key figure in the construction of identity. The body is the key to all of the enjoyments and sensations in the consumer society. With this regard, the social theory of the body is a fundamental approach to understand the relevance of the body, its issues, and concerns.

- Following the discussions in the social theory, body image can be argued as an objective and subjective construction is connected to power relations that shape identity. Body image is an object in dispute. Individuals construct their body image as they build their identities. They are subjected to rationalities that regulate and discipline their body and image.
- Body image construction has come exerted through the manipulation of both cognitive and social processes. Different factors affect people's body image (the Individual or personal factors; the family and the peers and the sociocultural factors). Those related to the media and its content are some of the most relevant as the drive populations to the body cult.
- Media plays an essential role in the construction and reproduction of body image. Media disseminates and prescribes information that mediates in the construction of the body and its image. Likewise, it participates as a disseminator of body image ideals, as a mediator in the configuration of the self-body image, as a promoter of body practices and as a supporter of the body values in the market.
- Advertising is a communication system which reflects the body imaginary in society. Similarly, it is a disciplinary device which offers information and pedagogical tools for the management/control of corporality. It provides the audience with information and sociocultural models to construct body image and identity.
- Advertising is a system of representation, and therefore an object for the consumption of body imaginary. Besides, it is a conduit to legitimize the ethos of consumer society. It is a display to praise positive body values, constructing differences, nulling diversity, and building stereotypes.
- Advertising is an important source of collective representations which provide signs of identity. Nevertheless, the representations of body image in advertising are aimed to fulfill specific interests. Representations in advertising display according to the body values and the interests of corporations.
- Advertising message has supported on constitutive features of corporeality and identity such as ethnicity, the body shape and figure, the performed actions, gender, sexuality, age, the body imperfection and the language rhetoric's to appeal the body image. Moreover, advertising is a biased form of communication. It fragments reality and nulls cultural diversity.

2. ADVERTISING TO CHILDREN

For a long time, research has focused on studying advertising to children. Several studies have referred to advertising addressed to children in many different ways. Where some authors have warned about its powerful effects on children's attitudes, knowledge and behaviors, (e.g. Boyland & Halford, 2013; Harris, Bargh & Brownell 2009; Rozendaal, Buijzen & Valkenburg, 2011), some others have questioned its sole efficacy (e.g. Buckingham, 2011; Livingstone, 2006: Kunkel, 2001). A general agreement prevails; advertising has a mediating role in children's development as well as in the configuration of their identities and sociabilities.

Children get immersed in a world of consumption and consumerism directed by advertising. They get familiar with products and brands through a blast of explicit and implicit messages disseminated in the media landscape (Kinsky & Bichard, 2011) as they are raised as present and future consumers (Jacobson, 2004). From an early age, children learn to classify and compared brands (Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2004). They established their preferences and attitudes according to what is suggested in the advertising message.

The presence of advertising messages is currently condensed in a multimedia environment (Livingstone, 2006). Despite the growing presence of digital media, television is still the primary source of advertising media to reach children (Buckingham, 2009). The access of children to their own television, as well as the presence of embedded advertising in digital media, makes advertising a relevant mediator in children's individual and social spheres.

This chapter discusses children's relation to television advertising. Firstly, it offers a contextual analysis to understand the basis and function of advertising to children. Secondly, it argues the role of television advertising and the tactics to persuade children. The third part of the chapter expands on television advertising research. Finally, the chapter addresses the way adults have come to mediate the effects of the advertising message.

2.1. THE RISE OF THE CHILD CONSUMER AND ADVERTISING TO CHILDREN

There is a general agreement that child consumption existed before the modern era of marketing and advertising (Cook, 2004; Ewen, 2008; Jacobson, 2004). Products for children, such as toys, books, clothes, were already manufactured and sold before the massive child market existed (Lusted, 2010). The emergence of the child consumer is a recent phenomenon, however. Chiefly stimulated by the growth of the consumer society, the materialization of a child consumer elucidates why advertising to children is so relevant in postmodern societies (Jacobson, 2004, Lusted, 2010; Postman, 1985; Schor, 2014).

Children and advertising are closely interrelated. For some authors such relation is a complex phenomenon that, on the one hand, encompasses the structuring of a consumer society which influences the identities and sociabilities of children, and on the other, frames a sociocultural system based on children's agency, demands and rights as consumers (Buckingham, 2011; Kunkel, 2001).

2.1.1. The child consumer

Different perspectives have approached the child consumer. A first perspective has observed the child consumer as a historical referent in the economic development of industry and market (Cook, 2004; Ewen, 2008; Jacobson, 2004; Lusted, 2010). A second approach has shaped the child as an object of study, whereby it is possible to observe the sociocultural dynamics (Linn, 2004; Schor, 2004). Whatever the stance is, the child consumer is a category that has come to shape and be shaped by the role of advertising, (re)defining the social construction of childhood (Jacobson, 2004) and the image of the material child (Buckingham, 2011).

The child consumer appeared for the first time in the late XIX century (Jacobson, 2004). Nevertheless, it was until the early XX century when the child figured as a target for consumption. Marketers and advertisers were responsible for fostering the child as a consumer (Cook, 2004). Alongside the different advertising campaigns, children were portrayed as the prototype for the consumption of goods and services.

The child figure was not embraced as a child marketing or advertising strategy in early advertising. As different authors discuss, children were more likely to be used as seducers (Presbrey, 2000; Jacobson, 2004; Young, 1998). The child image was considered as an element of communication, aimed to transmit in product/brand choice positive child values such as innocence, intelligence, and confidence but to seduce adults (Figure 15).

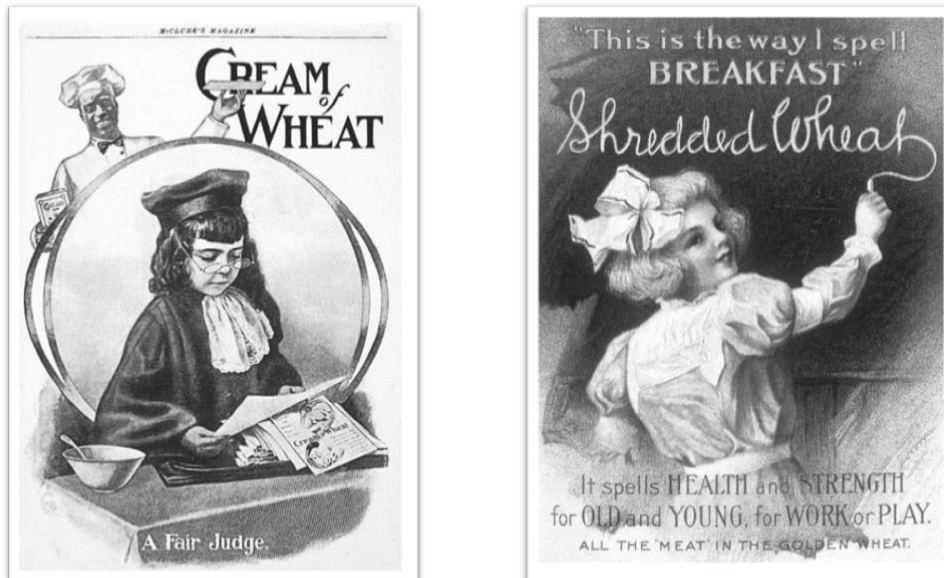


FIGURE 15. The child image in advertising. SOURCE: KF Holdings Cream of Wheat and Shredded Wheat, in Jacobson, 2004.

In the words of Jacobson (2004),

“During the decades between 1880 and 1910, advertising to children was quite limited and done mostly to imprint lasting impressions on future adult buyers. But even during this very tentative phase of children’s marketing, advertisers began to toy with the idea that children possessed a consumer consciousness. Turn-of-the-century advertising iconography, trading on new cultural ideals of childhood that prized children as much for their spunk and savvy as their innocence, often celebrated the child’s discerning, if not somewhat greedy, consumer appetites” (p. 3).

The food industry was one of the first corporations to target children as potential consumers (Parkin, 2006). To this respect, print advertising played an essential role in constructing and promoting such prescriptions. In the United States, Campbell, Kellogg's, Quaker Oats, National Biscuit and more, relied upon magazine and press advertising to expand their business and build brand consciousness among children and adolescents (Jacobson, 2004).

Corporations did not look for every child to be targeted during early advertising. Advertisers mostly addressed high and middle-class children (Presbrey, 2000). The representation of bourgeois child and families was essential in early advertising. In this sense, advertisers praised for positive and immanent values of class and childhood.

More than half a century before television enchanted the baby boom generation; middle-class children had become targets of advertising and prominent figures incorporate dreams of market expansion. Business courted their patronage in the advertising pages of juvenile magazines and enlisted their aid as selling agents within the home. Movie palaces tempted children with thrilling celluloid adventures, dime stores, and candy shops drained spending allowances and spare change from their pockets, and department stores enveloped them in a juvenile dreamworld of lavish toy departments and stylish clothing. (Jacobson, 2004, p.20).

Although early advertising already addressed goods to children, the conception of child consumer was still mostly observed as passive and/or marginal. Early twentieth-century advertisers portrayed the child as a discerning consumer, yet they suggested that the engagement of the child consumer with the world of commerce did not need taint childhood innocence (Jacobson, 2004). Consumption practices were mostly directed to parents. Advertising used to appeal to parents by framing product preferences in favor of child pleasure and enjoyment (Cook, 2004; Ewen, 2008; Jacobson, 2004). Mothers were the first group to be targeted with products for children. "Advertisers relied on appealing to mothers to buy products for their children rather than addressing kids directly" (Lusted, 2010, p19).

The sociocultural transformations during the first half of the twentieth-century were critical in the configuration of market and consumption. The economic and political interests of a growing market collided with the financial crises and war conflicts. Such phenomenon conducted to global changes that interfered in the transformation of corporations and consumers during the second half of the century. The structuring of the consumer society made a turnover in most western

societies. The segmentation and personalization of markets would provide an opportunity for corporations to get rid of crises and find new revenues (Corrales, 2015).

With the consolidation of the consumer society, the market included the child as a new massive consumer (Calvert, 2008; Jacobson, 2004). Children who used to be seen as passive and innate agents were no longer seen as a worthless segment. Young consumers were placed as relevant actors in the development of a market economy (Sassatelli, 2007). The exploitation of a child market brought significant economic benefits for the corporations, especially in the industrialized and wealthy countries (Jacobson, 2004).

The child market was necessary at least for two reasons. Following Jacobson (2004), it contributed to the construction and configuration of new consumers: the family and the child. With this regard, most family values changed with the modification of their consumption habits. Similarly, it promoted the imaginary of self-autonomy and independence. New forms of consumption also promoted democratic spending and individuation, a social phenomenon that was consistent with the evolving socio-cultural values of consumer society.

The child market ignited the fantasy of massive profits for corporations. The commencement of a child market was highly crucial for the economic growth of many corporations which rapidly include in their market products for children such as cereal, milk or shampoo or services such as credit cards, bank accounts and leisure (Hua, 1998; Jacobson, 2004; Lusted, 2010). Product segmentation was on the run for child personalization. Food, textile, and cosmetic industry started to manufacture products for children (Cohen, 2004).

The figure of the child consumer is transcendental in the history of postmodern societies. The constitution of the child consumer redefined not only the course of the global market but also the construction of children's roles and identities.

Based on the conclusions of current discussions and research (Buckingham, 2011; Cook, 2004; Ewen, 2008; Jacobson, 2004; Linn, 2004; Lusted, 2010; Schor, 2004) four can be considered the significant milestones around the emergence of the child consumer:

1. The child consumer is a social mediator in family consumption. Family spending is currently organized according to children's needs and demands. The annual expenditure of western families is determined in the number of children, their gender and age.
2. The child consumer is currently positioned as an economic actor who mediates in the structuring of global and the home economy. Most children in developed societies have their own economic power. From early ages, children get a payment which they already learn how to administrate.
3. The child consumer is a political actor. Similar to the female figure, the inclusion and participation of the child in the market have (re)shaped the political position of young actors. Thus, not only children have redefined the economy of the market but also the values of society.
4. The child consumer is a historical actor. The child consumer is the consequences of the pragmatics of current society: the new configuration of families, parenting styles and values. Just to have it in mind, current child consumers are the first generation raised by parents who had a consuming childhood.

The construction of the child consumer is derived from a sociopolitical project of early capitalism. The ignition of the child market played in favor of the growing of the corporations and the bourgeoning of societies (Buckingham, 2011; Cook, 2004). The implementation of an ideological, political and economical apparatus such as the consumer society paved the way for its evolution and reconfiguration (Sassatelli, 2007).

Media communication, on its part, played a significant role in its consolidation. With child consumption, market legitimized the family consumption, a primary virtue of the emerging middle-classes (Schor, 2014). Through the depicted fantasies and imaginaries in television and movies, media confirmed the role individuals should take in the consumer society

The appearance and evolution of child market was the basis for the development of a well-specialized discipline focused on children's attitudes and child consumer behavior, the marketing. Professionals from different disciplines adopted vast social and psychological theories in order to transform the global economy. The consolidation of marketing as a discipline promoted the evolution of advertising which was a crucial communication tool in defining transferring the values of the child market and framing him/her as a consumer.

2.1.2. Advertising to child consumers

Different social actors have contributed to building the child consumer, for instance, market, family, and society. Media has been one of the most influential. Along the twentieth century to date, print, audiovisual, and digital media have supported the emergence and sophistication of this figure. Advertising, on its part, has come to occupy a pedagogical role in raising consumers (Jacobson, 2004). It has performed as a schemer schema in the configuration of knowledge, practices, and identities.

The advertising message is the primary source of interaction with the child consumer (Oates, Blades & Gunter, 2002). From an early age, children interact with colors, music, and moving images. Different research works have established children as young as three-year-old are familiar with brand names and products (Aktas Arnas, 2006; Kinsky & Bichard, 2011; Nicklas et al., 2001). To some extent, the advertising message is the first consumption experience for children.

The market has established a dialogical relationship with society through advertising message. On the one hand, advertising's discourse consists of ideas about goods and services, but on the other, it constructs a secondary discourse about society and culture (Leiss, Kline & Jhally, 1990). Narratives and images from society are woven into advertising messages. The borrowed references are fused with products and returned to cultural discourse (Leiss et al., 1990). Likewise, the audience has adopted much of the representations and imaginaries prescribed by advertising message coping with the contradictions of its message (Gill, 2008).

Advertising to children has sought for the legitimation of consumption as fun and pleasure for the middle-class families. Through advertising discourse, the market has introduced new ideologies that modify the consumption of children and their families. Pine & Nash (2002) have observed how celebrations such as Christmas have changed their meaning for children. The overabundance of advertising messages prescribing this celebration in commercial terms has caused children to observe it as an opportunity for toy consumption.

Consuming advertising is the very first experience whereby children constitute a consumer habitus. From very early years, children train cultural schemes to operate in a more economical and commercial world (Buckingham, 2007). As different research observes, advertising takes a pedagogical role in the formation of child consumer. Children acquire skills and abilities to operate with brands, logos, and products (Aktas-Arnas, 2006; Buckingham, 2007; Buckingham & Sefton

Green; 2003; Cook, 2004; Nicklas et al., 2001; Kinsky & Bichard, 2011). As discussed in the previous chapter, advertising grants a consumer identity and the making sense of culture through the mere act of consuming ads.

Contrary to the prevailing discourse, the current consumer culture does not conduct children to a hedonistic ethos (Corrales, 2005; Jacobson, 2004). Advertisers instrumentalized the child consumer to reproduce social and economic order. They keep the effort to sustain a rational consumer situated in different social positions (class, gender, age) by framing children's identities and socialization.

Marketers have targeted children over 100 years (Blades et al., 2014). Children have become full-fledged participants in the burgeoning consumer economy (Jacobson, 2004). The ignition of an economy based on the child consumer was the commencement of the marketers and advertiser's fantasies for widening profits. Similarly, it was the ignition of the fears of the American families who lost control over children's socialization.

2.1.3. Shaping identities

Advertising is not only used to recall brands, products or services but also to construct meanings and make sense of them in the consumer society (Corrales, 2005; Eguizábal, 2007; Ibáñez, 2012). Thus, the pivotal role of advertising in post-modern society has been the structuring of a society of individuals through the production and reproduction of knowledge and practices (Lull, 2000; Wharton, 2013).

Marketers and advertisers have considered young consumers as key actors in the consumer society. To this respect, they both have contributed to the definition of child consumer in the different cultures around the globe (Buckingham, 2011). Advertising has reflected the popular conceptions and expressions of the child consumer and reinforced the different ways they experience capitalism (Jacobson, 2004; Lusted, 2010).

Advertising has forged hegemonic identities. The child consumer has been instrumentalized through its representation (Hill, 2011; Preston & White, 2004). The good, the tender, the innocent child are representations subjected to social positions and figurations throughout the history of consumer society. Such phenomenon has been quietly represented by different child characters and

icons around the globe, from Peter Pan to Ben 10, the Little Mermaid to Dora the Explorer (Kunkel, 2001) (Figure 16).

The exacerbation of the child consumer is a cultural phenomenon of capitalist societies (Buckingham, 2011). Nevertheless, since the early years, advertisers have overrepresented and misrepresented childhood within its message (Jacobson, 2004). Most advertising message has derived in the demarcation of child identities: a segregated representation, plus the stereotyping of child figures (Bang & Reece, 2003).



FIGURE 16. Child characters in merchandised products. SOURCE: Tosta Rica, 2016.

Advertisers have mostly favored the boys' world. In concrete, the child consumer has been mostly represented by white intrepid male characters. Following Jacobson (2004), advertising has traditionally framed the boy-identity as an exuberant consumer, eager to spend their allowances or earnings. "Advertisers took special care to associate boys' enthusiasm for consumer goods with manly enthusiasms for business endeavors, technological innovation, and modernity" (p. 5). Meanwhile, girls' representation remained minimal in child advertising, and when occurred, they were attached to less positive values. Advertisers paid tribute to the young female consumers by addressing the adolescent girl, invoking stereotypical notions of female consumption.

Moreover, advertising has traditionally favored white American children. Advertisers have failed to include black and other minority children in advertising message (Bang & Reece, 2003). Although the numerical representation of black child characters has increased, many of these continue performing as buffoonish or demeaning characters which is consistent with the model representations discussed in the previous chapter.

The representation and overrepresentation of the child imaginary in advertising illustrate the trepidation of the sociocultural concept of childhood. Advertising reconstructs and represents how to be a child in consumer culture (Preston, 2004). Such representations not only do remind the audience's identitarian images, but also the values attached to these. Therefore, how to be a boy, a girl is imbricated to the imaginaries of the capitalist society. Conversely, many child identities are still invisible in the world of advertising. Working-class, poor and immigrant children are observed out of the commercial amusement although they are still on the base of the production assembly line (Jacobson, 2004).

2.1.4. Consumers and citizens

Child consumer has traditionally been observed as a vulnerable actor who acts in the benefit of the market. Since the early development of the consumer society, activists and educators have warned about the perils of marketing and advertising (Jacobson, 2004; Lusted, 2010). Different research has made an effort to demonstrate that under the premises of romantic and well-intention campaigns, there is manipulation of brands and corporation to raise consumers (Blades, Oates & Blumberg, 2014; Schor, 2014).

Advertising has conventionally persuaded children to possess. It persuades children to buy products they do not need and spend money they may not have (Young, 1998). Marketers seduce children to buy toys, food, and entertainment (Lusted, 2010). Both marketing and advertising emphasize on possessions and on aspiring to a particular lifestyle. Nevertheless, such instrumental perspective of advertising has systematically limited the other side of the phenomenon, the active role of children. The fact that children are observed as repositories of the consuming culture has narrowed the analysis of how children drift the consumer culture and how they deal with advertising message (Buckingham, 2011; Livingstone, 2006).

Corporations have raised child consumers even before they are born. The structuring of the consumer culture in capitalist societies has assured the framing

and reproduction of consumer habitus since early childhood (Calvert, 2008). Children can recognize brands and logos before they can read (Kinsky & Bichard, 2011). Additionally, they participate in the choice of family products (Katke, 2007) and holiday destinations (Gram, 2007a). As a consequence, children have come to appreciate advertising as something in its own right (Bartholomew and O'Donohoe, 2003; O'Donohoe, 2001). As children consumption habits are trained, they have become interested in television commercials (Buckingham, 2007).

From the baby-boomers to present generations, advertising has become part of popular culture and the social unconscious. In all consumer societies around the globe, advertising campaigns have become part of children's history and cultural identity. Children talk about the ads, refer to characters and plots. They enjoy ads, make parodies of them, draw knowledge, and make sense of message by puzzling the execution of marketing campaigns (O'Donohoe, 2001).

Children incorporate advertising into their life and their memory even before advertisers firmly embraced them as consumers. Many companies have produced games and inserted advertising in children's play. Children have become competitive sticker, card, and Tazo collectors. Such a phenomenon has modified children's identities and culture. "Competitive collecting sometimes even transformed children into volunteer salespeople who worked on advertisers' behalf. One enterprising schoolboy became the envy of the schoolyard when he amassed the first complete fifty-card set of card collection". (Jacobson, 2004, p. 20).

The consolidation of the child consumer ignited the alarms in most western societies. Families and caregivers warned about the risks and perils children were exposed through the exploitation of the market (Jacobson, 2004). Nevertheless, to the negative attitudes toward the market, advertisers managed positively. As negative attitudes and perceptions toward products appear, marketers introduce consumption insights. Despite the reluctance of society, advertisers reach children and play a mediating role in their consumption habits, learning, and development (Lusted, 2010).

To the general mistrust and unconformity, most adults claim for regulation to manage and avoid the social and mental risks related to advertising exposition. Nevertheless, most academics, reformers, and educators agree on the need to perform media and advertising education to understand the flux information provided by media and the effects of the advertising message. Overall, the general consideration is to think on the child consumer not only as an actor

immersed in the consumption system but as a citizen who is on the right to participate and have rights in the consumer culture (Buckingham, 2011; O'Donohoe, 2001).

The fact of considering that children are children, and therefore they are voiceless in the market -being the adults who decide and protect them- is an adult-centric vision that denies the possibility of thinking about the equality of minors. In this sense, as Buckingham (2013) criticizes, it is necessary to think about the role of minors beyond considering passive consumers of goods, but as active subjects who build identity and citizenship with their participation in the market. From this vision, children are conceived as subjects with rights against any vision that subordinates them to adults.

2.2. CHILDREN AND TELEVISION ADVERTISING

Media has a dominant role in children's lives. In comparison to a century ago, children inhabit a 'media-rich' environment (Livingstone 2002). From books to digital podcasts, media is part of children's growing and development (Buckingham, 2008; Livingstone & Sefton-Green, 2016; Pecora, Murray & Wartella, 2009). Media is a leading leisure activity for children and teenagers. Young people spend more time with media than they do with other activities (Rideout, Foehr & Roberts, 2010; Strasburger, Jordan & Donnerstein, 2010; Strasburger et al., 2013)

Despite the increasingly digital environment, television is still important for children. According to different studies, children spend almost a third of their free time watching television (Kids Diary Study, 2016). Seven out of ten children watch more than four hours of TV every week (Van Coillie & Raedts, 2014). Watching television is part of children's daily agenda. Before and after school, while doing homework and until bedtime, television is a temporal organizer of child's activities (Buckingham, 2009; Gunter & McAaller, 2005; Kunkel, 2001; Narberhaus, 2016). Indeed, for some children watching television is considered as one of the life necessities (Hanley, 2000).

Television consumption varies from country to country (European Social Survey, 2012). Nevertheless, some consumption trends remain similar across different countries. Children —aged 5 to 9— are large television viewers. They are likely to consume multimodal television, and be exposed to unhealthy and banned

content (Domínguez, Schade & Fuenzalida, 2016; Lissner et al., 2012; Medrano, Morentín & Apodaca, 2015; Sáenz et al., 2001).

Television is still the primary source of entertainment for children (Buckingham, 2007). However, far from this naturalistic appreciation, television is an essential social mediator that affect children's perception of reality (Kunkel, 2001). Television has been pointed out to influence children's attitudes and behaviors. Different research has correlated television viewing with violent attitudes (Coker et al., 2016; Gebner, 2018), eating and unhealthy behaviors (LeBlanc et al., 2015; Sahoo et al., 2015, and the reproduction of social stereotypes (Grau & Zotos, 2016; Harris et al., 2015).

By the contrary, research has also highlighted the positive effects of television consumption¹³. Television has been observed as an educational tool. Since a very early age, children learn from popular culture. Television programs, films, music video clips, and advertising are pedagogical resources for children (Anderson & Pempek, 2005; Fisch, 2014; Kondo & Steemers, 2007). In a qualitative study in the United Kingdom, families and educators stressed the learning experiences children acquired by watching television programs (Hanley, 2000). Parents and teachers emphasized the pedagogical role of television for learning from programs and advertising. Other authors such as Hogan & Strasburger (2008) have highlighted the effects of television in adopting pro-social behaviors.

Television has traditionally been considered the one-eyed monster, but it is still a window to the world (Livingstone, 2004). The link it has to the different social experiences of children makes television one the major socialization players of the macro context (Signorielli & Morgan 2001). Moreover, It allows children to reflect society's values and culture (Kondo & Steemers, 2007). Lastly, television is a relevant agent for the socialization of the child consumer. In this way, television advertising has come to play its function.

2.2.1. Television Advertising

Television advertising is the predominant form of communication to address a commercial message to children (Hudders et al., 2015). Since very early ages, children are exposed to a significant number of advertising messages. It is estimated that American children are exposed to 20 000 to 40 advertisements a

¹³ Most research has been aimed to demonstrate the harmful effects of television content. The perception of television as a less positive influence has remained the collective imaginary.

year (Barr, 2010) whereas children in European countries, children consume an average of from 10 000 to 20 000 ads in the same period (Yarrow, 2013). The fact that there is limited control over the advertisements children consume has made television advertising the most invasive medium, reaching children's private spaces such as home and bedroom (Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2004; Gunter & McAaler, 2005).

Television advertising is one of the primary inputs for the consumption of products and culture. With this regard, it cannot be considered in purely commercial terms. Like any other television content, advertising contributes to the acquisition and reproduction of symbolic culture (Sierra-Caballero, 2017). Advertising has taught children how to think about society as well as to frame values and cultural codes. Furthermore, most socialization processes can hardly be understood without the mediation of its message (Corrales, 2015). From short audiovisual pieces to product placement in YouTube channels, advertising plays the role as a mediator shaping consumers' habits and preferences, and in the construction of social imaginary.

Advertising aimed at children is highly diverse. Nonetheless, as most of the television content consumed by children, advertising is not exclusively addressed to them. According to different studies, children socialize with messages aimed at adult public (Oates, Blades & Gunter, 2002). Likewise, children are exposed to unhealthy messages (Royo-Bordonada, 2013), violence (Hanley, 2000) and sexualized content (Durham, 2009).

To the traditional television advertising, new forms of advertising have been incorporated in the last decade. The television environment has changed rapidly due to the introduction of digital media. Following Gunter, Oates & Blades (2005), the new media environment has promoted a new profile of advertisers and more subtle forms of advertising. The traditional commercial spot on television has been supplemented with other means of reaching children. Sponsorship and merchandising are mostly present in children's media environment (Gunter, Oates, & Blades, 2004). The use of subtler forms of advertising means that children may often be unaware of the marketing messages (Kemp, 1999).

By introducing new advertising formats, advertisers have introduced new communication techniques, more diversified, and more pervasive (Kunkel et al., 2004; McNeal, 1992; Story & French, 2004). To this respect, children are exposed to more subtle and sophisticated advertising content. Consequently, freshers concerns have raised among parents and child educators.

2.2.2. Advertising tactics

If it is true that the impact of television advertising has to do with its coverage in children's spaces of socialization, there are some other elements which have been the cause of its success. Not only has television advertising sought to persuade consumers, but also to build a brand/product consciousness (Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2005). The use of advertising tactics has demonstrated to be useful for most of the advertisers who seek to catch the attention of young consumers.

Since its early beginnings, advertising has been considered as a manipulative enterprise to persuade market, with especially powerful effects on young people (Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2005; Jacobson, 2004). In the late fifties, Packard (cited in Blades et al., 2014) already discussed the pervasive role of advertising, addressing that uses of subtle techniques could make people accept whatever sales pitch presented to them, but these could be especially powerful when directed at children.

Researchers have observed the misleading role of advertising as an effort to control advertisers' use of techniques in order to make difficult for children to judge the size, action, performance, or construction of a product (Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2005). To do so, advertisers use a range of broadly tactics and appeals to reach children. Research has evidenced a more extensive use of advertising tactics and appeals in certain products such as food and toys (Buijzen & Valkenburg, 2002; Royo-Bordonada et al., 2016).

Different studies have demonstrated that advertising tactics can unfairly exploit children's desire (McLellan, 2002; Rozendaal, Buijzen & Valkenburg, 2011; Sheehan, 2013). Moreover, they have shown concern for the use of tactics such as exaggeration, fantasy, particular appeals, celebrities, use of metaphors, and special effects (Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2005; Rose, Merchant & Bakir, 2012). On the other hand, some other studies have discussed the emotional and nutritional appeals (Boyland & Halford, 2013).

A study conducted by Rozendaal, Buijzen & Valkenburg (2011) demonstrated that advertising tactics are highly effective on children's desire for consumption. By examining six popular tactics: ad repetition, product demonstration, peer popularity appeal, humor, celebrity endorsement and premiums demonstrating, it was determined that although in different levels, advertising may have a positive response on children's attitudes to buying the products.

Szymanski (2002) has underscored the idea that fun is the most attractive and useful appeal in children's advertising. Recreating the product in a funny and friendly environment may influence product perception. On her part, Sherrington (2017) has pointed out the use of peripheral route to persuasion in children's advertising. Advertisers use role models, repetition, and reinforcement in order to make adverts fun and entertaining (Sherrington, 2017).

Most advertisers use emotional and indirect appeals to psychological states and associations in order to persuade children. In a content conducted by Page & Brewster (2007), it was identified that fun/happiness was the most prominent appeal, followed by fantasy/imagination, social enhancement, peer acceptance, and coolness. Advertising centers on emotional cues to modulate children's response. In fact, there is a consistent focus on fun and play with scenes filled with happy and excited children (Rozendaal et al.2011).

Advertising to children may easily include magic and fantasy as a tactic. Fantasy situations and settings are frequently used to attract children's attention, particularly in food advertising (Barcus, 1980). However, the use of fantasy and storytelling may mislead children's understandings of advertising (Lewis & Hill, 1998). Children may have a strong imagination to deal with fantasy ideals; however, according to their cognitive development they may be able to realize what they are viewing is unreal (Bandyopadhyay et al., 2001).

Advertisers use textual and visual metaphors to stimulate children's imagination, and therefore, advertisement and product recall (Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2005). Metaphors have become traditional in advertising as a way to relate an unfamiliar product or attribute to something familiar or collectively shared (Young, 1990). To this respect, in a content analysis of television commercials addressed to UK children, Young (1990) found that nearly a third featured commercials used metaphors.

Health claims are also relevant in the advertising message (Royo-Bordonada et al., 2016). Nutritional information in cereals and other breakfast meals have become a valuable asset to reach a more cautious market (Harris et al., 2011). Nonetheless, it has been proven that health claims are more effective in advertising when directed to parents (Dixon et al., 2011)

Research has also drawn on other forms of less specific advertising tactics. Sponsorship and product placement have been called to be two of the most typical forms to catch children's attention in the context of banned advertising

(Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2004). However, the study of the effects of such advertising formats is still incipient.

The use of children's favorite characters (real or fictional) has been another common advertising tactic (Buckingham, 2009; Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2005). Advertisers use celebrity and character endorsement in order to appeal the young audiences. The employment of media characters makes children feel a great deal of affinity and loyalty with brands (Rozendaal et al., 2011). The use of character increases children's preference for a product. At the same time, it raises issues about children's ability to recognize advertising (Calvert, 2008). Many children find it difficult to distinguish between advertisements and programs when a celebrity appears (Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2004).

The evolution of media environment has benefited television advertising. The use of technology in advertising production has derived in the application of subtler advertising tactics. Most advertising campaigns are now connected to a broader network of media which enriches its content and success. Nevertheless, such sophistication is driving children to find it challenging to understand the tactics employed by advertisers (Blades et al., 2014).

For instance, special effects are creating real and attractive messages. Multimodal advertising is changing people's experience by experimenting with emotions and sensibilities through high definition images, music, and digital effects through diverse advertising formats. With this regard, according to research (Jayasinghe & Ritson, 2012; Preston, 2000), children can easily recall products that use special effects. Special effects such as speeded-up action, animated figures interacting with real children, and the camera takes and effects influence children's perception.

2.3. RESEARCHING ON TELEVISION ADVERTISING AND THE CHILD AUDIENCE

With the growth of consumer society, the relation of children and consumption became a new concern. On the one hand, corporations were interested to know how to build new consumers. On the other, scholars investigated how to meditate on the reaching effects of the growing market. In whatever faction, research has been decisive to build judgments and criteria about advertising from the last fifty years.

The academic and non-academic research was ignited by questions such as children's knowledge and understanding of advertising (Roeder John, 1999). The fact that in the early beginnings, children's understanding of advertising message was observed as unclear made researchers focus on its analysis. Some researchers have endeavored to justify this mercantilist practice as innocuous while some others have warned about the influence on children's attitudes and behaviors (Hudders et al., 2015). Moreover, the detractors of children's advertising, and more specifically that of food, do not cease to investigate and try to demonstrate their omnipotent power, and by extension accuse it of being the cause of a troubling social problem such as childhood obesity (Eagle et al., 2004).

Researching on the child audience and advertising was initially promoted as a feature of mass communication research (Bringué & Ángeles, 2000). The early research was based on experimental design, uses and gratifications, the effects of advertising on values, attitudes, and behavior. Likewise, research was centered on traditional advertising (print and television).

According to Bringué & Ángeles (2000), it was since the early 70s when corporations started to observe the child as a potential consumer. Advertising research started to focus on two major research lines: the active role of children in buying home goods, and the influence of advertising on children's attitudes and behaviors. Following the cited authors, advertising's role was mainly analyzed in correlation with other factors such as the child's development, media, family, and peer socialization. Moreover, other research was conducted to identify the main features of advertising and discuss the legal aspects to regulate it.

The consolidation of the child consumer prompted scientific and non-scientific research during the 80s. Marketing became the leading research discipline in the field, and advertising was considered to have a relevant role in children's consumption habits (Postman et al., 1988). Children were granted to have buying power, and therefore, research focused on how to reach children. Conversely, researching advertising effects remained as a secondary. Little research focused on children's cognitive development to differentiate advertising (Bringué & Ángeles, 2000).

The consumer market in the 90s adapted to the child consumer. Almost all corporations had segmented their market to target children (Young, 1990). As long as the child became a crucial element in consumption, researchers started to discuss children's consumer rights. As health issues became more prominent

in industrialized countries, researchers focused on discussing the advertising effects on children's obesity and cognitive development (Gamble & Cotugna, 1999; Kunkel & Gantz, 1993; Lewis & Hill, 1998).

With the shift to the new millennium, advertising research followed technological development and sociocultural change. New trends in advertising research included the study of digital media and new advertising techniques. Nonetheless, television advertising is still the most analyzed media (Wolf, Hudders & Cauberghe, 2016). Although market research is still predominant, academic research has taken its position in defense of childhood.

Current advertising research is still focused on the study of cognitive and behavioral effects (Núñez Gómez & Falcón, 2014). Reception and cultural studies have also become relevant (Bryant & Zillmann, 2013; Gbadamosi et al., 2012). Compared to the last century, current research varies in many ways. Furthermore, much of the advertising research is now conducted from multi and interdisciplinary perspectives. The financial and political interests have divided this work into public and nonpublic even confidential research (Kunkel, 2001).

Most authors agree that researching on children's advertising is still very focused on television, and particular advertisements such as food and toys overlooking common elements that are very important (Buckingham, 2009; Rozendaal et al., 2011). A general agreement on how exactly advertising affects children has not been reached (Gunter & Fumham, 1998). The following section describes the main features and achievements in researching television advertising and the child audience.

2.3.1. Current research scopes

Since the early beginnings, advertising research has been focused on two objectives: examining children's understanding and recall of advertising and evaluating its effects on minors' knowledge and behavior (Bringué & Ángeles, 2000; Blades et al., 2014). Current research rests on issues related to advertising consumption and its implications in the current individual and societal transformations as observed in Figure 17.

Current research is mostly focused on food advertising and its effects on children's eating habits (Kelly et al., 2010; Livingstone & Helsper, 2006; Story & French, 2004). Researchers and physicians have widely discussed the imbalance

between advertising consumption and calorie intake (Boylard & Halford, 2013; Halford et al., 2007). Most research works have concluded that advertising has a crucial role in defining children's food choices and preferences. Thus, the rise of obesity and overweight in the child population around the world is not a random issue when sweetened drinks and snack foods are the most advertised products to young children (Royo-Bordonada & Artalejo, 2015).



FIGURE 17. Current research scopes in advertising to children. SOURCE: Author.

Children's desire to buy advertised products has been another field of research. The participation of the child as a consumer in the market, as well as his/her power to persuade his/her parents, has been a relevant object of study (Buckingham, 2011). The impact of more material cultures in children and family values is a growing concern among researchers. Pine, Wilson & Nash (2007) have correlated advertising exposure to growing materialism among children. On their part, Buijzen & Valkenburg (2003) have observed that advertising might not be directly related to materialism, but to unhappiness as a temporary emotional state for not having the advertised products.

The mediating role of advertising in gender construction has been a convincing reason to investigate representations and roles in advertising to children. The relevance and presence of advertising in children's lives have conducted researchers to study the relation of advertising and gender stereotype construction (e.g., Browne, 1998; Childs & Maher, 2003; Davis, 2003). Research has mostly been interested in gender representations, the effects on children's attitudes, and the appropriation of these models.

The exposure of children to advertising addressed to adults, especially those advertisements with sexual appeals has conducted researchers to question its effects on children's attitudes and behaviors (Buijzen & Valkenburg, 2002). In fact, there is full agreement that children live in a more sexualized media culture (Acuff & Reiher, 2005). Advertising has redefined sexuality and its representation. However, this is still a less explored topic (Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2004).

Moreover, the representation and exposure of children to body image ideals has become a growing concern in advertising research (McLellan, 2002). Nevertheless, there still a dearth of research about this topic. Most existing research has focused on content analyses to analyze the body image of depicted characters (Brownell & Napolitano, 1995; Diedrichs & Lee, 2010; Herbozo et al., 2004). Similarly, some works have explored how the advertising message affect children's body image (Jung & Peterson, 2007).

2.3.2. Exploring the effects and influence

There is too much debate about the effects of television advertising. Where some authors claim a direct relationship between advertising message and children's attitudes and behaviors, some others argue internal or external factors might mediate children's responses to advertising (e.g., Boyland & Halford, 2013; Kunkel, 2001; Oates, Blades & Gunter, 2002; Rozendaal, Buijzen & Valkenburg, 2011). Media evolution has not helped to determine advertising effects (Clarke & Svanaes, 2012). Technological development, such as digital communication and transmedia campaigns, have made it difficult to discuss both positions (Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2016).

Advertising effects mean all types of changes that can be observed in use and/or exposition to its content. Such effects can be referred to in different types according to their scope. Following Bjurström (1994), advertising effects can be understood as follows:

1. **Direct effects:** those effects in the receivers that can be related directly to their use of different media, one or more media messages or contents.
2. **Indirect effects:** those effects that are the result of mediating links or factors between the media and those who use them or who receive the message they carry;
 1. **Short-term effects:** more or less immediate reactions or responses in the individuals or groups that use different media;
 2. **Long-term effects:** those changes in the users of different media that take place over a (long) time;
 3. **Individual effects:** short- or long-term reactions or changes that occur in distinct individuals or on an individual level;
 4. **Social effects:** short- or long-term reactions and changes that occur in a social category or group social (level).

Under different premises, perspectives, and methods, researchers have determined the efficacy of this form of communication. Most research on advertising to children has explored the intended and unintended effects of its message (Blades et al., 2014; De Jans et al., 2017, Gunter, Oates and Blades, 2005) remarking different conclusions.

2.3.2.1. Intended effects

Exploring the intended effects of advertising is the prevalent research in the field (Oates, Blades & Gunter, 2002). For several years, both scholars and marketing researchers have been interested in evaluating the efficacy of advertising to children supporting different theoretical approaches, methods, and research techniques.

Most literature considers advertising intended effects as the children's attitudes toward the advertised products (Buijzen & Valkenburg, 2003; Kunkel, 2001; Sheehan, 2013). Such effects have been mostly translated as the way advertising message influence on children's responses to buy or request his/her parents to buy a product (Wilson & Wood, 2004). Furthermore, research has explored the cognitive effects of the advertising message. To this respect, researchers have observed children's attention to advertisements and their ability to distinguish between advertisements and programs (Blades et al., 2014; Rozendaal, Buijzen & Valkenburg, 2009).

Furthermore, research has also been focused on advert recall and its relation to product choice. Different studies have evaluated the effects of advertising strategies in mediating children's purchase attitudes and shopping preferences (Halford et al., 2008; Hitchings & Moynihan, 1998; Valkenburg & Buijzen, 2005). Additionally, product engagement or the positive children's attitudes to specific brands and products has also been documented (Boyland & Halford, 2013; Lawlor, 2009).

To a lesser extent, scholars have explored the effects of social advertising. That is the efficacy of the advertising message in promoting positive aspects of children's lives. As some researchers have claimed, television advertising has introduced children to consumerist behaviors but also promoted health awareness and prosocial behavior (Donohue 1975, cited in Eagle et al., 2004). Although the approach is highly controversial, the present research works have established a relevant ground in research (Kenway & Bullen, 2003).

2.3.2.2. Unintended effects

Conversely, a large group of researchers, has claimed the unintended effects of advertising (Buijzen & Valkenburg, 2003; Sheehan, 2013; Smith and Atkin, 2003). To this respect, most research has discussed the implication of advertising message in two major fields: the influence of advertising in children's materialism and the impact of advertising on children's well-being.

The ability of advertising to influence values and ideas by linking them with different advertised goods has been widely discussed in academic research (De Mooji, 2018; Lin, 2001; Sinclair, 2012). Advertising has encouraged consumerism among very young children by associating the consumption of goods such as food, toys, clothes and more, with positive values (Schor, 2014; Ward & Wartella, 1977)

Children's desire to consume products they see on television has been widely discussed in research (Valkenburg & Cantor, 2001). Children's power to pester their parents or other adults to buy things for them has been related to children's advertising consumption (Procter & Richards, 2002). Although for some researchers such as Buijzen & Valkenburg (2003) advertising has a moderate effect size on child materialism, but on the contrary, in children's attitudes and emotions to possess things.

Consistent with this, different research has discussed children and parent conflict caused by the pester power (Lawlor & Prothero, 2011; Marshall, O'Donohoe & Kline, 2007; Nash & Basini, 2012). Where some authors warn about the failing child and parent relationship, some others argue that pester power is not a reason for child-parent conflict but a basis for negotiation about what products to buy (Pilgrim & Lawrence, 2001).

Furthermore, the impact of advertising on children's well-being has been discussed. With this regard, advertising research has been mostly centered on children's health, specifically on the effects of the advertising message in children's eating attitudes and behaviors (Boyland & Halford, 2013; Livingstone & Helsper, 2006; Page & Brewster, 2007).

The relation between advertising exposure and obesity has been documented by different research (Calvert, 2008; Halford et al., 2008; Kelly et al., 2010; Zimmerman & Bell, 2010). While some researchers have warned about the exposure to advertising and eating attitudes and habits, others have argued that the correlation of television viewing and children's health is not determined per se. Advertising may influence the consumption of advertised food products (Buijzen, Schuurman & Bomhof, 2008), and only external or secondary factor may be determinant. To this respect, the intended use of tactics such as celebrities and positive emotions and values in food advertising may be a leading cause for its consumption (Boyland et al., 2012).

Research has also claimed the influence of advertising in promoting stereotypes and adult behavior among children. For instance, Hanley (2000) identified some factors that seemed to be significant in encouraging imitation of advertising. Based on a qualitative study, Hanley determined that children were able to mimic easy-to-copy adult behaviors. Besides, she found the advertising plots highly influenced children. Narratives in advertising made children get away with the story, especially with those messages implying emotions and intrigue in the story. Likewise, they were engaged with the characters. Finally, some of the interviewed children were interested in wicked or forbidden things (adult content).

2.3.3. Analyzing the Content

Although not all corporations choose television advertising to address young consumers, this has been the primary format to reach children (Buckingham, 2009). According to different studies, children are addressed a large amount of

advertising content (Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2005, Halford et al., 2008; Romero, Royo-Bordonada & Rodríguez, 2013).

The significant presence of advertising in child television has conducted researchers to analyze its structure and characteristics (Alexandre, 1999; Barcus, 1980; Fernández-Gómez & Díaz-Campos, 2014). Content analysis has contributed to evaluating the accurateness of advertising message to children's criteria and its suitability to law and regulations (Pérez-Salgado, Rivera-Márquez & Ortiz-Hernández, 2010; Royo-Bordonada, 2013).

Most content analyses have included the monitoring of television advertising, and the product categories addressed to children. Furthermore, researchers have been interested in character portrayals. Additionally, research has examined the techniques and appeals applied in advertising to children. To this respect, scholars have also been interested in analyzing language and discourse of child advertisements.

From early to recent content analyses, most researchers agree that advertising content is mostly redundant. In a content analysis conducted during the '80s, Barcus (1980) found that advertising to children was mainly represented by four categories: toys, cereals, candies, and fast-food restaurants. Twenty years later, employing the same method, Alexander et al. (1998) found almost similar results. To date, the structure of advertising content in child television has not registered significant variations (Fernández-Gómez & Díaz-Campos, 2014; González-Díaz, 2008).

Food advertising is the most extensive product category observed in children's advertising. Different research around the world has come at the same conclusion; food advertising is the most relevant product category observed in child television (Keller & Schulz, 2010; Kunkel, 2001). Children are exposed to a large number of food ads. For instance, on their study Fernández-Gómez & Díaz-Campos (2014) found a high presence of food advertising on children's channels. On their part, Folta et al., (2006) identified a growing number of ads during child's programming. Meanwhile, Roberts & Pettigrew (2007) observed a more significant number of ads during weekend television.

Food advertising has been categorized as a promoter of less nutritional or unhealthy food such as breakfast cereals, fast food restaurants, snacks and soft drinks (Pérez-Salgado, Rivera-Márquez & Ortiz-Hernández, 2010; Royo-Bordonada & Artalejo, 2015). In a content analysis in the USA television, Batada et al., (2008) determined that ninety-one percent of food advertisements were

unhealthy food products such as low-nutrient foods, beverages high in fat, sodium, or added sugars.

Content analyses in children's television have also revealed that advertisements addressed to children are more likely to employ persuasive appeals. Food advertising aimed at child audience may use marshaling arguments or discuss the benefits associated with owning the product (Royo-Bordonada et al., 2016). Advertisements employ frenetic editing techniques, emotionally evocative cues, and dynamic formal features to engage children (Buijzen & Valkenburg, 2002; Page & Brewster, 2007). On their part, Kunkel & Gantz (1992) identified advertisers appeal on fun/happiness, taste/flavor/smell, and product performance as standard pitches in food advertising. Lewis & Hill's (1998) study showed that, in comparison with other products, food advertising is more likely to use animation, stories, humor, and the promotion of fun.

Children's favorite characters and celebrities are frequent appeals in advertising to children. Celebrities in advertising increase brand awareness, attract celebrity's fans, encourage trial, and enhance purchase confidence (Chan, Leung Ng & Luk, 2013). Several content analyses have determined that advertising employ popular media characters with which children feel a great deal of affinity and loyalty (Calvert, 2008; Rozeendaal et al., 2011). For instance, Batada et al. (2008) observed that advertisers employ cartoon characters in a vast majority of food ads (74%) whereas, on their part, Boyland et al. (2012) found celebrity endorsement is the most common tactic when promoting premium offers. Although the existing regulations and limitations in most countries, children's rights are still infringed by food corporations, who support on popular cartoon characters and celebrities to persuade children.

Research has also scrutinized character portrayals in children's advertising. Different content analyses have discussed stereotyping in children advertising (Davis, 2003; Furnham & Saar, 2005). According to research, characters in toy advertising are likely to be represented according to gender stereotypes (Kahlenberg & Hein, 2010). Similarly, Bang & Reece (2003) have pointed out that children may be more exposed to racial stereotypes when predominant white characters appear in advertising content.

The study of discourse and message structure has been an object of study in children's advertising research. Researchers have observed language structure used by advertisers, including visual and textual metaphors (Johnson & Young, 2002). Nevertheless, in comparison to a large number of content analyses, research has focused on this topic to a lesser extent.

2.3.4. Exploring children's understandings

Studying children's comprehension of the advertising message is another field of research. Both scholar and marketers have been interested in exploring the comprehension of advertising's nature and intent among children. Under multidisciplinary perspectives and methods, researchers have come to determine the factors that influence the understanding of the advertising message.

Children's age has been a decisive factor to explain children's understanding¹⁴ of advertising message. Although there is considerable debate about what age children recognize advertising's purpose and intent, most conducted studies have derived in some important conclusions (Figure 18).

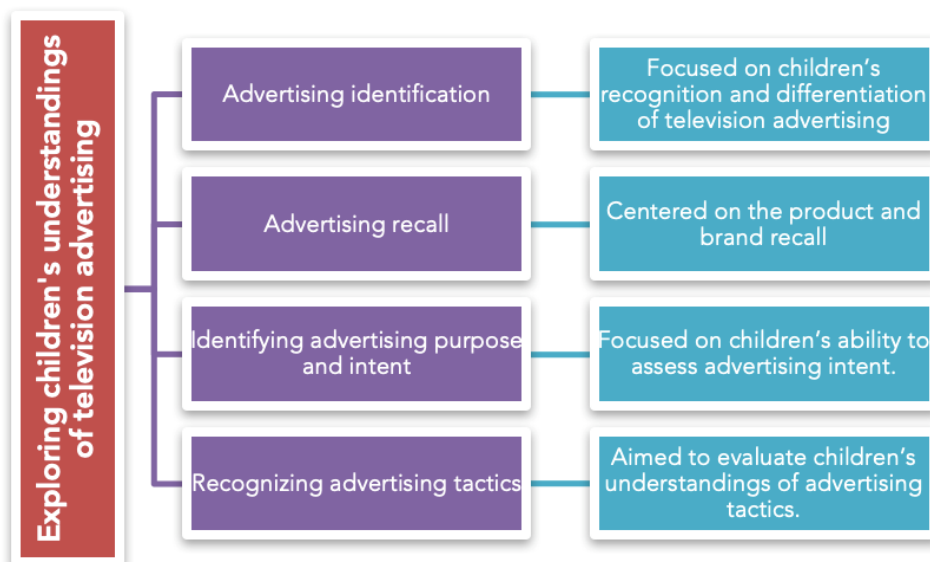


FIGURE 18. Researching children's understandings of advertising. SOURCE: Author.

On the one hand, scientific research has connected children's understanding of advertising to child's development (Bartolomew & O'Donohoe, 2003; Livingstone & Van der Graff, 2008; Young, 2003). For instance, Lawlor & Prothero (2003) have underlined young children —ages 3 to 6— can already recognize and

¹⁴ Most of the studies have explained children's understanding of advertising following cognitive and development theories (Bartolomew & O'Donohoe, 2003; Livingstone & Van der Graff, 2008; Rozendaal, Buijzen & Valkenburg, 2011; Young, 2003).

differentiate advertising from television content. Nevertheless, according to the authors, children at this age may have little understanding of the persuasive intent of advertising. For authors such as Oates, Blades & Gunter (2002), and Rozendaal et al. (2011), young children may observe advertising as informative, truthful, and entertaining, but hardly may be able to distinguish the nature of its message.

Other studies have centered on the recall of brands and products. According to these studies, young children may recall simple details of advertising commercial while older children may remember more intricate details. An early study conducted by Ward & Wartella (1977) identified that young children remember few and simple details from commercials, by the contrary, older children recall more complex information such as brand names, product attributes, and advertising storylines. In this line, following Young (2003), although children as young as five may find television advertising as information concerning about products, only children as old as seven can already recognize the commercial purpose of advertising.

In words of Oates, Blades & Gunter (2002), young children find it challenging to discuss advertising in terms of persuasion. As discussed by the authors, children may not fully understand advertising purpose and their understanding may be based on perceptual cues: the length, the colors, the action of characters and the jingle. Children's assessment of advertising rarely relies on entertainment and selling intent. On the contrary, as Moses and Baldwin (cited in Rozeendal et al., 2011) argue, children may find it easy to understand advertisers attempt to influence on their behavior by suggesting them to buy products. Nevertheless, they may not be fully aware of how advertising attempt to change their perceptions.

Children's ability to identify advertising inserted in programs can be affected by content and format similarities. Most studies conclude that children can recognize advertising and programs at a very early age (Kunkel, 2001). However, children may find it challenging to recognize advertising where the program characters appear. The appearance of cartoon characters in advertisements makes children difficult to recognize advertising. It may reduce children's ability to distinguish between advertising and program material (Neeley & Schumann, 2004; Kunkel, 2001). The use of celebrities or cartoon characters in advertisements may lead children to confusion (Verhaeren, 1991; Young, 1990).

Aligned with this, Oates et al. (2003) have discussed children's understanding of sponsorship in programs. For the authors, it is not until the age of ten when children can fully identify the financial meaning in programs. Nonetheless, the cited authors have discussed some children as young as eight can recall examples of sponsors in programs.

Although children's understandings of advertising is still a very incipient field of research (Rozendaal, Buijzen & Valkenburg, 2011), most studies have helped to reflect on children's ability and literacy to interact with the advertising message. As most research argues, children have problems to understand advertising at different levels.

Modern advertising has become more sophisticated as digital advertising employs subtle tactics. With this regard, the boundaries of selling intent and entertainment have become more blurred. Digital advertising has more potent effects on children's understanding (Wolf et al., 2016). Children find it challenging to discriminate between advertising and other media content (De Jans et al., 2017). A current study conducted by Owen et al. (2013) demonstrated that children have a better understanding of audiovisual advertising compared with nontraditional advertising. However, children may not be aware of embedded advertising practices (movie and in-game brand placement). According to the authors, the fact that children have limited knowledge of marketing tactics makes it challenging to evaluate messages critically.

2.3.5. Fields of research

Advertising research has been condensed in different fields of research. Most studies have been focused on exploring food advertising, its content, and its effects on children's eating and health habits. Health concerns have also considered the study of alcohol and tobacco advertising. On the other hand, researchers have also shown interests for toy advertising and its effects on child's materialism. The study of stereotypes in children's advertising has been profoundly present. Most studies have explored racial and gender stereotypes in food and toy advertising. Finally, research has been interested in evaluating advertiser's compliance with regulations. The following sections describe in detail some of the relevant findings of these issues.

2.3.5.1. Food Advertising

Food advertising is mostly present in children's television. Different studies have come up with the same conclusion, the most significant portion of television commercials aimed at children are food products (Fernández-Gómez & Díaz-Campos, 2014; Royo-Bordonada et al., 2016 Young, 2003). Longitudinal reviews in the United States have demonstrated that this trend has remained the same in almost thirty years (Gamble & Cotugna, 1999). Comparative analyses have stated that broadcast channels deliver more food advertising than cable channels. Nevertheless, the category of marketed products in both channels is highly similar (Stitt & Kunkel, 2008).

Most studies agree that television advertising is overwhelmed by breakfast cereals, sweets, salty snacks, and soft drinks (Kotz and Story, 1994; Harrison & Marske, 2004). In a content analysis on children television, Gamble & Cotugna found that the most frequently advertised product was sugary cereal. Low-nutrient products and salty snacks were also present. Similar content analysis has evidenced that fast-food restaurants are taking up an increasing proportion of television advertising (Ambler, 2004; Hastings et al., 2003; Young, 2003). A vast majority of these advertised products are unhealthy food (high in fat, sugar, or sodium) (Powell et al., 2007).

Most studies on food advertising have accounted for the influence of food advertising on children's eating attitudes and behaviors. Advertising prescribes messages about what, when, where, and with whom particular food items should be consumed Connor & Armitage (cited in Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2004). Aktas-Arnas (2006) has indicated that television advertising influences children's request. According to his study, a significant number of children admitted to asking their parents the food products they saw on television.

The correlation between food advertising and children's attitudes toward unhealthy and eating habits has been widely examined. Borzekowski & Robinson experimental study (cited in Gonzalez-Díaz, 2008) suggested that children are more familiar with those food brands advertised on television. Furthermore, Coon et al. (2002) revealed that television advertising might influence eating patterns of families. According to their study, families, where television viewing is part of the meal routines, may include less fruit and vegetables and more pizzas, snack foods and sodas. Such fact is consistent with Byrd Bredbenner & Grasso (2000), who suggested a direct influence between food advertising and unhealthy eating habits.

Different studies have correlated obesity with television viewing. A significant association of television consumption and the prevalence of obesity among children has been observed in different studies (Braithwaite et al., 2013; Jordan and Robison, 2008; Zimmerman & Bell, 2010). Boyland & Halford (2013) observed that a long exposition of children to advertising might influence on children's diet, preference, and calories intake. Aligned with this, Andreyeva et al. (2011) suggested that soft drink and fast food television advertising might be an influential factor in the consumption of soft drinks and fast food among elementary school children.

Communication strategies and marketing appeals have assisted the misleading role of food advertising. In comparison to other types of advertising, food brands are more likely to use communication appeal (Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2004). Fun/happiness is the most common technique employed in food advertising (Byrd-Bredbenner & Grasso 2000; Pérez-Salgado, Rivera & Ortíz, 2010; Romero, Royo-Bordonada & Rodríguez, 2010). Nevertheless, other claims such as toys, health benefits, rewards, and promotions are typical tactics.

A current study in Spanish television found that over half of all food products advertised to children make some nutrition or health claims (Royo-Bordonada et al., 2016). This is consistent with the study conducted by Folta et al. (2006), who revealed that food and beverage advertisements are usually associated with physical activity and being athletic. Roberts & Pettigrew (2007) qualitative analysis evidenced that the exaggeration of health claims and the health benefits for consuming food enhances popularity among consumers. On their part, Fernández & Díaz (2012) suggested that advertisers are also likely to claim the social benefits of products. Specifically, low-nutrient food may be associated with positive values such as friendliness and child autonomy.

The misleading role in food advertising is more than evident. The balance of food products featured in television advertising suggests a reason for child preferences (Dickinson, 2000). The overrepresentation of unhealthy products and habits plays a relevant role in children's food choice. Conversely, some other studies have found it difficult to demonstrate this direct influence (Laczniak & Palan, 2004).

2.3.5.2. Alcohol, tobacco and drugs advertising

Products such as alcohol, tobacco, and medicines may be present in advertising aimed at children (Ellickson et al., 2005; Nash, Pine & Messer, 2009; Sheehan,

2013). Although current regulations in most countries ban the presence of this type of advertising in child programming, researchers have shown concern about its effects¹⁵.

Alcohol and tobacco campaigns have traditionally been characterized for using animated characters, celebrities, and catchy phrases usually aiming at the young market, causing different cognitive and behavioral effects (Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2004). Studies have evidenced that alcohol advertising affects young people's brand preference and their expectancies about alcohol even before they start to drink (Grube & Wallack, 1994).

Advertising has portrayed alcohol drinking as positive. For Gunter and McAleer (1997), the fact that alcohol drinking is usually portrayed in positive contexts such as parties and eating out has had a positive effect on young drinkers. Conversely, the adverse effects of drinking such as drunkenness or ill health have been rarely depicted (Oates, Blades & Gunter, 2002).

Although the presence of tobacco in television advertising is not allowed in many countries, children may socialize with smoking behavior through other subtle forms of advertising such as sponsorship and product placement (Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2004). Actually, some cigarette brands have employed subtle techniques in their campaigns to target young people intentionally (Fox et al., 1999). In this line, different studies have demonstrated that advertising may subtly influence adolescents to recall cigarette brands (Hanewinkel & Pohl, 1998; Hoek, Gendall & Stockdale, 1993).

Television advertising has a crucial role in the promotion of drinking and smoking habits (Austin, Chen & Grube, 2006; DiFranza et al., 2006; Dunn & Yniguez, 1999). However, as Kunkel (2002) explains, some other factors may reinforce or conversely counteract the effect of advertising on children and young people. Although almost all countries ban alcohol and cigarette consumption among minors, research supports on the hypothesis that advertising can cultivate an interest in such products, encouraging people to drink and smoke since very early ages (Friedman, Lichtenstein & Biglan, 1985; Gunter, Hansen & Touri, 2010).

¹⁵ Nevertheless as Pine and Messer, 2009 have noted, there is still little research in the field.

2.3.5.3. Toy Advertising

Toy advertising has been on the focal point of research. With this regard, most research has primarily been aimed at exploring three factors: a) the pressure toy advertising has on children to buy products, b) the understating of advertising message and disclosure, and c) the promotion and influence of gender stereotypes in this message.

Toy advertising is present on television all year. The number of promotional ads for toys is higher on weekend television and children's channels (Pine & Nash, 2002; Young, 1990). However, it is during the hot seasons (mostly pre-Christmas period) when advertisers increase their presence in the media landscape (Piachaud cited in Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2004).

Different studies have suggested the role of advertising in promoting materialism (Buckingham, 2007; Calvert, 2008; O'Sullivan, 2005). Exposition to toy advertising has been associated with children's desire and toy preferences. In their Buijzen & Valkenburg (2000) found that children who were more exposed to television advertising during the Christmas season asked their parents at least one of the advertised products. Consistent with this, Pine, Wilson & Nash (2007) observed that children's television viewing and frequency might influence children's request for advertised goods.

Children's understanding of toy advertising message has also been discussed. Different studies have explored the comprehension of advertising tactics. On the one hand, studies have suggested children's comprehension of toy advertising is well-determined by child age and cognitive development (Rozendaal, Buijzen & Valkenburg, 2010; Willson & Weiss, 1992). Nevertheless, the use of techniques such as fantasy play or cartoon character may have a relevant role in the child's product request (Kunkel, 200; Rose, Merchant & Bakir, 2012).

Furthermore, researchers have discussed advertising disclosure. With this regard, it has been suggested that although advertisers include disclosure on toy advertisement—visual statements (usually in small print)—children find difficult to understand information about the product (Kunkel, 2001). Additionally, as Kunkel argues, information is usually presented in statements that require a fast reading (160 words per minute). Although advertisers are trying to inform audiences about the products, they are not reaching them effectively (Muehling & Kolbe, 1999).

Moreover, research has been focused on evaluating the adherence of advertisers to advertising guidelines to help children understand disclosures on toy advertising. Some authors have analyzed self-regulation and the adherence to the recommendation for toy advertising (i.e. presenting the toy in real size, making clear how the toy is operated (by hand or by a power source), mentioning if toy needs to be assembled and, if so, whether an adult help is required (Bakir, 2009; Craig & Cunningham, 2017; Zarouali et al., 2018)

The study of gender representations in toy advertising has been another relevant topic in research. To this respect, conducted research has focused on content analyses and the influence of advertising in the appropriation and reproduction of gender stereotypes (Bakir & Palan, 2010; Kahleberg & Hein, 2010; Neto & Furnham, 2005). Most authors agree there is a gender gap in these commercials as well as the lack of communication policies to regulate this issue¹⁶ (Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2004).

In their content analysis, Martínez, Nicolás & Salas (2013) pointed out that toy advertisers are more likely to show male characters in comparison to their counterpart. Depicted male characters were mostly associated with vehicles and action, whereas female characters were portrayed playing dolls and other accessories praising for beauty and motherhood. Consistent with this, John and Young (2002) identified gender patterns in the verbal communication of toy commercials. Advertisements addressed to boys contained more elements emphasizing action, competition and destruction, and agency and control. On the other hand, those ads oriented to girls contained more verb elements emphasizing limited activity and feelings and nurturing.

Gender representation influence children attitude toward toy playing and reinforce gender stereotypes. In an experimental study, Pike & Jennings (2005) identified that the portrayal and toy use in television commercials might influence children's gender perceptions and play. Nonetheless, most children's attitudes may be influenced by secondary factors such as the spheres of socialization (Neto & Furnham, 2005).

Similar to food advertising, toy ads have commonly been attractive to young people. Characters and stories prescribed by children highly appeal children and adolescents. In this line, numerous research has discussed the presence of a stereotyping message (Eisend, 2010; Kahlenberg & Heins, 2010; Gunter &

¹⁶ Current regulations focus on regulating the promoted products in advertising (e.g. food, alcohol, tobacco and toys). They are scarcely focused on depicted content such as gender stereotypes (Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2004).

McAleer, 1997). Sheehan, 2013). The interest to know which stereotypes are addressed to children has opened another research line.

2.3.5.4. Gender and ethnic stereotypes

Advertising to children and gender stereotypes is a full field of research. Most research has relied upon content analyses to study gender representations (Aronovski & Funrham, 2008; Pierrehumbert et al., 2009); experimental designs for evaluating the efficacy of gender stereotypes (Fisher & Dubé, 2005; Bakir and Palan, 2010); and qualitative research to explore the reception of character portrayal (Chan et al., 2011; Lafky et al., 1996).

Gender representations in children's advertising have shown significant differences. In a content analysis of American and British television, Abramsky & Gunter (1997) found that male characters were more present in comparison to their counterpart. Consistent with this, Fox's (1996) identified that women were mostly depicted as secondary characters, and they performed less relevant roles in comparison to men. On his part, Ellyatt, 1999 (cited in Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2004), found that marketers are more likely to use boys to promote products targeted to both genders.

The predominantly white nature of characters in child advertising has been another reason for concern. The underrepresentation of ethnic diversity and the negatives traits associated with black color people have been a common concern in research (Bang & Reece, 2003; Bramlett & Roeder, 2008; Seiter, 1995). Research has warned about the racial stereotypes in children's advertising observing the lack of ethnic diversity and the stigmatization of black characters. Mahler et al. (2008) content analysis evidenced that compared to white characters, all diverse ethnicities are underrepresented. In consonance, Reynolds and Kirman's analysis (2014) showed that although Caucasians and African Americans exceeded their representation, Asians and Hispanics are still underrepresented. Furthermore, when shown, ethnic minorities are represented in lower status roles in comparison to Caucasians.

Most studies have concluded that children watch and adopt attitudes about what is "appropriate" for boys and girls since a very early age (Bijmolt, Claassen & Brus, 1998). Following Tufte (cited in Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2004), there is a reason to believe advertising representation may contribute to reinforcing the stereotyped perceptions of gender roles.

“If we look at TV commercials—both those aimed at adults and those aimed at children—we see a universe of men and boys engaged in actions such as walking, running, eating or hitting nails into a board, while girls and women are washing the husband/father's shirts and the children's clothes, washing their hair, looking into a mirror or sitting on a sofa. In commercials for children, girls are playing in pink universes filled with dolls and horses, while boys are playing with war and space toys while deep male voices talk about fights and competition in the background. (Tufte, 1999, p. 20)

Moreover, body image representation in children's advertising has become a recent concern (Jiménez-Morales, 2018; Manchón, Fedele & Larrea, 2018). As long as research has observed advertising as a relevant factor to reinforce the body pressure to young people (Carrillo, Sánchez & Jiménez-Morales, 2011; Grogan, 2016), researchers have scrutinized the beauty, and body portrayals addressed to adolescents and adults. Nevertheless, there is still a dearth of research in the field. The appropriation of stereotyped thinness has been mostly inoculated in different media (i.e., magazine, digital media) targeting adolescents and young adults. However, this phenomenon has not been explored in children advertising. The growing body image concern among children suggest explorative studies in advertising content and effects (Jiménez-Morales, 2018)

2.3.5.5. Assessing advertising regulation

Much research done during the last decades has been aimed to demonstrate advertising effects on children. With this regard, both scholars and research activists have made a call for its regulation or restriction (Graff, Kunkel & Mermin, 2012). The position is clear; advertising message influences on children's health and development since their very early age.

Most children advertising and regulation research has been focused on food advertising (De Jans et al., 2017). To this respect, two strong positions have been highly discussed. Where some authors still doubt the effects of legislation and self-regulation, some others expose the positive effects of banning or reducing advertising to children (Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2004; Hudders et al., 2015; Sheehan, 2013)

In two different studies conducted in Australia, Kelly et al. (2007) identified that despite the reduction of food advertising, children are still addressed unhealthy food ads. Aligned with this, Hebden et al., (2011) demonstrated that despite the introduction of a self-regulatory initiative for fast-food advertising in 2009,

advertising has not changed at all by late 2010. On the contrary, it was determined that fast foods advertisers promote the consumption of products containing excessive energy with subtler advertising techniques.

On their part, Harris et al., (2015) discussed the limitations of the Children's Food and Beverage Advertising Initiative (CFBAI), a self-regulatory program to improve food marketing to children. According to a content analysis conducted by the authors, CFBAI-participating and non-participating corporations use subtle tactics for advertising unhealthy products. Moreover, researchers observed that participating food corporations placed child-targeted ads primarily on children's networks.

Pérez-Salgado, Rivera-Márquez & Ortiz-Hernández (2010) are highly critical when evaluating the efficacy of Mexican regulation in television advertising. According to their study, in comparison to adults, children might be more exposed to food advertising; likewise, most food ads promote unhealthy products using appealing communication strategies. Although current Mexican regulation condemns the promotion of products that threaten people's health, the authors observe a large variety of hyper-caloric products. With this regard, following Galbraith & Lobstein (2013), it can be argued that there is still a sharp division about the efficacy of regulation in children's advertising. Undoubtedly, regulation's efficacy may vary from country to country.

Some countries like Spain have implemented self-regulation codes as a way corporations take responsibility for their communication. Nevertheless, adherence to voluntary codes may not be sufficiently useful. As argued by Martín, Fernández & Ortiz (2011) co-regulation in Spain has proven to be useful for controlling food advertising aimed at children; nevertheless, new regulations are needed to revised the content (information in general) that is provided to children via advertising message. This is consistent with the arguments for a cultural and political regulation of advertising (Verón, 1988). That is, creating stronger regulations which observe not only the advertising format but the content itself.

Current advertising research observes the regulation of digital advertising. To this respect, it is not surprising to find that the most prevalent advertising categories are food and toy advertising (Blades et al., 2014; Montgomery & Chester, 2009). To this respect, researchers have called to study the effects of digital advertising, and the need to extend regulations on it. However, this is still a missing gap in the field. There are still few works which revise the current

regulation and its compatibility with digital advertising (Verdoodt, Clifford & Leivens, 2016).

2.3.6. Gaps and limitations in advertisings to children research

Although advertising to children has performed as a fertile field of research, there are still some gaps and limitations to cover. As different authors argue (Blades et al., 2014; De Jans, 2017, Rozendaal, Buijzen & Valkenburg, 2011), there is still the need to investigate the efficacy of its message in less explored ambits and themes (i.e., multimedia and multimodal communication; gender and age cognitive development). Moreover, much of the judgment concedes that it is necessary to broaden the objects of study under the premises of multidisciplinary frameworks and methodologies.

Most research on television advertising has been focused on the analysis of the structural forms of advertising. For instance, advertising structure, product categories, characters, etc....To a lesser extent, other formats such as embedded advertising have been explored (De Jans et al., 2017). As Rozendaal, Buijzen & Valkenburg (2001) claim, there is still little understanding of embedded tactics, chiefly those related to product placement and celebrity endorsement.

For Núñez Gómez & Falcón (2014), this situation is mainly related to the sophisticated new media environment. Therefore, the authors consider the study of advertising to children should take a more complex analysis. Paraphrasing authors, it is necessary to deepen in different aspects such as age, gender, as well as the contexts where children meet with the advertising message.

Aligned with this, some authors have observed the need to study the sociocultural factors that mediate in children's understandings and effects of advertising message (De Jans, 2017 et al., 2017). Similarly, the need to explore the contexts of interactions and the influence of peers and parents has been highlighted.

Furthermore, some other authors have called on the importance to study the role of metaphorical language in children's learning and appropriation of the advertising message. In this line, Buijzen & Valkenburg (2001), encourage the importance of analyzing advertising disclosure and the need to regulate embedded advertising.

Buckingham (2003) has come to reflect on the theoretical approach. On his consideration, most research has focused on obsolete frameworks based on child cognitive development. As the author suggests:

“...there is a tendency for researchers to work with a fairly antiquated account of child development, which defines the child in terms of a deficit model. For example, the American Psychological Association (APA) Task Force on Advertising and Children (American Psychological Association, 2004) quite baldly claims that young children do not understand others’ beliefs, desires and motivations, and hence cannot comprehend the nature of persuasion. As Basham et al. (2006) suggest, such a view is strikingly at odds with most of the child development literature of the past two decades; yet even if it were true, it would not necessarily follow from this that younger children are therefore more vulnerable to influence, as the APA report suggests”. (p. 15).

To this respect, Buckingham argues future research should consider advertising effects not exclusively as a question of child age and development. Instead, researchers should focus on advertising in contextualized situations and actions beyond the single act of processing or not advertising intent.

For Kunkel (2001), most limitations in research have to do with the purpose to demonstrate the efficacy of advertising. With this regard, the authors argue that children’s advertising research needs stronger weight in results than in methodology. “One weakness of most studies of the extent to which TV advertising is able to attract children’s attention is that they are based on observations in artificial (laboratory) environments” (p.19). Children’s interaction with advertising has been less explored through qualitative research. Research results have been traditionally reported in the form of statistical relationships. To a lesser extent, children’s advertising research has been based on ethnographic methods, in-depth interviews, or participatory observations. Consistent with this, Owen & Lewis (2007) argue much of the explanations in research have to do with a quantitative approach. To a lesser extent, researchers have come to articulate children’s understanding of their own words.

Finally, different authors have made a call for a research update (Blades et al., 2004; De Jans, 2017 et al., 2017; Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2004, Kunkel, 2001). Most of the information on which policy markers based to regulate advertising effects, is based on children (now adults) born before 1990. In this sense, much research date may not be representative of today’s children generations (Mallalieu, Palan & Laczniak, 2005).

2.4. MEDIATING THE EFFECTS OF TELEVISION ADVERTISING

Children's competences to make judgments of advertisements have been widely documented in advertising research (Blades et al., 2014; Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2004; Hudders et al., 2015; Kunkel, 2001). Since early studies in the field, scholars have argued children have different levels of understanding advertising message¹⁷ (Roder John, 1999; Rozendaal et al., 2011; Wolf, Hudders & Cauberghe, 2016). Both empirical and applied research has come to the same conclusion, children—as teenagers and adults—are susceptible to advertising intent and effects.

The influence of television advertising on the child's well-being and cognitive development is the primary concern among parents, scholars, activists, and educators. With this regard, the implementation of measures to reduce the individual and social implications has been observed as compulsory. Regulations and media education have been promoted as two essential actions to deal with advertising effects.

2.4.1. Adults' concerns for television advertising

Parents' concerns about television advertising have been associated with the threats suggested in scientific research. There is a consistent discourse among parents that television commercials are promoters of negative attitudes (i.e., bad language, fighting, spitting) and premature awareness of adult issues (Hanley, 2000). In this sense, most families have shown concerns about the time children spent watching television, the advertising content addressed to them, the appeals used in food advertising as well as the lack of regulation to ban unhealthy content (Young, De Bruin & Eagle, 2003).

Most advertising research has warned about the influence of television advertising on children's well-being and development. To this respect, parents, teachers, pediatricians, and activists have quarreled about the food advertising addressed to children. As observed in different studies (Bakir & Vitell, 2010; Crosby & Grossbart, 1984; Malik, 2012), parents complain about the misleading information given to children in this advertising category. In this sense, parents'

¹⁷ Authors such as Roder John (1999) have focused on cognitive phases of development as a model to explain children's understanding of advertising. According to the author, three phases can be distinguished in how children comprehend and cope with advertising. On their part, Rozendaal et al. (2011) prefer to observe children's understandings in a three-dimensional structure which considers cognitive development but also the complexity of current advertising.

concerns are mostly related to the communication and marketing appeals used by the food industry to attract children. Moreover, parents have shown concern for the lack of regulations to ban advertising or evaluate the fulfillment of current ethical codes.

Advertising has been pointed out as the provider of stereotypes (Lemish & Götz, 2017). To this respect, adults have shown concern for children's exposure to its message. Most adults have expressed discontent for gender, body and racial stereotypes addressed to children (Hanley, 2000). With this regard, activists and researchers have called for deconstructing gender stereotyping in media and advertising. In fact, the advertising industry has followed some practices to rectify gender gaps in advertising. However, as Global & Pavic (2016) discuss, this has supposed the insertion of other stereotyped images which may also influence children.

Current parents' concerns include children's exposure to sexual imagery. In comparison to preceding decades, different studies have shown that young people are more exposed to sexual images (Egan & Hawkes, 2008; Lumby & Albury, 2010; Papadopoulos, 2010). The fact that sexual images have become more available within the media culture has ignited the alarms among parents and educators (Buckingham et al., 2010). Most adults have connected such the sexualized media culture with promiscuous sexual behaviors among adolescents (Brown et al., 2006). Although adolescent's interest for sexuality does not seem a big issue, the lack of educational programs to mediate in sexual behaviors, violence, and harassment, has been called a significant problem.

Adults concerns for advertising to children have also embraced the early consumption of alcohol and tobacco. In fact, early research in the field called for adverse effects of product campaigns which through funny characters and stories called for the attention of children and teens (Ellickson, 2005; Gunter, Hansen & Touri, 2010; Strasburger & Donnerstein, 1999). Although most regulations around the globe ban this advertising category to children, some authors concluded that advertisers might aim at a young audience in order to engage future consumers (Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2004).

Different studies have shown concern for children's consuming power and materialism. They have discussed parents' preoccupation for the influential role of advertising to make children buy the products (*the pester power*) (Lawlor & Prothero, 2011; Marshall, O'Donohoe & Kline, 2007; Nash & Basini, 2012). Moreover, children's materialism has become a relevant issue in schools and families. As pointed by Jacobson (2004), parents are raising a consumerist

generation which is unaware of social inequalities. Thus, the market has much responsibility in promoting compulsive consumer habits as child consumers who grow unaware of production and consumption externalities.

2.4.2. Regulation and control

The responsibility for regulating children's exposure to television advertising has been seen as parental. Nevertheless, most parents have problems to take control of children's television habits (Livingstone, 2002). The new media environment and the presence of television in bedrooms has led to greater access and unaccompanied viewing (Hanley, 2000). The busy and hectic life of families has made it difficult for most parents to monitor what their children watch on television.

Most parents underestimate children's understandings of advertising. They based on the age criteria to determine their maturity to decipher and interpret advertising message (Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2004). Thus, parents may not always realize the need for intervention. The increasing concern in advertising effects among minors has called for stricter regulations.

Legislation in different countries has attempted to regulate advertising in order to protect children (Table 3). Regulations seek to provide broad protection for children regarding advertising across product categories and in some cases supplementing specific codes of practice linked to particular product domains such as food, alcohol, and tobacco (Blades et al., 2014).

The reasons to ban advertising are not that difficult to understand. Advertising has a considerable impact on children's attitudes and behaviors. At any level, children are considered a vulnerable group to the pervasive effects of advertising. Children are seduced by audiovisuals effects and appeals which conduct their purchase decisions. The gripping sequences of images in TV commercials reach them at the same time, creates a stronger pressure to buy (Bjurström, 2000).

Most regulations around the world are based on the cultural assumptions and the scientific approach that children need protection for a better understanding of media (Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2004). For instance, Sweden has defended its current policy of banning television advertising by arguing that children under twelve have difficulty to understand the purpose of advertising (Edling, 1999). On the other hand, the United Kingdom has limited food advertising during child

programming since the overabundance of this information may influence children's preferences (Ofcom, 2007).

The regulation of food advertising has been aimed to counteract obesity and overweight. For instance, in some countries like Mexico, advertising has banned food advertising during children's schedule (Silvestre, 2013). In Chile, regulation has prohibited marketers to advertise food products on television, the internet, and other media addressed to children under the age of fourteen (GALA, in press, 2015). In Spain, the PAOS code has aimed to adhere to the food industry to a series of norms and a co-regulatory code in order to promote healthy habits. In this sense, advertising is regulated under the supervision of both corporations and advertisers. As discussed in the preceding section, there is still little evidence about its efficacy.

Although advertising delegates in some countries have manifested advertising message has little effect on children, and therefore, current regulations are enough to protect them, both activists and scholars have pushed for stronger policies to regulate it, especially in those terms where advertising is rarely criticized, the content (Furnham, 2000). To this respect, media education has been proposed as an alternative way to palliate the effects.

TABLE 3. Advertising regulation in some countries.

COUNTRY	REGULATION
Spain	Código PAOS Corregulation code for food and beverage advertising aimed at the prevention of obesity and health problems among children.
United Kingdom	UK Code of Broadcast Advertising Prohibited food and drink advertising during, and immediately before or after, programmes commissioned for audiences below the age of 16.
Portugal	Lei 330/2019 Bans the advertising products high in salt, sugar and saturated fats in spaces frequented by minors.
Netherlands	Code for Advertising directed at Children and Young People Prohibit the specific targeting of food products to minors
Mexico	Código PABI Regulates the advertised promotion of food products and alcoholic beverages addressed to children below 12.
Chile	Food Labelling Law Establishes a compulsory and regulatory labelling for food products with the intention to guide consumers towards behaviors

SOURCE: Author.

2.4.3 Media education and advertising literacy

If it is true that banning advertising has come to diminish children's exposure, minors are some way still exposed to it. As ethical codes, conventions, and regulations have become stricter; corporations have attempted to use new advertising formats or subtle techniques (Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2004). Most scholars agree that despite regulations, media education can be the only way to lead children for a better understanding of advertising's pervasive effects (Livingstone & Helsper, 2006; Memelin, 2010; Rozendaal et al., 2011). However, for some authors such as Furnham (2000), the most effective way to help children understand advertising is through the mediation of their parents. Nonetheless, as different research has proved, parents are not always aware of what is happening in media and advertising content (Kelly et al., 2009; Morley et al., 2008). Thus, media literacy is necessary to raise awareness in both children and their parents.

Media literacy is a term that means many different things to different people — scholars, educators, citizen activists, and the general public— (Potter, 2010). For Livingstone (2004), this is a term to cover all media education literacies; however, specialization and approaches have coined other terms such as advertising literacy.

Academic literature has used different labels to describe advertising literacy. While some authors have relied on more simplistic definitions based on informational terms, «*responding the ad*» (Mamelin, 2010, Spielvogel & Terlutte, 2013), some others have opted for more complex definitions to observe sociocultural phenomenon, «*what children do with advertising message*» (Buckingham, 2013; O'Donohoe, 2015). Whatever the stance is, both perspectives agree that advertising literacy is not only about reading the message nor understanding its meanings. It is the ability to use advertising within the social context of existence (Ritson & Elliot, 1995).

Advertising literacy has been referred as many different things. The most common definition to describe it is the ability children have to recognize, evaluate, and understand advertising (Mamelin, 2010). Most scholars have connected the concept to different approaches and dimensions. Nevertheless, for Wolf, Hudders & Cauberghe advertising literacy is conceived as a complex structure with different dimensions and levels (Figure 19).

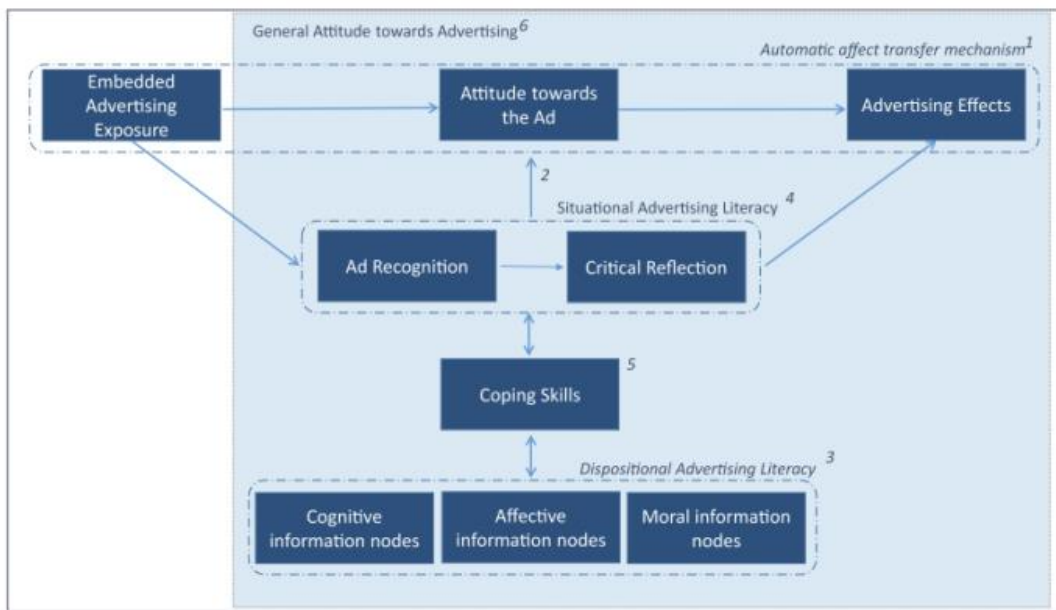


FIGURE 19. Advertising literacy: concept and dimensions. SOURCE: Hudders et al., 2016

For the cited authors, advertising literacy can be understood in general terms as the automatic affective, reactions children hold towards advertising in order to attenuate its effects. Nevertheless, in order to deal with advertising message children must develop two crucial dimensions. On the one hand, children must possess declarative/factual knowledge or domain-specific content related to the advertising message. On the other, children must count with procedural knowledge which allows them to make inferences about the factual knowledge. Both types of knowledge have been conceptualized as dispositional (referring to factual knowledge) and situational (referring to procedural knowledge) advertising literacy.

Dispositional advertising literacy can be referred as an associative network that consists of an entity of information nodes related to advertising that can be activated when children confront advertising persuasive effects. It is the knowledge, skills, and abilities consumers have about persuasion in advertising (Figure 19, route 3). It is the associative network of separate interconnected nodes that can be activated when confronted the persuasive attempt of advertising. Such information nodes have cognitive, affective and moral meanings related to advertising. The cognitive information node refers to the knowledge children have regarding advertising intent. The affective information node refers to the affective attitudes. A moral information node refers to

children's ability to develop thoughts about the appropriateness of advertising content. The development of dispositional advertising literacy encloses cognitive, emotional and moral development. When minors are less able to control inhibitions and control their impulses, they are more likely to respond to advertising message immediately.

Situational advertising literacy refers to the using and applying of the dispositional knowledge when children are exposed to advertising (route 4). It refers to the thoughts and actions children undertake in direct anticipation of the persuasive intent of advertising. It refers to the recognition of advertising and the critical reflection of its attempt. Recognizing the persuasive attempt of advertising is necessary in order to develop a critical reflection which at the same time is based on the factual knowledge of advertising. Critical reflection focuses on the recognition of advertising tactics and the assessment of its accurateness. The development of situational advertising entails the control of impulses, attention, and emotion. Applying knowledge, skills and abilities help children to be more critical, reflective attitude towards advertising.

Coping skills are the crucial connection between dispositional and situational advertising literacy (route 5) (Friestad & Wright cited in Wolf, Hudders & Cauberghe, 2016). It refers to children's ability to recognize, analyze, interpret, evaluate and remember persuasion attempts and to select and execute coping tactics considered as valid and appropriate to deal with the advertising message. Coping skills determines the speed skills and accuracy to which informational nodes (cognitive, moral and affective) can be activated in dispositional advertising and help individuals to match the proper strategy to deal with its message. The last component in the model refers to the general attitudes towards advertising (route 6). The general evaluation of advertising will influence the overall processing of its message.

The fact that a stimulating media environment surrounds children has made parents, teachers and researchers to start initiatives to palliate the advertising effects (Table 4). To this respect, both media literacy and advertising literacy have become essential measures to provide research background and practices.

Media literacy has been observed as an effort to palliate the effects of media and advertising. Moreover, it has also been considered an educative and pedagogical effort to promote communication, community building, and social change (Bergsma, 2004; Kellner & Share, 2007; Livingstone, 2004). To this respect, as discussed by Buckingham (2003), media literacy cannot exclusively support on the sole definition based on media competences (read, understand and use

media message), but also in an in-depth knowledge of media and society as well as the everyday life literacies.

Although advertising literacy has become a field of growing interest, most literature agrees it is still in its infancy. Most promoters have conceived it as a way to investigate to protect children. With this regard, both activists and scholars have observed the need to design initiatives that help parents, teachers, and children deal with advertising message (Núñez & Falcón, 2014).

TABLE 4. Advertising Literacy programs and initiatives.

MEDIA AND ADVERTISING LITERACY PROJECTS	
Don't buy it! UNITED STATES	http://pbskids.org/dontbuyit/advertisingtricks/
Media Literacy Project UNITED STATES	http://medialiteracyproject.org/es/about-mlp
Nordicom (Nordic Information Centre for Media and Communication Research) SWEEDEN	http://www.nordicom.gu.se/en/clearinghouse
Evens Foundation BELGIUM	http://www.evensfoundation.be/en/content/media-literacy-europe-12-projects-will-inspire-you
Parenting for a digital future UNITED KINGDOM	http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/parenting4digitalfuture/
Media Smarts CANADÁ	http://mediasmarts.ca/
TVO Parents UNITED STATES	http://tvoparents.tv.org/

SOURCE: MediaCorp (2018).

2.5. SOME CONCLUDING IDEAS

This chapter has discussed children's relation to television advertising observing different dimensions. From a historical overview, it has described how children became necessary for the advertising industry, in addition to, the essential role of children in the consumer culture. Moreover, the chapter has discussed the relevance of television advertising and its implication according to scientific research. Lastly, the chapter has deepened on the mediating actions to counterbalance advertising's effects. Some relevant remarks in the chapter are:

- The emergence of the child consumer played in favor of the consumer society legitimizing family consumption and the integration of children to the market.
- Advertising has become a pedagogical tool for building child consumers. It has performed as a schemer schema in the configuration of knowledge, practices, and identities. Consuming advertising is the first experience whereby children constitute a consumer habitus. Children incorporate advertising into their life and their memory even before advertisers firmly embraced them as consumers.
- Television advertising is the most effective format to address commercial messages to children. From a very early age, children are exposed to a large number of advertising messages. To this respect, most scholars have discussed the misleading role of advertising. Different studies have demonstrated that advertising tactics can unfairly exploit children's desire.
- Academic research has discussed children's understandings of advertising. Since television is still the most consumed media, researchers have focused on television advertising. Current research discusses the cognitive effects of advertising and to a lesser extent the social implication of its message. Moreover, advertising to children has specialized in areas of interest, such as food and toy advertising.
- Advertising to children research has supported on different methods. Content analysis has been a traditional method to study advertising category and representations addressed to children, whereas experimental research has been used to analyze the cognitive effects. According to scholars, qualitative research is still needed.
- Both researchers and activists have discussed the influence of television advertising on the child's well-being and cognitive development. To this respect, they have observed the need to implement measures to reduce its compelling effects. Regulations and media education have been promoted as two essential actions to deal with advertising effects.
- While the efficacy of regulation has been widely discussed, media and advertising literacy have been called fundamental. Although advertising literacy has been useful as a method to research, the need for advertising literacy initiatives has called as necessary.

3. BODY IMAGE IN ADVERTISING TO CHILDREN

Advertising prescribes discourses and representations in a sale intent, spreading different reactions and effects among audiences. Children are not exempted from advertising purpose. Different studies have evidenced the individual and the social implications of its message among the young audiences (e.g., Blades et al., 2014; Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2004; Kunkel, 2001; Livingstone & Helsper, 2006). Despite the growing concern for television content, there still little knowledge concerning the role of advertising in children's body imaginaries. To this respect, analyzing advertising message and its mediating role in children's representations of body image is a pending issue about which this dissertation aims to contribute with new findings. This chapter aims to discuss empirical research that supports this dissertation. In the first place, it argues about the relationship between children, body image, and advertising. Next, it discusses the current state of research, highlighting the current gaps and limitations. Lastly, it introduces the model of analysis implemented in this dissertation.

3.1. CHILDREN, BODY IMAGE AND ADVERTISING

Body image is a common concern among children. Whether as part of a process of physical development or as a consequence of body pressure exerted in society, children grow up aware of their body and appearance. Children's cognitive development is essential to make active their body image (Smolak, 2011). However, not all children reach body image maturity at the same time (Biolcalti et al., 2017). Socializing agents such as family, friends, and the media may play an essential role in the constitution of children's body imaginaries (Fingerson, 1999, 2009; Sama, 2011;).

Children's body concerns are usually connected with physical traits such as the shape of the face, the color, and texture of the hair, the body type and skin complexion (Chan et al., 2011; Hobbs et al., 2006; Young-Hyman et al., 2003). Both boys and girls associate people's physical appearance with sociocultural narratives, practices, and identities (Baker-Sperry & Grauerholz, 2003); likewise, they associate people's body image with race, age, gender and social class

stereotypes (Amoroso, Hanssen & Ueda, 2017; Lemish & Götz, 2017). Physical appearance is naturally mystified among children. Constructions such as beauty and gender are supported on physical traits, plus cultural images of autonomy, satisfaction and success (Götz & Lemish, 2012; Jiménez-Morales, 2006).

The transition between the first and the second childhood (ages 5 to 7) is a critical period when children experience the first body image concerns (Holmqvist, Frisén & Anderson-Fye, 2014). According to Smolak (2011), children as young as five may already show concern for the size of their tummy or muscularity. The main reason to express concern at this period is the fear of physical maturation (Berg, 1997). Following Stice (cited in Kater, Rohwer & Levine, 2007) these concerns can be understood about different sociocultural factors that strongly equate children's desirability with appearance, and desired appearance with a thin prepubescent body.

Body image discontent has increasingly become a major issue among children. Different studies have warned about the growing number of minors who experience body image concerns (Bird et al., 2013, Davison, Markey & Birch 2000, Mancilla-Medina et al., 2012; Lowes & Tiggemann 2003; Pérez-Gil; Paz & Romero, 2011; Kater, Rohwer & Levine, 2007; Smolak, 2011). According to these studies, both boys and girls are dissatisfied with any aspect of their bodies, for instance, weight, height, skin color, or hair texture. Similar to the adolescent and adult population, body image concerns are mostly present among girls (The Good Child Report, 2017).

Excessive preoccupation for body image may affect children's well-being and development. Scientific research is convincing; body pressure exerts power on children's perceptions and attitudes toward their bodies at different levels (Grogan, 2016; Smolak, 2004). Almost all studies agree that to the major preoccupation for body image, the lower self-esteem and body image dissatisfaction. With this regard, different studies such as those conducted by Biolcalti et al. (2017) and Shin & Shin (2008), have shown that children with low and high Body Mass Index (BMI) may experience greater body image discontent.

Furthermore, body image concerns may encourage children to follow unhealthy habits. For instance, in a study conducted by Kamtsios (2008), it was found that a high percentage of children under twelve who have concern for their weight, follow a regular diet and do physical activity in order to keep on the shape. On their part, (Strasburger et al., 2013) have demonstrated a correlation between body image pressure and restrictive eating among minors. Lastly, other authors have discussed the implication of body pressure in children's socialization. To this

respect, some studies have underscored children's attitudes to racial stereotypes (Klaczynski, Daniel & Keller, 2009; Reel et al., 2008). Moreover, current research has discussed children's attitudes towards their overweight peers and the stigmatization of obesity (Baxter, Collins & Hill, 2016; Harrison, 2000; Su & Aurelia, 2012).

Children's anxieties and preoccupations for their bodies may also influence their expectations and body projects. While girls strive to achieve the ideal thin, boys dream of muscularity (Holmqvist, Frisén & Anderson-Fye, 2014). Furthermore, research suggests that children may care for their body and appearance in a very similar way young people and adults do. In a study with children (ages 6 to 11), Jongenelis, Byrne & Pettigrew (2014) found that girls evaluated their bodies in a very similar way as adolescent and adult women do. According to this study, body self-objectification in children is closely associated with levels of body dissatisfaction, restrictive eating habits, and concern for physical activity.

Body pressure includes concern for other physical aspects. Recent studies have underscored the growing preoccupation for skin color and face appearance (Patton, 2006; Shin & Shin, 2008). Especially in non-Caucasian countries, children and adolescents show concern their face, skin, and hair. Both boys and girls consider the Western model of beauty as a desirable body image. To this respect, different studies have found a growing desire to be lighter-skinned among Non-caucasian children (Ogunbiyi, Omigbodun & Owoaje, 2009; Soler Castillo, 2013; Sotelo & Vázquez, 2017). Moreover, other studies have discussed the negative attitudes afro-descendant children have to their hair texture (Maldonado, 2018; Piedrahita, 2013)

The development of a positive body image during childhood is essential for a satisfactory life in adolescence and adulthood (Riccardelli & McCabe 2001). Different factors have been correlated in achieving a healthy body image. Concerning this issue, children's socialization with the media has been observed as a key factor (Carrillo, Jiménez-Morales & Sánchez, 2010; Dittmar, Halliwell, & Ive, 2006; Harrison & Hefner, 2008; Hayes & Tantleff-Dunn, 2010). The growing implication of advertising in people's self-body image construction and the body imaginaries makes necessary an overview of its mediating role among the child audience.

3.1.1. The role of advertising in children's body image

Children are highly exposed to media content. Current studies suggest that children consume an average of two and three hours of audiovisual content in a day (Hudders et al., 2015; Kantar Media, 2017). Depending on the type of media—conventional or digital—children are more or less exposed to different advertising formats. Television advertising is still the most powerful device to reach children (Wolf, Hudders & Cauberghe, 2015). According to the American Academy of Pediatrics, children and adolescents may consume 400 000 advertisements a year (Jordan & Romer, 2014).

Children are interpellated by media messages that foster both body care and the body cult (Carrillo, Jiménez-Morales & Sánchez, 2010; González, Luna & Carrillo, 2011). Such messages transfer and perpetuate body values which interfere in children's health and socialization. Different research has connected media exposure and consumption with an increasing concern for body image among minors (Dohnt & Tiggemann, 2006; Dittmar, 2009; Dittmar, Halliwell, & Ive, 2006; Grogan, 2016; Hayes & Tantleff-Dunn, 2010; Pallan et al., 2011). Regarding advertising to children, research has been consistent with underlining some essential roles at different levels. (Figure 20).

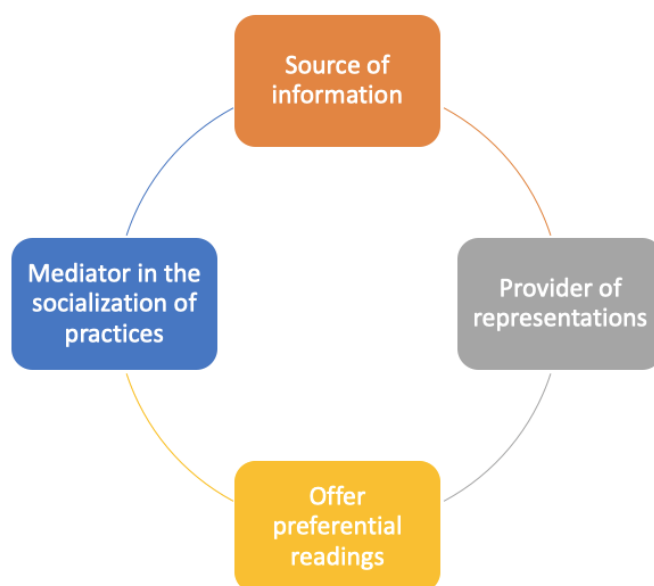


FIGURE 20. The role of advertising in children's body image. SOURCE: Author

Children consumption of advertising is addressed to satisfy informational demands concerning products and brands (Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2004). Nevertheless, as observed in different studies (Carrillo, Jiménez-Morales & Sánchez, 2012; Grogan, 2016; Jiménez-Morales, 2006), advertising also performs as a source of information concerning the body image. As advertisers appeal to children with images, slogans, and jingles, they disseminate information regarding the body and its appearance.

Moreover, advertising provides representations and grants preferential readings which configure the body canons and stereotypes. With this regard, advertising operates as a structuring schema that determines how to embody the body image (Featherstone, 2006; Turner, 1994). Body image discourses and representations become regulative ideals (Rose, 1998) that influence children's attitudes and preferences towards body imaginaries, mediating in children's self-objectification (Jongenelis, Byrne, & Pettigrew, 2014) and socialization (Buckingham, 2013). Lastly, advertising mediates in children's appropriation of body policies and practices. It works as an expert knowledge that regulates in the transference and acquisition of body policies and practices. Advertising not only prescribes body image ideals but also teaches how to achieve them (González, Juárez & Ludeña, 2012; Holmqvist & Frisén, 2012).

Children's relation with advertising has traditionally been documented from two perspectives: on the one hand, a psychological approach which aims to study advertising message as an influential factor at a cognitive level. On the other, a socio-cultural approach which addresses the social implications of advertising.

At a *cognitive level*, advertising has been pointed as an influential factor in the construction of body image. Researchers in this line have sought to solve this issue suggesting that advertising operates in emotional and rational levels which alter the self-body image perception and satisfaction (Grogan, 2016; Grabe, Ward & Hyde, 2008; Martin & Kennedy, 1993). Likewise, research has attempted to examine how advertising discourse and representations influence in children's perceptions and attitudes toward the body image of their peers (Botta, 1999; Dittmar, Halliwell, & Ive, 2006). Additionally, research has argued that children may be amenable to different commercial appeals and production tactics (Harrison, 2010; Merksin, 2004).

At the *social level*, advertising has been observed as a mediator in children's socialization and identity process. Existing research suggests children's relation with advertising is not necessarily reduced to the simple exposition and the effects of advertising message (Bartholomew & O'Donohoe, 2003; Buckingham,

2013; Kondo & Steemers, 2007). Instead, the researchers focus on studying what children do with an advertising message, the sense they make to representations and the way they appropriate images and narratives to interpret and explain the world they live. From this perspective, identity and corporality constitute facing the representations suggested by media and advertising, but “the effects” can only be observed when researchers account for the symbolic efficacy of its message (Ibáñez, 2012).

Although research has been consistent to determine that children are a vulnerable group to the advertising message, and this may influence to some extent their body image, there is still little research concerning the topic. The following section discusses some of the relevant works in the field.

3.2. THE STATE OF RESEARCH

Researching body image in advertising to children has followed some common patterns. On the one hand, researchers have been interested in identifying the content appealing the body image and the body cult. (Carrillo-Durán, Jiménez-Morales & Sánchez, 2010; González, Luna & Carrillo-Durán, 2011). Consistent with this, other studies have focused on studying body image representations and discourses disseminated through these messages (Amoroso, Hanssen & Ueda, 2017, Götz & Herche, 2012; Götz & Lemish, 1998, 2003; Herbozo et al., 2004; Martins et al., 2011). Moreover, research has also centered on evaluating children’s attitudes towards depicted body image and the internalization of body image ideals (Chan, Leung Ng & Williams, 2012; Jung & Peterson, 2007; Martin & Gentry, 1997).

Although advertising to children has been underscored as a relevant field of research, current studies present some gaps and limitations. For instance, most conducted content analyses have considered the study of advertising within other media content. Existing research has examined children’s advertising, analyzing children’s schedule and channels, but rarely has it observed advertising itself (e.g., González, Luna & Carrillo-Durán, 2011; González-Díaz, 2008). Additionally, most studies observing children’s advertising have hardly differentiated the target ages. Researchers have explored advertising in both children’s and adolescent’s media content.

Furthermore, analyzing advertising effects and implications is still very limited. To this respect, existing research has mostly observed children within the collective

of young people. To a lesser extent, young children have been studied as a single group (e.g., Callister et al., 2012; Falcón & Díaz-Aguado, 2014; Garcia-Múñoz, Fedele, & Gomez-Díaz, 2012). Moreover, research has mostly focused on the female audience.

In short, there is still a dearth of research regarding body image in advertising to children. Existing research has centered on analyzing body image portrayals in advertising to minors; however, it has rarely explored advertising content aimed at young children. Moreover, analyzing the child audience has been limited to study the advertising effects. To a lesser extent, researchers have explored advertising's social implications. For this research, the following sections discuss the relevant findings concerning the role of advertising in body representations and its mediating role among the child audience.

3.2.1. The body image representations aimed at children.

Body image operates as an appealing feature to engage children with advertising message (Lawrence, 2003). Character portrayals are usually connected with the image and identity of brands and products in order to catch children's attention and become familiar (Jacobson, 2004). Analyzing body image representations aimed to children has included some regular issues, for instance: the study of gender representations, the body schema in characters, and the character portrayals in advertising categories (e.g., food, toy) Content analysis has been the predominant method to study such representations.

Analyzing body image in advertising to children has primarily considered the study of gender representations and character's physical appearance (Amoroso, Hanssen & Ueda, 2017; Herbozo et al., 2004; Lemish & Götz, 2017). For instance, Götz & Lemish (2006, 2012) have observed during different periods the German television in order to study gender distribution and male and female characters' appearance. Conclusions in both studies are significant. Male characters doubled the participation of the female ones. Consistent with this, male characters are depicted performing leading roles and actions in comparison to their counterparts who performed subordinated.

The fact that media producers address children unreal images has urged researchers to know the realism of images in media content. In this line, studies such as those conducted by Downs & Smith (2010), Martins et al. (2009), Martin et al., (2011) have determined that although realistic in some aspects, body image addressed to minors does not correspond to real bodies. Additionally, these

studies have determined that male characters are more likely to approach reality in comparison to the female ones.

The study of character portrayal has also suggested that advertising to children prescribes body image ideals (Götz & Herche, 2012; Herbozo et al., 2004; Silverstein, Peterson & Perdue, 1986). According to the cited studies, characters in media and advertising content are usually depicted subjected to the body canons. While female characters are depicted following the standards of slenderness and beauty, male characters are portrayed as muscled and strong bodies. With this regard, most studies agree that body proportions and scheme in advertising characters is unattainable and unhealthy.

The representation of ethnicity in media and advertising is another issue on the debate. Conducted studies have traditionally discussed the lack of ethnic representation and the stigmatization of minorities in advertising to children (Gilmore & Jordan, 2012; Greenberg & Mastro, 2008; Hoek & Laurence, 1993; Hogan, 2005). Nevertheless, current research suggests that ethnicity representation is also connected with gender, roles, and body stereotypes (Foster, 2014). There is still little research regarding this issue, however.

Current research has accounted for increasing representation of sexual imagery in advertising to children (Merskin, 2014; Papadopoulos, 2010). Sexuality and sexualization of characters is a more common phenomenon in today's media (Prinsloo, 2012). As observed in Spry's study (2012), even child characters have been sexualized. To this respect, Götz & Herche (2012) have questioned the sexualization of child characters and highlights the lack of realism in these images. As the authors argue, there is a growing sexualization in child characters. Even animal or fiction characters are depicted with the wasp-waist or V-torso, while the Lolita character has become increasingly popular among adolescents (Merskin, 2014).

Lastly, other studies have been interested in correlating body image with advertising category. Most research has been interested in analyzing body image representations concerning promoted products or services (food, cult products, toys). Byrd-Bredbenner & Grasso (2000) and Lewis & Hill (1998) have analyzed the character portrayals in food advertising, observing the positive features added to these representations. On her part, Gallegos (2015) has underscored the prevalence of unrealistic beauty canons to promote the consumption of hygiene and cosmetic products. Nevertheless, most research reviewing this advertising content has traditionally been focused on adult content.

3.2.2. Analyzing the child audience

Analyzing the role of advertising among the child audience has drawn some specific topics and research lines. On that hand, scholars have centered on the psychosocial effects of the advertising message. On the other, they have approached the social implication of its messages on children's body imaginary. Exploring both the cognitive and the social effects of body image representations in advertising to children has been connected with a major concern: the role of advertising in children's well-being and development.

Existing research has mostly focused on evaluating children's attitudes and perceptions toward their self-body image after advertising exposure. Most studies have come at the same conclusion; advertising has a significant role in children's self-objectification as they can evaluate and compare their bodies with the images they consume (Grogan, 2016). Similar studies have explored the effects of advertising message on children's body satisfaction. For instance, Martin & Gentry (1997) studied the impact of highly attractive models on female preadolescents and adolescents, concluding that self-perception and self-esteem can be detrimentally affected, mainly when self-evaluation occurs.

In comparison to other content addressed to young children, television advertising might be influential. According to Carrillo, Jiménez-Morales & Sánchez (2010) advertising may be the primary cause of body image discontent and dissatisfaction as it is one of the significant sources of information related to body cult and appearance consumed by young populations.

Furthermore, advertising consumption has been linked with children's construction of the body, identity, and socialization. In this line, different studies such as those conducted by Gentry & Harrison (2010) and Bakir, Blodgett & Rose (2008) have explored the role of advertising in gender construction and the appropriation of gender roles and stereotypes. Results in the cited studies suggest an evident connection of gender imaginaries to what is represented in advertising. Likewise, gender construction might be biased by the selected themes introduced by advertisers as they attempt to appeal specific age and gender targets.

On their part, studies such as the one conducted by Latner, Rosewall & Simmonds (2007) evaluated the effects of the advertising message in children's attitudes to overweight peer while Bush, Smith & Martin (1999) explored the attitudes to black people after media and advertising exposure. The mentioned studies come at the same conclusion; children may be prone to develop negative attitudes and

prejudices against characters whose body image is depicted as negative.

Academic research has also explored the effects of food advertising on children's health and body image. Most studies are consistent in determining food advertising may influence children's perceptions and attitudes toward food, and alter their habits during adolescence and adult life (Arcan, Bruening & Story, 2013). Consuming food advertising has been related to obesity and overweight. As children socialize with unhealthy food, which may affect their eating habits, they may also experience body pressure and dissatisfaction (O'dea, 2004).

To a lesser extent, academic research has been interested in exploring children's understandings of body image. Although this issue has been explored among adolescent and adult audiences (Diedrichs, Lee & Kelly, 2011; Harrison & Hefner, 2014), children's understandings of body image remain unexplored. Existing research has been interested in exploring children's understanding of advertising the reality of images (Holmqvist & Frisén, 2012), the audiovisual language used in ads (Morris & Katzman, 2003) and the manipulation techniques applied in some lose-weight products (Hobbs et al., 2006).

To sum up, although it is widely discussed that advertising has a leading role in the children's construction of body, identity, and socialization, there is still little research to understand this phenomenon. Most research has discussed psychosocial effects. To this respect, experimental research has been prevalent. Moreover, researchers have also explored children's socialization with body image discourses and representations concluding advertising has a relevant role in socializing body stereotypes. Lastly, advertising has been studied as a factor of influence in the transference/acquisition of body practices (chiefly those related to the consumption of health and hygiene products). In this way, advertising has taught children how to perform gender roles and stereotypes, as well as to reproduce body and racial patterns.

3.3. THE BODY IMAGE REPRESENTATIONS AND THE CHILD AUDIENCE

As it has been discussed along with this chapter, different approaches have explored advertising to children. From the study of its content to the analysis of its effects and social implications, several disciplines and methods have accounted for the role of advertising in children's well-being and development. This section is aimed to introduce the model of analysis to be implemented in

the present study. The model has been supported on the empirical research, theories, and concepts concerning the study of body image and advertising to children (as reviewed in the previous chapters). Two fundamental dimensions are revised: the study of body image representations and its mediating role among the child audience.

3.3.1. The body image representations

The advertising message is structured by collective representations aimed to be shared within targeted audiences -and society in general-. These visions of the world represent interpretations of reality that the producers of information (corporations and advertisers) share and— through different processes of mediation— become significant means, culturally appropriated by the audiences (Martín-Serrano, 2014; Lull, 2000).

“Representations are usually defined as ideas, thoughts, images, and knowledge about a ‘social object’” (Moscovici cited in Meier & Kirchler, 1998, p. 756). Following the cited authors, they constitute the commonly held knowledge and ideas of a collective or social category which allows the mutual understanding between two referential systems and/or individuals. To this respect, representations incorporate individual experiences and the commonly shared knowledge, norms, and values within a group.

Mass media are one of the primary transmitters/communicators of representations. They contribute to the dissemination, appropriation, and reconfiguration of social representations through their discourse. The knowledge communicated by these representations influence individuals, ideas, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors. Along with other factors of influence, media representations influence the generation of individuals’ concepts and determines their attitudes (Meier & Kirchler, 1998).

Media representations are neither isolated nor unintentional constructed objects. They emerge as part of enculturation¹⁸ processes of public communication (Martín-Serrano, 2014). Media representations are connected to

¹⁸ Enculturation: the process by which people learn the dynamics of their surrounding culture and acquire values and norms appropriate or necessary in that culture and worldviews. As part of this process, the influences that limit, direct, or shape the individual (whether deliberately or not) include parents, other adults, and peers. If successful, enculturation results in competence in the language, values, and rituals of the culture. (Grusec, 2007).

cultural identities and values. They are constructed to appeal subjective/cognitive imaginaries. Moreover, they reiterate the cultural representations of the (un)desired roles and schemes for action.

Media representations make sense as they are integrated into meta-narratives. Storytelling is necessary for the enculturation processes: the exteriorization and internalization of both social and media imaginaries (Velarde, 1991). Exteriorization might be understood as the vision of the world prescribed by the producers of information. Internalization, on its part, might be referred to like the picture that individuals appropriate and incorporate to their knowledge and actions (Bernete, 2013).

Media representations are used by the producers of information to share collective views. When representations are altered, they are assumed as subjective/cognitive visions which individuals may find (or not) as congruent to their actions, beliefs, and value. The change such visions should be reflected in the social imaginaries, the self-image, and identity. To this respect, following Martín-Serrano (2004), analyzing media representations in media content can be focused on their a) *structuring* or b) *structured* character. The construction and interpretation of representations should observe both the communicative and the social system as they are mutually affected by the (re)configuration of representations (Figure 21).



FIGURE 21. Activities that participate in the enculturation process. SOURCE: Martín-Serrano (2014, p.42).

Consistent with the aforementioned, body image representations in media can be understood as structuring structures that enhance both individual and societal values, as well as the practices and beliefs concerning *the embodied body* and *the embodied image* (see chapter one). In this sense, body image representations become, to some extent, *body grammars* that become articulated by both the producers of information and media consumers.

Although *body grammars* are structured in different fields, media might be most influential in the enculturation processes (Carrillo, Sánchez & Jiménez-Morales, 2012). The encoding and decoding processes of body grammars might be subjected to the social narratives, norms, values, and beliefs stick to culture. Additionally, audiences may introduce background elements to make sense of such representations. This dialogical relation may produce, reproduce and reinforce the body values.

The representation of body image is supported on the character portrayal and the features that comprise such depictions. As any other representations, body image in characters might be supported on a) *constitutive* and *prescribed* features. Following Martín-Serrano (2014), constitutive features refer to the permanent or steady elements that provide information regarding the characters and are basically connected to their nature (gender, age, ethnicity, species, physical traits, etc.). On the other side, prescribed features are conceived as the suggested elements connected to the constitutive features and about which identities emerge (roles, actions, psychosocial traits, social contexts, etc.). Both dimensions provide a vision of reality which exteriorizes and internalize the normative/regulative order of the body image in society.

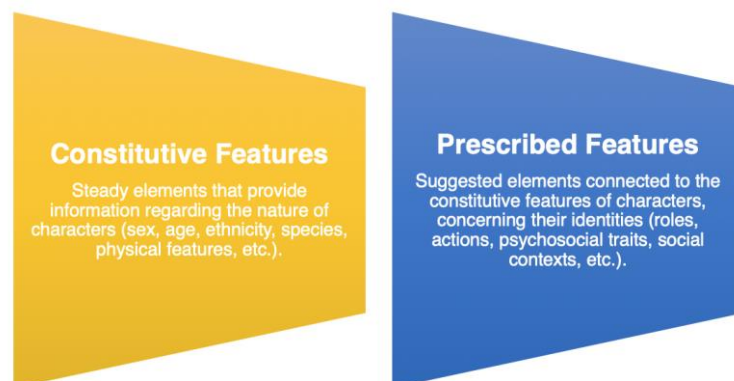


FIGURE 22. Features that comprise body image representations. SOURCE: Author's own elaboration based on Martín-Serrano, 2014.

3.3.2. Children and body image representations

The audience includes a group of consumers of information (Huertas, 2006). Advertising usually aims both direct and indirect audiences. Children are considered a targeted audience when advertising content is explicitly addressed to them for whatever reason of the averters (e.g., sell intent, brand or product position) (Patterson, 2013). Nonetheless, children are consumers of side advertising. They watch advertising aimed at different age publics and recall the products and brands. In this sense, it can be said that a child audience is a participatory group which consumes and socializes around any specific media content (program or advertising campaign) (Buckingham, 2005).

As the children consume advertising, they internalize and exteriorize representations. Compared to mechanic theories of communication, the child audience evaluates the material it consumes. Children have competences to understand advertising message (Livingstone, 2006). They assess the motivations and intentions of the producers of information, and integrate them and compare them with other sources, including their own direct experience (Buckingham, 2015).

Following Buckingham (2006), advertising conveys images and fantasies, provides opportunities for imaginative self-expression and play and serves as a medium through which intimate personal relationships are conducted. Advertising representations are useful elements to organize children's world. Concerning the body image, they provide the body grammars that compose children's imaginaries, discourses, and practices.

Children are engaged in body image representations as cultural forms that make sense of embodied images and embodied identities. They make interpretations of them and appropriate their meanings in everyday practices. Following Buckingham (2003), the interpretation of body image can be given at the micro-level and the macro-level of textual meaning. In this sense, as argued by the author, the interpretation of representations not only depends on particular shots or sequences but its representation in its whole context: the narrative of advertisement and its social implication. Understanding these elements might also be seen as forms of literacy. Advertising, therefore, may be involved in the production of social meanings concerning the body or *mediated body literacies*.

To this respect, following Buckingham (2006), analyzing body image in advertising and the child audience must involve both the study of children's interpretation of representations and their implication in children's body literacies. As argued by the cited author, researching the child audience might be focused on the analysis of children awareness of advertising. This entails, for instance, the knowledge of advertising representations (characters), the context of the advertising message, the recognition of its purpose, the intertextual character of representations, etcetera.

3.3.3. The model of analysis

The study of body image representations in television advertising addressed to children considers two dimensions of analysis. On that hand, it focuses on the analysis of representations (character portrayals). On the other, it analyzes the mediating role of advertising in children's body imaginaries.

Based on the conceptualizations of *body grammars*, the model of analysis aims to identify the structuring structures that embody the body image in television advertising. Since analyzing representations requires the contextualization of images (Buckingham, 2007), the study focuses in two observational units: 1) advertisements as units of analysis, and 2) the character portrayals as encoding units. By observing such units, the model aims to reconstitute the body grammars prescribed to children.

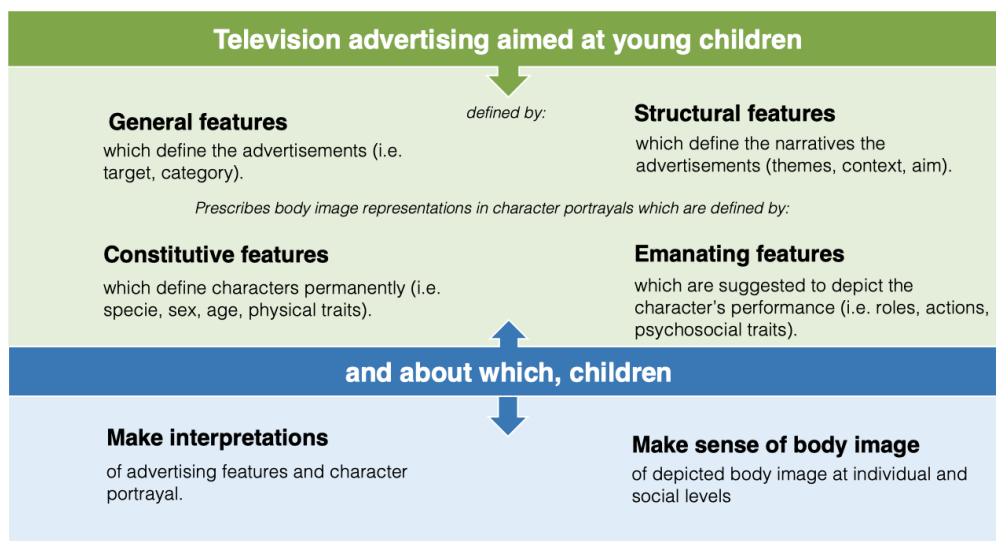


FIGURE 23. The model of analysis. SOURCE: Author

Based on the conceptualization of *body literacies*, the model aims to explore children's knowledge and understanding of body image in advertising. It focused on two dimensions: a) children's knowledge of advertising and children's interpretation of characters' body image, b) the implication of body grammars in children's body literacies at individual and social levels.

3.4. SOME CONCLUDING IDEAS

This chapter has introduced the empirical basis that supports this dissertation. The relation between children, body image, and advertising have also been discussed. Furthermore, the chapter has contextualized research with the findings of similar works. Finally, the chapter has presented the model of analysis. Some relevant issues concerning this chapter are:

- Body image has become a major concern among young children. From a very early age, children manifest preoccupation for their body image and appearance. Most of these concerns are linked to physical traits (face, hair, body type, and skin complexion). Furthermore, different research has shown that while girls strive for the slender body, boys desire muscularity.
- Excessive preoccupation for body image may affect children's well-being and development. Moreover, it may also influence their expectations and body projects. The development of a positive body image during childhood is essential for a satisfactory life in adolescence and adulthood.
- Different factors affect children's body image construction. According to empirical research, sociocultural factors such as media are considered influential. To this respect, advertising performs as a relevant source of information concerning the body image and the body cult. Advertising appeals to children with information regarding the body and appearance. Likewise, it provides preferential readings which configure the body canons and stereotypes.
- Advertising operates as a structuring structure which may affect two different levels. At a cognitive level, advertising influences on emotional and rational dimensions affecting the body image perceptions and satisfaction. At the social level, it performs as a mediator in children's socialization and identity processes.
- Although research has been persistent in claiming that advertising affects children's body image, there is still little research concerning the topic.

There is a dearth of research in media studies. Furthermore, existing research has focused on the study of body image portrayals in children's television content, but it has rarely explored advertising aimed at young children. Moreover, analyzing the child audience has been limited to study the advertising effects. To a lesser extent, researchers have studied the mediating role of advertising.

- Finally, the chapter introduced the model of analysis implemented in this study. The key dimensions explored in the study were described: the study of body image representations and its mediating role among the child audience. The following chapter will revise the method implemented in this study.

4. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The study sought to contribute the research gaps and limitations discussed in the preceding chapters. With this regard, this research has been aimed to study the body image representations in television advertising and the effects on the child audience. Compared to prior studies, this work has focused on the analysis of body image representations in the most-viewed television advertising by young children (ages 6 to 9), and its mediating role in their body imaginaries. This chapter presents the methodological approach implemented in this study.

4.1. RESEARCH GOALS

This study has been supported in two research aims (RA) and their specific research goals (SG):

RA1: Analyze the body image representations in the most-viewed television advertising by young children (ages 6 to 9).

SG1. Analyze the structural and general features of the most-viewed television advertising by young children.

SG2. Analyze the body image prescribed via advertising characters.

SG3. Describe the character's body image observing gender differences.

SG4. Identify the cases when body image is prescribed as part of the key message.

RA2: Analyze the mediating role of advertising in children's body imaginaries.

SG5. Explore children's understandings of television advertising and depicted body image.

SG6. Analyze the social implications of advertising in children's body imaginaries.

In order to fulfill the research aims and goals, this study has been supported on a mixed method. The following section expands on the techniques, material, and procedures conducted.

4.2. METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

Research is a creation process: the design and the application of theoretical and methodological frameworks to broaden an object of study (Taylor & Bogdan, 2015). Outlining the research is a necessary work to construct research instruments, to verify their validation and reliability, and to plan the data collection and analysis.

Scholars classify research design according to the nature of the study (Gómez, Flores & Jiménez, 1999). To this respect, research has been traditionally observed as *quantitative* and *qualitative*. Such classification allows researchers to observe particularities and differences of variables at different levels during the research process. Nevertheless, as stated by Velarde (2013), sometimes the nature of objects can hardly be dissected. Therefore, the use of mixed methods is necessary to investigate the social phenomena in its complexity (Morin, 2014).

The methodological convergence is a strategically form to achieve a better understanding of the object of study. The mixed methodology should be seen as complementary rather than problematic. Most authors in media studies agree on the desirability of mixing methods given the strengths and weakness found on single method studies (Buckingham, 2011; Kunkel, 2001; Livingstone, 2004, 2016). Thus, based on the Literature Review: this research has been drawn on a mixed methodology (Table 5). Both quantitative and qualitative methods were considered to conduct a systematical analysis as follows:

- A **quantitative study** of the body image representations in television advertising through *content analysis*.
- A **qualitative study** of the mediating role of advertising in children's body imaginaries conducted through *focus groups*.

TABLE 5. Methodological strategy.

RESEARCH AIMS	SPECIFIC GOALS	METHOD AND TECHNIQUE	UNITS OF ANALYSIS
RA1: Analyze the body image representations in the most-viewed television advertising by young children (ages 6 to 9).	<p>SG1. Analyze the structural and general features of the most-viewed television advertising by young children.</p> <p>SG2. Analyze the body image prescribed via advertising characters.</p> <p>SG3. Describe the character's body image observing gender differences.</p> <p>SG4. Identify the cases when body image is prescribed as part of the key message.</p>	<p>Quantitative</p> <p>Content Analysis</p>	One hundred fifty-three television advertising commercials addressed to 5-9 Spanish children.
RA2: Analyze the mediating role of advertising in children's body imaginaries.	<p>SG5. Explore children's understandings of television advertising and depicted body image.</p> <p>SG6. Analyze the social implications of advertising in children's body imaginaries.</p>	<p>Qualitative</p> <p>Focus Group</p>	Children's discourses in 10 Focus Groups with 6 to 9 years-old schooled children.

SOURCE: Author.

4.2.1. Content analysis

The increasing role of media in body image construction has driven to a series of studies aimed to explore its content and representations. Regarding the analysis of body image in advertising to children, this has not been the exception (see, for example, Amoroso, Hanssen & Ueda, 2017, Götz & Herche, 2012; Götz & Lemish, 2012; Herbozo et al., 2004; Martin et al., 2011). Researching on advertising content has allowed the identification of patterns that mediate in the construction of representations and stereotypes among children.

Content analysis has been defined from general to specific terms. On the one hand, it has been referred to as a specific research technique to analyze communication processes and its different components and contexts (Hernández, Fernández & Baptista, 2006). On the other, this has been observed as a summarizing technique or quantitative analysis of messages which rely on the scientific method including attention to objectivity/intersubjectivity, a priori design, reliability, validity, generalizability, replicability, and hypothesis testing (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 10).

Following Berelson (2000), the content analysis allows an objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the *manifest content* in any communication. The author emphasizes on the attribute of 'manifest content' to ensure that the coding of data is verifiable and intersubjectively reliable. That is, as Krippendorff (2012) states, the content analysis must make replicable and valid inferences that can be applied to its context. Like any other empirical method, content analysis fulfills the requirements of objectivity and systematicity. The rules that content analysis follow must be explicit and equally applicable to all units of analysis for a procedure to be replicable (Krippendorff, 2012).

There are different purposes to apply content analysis (Berelson, 2000). This research has been focused on describing the representational values of body image in advertisings' characters. A model of analysis has been proposed to identify body image representations in the most viewed television advertising by young children. Based on prior models to study characters' portrayals in television and advertising (Fernández-Villanueva et al. 2004; Martín-Serrano, 2004; Martín-Serrano et al., 1995; Velarde, 1991), the proposed model outlines the dimensions and categories of analysis as stated in Figure 24.

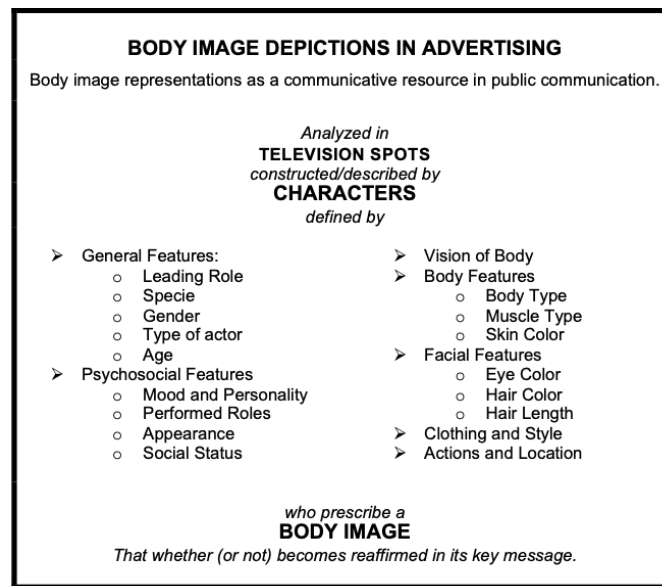


FIGURE 24. A model for the analysis of body image in advertising. SOURCE: Author.

4.2.1.1. Sample

A database with the highest impact advertising campaigns, addressed to young children during the first semester of 2015, was provided by Kantar Media (2016). The sample was organized into units of analysis and units of registration, as suggested by Krippendorff (2012) (Figure 25).

UNITS OF ANALYSIS	
Units of observation: 153 Television Spots of the 100 high impact advertisers.	
	UNITS OF REGISTRATION
	Encoding unit 427 Main or Secondary characters.

FIGURE 25. Units of analysis and registration. SOURCE: Author.

The analyzed sample consisted of 153 spots which belonged to the television campaigns with the highest impact (Gross Rating Points, GPRS) among children (ages 5 to 9 years). (Full list can be seen in Annex 1). In order to reach the encoding units (characters' body image) spots were primarily classified into those showing body image depictions (See *procedure*). After reviewing the collected sample, 133 spots were selected as units of analysis meanwhile, units of registration were determined in 427 characters from whom body image was analyzed.

4.2.1.2. Measure

A protocol of analysis was designed intentionally for this research (Añaños et al., 2016). Dimension, components, and categories were defined according to the suggested model of analysis (Figure 24).

Dimensions of analysis were mainly three: *Advertisements, Characters, and Body Image as a Message*. Such dimensions were additionally subdivided into different components and variables. Description of each dimension, its components and variables can be observed as follows:

1. Advertisements: The advertising communication (spots) produced by advertisers (brands/corporations) viewed by young children (ages 6 to 9).

1.1 General features: Main characteristics that define the advertising spot.

1.1.1. *Target age:* Age group described as the final consumer of advertised product or service¹⁹.

1.1.2. *Target gender:* Gender group addressed as the final consumer of the advertised product or service.

1.1.3. *Type of advertising:* Classification of advertising according to its promoted content

1.1.4. *Category of advertising:* Classification of advertising spot according to the promoted product or service category.

1.1.5. *Subcategory of advertising:* Sub-classification of advertising spot according to the product or service.

¹⁹ In comparison to what is usually referred in advertising and marketing research that "different publics can be targeted in communication advertising", target in this research was only referred as the final users of products or services.

1.2. Structural features: Characteristics that define the narrative structure of advertising spots.

1.2.1. *Themes:* General themes supporting the plot in an advertising spot.

1.2.2. *Narrative context:* Situation/context in which the plot of advertising mostly occurs.

1.2.3. *Prescription in the narrative:* The appealing intent for consuming the product or service according to the narrative in the advertising spot.

2. Characters: Agents who perform actions individually or collectively during the plot of the spot. According to the performed actions, characters were encoded according to eight group variables.

2.1. General Features: General and sociodemographic information related to encoded characters.

2.1.1. *Acting role:* The type of performance characters play, determined according to the character's performed action.

2.1.2. *Type of species:* The group to which a character belongs to according to physiological similarities.

2.1.3. *Gender:* The gender group to which a character belongs to according to his/her depiction.

2.1.4. *Type of actor:* Classification of characters according to their performed actions.

2.1.5. *Appearance:* The type of accompaniment mostly presented with the characters.

2.1.6. *Age:* The age group to which depicted character belongs.

2.1.7. *Socioeconomic status:* The socioeconomic group to which character belongs.

2.2. Roles: Predominant role played by the characters during the spot.

2.2.1. *Familiar:* Family relations depicted in characters.

2.2.2. *Occupational:* Work or occupation depicted in characters.

2.2.3. *Relational:* Other social relations depicted in characters.

2.3. Psychosocial traits: Mood and personality mostly show by characters during the spot.

2.3.1. *Mood:* The dominant emotional trait of the characters.

2.3.2. *Personality:* The trait that mostly describes the psychological characteristics of the characters.

2.4. Body Vision: Body part mostly visualized in characters during the spot.

2.5. Physical traits: Observation of physical traits in characters. Encoded only if traits were shown.

2.5.1. *Body type:* The physical constitution of the body.

2.5.2. *Muscle type:* The muscle constitution.

2.5.3. *Skin complexion:* The color of skin.

2.6. Facial traits: Observations in the face and the head of characters. Encoded only if traits were shown.

2.6.1. *Color of eyes:* The color appearance of eyes according to its visualization.

2.6.2. *Color of hair:* The color appearance of hair according to its visualization.

2.6.3. *Length of hair:* The length appearance of hair according to its visualization.

2.7. Dressing: Type of dress and style mostly worn by characters.

2.7.1. *Clothing:* Type of outfit depicted characters wear.

2.7.2. *Dressing style:* Dressing code or style characters wear.

2.8. Action and place: Main action of characters and the place where it happens.

2.8.1. *Actions:* Mostly performed actions by encoded character.

2.8.2. *Locations:* Place encoded character mostly appear.

3. Body image as a message: The visualization of the body image as an expressive resource in the spot's key message.

3.1. Emphasis: The use of body image to stress advertising message.

3.1.1. *Body as a message:* Identification of depicted body image as a message.

3.1.2. *Emphasized part:* The seized body image which is focused as part of the key message.

3.2. Resources: Audiovisual elements that objectify body image in advertising's key message.

3.2.1. *Sound effects:* Sound effects employed to praise body image as part of the key message.

3.2.2. *Visual effects*: Visual and graphics effects employed to praised body image.

3.2.3. *Textual elements*: Textual elements employed to praise body image.

Dimensions of analysis were structured in components and variables as specified in Table 6. Moreover, the specific categories for each variable can be seen in Annex 2.

TABLE 6. Dimensions, components, and variables of analysis

DIMENSIONS OF ANALYSIS	COMPONENTS	VARIABLES
1. ADVERTISEMENT	1.1. General Features	1.1.1 Target age
		1.1.2. Target gender
		1.1.3. Type of advertising
		1.1.4. Category of advertising
		1.1.5. Subcategory of advertising
	1.2 Structural Features	1.2.1. Themes
1.2.2. Narrative context		
1.2.3. Prescription (aim)		
2. CHARACTERS	2.1 General Features	2.1.1. Acting Role
		2.1.2. Specie
		2.1.3. Gender
		2.1.4. Type of Actor
		2.1.5. Appearance
		2.1.6. Age
		2.1.7. Social Status
	2.2 Roles	2.2.1. Familiar
		2.2.2. Occupational
		2.2.3. Relational
	2.3. Psychosocial Traits	2.3.1. Mood
		2.3.2. Personality
	2.4 Body Vision	2.4.1. Vision of Body
	2.5. Physical Traits	2.5.1. Body Type
		2.5.2. Muscle Type
		2.5.3 Skin Color
	2.6. Facial Traits	2.6.1. Eye Color
		2.6.2. Hair Color
		2.6.3. Hair Length
	2.7. Dressing	2.7.1. Dress Code
2.7.8. Style		
2.8. Action and place	2.8.1. Action	
	2.8.2. Place	
3. BODY IMAGE AS A MESSAGE	3.1. Emphasis	3.1.1. Body as Message
		3.1.2. Emphasized Body
	3.2 Resources	3.2.1. Sound Effects
		3.2.2. Visual Effects
		3.2.3. Textual Elements

SOURCE: Añaños et al., 2016.

4.2.1.3. Procedure

Members of the research team validated the protocol of analysis after a first trial. For intercoder reliability, two trained researchers analyzed a random sub-sample made of N=26 advertisements (n=125 characters), obtaining Cohen's Kappa index of 0.82. After that, a group of ten trained researchers was organized in working couples to analyze the whole sample. Every couple watched and recorded data from a sample of 25 advertising spots. Moreover, research couples discussed and solved possible questions and biases. This measure helped to guarantee the objectivity of the procedure and the registration of content.

Advertisements and characters were coded according to the following criteria:

For the advertisements:

- All sample units were visualized, but those advertisements in which body image did not appear or its appearance was hard to identify were excluded from the analysis. (e.g., ads only showing product, banners, or texts. Ads in which human appearance was reduced to his/her hands, feet or any minimal body fraction). The original sample was reduced from 153 ads to 133 units.

For Characters:

- Characters were coded according to their appearance order in the plot.
- All characters were coded only once.
- Characters appearing as a group performing actions as a collective (e.g., Soccer team, models walking, friends playing the same thing) were coded as single actors, a collective actor.
- Characters who did not fit into the main or supporting actor category and those not performing any actions were excluded (e.g., background actors).
- Characters were coded according to their most prevalent traits. Categories to classify, for instance: mood, personality, action, or clothes, were selected according to their time duration.
- Animals and any other fictional characters were coded just in the case their body image resembles human body image (e.g., A cow looking like a woman). Characters with non-human appearance were excluded (e.g., Animated cars, a talkative fruit, brand mascots, etc...)

For Body Image as a Message:

- Body image of characters was analyzed as part of the key message when the physical or psychosocial traits of characters were used as communicative expressions in the advertisement. (e.g., If advertising key message was 'drink sunny light juice to be strong and healthy' and body image was emphasized using any audiovisual language or special effect).
- Body image of characters was not analyzed as part of the key message when their body image was not part of the key message neither was this emphasized.

Data was recorded in three different Excel worksheets according to the established protocol.

Advertisement Inclusion: A sheet to register if the advertising spot met the requirements of analysis.

Advertisement Template: A sheet to encode the descriptive aspects of selected television spots.

Characters Template: A sheet to encode the traits of main and supporting characters according to variables and categories.

Finally, some specific rules that applied to the analysis of the advertising content were:

- All spots and characters were given a tag for its identification.
- All analysts used the same categories and taxonomy rules for spot and character identification.
- All spots were visualized as many times as it was necessary.
- Spots and characters were encoded with the specific codes (categories) and no others.
- The order of analysis was: analysis of spot, characters, and body image.

4.2.1.4. Data Analysis

Data was cleaned in order to verify missing and no-visualized cases. After that, it was processed in SPSS 11.9 software for its analysis. Variables were grouped according to a plan of exploitation and analysis. In all cases, frequencies and percentages were analyzed in charts and tables.

Data interpretation was structured in four themes: a) analysis of advertisements, b) analysis of characters, c) analysis of male and female characters and d) analysis of body image as a message.

A) Analysis of advertisements:

It consisted of univariate analysis of spots. Categories to describe advertising's general and structural features were reviewed independently in order to read frequencies and percentages (Table 7).

TABLE 7. Plan of analysis for advertisements.

ANALYSIS	VARIABLES	AIM
Univariate: Features of advertising consumed by children.	General features of advertisements - Type of ad - Target gender - Age of target - Category of ad - Subcategory of ad	SG1. Analyze the structural and general features of the most-viewed television advertising by young children.
	Structural features of advertisements - Type of ad - Target gender - Age of target - Category of ad - Subcategory of ad	

SOURCE: Author.

B) Analysis of characters:

It consisted of univariate analysis of characters. Five groups of variables were observed in order to determine the features of characters and the prevalent body image in advertising. (Table 8).

TABLE 8. Plan of analysis for characters

ANALYSIS	VARIABLES	AIM
Univariate: Features that define body image of characters in advertising.	General Features of Characters: - Specie - Gender - Type of actor - Age	SG2. Analyze the body image prescribed via advertising characters.
	Psychosocial Traits of characters: - Appearance - Type of Role - Social Class - Personality - Mood	
	Physical Traits: - Skin - Eye color - Hair color - Heir length - Body type - Muscle type	
	Dressing: - Dressing Type - Dressing Style	
	Action and Location - Action - Location	

SOURCE: Author.

C) *Analysis of male and female characters.*

It consisted of a bivariate analysis of male and female characters. The same group of variables in characters was applied to describe the features of character per gender and to identify the possible differences. (Table 9).

TABLE 9. Plan of analysis for male and female characters

ANALYSIS	VARIABLES	AIM
Bivariate: Features that define and differ male and female characters.	General Features of Characters: - Specie - Gender - Type of actor - Age	SG3. Describe the character's body image observing gender differences.
	Psychosocial Traits of characters: - Appearance - Type of Role - Social Class - Personality - Mood	
	Physical Traits: - Skin - Eye color - Hair color - Hair length - Body type - Muscle type	
	Dressing - Dressing Type - Dressing Style	
	Action and Location - Action - Location	

SOURCE: Author.

D) Analysis of the body image as a message.

It consisted of univariate analysis of characters whose body image was objectified in advertising's key message. Three groups of variables were studied to describe how body image was objectified in the key message of the advertisement. Secondly, to describe the character's body image and traits. Thirdly, to locate the category of advertising in which this appears. (Table 10).

TABLE 10. Plan of analysis for the body as a message.

ANALYSIS	VARIABLES	AIM
Univariate Features of body image when used as a communicative resource in advertising's key message.	Body as Message: - Emphasized body - Sound effects - Visual effects - Textual Effects	SG4. Identify the cases when body image is prescribed as part of the key message.
	Characters Features: - General Features - Psychosocial Traits - Physical traits - Dressing - Action and Location	
	Advertising Features: - Type of ad - Gender of target - Age of target - Category of ad - Subcategory of ad	

SOURCE: Author.

The conducted content analysis contributed to describing the main features of advertising to children. Moreover, it supported the identification of body image representations addressed to them. With this regard, it was possible to make inferences about the promoted body image in its message, and the gender differences. The analysis and discussion of results will be observed in the following chapters.

4.2.2. Focus groups

The study of body image representation in television advertising provided the identification of prevalent body canons. However, in order to analyze the mediating role of advertising in children's body imaginaries (SG2), focus groups were conducted.

A focus group has usually been defined as many different things. Most authors refer to it as a discussion on a particular topic organized for research purposes (Morgan & Krueger, 1998). For instance, Martí (2002) observes the focus group, similar to a group interview made up of people who are concerned with trending topics or public issues. On his part, Montañés (2001) emphasizes its flexible character, arguing focus groups are useful research methods to obtain from primary information to even unexpected regarding issues. For Puente (2000) the term focus group is barely precise since it has been coined to describe a general procedure but not a method. For the author, focus group discussions would rather be seen as procedures, a way to collect data, which requires systematic methods of analysis (content, discourse, semantic or thematic analyses).

Focus groups are research techniques to explore substantive dimensions of reality but also its complexity. In words of Martí (2002):

"The purpose of focus group is to know the discourses that are (re)produced from different social positions around identities and images associated with people, groups and institutions, and relationships that are established between them; points of view around a problem, action logics, projects and explicit and implicit strategies; structures of meaning, values and norms " (Martí, 2002, p.14).

Focus groups were conducted in this research as integrated techniques with a specific procedure of data collection (4.2.2.3), and analysis (4.2.2.5). On the one hand, they were useful for generating information about collective views of body image representations of depicted characters. On the other, they were useful for generating a rich understanding of participants' lives, experiences, and beliefs. With this regard, following Monatañés (2001), not only did focus groups produce the expected information among participants but also made evident the power relations that construct the global vision of body image within society.

4.2.2.1. Focus groups with children.

Colucci (2007) highlights the relevance of focus groups when researching with young people. In her words, “focus groups are a valuable method for qualitative data collection since they can create a positive atmosphere to discuss sensitive topics” (p. 1422). However, as the author states, they are not always an easy option. Researchers must find appropriate ways to approach participants to achieve relevant information.

Although obtaining ‘relevant information’ can be the major purpose of any research work, researching with children must involve some considerations. Following Pfaff-Rüdiger (cited in Narberhaus, 2016) this research has granted three major methodological issues to conduct focus groups in the study:

Children’s competences:

It was necessary to consider children’s abilities and knowledge to debate in order to design the right approach in the focus group: exercises, questions, the material for discussion (see *design 4.2.2.3*). Furthermore, it was necessary to test a pilot group in order to correct those aspects that did not work.

Researcher’s openness:

Researchers were receptive and respectful to children. They got informed about children’s contexts and media habits in order to comprehend their responses and opinions. In those cases when children responses were less clear, children were asked several times in order to make comprehensible their meaning.

Research situation:

An environment for research was created in order to make the situation familiar to children. Focus groups were held in the school. Research activity was introduced as a research workshop (see *procedure 4.2.2.4*). Researchers monitored children’s verbal and non-verbal communication to avoid hierarchy between participants.

Researching with children involves Ethical Issues. Most common issues are related to the introduction of confidential data, the purpose of the study, the use of audio or video recording in interviews, the character of the interviews as well as the right of children for not answering questions (EU Kids Online, 2018). Concerning this research, ethical issues were discussed and solved by the

research team. Most questions and doubts were also assisted by the Ethical Department of Pompeu Fabra University²⁰.

Researchers prepared agreement consents for families to let their children participate in the research activity (see paper slip in Annex 3). This document was given to school teachers who were in charge of handing authorization slips to families and collecting it for researchers. Regarding the nature of the research activity, this was named as a *thematic workshop*. The protocol of activity adjusted to the workshop format.

The workshop day, researchers introduced themselves, listened to children's presentations, and explained to them the nature of the project. Children knew that video cameras were filming for research purposes as well as they would be asked some questions related to the activity.

Not all children have the same ability to speak in public nor feel comfortable to talk to strangers. So, in cases when children did not want to speak, researchers did not insist. However, the structure of the focus groups and exercises looked for equal participation.

4.2.2.2. Participants

Focus groups methodological design is usually based on population and sample criteria (Martí, 2002). However, research interests and limitations can influence in the organization and determine convenience samples (Gill et al., 2008; Kitzinger, 1994; Morgan, 1998). Considering this research was not aimed to reach a representative theoretical sample, focus groups were developed according to the following steps:

- Participant schools in MediaCorp Project were invited to join the qualitative research²¹.
- During the call for research period, second semester 2017, four schools accepted our proposal. Three of these schools enrolled in our research calendar.

²⁰ <https://www.upf.edu/es/web/cirep>.

²¹ Participating schools in MediaCorp project were based in three different cities: Barcelona, Madrid and Seville. Nevertheless, qualitative research was limited to Barcelona due to the lack of resources (time and funds).

- Children who had previously participated in the quantitative study (answered MediaCorp Questionnaire) were invited to join the Research Workshop.
- Authorization for participation was sent to their families via their school teachers.
- Only children whose parents consented their participation were considered candidates for the focus groups.

Following Narberhaus' (2016) documented experience in researching with young children, it was decided to take groups up to six participants. Although researchers' consideration was to have comparable groups (age, gender, mixed), this was not possible. Children's availability was subject to school and teachers' activities. Focus group organization was decided the day of the workshop (Table 11).

TABLE 11. Focus groups and participants.

GROUP	SCHOOL AND LOCATION	TYPE OF SCHOOL	PARTICIPANTS	CONDUCTED ON
Group 1 Pilot Session	Col·legi Miró Barcelona	Charter	2 Boys 4 Girls	11/15/2017
Group 2 Pilot Session	Col·legi Miró Barcelona	Charter	2 Boys 3 Girls	11/15/2017
Group 3	Col·legi Miró Barcelona	Charter	1 Boys 3 Girls	11/22/2017
Group 4	Gran Capitá Sant Joan Despí	Charter	3 Boys 2 Girls	12/05/2017
Group 5	Gran Capitá Sant Joan Despí	Charter	3 Boys 3 Girls	12/05/2017
Group 6	Sant Martí Barcelona	Public	3 Boys 3 Girls	01/15/2018
Group 7	Sant Martí Barcelona	Public	3 Boys 3 Girls	01/15/2018
Group 8	Sant Martí Barcelona	Public	3 Boys 3 Girls	01/15/2018
Group 9	Sant Martí Barcelona	Public	3 Boys 4 Girls	01/17/2018
Group 10	Sant Martí Barcelona	Public	1 Boys 6 Girls	01/17/2018

SOURCE: Author.

Participants (N=58, 24 boys, 34 girls) were organized into ten focus groups. The mean age for both boys and girls was 8,2 years. Children were students of the second, third, and fourth school year. According to MediaCorp questionnaire, 71,4% of these children were members of Spanish families, and 28.6% of intercultural or migrant families. Children were mainly middle class. Parents' occupations were mostly of intermediate rank and lower supervisory (58%).

4.2.2.3. Design

Designing research methods, such as focus groups is usually based on a demand criterion. Depending on the purposes of the study, questions and structure should be determined (Montañés, 2001). Moreover, the way to proceed in the analysis is another critical factor in its composition. In this sense, focus groups must be oriented to obtain information that can be analyzed (Gill et al., 2008).

Given the characteristics of the research object, it was necessary to conduct a flexible focus group to investigate children. Following Colucci (2007), directed or activity-based focus groups were planned. Activity-based focus groups are defined as discussion groups with precise and robust structure but with the inclusion of exercises (activity-oriented questions).

In words of Colucci (2007), "exercises in focus group agenda are enjoyable and productive supplements to questions. They provide a different way of gathering information and are beneficial, for instance, for more reflective participants" (Colucci, 2007, p.1422)

Gamification (Deterding et al., 2013) was the strategic activity to conduct focus groups in research. It provided a conversational structure to exchange questions and encourage debate among participants. Moreover, it helped to avoid less structural questions and let participants speak freely about the topic as well as address new information.

Activity-based focus groups were supported on a gaming strategy inspired in "*Dixit*" (Roubira & Cardouat, 2008), a card game which consists of using cards for storytelling. Players select cards that match a title or phrase suggested by the "storyteller" and attempt to guess which card the "storyteller" selected.

“*Guess Who*” was the proposed game. It consisted of describing the character’s body image in a card and attempting to guess which character card the storyteller selected. The game was made of 92 cards with the images of characters from the most visualized advertising content²². The storytelling of these cards contributed to obtaining insights into participants’ representations of body image.

Although a questionnaire to conduct focus groups was not necessary, a list of topics to discuss was. A guide for suggested topics helped the researcher to conduct the activity and to recognize topics while the group was playing. Based on Devillard, Franzé & Pazos (2012), all possible questions were adapted into thematic blocks to develop during the conversation (Table 12).

TABLE 12. The conversational script for focus groups.

MEDIA AND ADVERTISING
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Media preferences ▪ Television consumption ▪ Advertising on television
BODY IMAGE IN PERSONAL SPHERE
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Self-body image description ▪ Body image self-assessment ▪ Body image inspirations/expectations
BODY IMAGE AND SOCIAL SPHERE.
Representations of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Positive Body Image ▪ Female and Male Body Image
HEALTH AND CARE OF BODY IMAGE
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Healthy and Unhealthy Body Images perceptions ▪ Body Image Care Attitudes ▪ Eating/Dieting and Body Image
BODY IMAGE IN ADVERTISING
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Character’s Physical Body Image ▪ Character’s Roles and Actions ▪ Advertising Categories and Characters

SOURCE: Author.

²² It was thought to have 133 body images or at least one of every advertising commercial. However, framing characters and having them in quality image was not possible in all cases.

Thematic blocks do not have a specific order. They can occur in different moments, can be retaken or omitted (Devillard, Franzé & Pazos, 2012). However, as a warm-up for the focus group activity, it was decided to start by discussing media and advertising themes. For instance, children's media preferences, television consumption, favorite programs, and characters. As a warm-up topic, this theme block connected with some other blocks. Game enriched the conversation and theme blocks converged

As focus groups were not conducted in a rigid nor a standardized way, topics and questions were drawn in different proportion. In some occasions, some topics were not treated or were treated briefly. Also, the emergence of secondary topics occurred. Those topics out of the script but related to the object of the study were also transcribed. An example of conversational interaction can be observed in Figure 26.

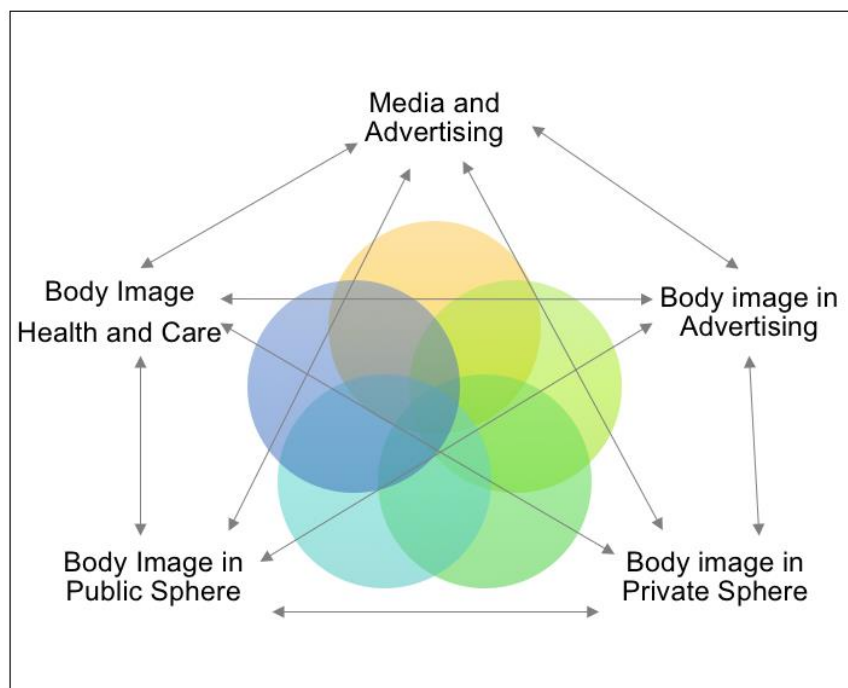


FIGURE 26. Conversational interaction of thematic blocks. SOURCE: Author.

4.2.2.4. Conducting focus groups

Participating schools facilitated resources for research activity. Research workshops took place in large and light places (playroom or library) where children felt comfortable to play and talk. The structure of groups was subject to the game dynamic and the methodological recommendations (Colucci, 2007; Martí, 2002; Narberhaus, 2016). Working places allowed to have good video and sound recording.

Pilot focus groups (Group 1 and Group 2) were held to observe time and organization. However, no major incidences were reported during these sessions. Discussion groups were conducted from November 2017 to January 2018 in three different schools in Barcelona (Table 11).

The protocol for the focus groups was:

1. Participant children were welcomed in the working area.
2. Researchers introduced themselves and explained the activity.
3. Media and advertising questions (e.g., habits, preferences, recall, etc.) were introduced as a warm-up activity.
4. Rules for game *Guess Who!* were explained. In all cases, a trail game took place. While explaining the dynamic, several conversations were already flowing.
5. Card playing took from 30 to 40 minutes in a dynamic of six players.
6. At the end of the game session, the researcher usually took time to recap some relevant topics and to conclude the general idea of the research workshop.

Focus group duration was around 50 minutes. Most groups needed to finish because of the lack of time. Research workshops usually took place just before and after the morning break.



FIGURE 27. Conducted focus groups in Barcelona. SOURCE: MediaCorp Research Project.

4.2.2.5. Data analysis

The researcher drew up the information collected in focus groups. He fully transcribed the audiovisual material except for presentations, instructions and parallel discussions not related to the research topic. After recording the information, he conducted a thematic analysis.

Thematic analysis is defined as the process of identifying patterns or themes within qualitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The “goal of the thematic analysis is to identify themes, patterns in the data that are important or interesting, and use these themes to address the research or say something about an issue” (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017, p. 3353).

Unlike other qualitative methodologies, thematic analysis is not tied to a particular epistemological or theoretical perspective which makes it a very flexible method (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017: 3352). However, this is much more

than merely summarizing the data. According to cited authors, a good thematic analysis interprets and makes sense of qualitative data.

Braun & Clarke (2006) identify two levels of approach in thematic analysis. A semantic approach which sees “the explicit meanings of the data and the analyst is not looking for anything beyond what a participant has said or what has been written” (p.84). On the other hand, the latent level which looks beyond what has been said and “...starts to identify or examine the underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualizations that are theorized as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data” (p.84). For the purposes of this research work, the semantic thematic analysis has been chosen.

The analysis of the specified themes (Table 12) followed the six steps of the thematic analysis recommended by Braun & Clarke (2006):

1. The researcher became familiar with the data by reading the transcripts several times.
2. After the first readings, researcher generated initial codes.
3. Initial codes were grouped into categories, searching for recurring themes.
4. The emergent themes were reviewed and systematized.
5. The researcher defined and named the bringing themes.
6. The final report was written.

The procedure of Analysis:

After a condensed reading of the material, the researcher systematically coded each transcript line by line in order to identify themes and categories at a first level (Table 13). This first coding was self-explanatory and was applied to all material. During this process, field notes, memos and thematic maps were used to record any observed patterns.

Atlas.ti v.8.1.3 was used to process the analysis. Interpretation was conducted manually adopting a contextualist approach (Mjøset, 2009). That is the social context in which children expressed their experiences and thoughts were considered in the analysis interpretation. Themes and categories were linked to two particular dimensions of analysis: 1. Children’s understandings of television advertising and depicted body image, and 2. The mediating role of advertising in children’s body imaginaries.

TABLE 13. First level coding inputs.

DIMENSIONS	THEMES	CATEGORIES	KEYWORDS
Understandings of television advertising and depicted body image.	Body Image & Advertising	Television Advertising Consumption	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Habits - Advertising recall - Advertising perceptions - Attitudes to media and advertising content
		Decoding body image of characters.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physical traits - Roles and actions - Attitudes and values - Comparisons - Attitudes to characters
Advertising Mediations on Body Image.	Body image in the private sphere	Self-body image construction.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Self-perception - Models - Self-comparisons - Expectation
		Body image uses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Presentation/embodiment - Experiences - Body practices
	Body image in the public sphere	Body image insights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Representations - Stereotypes. - Body Policies
		Gender Representations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Male representations - Female representations
	Body image, health & care	Healthy and unhealthy body Image.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Healthy Body Representations - Health Body Stereotypes
		Body image care	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Attitudes to (un)healthy body - Health Practices - Health Policies

SOURCE: Author.

There were 510 codes in the first level of analysis. Transcriptions and codes were then reviewed twice more by the researcher. This second level of coding was aimed to clarify codes and to explore specific research themes and categories. This resulted in 424 codes. The codes were organized into clusters or similar ideas. These codes eventually formed six main themes and eight sub-themes according to every specific objective, as stated in Table 14.

TABLE 14. Structured themes after analysis.

OBJECTIVE	MAIN THEMES	SUB-THEMES
SG2. Explore children's understandings of television advertising and depicted body image	1. Consumptions habits of television and advertising.	
	2. Comprehension of television advertising	
	3. Decoding body image from television characters.	3.1 Perceptions of characters. 3.2 Association to stereotypes. 3.3 Comprehension of body image production. 3.4 Commodification of body.
SG3. Analyze the mediating role of depicted body image in children's body imaginaries.	4. Self-body image perceptions and social referents.	.
	5. Attitudes toward body image.	
	6. Body imaginaries	6.1. Representations of beauty and attractiveness. 6.2. Body image and gender. 6.3. Healthy body representations. 6.4. Body policies and practices

SOURCE: Author.

The qualitative analysis of focus group contributed to explore a still unknown topic, the mediating role of advertising in children's body imaginaries. To this respect, the use of a game directed activity provided children a confident environment to express their opinions. Thematic blocks conversations made focus group more fluent and relaxing. Thematic analysis technique was not only useful to identify the most salient themes, but also the most relevant concerns for children.

5. THE BODY IMAGE REPRESENTATIONS IN TELEVISION ADVERTISING

This chapter introduces the results for the body image representations in the most-viewed television advertising by young children (ages 6 to 9) (RA1). Results have been structured after the content analysis of the high impact advertising (GPRS) of the first semester of 2015 (Kantar Media, 2016).

The chapter is structured to present in the first place, (5.1) the structural and general features of the most-viewed television advertising by young children (SG1). Secondly, (5.2) it introduces the information related to the body image features depicted in characters (SG2). Thirdly, (5.3) it discusses the results of the comparative analysis of the male and female body image representations (SG3). Finally, (5.4) it focuses on the cases when body image is prescribed as part of the key message (SG4).

5.1. ADVERTISING TO YOUNG CHILDREN

This section presents the results for the analysis of advertisements. Following the designed protocol (4.2.1.2), a final sample of 133 advertisements was observed and encoded. The general and structural features of these advertisements were registered attending the specific variables and categories, as suggested in the encoding handbook (Annex 2).

5.1.1. General features of advertisements

The analysis of the general features of advertisements included a group of five variables: *the target age, the target gender, the type of advertising, the category of advertising, and the subcategory of advertising*. Each variable was measured and interpreted.

5.1.1.1. Target age

As observed in the sample, analyzed advertising was not exclusively aimed at children. The encoded television advertisements were mainly addressed to several age groups (48.1%, n=64). These advertisements promoted products such as food and clothes to be purchased by any age group. Children, ages 6 to 12, was the second-largest group in the target (32.3%, n=43). Moreover, there was a small number of ads addressing both children and adolescents (6.0%, n=8). Spots targeting other age groups such as infants or middle-aged adult were inferior. (Figure 28).

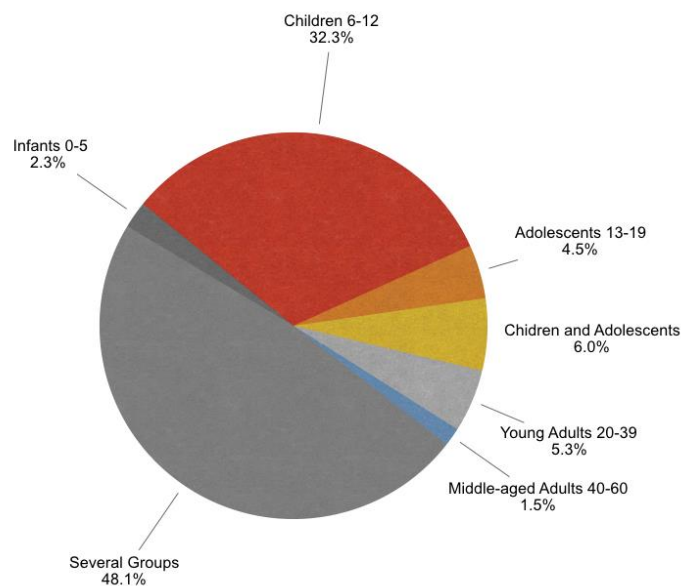


FIGURE 28. Target age in the advertisements. SOURCE: Author.

5.1.1.2. Target gender

Regarding the target gender, it was identified that advertisements primarily addressed both men and women as final users of the promoted product or service (81.2%, n=108). To this respect, it can be inferred that advertisements were barely genderized. They only addressed to men or women in a few cases. As observed in Figure 29, advertisements targeting men and women were less than the ten percent in each case.

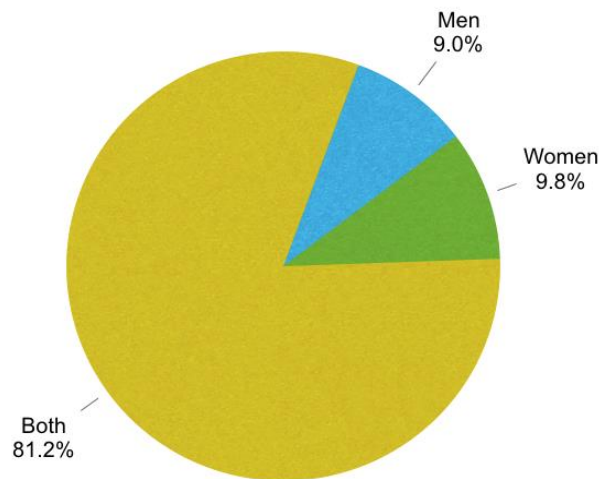


FIGURE 29. Target Gender in the advertisements. SOURCE: Author

5.1.1.3. Type of advertising

A large number of advertisements in the sample were related to product advertising (75.9%, n=101). Only a quarter of the sample referred to services (24.1%, n=32). (Figure 30).

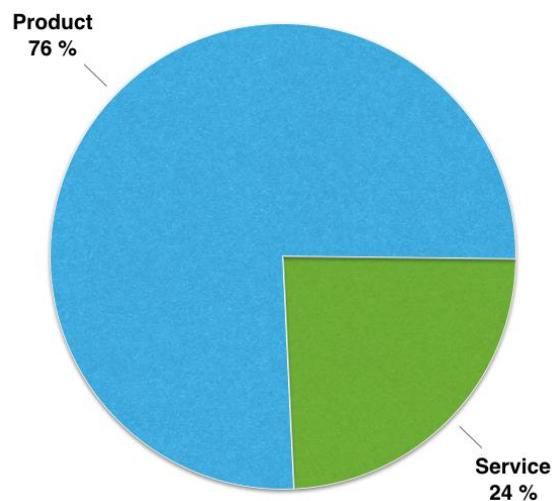


FIGURE 30. Type of advertising. SOURCE: Author.

5.1.1.4. Category of advertising

The analysis of the category of advertising indicated that food and drinks ads were more prevalent in the sample (39.8%, $n=53$). Trailers and promo clips (15.8%, $n=21$), as well as the advertising of personal accessories (9.8%, $n=13$), had a moderate presence. Other categories of products and services such as informatics products (12%, $n=9.0$), supermarket stores (8.3%, $n=11$), drugs and medicines (5.3%, $n=7$), banking services (4.5%, $n=6$) were inferior as observed in Figure 31.

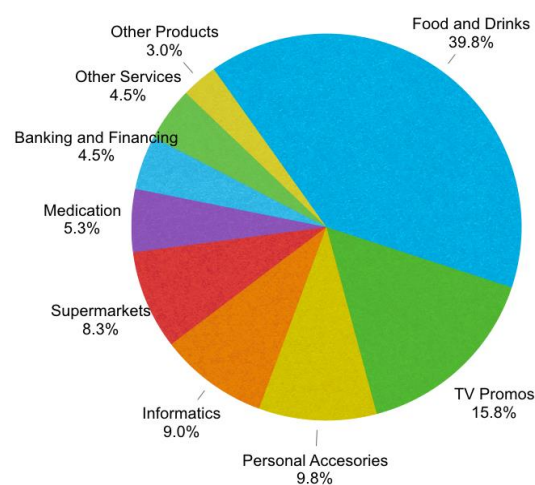


FIGURE 31. Product and service categories in the advertisements. SOURCE: Author.

5.1.1.5. Subcategory of advertising

The classification of products and services into subcategories allowed the researcher to identify the particular categories of these advertisements (Figure 32). Daily food products stood out as a relevant category (18.0%, $n=24$). Promotion of media content or products (e.g., programs, movies, shows, magazines) was the second-largest category (16.5%, $n=22$). Other food products such as drinks (13.5%, $n=18$) and snacks (12.8%, $n=17$) were significant. In contrast, banking services (1.5%, $n=2$), health services (1.5%, $n=2$) and luxury items (0.8%, $n=1$) were less relevant.

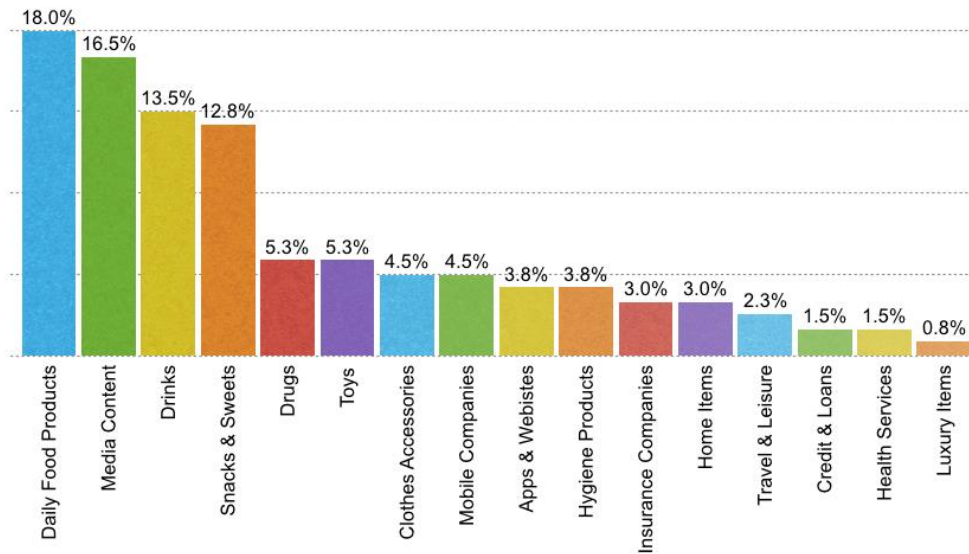


FIGURE 32. Product and service subcategories in the advertisements. SOURCE: Author.

5.1.2. Structural features of television advertisements

The second dimension of analysis for advertisements included the revision of the structural features of these messages. Thus, it consisted of the review of the referred themes in advertising, the contexts in which the narratives occur, and the intent of advertising.

5.1.2.1. Themes

Having fun was presented as the main theme in the advertisements (45.9%, $n=61$). In contrast, only 21.8% ($n=29$) of this advertising was thought to explain the uses or benefits of the promoted product or recommended service. Most of these ads did not use any plot. They were product demonstrations. To a lesser extent, themes such as meditation, relaxation or self-reflection (9.8%, $n=13$) caring for health or nutrition (9.8%, $n=13$) and solving problems (1.5%, $n=2$) were presented. In 11.3% ($n=15$) of the analyzed sample, themes were not identified. These were mainly trailers (Figure 33).

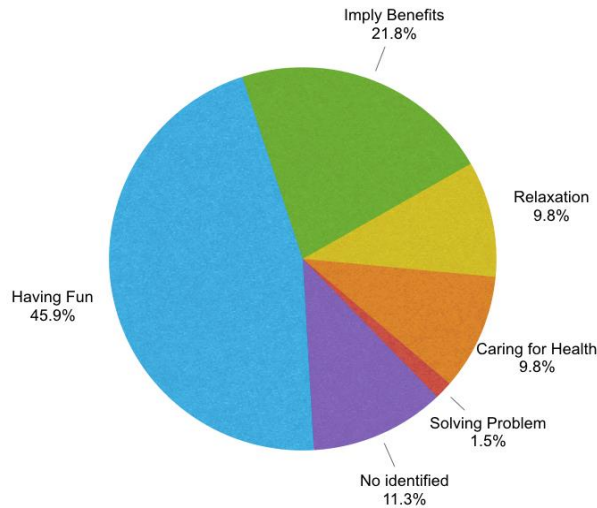


FIGURE 33. Main themes in the advertisements. SOURCE: Author.

5.1.2.2. Narrative contexts

Regarding the narrative contexts, most advertising plots were familiar with leisure and recreation scenes (42.9%, n=57). Stories were also depicted in real or recreated scenarios to demonstrate the functioning of a product 15.8% (n=21). To a lesser extent, other categories were encoded. These were: fight or combat (11.3%, n=15), caring for other (6.8%, n=9), personal care (5.5%, n=7), personal enjoyment (3.8%, n=6), work or study (1.5%, n=2) (Figure 34).

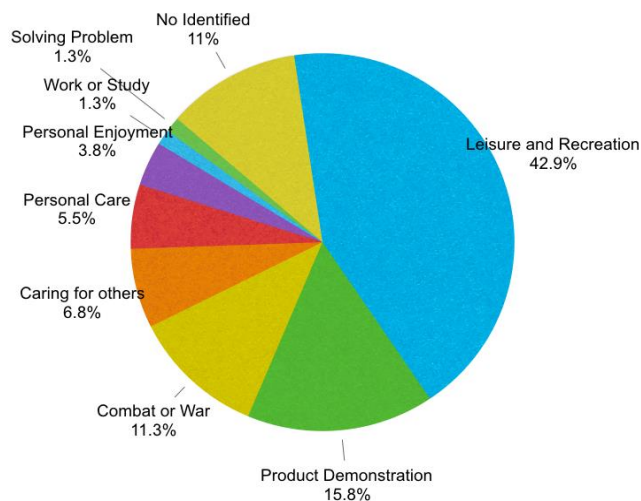


FIGURE 34. Narrative contexts in the advertisements. SOURCE: Author.

5.1.2.3. Prescription in narratives

Concerning the advertising intent, 34.6% (n=46) of analyzed advertisements, prescribed products or services in order to have fun; meanwhile, 20.3% (n=27) were recommended to save money. On the other hand, advertisers persuaded consumers to buy products or use services in order to solve problems (17.3%, n=23), feel better (7.5%, n=10), get benefits for home (4.5%, n=6) or give social support (3.0%, n=4). Only in 12.5% (n=17), purchase intent was made explicit. (Figure 35).

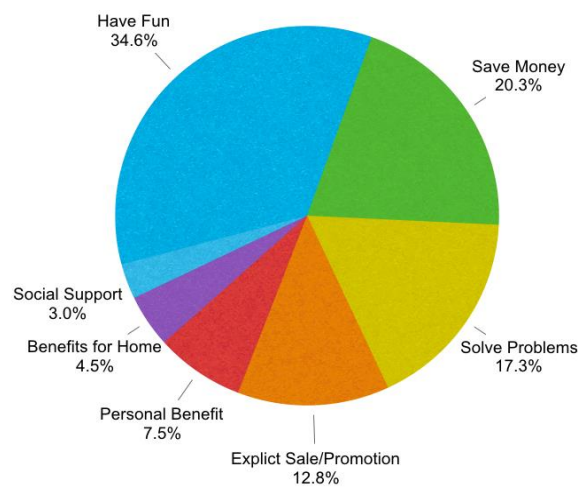


FIGURE 35. Prescription in the advertisements. SOURCE: Author.

In sum, as described in this section, television advertising aimed at young children (6 to 9 years old) during the first semester 2015 was targeted to all ages. Similarly, both male and female were targeted as consumers. As observed in the analyzed sample, this content mainly promoted the consumption of commodities such as food and media content. In contrast, age groups such as adolescents and adults were targeted to a lesser extent, which is consistent with the small proportion of television commercials addressed to these groups. Happiness had a pivotal role in analyzed advertising. Most advertisements were framed in fun and leisure themes and contexts. Product consumption was prescribed as a way of having fun, relax, or personal satisfaction.

5.2. BODY IMAGE IN DEPICTED CHARACTERS

This section introduces the results concerning the body image of 427 encoded characters. It is structured to display the relevant findings for every component and its group of variables, as indicated in the protocol of analysis.

5.2.1. General features of characters

In general terms, depicted characters in advertising were mainly masculine. These were shown performing main roles and acting solo. Humans were highly prevalent compared to other species. Young adult (20 to 39 years old) was the most common age among characters. Other values for each variable can be read as follows:

5.2.1.1. Acting role

According to the acting role, characters were identified as main actors (55.0%, n=235) and supporting actors (45%, n=192) (Figure 36). Although some advertisements registered two or more main characters, the number of characters remained almost balanced.

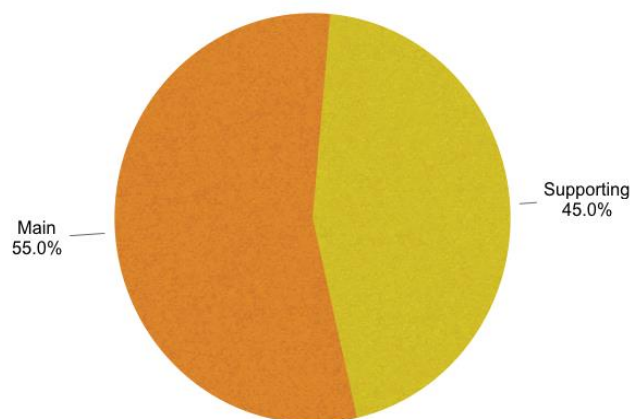


FIGURE 36. Acting role in depicted characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.2.1.2. Species

Almost all characters observed in advertisements were human species (93.4%, $n=399$). To a lesser extent, characters were encoded as animals 5.4% ($n=23$) or another species (1.2%, $n=5$). (Figure 37).

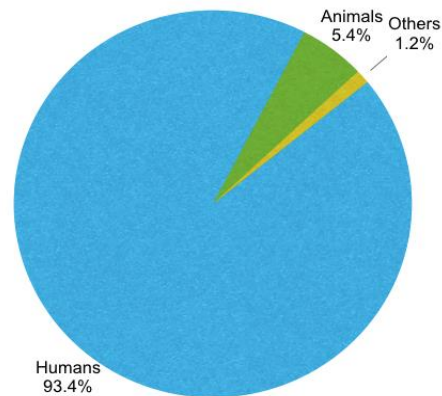


FIGURE 37. Type of species in depicted characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.2.1.3. Gender

From the total of encoded characters ($N=427$), over half of the sample was men (54.8%, $n=234$). Women were present in a smaller representation 41.0% ($n=175$). Characters of unidentified gender were insignificant 4.2% ($n=18$) (Figure 38).

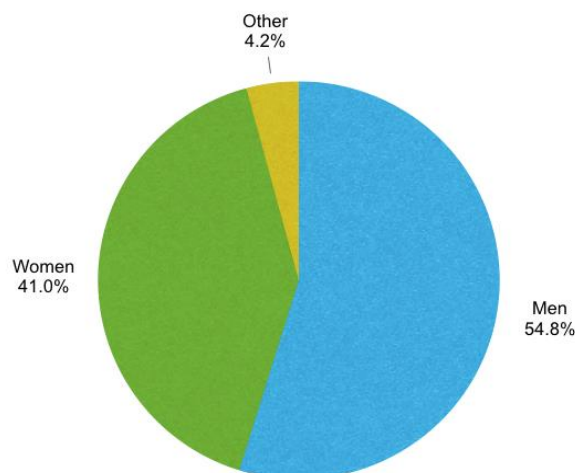


FIGURE 38. Gender in depicted characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.2.1.4. Type of actor

Characters were mainly categorized as single actors (62.1%, n=265). This means either main or supporting characters were a single person performing actions. Only 37.9% (n=162) in the sample was cataloged as collective actors or a group of characters with similar characteristics performing together (e.g., a group of models, a football team, a group of kids) (Figure 39).

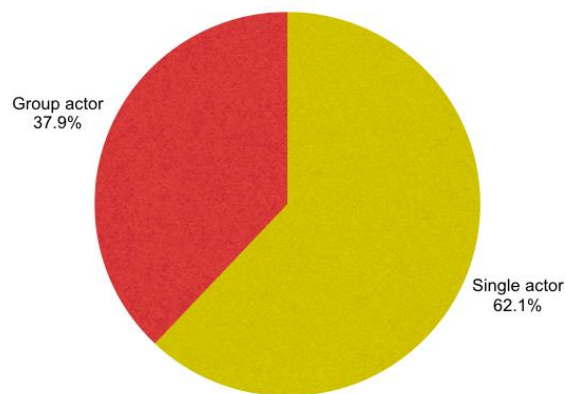


FIGURE 39. Type of actor in depicted characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.2.1.5. Appearance

Advertising essentially showed characters appearing alone (31.1%, n=133) or within a mixed group (29.0%, n=124). Other appearances such as appearing in a twosome of different gender (18.3%, n=78), appearing in a twosome of the same gender (16.2%, n=69) were evident. Meanwhile, the percentage of characters performing actions within a same-gender group was minimal (5.4%, n=23) (Figure 40).

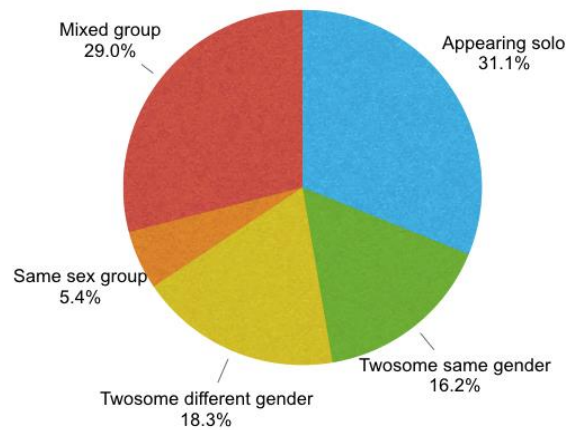


FIGURE 40. Appearance in depicted characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.2.1.6. Age

Young age was the largest group in the analyzed sample. Characters were mostly young adults, 20 to 39 years old, (39.8%, n=170) and children, 6 to 12 years old (26.0%, n=111). Middle-aged adults, 40 to 59 years old, and adolescents, 13 to 19 years old, figured as nearly a quarter of the sample. Infant and senior characters were a small group. (Figure 41).

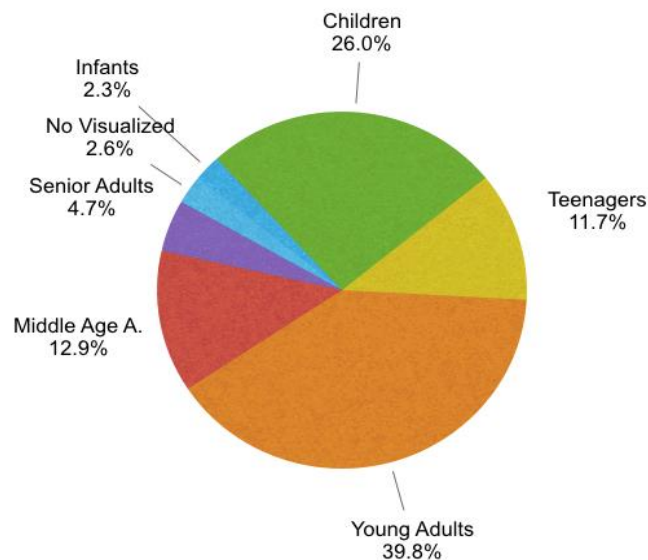


FIGURE 41. Age in depicted characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.2.1.7. Socioeconomic status

The high social class was the most significant socioeconomic status in characters. It prevailed in 34.4% (n=247) of the sample whereas middle class was present to a lesser extent, 15.7% (n=67). The low class was absent, however. This characteristic was not specified in 49.9% (n=213) of the characters. (Figure 42).

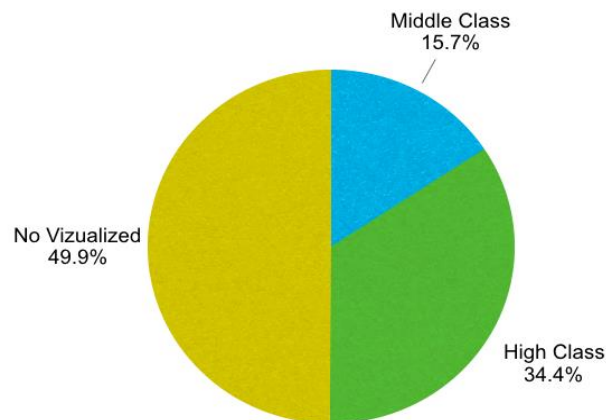


FIGURE 42. Socioeconomic status in depicted characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.2.2. Roles of characters

Regarding the roles played by characters, relational roles were significant in comparison to familiar and occupational ones. Over a half of characters were observed with a relational role (53.3%, n=265) and to a lesser extent, a familiar (24.3%, n=121) or occupational role (23.3%, n=111) (Figure 43). The distribution of roles per category can be observed in the following sub-sections.

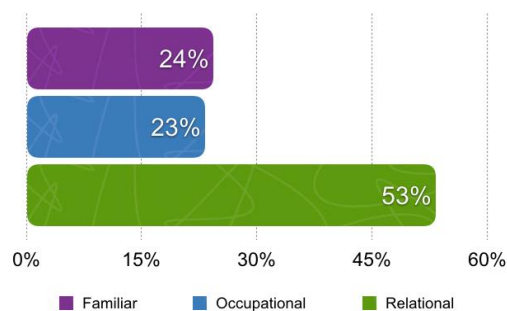


FIGURE 43. Distribution of roles in depicted characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.2.2.1. Familiar roles

Regarding the familiar roles performed by characters, parental role (father and mother) was mostly observed (10.3%, n=44). Son and daughter were also registered in almost similar value (10.1%, n=43). Other roles such as sibling (5.9%, n=25), Grandparent (0.5%, n=2) and others (1.6%, n=7) were less significant. This value was null for 71.6% (n=306) of encoded cases (Figure 44).

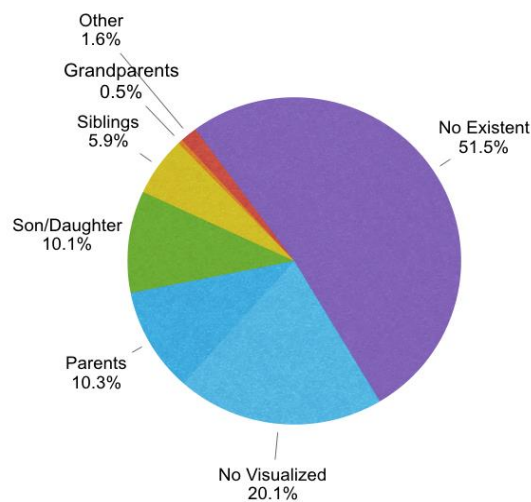


FIGURE 44. Familiar roles in characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.2.2.2. Occupational roles

Occupational or working roles were minimal. Student was the most observed category among characters (7.0%, n=30). Other observed values were, professor 4.2% (n=18), celebrity 3.0% (n=13), worker 2.8% (n=12), scientific 0.7% (n=3). No visualized cases were present in a high portion (74.0%, n=316) (Figure 45).

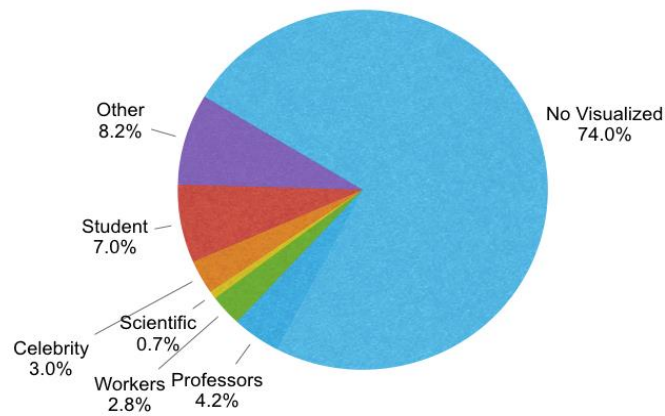


FIGURE 45. Occupational roles in depicted characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.2.2.3. Relational roles

Friend was the most observed relational role (14.5%, n=62). Boyfriend, girlfriend (8.9%, n=38) and colleague (8.4%, n=36) were encoded almost in similar values. Hero, heroine (3.5%, n=15) and Villain (2.1%, n=9) were less relevant. Other diverse roles grouped 24.6% (n=105). No visualized valued were 37.9% (n=162) (Figure 46).

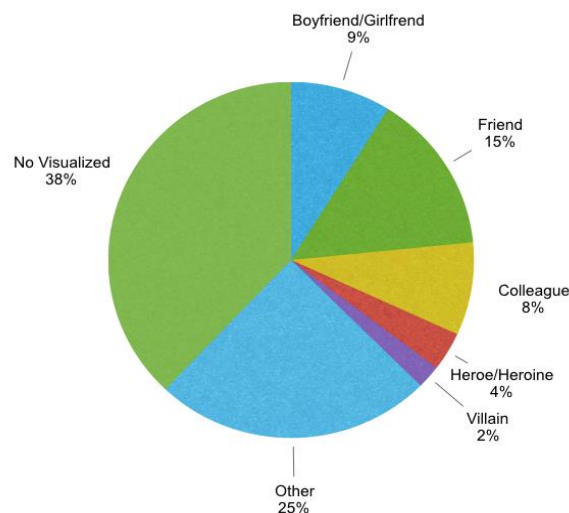


FIGURE 46. Relational roles in depicted characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.2.3. Psychosocial traits of the characters

Psychosocial traits in characters were observed according to their mood and personality showed in the narrative. Characters were likely to be identified as pleasant and balanced. They were mainly showing a positive attitude. In contrast, reserved attitudes or negative feelings were almost absent in characters. The distribution of categories in both variables can be observed as follows:

5.2.3.1. Mood

The portrayed mood in characters was mostly happy, motivated, or excited (66.6%, n=280). In a small proportion, characters looked angry or annoyed (14.5%, n=62). Other emotions were distributed in small numbers: healthy or energetic (6.6%, n=28), tired or bored (4.0%, n=17), distressed or anxious (1.9%, n=8) and sad or afflicted (1.9%, n=8). In a small fraction of characters, this trait was not encoded (5.6%, n=24) (Figure 47).

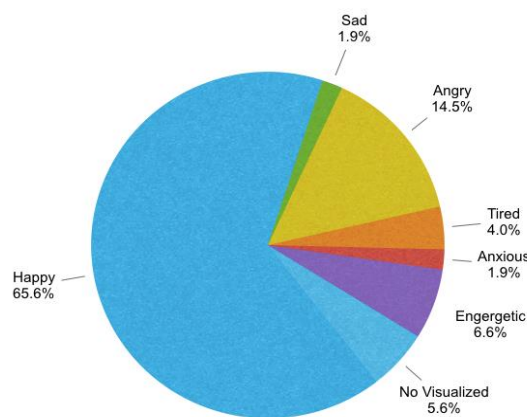


FIGURE 47. Mood in depicted characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.2.3.2. Personality

Nearly two-thirds of encoded characters were depicted as stable personality (62.1%, n=265). Extroverted and social characters were a fifth (20.8%, n=89). Meanwhile, unstable (3.3%, n=14) and introverted (1.6%, n=7) characters were observed to a lesser extent. No visualized characters were in 12.2% (n=52) of cases (Figure 48).

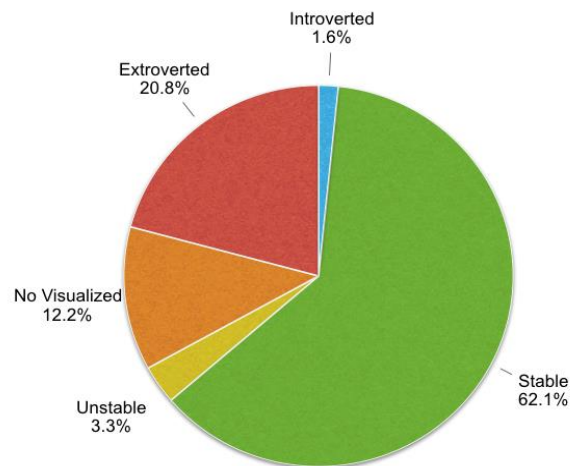


FIGURE 48. Personality in depicted characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.2.4. Body vision

Codification of physical traits in characters occurred after viewing their body image in different shots and angles. Most of the observed screen-shots were medium shots (47.7%, n=195) in comparison with close-ups (7.0%, n=30) (Figure 49). Compositions and angles sometimes made impossible for analysts to identify traits in characters. These characteristics were encoded as *No Visualized*.

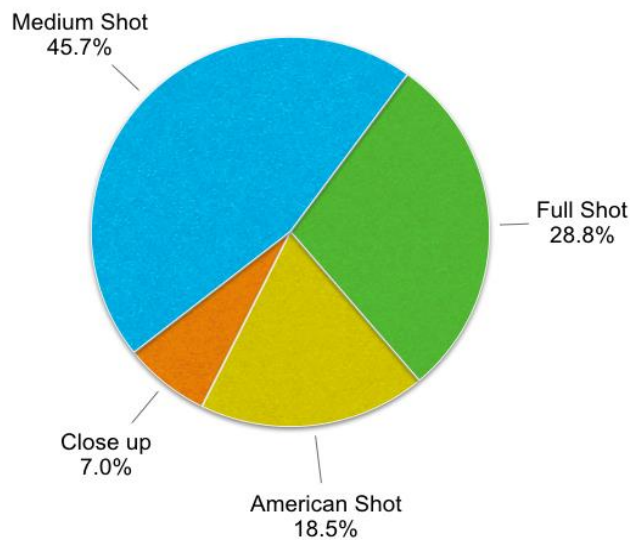


FIGURE 49. Visualization of body image in depicted characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.2.5. Physical traits in characters

Physical traits in characters were encoded observing the body type, muscle type, and skin complexion. Encoded data suggests almost all characters in the analyzed sample are white, slim, have an average body. Other categories can be seen as follows:

5.2.5.1. Body type

The slim body was the most visualized. A significant majority of characters (75.2%, $n=321$) was observed under this category. In comparison, fat body (5.4%, $n=23$) and wide-hips body (1.6%, $n=7$) were slightly present. Athletic and skinny bodies were also observed in small numbers 8.4% ($n=36$) and 1.9% ($n=8$) for each. The percentage of not visualized cases was 7.5% ($n=32$). (Figure 50).

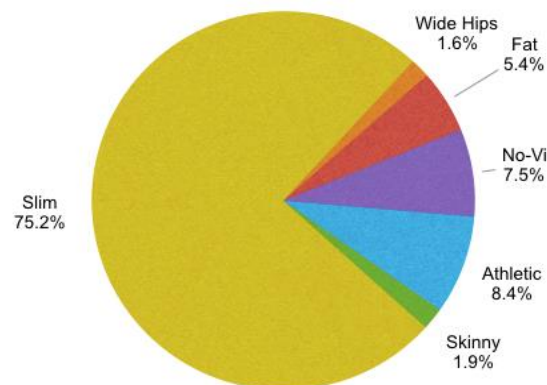


FIGURE 50. Body type in depicted characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.2.5.2. Muscle type

In coexistence, characters stood out for having an average musculature 73.1% ($n=312$). That means characters were seen neither weak nor strong. Other muscle types were inferior. For example, toned muscles 9.4% ($n=4$), flabby 6.3% ($n=27$), weak 2.6% ($n=11$) and strong 2.1% ($n=9$). Cases not visualized were minimal (6.6%, $n=28$). (Figure 51).

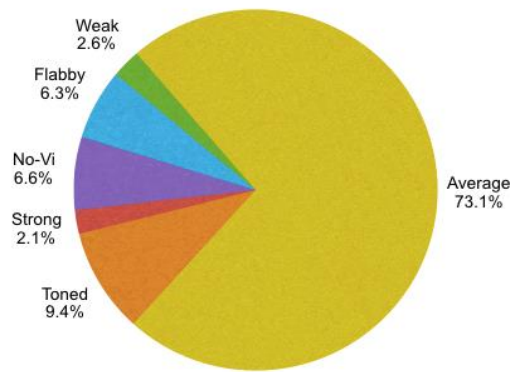


FIGURE 51. Muscle type in depicted characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.2.5.3. Skin complexion

The majority of characters was observed as white (88.3%, n=377). Different skin complexions were roughly minimal. For instance, dark skin characters only represented a small fraction of characters: Brunette 4.7% (n=20), mulatto 0.7%, (n=3), black skin (0.5%, n=2). Other skin colors, for non-human characters, were rare (3.5%, n= 15). Skin complexion was not visualized in 2.3% (n=10) of the sample. (Figure 52)

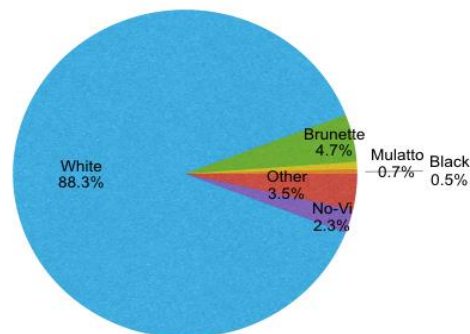


FIGURE 52. Skin complexion in depicted characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.2.6. Facial traits in characters

Facial traits were encoded by observing the eyes, the hair color, and length. There was a moderate distribution of these traits. Moreover, there were some characters from which these variables could not be categorized.

5.2.6.1. Color of eyes

Regarding the color of eyes in characters, dark eyes were more prevalent compared to light eyes. Brown eyes were identified in a third of characters (33.0%, n=141) and black eyes in nearly a tenth (12.2%, n=52). To a lesser extent, green (9.8, n=42) and blue eyes (5.9%, n=25) were present. Eye color was not registered in a good proportion of characters (39.0%, n=167). (Figure 53).

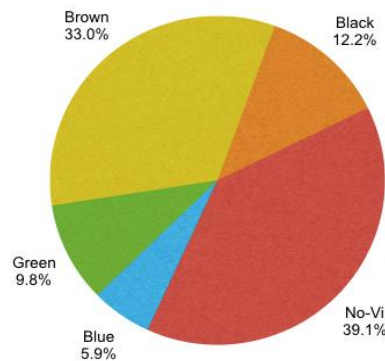


FIGURE 53. Eye color in depicted characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.2.6.2. Color of hair

Dark hair was a common feature among most of the characters. In all, brown hair was recorded in 50.6% (n=216) and black hair in 14.3% (n=61). Characters with blond hair were in 17.6% (n=75) of cases. Other minority cases were the characters with red hair (4.7%, n=20), bald (4.4%, n=19), and gray hair (3.5%, n=15). Not categorized characters were 2.3% (n=10). Hair color was not observed in 2.6% (n=11) of cases due to the lack of full shots or because characters wore some accessory on the head. (Figure 54).

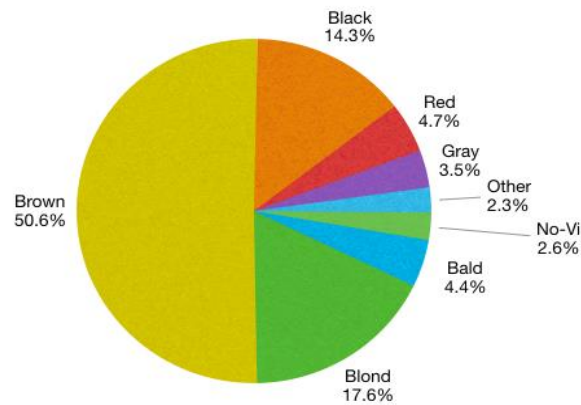


FIGURE 54. Hair color in depicted characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.2.6.3. Length of hair

Regarding the length of hair, short hair was the most observed (38.2%, n=163) while hair above shoulders was identified in about a quarter of cases (23.7%, n=101) and below the shoulder in a fifth (20.4%, n=87). Long Hair, below the back, was in a small minority (8.7%, n=37). The presence of bald characters was insignificant (4.2%, n=18). This trait was not specific in 4.9% (n=2) of the cases.

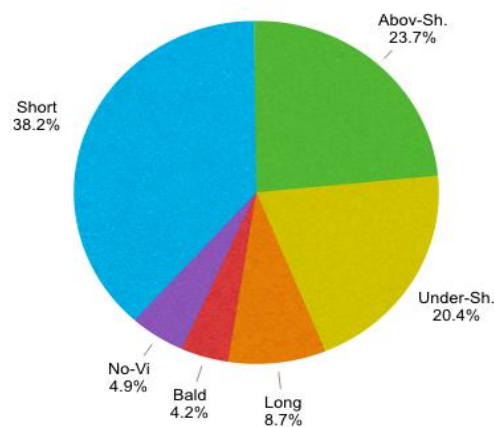


FIGURE 55. Length of hair in depicted characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.2.7. Dressing in characters

Regarding the dressing and clothing style, the analysis showed that characters were mostly depicted in daily clothes and looking casual. Other clothing and dressing styles were distributed as follows:

5.2.7.1. Clothing

Over a half of characters was shown in informal dress (58.5%, n=250). Characters wearing other types of clothing were distributed in small numbers: working uniforms (10.3%, n=44), sports uniform (7.0%, n=30), formal clothes or suit (5.9%, n=25), underwear or swimming suit (4.9%, n=21) cocktail dress (1.6%, n=7). Naked characters were minimal (1.4%, n=6). Other types of clothes were 5.2% (n=22) and not visualized 5.2% (n=22) (Figure 56).

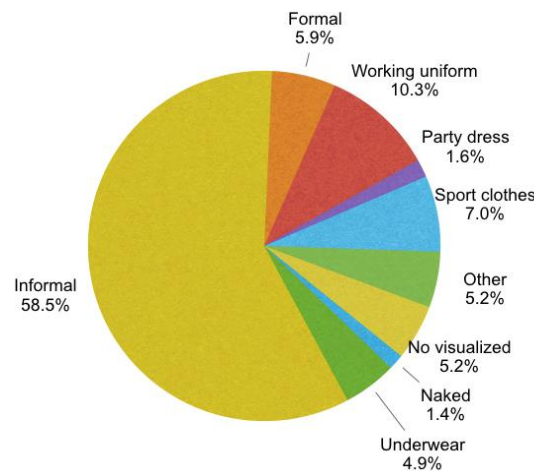


FIGURE 56. Clothing in depicted characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.2.7.2. Dressing style

In consonance, the style of clothing in characters was defined as mainly casual (69.6%, n=297). Other observed styles such as conservative style (8.0%, n=34), non-typified styles (4.0%, n=17), urban tribe (2.3%, n=10) and sensual (0.2%, n=1) were inferior. Naked body and no-visualized body had 1.9% (n=8) and 14.1% (n=60) for each (Figure 57).

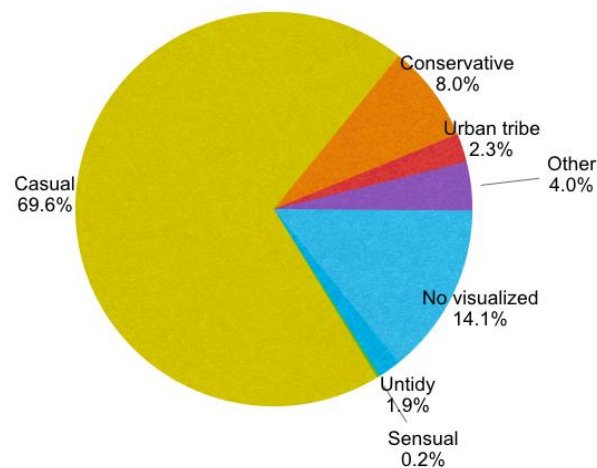


FIGURE 57. Clothing style in depicted characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.2.8. Actions in characters

Characters in advertising were mostly shown sparing time, playing and having fun. A good proportion of them performed indoors. Other values were significant, however.

5.2.8.1. Actions

Playing and having fun was the most relevant category for performed actions in depicted characters. Nearly a third of them (34.9%, $n=149$) were shown performing leisure or recreational activities, alone or accompanied by family or friends. Characters showing products or explaining either services or promotions were in 12.9% ($n=55$) of cases, and those eating, cooking or eating in (11.7%, $n=50$). Other activities remained inferior as observed in Figure 58.

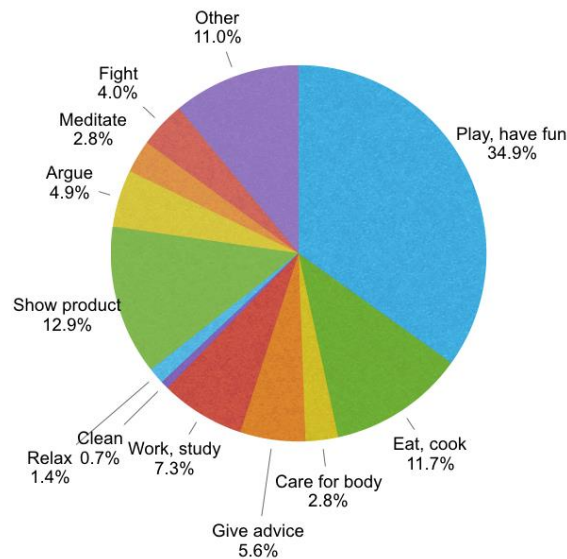


FIGURE 58. Performed actions by characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.2.8.2. Locations

Regarding the locations where characters performed their actions, a good proportion of them (34.4%, $n=147$) was presented at home indoors. Meanwhile, characters performing in outdoor locations, such as the park, street, or garden, were a fifth (20.4%, $n=87$). Fictitious and imaginary places and the television studio were locations in a small number of characters, 11.0% ($n=47$) and 7.5% ($n=32$) for each. Leisure places such as restaurants, shopping centers, gym or transportation were distributed in small minorities. Working places were significantly absent (Figure 59).

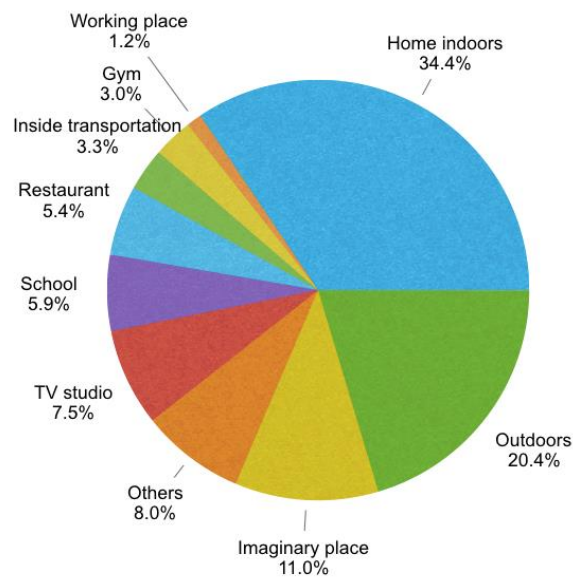


FIGURE 59. Location of characters. SOURCE: Author.

In sum, after observing the different variables, it can be concluded that there is a consistent pattern of body image representation in depicted characters. There is a modest overrepresentation of male characters over the female ones. Human species are the most significant. The figure of the young adult is the leading prescriber in these messages. Physical appearance in characters is highly constrained to the slim and average muscled body.

Moreover, most depicted characters are white skin although facial traits in characters are diverse. Psychosocial traits such as mood and personality shape a positive social image of in characters who are mostly depicted as happy and balanced. Finally, body representation is also suggested by the performed actions and the context where characters perform. To this respect, most characters are depicted in everyday activities (playing or having fun) in indoors places.

5.3. BODY IMAGE IN MALE AND FEMALE CHARACTERS

Male and female characters (n=409) in all sample were selected. Gender frequencies and percentages were compared. A chi-square analysis (χ^2) was applied in order to observe significant statistical differences. Results are presented in this section.

5.3.1. General features of male and female characters.

Both male and female actors were depicted almost in similar proportions for the categories describing their general features. Nonetheless, statistical differences were observed in the variables: species and age of characters. The distribution of categories can be observed as follows:

5.3.1.1. Acting role

The main actor was the prevalent category role for both men and women, whereas gender in supporting characters remained the same. (Table 15).

TABLE 15. Acting roles in male and female characters

		Gender		Total	
		Men	Women		
Acting Role	Main	N	131	99	230
		%	56.0	56.6	56.2
	Supporting	N	103	76	179
		%	44.0	43.4	43.8
Total		N	234	175	409
		%	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Author.

Over a half of sample in both genders was encoded as a main actor (M:56.%, n=131; W:56.65, n=99) meanwhile supporting characters were encoded in a nearly a forty percent (M:44.0%, n=103; W:43.4%, n=76). No statistical differences were observed in this analysis (Figure 60).

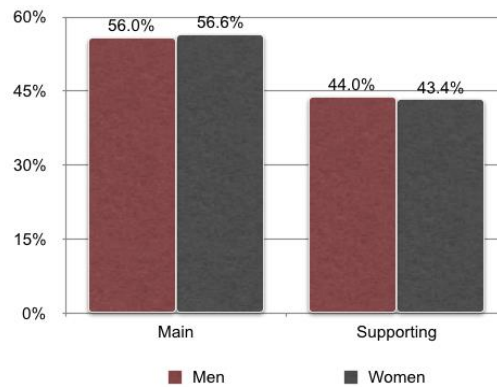


FIGURE 60. Acting role in male and female characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.3.1.2. Species

Regarding the type of species, both male and female characters stood out as humans (M:90.6%, n=212; W:97.1%, n=170) as observed in Table 16.

TABLE 16. Type of species in male and female characters

Specie		Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
Human	N	212	170	382
	%	90.6	97.1	93.4
Animal	N	19	4	23
	%	8.1	2.3	5.6
Other	N	3	1	4
	%	1.3	0.6	1.0
Total	N	234	175	409
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Author.

However, there was an inconsistent distribution of the sample. Statistically significant differences were found ($\chi^2=7.036$, $p=0.03$) as 8.1% (n=19) of the male characters were coded as animals, in comparison to their counterpart (2.3%, n=4). Women were likely to be human, in a lesser extent were coded as animals or other species (Figure 61).

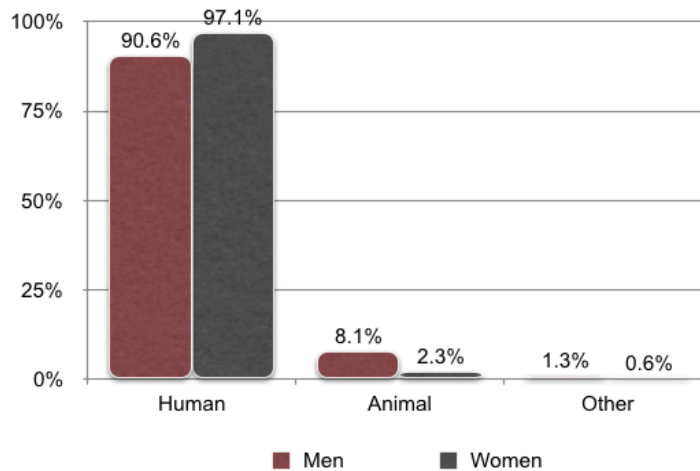


FIGURE 61. Type of species in male and female characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.3.1.3. Type of Actor

Concerning the type of actor, both male and female characters were mostly observed as individual actors and, to a lesser extent, as group actors. (Table 17).

TABLE 17. Type of Actor in Male and Female Characters

		Gender		Total	
		Men	Women		
Type of Actor	Solo	N	157	108	265
		%	67.1	61.7	64.8
	Group	N	77	67	144
		%	32.9	38.3	35.2
Total	N	234	175	409	
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	

Source: Author.

Over the sixty percent (67.1%, $n=157$) of the male characters were encoded as solo and just a third as group actors (32.9%, $n=77$). Women were shown in similar numbers (61.7%, $n=108$ in solo female actors). Although the category for group actor in female characters was nearly forty percent (38.3%, $n=67$), no significant statistical differences were observed in this trait (Figure 62).

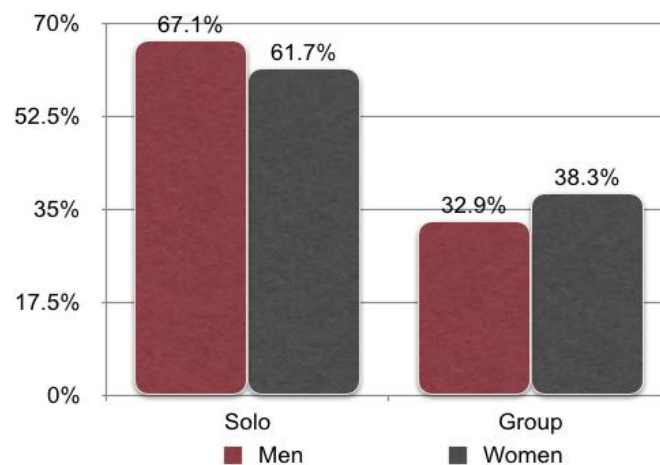


FIGURE 62. Type of actor in male and female characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.3.1.4. Appearance

Appearing solo was a typical pattern for both groups of characters. Although appearing in mixed groups and different gender twosomes was more regular for female characters. (Table 18).

TABLE 18. Appearance in male and female characters

		Gender		Total	
		Men	Women		
Appearance	Appearing Solo	N	82	51	133
		%	35.0	29.1	32.5
	Twosome Same sex partner	N	39	30	69
		%	16.7	17.1	16.9
	Twosome Different sex partner	N	38	35	73
		%	16.2	20.0	17.8
	In same sex group	N	18	5	23
		%	7.7	2.9	5.6
	In Mixed Group	N	57	54	111
		%	24.4	30.9	27.1
Total	N	234	175	409	
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	

SOURCE: Author.

A higher percentage of male characters appeared solo (M: 35.0%, n=82; W:29.1%, n=51). Women were more likely to appear in mixed group (W: 30,9%, n=54; M: 24,4%, n=57). Also, they were more likely to be shown accompanied by men (W:20%, n=35; M:16,2%, n=38). However, no significant statistical differences were found (Figure 63).

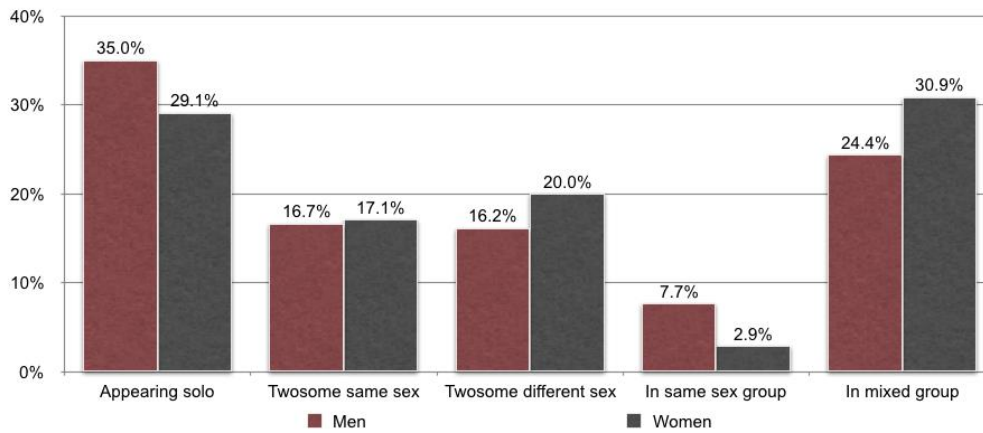


FIGURE 63. Appearance in Male and Female Characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.3.1.5. Age

Concerning the age in characters, statistically significant differences were observed ($\chi^2=14.187$, $p=0.028$) as female characters tended to be portrayed in young ages. (Table 19).

TABLE 19. Age in male and female characters

		Gender		Total	
		Men	Women		
Age	Infants	N	7	3	10
	0 – 5 y/o	%	3.0%	1.7%	2.4%
	Children	N	52	51	103
	6 – 12 y/o	%	22.2%	29.1%	25.2%
	Adolescents	N	30	20	50
	13 – 19 y/o	%	12.8%	11.4%	12.2%
	Young Adult	N	87	79	166
	20 – 39 y/o	%	37.2%	45.1%	40.6%
	Mid-aged A.	N	37	17	54
	40 – 59 y/o	%	15.8%	9.7%	13.2%
	Senior Adult	N	15	5	20
	60 + y/o	%	6.4%	2.9%	4.9%
	No	N	6	0	6
	Visualized	%	2.6%	.0%	1.5%
Total	N	234	175	409	
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	

SOURCE: Author.

Women were mostly represented as young adults (W:45.1%, n=79, M: 37.2%, n=87) and children, 6 to 12 (W:29.1%, n=51; M:22.2%, n=52). In comparison, male characters tended to be young adults and older ages. There was a higher representation of male adolescent characters (M:12.8%, n=30, W:11.4%, n=20) and middle aged adults (M:15.8%, n=37; W: 9.7%, n=17) (Figure 64).

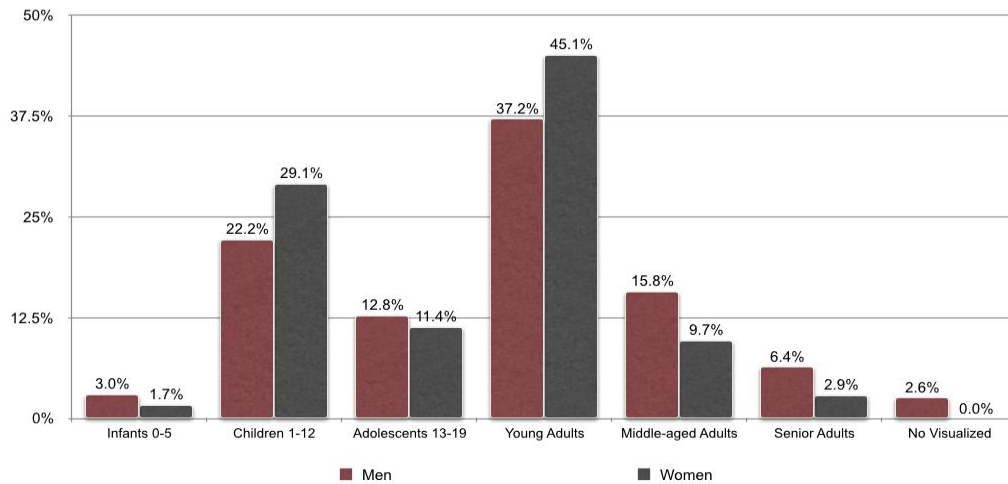


FIGURE 64. Age in male and female characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.3.1.6. Socioeconomic status

Social class was relevant in female characters. As observed in Table 20, those female characters encoded were registered as either high or middle class.

TABLE 20. Socioeconomic status in male and female characters

Socioeconomic Status		Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
Middle Class	N	44	22	66
	%	18.8	12.6	16.1
High Class	N	72	68	140
	%	30.8	38.9	34.2
No Visualized	N	118	85	203
	%	50.4	48.6	49.6
Total	N	234	175	409
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Author.

Nearly forty percent of female characters (38.9%, n=68) was encoded as high class and in a lower percentage as middle class (12.6%, n=22). In comparison, a third of male characters (30.8%, n=72) was observed like a high class, and nearly a fifth (18.8%, n=44) middle class. Almost half of the sample was encoded as not visualized. Significant statistical differences were not observed in this trait (Figure 65).

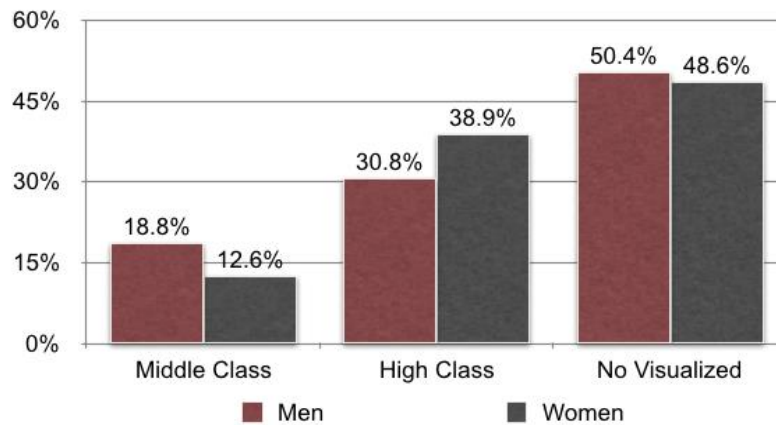


FIGURE 65. Socioeconomic status in male and female characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.3.2. Roles in male and female characters

Both men and female characters were distributed in similar roles. Relational roles were more relevant in comparison to the familiar or occupational ones. Occupational roles observed statistically significant differences.

5.3.2.1. Familiar roles

Familiar roles were mostly absent among characters. However, when present, they were mainly distributed in three categories: parents, sibling, and son or daughter. No statistically significant differences were found. (Table 21).

TABLE 21. Familiar roles in characters

		Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
Mother/ Father	N	20	24	44
	%	8.5	13.7	10.8
Son / Daughter	N	24	18	42
	%	10.3	10.3	10.3
Siblings	N	13	11	24
	%	5.6	6.3	5.9
Familiar Role Grandfather/ Grandmother	N	1	1	2
	%	0.4	0.6	0.5
Other	N	3	2	5
	%	1.3	1.1	1.2
No-Exis	N	120	91	211
	%	51.3	52.0	51.6
No-Vi	N	53	28	81
	%	22.6	16.0	19.8
Total	N	234	175	409
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Author.

Female characters were likely to play familiar roles such as mother (13.7%, n=24), daughter (10.3%, n=18 or sister (6.3%, n=11). In comparison, male characters played role as son (10.3%, n=24), father (8.5%, n=20) or brother (5.6%, n=13). Other familiar roles were reported in inferior values, as observed in Figure 66.

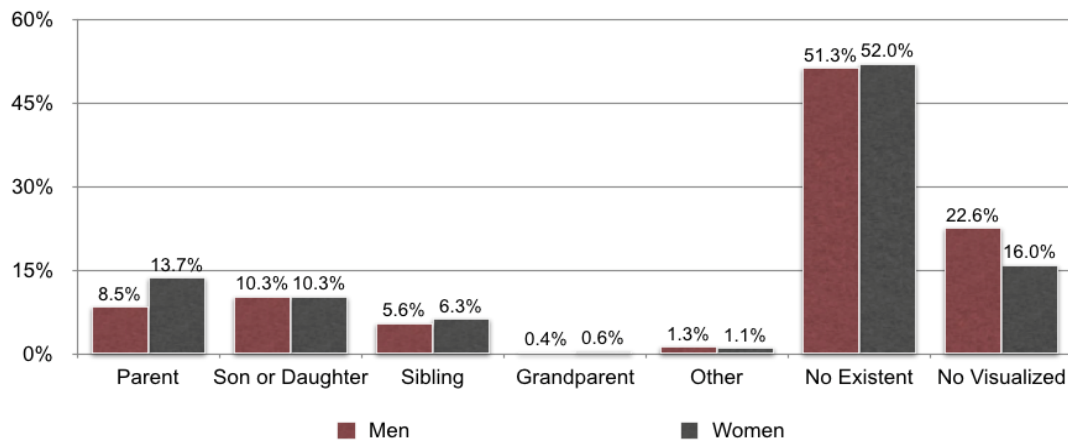


FIGURE 66. Familiar roles in male and female characters.SOURCE: Author.

5.3.2.2. Occupational roles

Similarly, occupational roles were minimal among male and female characters. However, when compared, an inconsistent distribution was found ($\chi^2=18,317$, $p=,000$). (Table 22).

TABLE 22. Occupational roles in characters.

Occupational Role		Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
		Teacher	N	7
	%	3.0	6.3	4.4
Worker	N	8	4	12
	%	3.4	2.3	2.9
Scientist	N	3	0	3
	%	1.3	0	0.7
Celebrity	N	7	6	13
	%	3.0	3.4	3.2
Student	N	18	12	30
	%	7.7	6.9	7.3
Other	N	27	6	33
	%	11.5	3.4	8.1
No Visualized	N	164	136	300
	%	70.1	77.7	73.3
Total	N	234	175	409
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Author.

Occupations such as students (M:7.7%, n=18; W: 6.9%, n=12), workers (M: 3.4%, n=8; W: 6.3%, n=4), professionals (M: 3.0%, n=8; W: 6.3%, n=11) or scientists (M: 1.3%, n=3; W: 0%, n=0) reported different values for male characters. There were also more women encoded as no visualized. (Figure 67).

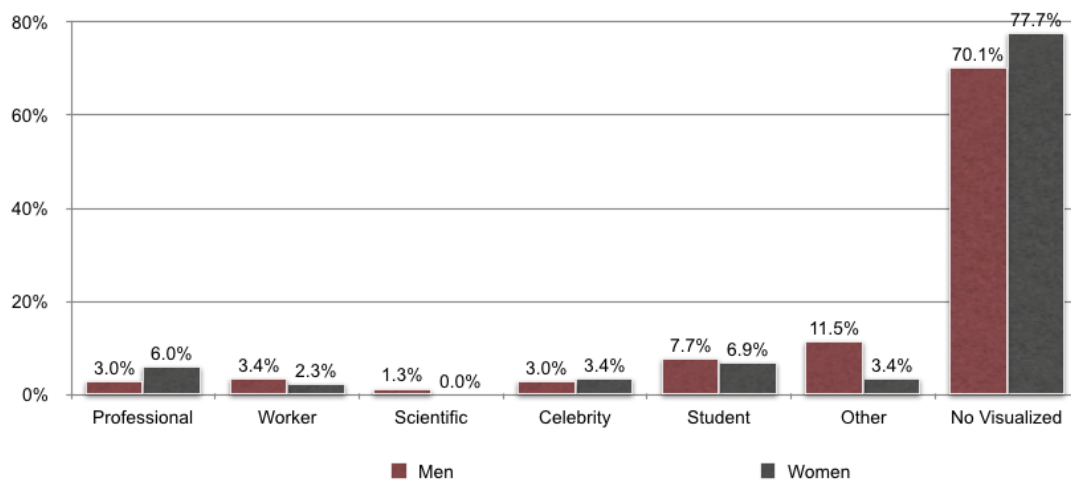


FIGURE 67. Occupational roles in male and female characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.3.2.3. Relational roles

In contrast, relational roles were more present in male and female characters. The friend category was the most observed for both genders. No significant differences were found, however. (Table 23).

TABLE 23. Relational roles in characters

		Gender		Total	
		Men	Women		
Relational Role	Boyfriend/ Girlfriend	N	19	18	37
		%	8.1	10.3	9.0
	Friend	N	28	23	51
		%	12.0	13.1	12.5
	Colleague	N	23	16	35
		%	9.8	6.9	8.6
	Hero/ Heroine	N	10	5	15
		%	4.3	2.9	3.7
	Villain	N	9	0	9
		%	3.8	0	2.2
	Other	N	53	49	102
		%	22.6	28.0	24.9
	No Visualized	N	92	68	160
		%	39.3	38.9	39.1
Total	N	234	175	409	
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	

SOURCE: Author.

Both male and female characters were mostly encoded as friend (M=13.1%, n=23; W:12.0%, n=28). Other encoded values were boyfriend or girlfriend (M:8.1%, n=19; W:10.3%, n=18) and colleague (M:9.8%, n=23; W:6.9%, n=16). Other values can be observed in Figure 68.

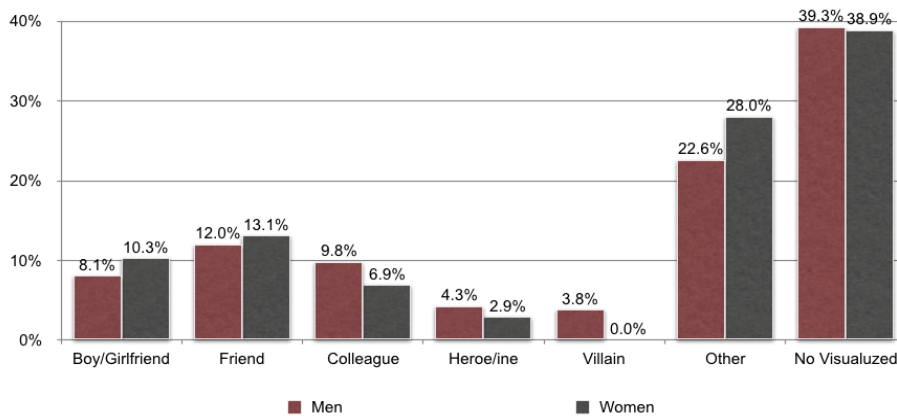


FIGURE 68. Relational roles in male and female characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.3.3. Psychosocial traits in male and female characters

Both male and female characters were defined as showing a stable personality. There were significant statistical differences in the mood of characters, however. In comparison to men, women were more likely to express happiness.

5.3.3.1. Personality

Both men and female characters were mostly shown in stable personality. Other observed personalities by gender were distributed almost in similar numbers (Table 24).

TABLE 24. Personality in male and female characters

		Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
Introverted	N	4	2	6
	%	1.7%	1.1%	1.5%
Extroverted	N	47	38	85
	%	20.1%	21.7%	20.8%
Stable	N	142	115	257
	%	60.7%	65.7%	62.8%
Instable	N	13	1	14
	%	5.6%	.6%	3.4%
No Visualized	N	28	19	47
	%	12.0%	10.9%	11.5%
Total	N	234	175	409
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

SOURCE: Author.

Both men and women were showed as balanced (M:60.7%, n=142, W:65.7%, n=115). To a lesser extent both groups were shown as extroverted (M:20.1%, n=47; 21.7%, n=38). Other personalities such as unstable (M:5.6%, n=13; W:10.9%, n=19) and introverted (M:1.7%, n=4; W:1.1%, n=2) were observed in less significant numbers. No significant statistical differences were observed in this category (Figure 69).

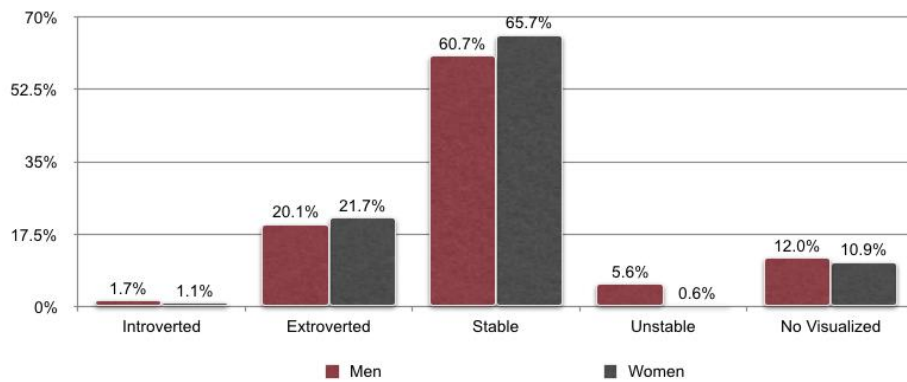


FIGURE 69. Personality in male and female characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.3.3.2. Mood

The observed mood in both male and female characters was distributed in similar proportions. However, there were significant differences in the character’s emotions ($\chi^2=17,435, p=0,008$) as observed in Table 25.

TABLE 25. Mood in male and female characters

		Gender		Total	
		Men	Women		
Mood	Happy	N	141	126	267
		%	60.3	72.0	65.3
	Sad	N	4	4	8
		%	1.7	2.3	2.0
	Angry	N	40	20	60
		%	17.1	11.4	14.7
	Tired	N	8	9	17
		%	3.4	5.1	4.2
	Embarrassed	N	3	5	8
		%	1.3	2.9	2.0
Energetic	N	23	3	26	
	%	9.8	1.7	6.4	
No visualized	N	15	8	23	
	%	6.4	4.6	5.6	
Total	N	234	175	409	
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	

SOURCE: Author.

Female characters were likely to be happy in a larger proportion compared to male characters (W:72,0%, n=126; M; 60.3%, n=141). And, although in small fractions, men were prone to be shown angry (M: 17.1%, n=40; W: 1.4%, n=20) or healthy (M:9.8%, n=23; W:1.7%, n=3). As seen in Figure 70, other traits were encoded in small numbers.

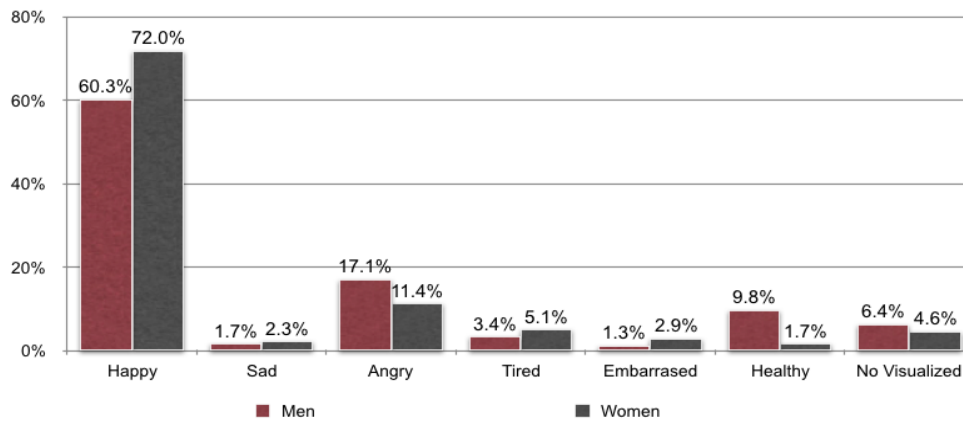


FIGURE 70. Mood in male and female characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.3.4. Body vision in male and female characters

Body vision was distributed in similar values in both genders. Medium shots were more relevant screenshot in comparison to close-ups. There were no significant gender differences, however. (Table 26).

TABLE 26. Body Vision in male and female characters

		N	Gender		Total
			Men	Women	
Body Vision	Full Shot	N	72	44	116
		%	30.8	25.1	28.4
American Shot	N	37	38	75	
	%	15.8	21.7	18.3	
Medium Shot	N	110	79	189	
	%	47.0	45.1	46.2	
Close up	N	15	14	29	
	%	6.4	8.0	7.1	
Total	N	234	175	409	
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	

SOURCE: Author.

Body in characters was mostly captured in medium shows for both genders (M:47%, n=110; W:45.1, n=79). Full shots were more common to seize the male body in a 30.8% (n=72) and the female in a 25.1% (n=44). American shots were more relevant in women in comparison to men (W:21.7%, n=38; M:15.8%, n=37). Close up values were inferior in both gender (M:6.4%, n=15; W:8.0%, n=14) (Figure 71).

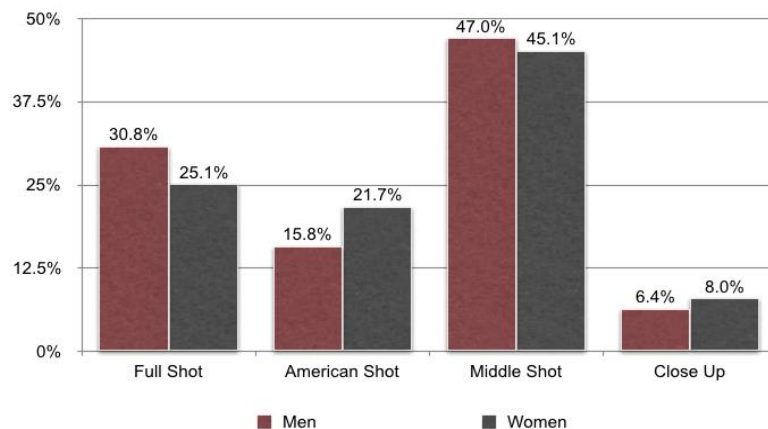


FIGURE 71. Body vision in male and female characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.3.5. Physical traits in male and female characters

Physical traits were distributed in similar tendencies in both genders. However, female body image was more likely to be shown as slim and with average muscles. White characters were more prevalent compared to others. The distribution of other values can be seen as follows:

5.3.5.1. Body type

The depiction of body type in characters was a question of gender. Female characters were distributed in a non-homogeneous way in this physical trait ($\chi^2=25,577$, $p<0.001$). Most female characters were observed as slim, while male characters were encoded with more diverse bodies (Table 27).

TABLE 27. Body type in male and female characters

Body Type		Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
Athletic	N	28	7	35
	%	12.0	4.0	8.6
Skinny	N	8	0	8
	%	3.4	0.0	2.0
Slim	N	161	145	306
	%	68.8	82.9	74.8
Wide Hips	N	1	6	7
	%	0.4	3.4	1.7
Fat	N	18	5	23
	%	7.7	2.9	5.6
No visualized	N	18	12	30
	%	7.7	6.9	7.3
Total	N	234	175	409
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Author.

Women were mostly associated with slim body in comparison to men (M:12.0%, n=28; W:4.0%, n=7), skinny (M:3.4%, n=8; W:0.0%, n=0) or fat (M:7.7%, n=18; W:2.9%, n=5). Other values can be observed in Figure 72.

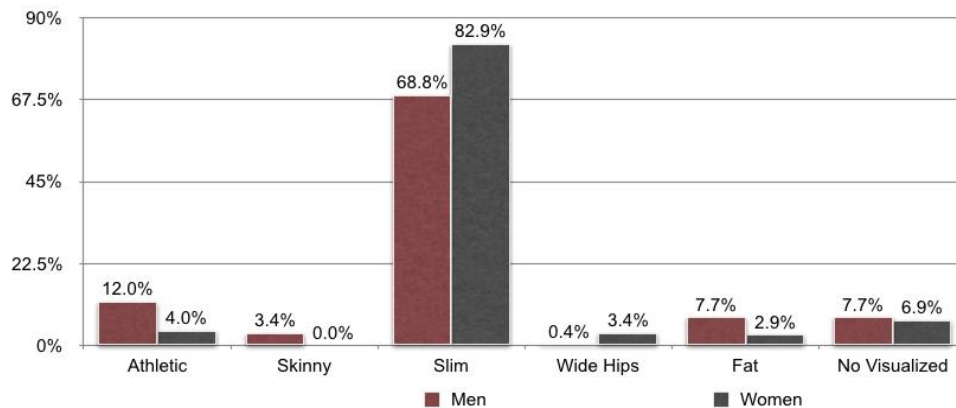


FIGURE 72. Body type in male and female characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.3.5.2. Muscle type

In concordance, there was a significant difference for the muscle type ($\chi^2=22.474$, $p < 0.001$). Female body image was constrained to the average body size while the male body was slightly diverse (Table 28).

TABLE 28. Muscle type in male and female characters

Muscle Type		Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
Flabby	N	21	6	27
	%	9.0	3.4	6.6
Weak	N	9	1	10
	%	3.8	0.6	2.4
Average	N	155	145	300
	%	66.2	82.9	73.3
Tone	N	28	11	39
	%	12.0	6.3	9.5
Strong	N	8	0	8
	%	3.4	0.0	2.0
No Visualized	N	13	12	25
	%	5.6	6.9	6.1
Total	N	234	175	409
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Author.

Female characters were mostly depicted with average muscle in comparison to their counterpart (W: 82.9%, n=145, M: 66.2%, n=155). Excess or lack of muscle was associated with the male characters who were also shown as athletic (M: 12%, n=28; W: 6.3%, n=11), strong (M: 3.4%, n=8; W:0%, n=0) or flabby (M: 9%, n=21; W: 3.4%, n=6) as observed in Figure 73.

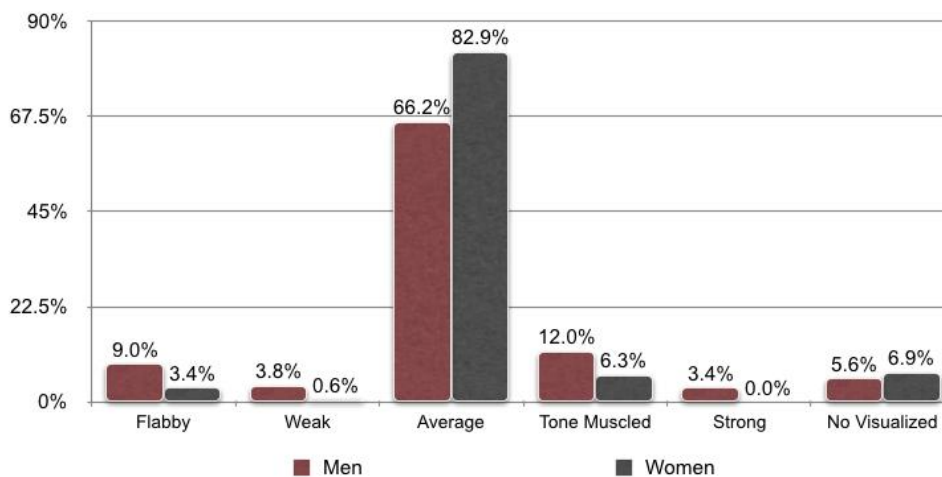


FIGURE 73. Muscle type in male and female characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.3.5.3. Skin complexion

The white skin was a common trend in both male and female characters. Other skin colors remained inferior in both genders as observed in Table 29.

TABLE 29. Skin complexion in male and female characters

		Gender		Total	
		Men	Women		
Skin Complexion	White	N	199	163	362
		%	85.0	93.1	88.5
	Brunette	N	13	5	18
		%	5.6	2.9	4.4
	Mulatto	N	2	1	3
		%	0.9	0.6	0.7
	Black	N	1	1	2
		%	0.4	0.6	.5
	Other	N	13	2	15
		%	5.6	1.1	3.7
	No-Vi	N	6	3	9
		%	2.6	1.7	2.2
Total	N	234	175	409	
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	

SOURCE: Author.

Female characters were depicted as white in a higher percentage, though (W: 93.1%, n=163; M: 85.0%, n=199). This pattern reduced the presence of other skin complexions in both genders. Dark skins such as brunette (M:5.6%, n=13; W:2.9%, n=5), mulatto (M:0.9%, n=2; W:0.6%, n=1) or black (M:.04%, n=1; W:=0.6%, n=1) were reported in small numbers (Figure 74).

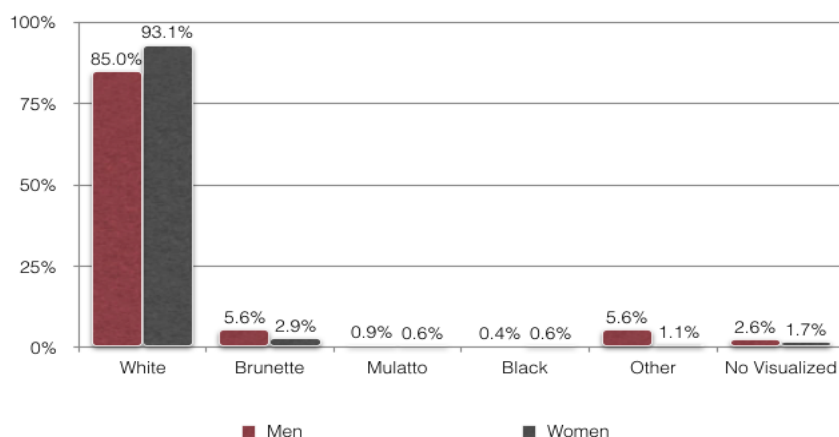


FIGURE 74. Skin complexion in male and female characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.3.6. Facial traits in male and female characters

Compared to other physical features, facial traits observed significant differences in gender. These were statistically significant in the case of hair color and length. The distribution of categories in each variable can be observed as follows:

5.3.6.1. Color of eyes

Brown eyes were the most observed value for both male and female characters. Although in a tiny proportion, female characters registered different eye color. No significant statistical differences were observed in this category, however. (Table 30).

TABLE 30. Eye color in male and female characters

		Gender		Total	
		Men	Women		
Eye Color	Blue	N	12	13	25
		%	5.1	7.4	6.1
	Green	N	21	21	42
		%	9.0	12.0	10.3
	Brown	N	87	51	138
		%	37.2	29.1	33.7
	Black	N	28	23	51
		%	12.0	13.1	12.5
	No visualized	N	86	67	153
		%	36.8	38.3	37.4
Total	N	234	175	409	
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	

SOURCE: Author.

As observed in Figure 75 both male and female characters were likely to be depicted as brown eyes (M:37.2%, n=87; W:29.1%, n=51). On its part, black eyes were shown almost in a tenth in each case (M:12.0%, n=28; W:13.1%, n=23). Other color such as blue (M: 5.1%, n=12; W: 7.4%, n=13) and green (M: 9.0%, n=21; W: 12,0%, n=21) were present in a smaller distribution.

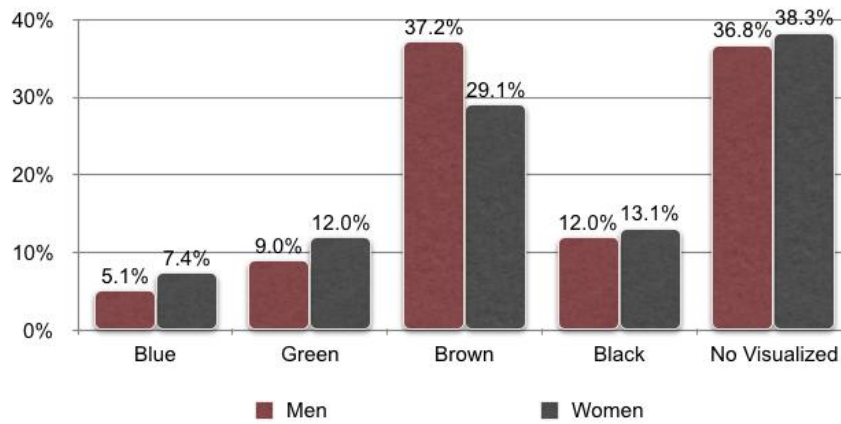


FIGURE 75. Eye color in male and female characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.3.6.2. Color of hair

A statistical difference was identified in hair color ($\chi^2=38,487$, $p=,001$). Although the brown color was relevant for both genders, female characters presented other hair colors (Table 31).

TABLE 31. Hair color in male and female characters

Hair Color		Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
Bald	N	17	1	18
	%	7.3	0.6	4.4
Blond	N	26	48	74
	%	11.1	27.4	18.1
Brown	N	123	79	202
	%	52.6	45.1	49.4
Black	N	36	25	61
	%	15.4	14.3	14.9
Red	N	6	14	20
	%	2.6	8.0	4.9
Grey	N	13	2	15
	%	5.6	1.1	3.7
Other	N	6	3	9
	%	2.6	1.7	2.2
No Visualized	N	7	3	10
	%	3.0	1.7	2.4
Total	N	234	175	409
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Author.

Both male and female characters, showed brown hair in good proportions (M:52.6%, n=123; W: 45.1%, n=79). However, blond (W:27.4%, n=48; 11.1%, n=26) and red hair (W:8.0%, n=14; 2.6%, n=6) were more observed in female characters. Other values were distributed as indicated in Figure 76.

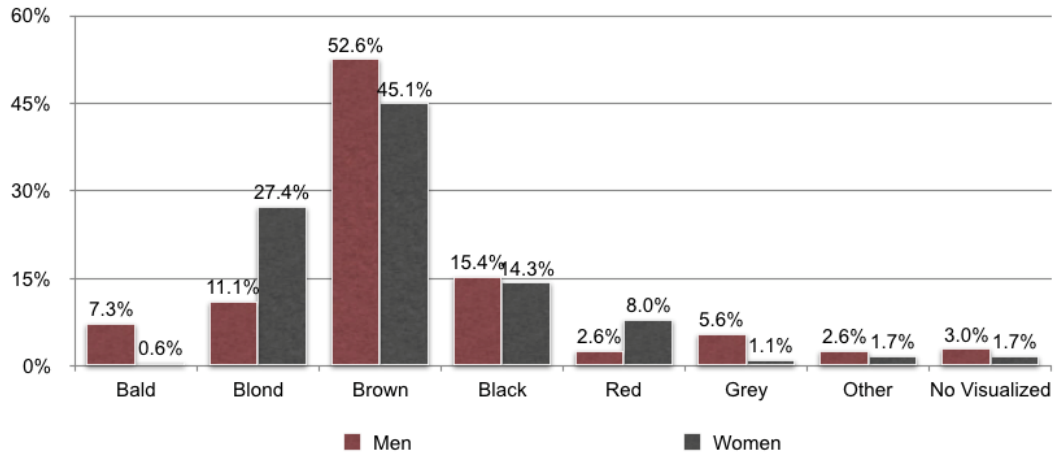


FIGURE 76. Hair color in male and female characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.3.6.3. Length of hair

In coexistence, a significant statistical difference was observed in hair length ($\chi^2=237,938, p=.000$). Women were more likely to depicted as long hair while men were shown haircuts. (Table 32).

TABLE 32. Hair length in male and female characters.

		Gender		Total	
		Men	Women		
Hair Length	Short	N	148	12	160
		%	63.2	6.9	39.1
	Under Shoulder	N	55	35	90
		%	23.5	20.0	22.0
	Above Shoulder	N	4	82	86
		%	1.7	46.9	21.0
	Long to back	N	0	37	37
		%	0.0	21.1	9.0
	Bald	N	16	1	17
		%	6.8	0.6	4.2
No visualized	N	11	8	19	
	%	4.7	4.6	4.6	
Total	N	234	175	409	
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	

SOURCE: Author.

Over two-thirds of male characters (63.2%, n=148) were encoded as short hair whereas in female characters this trait was minimal (6.9%, n=12). Almost half of the female characters (46.9%, n=82) was likely to show their hair above shoulders. Furthermore, long hair was observed in female characters in a fifth (21.1%, n=37) whereas, in the male actors, this characteristic was null (Figure 77).

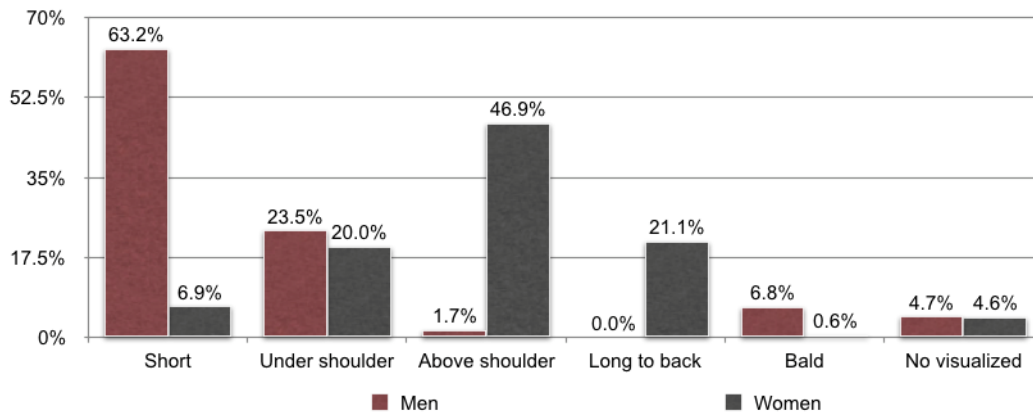


FIGURE 77. Hair length in male and female characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.3.7. Dressing in male and female characters

Both men and female characters were mostly shown in wearing informal dress and in casual style. There were significant statistical differences in style, however. The distribution of categories can be observed as follows:

5.3.7.1. Clothing

Wearing an informal dress was the typical pattern for both male and female characters. Although male characters were also depicted with different clothes, no statistical differences were observed. (Table 33).

TABLE 33. Dressing type in male and female characters.

Dressing Type		Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
Nude	N	5	1	6
	%	2.1	0.6	1.5
Underwear	N	10	9	19
	%	4.3	5.1	4.6
Informal	N	130	110	240
	%	55.6	62.9	58.7
Formal	N	16	8	24
	%	6.8	4.6	5.9
Working	N	34	10	44
	%	14.5	5.7	10.8
Party Dress	N	2	5	7
	%	0.9	2.9	1.7
Sport	N	16	12	28
	%	6.8	6.9	6.8
Other	N	9	10	19
	%	3.8	5.7	4.6
No-Vi	N	12	10	22
	%	5.1	5.7	5.4
Total	N	234	175	409
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Author.

However, this category was more slightly present in women, in comparison to men (W: 62.9%, n=110; M: 55.6%, n=130). On their part, male characters were more observed as wearing working uniforms (M: 14.5%, n=34; W: 5.7%, n=10) and formal clothes (M: 6.8%, n=16; W: 4.6%, n=8). Other values were observed in small fractions, as indicated in Figure 78.

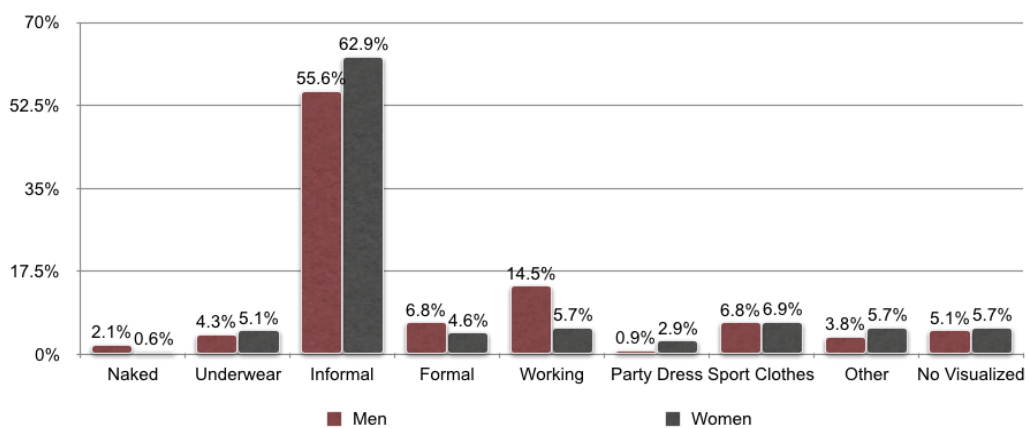


FIGURE 78. Dressing type in male and female characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.3.7.2. Dressing style

As observed in Table 34, the casual style was the most relevant trait for both male and female characters. However, dressing style was not distributed uniformly. A statistical difference was found ($\chi^2=14.512$, $p=0.24$).

TABLE 34. Dressing type in male and female characters.

		Gender		Total	
		Men	Women		
Dressing Style	Naked	N	7	1	8
		%	3.0	0.6	2.0
	Sensual	N	0	1	1
		%	0.0	0.6	0.2
	Casual	N	154	130	284
		%	65.8	74.3	69.4
	Conservative	N	22	11	33
		%	9.4	6.3	8.1
	Urban Tribe	N	9	0	9
		%	3.8	0.0	2.2
	Other	N	11	5	16
		%	4.7	2.9	3.9
	No Visualized	N	31	27	58
		%	13.2	15.4	14.2
Total	N	234	175	409	
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	

SOURCE: Author.

Female characters were likely to appear dressing casual compared to male characters (W:74,3%, n=130; M:65.8%, n=154). Male characters were portrayed more frequently in conservative style (M:9.4%, n=22; W:6.3, n=11), urban tribe (M:3.8%, n=9; W:0%, n=0) or nude (M:3.0%, n=7; W:0.6, n=1) (Figure 79).

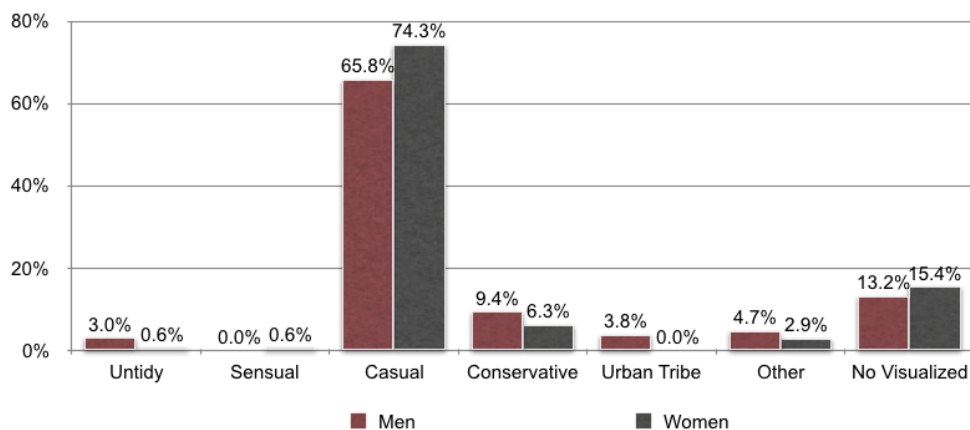


FIGURE 79. Dressing Style in male and female characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.3.8. Actions in male and female characters

Female and male characters presented similar trends for the performed actions and the places where they were presented. There was a moderate distribution in each gender category. However, no significant differences were found. Results for both variables can be observed as follows:

5.3.8.1. Actions

As indicated in Table 35, male characters were prone to perform more active actions in comparison to their counterparts. There were no significant statistical differences, however.

TABLE 35. Actions performed by male and female characters.

		Gender		Total	
		Men	Women		
Action	Play,	N	86	54	140
	Have fun	%	36.8	30.9	34.2
	Eat, Cook	N	29	18	47
		%	12.4	10.3	11.5
	Care for	N	5	7	12
	Body	%	2.1	4.0	2.9
	Give	N	9	15	24
	Advice	%	3.8	8.6	5.9
	Work,	N	20	11	31
	Study	%	8.5	6.3	7.6
	Clean	N	1	2	3
		%	0.4	1.1	0.7
	Relax	N	3	3	6
		%	1.3	1.7	1.5
	Show	N	26	27	53
	Product	%	11.1	15.4	13.0
	Argue	N	14	7	21
		%	6.0	4.0	5.1
	Reflect	N	6	6	12
		%	2.6	3.4	2.9
Fight	N	11	4	15	
	%	4.7	2.3	3.7	
Other	N	24	21	45	
	%	10.3	12.0	11.0	
Total	N	234	175	409	
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	

SOURCE: Author.

Men were shown playing and having fun in a larger number compared to women (M:36,8%, n=86; W:30.9%, n=54). On the other hand, women were depicted showing or demonstrating products or services (W:15.4%, n=27; M:11.1%, n=26). Male characters were also shown eating (12.4%, n=29) working (8.5, n=30) or fighting (4.7%, n=11) whereas female characters were depicted giving advice (8.6%, n=15) caring for their bodies (4.0%, n=7) or thinking (3.4%, n=6). (Figure 80).

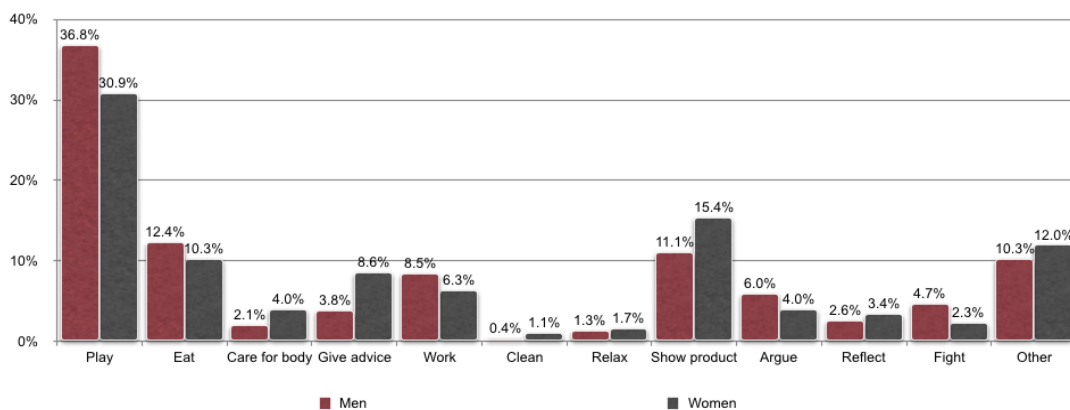


FIGURE 80. Actions performed by male and female characters. SOURCE: Author.

5.3.8.2. Locations

Both male and female characters mostly performed outdoors. Nevertheless, location for gender observed different distribution patterns as observed in Table 36. No significant statistical differences were observed, however.

TABLE 36. Locations where male and female characters perform.

Location		Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
Home Indoors	N	54	27	81
	%	23.1	15.4	19.8
Park, Street	N	78	65	143
	%	33.3	37.1	35.0
Workshop, Laboratory	N	2	2	4
	%	0.9	1.1	1.0
School	N	14	11	25
	%	6.0	6.3	6.1
Gym	N	7	6	13
	%	3.0	3.4	3.2
TV studio	N	13	18	31
	%	5.6	10.3	7.6
Office	N	0	1	1
	%	0.0	0.6	0.2
Restaurant, Shops	N	15	8	23
	%	6.4	4.6	5.6
Transport	N	8	5	13
	%	3.4	2.9	3.2
Imaginary Place	N	27	20	47
	%	11.5	11.4	11.5
Other	N	16	12	28
	%	6.8	6.9	6.8
Total	N	234	175	409
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Author.

Both male and female characters mostly performed actions outdoors (M: 33.3%, n=78; W:37.1%, n=65). In contrast, male characters were more likely to act at home indoors (M:23.1%, n=54; W:15.4%, n=27). TV studio was a common background for female characters in comparison to men (W:10.3%, n=18; M:5.6%, n=13). On the contrary, male characters were more present inside any transportation (3.4%, n=8), but were almost absent in working places (0.9%, n=1). (Figure 81).

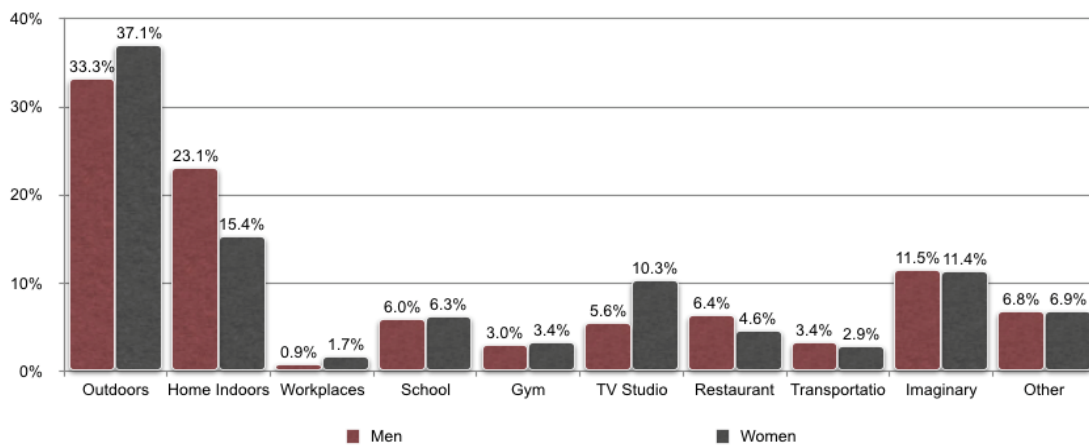


FIGURE 81. Locations for male and female characters. SOURCE: Author.

In sum, male and female characters observed similar patterns in categories such as acting role, type of actor, personality as well as in the familiar and the relational roles. Both male and female characters were observed as main characters, mostly acting solo, whose personality was mainly encoded as balanced. In contrast, significant statistical differences were found in categories such as the type of species, age, mood, occupational role, hair color and length, body type and muscle as well as in dressing style. Female characters were mostly depicted as humans, in younger ages, and with happy emotions in comparison to their counterpart. Similarly, female characters were mostly portrayed constrain to some physical traits. Women were likely to show different styles in hair length and color. Their body type was mostly depicted as slender with average muscles.

In comparison, the male body was more represented as average body type but with strong muscles. Finally, some other categories such as social class, skin color, the color of eyes, dressing style, actions, and locations showed a non-homogenous distribution. However, no statistical difference was found.

5.4. BODY AS A MESSAGE

This analysis was considered for those advertisements on which body image was observed as a claim in its key message. According to the criteria of analysis (4.2.1.3), advertisers support on body image when they use (screen/emphasize) the physical or psychological traits of characters in order to enhance advertising's key message.

Body image as a message was encoded in 47 characters in all sample. The analysis of the objectification of body images and the relevant traits observed in characters is described as follows.

5.4.1. Emphasis of body image

Body image as a claim was mostly framed in its totality. The objectified body image of characters was mostly screened in full shots 46.8% (n=22). Focusing on the face of characters was the second way to appeal for it. (25.5%, n=12). Other employed frames were, screening the arms (19.1%, n=9). Other body parts such as the hands (6.4%, n=3) and the legs (2.1%, n=1) were objectified in a lesser extent (Figure 82).

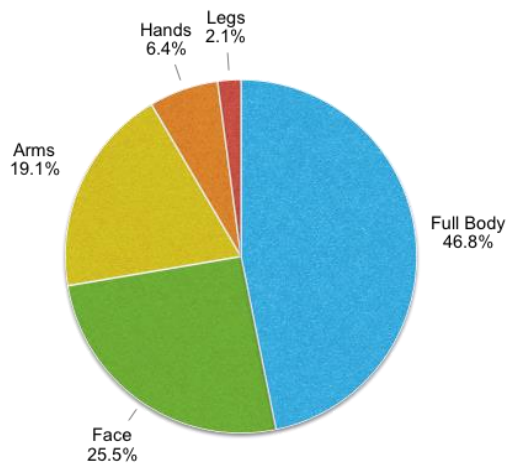


FIGURE 82. Frames used to emphasize body image as a message. SOURCE: Author.

5.4.2. Audiovisual resources

The objectification of body image in advertising was mostly determined by identifying audiovisual elements that claimed for it. Thus, body image was emphasized as a message using sound, visual, and textual effects in different proportions. The results for each variable are presented as follows:

5.4.2.1. Sound effects

Concerning the sound effects, body image was mainly appealed using original music (53.2%, n=25) or jingle (29.8%, n=14). Other sound effects (no original background music) was encoded in almost a tenth (12.8%, n=6). Sound effects were not registered in 4.3% (n=2) of the analyzed sample (Figure 83).

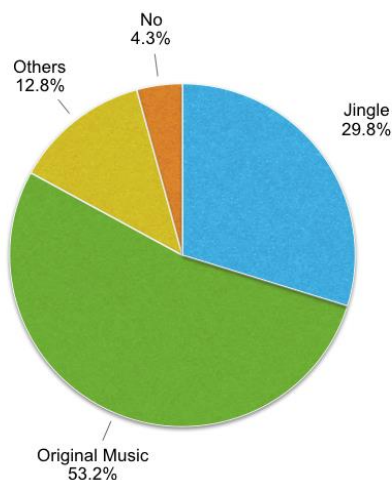


FIGURE 83. Sound effects to objectify body image. SOURCE: Author.

5.4.2.2. Visual effects

On the other hand, body figure was mostly praised in frames (compositions and angles) (55.3%, n=26), and graphics (31.9%, n=15). The category for other visual effects was inferior (Figure 84). Visual effects did not objectify the body in a tenth of cases (10.6%, =6)

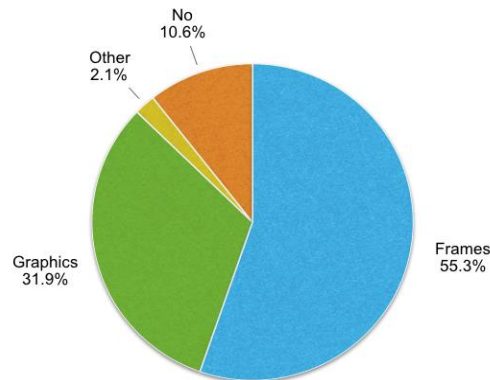


FIGURE 84. Visual effects that objectify body image. SOURCE: Author.

5.4.3. Textual elements

Furthermore, voices-over were relevant to objectify body image as a message. In this way, the masculine voice was predominant (48.9%, n=23) although female voice-over was significant too (34.5%, n=16). Character's voice over was less present (10.6%, n=5). Text and other effects were less significant, as observed in Figure 85.

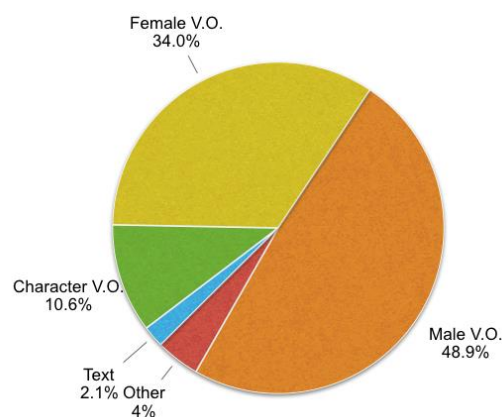


FIGURE 85. Textual effects to objectify body image. SOURCE: Author.

5.4.4. Relevant body image in the message

Concerning their general traits, characters depicted in the selected advertisements were mostly encoded as main actors (70.2%, n=33) and human species (97,9 n=46). Like in general sample, male characters stood out in a more significant percentage (53.2%, n=25) compared to their female counterparts (44.7%, n=21). Regarding their type of action, characters were mainly encoded as individual actors (53.2%, n=25). The predominant age group was children, ages 6 to 12 years old, (59.6%, n=28). Compared to the overall sample, young adults were present in less than a third (27.7%, n=13) (Table 37).

TABLE 37. Relevant general traits in characters.

Acting Role	Specie	Type of Actor	Gender	Age
Main Actor n=33 70.2%	Human n=46 97.9%	Individual n=25 53.2%	Male n=25 53.2%	Children n=28 59.6%

SOURCE: Author.

Characters were primarily encoded as stable (63.8%, n=30) and happy (76.6%, n=36). Almost half of them appeared within mixed groups (48.9%, n=23). Regarding the social abilities of characters, the prevalent family role was a son (23.4%, n=11), occupational as a student (12.8%, n=6) and relational that of a friend (25.5%, n=12) (Table 38).

TABLE 38. Relevant psychosocial traits in characters.

Personality	Mood	Appearance	Familiar Role	Occupational Role	Relational Role
Stable n=30 63.8%	Happy n=36 76.6%	Mix. Group n=23 48.9%	Son n=11 23.4%	Student n=6 12.8%	Friend n=12 25.5%

SOURCE: Author.

Body image was mainly seized in full shots (40.4%, n=19) and medium shots (36.2%, n=17). The slim body was the most visualized (80.9%, n=38). The prevalent muscle type was average musculature (76.6%, n=36). Almost all the characters were white complexion (91.5%, n=43). Regarding the facial traits, almost half of the characters were encoded as brown eyes (44.7%, n=21). Brown hair was

present in over half of characters (59.6%, n=28) and hair length was either short (36.2%, n=17) or under shoulder (34.0%, n=34). (Table 39).

TABLE 39. Relevant physical traits in characters.

Body Type	Muscle Type	Skin Complexion	Eye Color	Hair Color	Hair Length
Slim n=38 80.9%	Average M. n=36 76.6%	White n=43 91.5%	Brown n=21 44.7%	Brown n=28 59.6	Short n=17 36.2%

SOURCE: Author.

Dressing type in characters was mostly informal (66.0%, n=31), looking casual style (70.2%, n=33). On the other hand, characters mainly performed recreational actions such as playing and having fun (42.6%, n=20). Along with this, characters were located indoors (34.0%, n=16), and to a lesser extent outdoors (12.8%, n=6). (Table 40).

TABLE 40. Relevant dress and actions in characters

Dress Type	Dress Style	Actions	Location
Informal n=31 66.0%	Casual n=33 70.2%	Having fun n=20 42.6%	Indoors n=16 34.0%

SOURCE: Author.

5.4.5. Body image prescribers

Advertising spots prescribing body image of these 47 characters were analyzed in detail. From this sectioned sub-sample, a vast majority of television ads was classified as product advertising (84.0%, n=21). Regarding the target, it was determined that two-thirds of these advertisements were addressed to both male and female consumers (60.0%, n=15). Children, 6 to 12 y/o, was the most common target age (48%, n=12). Concerning advertising category, television spots that promoted food and drinks were highly relevant (72.0%, n=18). In this respect, the promotion of sweets and snacks was significant (36.0%, n=9).

TABLE 41. Advertising spots prescribing body image as a message.

Type of Spot	Target Gender	Target Age	Category	Subcategory
Product n=21 84%	Both n=15 60.0%	Children n=12 48%	Food & Drinks n=18 72.0%	Sweets & Snacks n=9 36.0%

SOURCE: Author.

In sum, a small fraction of advertisements (18.7%, n=25) was encoded as showing body image as part of advertising's key message. It mostly occurred when body image was fully captured, original music, frames, or male voice-over appealed to the body. Characters employed were also in a small number (11.0%, n=47). The features (psychosocial and physical traits) of characters were mostly the same as the overall sample. Regarding the prescribers of these messages, advertisers were mostly classified as brands which promote food products to young children.

5.5. SOME CONCLUDING IDEAS

This chapter has presented the results concerning Research Goal 1 “the analysis of the body image representations in television advertising addressed to young children (ages 6 to 9)”. A content analysis of the most visualized advertising addressed to these children has been conducted. Results regarding the features of advertising, the body image in characters, the gender differences, and the representation of body image as a claim in the key message have been described in this section. The most relevant findings can be summarized as follows:

- Although the analyzed advertisements in sample corresponded to the most visualized advertising by young children (ages 5 to 9), most of these ads were addressed to different age groups. This makes evident that children were exposed to content not always related to their consumption preferences or habits. In coexistence, advertisements were mainly identified for promoting the consumption of food products. These were mainly promoted as daily consumption products (cereals, sweet drinks, pastries). In contrast, healthy or fresh food was almost absent. Most advertisers supported their messages in the representation of happiness. Having fun and personal success was mostly related to the consumption

of products or services. In some cases, contentment was explicitly associated with the consumption of the advertised product.

- A consistent body image representation was addressed to young children. The human young male adult was the most typical pattern. According to his physical traits, this character was identified as white skin, brown eyes, short brown hair, slim body, and average musculature. This male body image was also the continent of psychosocial values. According to the patterns, most visualized body image was encoded as an individual actor, with a balanced personality and positive emotions. Thus, it was common to observe male characters acting solo, playing active roles and actions.
- When statistically compared, male and female characters observed almost similar patterns in categories such as acting role, type of actor, personality as well as in the familiar and the relational roles. In contrast, significant statistical differences were found in categories such as the type of species, age, mood, occupational role, hair color and length, body type and muscle as well as in dressing style. Female characters were scarcely portrayed as animal characters, in older ages than their counterparts or showing emotions such as anger or vitality. Additionally, female characters were mostly portrayed constrain to a physical model: the white and slim body. Although in small numbers, male characters presented different body and muscle types. Facial traits were also gender-differentiated.
- Despite the small number of messages in which advertisers used body image as a message, body image depictions were mostly related to a type of advertiser. Food products addressed to children was the most common category that implied body image in its message. The depiction of body image as a message mostly occurred when the body was fully seized and/or advertised it was appealed by original music, frames, or male voice over.

What follows in the next chapters is to analyze how children interpret these body images and the way these depictions influence on children's representations of body imaginaries.

6. THE MEDIATING ROLE OF ADVERTISING IN THE CHILD AUDIENCE

This chapter introduces the results for "the analysis of the mediating role of television advertising in children's body imaginaries" (RA2). Findings were obtained from the focus groups held in ten schools in Barcelona City (Table 11). The research report is presented in two sections. The first section describes children's understandings of television advertising and the depicted body image on its message (SO5). The second section expands on the social implications of advertising in children's body imaginaries (SO6). Both sections are structured in the salient topics from the thematic analysis. Pseudonyms are used to protect the identity of participants according to the European General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR 2916/679).

6.1 CHILDREN'S UNDERSTANDINGS OF ADVERTISING

This section describes the results for children's understandings of television advertising and the depicted body image on its message. The section is presented according to the three salient themes in the analysis. These are children's relations with television and advertising, children's insights of television advertising, and children's interpretations of body image in the advertising message.

6.1.1. An overview of television and advertising consumption

This first theme involves children's knowledge and attitudes towards television and advertising. Collected data in focus groups discussion suggest children are still highly engaged with television consumption which is consistent to recent national surveys (Kantar Media, 2017) and the information obtained in the quantitative study with the same children (Figure 86).

Asking children about television was replied with different answers. When children were asked if they liked TV, the first responses were denial. Participant children manifested to be interested in other “*more interesting things*”, and deny knowing the programs. This answer was more strategic than real. They were giving adult-expected responses. However, once any participant child introduced a theme or question of interest familiar with TV content, this broke the ice, and the rest of the children brought their latest television memories.

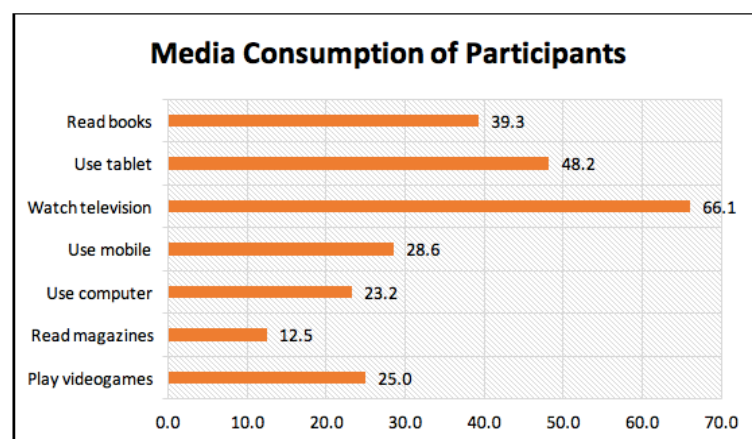


FIGURE 86. Media consumption of participants in focus groups. SOURCE: MediaCorp Research Project (2018)

For most interviewed children, watching television was part of a daily routine. Most children’s habits include watching cartoons or any other program as a leisure activity. Some participants affirmed to have flexible time for watching TV meanwhile some others declared to have less time as they do other chores or just because watching television is prohibited by the parents. However, almost all participants explained to have more time to watch TV on the weekends. This situation was different for one child, Arturo, whose television habits were described as inconsistent since he lives in two different places as his parents are separated.

“I always watch TV. My mother doesn’t let me watch it at her home, but I do at my father’s house. I can watch it in the morning, in the afternoon, in the evening, all morning...”

[Verbatim 1. Arturo, FG4]

For some interviewed children, watching television was perceived as an age-specific or an obvious activity. A female participant, (Iris, FG8), declared “*Children are the ones who watch television the most*”, an affirmation to which some participants agreed. However, this was a debating issue for some other children who affirmed they would rather spend time playing or doing homework. Television, therefore, was observed by some children as a pastime to deal with boredom.

“I’d rather play, but I watch it when there’s nothing to do. Because I can’t get out of the home without my parents, so I get bored, and I watch it”.

[Verbatim 2. Gaby, FG1]

Moreover, participant children considered watching television as a way to spend free time (*to be entertained*), but also a way to know what is happening in the world (*to be informed*). A majority of interviewed children affirmed to watch cartoons, television series, and movies, but some others argued to be interested in watching documentaries, news or even the weather forecast as it can be observed in the following passage.

Researcher: What do you like about television?

Horace: Well, politics. I watch the news.

Jenny: I like to watch the weather forecast and documentaries.

[Verbatim 3. Horacio & Jenny, FG5]

A relevant observation in all focus group discussions was the fact that watching television was not only related to the consumption of regular TV programs, but also internet content. When asked about the programs children watch on TV, mentioning YouTube Channels or Netflix programs was a typical response. On the other hand, television time was also associated with playing video games.

Mireia: I love [television] because I can watch awesome movies.

Daniel: I do because I watch YouTubers, play video games and watch cartoons.

Ada: I watch horror movies.

Arturo: I love television! I can watch YouTubers like Vegeta, Fernan Flow, and Vaquita.

[Verbatim 4. Mireia, Daniel, Ada & Arturo. FG4]

All participant children in focus groups were aware of what advertising was. When children were asked for a definition, some of them explained it in a very simple way. *"It's in the middle of programs"* (Eloisa, FG7), some others just referred to it as *"the ads"* or *"the propaganda"*. In order to know this was an accurate response, children were asked for their favorite television commercials. Some common responses were advertisements for toys, video games, and TV promos.

Researcher: Do you have any favorite ad?

Alex: Yes, I do. Playmobil ads, for instance.

Gaby: I like those of Lego Friends. Well, all adverts make us lose time, but I love Lego Friends ads.

[Verbatim 5. Alex & Gaby, FG7]

Advertising recall was mostly linked to children's consumption habits and preferences. Either durable goods (toys) or television content was mentioned in almost all focus groups.

Jenny: Jenny: I like toy advertising and that's it. And there are the trailers of my favorite series.

Xavi: I like some toy ads, but the most I like are the videogame trailers.

[Verbatim 6. Jenny & Xavi, FG5]

Furthermore, children manifested to be engaged to other television commercials addressed to the adult public such as those of perfumes, cosmetics and dating apps. This ad recall was mainly associated with fun and entertainment²³. Children were highly engaged by the slogans, images or music of these commercials as Leo (FG6) and Betty (FG9) explained:

"I laugh at the ads. For example, that of "va o no va" [a recycling campaign]. Also, for example, there is one ad about flirting and dates. I laugh a lot at this commercial".

[Verbatim 7. Leo, FG6]

²³ Some children could not remember the brand of the product. Some of them did not know what the product was, they just started to sing the song or imitate/recreate the situation (acted in front of the group). Ad recall was more or less similar in all groups. Thus, it can be inferred that the majority of children (or those who watch TV) socialized with the same content.

“One thing, I’ve watched a perfume advertisement. There was a lady in the car, she was driving too fast [dramatizes the situation in front of the group]. So she gets out of the car so quickly and says: ‘Chloé’ [Mimics pronunciation] [Group laughs]”.

[Verbatim 8. Betty, FG9]

Although the attitude towards advertising was positive for some commercials, most participant children were consistent to affirm advertising was an intruder in television programs. Just as Gaby (FG7), in the preceding passage, *“ads make us lose time,”* watching adverts was considered a waste of time. Moreover, some children manifested discontent for the interruption of their television programs.

Researcher: Do you like television commercials?

Eloisa: No, because sometimes I'm just watching something, a movie, and they interrupt it. It happened three times. I was watching the movie, and they interrupted it three times.

Antonio: I think I don't like the ads. I am watching a movie and amidst the movie, it is interrupted. Then I do not remember what was happening in the beginning.

[Verbatim 9. Eloisa & Antonio, FG 7]

Advertising was considered a boring content, from which some children like Pilar affirmed to avoid it, either skipping or zapping television channels.

Pilar: ... in my television, when cartoons end, there's a long, long, long pause... Thus, I have a button to fast forward.

Irma: I like Disney Channel because they advertise toys.

Mario: I do not like them very much.

Majo: They make me sleep.

Pilar: As they do to me. However, I like Disney Channel commercials. I like when they claim for something — for instance, the massaging helmet.

[Verbatim 10. Pilar, Irma, Mario & Majo, FG1]

However, children’s perception of advertising was even more reflective as they unfolded a critical overview and moral judgments for the persuading sale intent as it can be observed in the following passage.

Researcher: Why don't you like advertisements?
Carla: Because they make fun of you. They trick you. They tell you "Buy this! How cool!" [dramatizes]
Researcher: What's the problem with that?
Carla: That sometimes it's a lie.
Iris: It's because sometimes they lie to you to make money.
Carla: For instance, 'A helmet that massages your head' [mimics voice] when you try it. It doesn't work. It's small for your head.

[Verbatim 11. Carla & Iris, FG8]

Additionally, children were critical to some strategies advertisers use to promote the consumption of products such as repetition, claims, and promotions. Additionally, they discussed some ethical issues. In the specific, the misleading role of advertising and the commodification of the body.

Gaby: Advertisers do advertisements so you can buy, buy, buy! Buy that!
Alex: And sometimes, they [the advertisers] show a girl in the shower. There's a girl in the shower!
Gaby: They show girls in the shower to sell a bar of soap, a tiny soap. I don't know how much it is... There must be a naked woman, showing her boobs... [laughs].

[Verbatim 12. Alex & Gaby, FG7]

6.1.2. Understandings of television advertising

This second theme involves children's appraisal of television advertising. As the conversation with children drew to the advertising on television, almost all children started talking about the ads²⁴. Children showed to be aware of advertising campaigns, which commercials were on and which were out of the air. Also, they were prompted to discuss different advertising genres (food, toy, clothes, etcetera).

Once in-depth, it was possible to observe most children recall recent ads. The mentioned advertisements were almost the same in the different focus groups. Children were asked about their perceptions and judgments. Although most children reflected on the sale intent of the ads, older children were more critical to advertising tactics.

²⁴ Moreover, the theme was deeply discussed when children were given the cards for the game.

Most interviewed children mentioned their favorite and less favorite ads, and they recognized others from the play cards. Ad recall in children was mainly pitched by advertising's features. Plot, characters, music, and slogans were some ways to bring to mind advertisements. However, children's experience as consumers was also connected to it. Children knew advertising spots from those products they (or their families) consume. Most of these were food products.

The commercial character of advertising drew children to discuss some of the tactics advertisers use to catch their attention. These opinions help to observe their comprehension skills. Most relevant advertising traits identified by participant children were those related to advertising production and its message structure as observed in Table 42.

TABLE 42. Features observed in television advertising

Production	Effects: <i>Special effects, camera effects, airbrushing.</i>
Message Content	Marketing strategies: <i>Language, repetition, reiteration, claims, promotions</i> Message structure: <i>Narratives, Character Performance,</i>

SOURCE: Author.

Children's understanding of advertising was firstly supported on the recognition of its commercial intent. "Advertising sells products" (Carla, FG8) "Advertising makes us buy things" (Gaby, FG7). In this sense, advertising was observed as an exaggerating, pretending or overreacting form of communication to sell products. They were especially critical to two images in the game (Figure 87).



FIGURE 87. Exaggeration as a tactic in advertising. SOURCE: 1. La Piara. 2. Tosta Rica. (2015).

Some participant children addressed advertising as manipulative, untruthful or deceitful. They underscored its appealing power to make people buy the products. Some of them, like Carla, referred to it as 'tricky'.

Carla: Buy Ana's cape and you'll be the Frozen girl.

Iris: You'll be good. You'll be like Ana.

Researcher: All these messages, are they imaginary?

Carla: And tricky! They trick you so you buy the product.

[Verbatim 13. Carla & Iris, FG8]

Children were able to recognize and criticize the use of some language tactics in advertisements. To this respect, they centered in emphasis and repetition. Children's judgments were not only assessed in verbal expressions but also images. According to their perceptions, characters in advertising are likely to pretend to be cool and overreact to show a product. This tactic is considered as a way to attract children, just as Carla and Iris explained:

Carla: [In the advertisements] they brag. "Oh! What a nice cookie!"...

Iris: In the Cuétara ads they say: 'With my favorite drawings' [dramatizes] when the cookies have drawings. They must engage children because they watch television.

[Verbatim 14. Carla & Iris, FG8]

In other cases, children observed *reiteration of phrases* and *exaggeration of actions* as a way to catch people's attention.

Norma: I think it's a bit exaggerating because they say: "With my favorite drawings" and they say it a million times.

Tania: And they also exaggerate in this one of Actimel. It's not necessary you get on a plane to show an Actimel and start fighting.

[Verbatim 15. Norma & Tania, FG9]

Another commented tactic had to do with the *message structure* or the way advertisers tell stories. Children were reflective and critical in how stories are told in advertisements. They mainly reflected in the sense of stories, as exemplified in the following passage:

Tania: In perfume ads, they exaggerate a lot. [A man] begins to break walls, to break walls... A wolf comes out. I do not know what else happens. So I say, perfume is going to be shown. And 'Dior' comes out.

Manel: Hugo Boss. In the Hugo Boss ads, it happens the same.

Norma: In the Hugo Boss, for a perfume, they must show people like this [imitates male stance]. Then, they say: "Hugo Boss, for men and women, buy it now."

[Verbatim 16. Tania, Manel & Norma, FG9]

The critic to messages structure in advertising was also related to the identification of *production effects*. For some children, the way to understand messages is mediated by camera effects or image retouch, but also on the characters' attitude and performance.

Norma: This [character] is sometimes sad in the beginning.

Manel: First they are sad and then they are given the thing [the product] that they announce and they say: "I have super energies. I'm the best in the world..."

[Verbatim 17. Norma & Manel, FG9]

Children were also reflective of the *depiction of happiness* in advertising. For some children, happy characters were criticized as a strategy to sell or promote

a product, a persuading intent to communicate a product is good, and it works although this might be deceptive.

"I don't like broccoli, but if they tell me I have to make a broccoli commercial then I'm happy".

[Verbatim 18. Jenny, FG5]

"I do not like [the ads] because I sometimes think they force children to make advertisements or something like that. I think so".

[Verbatim 19. Gaby, FG7]

The discussion about advertising intent conducted, especially older children (4th graders) to reflect on the *marketing strategies* used by food advertisers. Thus, children were able to debate what they found on such advertising messages.

Researcher: Why do you say they [the advertisers] trick you?

Manel: So we buy the product, although it is a junk.

Norma: For example, this Sunny Delight or Don Simón. They say it's good for your health because there's orange juice on it....

Manel: Because there's a hunky guy who recommends it to you. Umm!

Norma: And then they say it's good for your health because it's orange and they say that orange is very good, but when you buy it, it is made of 100% sugar or 100% fat.

Manel: I've seen in the Trina Juice ... I've seen the ingredients. Let's see, these beverages and the Trina have a maximum of 10% of orange juice, and the other [part] is water or sugar.

Tania: It's sugar.

[Verbatim 20. Tania, Manel & Norma, FG9]

Likewise, consumer experience also mediated in children's understandings of advertising message as it helps children to be critical as observed in the following passage:

Carla: Look, Don Simón doesn't have that much energy. I drank Don Simon and it didn't give me enough energy to do a backbend.

Iris: No because... they say it gives you super energy. They say you can do skateboarding so well, but you can't do it. Because they want you to buy it.

[Verbatim 21. Carla & Iris, FG8]

6.1.3. Interpreting body image

The third theme involves children's interpretations of the characters' body image. In comparison to other topics, this theme was to some extent framed. Children were expressly conducted to talk about this issue as part of the focus group dynamic.

Almost all children were able to talk about the characters' body image as a first feature to describe them. Characters were mostly referred for their physical appearance and/or their face aspect. To a lesser extent, they were described by secondary aspects such as social or professional roles. Indicating personality and mood were also some ways to refer to them. Descriptions were mostly based on the knowledge of the characters in the context of the advertisement and/or cultural stereotypes. Some stereotypes were commonly used to conduct descriptions.

The critical perception of advertising production also mediated the interpretation of body image. Children appraised physical body image according to the beauty canons but in some cases, they doubted about the naturalness of the image and warned about the use of computer edition. This was not surprising for them. They argued most of the production techniques were raised to cause an impact on advertising consumers. The most relevant findings in this theme are structured in the following subsections.

6.1.3.1. Body image insights

Interviewed children mostly appealed to physical and psychosocial traits to describe characters. When describing the character's physical appearance, they mostly supported on cultural stereotypes of beauty and attractiveness. Therefore, characters were classified according to children's perceptions of beauty and the social traits related to this concept as observed in Table 43.

TABLE 43. Most relevant children's body image insights

Appealing to their	Described as
Physical appearance	<i>attractive, good-looking, normal, ugly</i>
Face	<i>beautiful, handsome, cute, confused</i>
Body type	<i>average, slim, muscle, strong, skinny</i>
Hair	<i>neat, clean, cool, well-dressed</i>
Personality	<i>friendly, strange</i>
Mood	<i>happy, confused, amazed</i>
Roles	<i>family roles, occupation</i>

SOURCE: Author.

Children described almost all advertising's characters as good-looking. This was consistent in all groups. Children stressed on the way characters look and the positive values their body image represented. *"He's handsome and good student"* (Miriam, FG6). *"She's so beautiful, she seems to be a good friend"* (María, FG3). *"He has a good glance, he's gorgeous"* (Pilar, FG3). Attractiveness was constructed in opposition to ugliness and its negative traits. *"This dude isn't friendly. He is ugly"* (Xavi, FG5). *"This woman is ugly. She looks like a terrorist"* (Adriá, FG8).

Attractiveness was usually focused on the face of characters. Facial traits were mostly described to objectify either a positive or a negative body image. *"I like her face, her blond hair"* (Sara, FG1) *"He's got a cute face. He's smiling"* (Ara, FG2). *"She has a lovely face. She could marry all boys"* (Daniel, FG4) *"She is ugly. I don't like her hair"* (Carla, FG8).

Description of a beautiful face was redundant for female characters. Both boys and girls were consistent to choose same female characters to talk about women's faces. They mostly called for white and blond models (Figure 88). *"They're girls, they're blond, and they're beautiful"* (Carla, FG8).

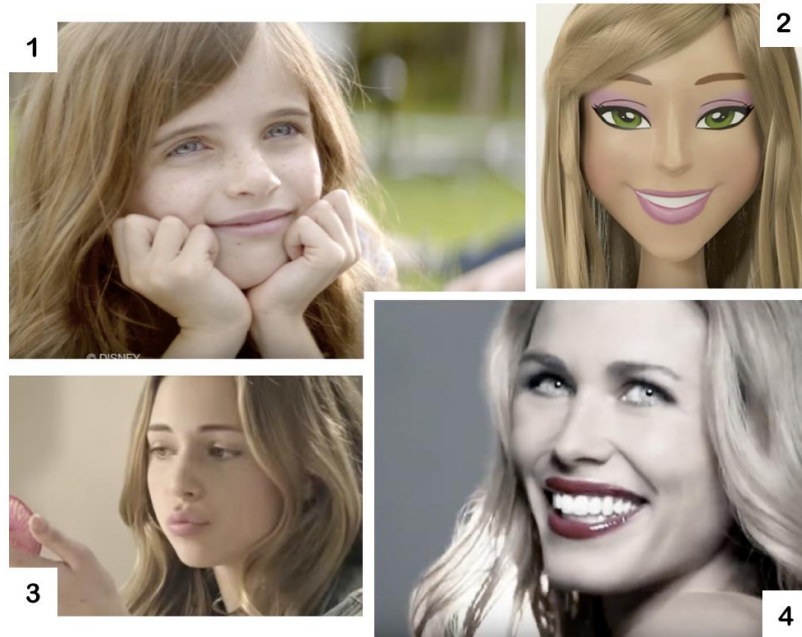


FIGURE 88. Female characters called for their attractiveness. SOURCE: 1. Disney, 2. Cuétara, 3. Phoskitos, 4. Colgate. (2015)

On the contrary, there was no agreement in describing attractive male faces. Participants described masculine faces implying different opinions as we can observe in the following passages about children describing the same male character.

Researcher: Irma, why do you think this character is ugly?

Irma: I don't like the guys who wear a beard.

María: Neither do I.

Irma: And because he has blue eyes and I'm scared of blue eyes.

María: Everyone in my family has brown eyes.

[Verbatim 22. María & Irma, FG3]

Researcher: Why do you think he is a handsome guy?

Carla: Because he has a six-pack ab. He is very handsome. I would marry him.

Because he is older. Out of my age. [laughs]

Researcher: What do you like about him?

Carla: Well, his face: his mouth, his nose, his hair, his ears, his beard ...

[Verbatim 23. Carla, FG8]

Unlike female characters, male characters were praised for their hair. Children highly stressed on their hair color, length, and style. *"He's very handsome. He has long hair"* (Diego, FG10). *"He is a skater... he has cool long hair"* (Carlos, FG3) *"I like he has slicked back hair"* (Ara, FG2). On their part, female characters were mostly pointed for their hair color. The "blond hair" was exalted concerning the concept of beauty *"She's so beautiful. She has long and blond hair"* (Dolors, FG10).

The body shape was another referred physical trait to describe characters. Children mostly called characters as *"normal"* to imply they have an average body constitution. *"This [character] has a normal, common and ordinary body like everybody has"* (Gaby, FG7). This 'normal body size' was associated with positive traits (e.g., attractive, healthy, beautiful). A normal body was referred to as a dynamic body. *"He loves eating and has a normal body"* (Eloisa, FG7). *"She has a normal body and likes exercising"* *"She has a normal body, she's beautiful"* (Julia, FG5).

Slimness (mentioned like that) was observed in a few characters. When it occurred, this conducted the discussion of "What is to be thin" and the ideal thin (6.2.2.1). In relation to advertising depictions, thin body was mostly observed as a positive trait in women *"She has a very slim body.... She's sexy"* (Jenny, FG4) and negative for men *"He is too thin. I will never marry him"* (Miriam, FG6). Connected to this perception, muscle body was positively valued in male characters *"He's the typical handsome guy with a six-pack abdomen"* (Siara, FG6).

Children also stressed on the psychosocial traits of characters who were described by their personality, attitudes or roles. As for physical traits, most of these descriptions were based on inferences which were mainly supported on social constructions, beliefs, and stereotypes (discussed in 6.2.2.1). There were some relevant traits, however.

Unlike adult characters, child and teenage actors were considered nice and friendly. This definition was mainly associated with the characters' attitudes (figurative or based on the knowledge of advertisements). *"She is friendly. We could play together"* (Jenny, FG5). *"He's handsome and pleasant. He is happy"* (Diego, FG10). Fewer characters were seen as strange. This perception was mainly objectified on characters' physical depiction as well as in social beliefs. *"He's not friendly. He's bullied"* (Mikel, FG4). *"She's ugly. She has an ugly face. She's telling you, you've done it badly"* (Albert, FG2).

Personality was connected to feelings and emotions portrayed by characters. Happy and excited actors were observed as reliable. *"I really like them because they're happy"* (Laia, FG2). Meanwhile, those who looked sad, annoyed or confused were unconfident. *"She's strange. She's confused. I don't trust her"* (Manel, FG9).

To a lesser extent, intellectual traits were called to describe characters although this perception was mostly based on the observation of actions performed by characters *"He looks smart. He likes studying. He's a good boy"* (Mireia, FG4). *"She has a silly face. She's greeting as she was tired"* (Mario, FG7)

Most body image descriptions were drawn from the knowledge of advertisements, children's perceptions and judgments. They were based on social constructions, stereotypes, as discussed in the following section.

6.1.3.2. Characters' body image and stereotypes

Children elaborated descriptions of characters supporting most of their explanations on moral judgments. Some descriptions were redundant and generalizing, driving into stereotypes. As stated in Table 44, four groups of stereotypes were identified as categories to describe body image of depicted characters.

TABLE 44. Body stereotypes associated with characters.

Beauty	Western beauty White model
Gender	Female characters: beautiful, lovely, quiet. princess, Barbie, model Male Characters: handsome, strong, active, hunky, cocky, macho
Body Size	Weight stereotypes Muscle constitution
Ethnic	Racial stereotypes

SOURCE: Author.

Beauty Stereotypes: «They are blond. They are beautiful».

Children were consistent to describe blond and white characters as beautiful. Although the discussion was more relevant when talking about female characters, some children agreed that white male characters were more attractive too. Children used a western conceptualization of beauty, the «white model» to discern positive and negative body image. This sociocultural principle is connected to values, attitudes, and actions as we can observe in the following passages:

Researcher: Laia, you chose a character who has medium length hair, why?

Laia: I do not know. I think he looks handsome. Because he's blond and he's handsome.

Carlos: Because she has fallen in love with that guy.

Researcher: What if the character were dark skin and dark-haired?

Laia: He wouldn't be so handsome anymore, like this other one.

Carlos: He's ugly and very bad.

Researcher: What if we dyed his hair blond?

Ara: No, no. He would be looking a little bad because he is brunette.

Carlos: He would be a copycat.

[Verbatim 24. Laia, Carlos & Ara, FG2]

Researcher: Why do you think she is beautiful?

Alberto: Because she looks like a Barbie. She is a Barbie, and she has blond hair and she has lipstick. I think she's beautiful.

[Verbatim 25. Alberto, FG2]

Gender Stereotypes «She is dreaming of boys».

Consistent with the western model of beauty, body image descriptions were gender-differentiated. Portrayed women were mostly defined as being lovely, tender and good, and were associated with characters such as Barbie, fairy tale princesses, or singer Shakira.

Majo: This [girl] looks like she's in the field and she cannot ride a scooter.

Mario: It's just like that, she's quiet [Mimics the posture]

Majo: It looks she's bored

Mario: She likes nature.

Pilar: It seems that she is dreaming of a boy.

[Verbatim 26. Majo, Mario & Pilar, FG3]

Researcher: Daniel, what would you think if you were this girl?

Daniel: I would be thinking that I'm going to get good grades on the exams.

Ada: I would be thinking that I'd like to be a princess who has wings.

Mireia: I would [think] in a paradise or a dragon

[Verbatim 27. Daniel, Ada & Mireya, FG4]

Children described male body image praising for the physical appearance of characters, observing their muscularity and strength as well as their roles. Children mainly linked these representations to three stereotypes: the hunky, the cocky, and the macho guy²⁵ as we can observe in the following excerpts.

"This is a macho.... He thinks he's the strongest in the world, in all galaxy".

[Verbatim 28. Mario, FG3]

"This guy is strong. He does sports. He likes swimming".

[Verbatim 29. Agustín, FG6]

"This is the handsome guy with a chocolate bar.

[Verbatim 30. Carla, FG8]

Body Size Stereotypes: «The thinnest of the world »

'Normal body' emerged as a common category to describe the body-size of characters. When asked about what a normal body was, children were consistent in describing as the average size body, *"a normal body like everybody has"* (Gaby, FG7). Far from this, children explained the normal body was an attractive body *"neither fat nor thin"* (Mikel, FG5). Therefore, those bodies out of the standard size were considered unusual. Descriptions made evident these body types and linked them to less positive or negative connotations as it can be observed in the following excerpts.

Researcher: You've said that he has a 'normal body', what is a normal body like?

Mike: Neither very fat nor very thin.

Jenny: Neither skinny nor... [indicates big with her hands].

[Verbatim 31. Mike & Jenny, FG5]

²⁵ In original verbatim mentioned categories are: "El cachas, El chulo y El machote".

Leo: Let's see, who said this [character] is skinny? He's not skinny at all.

Miriam: He's really skinny.

Researcher: So, how is his body?

Siara: Fat, ugly,

Leo: I don't know why he's here. He's a weird guy, very weird.

Researcher: Why do you think this character is skinny and strong?

Miriam: He's wearing a very loose shirt, so he looks very fat.

Siara: He's the thinnest of the world. I'd never marry him.

[Verbatim 32. Leo, Miriam & Siara, FG6]

Ethnic Stereotypes: «She's a little ugly»

A common conclusion came at in almost all focus groups when describing the body image of a dark skin character (Figure 89). Most children associated her appearance to less positive traits or negative traits. Most children justified their response appealing to the attitude of the character while just a few openly expressed that her color was the reason to manifest that opinion.

Carlos: She's a very ugly character. She is black.

Alberto: Yes, she is.

Researcher: Why is this character very ugly?

Carlos: Because she's black.

Alberto: It's true, it's a little... [He grimaces].

Researcher: Carlos just said that she is an ugly character and Alberto agrees, what do you think?

Ara: Because of [the gesture of] her arm, just a little.

Alberto: Me too, because of her arm.

Ara: I think she's a little [ugly], but not so much.

Alberto: Because she does this too. 'You have done it very badly'.

[Verbatim 33. Carlos, Alberto & Ara, FG2]

Furthermore, the image of a brunette and dark-haired woman was linked to an ethnic stereotype during a focus group conversation with second graders.

Researcher: Why isn't she attractive?

Pilar: ... because she has an Arab face.

Researcher: What do you mean?

Pilar: Arab face.

Researcher: Do you think she has an Arab face? Does this make her look pretty or ugly?

Mario: Uglier and she must have a darker face to be more

Researcher: Would that make her look prettier?

Irma: Uglier.

Mario: Like Alan or like Ibrahim.

Majo: And because she has the smile ... [touches her mouth].

Researcher: And if she were whiter, how would she be?

Pilar: She would be more beautiful if she had whiter skin.

Irma: Yes, more beautiful.

[Verbatim 34. Pilar, Mario, Irma & Majo, FG3]



FIGURE 89. Characters called for their skin color and appearance. SOURCE: 1. Lidl. 2. Fundación La Mutua. (2015).

6.1.3.3. Recognizing body image production in advertising

Children were confident to describe characters according to their physical traits and social stereotypes praising or minimizing body image. Nevertheless, participants were also critical to these representations. Younger children reflected on the camera takes and angles as a technique to distort the image. Older children were more critical and discussed advertisers' tactics to enhance body image and appearance. Thus, they questioned beauty, body-size, and naturalness of characters. Participant children focused on discussing the alteration of images, the edition of messages and the performance in characters.

Most children described characters as beautiful, but on the other hand, some of them questioned about their appearance. Children discerned image production as a way to alter body image. Edition of images using Photoshop was related to making characters look attractive. Controversially, this topic was addressed in almost all focus groups when discussing the body image of a female character that was observed as beautiful. (Figure 88, Colgate).

*José: This [woman] is photoshopped.
Researcher: What do you see airbrushed?
José: Her eyes.
Tania: Her face.
Marta: Her lips.
Manel: This is white [refers to her hair].*

[Verbatim 35. José, Tania, Marta & Manel, FG9]

*Gaby: This was edited on the computer.
Alex: Her lips are very red.
Gaby: Like Shakira, everything is ... Everything's... Well, only teeth were edited in the computer.*

[Verbatim 36. Gaby & Alex, FG7]

However, Photoshop editing was not only referred to advertising. As participant Gaby (FG7) inferred in the previous passage, image alteration was also linked to the media representation of celebrities like Shakira. For children, airbrushing seems to be a prevalent practice in media and television production as observed in the following passage:

*Carla: They have changed her face or something.
Óscar: It's uglier in real life.
Celia: When she's on television, they make her look beautiful.
Iris: As it happens in the movies.*

[Verbatim 37. Carla, Óscar, Celia & Iris, FG8].

Similarly, camera effects were pointed as means that mediate in the perception of height and body-size. Two facts mediated this understanding: the recognition of characters children know (popular celebrities) and the camera angles. Although camera angles were not described like that, in a group of second graders, this was explained as sight perception.

*Researcher: Why do you think this man has a small body?
Arturo: Because although his body looks big in the photo, his body is small in real life.
Abraham: Because I know how tall he is. I know him. He's Xavi.
Investigator: So in the photographs....?*

Arturo: He looks bigger.

Researcher: Are the images on television different from reality?

Daniel: Because you see on television that he is a tall boy [indicates height with his hands] and he is a small child in real life.

Ada: Yes, because if you get up, I look you as you were tall, but if you sit, you look normal.

[Verbatim 38. Arturo, Abraham, Daniel & Ada, FG4]

Message editing was also observed as a mediator in the comprehension of body image. Children were aware of some tactics advertisers used to make characters look realistic. For example, the different trial-takes that producers make when filming a commercial. *“In Simon Life commercial, an active and sporty guy is shown. In outtakes, the same actor is doing badly”* (Norma, FG9). Additionally, the message structure was discussed as a way to misunderstand body image and the false efficacy of advertised products.

“There are two things [adverts]: one, the perfume and, the other, the food ad. In the food ad, they always show you two girls with the same thing [clothes]. They show you before and after. They show you a big-size body and after that, they show you a thin body [makes happy face]”.

[Verbatim 39. José, FG7]

Character’s performance was also discussed. Children were consistent with recognizing the attitudes and actions of characters as a mediating factor for understanding body image. Some of them were critical with the exaggerating traits or attitudes, as explained by Arnold (FG1) who described and performed an imitation of a character.

“This [male character] makes you believe he’s strong, but in reality he has fake muscles. His arms are foam-filled”.

[Verbatim 40. Arnold, FG1]

Some other participants were critical to the positive attitude of characters and judged happiness in commercials as a way to make people look natural and real, but overall to show product effects. Children complained about body image production and criticized the manipulation of the advertisers to promote and sell their products.

Researcher: Are these people really happy, aren't they?

Alberto: No! They smile like this [mimics smile] so that people buy it [the product].

Laia: Actually, she's pretending so you can think, the product is good.

[Verbatim 41. Alberto & Laia, FG2]

6.1.3.4. Discussing the commodification of the body

Body image editing was also associated with body commodification. Children were consistent with manifesting that image edition is used in order to catch the attention of the audience so they can sell their products. This objectification of the body was not only seen in beauty models but also in the naked body, as described in Table 45.

TABLE 45. The commodification of the body observed by children.

Attractive Body	<i>Beautiful and handsome bodies to delight the audience. Mostly referred as to: - The white model of beauty. - Slim body for women, muscled body for men</i>
Naked Body	<i>Semi-nude bodies observed in beauty and hygiene products (perfumes, cosmetics). Associated to the sexualization of female image.</i>

SOURCE: Author.

According to participant children, the ideals of attractiveness in advertising are not only related to beauty stereotypes but also the commodification of the body. In this sense, children understand the beauty in television commercials as a persuading intent to sell the products as observed in the following excerpt.

Researcher: You've said that she is a beautiful person and that's why she can perform in television.

Sara: Yes, because if she were ugly, no one would hire her.

Researcher: Why would nobody hire her?

Sara: Because if she were ugly nobody would buy what she is selling.

[Verbatim 42. Sara, FG1]

Children observed the attractive body in advertising as a means to cause a positive reaction among the audience, and therefore, having an inspirational effect. *“Advertisers choose handsome actors to impress people. ‘Um! I usually think when this guy wears this thing on; he is very handsome’”* (Gaby, FG7). Beauty in models is recognized as part of the persuasion tactics of the advertising message *“There’s a hunky guy who recommends it”* (Manel, FG9).

Furthermore, children reflected on the instrumental uses of the semi-nude and naked body. Children mostly discussed the nudity in female characters. Although none of the images showed by researchers portrayed nude characters, children talked about characters in advertisements, especially those commercials for perfumes and personal hygiene products (Figure 90).

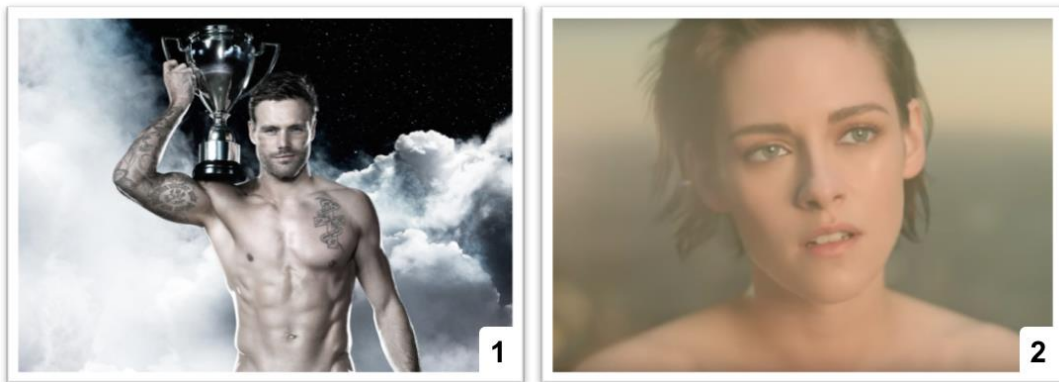


FIGURE 90. Nudity in advertising referred by children. SOURCE: 1. Paco Rabanne, Invictus. 2. Gabrielle, Chanel. (2017)

Nudity was considered an advertisers’ tactic to sell their products. To this respect, children were strongly critical to the images of the naked body in advertising. There was consistent agreement nudity was unnecessary since advertisers use these images to sell insignificant products (such as “a tiny bar of soap”). Some children pointed out these images as sexualized, and considered them misleading for children just as Carla (FG8) added in the following passage:

Researcher: *Why do you say it is bad?*

Carla: *Because... let's see [she laughs]. You can look at her intimate parts [laughs] and [the boys] can make a picture of her and... [laughs] ... Look, it's a moisturizer [a cream] for the legs and they have to show the whole body [laughs]. What I do not understand is that if it is a cream for feet...*

Iris: *The naked girl was announcing Lizipaina and she has to be naked for you, to buy it [the product].*

Carla: *Did I show you the position of the girl in the ad?*

Iris: *It does not matter if she's naked. She has to be dressed.*

Carla: *Well, it matters because the boys can make a picture of her boobs.*

Iris: *She does not have to be naked! It's a pill.*

Carla: *It's not the cream. It's the naked woman.*

[Verbatim 43. Carla & Iris, FG8]

Nevertheless, nudity was trivialized, and therefore the body commodified. While some children focused on the moral judgments of the naked body, some others attempt to find a reason for that.

Siara: *There is an advert in which a lady is advertising a cream and suddenly she takes her clothes off.*

Researcher: *And why is she taking her clothes off?*

Leo: *So you can see how thin she is [laughs].*

[Verbatim 44. Siara & Leo, FG6]

In short, participant children affirmed to be familiar with television consumption. Most interviewed children manifested to spend their free time watching television (mostly on weekends). Although children were somewhat critical to television consumption, they showed themselves engaged to it. They affirmed to consume TV in order to watch programs such as cartoons or movies, digital content (Netflix or YouTube) or play video games. On the other hand, all interviewed children were able to recognize advertising content. They were familiar with brands and products. Most of them affirmed to have at least a favorite TV commercial. Ad recall was highly related to advertising production. Children were engaged to music, slogans, and special effects of commercials. This made children remember some advertising aimed at the adult public. Lastly, children manifested a critical attitude towards advertising content. They mainly highlighted on its persuading intent to sell products. That is why for some children advertising was considered as misleading and untruthful.

All participant children were aware of advertising intent. They identified and discussed the instrumental use of television advertising "to sell products". In this way, children expressed a critical outlook. They reflected on the use of techniques and tactics by advertisers in order to sell their products. Moreover, they mostly agreed audiovisual language is used to persuade people. They identified reiteration and exaggeration as main tactics. The narrative structure was also identified as a way to create efficacy in its message. Children discussed the edition of sequences. Similarly, the character's attitude and performance were pointed as a way to engage people to use the advertised product. Therefore, children were critical to the positive attitude of characters in some television commercials. Most children analyzed exemplified these issues referring to food advertisements.

Body image from depicted characters was mostly evaluated as a positive body image. Children mostly praised for the physical appearance of characters. Female beauty had a redundant image: the white and slim model. In contrast, the perception of male attractiveness was more diverse. Children associated depicted characters to stereotypes of beauty, gender, body type, and race. Those characters fitting into the stereotypes of beauty and gender were hardly questioned. The normalization of body size (slim body) was perceived as the parameter to describe a positive body image. Body image in dark skin characters was discussed as a less positive body image. Finally, children were able to identify and discuss some production techniques in advertising (airbrushing, special effects, and camera angles). This critical outlook conducted children to criticize some issues such as the persuading intent of advertising and the commodification of the body.

6.2. MAKING SENSE OF BODY IMAGE

This section introduces the results for the analysis of the social implications of television advertising in children's body imaginaries (SG6). The section has been divided into three major themes: children's self-body image perceptions and referents, children's attitudes towards body image in advertising, and the social representations connected to body image depicted in advertising. All sections have been restituted with the most significant passages to illustrate the analysis.

6.2.1. Children's self-body image: perceptions and referents

This theme involved an overview of children's self-body image perceptions and referents. As conversations in focus groups went along, most children switched

from talking about characters' portrayal to talk about themselves. Thus, they described their bodies and commented on their body image referents and ideals. The mediating role of character portrayals in children's self-body imaginaries can be observed as follows.

One first aspect to discuss is the relevance of appearance to talk about body image. Most children's body descriptions were connected to physical traits such as the shape of the face, skin complexion, or body type. Moreover, when asked about *'what they liked about their bodies,'* responses regarding the physical body, were still redundant. Children referred to their physical aspect, plus the things they could do with their bodies.

"I like my body because I'm so flexible. I know how to do a backbend".

[Verbatim 45. Majo, FG3]

"I like my body because I can run. I can go everywhere".

[Verbatim 46. Horacio, FG5]

"I like my height. I can swim very fast, and I can reach very high things".

[Verbatim 47. Mike, FG5]

Although the physical appearance was a prevalent response, some children referred to intellectual or emotional aspects to talk about their self-body image.

"I like my body because it makes me happy. I love it".

[Verbatim 48. Tania, FG9]

"I love my body, myself. I can speak Russian. I can say a very long word in Russian".

[Verbatim 49. Pilar, FG3]

"I feel good with my body. I can play chess".

[Verbatim 50. Antoni, FG7]

Concerning the physical body, children mainly emphasized on describing their face, hair, and body constitution. They focused on the appearance of such body

parts referring to them positively. Thus, most boys and girls expressed satisfaction for their faces. *"I like my face because I'm brunette. I am cute. I like my eyes, my nose"* (Norma, FG9). *"I like my face because it is round-shaped"* (Alex, FG7) *"I love my face. It's a normal face and I can do more than one thing at once: see, breath, all"* (Jordi, FG9).

Moreover, children manifested content for their hair. *"I like my hair. I can dress it in many beautiful ways..."* (Jenny, FG5). *"I like my hair. I just can let it grow. I have long hair"* (Xavi, FG5). Children's satisfaction for their hair was also connected to the agency they have to change their appearance: *"to dress the hair" "cut the hair" "comb the hair" "to have a hairstyle"*. This issue was mostly observed among female participants such in the case of Miriam and Siara (FG6).

Miriam: I like to change my hair. I've changed it several times. I've had short hair like this [indicates with her hand].

Siara: My hair is long and beautiful that's why I am going to dye it, to have it different, to look different.

[Verbatim 51. Miriam & Siara, FG6]

Body constitution was also relevant trait to refer to the self-body image. To this respect, having *'a normal body shape'* was a categorical response among participants to define their body. When asked *"What a normal body was"*, some participants referred to this as *'the average size body'* meanwhile some others, argued this was the *'healthy body'* or *'the ideal body'*. *"I love my normal body. I am not fat nor am I spaghetti. I am okay"* (José, FG9). *"[A normal body] is not a thin body. It isn't [big] either. It's a healthy body"*. (Jenny, FG5). In all participants, only one girl, Marta (FG9, 9 years old), expressed concern for her body shape. Nevertheless, this seemed to be a confrontation with the physical changes in development.

"I've always been very thin ... And I'm not accustomed to being like as I am now, because I look too..., too fat. I'm normal, but I feel too fat because I've always been very thin. So... Now, I'm getting used to it, more than I was used to before."

[Verbatim 52. Marta, FG9]

Children also compared themselves with others in order to describe their body image. This comparison was mostly connected to people from primary spheres: family and friends as it can be observed in the following excerpts:

“Well, [I look like] the whole family, like my brothers and my parents... like my father in the discipline, like my mother because I have her face, but no her nose that’s from my great grandmother. I look like my stepfather because I am as tall as he is, and I look like my grandfather because he is very wise as I am....”

[Verbatim 53. Pilar, FG3]

“I am very similar to my dad. I even sit as he does... He’s in heaven [passed away], but he had spiky hair as I do. He used to sit crossed leg and I sit every day like that. Eyelashes are more [similar to] my mom”.

[Verbatim 54. Mario, FG3]

To a lesser extent, advertising characters figured as body image referents. During the conversation, no any self-description referred to depicted characters. When asked directly ‘*who from depicted characters they resemble*’, children found it difficult to choose one.

Úrsula: This girl has the same hair as I do, but she doesn’t look like me.... I do not like the bangs.

Researcher: If she had different hair...

Úrsula: Uh! But, I don’t like her lips either. I have thick lips.

Researcher: Does this girl look like, Úrsula?

Samia: In the hair, just a little. But no, she has long hair.

Arnold: And this guy, does he look like me?

Samia: No way! Arnold, you have darker skin.

[Verbatim 55. Úrsula, Samia & Arnold, FG1]

Although children did not refer to portrayed characters to describe themselves, they used these representations to talk about their future projections (as teenagers and adults). This issue was mainly observed among girls, who expressed positive attitudes and aspirations to look like advertising models.

Researcher: Which character would you like to look like in the future?

Isona: To this, the girl from Phoskitos ad.

Dolors: I [choose] this from Bollycao ad, but with a shorter hair.

Naira: Oh! This one. Her lips are.... She's so beautiful.

[Verbatim 56. Isona, Dolors & Naira, FG10]

Furthermore, these images were commented to exemplify body image preferences.

Carla: This is the one I like the most.

Researcher: Why?

Carla: Because I want to be like her when I grow up. And the other one I like the most is this because I want to be his girlfriend.

[Verbatim 57. Carla, FG8]

Moreover, other media characters such as actors, actresses, singers, and soccer players were mentioned as body image referents (Figure 91). Children stressed on celebrities' physical appearance, personality, status or dressing style as inspiring. Celebrities were referred to express self-body image idealization or the idealization of the opposite sex as it can be read in the following passage.

Researcher: What type of hair would you like to have, Agustín?

Agustín: I don't know. As Paulo Dybala. [He undresses his hair].

Siara: You'd better look like Cristiano Ronaldo.

Miriam: I like short hair. The way it looks on me.

Siara: Emma Watson has short hair.

Agustín: I am gonna get my hair cut.

Siara: I love Emma Watson. I wanna have the same haircut.

[Verbatim 58. Agustín, Siaria & Miriam, FG6]

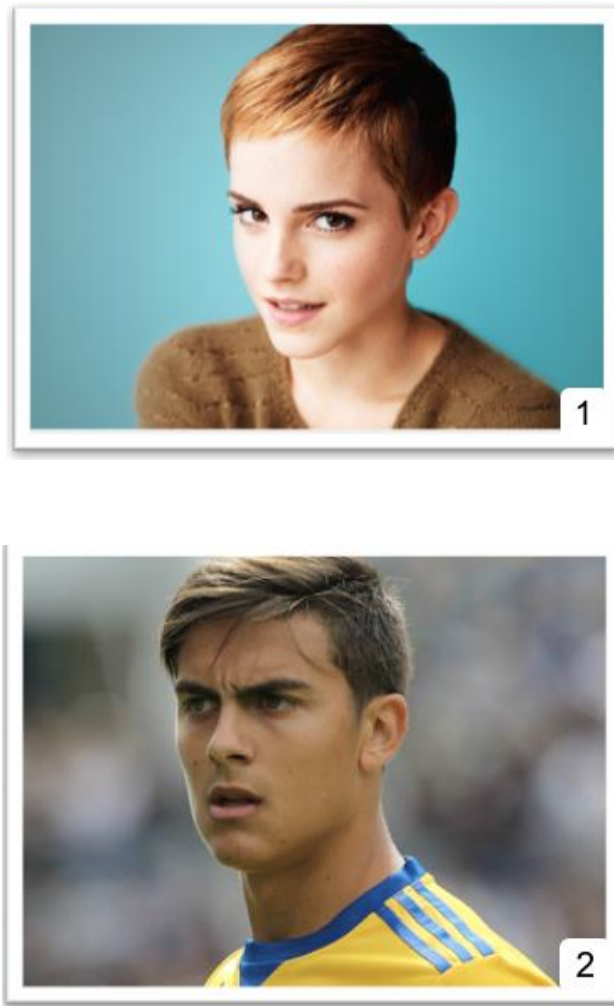


FIGURE 91.Some referent models praised for their hairstyle. 1. Emma Wattson 2. Paulo Dybala. SOURCE: Google Images (2018)

6.2.2. Children's attitudes towards body image

This theme involved children's attitudes toward body image and the implication they have with depicted characters. Some observed items were children's interest to know the character, get involved with his/her performed actions, the sympathy for his/her feelings and emotions and the identification with his/her performed roles and actions. Children's judgments were supported on advert recall; likewise, in the social imaginaries. As observed in Table 46, children's outlooks were grouped into six categories according to their preference and contempt.

TABLE 46. Children's attitudes towards body image.

Judged on traits:	Attitudes
Physical	Children showed approval for beauty appearance in characters. Found character's hairstyle and color inspirational. Muscle and slim bodies were praised but were not considered inspiring in their body image.
Psychological	Friendly and happy characters were preferred. Preferences were also gender-differentiated: girls chose female characters addressing their passive attitude. Boys chose male characters appealing to their arousal.
Intellectual	Intelligent characters were valued over less smart characters.
Activities	Showed approval for character performing their favorite activities and pastimes. Activities were sometimes gender-differentiated.
Status	Praised for the fame of characters. Status legitimizes body image and actions of characters.
Roles	Felt sympathy for characters to whom they can perform a social or emotional relation.

SOURCE: Author.

Children showed a positive attitude to those characters embodying the beauty canons *"She's beautiful. She has red lips and blond hair"* (Alberto, FG2). *"This guy is very handsome. He has a beard and mustache. His hair looks so cool"* (Mario, FG3). Likewise, they expressed interest in such body image as a desirable image as observed in the following conversation concerning the future:

Researcher: Why would you like to look like him?

Carlos: Because he's wearing sunglasses. He has long hair as my hair that is growing, as I want to have it. He's a skater.... He has a cool long hair.

[Verbatim 59. Carlos, FG2]

Most physical comparisons and expectations were related to hairstyle and hair color “*I like this type of hair because it is straight, no frizzy*” (Manel, FG6). “*When I grow up, I am going to dye my hair like her*” (Siara, FG6). To a lesser extent, other physical traits figured. For instance, the body shape was only mentioned to manifest opinions about characters. “*I like this guy because he’s the one who has a chocolate bar ab*” (Carla, FG8). None of the children manifested any body shape ideal. Neither did they refer to the body image of characters as a referent value. By the contrary, some children expressed disagreement for muscled body characters as it can be observed in the following passage:

Siara: There are people who go to the gym and work out to be muscle fit.

Honestly, I don’t like them.

Manel: Geeze! There are some people with legs like this [indicates thickness with hands] and with very tiny intimate parts [laughs].

Miriam: My sister’s best friend has little legs like this and a body like this [indicates width with hands].

[Verbatim 60. Siara, Manel & Miriam, FG6]

Attitude and mood were also valued. Children felt sympathetic to those characters depicted as friendly, happy and confident. “*I like this guy. He looks very friendly. I like him. He makes me laugh*” (Xavi, FG5). Identification and preference for characters were gender-differentiated, however. Some participant girls chose female characters praising for their passive attitude and mood whereas some boys identified with the excitement in male characters as it can be observed in the following excerpt:

Researcher: Why did you choose this character to be your friend?

Xavi: Because he looks friendly and I like his smile.

Julia: I chose the girl because she is quiet and the boy because he is playing.

[Verbatim 61. Xavi & Julia, FG5]

Intellectual features were also considered. Children manifested implication to those characters who figured as intelligent. On the contrary, they expressed uncertainty to get along with those characters considered as less smart. Conversely, some children associated smart characters to attractive physical appearance. This issue was debating in some focus groups.

Researcher: Who from these characters do you think is a good student?
Miriam: This one. Because he is a handsome and good student. The handsome guys study better.
Siara: Probably, you are ugly and smart. Maybe you are handsome and stupid. So, I chose the ugliest in all.

[Verbatim 62. Miram & Siara, FG6]

Intelligence was a personal trait socially valuable. The implication of children with smart characters was based on the benefits that the relationship with these characters can have. Just as Gaby (FG1) explained, *"I chose this guy to be my friend because he looks smart. He could help me with homework. We could help each other"* or Leo (FG6) added, *"I choose the smart guy so he can do my homework"*.

Children identified with those characters performing activities they like or practice. *"I chose this girl because I like music and the boy because he plays soccer as I do"* (Mike, FG5). Athletes, singers, and models²⁶ were some common referents on which children reflected on their favorite pastimes. Preferences were guided by the actions performed by characters, and on some occasion, they were gender-differentiated as observed in the following excerpts:

Researcher: Why have you chosen this girl to be your friend?
Sara: Because she looks beautiful. She's putting make-up. I love her!

[Verbatim 63. Sara, FG1].

"I choose this boy as a friend because he plays soccer. Also, this as girlfriend because she is very beautiful".

[Verbatim 64. Abraham, FG4]

Children also praised for the social status of characters. Concerning advertising models (in cards), almost all children argued they would be friends with depicted characters since the real people (the performing actors) have money or possessions and are famous.

²⁶ Although almost none of the depicted characters were a celebrity, children related characters to famous people such as the Colgate model compared with Shakira.

"I would be friends with them so that they shared their zoomlings [toys] with me. They must have a lot"

[Verbatim 65. Laia, FG2]

"I want him to be my friend because he has the toy I like. We could play together everyday... And I would like this other one because I watch her in the ads".

[Verbatim 66. Daniel, FG4]

Similarly, they expressed the aspiration to be like celebrities (soccer players, singers, or models) as Arnold referred in the following passage:

Researcher: Arnold, you chose the girl with the cuddling toys, why?

Arnold: Because she is famous and [if I were her friend] I would be famous.

Researcher: Would you like to be famous?

Arnold: Well, I am already famous. I do YouTube videos. I have my channel.

[Verbatim 67. Arnold, FG1]

On the other hand, some children expressed positive attitudes to body image of characters by assuming a social role. Some participants felt sympathetic to the characters in which they found an emotional or relation role.

Researcher: Arnold, Why have you chosen the red hair boy?

Arnold: Because I like his hair and he likes drawing. He looks shorter than me, I could give him some help.

[Verbatim 68. Arnold, FG1].

Finally, most children identified with same age characters. Most of them showed a positive attitude to them, describing them as friendly, fun and attractive. Yet, adolescent and adult characters were observed as referent models for the expected body image in the future:

"I've chosen this character because I'd like to be on the beach. And this other one, because when I grow up I wanna be like this"

[Verbatim 69. Horacio, FG5]

6.2.3. Children's body imaginaries

This section presents the most relevant body image representations associated with depicted characters. The section has been structured in four sub-themes: the representations of beauty and attractiveness, the gender imaginaries, the discourses regarding the healthy body image, and the body policies and practices that regulate the body.

6.2.3.1. Representations of beauty and attractiveness

Although the character's description was based on depicted traits, children expanded their explanations making sense of body image in contextualized situations. The narrative of advertising valued body image; moreover, it was plundered by the social imaginaries. Thus, talking about characters' body image conducted children to discuss their body image ideals such as those related to beauty.

TABLE 47. Representation of beauty ideals.

Dimension	Beauty Ideals
Physical Traits	<i>Associated with white skin. Dark skin was valued as less attractive. Beauty in the face was subjectively described with an emphasis on healthy and white teeth. Slim and muscled body (in men) were considered as a sign of attractiveness. Fatness was recriminated.</i>
Mood and Personality	<i>Correlated with positive values such as friendliness, confidence, and intelligence; positive emotions and balanced temperament. Less positive traits figured in a less attractive appearance.</i>
Social Values	<i>Beauty was instrumentalized. Related to success and achievement. Compared to be modern and persuading. Embodied in fantasy characters (warriors, wonder woman), stereotypes (the cocky guy, the macho, the fragile woman) and referent models (celebrities).</i>

SOURCE: Author.

As stated in Table 46, children related beauty ideals to specific physical traits such as the white and slender body. Different body image was questioned to fit in the beauty ideals. Furthermore, psychological and social traits were related. To this respect, beauty was associated with positive values, skills, and, talents. Moreover, beauty was observed as an instrumentalized value or commodity. Lastly, beauty ideals were associated with media referents and stereotypes.

White skin was considered more attractive than dark skin by some children. Participants who favored this opinion supported the idea that white skin is as a sign of beauty. *"She would be more beautiful if you had a whiter skin"* (Pilar, FG3). On the other hand, dark skin was related to being less attractive *"He's not so handsome like those who are white"* (Laia, FG2). Similarly, it was linked to ethnic stereotypes, *"He has dark skin as Alan and Ibrahim have"* (Mario, FG3).

White skin was also associated with blue and green eyes. To this respect, characters with light-colored eyes were praised among participant children. Similarly, they manifested idealization of attractiveness in this trait as observed in the following passage:

Researcher: Why is this girl beautiful?

Irma: Because she's using make-up and she is gorgeous.

Majo: Because she has blue eyes and loose hair.

Mario: Because her eyes are blue.

[Verbatim 70. Irma, Majo & Mario, FG3]

Beauty canons were also related to a specific hairstyle and color. Perceptions were consistent in all focus groups. Hair appearance was gender-differentiated. Female beauty was familiar with *blond or light hair*. *"She's very beautiful. She has red lips and blond hair"* (Alberto, FG2). This description was actually condensed by participant Siara (FG6) in the colloquial phrase *"las rubias matan"*, to imply the power of the blonde female beauty. For some participants, this portrayal was better represented by Barbie. To look like a Barbie was to embody her physical traits and be beautiful. *"She's like a barbie. She has red lips and blond hair"* (Carlos, FG2).

In coexistence, straight hair was also valued as positive in comparison to curly or frizzy hair. *"Beautiful girls should better get super straight hair. As my cousin does, she is very pretty"* (Miram, FG6). Moreover, hair length in women was highly

stressed as a sign of femininity and beauty. On the contrary, for some children having short hair was observed as less value, and connected with social sanctions as observed in the following conversation:

Researcher: Marga, you chose Elsa as a beautiful person, why?

Marga: Because she has white hair and a long braid.

Researcher: And What if she had short hair?

Marga: No [She wouldn't be beautiful]

Researcher: What do you think? Marga says that if this character had short hair, she wouldn't be pretty, what do you think?

Alberto: It's true, not even famous, eh!

Researcher: Wouldn't she be famous?

Carlos: And she would be very ugly.

Alberto: And I couldn't have a boyfriend in her life.

[Verbatim 71. Marga, Alberto & Carlos, FG2]

Compared to female characters, beauty perceptions in male characters were a little bit diverse. Male attractiveness was described wearing short or medium length hair "For boys, it's better if they have blonde or light hair. Also, if they have short or medium-length hair" (Miriam, FG6). Likewise, male attractiveness was referred for having beard and mustache by some children "He's the most handsome, he's wearing beard and mustache" (Mario, FG3). Some others expressed a different opinion "I don't like those guys wearing beard" (Majo, FG3).

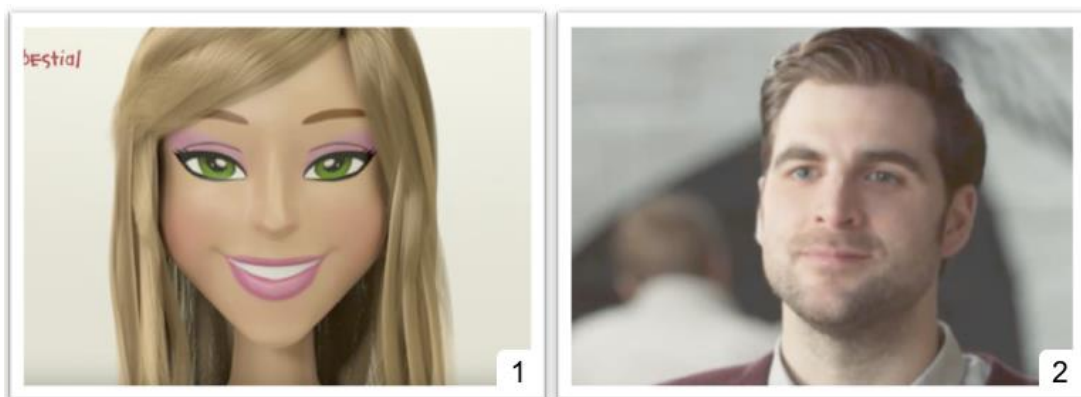


FIGURE 92. Male and female representations called for their attractiveness. SOURCE: 1. Bestial, Cuétara. 2. Frenadol. (2015)

A secondary aspect praised as a component of beauty was teeth. Almost all participants were consistent with manifesting the importance of having *white*, *even*, and *brushed* teeth. To this respect, depicted characters were praised for 'their perfect smile'. *She's so beautiful. She has the perfect smile*" (Mike, FG5) *"She has perfect teeth, white teeth"* (Xavi, FG5) *"She has very cleaned teeth"* (Abraham, FG4). By the contrary, having bad teeth was a sign of unattractiveness *"He's too ugly because he has awful teeth"* (Naira, FG10). Most children agreed to have the perfect teeth was compulsory to be beautiful as exemplified in the following excerpt:

Carlos: She'd better have stronger teeth.

Ara: Bigger.

Researcher: What's the matter with the teeth?

Ara: They are okay. There's nothing [strange]

Carlos: They're a little broken.

Alberto: Teeth are fine. Very white.

Laia: Hey, she already has big teeth.

Alberto: No, the teeth are okay

Carlos: Probably she has stinky teeth.

Alberto: No she doesn't. Otherwise, she would have yellow teeth.

[Verbatim 72. Carlos, Ara, Laia & Alberto, FG2]

For most of the interviewed children, beauty canon was embodied in the slender figure. However, this perception was not consistent in all participants. Slimness was a subjective value. Some children criticized very slim body *"He has a very thin body. He must be sick"* (Xavi, FG5) *"She's in flesh"* (Jenny, FG5). Some others agreed on the idea that attractive people are the ones who are in good shape, describing this as the thin body. *"Beautiful women have thin bodies"* (Manel, FG6). 'Normal body' was used as the expression to describe the average body type as well as the slim body. On the contrary, being fat stigmatized as observed in the following excerpts:

Researcher: Besides being fashion, what else is important in women?

Manel: That they have straight hair, and that they aren't fat. Not being fat!

Sia: Hey, dude! We don't need to be fat.

María: The face.

Manel: And the body.

[Verbatim 73. Manel, Siara & María, FG6]

Researcher: And, what would be the most important for boys?
Manel: That he isn't fat. That's it! And not very muscled either. Otherwise, he might have tiny parts... [Laughs]
Miriam: The face and the hair.
Manel: The face, the hair and the body, [must be] attractive.
Leo: Being nice and smart.
Manel: Face without makeup and a thin body.
Miriam: You know what a crime of fashion is.....
Siara: Being fat!
Miriam: Well, that is one too.

[Verbatim 74. Manel, Miriam, Leo & Siara, FG6]

Connected to this idea, muscled body was also a debating issue. To this respect, some participant children argued muscle body make men attractive "He's muscled fit and handsome" (Miriam, FG6) "He's the typical handsome guy with strong muscles" (Leo, FG6). "He is a handsome boy, he has an attractive body" (Óscar, FG8). There was no opportunity to ask opinions for female muscle body. However, most conversations related to this issue related referred to muscled men. Lastly, muscled body was associated with physical activity, strength and performance "He goes to the gym to have a muscle tone body" (Manel, FG6). "He's very strong. He has strong muscles" (Arturo, FG4).

Researcher: Do handsome people exercise?
Alberto: Yes, they do.
Carlos: And also in order to be strong.
Alberto: And to have muscles.
Researcher: Ah, Shall you have muscles to be handsome?
Laia: Yes. Well, it's better!

[Verbatim 75. Alberto, Carlos & Laia, FG2]

Furthermore, friendliness and confidence were two common social traits related to beauty ideals. Being attractive was equally compared to be good. On the contrary, being ugly was related to less positive traits. Similarly, this perception was associated with emotions and temperament. Beauty was considered a synonym of happiness, satisfaction and a balanced life. In relation to advertising portrayals, most children expressed positively about beautiful characters. They associated beauty with charm, tenderness, empathy, and sympathy. "He has a

good glance, he's gorgeous" (Pilar, FG3). *"She's so beautiful, she seems to be a good friend"* (María, FG3).

Participants agreed beauty was related to social values such as distinction and success. Being handsome and beautiful was observed as a commodity, a transferable value whereby people can obtain social benefits. On the one hand, beauty was considered as a way to meet people or a partner *"All boys would fall in love with her"* (Carla, FG8). *"She couldn't marry if she were ugly"*. (Alberto, FG2). On the other hand, attractive characters were pointed to perform specific actions or take particular jobs characters as exemplified in the following conversation:

Researcher: Why have you chosen this female character?

Sara: Because she's a beautiful person. An ugly person is not going to show on stage to sing.

Úrsula: She's smiling.

Gaby: Unless she acts in the Mortadelo and Filemón [a movie]. Therefore, she would be an ugly person.

Researcher: You've said that she's beautiful and that's why she can be on television.

Sara: Surely! If she were ugly, nobody would hire her.

Gaby: Certainly, in Mortadelo and Filemón, for sure.

Researcher: Why would nobody hire here?

Sara: Because if she were ugly, nobody would buy what she's promoting

[Verbatim 76. Sara, Úrsula & Gaby, FG1]

To contrast the beauty ideals, children elaborated a counter-narrative. As observed in previous conversations, being ugly was related to a less attractive appearance and less positive social traits *"If I were ugly, I would act in Mortadelo and Filemón"* *"If she were ugly, nobody would hire her nor buy what she is selling"* (Samia, FG1). Ugly people as ugly characters were associated with lower skills and gender stereotypes *"Ugly women never get married. They're single and never fight"* (Carlos, FG2). As observed in this section, ugliness as beauty was posited in concrete aspects such as physical appearance and personal traits; likewise, they were supported in body policies and practices (6.2.3.1)

Beauty was supported on social constructions and media referents. It was related to animated characters such as warriors, wonder woman, stereotypes (*the cocky guy, the macho, the fragile woman*), and celebrities. These ideas seemed to be a homogenous construction. However, children highlighted the alternative style

and appearance of celebrities such as the short hair in Emma Watson and the curly hair in David Bisbal to legitimize their look preferences.

6.2.3.2. Gender imaginaries

Children's body imaginaries were also supported in gender representations and stereotypes. Children made remarks stressing the idealization of male and female ideals and emphasized the gender differences in physical and psychological traits. (Table 48)

TABLE 48. Body image and gender differences.

<p>Female Representations</p>	<p><i>Associated to the beauty canons: the white model and the slender model. Akin to feelings and emotions such as tenderness and loveliness. Related to intellectual roles. Associated to less active roles and actions.</i></p>
<p>Male Representations</p>	<p><i>Associated to the hegemonic masculinity model. Physical body image was perceived as less constraining, although the muscled body was observed as imperative. Akin to outgoing personality and extroverted feelings. Connected to more active roles and actions.</i></p>

SOURCE: Author.

For most participants, the ideal body image for both men and women was connected to the beauty canons. With this regards, body shape and facial traits were mostly gender-differentiated. Almost all children were consistent to describe the beauty image for women as a slender body, white skin and blond hair, the *Barbie girl*. Furthermore, both boys and girls underscored the importance of hair. Long, straight hair was observed as most desirable to be a beautiful girl, "*beautiful women and girls have long hair*" [Sia, FG6].

By the contrary, male body image was subjected to more flexible standards and was less constrained by physical stereotypes. Children's opinions and perceptions of male body image varied or at least were debated. However, some aspects were more relevant than others.

Researcher: If girls need to have long hair to be beautiful, what about the boys?

Alberto: Long hair [Laughs]

Researcher: How long?

Ara: Well, over here [Indicates the neck].

Alberto: Well, a little bit short [Indicates the neck too]. When I was younger I had long hair. As long as this.

Ara: Look, like this guy.

[Verbatim 77. Alberto & Ara, FG2]

The male body was associated to have muscles but a slender body. To have muscles was referred as to be attractive *"They have a muscled body and they are attractive"* [Manel, FG9]. Nevertheless, some boys and girls argued big muscle were exaggerated, and therefore, less attractive.

"I don't like this guy. He's exaggerated, with those big muscles"

[Verbatim 78. Jaime, FG8]

"I don't like people who go to the gym to have muscles, that's too much".

[Verbatim 79. Sia, FG6]

Some secondary aspects were related to the idea of masculinity. With this regard, children praised some traits such as having a beard and mustache as a sign of attractiveness.

"He's handsome, the most handsome. He has beard and mustache, and he has a very cool hair"

[Verbatim 80. Mario, FG3]

Moreover, male body image was associated with physical features such as strength. Children related the described body images with psychosocial traits such as being daring, bold or adventurous. On the contrary, being a woman or girl was connected to fragility and emotions. Also, thus, female body image was depicted as lovely, tender, fragile. Male and female representations were supported on social and media stereotypes, related to advertising's representations and discourse, for instance, the images of the cocky guy, the macho, the princess or the dreaming girl (6.1.3.2). Some other gender representations such as the female warrior were discussed. Although for some children, women can have strength and power as men do, some others still argue differences.

Researcher: Why can't women be as strong as men?

Irma: Because women can be a little bit less strong.

Majo: In the superheroes programs, there's a girl who is strong.

Pilar: That's stronger than he is... [laughs]

Mario: In Bob Sponge Squarepants, Sandy is the strongest. Nobody is stronger than her. She knows karate.

[Verbatim 81. Irma, Majo, Pilar & Mario, FG3]

Additionally, gender representations were related to sex roles. Women were associated with intellectual activities such as thinking and studying; meanwhile, men were linked to eager activities²⁷.

Researcher: Why do you think he likes fighting?

Carlos: Well, look at his eyes. It seems he's shooting lasers.

Laia: Besides, he has a strong arm.

[Verbatim 82. Carlos & Laia, FG2]

Researcher: Can't this woman be interested in technology?

Mario: No, because she likes cooking. It's in her eyes. She's more likely to be in the kitchen.

Pilar: That's right. She looks like a woman from the chef channel.

[Verbatim 83. Mario & Pilar, FG3]

²⁷ Although children's observations might have been biased by advertising representations, researcher questioned in-depth to explore children's implies.

Likewise, female representations were also connected to gender stereotypes. They were associated with images such as being a princess, being in love, being a fool or absent-minded. Moreover, children also underscored female delicacy.

Researcher: Does this girl like basketball?

Jenny: Yes, but she's a singer. So, who knows.

Researcher: Singers don't like basketball?

Jenny: She doesn't like sports.

Mike: Shakira likes soccer.

Jenny: But she doesn't play soccer. She got her nails broken.

[Verbatim 85. Jenny & Mike, FG5]

Lastly, gender construction was associated to hegemonic stereotypes as observed in a focus group where a female participant, Ada, manifested concern for her cousin's look, connecting his image and body practices to lack of masculinity.

"I have a cousin who plays to be gay. He wants to be a girl. He puts on himself make-up. He wears a ponytail. He puts long fake nails and says, 'hi' [mimics]. He puts lipstick too."

[Verbatim 86. Ada, FG4]

6.2.3.3. The healthy body image representations

Children's body image representations were also connected to the images of health and body care (Table 49). To this respect, it was common to find a stereotyped discourse supported in the idea of slenderness as a synonym of health. By the contrary, overweight and obesity were observed as a sign of illness. Both healthy and unhealthy image was related to body practices such as eating well and doing some physical activity.

TABLE 49. Healthy and unhealthy body image representations

The Healthy Image	<p>Associated to body shape: <i>Slim Body and physical traits such as strength and muscles.</i></p> <p>Related to habits: <i>a balanced diet and physical activity.</i></p> <p>Embodied in <i>sporty characters.</i></p> <p>Akin to body practices: <i>grooming and hygiene.</i></p>
The Unhealthy Image	<p>Associated to <i>obesity, overweight and extremely thin bodies.</i></p> <p>Related to <i>bad eating habits (i.e. sugar consumption) and physical inactivity.</i></p> <p>Exposed to <i>illnesses</i></p> <p>Associated to <i>advertised products (cereals, cookies, candies)</i></p>

SOURCE: Author.

The healthy body was mostly associated with a body type, «*the slim body*». Even most children implied the expression «*normal body*» to describe the average musculature body. “*A normal body is a body without fat nor very thin. It’s the healthy body*” (José, FG9). Besides, a healthy body was also associated with physical traits such as strength and resistance.

Researcher: Why is this character strong?

Daniel: Because he’s playing basketball, then he has a strong body.

Researcher: Ada, you said exactly the same. What do you think?

Ada: Well, because, he can run very fast. Although she’s short, she can destroy things.

[Verbatim 87. Daniel & Ada, FG4]

Conversely, the unhealthy body was associated with obesity, overweight, and extremely thin bodies. In comparison to the slim body, the obese body was referred to as a negative body. The stigmatization of the fat body was observed in almost all focus groups. Being fat was mainly related to eating in excess and the lack of physical activity. Most children supported their opinions on examples.

“There’s a girl in the class. Her name’s Berta. She eats... Well I know because I see her in the park. She’s eating junk food all the time. And she’s a little fat. Well, now she’s fatter”.

[Verbatim 88. Gaby, FG7]

Xavi: [The Iker] is a child with problems.

Mike: He's very chubby.

Jenny: Her mother brings her pig’s ears (pastry) every day. A big one, he eats it all.

Mike: And he still asks for more. He brings sandwiches like this [indicates with the hands] for the break. He likes to eat. He eats a lot.

Jenny: He is obese.

[Verbatim 89. Xavi, Mike & Jenny, FG5]

For most participant children, being fat has a social stigma. Children used to direct their judgments about overweight and obese people to negative connotations. They mostly referred the health arguments to support their opinions; likewise, they discussed the physical limitations being fat or overweight has.

Tania: I feel very happy with my body because I’m agile. I look normal and I don’t look like a meatball.

Researcher: If you were a girl with obesity or overweight, would you have a bad time?

Tania: Well, maybe a little bit. For things, I like to do.

Researcher: You like gymnastics. Are there overweight girls in gymnastics?

Tania: Well, there could be, but it's more difficult.

Researcher: What makes it difficult?

Tania: The weight you need to carry with your legs and arms, and the balance.

[Verbatim 90. Tania, FG9]

The healthy body was also associated with good eating habits: a balanced diet and physical activity. Most children stressed on the idea of eating vegetables as a positive option for a healthy life. With this regard, the lack of vegetables in the diet was observed as a reason for being thin, weak or ill.

Majo: My body is very healthy.

Researcher: Don’t you ever get sick?

Majo: No

Researcher: What do you do to be healthy, then?

Majo: Eat vegetables and fruit [laughs]

[Verbatim 91. Majo, FG3]

"This guy doesn't eat veggies, but he eats Weikis [pastry]. He's very thin. He doesn't like exercise either".

[Verbatim 92. Xavi, FG5]

On the contrary, the unhealthy body was referred to as harmful habits. Most of these habits were associated with the consumption of advertised products (cereals, cookies, candies and fast food) and the lack of physical activity as observed in the following passages.

Researcher: Why do you think he's too thin?

Miriam: Because he eats in McDonald's very often. That's unhealthy.

[Verbatim 93. Miriam, FG6]

Researcher: Why do you think he's a fat guy?

Xavi: Because he never does exercise in the ads. He's all the time eating cereals with chocolate. He's fat. He looks fat.

[Verbatim 94. Xavi, FG5]

Consistent with this, children were asked their perceptions of the advertised products. In comparison with younger children, 4th graders were more critical to food advertising and addressed to them as junk food. To this respect, most children's discourses stressed the risks of consuming sugared products, as observed in the following excerpt.

Researcher: And why aren't these products healthy?

Gaby: Because they're junk food. This has chocolate and this is a cookie, but even cookies. Even if they don't have chocolate, they are not healthy. They have a lot of sugar. It can cause problems for your heart.

Mau: But if they're made of fruit or something like that, they're healthy. There are healthy sugars and other less healthy.

Gaby: Yes, but they're a few.

[Verbatim 95. Gaby & Mau, FG7]

Watching out the body, the weigh was mostly associated with food intake. To this respect, eating in excess was linked to gaining weight and becoming fat. On the other hand, slimness and the extremely thin bodies were associated with eating restrictions “*You just have to eat two slices of toast bread at night*” (Leo, FG6). This issue was debatable in a focus group, as children mentioned the consumption of diet products to lose weight.

Researcher: What happens if we eat a lot?

Alex: We'll be fat.

Researcher: And what about being fat, is that a problem?

Gaby: You eat a lot

Eloisa: Well it's not about eating a lot, but not everything.

Alex: To be skinnier you have to eat a special cheese.

Mau: Or do a lot of sport.

[Verbatim 96. Alex, Gaby, Eloisa & Mau, FG7]

6.2.3.4. Body image: Policies and practices

Talking about body image conducted children to discuss the social norms, beliefs, and practices that regulate the body. As summarized in Table 50, participant children associated with body image construction with the care of appearance. Caring for personal hygiene was commented as necessary in order to have a good image. Body practices were also gender-differentiated. Children highly emphasized the importance of body image for women, in comparison to men — moreover, children associated with female beauty with specific policies and practices. Finally, body image modification was mentioned as a way to change the body in order to achieve beauty ideals.

TABLE 50. Body image policies and practices.

Body Policies and Practices
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Personal hygiene and grooming were observed as necessary for beauty construction.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Female beauty was related to the use of make-up, hairstyle, and particular clothes. Female beauty was associated with status, appearance and fashion trends.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Beauty must follow the slender (for women) and athletic (for men) body ideals. Other body types are scrutinized.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Body image modification was considered as a way to achieve a better and positive body image. The use of advertised products was observed as a possible way to achieve body ideals.

SOURCE: Author.

Most children were consistent with manifesting the importance of personal hygiene 'take a shower' 'brush teeth'. Being neat was considered necessary to have a good appearance and being accepted by the others; likewise, it was closely related to beauty. "He is handsome. His hair is washed. He has taken a shower" (Naira, G10). Moreover, some participant children related this trait to have self-confidence "He feels self-confident with his hair. He just took a shower" (Diego, FG10).

Some children showed approval for personal appearance stressing on the dressing style. The use of certain types of clothes and accessories were mentioned as a way to look attractive. Nevertheless, this issue was debated in a focus group where a female participant (Siara, FG6) expressed dressing neatly was not as important as long as boys were attractive, prioritizing beauty above other aspects.

Siara: This boy is more handsome than this other one. He's more handsome and he has brown eyes. He's so cute!

Researcher: Then, should guys dress neatly?

Siara: No, he can dress badly, but he has to be attractive.

Miriam: What matters is that he is gorgeous inside. Well, also outside.

María: What really matters is that boys wear a tie. Girls love boys who wear a tie.

[Verbatim 97. Siara & Miriam FG6]

In comparison to the male body, children connected female body image to some ritualized practices “to improve appearance”. The use of make-up was observed as necessary to look attractive. “*Not using make-up is a crime*” (Siara, FG6). The acceptance of makeup was highly extended among all participants. A conversation in-depth within a focus group exemplified the natural incorporation of make-up in girls’ lives.

Siara: I put make-up on my face.

Miriam: I put make-up on my mother’s. I know how to use mascara, rouge, and lipstick.

Siara: I have my own make-up.

María: My grandmother puts mascara on me.

Investigador: Miriam, Where have you learned to use make-up?

Miriam: At home. In the hair salon, where my mother gets her makeup done. I put on make-up very well.

María: My mother taught me how to do it.

Siara: I learned how to do it on my own.

[Verbatim 98. Siara, Miriam & María, FG6]

Moreover, children stressed on the idea of dressing hair connecting this trait with female beauty stereotypes, beliefs, and practices as observed in the following passages:

Miram: There’s too much fashion crime. First, not putting make-up. Second, the hair. You can’t have short hair.

Sia: Of course, otherwise you are a witch for boys.

[Verbatim 99. Miriam & Sia, FG6]

“Maybe, if she dresses her hair and puts some make-up on her face, then she could be beautiful. But, if she doesn’t comb her hair nor does she make her face, she couldn’t be”

[Verbatim 100. Ada, FG4]

Other participant children claimed the relevance of grooming activities such as shaving the legs, the chest, and the armpits. Children referred to their parents or siblings to reflect on it. This topic was more relevant among 4th graders. While some children underscored the importance of depilation for both men and women, some others argued this was optional.

María: He has a hairy armpit. Awful!

Researcher: Is it wrong to have hairy armpits?

Miriam: No, but I do not like it!

Leo: Those who are hairy can let the hair grow. There's no problem.

Manel: Sure! Mi sister erases it with a pen [shaves].

Miriam: Anyhow! He should shave every day.

[Verbatim 101. María, Miriam, Leo & Manel, FG6]

Body practices were also linked to building the body, watching the weight and constitution. As it has been observed along the preceding sections, children associated beauty ideals of female and male bodies to certain body stereotypes. To this respect, having a muscled body for men was highly connected to the idea of going to the gym, *"Larry is strong. He goes to the gym"* (Majo, FG3). *"People go to the gym to get a chocolate bar ab"*. (Sia, FG6). By contrast, slenderness in female was connected to diet and eating restriction *"You just have to eat two slices of toast bread at night"* (Leo, FG6).

Finally, children discussed the use of advertised products as a possible way to change appearance, basically lose weight. *"There some products to lose weight"* (José, FG9) *"They sell a cheese that helps you lose weight"* (Jaime, FG8). Moreover, in a focus group with 3rd graders body image modification was introduced. This conversation was essentially related to cosmetic surgery and was conducted to discuss gender reassignment surgery.

Researcher: Can we change our bodies?

Jenny: Yes, we can, but it's not good.

Xavi: Yes, we can. Some way.

Mike: It isn't bad!

Jenny: Yes, it is. Some surgeries....

Mike: But, if you want.

Jenny: Well, but think if your parents don't approve that... It's bad because it's not yours [your body]. Besides, there are some people who change some body parts that can't be changed.

Researcher: Which ones?

Jenny: For example, a girl with a breast like this size that wants to have a chest as boys do. It's terrible because it is a part of your body, and then when you have babies it will be...

Mike: Maybe she doesn't want to have children.

Xavi: You need to think about it, but if you've already considered it.

Mike: Everybody is in its all right to change whatever he or she wants. Everybody is free to make decisions about his body.

[Verbatim 102. Jenny, Xavi & Mike, FG5]

In short, discussing body image in television advertising conducted children to talk about the appearance of characters. Likewise, it allowed them to reflect on their body image. Conclusions in focus groups suggested children were more prone to talk about their physical appearance rather than their intellectual or psychological traits. Participants mostly focused on describing face and hair as a way to refer or exemplify their ideals of positive body image. To a lesser extent, they referred to body constitution. Children were likely to compare their physical appearance to family or friends. Some children mentioned media and advertising characters as referents of teenage or adult appearance. Constructing a positive body image was naturalized as a means to fulfill goals (get a job, meet a partner, etcetera). Thus, children manifested to care for their appearance in two main aspects: the hairstyle and the use of make-up (in girls) which was consistent with the appropriation of body image beauty and gender stereotypes.

Children manifested a positive attitude toward advertising characters. Most of them identified with them in different aspects. Hair appearance was a common trait to make comparisons or to describe future ideals. To a lesser extent, body type in characters was mentioned as inspiring. In contrast, children felt sympathetic to the characters' mood and personality. Identification was gender-differentiated. Boys and girls identified with the portrayals praising their active and passive attitudes. Likewise, children got involved with characters by their performed actions. Other characteristics such as intelligence and status, were observed as relevant. In this way, most interviewed children showed to be engaged in physical traits of celebrities such as singers, actress or football players. Children expressed to feel more identified with child characters.

Supporting on character portrayals, children exposed their body imaginaries. Representations concerning the beauty ideals were mostly linked to the white and slender body. Such a model was also linked to positive social traits. Another physical appearance was connected to ethnic stereotypes and less valued images. Additionally, children's representations were supported by gender stereotypes. For

instance, the female body was observed as fragile and delicate whereas the male body was connected to the hegemonic masculinity. Healthy body representations were mainly constructed on the figure of the thin body and healthy habits. Almost all children were likely to disapprove obesity and overweight and associated weight issues with eating in excess and the lack of exercise. Most body image representations were connected to body policies and practices. To this respect, children emphasized the importance of hygiene and exercise; moreover, other children underscored female beauty practices such as the use of make-up. Lastly, body modification was introduced as a way to change the body.

6.3. SOME CONCLUDING IDEAS

This chapter has presented the results concerning the analysis of the mediating role of advertising in children's body imaginaries. After the thematic analysis of ten focus groups in Barcelona, children's understandings of television advertising and depicted body image were explored; moreover, the social implications of advertising in children's body imaginaries were analyzed. The most relevant findings can be summarized as follows:

- Participant children assumed the consumption of television as an ordinary activity at their age. With this regard, children manifested to have different television consumption routines. Children affirmed to consume different content and media. However, television was still found as a favorite pastime among interviewed children. Children found watching television as entertaining. Additionally, for some other participants, it was considered a way to be informed.
- All participant children could recognize television advertising. They commented on different examples and talked about their favorite commercials. Children were engaged to television advertising by their music, slogans, and colors; moreover, they were engaged in some commercial addressed to adults (e.g., perfumes, app dates, and diet products). Children were also able to discuss the misleading role of advertising and its persuading sale intent.
- Children's understanding of advertising was mainly outlined by their critical comprehension of the narrative structure and the language used in the ads. Participant children mentioned some advertising tactics such as exaggeration and repetition of phrases and images. Likewise, they appraised the efficacy of images, slogans, the camera takes, and effects. Character performance was also commented. This brought children to

reflect on happiness in the ads. Children focused their examples on food advertising.

- Depicted body image in advertising was mostly interpreted positively among children. Female characters were praised for hair length and color whereas male characters were underscored by their attitude and body type. The characters' perceptions were mostly mediated by social stereotypes. In this way, four stereotypes were found: those related to the beauty and attractiveness canons (white and slim model), those other that promote gender differences, the ones related to the 'normal body type' (the slim body) and those familiar with skin color and race.
- Children showed awareness of production effects that alter body image in advertising. They discussed the use of airbrushing, camera effects, and angles as a way to alter the body in advertising. Children mostly criticized this as the intent of advertisers to persuade people to buy their products. The naked body was observed as an example of this commodification.
- Children's perceptions of body image were mostly supported on the physical body and appearance. When describing themselves, they mostly centered on aspects such as face and hair; moreover, children compared their physical traits with friends and family addressing such features. Aligned with this, children emphasized the importance of having a positive body image as a mean to fulfill goals (get a job, have a friend, or meet a partner). To this respect, come advertising and media characters were referred to as future idealizations.
- Children manifested a positive attitude toward advertising characters. Most of them identified with them in any aspect. Hair appearance was a common aspect to express idealization. Children felt more engaged by the personality and sympathy of the characters. They praised their emotions, actions, and roles. The implication with characters was also gender-differentiated. Boys felt more identified with male characters. Girls praised male characters for expressing idealizations concerning the future partner. Child characters were the favorite characters.
- Beauty ideals were mainly supported on the white model and the slender body. Furthermore, representations of female beauty were highly constrained. This beauty construction was also connected to positive social traits. Media characters such as Barbie and Shakira were mainly praised for their physical aspect and the values linked to these figures. Physical appearance connected to ethnic or racial traits was not accepted with the same attitude.
- Body image representations were also genderized. Most images concerning women were connected to physical traits, practices, and stereotypes. While children observe the male body as energetic, eager

and active, they construct a female body image supported on subordinate values, girls as fragile, lovely and passive. Both femininity and masculinity were supported on rigid values exemplified in the beauty practices that regulate the bodies (e.g., the use of make-up).

- Body imaginaries also included the representations of a healthy and unhealthy body. To this respect, all participant children pointed the slim body like the healthy body, and by the contrary, the overweight body as a threat to the well-being. Obesity was highly stigmatized and connected to eating and excess and the lack of physical activity. Children were critical to food advertising as a promoter of unhealthy eating.
- Body image and appearance were also connected to body policies and practices. With this regard, children emphasized the importance of daily habits such as taking a shower or brushing teeth; moreover, on aspects such as dress neatly. Some body-practices and policies were strictly recommended for women such as using make-up, dress hair or shaving. Body modification was commented as a form to change body appearance.

7. DISCUSSION

This study has analyzed the representations of body image in television advertising and its mediating role among the child audience. Although the study considers convenience samples for both quantitative and qualitative analyses, it suggests important contributions. This chapter discusses the relevant findings in the study in connection with the cited literature in the field.

7.1. BODY IMAGE IN ADVERTISING TO CHILDREN

Both the structural and the general features of the advertisements, as well as the features in character portrayal, indicate advertising to children prescribes body imaginaries connected to the life of consumption and enjoyment (Bauman, 2012; Hill, 2011; Scribano, 2015). Children's are touched by fantasy narratives that foster freedom, happiness, success, and individuality. Nevertheless, the sublime stories of advertising are tinted with ambiguities and inequalities. With this regard, findings in research may suggest that children are exposed to some critical contradictions.

7.1.1. Alluring stories, unhealthy products, and positive narratives

The conducted study has shown that advertising to children is miscellaneous. As observed in the analysis, the sample of ads mostly consisted of different product categories appealing to different targets. These findings are consistent with prior studies in Spanish children's television (Fernández-Gómez & Díaz-Campos, 2014, González-Díaz, 2008, González, Luna & Carrillo-Durán, 2011) which have indicated that advertising to children is not exclusively addressed to this audience. In this sense, it can be inferred that children socialize with advertising promoting products and services consumed by them (sweets, toys, promotional trailers) in the same way they get along with ads addressed to adult and teen audiences (e.g., personal accessories, supermarkets, home stuff, banking services, etcetera.)²⁸.

²⁸ A wider outlook can be observed in the qualitative findings, as children described the ads they watch and like the most (perfumes, fashion, technology).

In contrast to the study conducted by González, Luna & Carrillo (2011), this research found that advertising promoting body care products was scarcely present. Such finding may suggest that children are not directly exposed to body care messages as they mostly occur with the teen and adult audiences. Yet, results showed that children are exposed to a significant number of food advertisements.

As observed in the analysis, a good proportion of encoded advertisements corresponded to food products. These findings are similar to those commented in studies from Europe and the United States (Alexander et al., 1998; Barcus, 1980; Fernández-Gómez & Díaz-Campos, 2014, González-Díaz, 2008; Keller & Schulz, 2010; Kunkel, 2001) where researchers have underscored a growing presence of this advertising category. In this line, this study reveals the over-presence of low-nutrient products, especially those considered as energy-dense and nutrient-poor value (EDNP). The results are further in line with studies that suggest that food advertising in Spanish children's television consists of sweetened drinks, sugared cereals, and pastries (Jiménez-Morales, Montaña & Vázquez, 2019; Royo-Bordonada et al. (2015), and Royo-Bordonada & Artalejo (2016).

Regarding food advertising, this study has addressed its structural features considering its narrative as a powerful device to influence children's body imaginaries. Regardless of the advertised product or targeted audience, advertisements introduce children appealing stories, bright colors, and catchy songs. Consistent with similar studies (Byrd-Bredbenner & Grasso 2000; Pérez-Salgado, Rivera & Ortiz, 2010; Romero, Royo-Bordonada & Rodríguez, 2010), the analysis suggests fun and happiness are the common appeals to promote almost everything, but above all EDNP products. The narratives of enjoyment are, thus, essential to communicate the positive values addressed to consumption (Scribano, 2015).

Advertisers recreate children's real and fantasy worlds, suggesting fun and enjoyment with the consumption of unhealthy products. Surprisingly, some of these products appeal either textually or graphically to the health benefits (Figure 93). Like in Royo-Bordonada et al. (2016) nutritional claims are used as communication appeals in advertising. Advertisers promote sweetened drinks, cereals and snacks calling for vitamins, proteins, and minerals while showing happy, smart and active characters. Some of these advertisements support the adult figure to endorse and recommend the products. Like this, advertising ritualizes selective eating or ways to perform modern commensality which,

although suggested as positive, is uncertainly healthy (Fischler, 2015; Gracia-Arnáiz, 2001).

Following Fernández-Gómez & Díaz-Campos (2014), it is quite obvious to observe the way advertisers associate positive values such as friendliness, happiness, and autonomy with almost every advertised product. By introducing children, alluring stories, cartoon heroes, and fashion celebrities, advertisers seek to connect children with desires, aspirations, and gratifications. This may not only be understood in terms of consumerism as it has traditionally been argued (Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2004; Nash, Pine & Messer, 2009). By the contrary, market corporations aim to connect brand, and product values with those present in child imaginary (Buckingham, 2013; Corrales, 2015). Before buying goods, children consume narratives as well as identitarian connections with the world they live in (Hill, 2011). As the critical theorists of advertising suggest, it is not all about the advertised products but the promoted values they communicate and transfer (Ibáñez, 2012; Pompeu, 2019; Sierra Caballero, 2017).



FIGURE 93. Food advertisements from analyzed sample. SOURCE: 1. Weikis, 2. Lacasitos, 3. Vaps de Bollycao, Tosta Rica, (2015).

7.1.2. The embodiment of constrained identities

In line with prior studies, this study revealed the constriction of embodied identities. The reported findings in this study indicate that body image representations addressed to children via advertising television are subjected to traditional representational patterns. With this regard, this study verified body

image in advertising structures as grammars (Buckingham, 2015; Martín-Serrano, 2014) which may align with other media representations.

The White body

As observed in the prior research, whiteness prevails as a dominant trait in children's advertising (Gilmore & Jordan, 2012; Greenberg & Mastro, 2008; Hogan, 2015). Although whiteness has not been explicitly pointed as an appealing feature in these ads, white characters have been the most depicted. This finding contributes to the current debate of ethnic representation in advertising. Consistent with Izquierdo (2008) and Kincheloe et al. (2000), this study suggests that white characters are attached to physical traits, roles, and actions from which non-white characters are excluded. This finding is further in line Echeverría's (2010) assumption that whiteness is culturally connected to the world of consumption. To this respect, according to social theorists, whiteness in modern advertising might not exclusively be connected to ethnicity and racialization but to amplify the white spectrum of global capitalism (Baumann & Ho, 2014; Izquierdo, 2008). Advertisers transfer the white identity as an absolute value, a symbol of political power and modernization.

The lack of non-white characters may suggest that depicting ethnicity is not a priority for advertisers. Marketers and corporations target children with images that do not correspond to reality, especially in Spain, where ethnic diversity has grown up to a tenth in the last decade (INE 2012). This finding corresponds with similar studies (Izquierdo, Martínez & Gálmes, 2006, Reynolds & Kirkman, 2014, Bang & Reece, 2003) which observe minoritarian groups performing less important roles in Spanish television.

The slender body

Notably, this study shows that slenderness is the body norm, while other body types remain absent. As observed in prior studies (Herbozo et al. 2004; Götz & Herche, 2012), slenderness is shown as a common attribute among characters. Slim characters are portrayed as referent models of attitudes and actions while different shape characters are scarcely represented. In line with this reasoning, it can be further argued that slender bodies structure and configure identities stick to capital values. Advertisers embellish and normalize the slender body by appealing positive or preferred values (Sossa-Rojas, 2011). Slenderness is addressed as an icon to hold market values (brands and products).

Yet the slender body is not only constituted by body shape. It is also presented along with other features (physical traits, attitudes, roles, and actions). Consistent with Goffman (2002), this study suggests that slenderness is hyper-ritualized. Slim

characters are depicted with other appealing features: facial traits, toned and soft skin, dress style and postures. The slender body is mostly commodified. It is used as a fetish to introduce products and brands (Bernárdez, 2009; Bordo, 2004). In this sense, just as some authors argue (Carrillo-Durán, Jiménez-Morales, Sánchez-Hernández, 2010; Carter, 2016; Grogan 2016), there are reasons to assume that advertising may participate in the dissemination of the pro-slimming culture as it praises such body schema.

Moreover, results may also suggest the connection that analyzed content has with global advertising. If it is true, some of these ads compile international brands and, overall results are similar to global studies (e.g., Greenberg et al., 2003, Hackett, 2008, Himes & Thompson, 2007). Following the results shown in this study, this fact should be worrying for three reasons. Firstly, advertising to children promotes body stereotypes that nullify body diversity and may strongly stigmatize overweight and obesity (Latner, Rosewall & Simmonds, 2007). Secondly, the advertising message may become ambiguous when promoting unhealthy food products (Livingstone & Helsper, 2006). Finally, television advertising disseminates the idea of slenderness as a physical trait connected to other values such as beauty, freedom, youthfulness, and success which are commodified in the markets.

The young body

A significant finding in the study has been the prevalence of adult characters. Young adults play leading roles in advertising performing as the main prescribers to children. This result coincides with Gómez-Espino (2005) who argues that the adult figure is usually prescribed as a referential consumer to children. This fact may have important implications as long as the adult body image may be suggested as a referential value for minors.

Conversely, although adult characters have a broader representation in children's advertising, the psychosocial features and actions depicted in these characters do not necessarily correspond with their age. Most characters are depicted as extroverted, performing actions connected with excitement (playing sports, playing jokes, hanging out with friends, etcetera). In line with Jiménez-Morales (2006), advertising narratives show the young adult as a referential model of adulthood. Those images of adulthood may be related to materialistic values which children appropriate by the ludic game of consuming advertising (Buckingham, 2013; Nash, Pine & Messer, 2009). In sum, adults are depicted as potential buyers while acting like children in the world of enjoyment.

The genderized body

Consistent with prior research, the present study evidences the male domination in advertising to children. Like in Götz & Lemish (2006, 2016) and (Herbozo et al. 2004), the representation of male characters has been significantly higher than that of female characters. Moreover, although men and women show the same proportion of primary and secondary roles, the study revealed that women are mostly depicted in subordinate roles. This trend is much similar to that present in adult advertising (i.e., Tartaglia & Rollero, 2015; Uribe et al., 2008). If qualitatively observed, children's advertisements show similar depictions (boys who perform the main roles and actions while girls come along with them, supporting the action or demonstrating the products).

The genderized body is constructed with specific features. Both male and female images are introduced with stereotyped images. To analyze in-depth, the following section focus on gender portrayals.

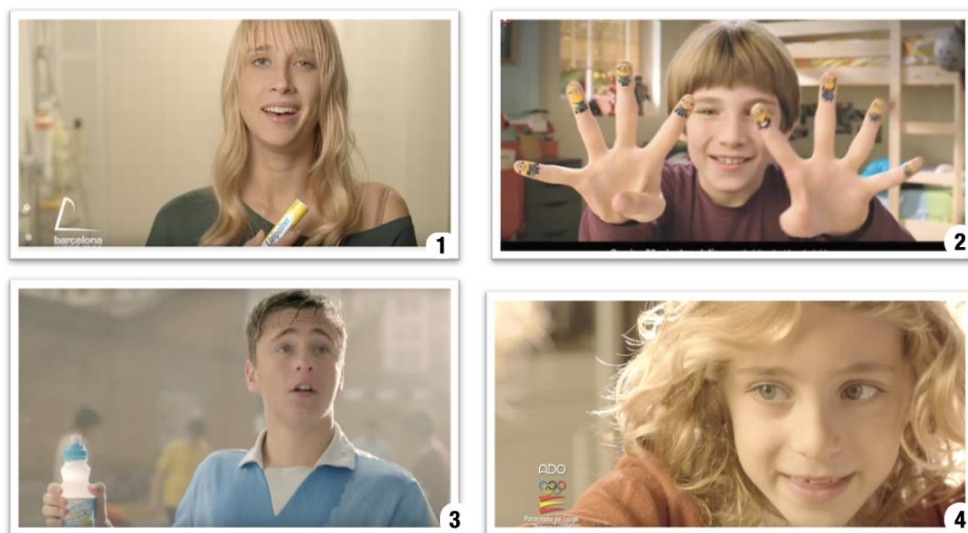


FIGURE 94. Depicted body image in characters from analyzed advertising. SOURCE: 1. Lizipaina. 2. La Piara Tapa Negra. 3. Sunny Delight 4. Paladín, (2015).

7.1.3. Embodied gender

Like in similar content analysis (Abramsky & Gunter, 1997; Martínez, Nicolás & Salas, 2013; Götz & Lemish, 2016), this study revealed that the masculine figure was overrepresented. Moreover, the prescribed features in characters suggest that men take better positions in comparison to women.

Although there were no statistically significant differences, male depictions were mostly encoded as main characters, taking primary roles and performing active actions. This finding is keeping in line with Goffman (1987, 2004) and the embodied gender representations. Following the cited author, this study showed that gender representations were mostly hyper-ritualized under the dominant canons of masculinity and femininity.

The physical traits in characters play an essential role in the configuration of gender representations. In comparison to male characters, female characters are highly influenced by the beauty canons, praising value for their physical appearance. Consistent with the studies conducted by Tartaglia & Rollero (2015) Uribe et al. (2008), the results in the study revealed that female characters are praised for their body while male characters are for their attitude. Female body image is fully objectified as a commodity, especially in those products promoting fashion and cosmetic products.

Furthermore, consistent to what similar other studies (Bernardez, 2009; Fox, 1996; Furnham & Mark, 1999; Tartaglia & Rollero, 2015; Uribe et al., 2008), this study shows gender differences are also given in character performance. To this respect, female characters are mostly depicted in family roles such as wives, partners, and mother in comparison to the occupational roles exerted by male actors.

Contrary to what the cited authors found on their studies, this study did not find any evidence regarding the commodification of sexual imaginary. Nevertheless, the commodity of body image was given in the appearance of certain characters, especially female characters whose image was edited (Harrison, 2010). To this respect, in line with the reasoning of authors such as Bordo (2004) Gill (2008) Featherstone (2002), it can be argued that advertisers manipulate the physical appearance of (female) characters for the visual inspection, evaluation and pleasure of others.

Lastly, although in small proportion, this study showed the genderization of spaces, demonstrating female characters are likely to take private spaces in comparison to men who are usually taking outdoors. These findings are consistent with similar studies (Furnham & Mark, 1999; Valls-Fernández & Vicente, 2000). Nevertheless, it should be noted that the abstract world of advertising does not offer enough hints to explore and compare the context where characters perform in comparison to other media formats.

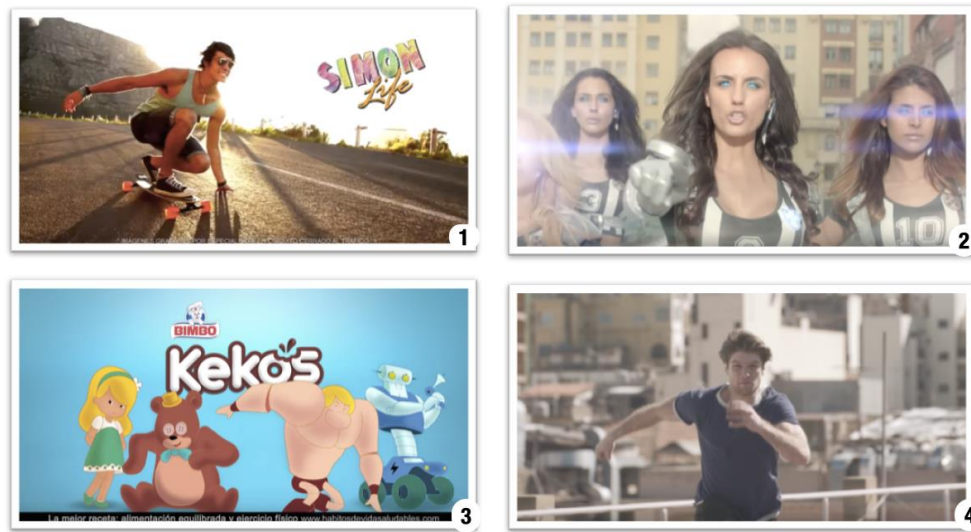


FIGURE 95. Gender depiction in analyzed advertising. SOURCE: 1. Simon Life. 2. Sunny Delight. 3. Kekos, Bimbo. 4. Head & Shoulders.

7.1.4. When body image becomes the message

One relevant premise of postmodern advertising is the way it appeals to identities to promote brands and products. The body, its emotions, and sensibilities are exploited to appeal to the audiences (Scribano, 2015). Embodied identities in advertising message play as metaphors to construct and reproduce a subjective and subjectivizing order in the world of consumerism (Corrales, 2015; Ibáñez, 2012; Uhart, 2004). Although the present study showed that body image as a communicative metaphor was restricted to a small number of advertisements, the reported cases indicated how body image operates as a subjectivizing element in children's advertising.

Like Johnson & Young (2002), this study has shown the use of textual and audiovisual metaphors to emphasize body image and reinforce advertising's key message. According to the observed results, these metaphors are used to stimulate the audience's imagination, especially in food advertisements. Advertisers use textual, oneiric and audiovisual elements to highlight the properties of food products and brands as they become identitarian images. Although visually absent, body image is shaped by advertising message. The cognitive body image (Featherstone, 2006) is modeled by sticky music, flashy dance or catchy phrases articulating bodies, identities, and subjectivities.

The metaphoric use of body image in advertising is also connected to intertextual features (cultural images, discourses, and stereotypes) that activate sensations and sensibilities. As this study shows, body image is recreated in attractive situations, scenes of conviviality, play and fantasy which not only influence the product insights but the situation and the characters. Advertising provides content and context to signify products and consumer identities (Sierra Caballero, 2017).

Moreover, the results in this study show that body image operate as a message as when child-characters appeal to it. Childhood has a performative feature to enhance children imaginaries. Consistent with Jacobson (2004) the images of childhood seek to persuade the audience with fantasies which inevitably model their body imaginaries (physical and psychosocial features, roles, actions, and contexts). In this sense, advertising fulfills its function as a system of representation (Baudrillard, 2016). Children's representations (the child-characters) contribute to the construction of a world of consumerism supported by the child consumer image.

In the line with the reasoning of Featherstone (2007) and Scribano (2015), the prescription of the body image as a message operates at the cognitive level, and remains in the collective imaginary as cultural images that mediate in the configuration of identities/subjectivities. To this respect, although in a large number of ads body image was not encoded as a key element in advertising's message, the rhetorical and aesthetic components come to regulate the images of the body. It is the cognitive body which, although not explicitly shown, operates via the subjectivity.

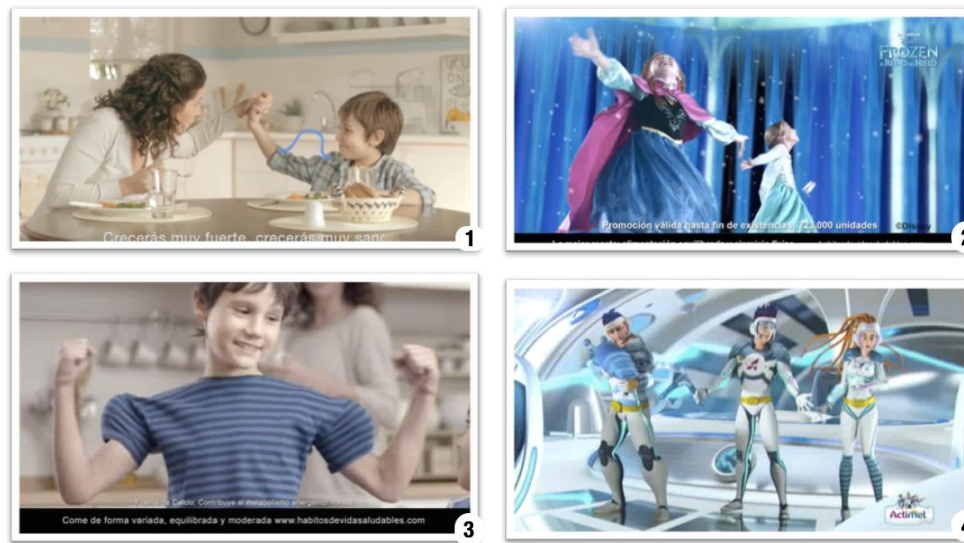


FIGURE 96. The body as a message in analyzed advertising. SOURCE: 1. Pediasure. 2. La Piara. 3. Weikis. 4. Actimel Danone (2015).

7.2. BODY IMAGE AND THE CHILD AUDIENCE

Following a qualitative methodology, this study has explored children's understandings of depicted body image in advertising and its implication in children's body imaginaries. Consistent with previous studies (Blades et al., 2014; Hudders et al., 2015; Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2004; Rozendaal, Buijzen & Valkenburg, 2011), this research states that children (6 to 9) can deal with advertising message supporting on advertising literacy skills. Children's knowledge and recognition of television advertising seem to be beneficial to deal with misleading information. Nevertheless, although most interviewed children showed trained skills, the appealing features in advertisements, as well as the use of subtler techniques, may influence children's body imaginaries.

7.2.1. Dealing with ambiguity

In line with documented studies (Buckingham, 2009; Gunter & McAller, 2005; Haley, 2010; Kunkel, 2001), the results in the study indicate that children are quite familiar with television content. Both boys and girls get along with television as part of their daily routine. Children consume TV for different purposes. Similar to Narberhaus (2016), interviewed children manifested to consume television to be entrained as well as to be informed.

Children's consumption of television is undoubtedly linked to the exposition of advertising. Although children affirmed no to be aware of it, the study revealed children socialize with its message in different ways. Children consume advertising almost in the same way they do with cartoons, films or Tv series. To this respect, in line with Mas Machon (2011), this study demonstrates that advertising is just another television genre from which audiences get information, persuasion, and entrainment.

Aligned with Banaji (2010) and Young (2003), the present study has evidenced the ambiguous relation children have with advertising. Most children in the conducted study expressed any negative attitude to the advertising message. Its annoying character seemed to be the most popular reason. Contrarily, children also showed to be engaged with those messages that provide them with gratifications such as information and entertainment. Although advertising is considered annoying, children find it useful to hear from videogame releases or toys. Besides, children enjoy music, plots, gags. To this respect, advertising is useful for children to recreate their own stories.

This study has shown that children (6 to 9) perform media literacy skills to deal with advertising at different levels. Following Rozendaal et al. (2011), the findings showed that interviewed minors possess conceptual, performance, and attitudinal skills to understand television advertising. All children can identify advertising within television content. Nevertheless, subtler advertising forms are less perceived by younger children. Furthermore, in line with Rozendaal, Buijzen & Valkenburg (2011), this study identified that all children are aware of advertising's commercial purpose. Children judge advertising by its propagandistic character (promotions, rewards, sale prices).

Participant children also underscored some advertising effects. Children's ability to understand the advertising message seemed to be mediated by children's age. In this line, as pointed out by existing literature, children are aware of advertising effects according to their age (Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2015). Findings in the study suggest that while young children underscore advertising pester power, older children elaborate judgments based on moral outlooks.

One relevant contribution of this study is the exploration of children's abilities to understand body image in advertising. Overall results show that children assess characters depictions at different levels. As discussed in prior studies (Bandyopadhyay, Kindra & Sharp, 2001; Gunter, Oates & Blades, 2004; Rose, Merchant & Bakir, 2012), children's understandings of character portrayals are determined by the nature and contexts of its message. With this regard, results

show that fictions addressed to children may not be sharply criticized as non-fictional narratives. The most attractive advertisements are for children, the less critical attitude they have to its message.

Consistent with the content analysis, this study showed that children structure/organize body image interpretations with the support of the advertising message. Children decode depicted body images as contextualized grammars within larger communicative structures. Body image portrayals are structured in the media (and cultural) images of beauty, health, or attractiveness. Moreover, these images get connected with the commercial values promoted by advertisers.

Children reconstitute body images based on the suggested traits by advertising. They contextualize them with their own experience to (re)signify their meaning. Advertisers, on their part, based their communication in stereotyped imagery so that they can have efficacy with their message. From time to time, children deal with messages that do not correspond with their reality. To this respect, consistent with prior research (Bakir, Blodgett & Rose, 2008; Gentry & Harrison, 2010; Lemish, 2010), this study has shown that children interpret body image portrayals according to beauty, gender, body, and ethnic stereotypes.

Beyond the physical traits, stereotyped body imagery is supported on advertising's narratives. As observed in this study, children associate attractiveness to brand and products. In this way, both advertisers and audience get involved the elaboration of images of happiness, fun, and success. The normative bodies naturalize the prescribed advertising scenery (Gill, 2008; Sossa Rojas, 2011)

Nonetheless, children also deal with body image portrayals by elaborating critical judgments about the characters' appearance. Concerning this study, body image in characters has a reason for scrutiny among some children. Children's media literacy skills provide them with critical understandings of advertising portrayals. Consistent with Buckingham (2013), children perform as active readers who try to interpret what is happening beyond the screen. Children are aware of advertising production techniques that modify body image. According to this study, this ability is limited among younger audiences, however.

Lastly, this study has pointed out the awareness some children have to judge the commodification of the body in advertising. Similar to Machado & Ataíde (2017), minors elaborate a moral gaze concerning the body. Within the different focus groups, children have expressed disapproval for the exhibition of the nude body

in advertising. The commodification of body parts was notably judged. Conversely, children also showed interest in describing the messages they had watched. This situation connects with Merskin's (2004) assumption that although denied, both children and teens connect media images with sexual imagery.

7.2.2. Embodying the body image, and the body ideals

Through qualitative research with children, this study has provided novel insights concerning the social implication of advertising portrayals in minor's body imaginaries. Similar to prior studies (Dittmar, 2006; Grogan, 2016; Jiménez-Morales, 2016), results indicate that advertising has a mediating role in the discourse construction of body representations. The study, therefore, contributes to the current debate concerning the postmodern role of advertising in the embodiment of identities (Bordo, 2004; Gill, 2008; Izquierdo, 2008; Muñoz, Juárez & Ludeña, 2012; Uhart, 2004)

Consistent with Carrillo, Jiménez Morales & Hernández (2011), this study has revealed that advertising performs as a relevant source of information concerning body image and appearance. By consuming ads, children get to know the body values, practices, and policies that shape the bodies in society. Children (6 to 9) deal with contemporary narratives that influence their identities/subjectivities. Nevertheless, the study has evidenced that advertising portrayals do not operate as the primary models for body image. By the contrary, participant children have pointed family and friends as their inspirational models. This result is similar to similar studies that have underlined family and peers are the primary source in the body image construction, and pressure (Hayes & Tantleff-Dunn, 2010; Knauss, Paxton & Alsaker, 2007; Ricciardelli & McCabe, 2001).

Moreover, a relevant finding in this study is the positive perception children have concerning their self-body image. Although this assumption should be more accurate if measured with more precise instruments and scales, the qualitative approach has established that participant children care for their body in the positive way they talk about it. Conversely, observed data also indicates that children worry about their physical appearance. Nevertheless, supporting in Sama (2011), this study considers these children's opinions do not meet body image dissatisfaction but common concerns during growth and development.

Following a critical perspective, this study has examined, to some extent, the role of advertising in children's configuration of body imagery (Ibáñez, 2002; Pompeu, 2019; Sierra Caballero, 2017). Findings revealed that body images

representations and discourse do not operate solely. Children imagery is well connected to media and cultural imagery. Children are familiar with advertising content at the same level they are with their social and media environment. To this respect, as suggested by Corrales (2015), the valuable asset of advertising lies in the intertextuality of its message. With this regard, the efficacy of depicted body image is connected to cultural images and stereotypes.

As observed in this study, children associate depicted body image to other media characters. An interesting finding in the study was the way some children called the depicted characters. Body image portrayals are familiar with singers, actors, YouTubers, and sportspeople. Children's fascination for media characters connects with their advertising portrayal. Similar to Natarajan & Chawla, celebrity endorsement not only does promote brand or products, but also they cope with the idea of building identity and community.

In line with Featherstone's (2010) assumption that celebrities are an essential promoter of body image, this study has shown that children engage in advertising characters by their mediated body image. Children show interest in advertising images due to their symbolic value. This can be explained in terms of a body-commodity (Sossa Rojas, 2011). Children consume/like/use and socialize with those images that connected to their interest.

This study has observed that children show significant interest in the physical aspect of characters. Children manifest interest in the hair and face. By expressing their preferences, children manifest identification in such physical traits. In this line, this study has manifested children are primarily interested in the physical appearance of characters (Jiménez Morales, 2006). By defining their preferences, children also elaborate ideas concerning body stereotypes which legitimize the body image ideals.

Likewise, children elaborate on the concept of beauty based on advertising and media and stereotypes. Similar to prior research (Mak, 2007; Redmon, 2003). For most children, beauty is connected to the skin and hair color. The white model raises as referential in contrast to other body models. Beauty is constructed supporting in the gender-biased image (Chan, et al., 2011). Beauty is constructed as a sign of femininity and subordination in comparison to masculinity (Bernárdez, 2009; Goffman, 2002, Wolf, 2002).

Similarly, the concept of beauty is also instrumentalized; As argued by the critical theorist of the body (Esteban, 2013; Hakim, 2010; Moreno Pestaña, 2016), children's construction of body image gets connected to the ideals of power and

economy. For instance, interviewed children associated beauty as a means to get (social) capital values (to get a job, get married, be accepted by others).

To this respect, body image representations in advertising contribute to the reproduction of gender stereotypes. As observed in the study, children connect depicted images to the sociocultural images of femininity and masculinity. Similar to Bordo, 2004, femininity is linked to the images of slenderness and fragility. By the contrary, male image is muscled and active.

Finally, it is noteworthy the way advertising images contribute to the images of health. On the hand, children are critical to manifest advertising provided an unhealthy message. On the other, the appropriate suggested images as a referential model of beauty and health. Conversely, Advertising contributes to fattening people in the same way to make it healthy (Crawford, 2002).

7.3. SOME CONCLUDING IDEAS

This chapter has discussed the relevant findings in the research. Although the current state of research concerning body image, children and advertising is still limited, results in the study have been compared with those studies exploring advertising and its effects from different fields of research. The approach of this study has enriched the analysis by providing knowledge of the object of study. Some relevant remarks can be pointed as follows:

- Similar to the current research, the analyzed advertising is mostly composed of food advertising. An inquiry to the product category determined energy-dense and non-healthy products (EDNP) are mostly promoted. Most advertisers promoting these products make use of alluring appeals to catch children attention. Positive emotions like happiness and having fun are the most popular claims among advertisers.
- Body image is still very constrained in advertising to children which suggest the promotion of stereotyped body canons. Similar to other researches, this study determined advertisers mostly address a consistent representation of body image which is basically supported on four body models: the white body, the slender body, the young body, and the genderized body.
- Gender representations in analyzed advertisements may still promote a biased body image. Consistent with what has been argued in similar research; the representations of masculinity and femininity are highly connected to body stereotypes. Furthermore, in concordance with the

existing literature, this study shows the female characters in advertising still take a secondary role.

- The examination of the body image as an appealing element in advertising key message concluded that the body is not significantly used for this purpose. Nevertheless, when occurred, child body image was mostly used. This observation is connected to what has been discussed in the preceding literature, although there are few existing empirical works.
- In concordance with different studies, this research has concluded that children have competences to understand advertising message. Age is a relevant factor in understanding the different advertising feature. With this regard, it is necessary to underline that children have different competences to understand the body image depictions.
- The analysis of the implications of advertising message approach to similar studies in the field. Findings mostly determined body image does not have a direct influence on children's self-body image but the construction of stereotypes. Thus, advertising images guide children's perceptions and attitudes to the images of gender and body canons. Moreover, they influence the appropriation of body policies and practices.

CONCLUSIONS

This study has provided a more complex understanding of body image representations in television advertising and among the audience. By analyzing the most-viewed advertisements during the first half of 2015, and its mediating role in children's body imaginaries, this study contributes to the knowledge of an almost unexplored research topic.

Concerning (RA1), the analysis of the body image representations in the most-viewed advertising by young children (ages 6 to 9), this study has shown that children are exposed to ambiguous body image portrayals which may influence children's health and well-being. On the one hand, content analysis notably shows that children are exposed to appealing representations that promote unhealthy habits, disseminate stereotypes, and exploits children's sensations and emotions for the benefit of market corporations.

The analysis of advertising features demonstrates that minors consume a large proportion of food advertising. The study, therefore, shows that contrary to the current regulations and health policies, children are exposed to the consumption of unhealthy message. This finding becomes worrying when observing the characteristics of these ads. Most advertisers decide to promote cereals, sweets, and energy-dense beverages through positive narratives and alluring characters. Fostering fantasy worlds, advertisers aim to reach children while avoiding the regulatory codes strategically.

Another controversial finding in this study is the ambiguity of body image portrayals. As observed in the analysis, body image depictions are structured in narrative contexts which may contribute to the reproduction of stereotypes. Like in similar research, this study underlines the prescription of whiteness and slenderness as the body norm. Since diversity is scarcely represented, advertising offers a constrained construction of body image. Moreover, the prescription of these body image ideals is attached to stereotyped discourses. Both whiteness and beauty are portrayed as signs of beauty, success, and distinction. Similarly, they are envisioned as cultural images of consumption.

Furthermore, this study has revealed the role of advertising construction in the dissemination of gender stereotypes. In line with preceding research works, this study evidences children are exposed to gender biases. The images of femininity are depicted in coexistence gender imaginaries and stereotypes. Female characters are mostly depicted with slender body size. The contextualized narratives in advertising suggest physical appearance is the added value of female body image. While the male characters in advertising are shown leading roles and actions, female characters remain subordinated. While boys have fun, girls perform as supporting or characters or 'decorative' objects.

Additionally, this study shows gender stereotypes in advertising influence in the depiction of body image and appearance of characters. While femininity is constrained to the beauty canons and ideals, male representations are diverse. Although male characters are also subjected to heteronormative ideals, physical appearance is not scrutinized in the same way.

Lastly, the content analysis also revealed that body image might operate as a surplus-value in advertising's key message. Although the identified cases were limited, the study showed the subtle way advertisers use body image and body imagery to appeal to children. Body portrayals operate as transferable objects in advertising. By appealing the body values, marketers connect advertising's depictions and consumers' representations in semiotic transactions. To this respect, the images of advertising enhance the subjective worlds of audience connecting market demands to consumer needs and legitimizing them as a personal interest.

Concerning the second research aim (RA2), the analysis of the mediating role of advertising in children's body imaginaries, this study concluded that advertising portrayals have implications in children's body imaginaries. Although children perform literacy skills to deal with the commercial purpose of advertising, this study found that participant children still have limited skills to deal with body image portrayals.

Findings in this study suggest that children have adequate knowledge to recognize advertising within television content. Similar to prior research, this research reveals that participant children manage conceptual knowledge of advertising to a large extent. All children hardly reach situational knowledge of advertising. While older children identified, for instance, advertising strategies and advertising bias, young children position in less proficient skills. Nonetheless, all children were capable of expressing attitudes to advertising message and character portrayals. With this regard, children showed skeptical of some

advertisements. To this respect, advertising category and features are fundamental to have critical readings. As observed in the study, children do not judge with the same rigor those ads selling products for adults that those promote goods for children.

Finally, this study has shown that body image portrays in advertising operated as grammars or structures that children make use in order to make sense of the body image literacies. With this positioning, this study considers that beyond the cause-effect relation between advertising consumption and children's body image (construction and satisfaction), advertising should also be observed as a socializing element which interferes in the construction of embodied identities and subjectivities. To this respect, the present study has revealed that advertising message mediates in the activation and reproductions of embodied images and stereotypes.

Children observe body image in advertising in connection with societal values. Advertising, therefore, reinforces the cultural schemes concerning body image discourses. It has a potential role in the transmission and consolidation of body policies and body practices. With the construction and appropriation of a consumerist ethos, images of beauty, slenderness, masculinity, and femininity become legitimized.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY AND FUTURE RESEARCH

In the current context of public health in Spain —the rising prevalence of obesity among younger children and adolescents— this study offers inputs to discuss the responsibility of advertisers and market corporations. Although the Spanish government has carried out health policies and initiatives to counteract what has become a major health problem, the food industry is still highly present in children's advertising. Moreover, it seems that it has become more aggressive as it makes uses of subtle techniques to deal with the current regulation codes. Future research should observe the role of food advertising in children's body image construction and satisfaction among healthy and overweight child populations. This approach could better explain some of the current assumptions regarding the powerful effects of advertising, the structure of its message and efficacy.

Furthermore, the analysis of body image portrayals should be considered to focus on stronger regulations that watch for the unintended effects of advertising. Not only should regulations supervise the informative dimension of

advertising, but also its symbolic efficacy. This study reveals that stronger policies are necessary at any advertising category to change the patterns that communicate body image. In this line, future research should consider the identification of new narratives and patterns, and the efficacy they have on children's body image representations. In this line, this study suggests challenging the gender-biased in advertising. Advertising to children offers images that mislead gender imaginaries and relations. To this respect, it is necessary advertiser and corporation advocate for gender equity in terms of body image representations.

Furthermore, this research offers some inputs to outline advertising literacy initiatives. Based on the findings, this research urges educational practices to promote a better understanding of advertising and media content. Although children (6 to 9) are aware of the commercial purpose of advertising, this study revealed they are not fully aware of the nature of its content. Advertising literacy should seek to train children's abilities to deal with subtle techniques. Additionally, advertising literacy initiatives must enhance children abilities to deal with the emotional dimension of advertising. As observed in this study, emotional claim is a powerful device to reach children. Much of the efficacy advertising message has is connected to the sensibilities and emotions it suggests in the child audience. Advertising literacy to enhance children's body image should involve emotional education to strength both children's self-esteem and social relations, including the relationship they have with media and advertising.

LIMITATIONS

This study has been limited to analyze the most-viewed television advertising among children (6 to 9). The study has shown consistent results with prior content analyses concluding that advertising prescribed stereotyped body canons. Nevertheless, a discursive and metalinguistic analysis of children's advertising may provide a better understanding of the symbolic construction and restitution of body image. The analysis of textual and contextual such as metaphors, colors, music, and intertextuality of advertising may help to identify the cognitive patterns engage children with advertising's representations and discourses. Moreover, besides identifying these elements, future research must consider evaluating their effects and cultural efficacy.

This study has shown that advertising has a pedagogical role in children's understanding of body image. The nature of the study limits results to the explored dimension (television advertising), and the portrayals consumed in the

most viewed ads. Due to modern advertising is a more complex (and integrated) system of communication, further research is recommended to understand its role. To this respect, this study suggests an increasing consumption of digital media, and therefore, online advertising. Future research should analyze body image in the new advertising formats as well as to appraise their efficacy.

Future research should also take into consideration new methods and research techniques. The qualitative approach offers much useful insight to draw child audience; nonetheless, methods such as the experimental or ethnographic research could provide more consistent conclusions. Experimental research may be needed to determine the associated factors in children's relation to advertising and the effects on body image perception and satisfaction. Ethnographic studies, on their part, can describe the processes that facilitated the learning of body image literacies.

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ANNEXES

**ANNEX 1: ANALYZED SAMPLE OF ADVERTISEMENTS
(KANTAR MEDIA Semester 01/2015)**

	ANNOUNCER	GRP'S CHILDREN 5-9 YEARS
1	PEDIASURE	6,694
2	MINI BABYBEL	3,839
3	DANONE/ACTIMEL	3,267
4	MC.DONALD'S/HAPPY MEAL	3,097
5	LA NEVERA ROJA	2,721
6	LA PIARA/PATE	2,477
7	GELOCATIL/MEDICAMENTO	2,430
8	NESQUIK	2,327
9	COLA CAO	2,250
10	CUETARA/TOSTA RICA	2,129
11	PHOSKITOS	1,933
12	DODOT/GAMA PAÑALES	1,699
13	SUNNY SPORT/REFRESCOS	1,508
14	LA VACA QUE RIE/PALITOS	1,490
15	ARTIACH/OSITOS	1,415
16	CARREFOUR/HIPERMERCAD	1,370
17	TOMORROWLAND/TRAILER	1,333
18	LACASITOS	1,317
19	WIMDU.ES	1,302
20	LIDL/SUPERMERCADO	1,269
21	NESTLE LION/CEREALES	1,247
22	MAGIC BOX /ZOMLINGS	1,245
23	BURGER KING/MENU DIVERKING	1,221
24	VANISH GOLD	1,201
25	JURASSIC WORLD/P.CINE	1,196
26	DIA/SUPERMERCADOS	1,181
27	JAZZTEL/ADSL+MOVIL	1,169
28	KIRI/PORCIONES QUESO	1,143
29	BIMBO/KEKOS/BIZCOCHOS	1,123
30	KELLOGG'S/CHOCO KRISP	1,110
31	BIG HERO 6/P.CINE	1,098
32	JOHNSON'S/BABY/GAMA	1,060
33	COLON/VANISH/DERTERGENTE	1,056
34	PANINI/STAKS INVIZIMALS:LA RESISTENCIA/IMANES	1,051
35	ARTIACH/DINOSAURUS/GALLETAS	1,044
36	NUTREXPA/PALADIN/MINUTO	1,044
37	LOWI.ES	1,042
38	MUTUA MADRILEÑA AUTOMOVILISTA	1,042
39	INTO THE WOODS/P.CINE	1,042
40	INISTOLIN PEDIATRICO/JARABE	1,034

41	VODAFONE/ONE	1,034
42	BOSCH-CALGONIT	1,019
43	DISNEY ON ICE/100 AÑOS DE MAGIA/ESPECTACULO	969
44	COCA COLA	959
45	EL LIBRO DE LA VIDA/P.CINE	952
46	PADDINGTON/P.CINE	947
47	LINEA DIRECTA ASEGURADORA/COCHES-MOTOS	936
48	TRINA/REFRESCO	929
49	WWW.TRIVAGO.ES	921
50	CUETARA/CHOCO FLAKES	921
51	BOB ESPONJA:UN HEROE FUERA DEL AGUA/P.CINE	907
52	WWW.VIVUS.ES	898
53	LA BELLA EASO/WEIKIS	862
54	RIVES/TROPIC	862
55	CHEETOS/THE SIMPSONS	841
56	PANRICO/BOLLYCAO	831
57	NOCHE EN EL MUSEO: EL SECRETO DEL FARAON/P.CINE	829
58	DON SIMON/NARANJA EXPRIMIDA PREMIUM/ZUMO	826
59	PANRICO/BOLLYCAO VAP'S/BIZCOCHITO HORNEADO AL VAPOR	822
60	PANINI/ADRENALYN XL/JUEGO DE CARTAS	821
61	BOING/REVISTA	819
62	CENICIENTA/P.CINE	802
63	ZESPRI/KIWIS	790
64	NENUCO/AGUA DE COLONIA	770
65	NOCILLA/CREMA CACAO	761
66	OPTICALIA/OPTICO	759
67	JUVER/ZUMOS	754
68	HIPERCOR/SUPERMERCADO	745
69	LA VACA QUE RIE/SABOR CAMPESINO	739
70	CANAL+	732
71	EDARLING.ES	724
72	FRENADOL/JUNIOR/COMPRIMIDOS EFERVESCENTES	719
73	CIFE/DISNEY TSUM TSUM/PELUCHES	716
74	BIG HERO 6/DVD-BLU RAY	710
75	NISSAN/PULSAR	707
76	ONO/INTERNET-MOVIL	697
77	DENTIX/CLINICA DENTAL	695
78	ING DIRECT/CUENTA NOMINA	685
79	NINTENDO/TOMODACHI LIFE/VIDEOJUEGO	673
80	MOVISTAR/FUSION TV	672
81	DISNEYLAND-PARIS	671
82	AQUARIUS	668
83	BOEHRINGER INGELHEIM/LIZIPAINA	664
84	FRENADOL/DESCONGESTIVO	657
85	LOS MINIONS/P.CINE	649
86	GIOCHI PREZIOSI/MUTANT MANIA/MUÑECOS	640
87	HS/CHAMPU ANTICASPA	637
88	SIMON LIFE/BEB.FRUTA	630
89	CLAN/REVISTA	628

90	BISOLVON/ANTITUSIVO COMPOSITUM- MUCOLITICO/JARABE	623
91	NESTLE/PIRULO JUNGLY LIMA LIMON/HELADO	600
92	COLGATE/MAX WHITE ONE OPTIC/DENTIFRICO	598
93	PANRICO/DONUTS	594
94	WWW.QUEBUENO.ES	589
95	GIOSEPPO/CALZADO	583
96	DISNEY BABY/PRODUCTOS INFANTILES	578
97	CANAL+/YOMVI	577
98	LA CASA DE MICKEY MOUSE/COLECCIONABLE	576
99	SUNNY DELIGHT/REFRES.	574
100	EL CORTE INGLES	573

ANNEX 2:

SPECIFIC CATEGORIES FOR VARIABLES IN CONDUCTED CONTENT ANALYSIS

ANALYZED VARIABLES FOR ADVERTISEMENTS

DIMENSION	SPECIFIC VARIABLES	CODES AND CATEGORIES
GENERAL FEATURES	Target age	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Infants (0-5 years) 2. Children (6 -12 years) 3. Adolescents (13-19 years) 4. Children and adolescents 5. Young adults (20-40 years) 6. Middle-aged adults (40-60 years) 7. Elderly adults (60 + years) 8. Several age groups
	Target gender	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Men 2. Women 3. Both
	Type of advertising	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Product 2. Service
	Category of advertising	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Food and drinks 2. TV promos 3. Clothes and personal accessories 4. Informatics 5. Supermarket 6. Medicine 7. Banking and Finance 8. Other products 9. Other services
	Subcategory of advertising	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Daily food products 2. Media content 3. Drinks 4. Snacks and sweets 5. Medicine and drugs 6. Clothes and accessories 7. Mobile company 8. Apps and websites 9. Hygiene products 10. Insurance company 11. Home items 12. Travel and leisure 13. Credit and loans 14. Health service 15. Luxury items

(Continue)

ANALYZED VARIABLES FOR ADVERTISEMENTS

(Continued)

DIMENSION	SPECIFIC VARIABLES	CODES AND CATEGORIES
STRUCTURAL FEATURES	Themes	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Having fun 2. Imply benefits 3. Relaxation 4. Caring for health 5. Solving problems 6. No identified
	Narrative contexts	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Leisure and recreation 2. Product demonstration 3. Combat or war 4. Caring for others 5. Personal care 6. Personal enjoyment 7. Work or study 8. Solving problems 9. No identified
	Prescription of message	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Have fun 2. Save money 3. Solve problems 4. Explicit sale or promotion 5. Personal benefit 6. Benefits for home 7. Social support

ANALYZED VARIABLES FOR CHARACTERS

DIMENSION	SPECIFIC VARIABLES	CODES AND CATEGORIES
GENERAL FEATURES	Acting role	1. Main 2. Supporting
	Specie	1. Human 2. Animal 3. Other
	Gender	1. Men 2. Women 3. Mixed
	Type of actor	1. Solo 2. Group
	Appearance	1. Alone 2. Twosome same gender 3. Twosome different gender 4. Same gender group 5. Mixed group
	Age	1. Infant (0-5 years) 2. Children (6-12 years) 3. Adolescent (13-19 years) 4. Young adult (20-40 years) 5. Middle-aged adult (40-59 years) 6. Elderly adult (60 + years) 7. No visualized
	Socioeconomic status	1. High class 2. Middle class 3. Low class 4. No visualized

(Continue)

ANALYZED VARIABLES FOR CHARACTERS

(Continued)

DIMENSION	SPECIFIC VARIABLES	CODES AND CATEGORIES
ROLES OF CHARACTERS	Familiar	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mother or father 2. Son or daughter 3. Brother or sister 4. Grandmother or grandfather 5. Uncle or aunt 6. Cousin 7. Other 8. No visualized
	Occupational	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Professional 2. Worker 3. Scientific 4. Celebrity 5. Student 6. Other 7. No visualized
	Relational	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Boyfriend or girlfriend 2. Friend 3. School mate, colleague 4. Hero or heroine 5. Villain 6. Other 7. No visualized
PSYCHOSOCIAL TRAITS	Mood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Happy, motivated, excited 2. Sad, afflicted, depressed 3. Angry, upset, annoyed 4. Awesome, surprised, shocked 5. Tired, sick, weak, bored 6. Ashamed, distressed, anxious 7. Healthy, hungry, energetic 8. No visualized
	Personality	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Introverted: quiet, timid, insecure o vulnerable 2. Extroverted: sociable, talkative, kind, generous 3. Stable: reliable, calm, self- confident 4. Unstable: irritable, ruthless, negligent, carless, selfish 5. No visualized

(Continue)

ANALYZED VARIABLES FOR CHARACTERS

(Continued)

DIMENSION	SPECIFIC VARIABLES	CODES AND CATEGORIES
BODY VISION	Body vision	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Full shot 2. American shot 3. Medium shot 4. Close up
PHYSICAL TRAITS	Body Type	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Athletic or muscled 2. Skinny 3. Slim 4. Slim with wide hips 5. Fatty 6. No visualized
	Muscle Type	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Flabby 2. Weak 3. Average 4. Muscle tone 5. Strong 6. No visualized
	Skin complexion	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. White 2. Brunette 3. Mulatto 4. Black 5. Other 6. No visualized
FACIAL TRAITS	Color of eyes	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Blue 2. Green 3. Brown 4. Black 5. No visualized
	Color of hair	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bald 2. Blonde 3. Brown 4. Black 5. Red 6. Grey, white 7. Other 8. No visualized
	Length of hair	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Short 2. Above the shoulder 3. Under the shoulder 4. Long to back 5. Bald 6. No visualized

(Continue)

ANALYZED VARIABLES FOR CHARACTERS

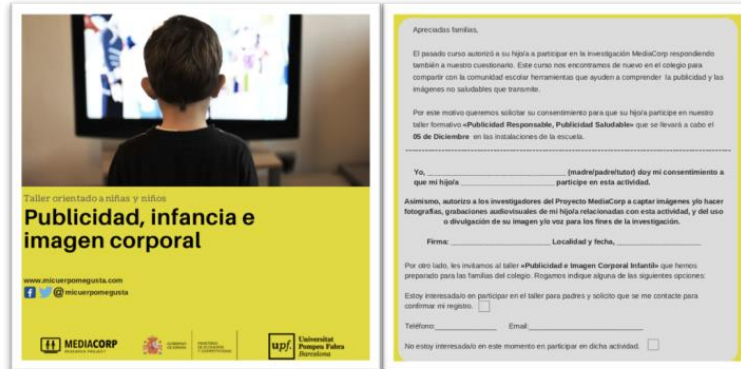
(Continued)

DIMENSION	SPECIFIC VARIABLES	CODES AND CATEGORIES
DRESSING	Clothing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Naked 2. Underwear, pajama, swimming suit 3. Informal 4. Formal 5. Working uniform 6. Party dress 7. Sport clothes 8. Other 9. No visualized
	Dressing style	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Untidy 2. Sensual 3. Casual 4. Conservative 5. Urban tribe 6. Other 7. No visualized
ACTIONS AND PLACE	Actions	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Play, get fun, spend free time 2. Eat, cook 3. Care for him, herself, exercise 4. Care for others, give advice 5. Work, study 6. Clean, do housework 7. Sleep, relax 8. Show product 9. Argue 10. Think, mediate, reflect 11. Fight 12. Others
	Locations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Park, street, home outdoors 2. Home indoors 3. Working place 4. School 5. Gym, sport club 6. Plato, TV studio 7. Restaurant 8. Inside any transportation 9. Other

ANALYZED VARIABLES FOR BODY AS A MESSAGE

DIMENSION	SPECIFIC VARIABLES	CODES AND CATEGORIES
EMPHASIS OF BODY IMAGE	Body as a message	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No
	Emphasized body part	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Full body 2. Face 3. Hands 4. Arms 5. Breast or torso 6. Legs 7. Hips or backside 8. Belly or waists
RESOURCES	Sound effects	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Jingle (original song) 2. No original song 3. Original instrumental song 4. No original instrumental song 5. Other sound effects 6. No sound effects
	Visual effects	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Takes and shots 2. Graphics 3. Other visual effects 4. No visual effects
	Textual effects	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Text 2. Character's voice over 3. Female voice over 4. Male voice over 5. Child boy voice over 6. Child girl voice over 7. Other textual resources 8. No textual resources

ANNEX 3: AGREEMENT CONSENT FOR PARTICIPANT CHILDREN



The image shows a thumbnail of the consent form and flyer. The flyer on the left features a photo of a child watching a screen, with the text: "Taller orientado a niñas y niños", "Publicidad, infancia e imagen corporal", "www.mediacorpomgusta.com", and logos for MediaCorp, UPF, and the University of Valencia. The consent form on the right contains the following text:

Apreciadas familias,

El pasado curso autorizó a su hijo/a a participar en la investigación MediaCorp respondiendo también a nuestro cuestionario. Este curso nos encontramos de nuevo en el colegio para compartir con la comunidad escolar herramientas que ayuden a comprender la publicidad y las imágenes no saludables que transmite.

Por este motivo queremos solicitar su consentimiento para que su hijo/a participe en nuestro taller formativo «Publicidad Responsable, Publicidad Saludable» que se llevará a cabo el **05 de Diciembre** en las instalaciones de la escuela.

Yo, _____ (madre/padre/tutor) doy mi consentimiento a que mi hijo/a _____ participe en esta actividad.

Asimismo, autorizo a los investigadores del Proyecto MediaCorp a captar imágenes y/o hacer fotografías, grabaciones audiovisuales de mi hijo/a relacionadas con esta actividad, y del uso o divulgación de su imagen y/o voz para los fines de la investigación.

Firma: _____ Localidad y fecha, _____

Por otro lado, les invitamos al taller «Publicidad e Imagen Corporal Infantil» que hemos preparado para las familias del colegio. Rogamos indique alguna de las siguientes opciones:

Estoy interesada/o en participar en el taller para padres y solicito que se me contacte para confirmar mi registro.

Teléfono: _____ Email: _____

No estoy interesada/o en este momento en participar en dicha actividad.

Apreciadas familias,

El pasado curso autorizó a su hijo/a a participar en la investigación MediaCorp respondiendo también a nuestro cuestionario. Este curso nos encontramos de nuevo en el colegio para compartir con la comunidad escolar herramientas que ayuden a comprender la publicidad y las imágenes no saludables que transmite.

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Firma: _____ Localidad y fecha, _____

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Estoy interesada/o en participar en el taller para padres y solicito que se me contacte para confirmar mi registro.

Teléfono: _____ Email: _____

No estoy interesada/o en este momento en participar en dicha actividad.

ANNEX 4: PROTOCOL TO CONDUCT FOCUS GROUPS

«SOY UN PERSONAJE QUÉ» (GUESS WHO)
INVESTIGACIÓN CUALITATIVA CON MENORES.
SÁNCHEZ REINA, J.R (2017). «Representaciones de la Imagen Corporal de la Publicidad. Propuesta de Investigación Cualitativa con Menores». Documento de trabajo. Proyecto MediaCorp, UPF.

Se propone el juego y la conversación como técnica conjunta de investigación para acceder a los discursos y con ello a las representaciones e imaginarios de la imagen corporal en y de la publicidad. Como material de trabajo se propone utilizar las imágenes de los anuncios con mayor impacto publicitario (GPRs) analizada como parte del objetivo 4. Como recursos se emplea la idea del juego de cartas con imágenes inspirada en Dixit.

OBJETIVOS DE LA HERRAMIENTA:

- Explorar las representaciones de imágenes corporales con las que se relacionan y socializan los y las menores.
- Identificar las imágenes corporales (no) saludables que reconocen los menores en esta publicidad.

Metodología de Investigación:

El juego estará conformado por:

- Un adulto que organiza la partida, los turnos, explica las reglas y asigna las puntuaciones.
- Un observador (que toma nota de lo que ocurre durante el juego).
- Un adulto (que puede participar o no, e introducirá los insights de la investigación).
- Seis jugadores (menores)

ORGANIZACIÓN DEL ESPACIO FÍSICO:

- El juego requiere de un espacio físico donde los participantes puedan colocarse cómodamente en círculo.

INSTRUCCIONES DEL JUEGO:

- El juego consiste en describir con una frase o narración al personaje de una carta seleccionada. Por tanto, consiste en hacer descripciones bien hechas que ayuden a los jugadores a escoger cartas para jugar, pero también para adivinar.
- La descripción se hará con una frase o narración en primera persona a manera de "Soy un personaje...".
- El narrador que tire la carta en la ronda dará al resto de jugadores pistas que describan de la mejor manera al personaje.
- Cada jugador deberá escoger entre sus cartas aquel personaje que esté mejor relacionado (sea más parecido a) con la historia del narrador.
- Todos los jugadores incluido el narrador, deberán poner bocabajo y sobre la mesa sus cartas.
- El adulto que organiza la partida, recogerá la carta, las revolverá y las pondrá bocarriba.

- El adulto pedirá a cada niño que adivine cuál es la carta que ha descrito el narrador.
Primera opción de insight: ¿Preguntar por qué creen que ése es el personaje? (Poner a discusión aquellos que resulten relevantes/interesantes tanto para los niños como para el investigador).
- Una vez que todas y todos los jugadores han seleccionado la posible carta, el narrador revela cuál fue la carta que describió.
Segunda opción: Según se repartan los puntos (veremos que algunos jugadores tendrán más, otros menos), preguntar a los jugadores por qué han escogido aquella carta como parte del juego.

INSTRUCCIONES (A MENORES) PARA DAR PISTAS:

Para dar pistas hemos de describir a los personajes. De acuerdo a posibles rasgos, podemos:

- Hablar de su aspecto físico (cómo son).
- Hablar de las cosas que hace.
- Hablar de su personalidad.
- De las tres cosas.

GUÍA DE POSIBLES PREGUNTAS EN EL DESARROLLO DE LA CONVERSACIÓN (DURANTE Y/O DESPUÉS DEL JUEGO):

- **Ámbito Personal:**
 - ¿Cómo es eres? ¿Cómo es tu cuerpo? ¿A quién te pareces? ¿Te pareces a estos personajes?
 - ¿Puedes hacer «esto» como tal personaje?
 - ¿Te gustaría salir en la televisión? ¿Cómo sería si salieras en la TV?
- **Ámbito Familiar:**
 - ¿Quién de estos personajes es como tu... madre/padre/hermano/a, abuelo/a? ¿Por qué?
 - ¿A quién te pareces más?
 - ¿Cómo quién de tu familia te gustaría ser?
- **Ámbito Social:**
 - ¿Quién de estos chicos os agrada para ser amigos? ¿Quién no? ¿por qué?
 - ¿Quién de estos personajes es feliz?
 - ¿Quién es inteligente/popular/éxito/famosos?
 - ¿Quién saca buenas notas?
- **Ámbito Salud:**
 - ¿Quién es delgado/gordo?
 - ¿Quién está sano/enfermo?
 - ¿Qué come la gente sana/enferma?
- **Ámbito mediático/publicidad?**
 - ¿Quiénes aparecen en televisión/en la publicidad?
 - ¿Quiénes no salen en la televisión?
 - ¿Qué hacen las personas que aparecen en la televisión?
 - ¿Quiénes ejecutan acciones que representan posiciones de poder?
 - ¿Os agradan los mensajes que ven en la publicidad?

ANNEX 5: FOCUS GROUPS. VERBATIMS IN SPANISH.

Verbatim 1 Arturo. FG4].	<i>Siempre veo [la televisión]. Mi madre no me deja verla en casa suya, la tele, pero en casa de mi padre, puedo verla por la mañana, por la tarde, por la noche, por toda la mañana.</i>
Verbatim 2 Gaby, FG1].	<i>Prefiero jugar, pero la veo cuando no hay que hacer. Porque sin mis padres no puedo salir fuera de casa, entonces me aburro y la veo.</i>
Verbatim 3 Horacio & Jenny, FG5	<i>Investigador: ¿Qué os gusta de la televisión? Horace: Pues a mí la política. Veo las noticias. Jenny: Yo veo los anuncios del tiempo y documentales.</i>
Verbatim 4 Mireia, Daniel, Ada & Arturo. FG4	<i>Mireia: Me gusta [la televisión] porque veo pelis chulas. Daniel: A mí porque veo YouTubers, juego videojuegos y veo dibujos. Ada :Yo veo películas de muerte. Arturo: ¡A mí me encanta la tele! Porque puedo ver al YouTuber Vegeta, a Fernan Flow y a Vaquita....</i>
Verbatim 5 [Alex & Gaby, FG7.	<i>Investigador: ¿Tienen algún anuncio favorito? Alex: A mí sí, los de playmobile, por ejemplo. Gaby: Los de Lego friends. Bueno, todos los anuncios nos hacen perder el tiempo, pero a mí me encantan los de Lego friends.</i>
Verbatim 6. Jenny & Xavi, FG5.	<i>Jenny: A mí me gusta la [publicidad] de juguetes y ya está. Y también la de los episodios de las series que me gustan. Xavi: A mí los [anuncios] de juguetes algunos, pero los que más me gustan son los trailers de videojuegos.</i>
[Verbatim 7. Leo, FG6]	<i>"Yo me río de los anuncios. Por ejemplo, el de 'va o no va' [campaña de reciclaje] Y por ejemplo. Hay un anuncio que es de ligar o de citas. Me río bastante de este comercial".</i>
[Verbatim 8. Betty, FG9]	<i>"Una cosa, pues yo he visto un anuncio de perfume. Había una señora en el coche, estaba conduciendo súper rápido [imita la situación frente al grupo]. Y salía del coche súper rápido y decía 'Chloé'. [Imita pronunciación] [El grupo se ríe].</i>
[Verbatim 9. Eloisa & Antonio, FG 7]	<i>Investigador: ¿Os gustan los anuncios? Eloisa: No, porque a veces yo estoy mirando alguna cosa, una película y van y lo interrumpen. Pasó tres veces que estaba mirando la película y la interrumpieron tres veces. Antonio: Yo pienso que no me gustan los anuncios. Estoy viendo una película y en medio se interrumpe y después no me acuerdo de lo que había pasado al principio y no...</i>
[Verbatim 10. Pilar, Irma, Mario & Majo, FG1]	<i>Pilar: Yo por eso... en mi televisión, cuando terminan los dibujos queda una larga, larga, larga pausa... por eso tengo un botón para avanzar rápido. Irma: A mí me gustan los de Disney channel porque anuncian juguetes. Mario: No me agradan mucho. Majo: A mí me hacen dormir. Pilar: A mí también. Pero me gustan los de Disney Channel. Me gustan cuando reclaman alguna cosa. Por ejemplo, el casco masajeador.</i>

Verbatim 11. Carla & Iris, FG8.	<p>Investigador: ¿Por qué no te gustan los anuncios? Carla: Porque a veces se chulean y dicen ‘!Compra esto! !qué guay!’ [dramatiza]. Investigador: ¿Y cuál es el problema con eso? Carla: ¡Qué a veces es mentira! Iris: Porque a veces hacen mentiras para que ganen dinero. Carla: Porque por ejemplo, a veces dicen ‘un casco que da masajes’ [imita voz] y cuando te lo pones, no sirve. Te va pequeño.</p>
[Verbatim 12. Alex & Gaby, FG7]	<p>Gaby: Los que hacen los anuncios, los hacen sólo para ¡comprar, comprar, comprar! ¡Compra eso! Alex: Y a veces, [los anunciantes] te muestran a una chica en la ducha. ¡Sale una chica en la ducha! Gaby: Salen chicas en la ducha que para vender un jabón así de pequeño, que vale no sé cuánto, tiene que haber una niña, una señora, despullada [desnuda] con las tetas así... [ríe].</p>
[Verbatim 13. Carla & Iris, FG8]	<p>Carla: Cómprate la capa de Ana y serás una niña Frozera. Iris: Serás la mar de buena. Serás Ana. Investigador: Todos estos mensajes, ¿son imaginarios? Carla: ¡Y chuletones! Se chulean para que compres.</p>
[Verbatim 14. Carla & Iris, FG8]	<p>Carla: [Los anuncios] se chulean. “¡Oh, qué galleta tan cuqui!” ... Iris: En estos anuncios de Cuétara dicen ‘con mis dibujos favoritos’ [teatraliza] cuando las galletas tienen dibujos. Les tienen que gustar a los niños porque son los que ven le tele.</p>
[Verbatim 15. Norma & Tania, FG9]	<p>Norma: Yo creo que es un poquito exagerada porque dice: “Con mis dibujos favoritos” y lo dicen un millón de veces. Tania: Y también lo que exageran es éste de Actimel porque no hace falta subirse a un avión sólo para enseñar un Actimel y empezar a luchar.</p>
[Verbatim 16. Tania, Manel & Norma, FG9]	<p>Tania: En el perfume exageran mucho. [Un hombre] empieza a romper muros, a romper muros... sale un lobo. No sé qué más. Y digo, ahora va a salir un perfume. Y sale ‘Dior’. Manel: Hugo Boss. En el de Hugo Boss es igual. Norma: En el de Hugo Boss, para una colonia tiene que salir gente así [pose masculina]. Y después te pone, “Boss, para hombres y mujeres, cómprala ya”.</p>
[Verbatim 17. Norma & Manel, FG9]	<p>Norma: Éste a veces está triste al empezar. Manel: Primero están tristes y luego le dan la cosa que anuncian y dicen “tengo súper energías. Soy la mejor del mundo”</p>
[Verbatim 18. Jenny, FG5]	<p>“A mí no me gusta el brócoli, pero si me dicen que tengo que hacer un anuncio de brócoli, me pongo contenta”.</p>
[Verbatim 19. Gaby, FG7]	<p>“No me gustan [los anuncios] porque yo creo que a veces en las publicidades obligan a los niños a hacer publicidades o algo así. Yo creo”</p>
[Verbatim 20. Tania, Manel & Norma, FG9]	<p>Investigador: ¿Por qué dices que nos engañan? Manel: Para que lo compremos aunque sea una marranada. Norma: Por ejemplo, ahora este Sunny Delight o Don Simón, pues dicen que es bueno para la salud porque hay zumo de naranja y es... Manel: Porque está el tío cachas que te lo recomienda ¡umm! Norma: Y entonces dicen que es bueno para la salud porque es de naranja y dicen que la naranja está muy buena, pero tú cuando lo compras, pues tiene el 100% de azúcar o el 100% de grasa.</p>

	<p>Manel: En la trina lo que he visto yo... Yo me he visto los ingredientes. A ver, los refrescos estos, y la trina tiene como máximo 10% de zumo de naranja y lo otro agua o azúcar.</p> <p>Tania: Es azúcar.</p>
[Verbatim 21. Carla & Iris, FG8]	<p>Carla: Mira, Don Simón no tiene tanta energía. Yo me tomé un Don Simón y no me dio energía para hacer un pino puente.</p> <p>Iris: No porque... dicen que te da súper energía y dicen que puede ir súper bien con el skate y no puedes hacerlo. Porque, quieren que te lo compres.</p>
[Verbatim 22. María & Irma, FG3]	<p>Investigador: Irma, ¿por qué te parece feo este personaje?</p> <p>Irma: No me gustan los que llevan barbita.</p> <p>María: A mí tampoco.</p> <p>Irma: Y porque tiene unos ojos azules y a mí me asustan los ojos azules.</p> <p>María: Todos en mi familia tenemos los ojos marrones.</p>
[Verbatim 23. Carla, FG8]	<p>Investigador: ¿Por qué crees que es un guapearas?</p> <p>Carla: Porque tiene tableta. Es súper guapo. Me casaría con él. Porque ya es mayor. Fuera de mi época. [risas].</p> <p>Investigador: ¿Qué te agrada de él?</p> <p>Carla: Pues su cara: su boca, su nariz, su pelo, sus orejas, su barba...</p>
[Verbatim 24. Laia, Carlos & Ara, FG2]	<p>Investigador: Laia, tú escogiste un personaje que tiene la melena más o menos larga, ¿por qué?</p> <p>Laia: No sé. A mí me parece guapo. Porque es rubio y es guapo.</p> <p>Carlos: Porque se ha enamorado de ese tío.</p> <p>Investigador: ¿Y si el personaje fuera moreno y de pelo oscuro?</p> <p>Laia: Ya no sería tan guapo, como éste.</p> <p>Carlos: Es feo y muy mal.</p> <p>Investigadora: ¿Y si le pintamos el pelo de rubio?</p> <p>Ara: No, no. No le quedaría un poco mal porque es moreno.</p> <p>Carlos: Sería un copión.</p>
[Verbatim 25. Alberto, FG2]	<p>Investigador: ¿Por qué crees que éste es un personaje guapo?</p> <p>Alberto: Porque parece a una barbie. Es una barbie y como tiene el pelo rubio y se ha pintado los labios. Yo creo que es guapa.</p> <p>researcher: Why do you think this is a beautiful character?</p> <p>Alberto: Because she looks like a Barbie. She is a Barbie, and she has blond hair and she has her lips colored. I think she's beautiful.</p>
[Verbatim 26. Majo, Mario & Pilar, FG3]	<p>Majo: Ésta [niña] se ve que está en el campo y no sabe andar en patinete.</p> <p>Mario: Sólo está así, tranquila. [Imita la pose]</p> <p>Majo Parece aburrida</p> <p>Mario: Le gusta la naturaleza.</p> <p>Pilar: Parece que está soñando en un chico.</p>
[Verbatim 27. Daniel, Ada & Mireya, FG4]	<p>Investigador: Daniel, si fueras esta chica, ¿qué estarías pensando?</p> <p>Daniel: Yo estaría pensando que voy a sacar buenas notas en los exámenes.</p> <p>Ada: Estaría pensando que sería una princesa que tiene alas.</p> <p>Mireya: [Pensaría en un paraíso o en un dragón.</p>
[Verbatim 28. Mario, FG3]	<p>"Éste es un machote.... Se cree el más fuerte del mundo, de la galaxia".</p>
[Verbatim 29. Agustín, FG6]	<p>"Éste tío es fuerte. Hace deporte. Le gusta nadar".</p>
[Verbatim 30. Carla, FG8]	<p>"Este es el guapearas con tableta"</p>
[Verbatim 31. Mike & Jenny, FG5]	<p>Investigador: Has dicho que tiene un 'cuerpo normal', ¿Cómo es un cuerpo normal?</p>

	<p>Mike: Ni muy gordo ni muy flaco. Jenny: Ni flaquito ni... [Indica grande/gordo con las manos]</p>
[Verbatim 32. Leo, Miriam & Siara, FG6]	<p>Leo: A ver, ¿quién puso que éste [personaje] es flaco? Este de flaco no tiene nada. Miriam: Es flaco, de verdad. Investigador: Y entonces, ¿cómo es el cuerpo de éste? Siara: Gordo, feo, Leo: No sé porque está aquí. Es un tipo raro, muy raro. Investigador: ¿Por qué crees que este personaje sea flaco y forzado? Miriam: Le va la camiseta muy grande, entonces parece que está muy gordo. Siara: Es flaquísimo de la vida. No me casaría con él nunca.</p>
[Verbatim 33. Carlos, Alberto & Ara, FG2]	<p>Carlos: Es un personaje muy feo. Es negra. Alberto: Sí. Investigadora: ¿Por qué es muy feo ese personaje? Carlos: Porque es negra. Alberto: Es verdad, es un poquito... [hace una mueca]. Investigadora: Carlos acaba de decir que es un personaje feo y Alberto está de acuerdo, los demás ¿que pensáis? Ara: Yo por el brazo un poco. Alberto: Yo también, por [el gesto que hace con] el brazo. Ara: Yo creo que un poco, pero no tanto. Alberto: Pero porque hace así también. 'Muy malament [mal] lo has hecho'</p>
[Verbatim 34. Pilar, Mario, Irma & Majo, FG3]	<p>Investigador: ¿Por qué no es bonita? Pilar: ... porque tiene una cara de árabe. Investigador: ¿Qué quieres decir? Pilar: Una cara de árabe. Investigadora: ¿Pensáis que tiene cara de árabe? ¿Eso la hace guapa, la hace fea? Mario: Más fea y tiene que tener la cara más marrón para que sea más.... Investigadora: ¿Eso lo haría guapa? Irma: Más fea. Mario: Como el Alan, o como el Ibrahim. Majo: Y porque la sonrisa la tiene... [Se toca la boca]. Investigadora: Y si fuera más blanca, ¿sería? Pilar: Sería más bonita si tuviera la piel más blanca. Irma: Sí, más bonita.</p>
[Verbatim 35. José, Tania, Marta & Manel, FG9]	<p>José: Ésta [mujer] tiene Photoshop. Investigador: ¿Qué es lo que ves retocado? José: Los ojos. Tania: La cara. Marta: Los labios. Manel: Esto es blanco [se refiere al pelo].</p>
[Verbatim 36. Gaby & Alex, FG7]	<p>Gaby: Esto se nota que es de ordenador. Alex: Tiene los labios muy rojos. Gaby: Como la Shakira que es todo... que es todo... Bueno, sólo los dientes son de ordenador.</p>
[Verbatim 37. Carla, Óscar, Celia & Iris, FG8].	<p>Carla: Le han cambiado la cara o algo así. Óscar: Es más feo en real. Celia: Para cuando sale en la televisión le ponen la belleza. Iris: Como en las pelis.</p>

<p>[Verbatim 38. Arturo, Abraham, Daniel & Ada, FG4]</p>	<p>Investigador: ¿Por qué crees que este hombre tiene el cuerpo pequeño? Arturo: Porque aunque en la foto el cuerpo se vea grande, el cuerpo lo tiene pequeño en la vida real. Abraham: Porque yo sé cómo es de alto. Lo conozco. Es el Xavi. Investigador: O sea que en las fotografías... Arturo: Se ve como más grande. Investigador: ¿Las imágenes de la televisión son diferentes a la realidad? Daniel: Porque tú en la televisión ves que es un niño grande [indica altura con las manos] y en verdad es un niño pequeño. Ada: Sí, porque si te levantas te miro grande, pero si estás sentado te miró así normal.</p>
<p>[Verbatim 39. José, FG7]</p>	<p>"Hay dos cosas [anuncios]. Una el perfume y la otra, un tipo de comida. En el tipo de comida siempre enseñan dos chicas con la misma cosa [ropa] y ponen el antes y ponen el cuerpo súper así [grande] y después ponen así un cuerpo delgado [hace cara feliz]..."</p>
<p>[Verbatim 40. Arnold, FG1]</p>	<p>"Éste [personaje] te hace creer que es fuerte, pero en realidad tiene músculos falsos. Le pusieron relleno en los brazos".</p>
<p>[Verbatim 41. Alberto & Laia, FG2]</p>	<p>Investigadora: ¿Está gente está en realidad contenta o no? Alberto: ¡No! Sonríe así [imita una sonrisa] para que la gente se lo compre. Laia: En realidad está fingiendo para que creas que [el producto] es bueno.</p>
<p>[Verbatim 42. Sara, FG1]</p>	<p>Investigador: Has dicho que es una persona guapa y que por eso puede salir en televisión. Sara: Sí, porque si estuviera fea nadie la contrataría Investigadora: ¿Por qué nadie la contrataría? Sara: Porque si fuera fea nadie quería comprar lo que está vendiendo</p>
<p>[Verbatim 43. Carla & Iris, FG8]</p>	<p>Investigador: ¿Por qué dices que es malo? [El cuerpo desnudo] Carla: Porque a ver (risas), se ven las partes íntimas [risas] y [los niños] pueden coger su foto y [risas]... Mira, es una crema hidratante para las piernas y tiene que enseñar todo el cuerpo [risas]. Lo que no entiendo es que si una crema que se necesita para los pies... Iris: La chica desnuda estaba anunciando Lizipaina y sólo tiene que estar desnuda para que lo compres. Carla: ¿Os he enseñado la postura de la chica en el anuncio? Iris: No importa que esté desnuda. Tiene que estar con ropa. Carla: Pues si importa porque los chicos pueden hacer una foto a las tetas. Iris: ¡No tiene que estar desnuda! Es de una pastilla. Carla: No es la crema. ¡Es la chica desnuda!</p>
<p>[Verbatim 44. Siara & Leo, FG6]</p>	<p>Siara: Hay un anuncio de una señora que está anunciando una crema y de repente hace así y se quita la ropa. Investigador: ¿Y por qué se quita la ropa? Leo: Para que veas lo fina que está [risas].</p>
<p>[Verbatim 45. Majo, FG3]</p>	<p>"Me gusta mi cuerpo porque soy flexible. Sé hacer el pino puente".</p>
<p>[Verbatim 46. Horacio, FG5]</p>	<p>"Me gusta mi cuerpo porque puedo correr. Puedo ir a todas partes".</p>
<p>[Verbatim 47. Mike, FG5]</p>	<p>"Me gusta mi altura. Puedo nadar muy rápido y puedo alcanzar cosas que están arriba".</p>
<p>[Verbatim 48. Tania, FG9]</p>	<p>"Me gusta mi cuerpo porque me hace feliz. Me encanta".</p>

[Verbatim 49. Pilar, FG3]	"Me gusta mi cuerpo, me gusto yo. Puedo hablar ruso y puedo decir una palabra en ruso muy larga"
[Verbatim 50. Antoni, FG7]	"Me siento a gusto con mi cuerpo. Puedo jugar ajedrez".
[Verbatim 51. Miriam & Siara, FG6]	Miriam: Me gusta cambiar mi pelo. Me lo he cambiado muchas veces. Lo he tenido corto hasta aquí. [Indica con su mano] Siara: El mío es largo y bonito. Por eso me lo voy a teñir, para tenerlo diferente, verme diferente.
[Verbatim 52. Marta, FG9]	"Yo siempre he sido muy flaca. ¡Sí! Y no estoy acostumbrada a ser como ahora porque yo me veo demasiado....demasiado gorda. Estoy normal, pero yo me veo demasiado gorda porque yo siempre he sido muy flaca. Entonces... Ahora me estoy acostumbrando más que antes".
[Verbatim 53. Pilar, FG3]	"Bueno [me parezco] a toda mi familia. A mis hermanos y a mis padres. A mi padre en la disciplina. A mi madre que tengo más o menos su cara, pero la nariz no. A mi bisabuela por su nariz. A mi padrastro que soy tan alta como él y de mi abuelo que es muy sabio como yo...."
[Verbatim 54. Mario, FG3]	"Soy muy parecido a mi papá. Hasta me siento como él.... Él ya está en el cielo, pero tenía el pelo así de punta, se sentaba así (imita la pierna cruzada), y también me siento así cada día. Las pestañas son más de mi mamá".
[Verbatim 55. Úrsula, Samia & Arnold, FG1]	Úrsula: Esta tía tiene el pelo igual que yo, pero no, no me gusta el flequillo. Investigador: Si tuviera un cabello diferente Úrsula: ¡Ah! Pero, no, no me gusta por los labios tampoco. Los tengo gorditos. Investigador ¿Esta chica se parece a Úrsula? Samia: En el pelo un poco. Pero no, ella tiene el pelo más largo. Arnold ¿Y este chico se parece a mí? Samia: ¡Qué va! Arnold, eres más moreno
[Verbatim 56. Isona, Dolors & Naira, FG10]	Investigador: ¿A qué personaje les gustaría parecerse en el futuro? Isona: A ésta. A la de Phoskitos. Dolors: Yo a la de Bollycao. Así, pero con el pelo más cortito. Naira: ¡Oh! Porque tiene los labios.... Es guapísima y sale en un anuncio.
[Verbatim 57. Carla, FG8]	Carla: La que me gusta más es ésta. Investigador: ¿Por qué? Carla: Porque quiero ser como ella cuando sea grande. Y el otro que me gusta más es esté porque quiero ser su novia.
[Verbatim 58. Agustín, Siaria & Miriam, FG6]	Investigador: Y a ti, Agustín, ¿qué cabello te gustaría tener? Agustín: No sé. Como Paulo Dybala. [Se despeina el cabello]. Siara: ¡Se te vería mejor como el de Cristiano Ronaldo! Miriam: A mí me gusta [el cabello] corto, pero como queda en mí. Siara: Emma Watson lo tiene corto. Agustín: Yo me lo voy a cortar. Siara: Me encanta Emma Watson quiero tener su corte de pelo.
[Verbatim 59. Carlos, FG2]	Investigador: ¿Por qué te gustaría parecerle a él? Carlos: Pues porque tiene gafas, tiene un pelo largo como a mí que me está creciendo. Como quiero tenerlo. Es un skater.... Tiene el pelo muy chulo, largo.
[Verbatim 60. Siara, Manel & Miriam, FG6]	Siara: A mí, por ejemplo, hay gente que va al gimnasio para hacerse las cachas, a mí sinceramente, no me gustan. Manel: Joder, pero es que hay gente que tiene las piernas así [indica grosor con las manos] y las partes íntimas las tienen muy minis [risas].

	<i>Miriam: La mejor amiga de mi hermana tiene unas piernecitas así y un cuerpo así [indica delgadez con las manos].</i>
[Verbatim 61. Xavi & Julia, FG5]	<i>Investigador: ¿Por qué has escogido a este personaje para ser tu amigo? Xavi: Porque parece muy amigable y me gusta mucho su sonrisa. Julia: Yo escogí a la chica porque está tranquila. Y al chico porque está jugando.</i>
[Verbatim 62. Miram & Siara, FG6]	<i>Investigador: ¿Quién de estos personajes creen es un buen estudiante? Miriam: Éste. Porque es guapo y buen estudiante. Los guapos son los que mejor estudian. Siara: A lo mejor eres feo y listo y a lo mejor eres guapo y tonto. Entonces elijo al más feo de todos.</i>
[Verbatim 63. Sara, FG1].	<i>Investigador: ¿Por qué has escogido a esta chica para ser su amiga? Sara: Porque parece muy guapa y se está maquillándose. ¡Me encanta!</i>
[Verbatim 64. Abraham, FG4]	<i>"Escojo éste de amigo porque juega futbol. Y ésta de novia porque es ¡muy guapa!"</i>
[Verbatim 65. Laia, FG2]	<i>"Sería su amiga para que me regalen sus zoomlings [juguetes]. Deben tener muchos".</i>
[Verbatim 66. Daniel, FG4]	<i>"Quiero que éste sea mi amigo porque tiene un juguete que a mí me gusta y podríamos jugar todos los días.... Y ésta otra me agradaría porque como la veo en anuncios..."</i>
[Verbatim 67. Arnold, FG1]	<i>Investigador: Arnold, tú escogiste a la de los peluches, ¿por qué? Arnold: Sí, porque es una famosa y si yo... [fuera su amigo] sería famoso. Investigadora: O sea, ¿te gustaría ser famoso? Arnold: Bueno, sí. Yo ya soy famoso. Hago videos de YouTube. Tengo mi canal.</i>
[Verbatim 68. Arnold, FG1].	<i>Investigador: Arnold, tú escogerías al niño pelirrojo, ¿por qué? Arnold: Porque me gusta su pelo, y veo que le gusta pintar. Y parece que es más pequeño que yo, le puedo ayudar un poco.</i>
[Verbatim 69. Horacio, FG5]	<i>"Yo he escogido a éste porque me gustaría estar en la playa. Y éste otro porque cuando sea adulto quiero ser así".</i>
[Verbatim 70. Irma, Majo & Mario, FG3]	<i>Investigador: ¿Por qué esta chica va más guapa? Irma: Porque va maquillada y va divina. Majo: Porque tiene los ojos azules y va con el pelo suelto. Mario: Porque los ojos son azules.</i>
[Verbatim 71. Marga, Alberto & Carlos, FG2]	<i>Investigador: Marga, tú escogiste a Elsa como una persona guapa, ¿por qué? Marga: Porque tiene el pelo blanco y una trenza larga. Investigadora: ¿Y si tuviera el pelo cortito? Marga: No. Investigadora: ¿Qué pensáis? Marga ha dicho que si este personaje no tuviera el pelo corto, no sería guapa, ¿qué pensáis? Alberto: Es cierto, ni famosa, ¡eh! Investigadora: ¿No sería famosa? Carlos: Y sería muy fea. Alberto: Y no podría tener novio en la vida.</i>
[Verbatim 72. Carlos, Ara, Laia & Alberto, FG2]	<i>Carlos: Pero tendría que tener dientes más fuertes. Ara: Más grandes. Investigador: ¿Así? ¿Qué tienen estos dientes? Ara: No tienen nada. Carlos: Están un poco rotos.</i>

	<p>Alberto: Están bien los dientes. Blanquitos. Laia: Oye, que ella ya los tiene hasta aquí [indica que son grandes]. Alberto: No, es que los dientes los tiene bien. Carlos: De repente los tiene que apestan. Alberto: No. Si no los tendrían amarillos.</p>
[Verbatim 73. Manel, Siara & María, FG6]	<p>Investigador: Y fuera de la moda, ¿qué es lo más importante para las chicas? Manel: Qué tengan el pelo liso y que no sean gordas. ¡Qué no sean gordas! Siara: ¡Oye tío! No hay que estar gorda. María: La cara. Manel: Y el cuerpo.</p>
[Verbatim 74. Manel, Miriam, Leo & Siara, FG6]	<p>Investigador: ¿Y para los chicos que sería lo más importante? Manel: ¡Qué no esté gordo y ya está! Pero que tampoco esté muy cachas porque si no, tiene las partes.... [Ríe] Miriam: La cara y el pelo. Manel: La cara, el pelo y el cuerpo, guapos. Leo: Ser simpático y listo. Manel: Cara sin maquillar y cuerpo primo [delgado] Miriam: Sabes lo que es un delito de la moda, el mejor... Siara: ¡Es la gordura! Miriam: Bueno, también eso.</p>
[Verbatim 75. Alberto, Carlos & Laia, FG2]	<p>Investigadora: ¿Hacen deporte los guapos? Alberto: Sí, es verdad. Carlos: Y además para estar fuerte. Alberto: Y tener músculos. Investigadora: Ah, ¿Hay que tener músculos para ser guapo? Laia: Sí. Pues es mejor, ¡sí!</p>
[Verbatim 76. Sara, Úrsula & Gaby, FG1]	<p>Investigadora: ¿Por qué todos habéis escogido ésta? Sara: Pues porque es una persona guapa. Una persona fea no va a salir a un escenario a cantar. Úrsula: Es sonriente. Gaby: A menos que tenga que hacer la película de Mortadelo y Filemón. Entonces sí, es una persona fea. Investigador: Has dicho que es una persona guapa y que por eso puede salir en televisión. Sara: Sí porque si estuviera fea nadie la contrataría. Gaby: En Mortadelo y Filemón sí. Investigadora: ¿Por qué que nadie la contrataría? Sara: Porque si es fea nadie quería comprar lo que está vendiendo.</p>
[Verbatim 77. Alberto & Ara, FG2]	<p>Investigador: Si las niñas llevan el pelo largo para ser guapas, ¿cómo deben llevar la melena los chicos? Alberto: Largas [risas] Investigadora: ¿tanto como las chicas? Ara: No. Por aquí, por aquí. [Indica con las manos hasta la altura del cuello]. Alberto: Un poquito corto. [indica a la altura del cuello también]. Yo de pequeño tenía la melena por aquí. Por aquí, por aquí. Ara: Mira como éste.</p>
[Verbatim 78. Jaime, FG8]	<p>No me agrada este tío. Está muy exagerado con esos músculos grandes.</p>
[Verbatim 79. Sia, FG6]	<p>"No me gusta la gente que va al gimnasio para hacerse las cachas. Es demasiado"</p>
[Verbatim 80. Mario, FG3]	<p>"Es guapísimo, guapísimo porque lleva bigote y barba, y porque el</p>

	<i>pelo está guay”.</i>
[Verbatim 81. Irma, Majo, Pilar & Mario, FG3]	<p>Investigadora: <i>¿Y por qué las mujeres no pueden ser tan fuertes como los hombres?</i></p> <p>Irma: <i>Pues que las mujeres pueden tener un poquito de menos fuerza.</i></p> <p>Majo: <i>En los episodios de los súper héroes hay una chica que es fuerte.</i></p> <p>Pilar: <i>Que es más fuerte que él ... [risas].</i></p> <p>Mario: <i>En unos dibujos hay... En bob esponja hay... la arenita es la más fuerte. Nadie le gana porque sabe karate.</i></p>
[Verbatim 82. Carlos & Laia, FG2]	<p>Investigador: <i>¿Por qué pensáis que le gusta pelear?</i></p> <p>Christian: <i>Porque mira sus ojos, parece que va a lanzar rayos.</i></p> <p>Judith: <i>Además tiene fuerza en el brazo.</i></p>
[Verbatim 83. Mario & Pilar, FG3]	<p>Investigador: <i>¿Y a ésta señora puede gustarle? ¿La tecnología?</i></p> <p>Mario: <i>No. Le gusta cocinar. Casi. En los ojos, se le ven más de cocina.</i></p> <p>Pilar: <i>Sí, se parece a una señora de canal cocina.</i></p>
[Verbatim 85. Jenny & Mike, FG5]	<p>Investigador: <i>¿A esta chica le gusta el baloncesto?</i></p> <p>Jenny: <i>Sí, pero bueno es una cantante. ¡Quién sabe!</i></p> <p>Investigador: <i>Y a las cantantes, ¿no les gusta el baloncesto?</i></p> <p>Johana: <i>El deporte no le gusta. Bueno...</i></p> <p>Mike: <i>A Shakira si le gusta el fútbol.</i></p> <p>Jenny: <i>Pero no lo juega. Se le rompen sus uñitas.</i></p>
[Verbatim 86. Ada, FG4]	<i>“Tengo un primo mío que juega, quiere ser gay. Quiere ser una chica. Siempre se pinta. Se hace una coletita. Se ponen las uñas largas de mentiras y ya dice “hola” [imita]. También se pinta los labios pintados”.</i>
[Verbatim 87. Daniel & Ada, FG4]	<p>Investigador: <i>¿Por qué este personaje es fuerte?</i></p> <p>Daniel: <i>Porque está jugando a básquet. Entonces debe tener un cuerpo fuerte.</i></p> <p>Investigador: <i>Ada, tú has dicho lo mismo, ¿Qué piensas?</i></p> <p>Ada: <i>Porque puede correr muy rápido, aunque sea enanita puede destruir algo.</i></p>
[Verbatim 88. Gaby, FG7]	<i>“Hay una niña en nuestra clase que se llama Berta que come, te lo digo yo porque la veo yo en el parque, y siempre come guarrerías que está un poco más gordita. Ahora está un poco más”.</i>
[Verbatim 89. Xavi, Mike & Jenny, FG5]	<p>Xavi: <i>[El Iker] es un niño con problemas.</i></p> <p>Mike: <i>Es muy gordito.</i></p> <p>Jenny: <i>Su madre cada día le trae una palmera así de grande y se la come.</i></p> <p>Mike: <i>Y aún pedía más. En el recreo trae los bocatas así [indica con las manos longitud]. Le gusta comer. Come mucho.</i></p> <p>Jenny: <i>Él tiene obesidad.</i></p>
[Verbatim 90. Tania, FG9]	<p>Tania: <i>Me siento muy a gusto con mi cuerpo porque soy ágil. Me veo normal y no me veo como una albóndiga.</i></p> <p>Investigador: <i>Si tú fueras una niña con obesidad o sobrepeso, ¿lo pasarías mal?</i></p> <p>Tania: <i>Bueno un poco tal vez sí. Por las actividades que me gusta hacer.</i></p> <p>Investigador: <i>Porque te gusta la gimnasia. ¿En la gimnasia hay chicas con sobrepeso?</i></p> <p>Tania: <i>Bueno, podría haberlas, pero es más difícil.</i></p> <p>Investigador: <i>¿Qué lo hace difícil?</i></p> <p>Tania: <i>El peso que tienes que aguantar con las piernas y brazos, y mucho equilibrio.</i></p>
[Verbatim 91. Majo, FG3]	<p>Majo: <i>Mi cuerpo es muy sano.</i></p> <p>Investigadora: <i>¿Nunca te enfermas?</i></p> <p>Majo: <i>No</i></p> <p>Investigadora: <i>¿Y qué haces para que sea tan saludable?</i></p> <p>Majo: <i>Comer verduras y frutas [risas]</i></p>

[Verbatim 92. Xavi, FG5]	<i>"Este chico come verduras, pero sí come weikis. Está muy delgado. Tampoco le gusta el ejercicio".</i>
[Verbatim 93. Miriam, FG6]	<i>Investigador: ¿Y por qué crees que es muy flaco? Miriam: Porque come mucho en el McDonalds. Eso es malo.</i>
[Verbatim 94. Xavi, FG5]	<i>Investigador: ¿Por qué crees que está gordo? Xavi: Porque en los anuncios nunca hace ejercicio y siempre está comiendo cereales con chocolate y es muy gordo. Bueno, así se ve, muy gordo.</i>
[Verbatim 95. Gaby & Mau, FG7]	<i>Investigador: Investigador: ¿Y por qué no son saludables? Gaby: Porque son guarrerías. Esto tiene chocolate y esto es una galleta, pero igualmente las galletas aunque no sean de chocolate no son sanas. Tienen mucha azúcar. Porque también te puede provocar una cosa en el corazón... Mau: Pero si están hechas con frutas o algo así son saludables. Hay azúcares buenos y otros malos. Gaby: Sí, pero hay muy pocos.</i>
[Verbatim 96. Alex, Gaby, Eloisa & Mau, FG7]	<i>Investigador: ¿Qué pasa si comemos mucho? Alex: Nos pondremos gordos. Investigador: Y estar gordo, ¿es un problema? Gaby: Es que comes mucho Eloisa: No es que comas mucho, pero no de todo. Alex: Y para ser más flaco tienes que comer un queso especial. Mau: O hacer mucho deporte.</i>
[Verbatim 97. Siara & Miriam FG6]	<i>Siara: Pues es más guapo que éste. Porque va más arreglado. Está más guapo y tiene los ojos marrones. ¡Oh, qué mono! Investigador: ¿Y entonces los chicos tienen que ir muy bien arreglados? Siara: No, puede ser muy guarro, pero atractivo. María: Lo importante es que los chicos lleven corbata. Es que a veces a las nenas les gustan los chicos que llevan corbata y eso.</i>
[Verbatim 98. Siara, Miriam & María, FG6]	<i>Siara: Yo me maquillo. Miriam: Yo maquillo a mi madre. Yo me sé poner rímel, colorete y pinta labios. Siara: Yo tengo mi propio. María: A mi la abuela me pone el rímel. Investigador: A ver Miriam, ¿dónde has aprendido a maquillarte? Miriam: En mi casa, en la peluquería que maquillan a mi madre. Me maquillo muy bien. María: A mí, mi madre me enseñó. Siara: Yo aprendí sola a maquillarme.</i>
[Verbatim 99. Miriam & Sia, FG6]	<i>Miriam: Hay muchos délitos de la moda. Primero, no ir maquillada bien. Segundo, el pelo, el pelo, no te lo puedes poner corto por aquí. Sia: Claro porque si no eres la bruja de los hombres.</i>
[Verbatim 100. Ada, FG4]	<i>"Tal vez, si se peina bien y si se pinta puede que sea guapa. Pero si no se peina y se pinta fatal, pues no".</i>
[Verbatim 101. María, Miriam, Leo & Manel, FG6]	<i>María: Y tiene mucho pelo en el sobaco. ¡Asco! Investigador: ¿Hay algún problema por tener vello? Miriam: No, pero no me gusta. ¡Puah! Leo: No porque todos tienen y se los pueden dejar y no hay ningún problema. Manel: Sí! Mi hermana se los borra con el boli. Miriam: En todo caso, se lo tendría que rapar cada dos días.</i>
[Verbatim 102. Jenny, Xavi & Mike, FG5]	<i>Investigador: ¿Y podemos cambiar nuestros cuerpos? Jenny: Sí, pero es malo. Xavi: Sí, por así decirlo. Mike: ¡No es malo!</i>

	<p><i>Jenny: Sí, porque en algunas operaciones....</i></p> <p><i>Mike: Pero si tú quieres.</i></p> <p><i>Jenny: Ya, pero imagínate que no te da permiso tu madre y tu padre. Además es malo porque no es lo tuyo y aparte hay gente que se cambia algunas cosas que no se pueden cambiar.</i></p> <p><i>Investigador: ¿Como qué?</i></p> <p><i>Jenny: Por ejemplo una chica tiene eso así [indica busto], y quiero tenerlo como los chicos. Eso es malo porque es parte de tu cuerpo y cuando tengas hijos, será...</i></p> <p><i>Mike: A lo mejor no quiere tener hijos.</i></p> <p><i>Xavi: Eso hay que pensárselo, pero si ya se lo ha pensado.</i></p> <p><i>Mike: Todo mundo tiene derecho a cambiar lo que él o ella quiere. Todos son libres de su decisión.</i></p>
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