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The impact of social media on self-evaluations of men striving for a muscular ideal

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Abstract

This paper describes an innovative approach combining a content analysis of commentary and images on a Facebook page with a thematic analysis of the subjective experience expressed in interviews of those impacted by the text and images. Interview participants were asked about their perceptions of the representation of the muscularity-focused identity on social media, including the specific Facebook page. Content analysis of the Facebook page comments showed that very muscular male images attracted predominantly negative feedback from the public, a trend supported by the interview participants. Thematic analysis of the interviews indicated that a negative social media representation and commentary can affect young men's self-esteem and increase body concern. Some men represented on the Page found it humorous, which could serve as a form of bonding for the

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muscularity-focused online community. Other young men acknowledged how harmful such negative feedback can be on their self-evaluations and body image, consistent with the sociocultural framework whereby negative representations can lead to increased body dissatisfaction.

Keywords: social media, media, men, body image, body dissatisfaction, muscularity

Introduction

The ideal male body is portrayed as a well-developed upper body and arms, broad shoulders, narrow waist and hips, and a flat stomach (Blond, 2008). The agreement between peers and media regarding what constitutes an ideal male body highlights that different sociocultural agents propagate a similar ideal (Blond, 2008; Swami, 2015). Body concerns have been shown to be associated with psychological outcomes such as lower self-esteem (Boyda & Shelvin, 2011; McFarland & Kaminski, 2009). It is not surprising young men may attempt to overcome related psychological distress with strategies to enhance their body and appearance. Young men are increasingly engaging in muscle-building behaviours such as extreme exercising and dieting, supplement use, and performance and image enhancing drug (PIED) use (Dunn & White, 2011; Sagoe et al., 2014). Such activities are a normal part of many muscularity-focused subcultures, particularly in a bodybuilding context, with groups communicating and bonding online via social media (Underwood, 2017).

Studies have evidenced a positive association between social media use and body image concerns in cohorts of both women (Ahadzadeh et al., 2017; Sherlock & Wagstaff, 2018) and men (Griffiths et al., 2018; Modica, 2020). Raggatt et al. (2018) found engagement with fitness-related content on social media could negatively

influence participants' wellbeing and perception of healthy body goals. A way through which social media may increase concerns is by providing an expedited way to engage in appearance comparisons with other males (Hobza & Rochlen, 2009) which often results in increased body surveillance through self-evaluations (Arroyo & Brunner, 2016). This interplay of relationships between social media and body dissatisfaction can be understood within the tripartite influence model (Thompson et al., 1999).

The tripartite model underscores the importance of pressure from parents, peers, and the media on body image dissatisfaction, mediated by internalisation of ideals and the process of social comparison (Thompson et al., 1999). In line with the tripartite model, researchers have considered social media use as a form of media influence and appearance comparison on social media platforms as a form of virtual appearance comparison (Modica, 2019). Sociocultural factors referred to in the tripartite model such as media sources have been found to play an important role in the promotion of the muscular ideal in men (Fernandez & Pritchard, 2012; Hobza & Rochlen, 2009). Studies have also shown that bodybuilding supplement users and PIED users tend to view media that is high in muscularity, such as bodybuilding magazines and programs (Melki et al., 2015). Furthermore, users tend to associate these media images as targets for their own bodies in the pursuit of muscularity (Melki et al., 2015).

Individuals often engage in comparing their own bodies to the media ideal (Melki et al., 2015). According to Festinger's (1954) Social Comparison Theory, individuals gain information about themselves through personal comparisons to those they perceive as better than themselves. In this instance, individuals are comparing

themselves with ideal images and then using this comparison to self-inform, which leads to an impact on one's self-evaluation. The idealised body portrayed in the media is typically difficult or impossible to attain and so using this ideal as a comparison standard will underscore the contrast between men's own body size and the ideal media body. This comparison, in turn, leads to more negative self-perceptions and is known as the negative contrast effect (Cash et al., 1983; Thornton & Maurice 1999). This negative contrast effect is likely responsible for body dissatisfaction, changes in self-esteem, and changes in exercise and diet in women who compare themselves with the media body ideal (Mischner et al., 2013). In contrast, men who are satisfied with their bodies or actively working on their pursuit of a muscular ideal perceive the media standard as attainable and, therefore, a source of inspiration (Blond, 2008)

Social media sites are particularly popular among adolescents and young people (Sampasa-Kanyinga et al., 2020). They provide users with a profile space, facilities for uploading content (e.g., photos), messaging, and the capability to make connections with other people. In this way, they assist in conceptualizing the relationship between an individual and their online community (Whittaker & Gillespie, 2013). Evidence suggests that there is an increasing popularity of social media, driven mainly by image-centric platforms that are particularly images of people, disproportionate relative to text or other content (Latorre-Martinez et al., 2014). Modica (2020) found strong associations between image-centric social media use (Instagram) and body dissatisfaction among men. What is less clear is the relationship between interactive media such as social media platforms (e.g., Facebook) and the effect that feedback from other people on these platforms may have on men's body satisfaction and attitudes, particularly in the context of muscularity.

Given the influence of media on male body image evidenced in the literature, this study aimed to explore the representation of muscularity in the contemporary media setting of social media. This paper describes the depiction of young men striving for muscularity within a muscular-subculture on social media and the consequent impact of this depiction on the self-evaluations of young men striving for muscularity. The objective was, firstly, to understand the publicly expressed attitudes held towards men who form a muscularity-focused subculture. Next, interviews were performed with the young men depicted in social media, who were part of a muscularity-focused subculture, to ascertain what impact the publicly expressed attitudes had on their self-evaluations.

Method

The qualitative methodology used in this study combines both a content analysis of existing text with a thematic analysis of the subjective experience expressed in interviews of those impacted by these images and text. Due to the static text and images contained on the Facebook page, the short nature of the commentary, and to categorise the frequencies of the types of feedback, content analysis was used which is consistent with other related studies (Abramson et al., 2015; Bender et al., 2011; Lyles et al., 2013; Nolbris et al., 2014; Patterson et al., 2012). Thematic analysis was chosen for the interview data as they were rich narratives and a consistent approach to other studies with interviews of men striving for muscularity (e.g., Greenway & Price, 2018). This procedure examines the same phenomenon through different data sources of textual internet based commentary and face-to-face interview data. The textual data are taken from comments about individuals seen as being members of a muscularity-focused culture that were made on the Facebook page. Interviews were conducted with individuals who have been featured on this

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page and a thematic analysis was conducted to examine key themes regarding the impact of such comments on these young men. This combination of methods provides an insight into how a muscularity-focused identity is viewed by public responses and the impact of these responses on the young men.

The term ‘internet-mediated research’ (IMR) covers a wide range of approaches to research involving human participants and can be broadly defined as involving the remote acquisition of data from or about participants using the internet and its associated technologies (Hewson & Buchanan, 2013). The data forming the part of the study that are IMR were obtained unobtrusively by analyses of textual data found in online spaces. There are a number of ethical issues to consider when designing and implementing an IMR study which include respect for the autonomy, privacy, and dignity of individuals and communities, scientific integrity, social responsibility, and maximising benefits and minimising harm (for more information, see The Ethics Guidelines for Internet-Mediated Research; Hewson & Buchanan, 2013). For the current research, these ethical issues were considered and the principles of the Ethics Guidelines for IMR were adhered to by the research team. Relevant to the present study are the guidelines related to social responsibility which include maintaining respect for and avoidance of disrupting social structures, and carefully considering consequences and outcomes of a piece of research. The IMR component of this research that made use of online social groups bore these issues in mind.

Facebook page analysis

In keeping with guidelines developed by the British Psychological society for online research (Hewson & Buchanan, 2013), the name of the online page analysed in the current research will not be disclosed to help preserve the anonymity of

participants. Once a Facebook page exceeds 30 followers, Facebook Insights is automatically engaged to start monitoring page activity (<https://developers.facebook.com/docs/platforminsights>). This information is only visible to page administrators and includes aggregate data on the page's number of fans, the information included on the site including photos and videos, and the level of public engagement with the site. On the date this study was conducted (ethics approval gained by the researchers' university ethics committee), the target Facebook page had a reach of 76,471 people, with a total reach of 917,652 people, approximately 4% of the Australian population. There were a total of 3,641 comments, 14,602 likes, and 296 shares.

A content analysis of the public commentary in response to the Page's posts was conducted. A general inductive approach (Thomas, 2006) for raw data analysis was adopted, which entailed preliminary in-depth analyses of the raw content ensuring frequently occurring themes and categories could be identified. The analysis utilised a random sample of individuals who had participated on the page in the first 12 months since its inception. User participation was defined as posts that include their (users') likes and/or comments. At the commencement of the study, the most recent post by the administrator of the page had its original 30 comments (visually appearing first) aggregated into a database. Every second post from that point was subjected to the same procedure until 23 posts in total were examined. Individuals with the same username were only eligible to have up to three (3) of their comments included in the database per wall post. Users who replied (reply-based comments) were allowed a maximum of 2 reply-based comments (return to other users on the post) per post. Facebook users who posted images as comments rather than text were

still included in the database; images were categorised in the same manner as text. An external party audited the original data and provided feedback. These guidelines were chosen in line with previous investigations (Abramson et al., 2015; Greene et al., 2011; Bender et al., 2011).

A total of 795 comments were analysed, the point theoretical saturation was estimated to occur (Greene et al., 2011). Emergent coding methods were used to create categories from the data as they were analysed consistent with previous studies examining pro-dieting websites (Harshbarger et al., 2009). The first author generated a codebook of frequently occurring categories with guidelines and examples of each category (Harshbarger et al., 2009; Murray et al., 2016). Ultimately, the comments were divided into several sub-classifications, and then further collapsed into categories intended to reveal the manifest content of the data. Finally, the underlying (latent content) of the categories was formulated into one over-arching theme. The co-authors and external auditor recorded their biases and expectations at the outset to minimize their influence on the data analysis. Similar research methods have been used previous research conducting content analyses of social media (Abramson et al., 2015; Bender et al., 2011; Lyles et al., 2013; Nolbris et al., 2014; Patterson et al., 2012).

Interview analysis

Participants

The interview data comprised a subset of 11 interviews from a larger qualitative study (ethical approval provided by the researchers' university committee) conducted in Brisbane, Australia with 14 young men aged 16-30 years who were: (1)

weight training >3 times per week, (2) using bodybuilding supplements daily, (3) used PIEDs, and (4) specified that they have been displayed on the Facebook page of interest.

Procedure

The interviews were transcribed and analysed using thematic content analysis methodology (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Joffe & Yardley, 2003). Thematic analysis has often been used in studies among groups of men striving for muscularity to explore exercise and diet (McFarland & Kaminski, 2009; Wolke & Sapouna, 2008) as well as substance use (Dunn & White, 2011; Greenway & Price, 2018). This analysis focused on a particular section of the interview where participants were asked: “What are your thoughts on social media, like Facebook and Instagram and the role they play in appearance?” and “What do you think about the xxxx Facebook page?” The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim by the interviewer with removal of personal identifiers.

Each interview was conducted with reflective notation made immediately after completion (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Interviews were transcribed as rapidly as possible to allow the co-authors to make preliminary notes and reflections, and were analysed using thematic content analysis methodology (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This initial appraisal of the data contributed to the dependability of the data in the final transcripts. Later, the co-authors each coded one full transcript chosen at random. The authors compiled their preliminary notes into emerging themes reflecting their key meanings, using the same analysis techniques as the first author. To enhance the credibility of this iterative process, several research team meetings were held to

scrutinize the results of coding decisions and reflect upon themes and patterns emerging in this process.

Results

Facebook page analysis

Consistent with the first aim of the study, the publicly expressed attitudes towards men striving for muscularity were revealed through content analysis.

Analysis of the Facebook page comments identified the following 12 categories of comments, displayed in order of popularity (see Table 1 for example quotes).

Tagged names (20%): This category comprised comments that ‘tagged’ another person into the conversation by creating a link to their profile. By doing so the post is visible to the audience selected plus friends of the tagged person. Tagging serves two functions; first, it serves to identify the men depicted in the image posted, thus revealing the identity to the public whose commentary can be targeted specifically for that individual. Secondly, it allows peers to share these images with each other for potential online and offline discussion. By tagging peers, it creates opportunity for peer groups to comment on these images both online and offline, with offline discussions being difficult to follow up.

Humorous – Offensive (20%): The commentary in this category was humorous involving much obscenity, vulgarity, and sarcasm. The fact these comments generally did not target one individual and were accompanied by some laughter or signs of amusement from the Page followers substantiated the fact that these were not direct attacks on an individual.

Negativity towards the individual (18%): Comments in this category portrayed the individual/group depicted in an image in an undesirable manner and often contained

profanity/course language. In many cases, specific comments were made targeting the men depicted on the Page in regard to their sexuality or investment in their body and were considered by the Page followers to be harmful comments. This category made up a large proportion of the comments. In conjunction with humorous offensive comments and members of the public tagging the men depicted in the images the overall attitudes toward men striving for muscularity is negative.

Negativity towards the muscularity-focused identity (10%): This category was conceived for negative statements towards the muscularity-focused identity. Public commentary also grouped men who were striving for muscularity together within a muscularity-focused subculture by targeting them as a whole with negative comments. This category, in conjunction with the previous category, serves to extend the attitude of the public towards men striving for muscularity as well as those belonging to a muscularity-focused subculture.

Supportive of the individual (8%): Comments offered the individual(s) depicted in the image support about their body. These comments were often made by other men who had been depicted on the Page. There is a sharp contrast between the negative comments towards the individual and this category, with little support shown in comparison, underscoring the negative public opinion.

Supportive of the muscularity-focused identity (7%): Comments in this category referred to the notion that anyone who did not appreciate the physique's depicted as being jealous – or the slang term 'hater'. The differential proportion of Page followers or peers who provide support for the muscularity-focused identity in contrast to the negative comments highlight the negative public opinion.

Social media and self-evaluation among men

Humorous – General (4%): This category comprised comments that were humorous in general. Comments in this category came from both Page followers and men depicted on the Page and were not considered negative or harmful.

Positive for the individual's body (4%): Comments were positive statements specifically related to the body of the individual(s) depicted in the online Facebook post. Some Page followers, likely peers of the individuals depicted in the images on the Page, provided positive support for the aesthetic appeal of the person's body.

Negativity from targeted individuals towards others (4%): These comments emanated from those targeted by the page and usually discounted the general public and were especially deprecating towards those who did not share a positive view of gym and body enhancement. This category likely comes as a reactive response from the negative and harmful commentary towards men striving for muscularity and the muscularity-focused identity.

Positive for all such bodies (2%): Comments in this category embodied appreciation of body enhancement and associated elements such as suntans, muscles, veins, and low body fat.

Other (2%): The 'Other' category was created to suit posts which did not fit the other categories.

Targeted individuals defending themselves (0.5%): This category included comments of people targeted by the page defending themselves from negative feedback.

Insert Table 1 about here

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External Audit

An independent coder reviewed the first author's categorization of the content analysis data using an agree/disagree scale. Discrepancies were discussed in a face-to-face meeting once the independent coder had completed the audit of the entire data set to ensure each rater understood the rationale behind individual coding differences. Overall, there was little discrepancy between the first author and coder ($n = 5$), with all differences resolved.

Interview Analysis

In line with the second aim of the study, the effect of the public perceptions on the self-evaluations of men striving for muscularity and a muscularity-focused identity was explored through thematic analysis of interviews. From transcripts of 11 interviews, the section of the interview which focused on social media representations of young men who were deemed to be part of a muscularity-focused identity were subjected to a thematic analysis. A large number of initial descriptive codes were generated and then through an integrative approach three higher order themes were identified. These were (1) the influence of social media on body image identity among young men striving for muscularity, and the division of the representation of the muscularity-focused identity in cyberspace as being either (2) positive or (3) negative. These themes are listed and illustrated with representative quotations. The selected quotations embody the essential aspects from each of the areas. The interviews revealed that the negative public commentary as evidenced by the content analysis has effects on the self-perceptions and body evaluations of men depicted on the Page who are striving for muscularity.

The influence of social media on body image identity: The young men interviewed reported that social media (e.g., Facebook) contributed to their own body image identity and inclination to strive for a muscular physique. For example: “It certainly does make a difference when you have all these people showing you...on like Instagram and Facebook that look great, and then getting admired and getting attention. And you do see like, the better someone looks...pretty much the prettier they are or the more attractive they are or the more ripped they are the more followers they have, you know what I mean. It's so, it's like (pause) the constant strive to be cool is a constant strive to look like that...”. Such comments by participants indicate the level of influence and impact that social media can have on men’s body image investment. Among this group of young men, social media such as Facebook seems to be a direct contributor to the drive for an ideal body.

Muscularity-focused identity representation in cyberspace as humorous: Some of the young men interviewed were able to appreciate the humour of the Facebook page. When asked what they thought of the Page, some stated it was entertaining or funny. For example: “I reckon it’s just funny...But like most people on it they like the attention and yeah being on there, so they can’t like care too much. Like don’t look into it too much, it’s just funny, comical yeah.” Despite the fact some of the men interviewed were actually displayed on the page, they still thought it was amusing. For example: “(laughs) I actually appeared on there a couple of times (pause) ah yeah it's sorta, it, it, it can be funny man like yeah they can have some fun and it's all in good fun, you know I have a bit of a laugh on it sometimes.” These quotes suggest some men like the attention from being posted on the Page despite the accompanying negative commentary, choosing not to engage deeply with the Page and maintaining a

sense of humour. This approach might serve as a bonding or coping mechanism and, as part of a muscularity-focused subculture, could be viewed as a sense of belonging for some. However, this reaction was not the experience of all the participants.

Muscularity-focused identity representation in cyberspace as negative and

harmful: In contrast to the young men who chose to engage more superficially with the content on the page and view it as humorous, many of the young men discussed the negative and/or potentially offensive aspects of the page. There was relative agreement among the cohort that the comments targeting a person's appearance on the Page could take a toll on an individual and provoke feelings of annoyance or even anger. For example: "Like, yeah I thought it was, I thought some of the s**t on there was hilarious, and like obviously, if anyone attacks anyone personally they're gonna get p**sed off. That's what happened bro you know like, sure like if someone comes at me and says (pause) if someone I don't know is attacking me on a social media site where thousands of people can see it it's gonna p**s you off."

In some instances, many of the young men stated the Page was harmful in nature and could be considered a form of cyberbullying. For example: "If you actually look through all what those people say it's just ridiculous. If you took any of that to heart you'd wanna kill yourself. It's completely negative on everyone" and "Yeah, that's what I take it for man, like at the start, like (pause) it got to me, like the first few times I was put up, it was like what the f**k all these people are saying...".

Inter-rater reliability

An independent researcher analysed a randomly selected subsample of transcripts and prepared a report identifying the main themes. The first author met

with the independent researcher once they had completed their analysis and discussed the findings and any discrepancies. The results showed close agreement on the content of the basic themes although the independent coder did label the themes a little differently, a common occurrence when engaging the services of an independent coder (Armstrong et al., 1997).

Discussion

This study examined the impact of social media commentary on body self-evaluations among a cohort of young men who were striving for muscularity. The first aim of the study was to conduct an analysis of public commentary focusing on young men striving for muscularity. This analysis indicated that online representations of young men striving for muscularity were met with predominantly negative public reactions. The second aim of the research was to qualitatively explore the impact of these public representations and reactions on the young men through semi-structured interviews. The data indicated a diversity of reactions by young men to negative online feedback. Some young men chose to view such commentary as humorous, possibly as a bonding mechanism for the young men who find a sense of belonging within the muscularity-focused community. However, a significant proportion of the young men interviewed reported that such commentary was harmful, with the data indicating that negative public commentary may be damaging to their body esteem.

Displaying their muscularity on social media is a way for these young men to showcase progress on their fitness journey and shows their esteem for their own body. Such sharing in the online space is also one of the key ways in which young men can show their identification with the muscularity subculture, and can build an online community. The protective nature of a sense of community for young men has been

highlighted by research (Zeldin, 2004). Young men that reported the public perceptions as humorous suggested that they enjoyed the attention in spite of the negative nature of the commentary. Humour can be socially bonding (Moran & Hughes, 2006) and may contribute to these young men allowing their images to be posted on the Page, and not requesting removal of negative commentary. At a community level, being posted to the Page may serve to reinforce group membership and, in doing so, may assist in providing a sense of community for these young men.

In contrast, a significant number of the men interviewed stated the critical commentary on the Page was potentially harmful and may lead to negative perceptual and behavioural reactions. The tripartite model, which posits that peer influences play a strong role in the development of body image concerns through their effects on appearance comparison, provides an understanding by which these harmful impacts may occur (Thompson et al., 1999). Individuals who receive any type of feedback about their appearance, particularly negative or demeaning, may be more likely to engage in appearance-related comparison, resulting in lowered body esteem (Shroff & Thompson, 2006).

Appreciation of their appearance may be one of the key pathways these young men see as a way to achieve acceptance and popularity. Social comparison becomes a way of understanding appearance-related expectations and, hence, prompts young men to assess themselves on endorsed standards (Jones, 2001), turning to peers and social media for guidance as to whether their appearance meets these 'standards' for muscularity (Schaefer & Salafia, 2014). Within a muscularity-focused subculture, such peer comparisons may increase an individual's concerns about their own muscularity and lead to increased muscle-building behaviours. Having conformed

with the muscular body ideal presented in mass media (Blond, 2008), the young men depicted on the Page are then subjected to predominantly negative feedback. This disparity may lead to negative self-perceptions as a result of the negative contrast effect (Cash et al., 1983; Thornton & Maurice 1999). Taken together, these relationships suggests that public commentary on social media can affect the self-evaluations of young men striving for a muscular body ideal which, in turn, can lead to body dissatisfaction. Over time, these perceptual changes may lead to further increased body change behaviours (such as extreme exercise and diet, and PIED use), which can serve to reinforce this negative cycle.

Although a sense of belonging is derived from fitting in with a muscularity-focused identity and the displayed images of their body on social media platforms, the critical commentary from the public regarding these images can lead to negative outcomes for young men's esteem and self-image. Clinicians working with young men striving for muscularity who may be engaging in extreme body change behaviours need to explore the complexity of sources of men's expectations for their bodies and self-image. Media-literacy psychoeducation has showed positive impact for women's body image issues (Yamamiya et al., 2005) and this research suggest that it may also be a useful tool for working with young men and body esteem.

The results of this study are exploratory, and only one Facebook page devoted to a muscular centered identity was identified at the time of this study was assessed in the analysis. However, a key strength of the research was the mixed methods approach of the content analysis of the public commentaries and the thematic analysis of the young men's reactions to such commentary. This process allowed for an exploration regarding the complexity of how young men represented their muscularity

in social media as contrasted with their own reflection on how this representation impacted them to provide an in-depth understanding of the interplay between social media and young men's body image. Although some men represented on the Page found it humorous, others acknowledged how harmful this cyclical process can be for their body esteem. This view is consistent with the sociocultural framework which would suggest that such negative representations can lead to increased body dissatisfaction. Continued efforts are needed to elucidate the often deleterious effects of commentary on social media and its impact among men striving for muscularity to allow informed strategies to address the consequences on body image and self-evaluations among this cohort.

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Table 1. Frequency count of the Facebook page comments' in each category with accompanying example quote.

| Category | Frequency (%) | Example |
|----------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Tagged names | 20 | "Boys your pumps look mint and I appreciate you... and your snap back apparel "NAME" "NAME" "NAME" "NAME" "NAME"." |
| Humorous – Offensive | 20 | "Nice hat and pants mate do they make them for blokes or just the lady's." "Australia could run on free electricity for a year if the... spend less time in the solarium and more time |

| | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | <i>concentrating on the fact they have a c**k."</i> |
| Negativity towards the individual | 20 | <i>"Fingers crossed skin cancer takes them before they can breed." "NAME", you spray tan, use more hair product than my sister and you decorate stuff for a living.....ummmmmmm????? Gay is only wrong if you can't admit it".</i> |
| Negativity towards the muscularity-focused identity | 18 | <i>"You meat heads are all so dumb, nobody cares that you look good and take care of yourself, everybody cares that you're such s**t humans and think you're the greatest thing since sliced bread."</i> |
| Supportive of the individual | 10 | <i>"For all these haters haha. F**k what they say bro, they just stupid c**ts."</i> |
| Supportive of the muscularity-focused identity | 8 | <i>"Hahaha your all pathetic cyber bully's with nothing better to do then dish out the most generalized hateful opinions.....all because your insecure about yourselves. u sad people look at what society's come to.....It's ok to be different!!!."</i> |
| Humorous – General | 7 | <i>"Hahahah so funny we took the photo first thing I thought yep that will end up in [Facebook Page]."</i> |
| Positive for the individual's body | 4 | <i>"Mirinnnnn hard" (i.e., the person commenting is admiring the physique). "This guy is amazing! And one of my ultimate fitspo inspirations." Other examples include "F**king shredded!" (i.e., the person has a very low body fat percentage).</i> |
| Negativity from targeted individuals towards others | 4 | <i>"F**k it cracks me up actually looking at the gronk haters dp's keyboard warrior b***hlets/10 don't worry we'll leave all the fat ugly Ganga's for ya, we've taken all the preem talent #lsoznotsoz #laterzhaterz".</i> |
| Positive for all such bodies | 4 | <i>"Wowzaaaa!!!! You girls are absolutely amazing inside & out! I can't believe that these people hiding behind their computers/phones could actually say this shit! Every single one of them are fucking trolls! There</i> |

| | | |
|-------------------------------------------|-----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | <i>just jealous of your amazingness! Bodies are bangggiinnnnn!!!! Xxx".</i> |
| Other | 2 | <i>"I feel this is the right forum for me to announce something. While some of you think you know me, the truth is you're about to meet me for the first time. My name is NAME, and I'm a raving homosexual."</i> |
| Targeted individuals defending themselves | 0.5 | <i>"Haha I've never done drugs in my life, I've never even smoked a cigarette, and I wasn't even drinking at this festival! I was probably the most sober person there!! Mus have looked like I was having fun tho!"</i> |