This is what I learned about the body on social media: PETE students' experiences with body pressure and body positivity.

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In physical education (PE), learning about and with the body is central. During their physical education teacher education (PETE) program, students are presented with different understandings and practices regarding the body. However, PETE students understanding of the body are also influenced by sites beyond formal schooling. One such site is social media. There is limited knowledge regarding PETE students and their reflections on how the body is presented on social media. Inspired by activist approaches to PE, this article focuses on third-year PETE students' critical reflections about different presentations of the body on social media. The data material consists of the PETE students' visual photos, transcribed text from group conversations, and reflection logs. Working with the visual as public pedagogy of the body, our goal has been to enable the PETE students to reflect and raise critical awareness about different presentations of the body on social media and discuss how this approach can be used in PE teaching. The analysis revealed two contrasting stories about the body on social media: body pressure, and body positivity. Our research makes visible the complexities and paradoxes of social media as public pedagogy, its impact on PETE students' embodied experiences, and their reflections on how they can work with social media as future PE teachers.

Keywords: PETE students, social media, body pressure, body positivity, embodied experiences, body ideals, activist research

Introduction

In physical education (PE), learning about and with the body is central. During their physical education teacher education (PETE), students are presented with different understandings and practices regarding the body. Varea (2016) emphasized that these discourses and practices can influence PETE students' ways of thinking and acting regarding the body, since some perspectives reinforce their current views while others may challenge them. However,

previous researchers (Mordal-Moen & Green, 2012; Philpot et al., 2020) have highlighted the PETE program's limited impact on PETE students' established beliefs. Many PETE students struggle to open themselves to new and alternative ways of practicing and thinking about PE (Hordvik et al., 2020).

PETE students' ideas about PE teaching seem to be highly influenced by spheres outside school. Sandlin et al. (2011, p. 338) referred to public pedagogy as "various forms, processes and sites for education and learning occurring beyond formal schooling." One such site that influences PETE students' education is the competitive sports sphere, which has been documented to influence PE teachers' choices of PE activities (Mordal-Moen & Green, 2012). Another important sphere that might influence PETE students' perceptions about the body is social media. Research has documented that those under the age of 30 are in a special position in the use of digital services (Medietilsynet, 2020). Social media are instructive and impact how people learn about their bodies (Goodyear & Quennerstedt, 2020; Goodyear & Armour, 2018). Consequently, social media contribute to the body pedagogies, i.e., 'structures of meaning defining what the body is and ought to be' (Evans & Rich, 2011, p. 367), learning young people whose bodies are valued (Rich & Miah, 2014).

In order to understand social media`s impact on young peoples' embodied experiences, PETE students need knowledge about the body pedagogies on social media. Kirk (2018) emphasize the need for PE teachers to develop a pedagogical strategy to teach about social media's form and content. Critical awareness is the key to be able to understand and use social media in an active and conscious way (Quennerstedt, 2018).

Social media and the gendered body

Increasingly, research has addressed the pedagogies of social media (Goodyear & Armour, 2018). Photo-based platforms, such as Instagram, are particularly salient given their

widespread use and the idealized nature of the images presented. Throughout the years, different body images have flourished; however, some trends continue to dominate, such as #thinspiration (content intended to inspire weight loss) and #fitspiration (content designed to inspire fitness goals) (Camacho-Miñano et al., 2019; Cohen et al., 2019). Hence, Instagram can be a greatly persuasive public pedagogy influencing young people's body perceptions, and uncritical acceptance of these cultural norms can have a detrimental impact on their embodied experiences (Rich, 2018).

The values and practices around the body on social media are intensely gendered and have been described as a 'postfeminist biopedagogy' (Camacho-Miñano et al., 2019; Rich, 2018). Camacho-Miñano et al. (2019) writes that 'postfeminism biopedagogy' instructs and regulates girls' bodies and health through a language of choice, empowerment, and health. Exercising is presented as the solution to achieve the normative body. The learning processes girls experience as they engage with 'fit' female bodies on Instagram involve a series of pedagogical micro-practices such as carefully posing, editing and sharing images of themselves whilst also commenting, liking, and circulating images of others (Camacho-Miñano et al., 2019; Rich, 2018). These micro-practices of judgement and comparison are mediated through affect and embodied experience (Evans et al., 2008).

However, despite research stressing the negative and disciplinary function of social media on young women's embodied experiences, research also underline social medias' potential to challenge gender norms (Risman et al., 2012). Poststrucutural inspired third wave feminism has been a crucial contribution in understanding the diversity of female bodies and new femininities (Azzarito & Katzew, 2010), and emerging political movement such as fat feminism has used social media to convey diverse body ideals (Afful & Ricciardelli, 2015; Cwynar-Horta, 2016). Moreover, social media has had a profound effect on female athletes and contributed to re-negotiate femininities (Lebel et al., 2019). In general, physical culture is

highlighted as an arena where traditional femininities ideals can be challenged and more fluid forms of femininities might emerge (Azzarito, 2010; Lebel et al., 2019).

The activist approach and social media

This study is positioned within the activist approach to PE. The basis for the activist approach is the desire to make PE teaching more inclusive. Drawing on intersectionality and research on gender in PE, the activist approach started out focusing on girls only. Activist approach researchers worked with girls' empowerment in PE and helped girls learn to name and challenge the barriers they meet. Recently, central contributors to the activist approach have moved the focus from studying girls' PE experiences toward including all genders (Luguetti et al., 2017). A poststructuralist understanding of gender has been a common theoretical perspective focusing on the fluidity of gender and different notions of femininities and masculinities (Azzarito, 2010; Azzarito & Katzew, 2010; Oliver & Lalik, 2004). We position our study within this tradition and will discuss how different body ideals and femininities are presented on social media, and how these are connected to debates about feminism and postfeminist biopedagogies on social media.

The activist approach consists of four key elements: a student-centered curriculum, embodiment, inquiry-based research centered in action, and listening and responding to students over time (Oliver & Kirk, 2015). In this study, we focus primarily on how to work with the embodiment aspect. In the activist approach, embodiment is understood as a pedagogical approach that helps girls

> name the discourses that shape their lives and regulate their bodies [in order to support] girls' efforts to develop strategies for identifying, resisting, and disrupting forms of enculturation that threaten their health and limit their life chances (Oliver & Lalik, 2004, pp. 162-163).

Developing students' critical reflections on dominant body ideals has been an important part of the activist approach (Oliver & Kirk, 2015). Oliver (2001), one of the founders of this approach, has used images of the body from popular culture to engage young girls in critical inquiry about the body. Oliver and the participants co-constructed knowledge about the body and reflected critically. Allowing students' interests and concerns about their bodies to enter the curriculum is highlighted by researchers as an important step in making PE more relevant to adolescents' lives (Oliver & Kirk, 2015; Aartun et al., 2020).

Recently, the focus has moved from PE to PETE (Luguetti & Oliver, 2020). New methods focus on how PETE students learn to listen to children's voices and teach according to the principles of the activist approach (Luguetti, Aranda, et al., 2019; Luguetti, Kirk, et al., 2019). However, few researchers have focused on PETE students and how they learn to facilitate critical reflection about dominating body ideals. Following Kirk (2018), new pedagogies are needed to teach young people about social media as an increasingly prominent sphere with both positive and negative aspects. In line with Camacho-Miñano et al. (2019), we argue that focusing on social media as a public pedagogy of the body is a fruitful way for working with the embodiment aspect of the activist approach to PE.

There has been a rising concern within PE research on social media as a source of health-related information and its negative impact on young people's mental health (Goodyear & Armour, 2018). Furthermore, research show that young people want schools/teachers' support to make informed decisions about their engagement with health-related social media (Goodyear et al., 2018). However, teachers' understanding of the complex and dynamic ways young people use social media is lacking. This article contributes to this research by focusing on the public pedagogy concerning social media, PETE students' critical awareness about different presentations of the body on social media, and their reflections on how they can work with social media as future PE teachers.

Methodology

Being inspired by the activist approach, we tried to model ways for PETE students to work with students' embodiment through visual methods. Hence, we have worked with photos on social media as a form of student-centered inquiry of the body.

This study was conducted among PETE students in their fifth term of a three-year bachelor education program in Norway. As part of their PETE program, the students participated in a teaching series inspired by the activist approach in PE and worked with the visual as public pedagogy of the body. Each student was asked to read previous activist research focusing on embodiment (e.g., Elvebakk et al., 2018; Oliver, 2001). The teaching series started with an introductory lecture, followed by a seminar allowing the students to work in small groups and a summary seminar. Additionally, the groups wrote reflection logs, focusing on their experiences working with social media and visual methods as part of their PETE program and their discussions on how this approach can be used in their future jobs as PE teachers. After the introductory lecture, the students were asked to individually collect six photos from social media that represented what they learned about the body on social media. We received a total of 72 photos. All students gave permission for us to use their photos in our research project. However, four PETE students declined being recorded in their group work, some mentioning being uncomfortable with the Dictaphone as a reason. Before seminar 1, the remaining eight PETE students (two males, six females) were divided into two groups. Male and female students were included in both groups, as we felt it would be useful for boys and girls to hear each other`s perspectives on social media. . Seminar 1 started with all students presenting their six photos to the rest of the group and explaining why they had chosen the photos. Sequentially, the PETE students discussed their photos according to questions handed out by the researchers (see Table 1: Task 1, and Task 2). It was essential for the project to use "participants' creation of visual data"; that the students themselves collected

the photos, instead of "researchers' production of visual data" (Azzarito, 2013). Consequently, the PETE students worked with photos and social media sources that were central to their everyday lives. In this way, the participants become centered in the research process, independently producing their own visual data to "speak for themselves." This is in line with the activist approach and the focus on student-centered approaches to teaching (Oliver, 2013).

At the summary seminar, each group presented a selection of their photos representing the essential part of their group discussions. After the summary seminar, the groups delivered reflection logs to the researchers. Table 1 provides an overview of the teaching series:

[Insert Table 1 here] Table 1. Overview of the teaching series.

The data material for this article is the PETE students' individually collected photos from social media, the two groups' recorded and transcribed discussions from seminar 1, the groups' PowerPoint presentations from the summary seminar, and their reflection logs. As such, the data material consists of both visual data (photos) and transcribed text. The photos were inserted in the transcribed text at the place where they were discussed. The transcripts with photos were "meaning coded" (Kvale et al., 2009). The coding was data driven, and we developed the codes by reading and rereading the material. This process revealed that the two groups had collected similar photos, though the students tended to include more photos representing their own gender. For example, the male students chose photos of male athletes. The two groups had similar discussions of how social media influence their embodied experiences. During the first phase of the data analysis (when listening to the recorded group discussions), it became apparent that the PETE students used most of the time to discuss how social media contributes to body pressure. However, some students in both groups argued that

some influencers have a positive impact on people's body images. As such, the findings were divided into two main stories presenting what PETE students learned about the body on social media: body pressure and body positivity.

After conducting an in-depth analysis of the material, more detailed subcategories were revealed. The data will be presented according to the main categories (body pressure and body positivity) with "from thin to fit" and embodied experiences serving as subcategories for body pressure. The second category (body positivity) contains three different subcategories representing different approaches to body positivity. These approaches are represented by three well-known influencers from Norway and the unique way they chose to display body positivity.

In terms of ethical considerations, the study proposal was guided by the Norwegian Social Science Data Services. All participants were informed about the voluntary nature of their participation and were asked to provide their informed consent. Entering this study as both researchers and professors for the PETE students, we believe volunteering to be an important aspect throughout the project. Voluntary participation is complicated in studies where the researchers intervene and influence the teaching. The introductory lecture and the seminars were a compulsory part of the PETE students' education. However, they were not assessed on this teaching series and could choose not to be a part of the data material without any consequences.

When entering the field of social media, the researchers had different experiences. The second author has been involved in a similar project before and has, since then, had an active Instagram profile. The first author had avoided social media before engaging in this project. However, both authors are now following the influencers mentioned by the PETE students. This combination of experience and dedication has been vital to connecting with the PETE

students' experiences, and it offered an opportunity for the researchers to question taken-for-granted assumptions within the PETE students' discussions.

Results

This section presents the two contrasting stories that emerged from the PETE students' group discussions. We will start with the most dominant story circulating in the group discussions: that photos on social media present idealized physical appearances of the body, which results in body pressure. The second section contains the "opposing" story presented by some of the PETE students: influencers oppose dominant body ideals and contribute to decreased body pressure by supporting body positivity. Lastly, this section will present the PETE students' reflections on working with social media and visual methods as part of their future jobs as PE teachers.

The main story: body pressure

After coming together at the university and working in small groups, the PETE students quickly agreed upon the similarities between their photos: "The primary focus is skin and body. That is in common. In addition, stomach…" (Nora). Most of the PETE students' photos were appearance-focused and presented, for the most part, fit people showing off their muscular bodies and bare skin. In their group discussions, the PETE students talked about the body pressure they experience on social media and spent most of the time reflecting on how these photos contribute to body pressure. Analyzing their discussions, we will present this main finding through the subcategories #from thin to fit and embodied experiences.

#from thin to fit

Most of the PETE students included a photo of one of the most well-known influencers in Norway—Sophie Elise (#sophieelise).

Siri: I think everybody knows who this is—Sophie Elise and the perfect picture. She is famous and has a lot to say about everything and everybody. As we know, she has had a few things done to her body. Her followers are in all age groups. This image has a message of showing the perfect body: *my body and me*.

[Insert figure 1 here] Figure 1. Sophie Elise (Photo: Sophie Elise)

The PETE students highlighted the image of Sophie Elise as a typical image of the perfect body and commented on her many body modifications:

Siri: She has had some work on her ass. She had silicone implants in her breasts, although she removed them before putting them back in again. I think Sophie Elise has been very honest about her surgeries and her own body complexes. She has been very open about her problems. Still, I think it influences young people. The fixing of her body, promoting it as easy.

Through surgery, Sophie Elise has modified her body, and the PETE students highlighted the dangers of promoting this ideal on social media.

However, the PETE students argue that the trend on social media has changed from valuing thinness to fitness:

Oda: Now, you should have more defined muscles and be a little big.

Nora: It is OK to be a little big.

Kaja: Focus[es] have changed. Before, you should be thin, but now you want to be fit.

These statements align with the "fitspiration" trend on social media. Fitspiration consists of images designed to motivate people to exercise and pursue a healthier lifestyle (Tiggemann & Zaccardo, 2018). Before-and-after photos are common on social media, and, as Nora said, they are intended to inspire people to work hard and lose weight: "At least I think when they post before-and-after pictures, people think, 'Well, the way she looked before is not good, so she had to be like that for it to be good'" (Nora).

[include Figure 2 here] Figure 2. Carly-Ann Dell (Photo: Carly-Ann Dell)

When discussing the before-and-after photos of Carly-Ann Dell (#carlyanndell), the PETE students were intrigued, since she, in contrast to others who post before-and-after photos, had gained weight in the right picture (after). However, the PETE students agreed that "she is well-trained in both pictures, [and you] must not always be super muscular" (Johannes).

Overall, the PETE students identified a shift in body ideals among women that had encouraged them to value fitness over thinness (i.e., fitspiration). Fitspiration promotes well-being through exercise with images that emphasize strength and empowerment (e.g. Tiggemann & Zaccardo, 2018). However, the increased focus on fit female bodies does not mean that photos of traditional body ideals for women are lacking. The PETE students' images reflected the two predominant appearance ideals presented on social media: #thinspiration and #fitspiration (e.g. Cohen et al., 2019).

In contrast to the female body ideal inspired by thinspiration and fitspiration, the body ideal for men seems to be inspired by fitspiration only. Within the PETE students' photo collection, only a few men appeared:

> Kaja: You can see how many pictures we have of girls compared to boys. I just noticed that we have focused more on girls than boys.
> Nora: And how their bodies should be [what they should look like].
> Nora: The few images we have of men, they are active.

[Include figure 3 here] Figure 3. Active man running shirtless. (Photo: iStock)

The PETE students' photos highlighted the objectification of women who were passively posing whereas the pictures of men focused on an active setting.

Overall, the PETE students emphasized the enormous pressure that these body ideals place upon young people: "The pressure of body ideals... even though it should not… comes from every image of well-trained bodies" (Nora).

Embodied experiences

The PETE students expressed how the continuous posting of "perfect" bodies on social media

has negatively affected their embodied experiences:

> Kari: [Some profiles I follow] make me feel like shit.
>
> Jon: Before… I followed a lot of girls and boys with—in our eyes—a perfect physique
> [or] appearance. I could look at them and admire them, but over time, it made me feel
> bad. So, I stopped following them. However, I am exposed through people I know and
> friends.
>
> Kari: It is very hard… I evaluated my Instagram account 9 months ago and reviewed the
> people I follow. Not in my feed, but all people I followed—the result was that I
> unfollowed everyone who made me feel like shit. I unfollowed approximately 80 profiles,
> and that was not just influencers and training profiles. It was [all sorts of people], their
> postings of pictures really made me feel bad…

The two PETE students, Jon and Kari, emphasizes that the continuous exposure of "perfect"

bodies" within their feed, made them feel bad. As a result, they both had made a deliberately

choice to unfollow people on Instagram. However, as highlighted by Jon, through friends and

other people they still get exposed for such images. The PETE students agreed that social

media influences them:

> Siri: I would say, on social media… all the pictures—if you believe it or not, you are
> affected by them. If you see influencers, you think, "shit"… It is not conscious [but you
> are affected].
>
> Inger: All these top influencers… have become so popular that they do not know how
> much power they have.
>
> Kari: When you post something on Instagram, even though it is just one of us with a few
> hundred followers or less—in that moment, when I post something, my followers are
> thinking, "That looks cool, I want it too." That is not something I want or think about.
> Suddenly, I have power that I do not want.

Being users of social media, the PETE students acknowledge that they not only are influenced

by others, but also are influencing others.

To summarize, the PETE students' discussions reflected two appearance-related trends

on social media: #thinspiration and #fitspiration. The PETE students highlighted how these

photos created body pressure that influenced their embodied experiences. Continuously faced with the perfect body on social media, the PETE students learned how their bodies correspond to societal standards. Some students demonstrated agency by deleting or unfollowing people whose postings made them feel unhappy in general and with their bodies. Our study reveals that PETE students acknowledge social media's influence and highlights how they, as users of social media, recognize their own contributions to body pressure through their posts.

The second story: Body positivity

Even though social media accounts that display idealized images continue to grow in popularity, our analysis revealed a contrasting story related to the PETE students' photos and discussions. This second story reflected the emerging body positivity trend on social media (e.g. Cohen et al., 2020), which aims to challenge dominant appearance ideals and promote the acceptance of all bodies.

> Kaja: Just one year ago, the focus was on the [ideal] body. Now, it is more accepted to post pictures just as you are.
> Nora: Maybe the trend has shifted a bit; the body ideal is no longer just fit and trained, but it is more accepted to be normal, regular.
> Siri: I think there is a growing trend of body positivity on Instagram,

During their discussion of body positivity, the PETE students referred to three well-known influencers in Norway and how they contribute to body positivity. Consequently, we have chosen to present the PETE students' discussion of body positivity by presenting these three influencers and their unique way of supporting body positivity.

Ulrikke Falch

A central person featured in the PETE students' photos was Ulrikke Falch, a young actress from Norway who has been celebrated for her openness about her body and her promotion of body positivity. As a clear counterweight to the glossy body images on social media, Falch

posts selfies that feature unedited thighs, humorous dances, and double-chin pictures. She has

also made several posts in which she imitated Jennifer Lopez's selfies using a before-and-

after setup.

[Insert figure 4 here] Figure 4. Ulrikke Falch posing like Jennifer Lopez. (Photo: Ulrikke

Falch)

Interestingly, Falch's imitation of Jennifer Lopez's selfie was quickly removed from

Instagram by moderators (Blanco, 2017), while Jennifer Lopez's selfie continues to be

available on Instagram. The PETE students emphasized:

> Kaja: The pressure of body ideals is everywhere. Falch is challenging that.
> Oda: Yes, it shows that even though you have a few extra pounds/kilos—you can post it.
> That's what Falch is trying to promote—the message that, whatever she looks like, she
> can post it.
> Siri: Falch has been very open about her eating disorder, having anorexia and bulimia;
> she was very thin, and then she was what people would call "plus-size." So, before she
> started to exercise… her message was "your body is OK"; that every "body should be
> good." Her message is body positivity.

While talking about Falch, the PETE students also made the following comments:

> Nora: The funny [thing] is… [Falch] does not look like this anymore. She has used her
> body to promote that you can be chubby, and that is OK. Now, she is very skinny herself.
> It is strange.

After one year of supporting body positivity, Falch was accused of being hypocritical. When

Falch posted more traditional selfies in nice dresses, she was met with criticism: "You have

lost weight, now you are like everyone else" (Moren, 2019). The statements represent the

dilemma that body-positivity influencers face if their appearances change, or they lose weight.

The focus changed from the pressure of body ideals to Falch's weight.

Maria Stavang

The PETE students categorized Maria Stavang (#piateed) as part of the body-positivity trend, even though Maria herself does not explicitly support it. When discussing Maria, the PETE students highlighted several paradoxes about body positivity.

First, the PETE students underlined how Stavang, as a comedian, uses her body and laughs about being fat. "A lot of what Stavang posts is more like, 'I am fat and that is funny'" (Siri).

[Insert figure 5 here] Figure 5. Maria Stavang posing as her character "Kari Nydalen." (Photo: Berit Roald/NTB)

> Kari: Stavang has the same message as Falch but is not as [straightforward] about body [positivity]… she posts pictures of herself and her body, but she is not as direct in her writing. Maybe she is more sophisticated... she is a comedian.

Hole (2003) highlighted the long tradition of the fat female body as a source of comedy, usually as the object or butt of a joke. As a public comedian, Stavang constructed her public identity through her comedy and appearance and is, in many ways, free to play with media representations of "normal female identity" (Hole, 2003, p. 315).

Second, the PETE students discussed the paradox that some influencers who promote body positivity have lost weight. They exposed the contradiction of promoting "loving your body as it is" and then changing your appearance. The PETE students also remarked that Stavang had addressed this critique:

> Kari: Some people meant that, since Stavang lost weight, she lost her credibility. Proving that she did not love herself after all.
> Inger: She promotes her body.
> Siri: She has made fun of being chubby, and now she is average.
> Inger: Yes, she lost a lot... 20 kilos. However, she admits that she did not live a healthy life.
> Kari: She admitted that she was not happy [with] herself.
> Nanna: Not her lifestyle then.

Kari: It is very strange. She has said that "I do this to feel good about myself. Not to look a special way—I do it because I want to feel good." That is an important message.

The PETE students' discussion highlights the dilemma for women within the body-positivity movement. Women who have larger bodies are very prevalent in body positivity since they promote loving one's body as it is (Cohen et al., 2020), which makes it challenging for body-positivity influencers to change their appearances without being criticized. When discussing the different opportunities that diverse body types have on social media, Kari made the following statement: "If you have a few extra—you are fat. If you are thin—you cannot post pictures [of yourself]. If you lose weight—you are hypocritical" (Kari).

Camilla Lorentzen

A third influencer who was discussed by the PETE students was the personal trainer Camilla Lorentzen (#camillalor). Lorentzen aims to provide individuals with the tools that they need to create a good and lasting lifestyle change while learning to love themselves. On social media, Lorentzen has been criticized for being overweight and having no credibility as a personal trainer.

[include Figure 6 here] Figure 6. Camilla Lorentzen. (Photo: Camilla Lorentzen)

Inger: Lorentzen posts about the body [and] body positivity. As a normal woman— maybe some would say she has a few extra pounds, but … [she] focuses on what your body can do—not how you look. Get a positive relationship with your body. She promotes honesty about the body. She is now a personal trainer, making a living [from] lecturing about nutrition and exercising. Her story is that she used to hate running and had a very difficult relationship with her own body.

In her posts, Lorentzen promotes the functionality of the body and demonstrates that "you do not need to have the idealized body to exercise" (Kaja). However, body-positivity influencers like Lorentzen are criticized for posting photos while wearing minimal clothing and for emphasizing appearance over other attributes despite their goals to do the opposite.

Nevertheless, as noted by Inger, "Social media influences our perception of the body. Lorentzen influences me whether I want it or not, but I think she influences me in a good way."

To summarize, through their discussion of three different well-known female influencers the PETE students highlight different aspects of the trend on social media. Falch postings of an unedited, normal body draws attention to the lack of "normal" bodies on social media and micro-practices such as editing photos (Rich, 2018). Stavang uses humor to challenge stigma connected to 'fat bodies', while Lorentzen raises questions about different bodies' credibility and the body ideal presented by personal trainers. Overall, our study show that body positivity is an emerging trend on social media, aiming to challenge dominant appearance ideals and promote the acceptance of all bodies.

Working with social media in PE
In this section, we will present the PETE students' reflections on working with social media and visual methods as part of their PETE program and their discussions on how this approach can be used in their future jobs as PE teachers.

In their written reflection logs, both groups emphasized the relevance of working with social media and embodiment. They connected the approach to the Norwegian national curriculum of PE and the overall goal of "developing good self-esteem and positive perception of the body" (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2015). One of the groups connected the task directly to the 10th grade competence goal in PE, in which the PE students should be able to "explain how different body ideals and movement cultures affect exercise, nutrition, lifestyle and health." Both groups highlighted the usefulness of the approach to reach competence goals in PE.

The PETE students also emphasized the importance of developing students' awareness of social media's power. Acknowledging the widespread use of social media and the idealized

nature of the images presented, the PETE students stressed the importance of developing

students' capacities for critical reflection:

> They [students] must also become aware of how advertising campaigns use image
> manipulation, retouching, etc. This way of working [activist approach] can contribute to
> young people's self-esteem, positive perception of the body, self-understanding, and give
> a sense of identity. Today, we are exposed to [certain perceptions of the] body, therefore
> it is important to have the right tools to cope with this influence.

After getting familiarized with previous activist research (Elvebakk et al., 2018), the PETE

students emphasized the importance of focusing on boys` capacities of critical reflection.

Elvebakk et al. (2018) research indicates that young students were able to address the body

pressure girls experienced. However, they lacked a language to talk about body pressure

experienced by boys. Getting familiarized with this research, the PETE students stated, "we

think it is healthy—for especially boys, to be 'forced' to reflect upon body pressure."

However, the PETE students questioned if working with social media was an

appropriate approach when teaching young children.

> Our pre-assumption was that this way of working would be difficult to implement in
> elementary school because of the lack of body pressure and focus on body ideal among
> these children. However, reading the PETE curriculum, we recognize that it can be done.

Reading the PETE curriculum (Elvebakk et al., 2018; Oliver, 2013), the PETE students

assumptions were challenged. This is interesting since previous research has indicated

that PETE students hold strong beliefs about teaching that are difficult to change

(Hordvik et al., 2020; Philpot et al., 2020). Furthermore, the PETE students highlighted

PE's capacity to provide a contrast to social media's focus on appearance:

> It is important that students become critically aware of the representations of the body
> and appearance [on social media]. As a PE teacher, you must [instead] focus on what the
> body is capable of, the health perspective, and the educational perspective through
> activity.

Discussion

In the following section, we will first discuss the PETE students experience of body pressure, as this was the most dominating story within the students' discussions. Secondly, we will focus on body positivity, which the PETE students present as a new and opposing discourse. We will emphasize body positivity, as it is an emerging topic on social media. Our goal is to discuss the three body-positivity approaches introduced earlier in the article and highlight some of the potential dilemmas of each approach. We will additionally raise some broader points for consideration that relate to working with visual public pedagogy of the body in PE and PETE.

Body pressure was the most prominent story within the PETE students' discussions, which signifies that PETE students are continuously pressured to conform to social standards relating to their bodies and appearances. The images chosen by the PETE students portrayed sexualized bodies. This is illustrated by Figure 1. In many ways, these photos are representative of the thinspiration content on social media. Analyzing thinspiration, Ghaznavi and Taylor (2015) found that these images tend to increase self-objectification, promote unhealthy standards of beauty, and encourage sexualization of especially women. Hence, thinspiration affects young people's health and body image negatively (Goodyear et al., 2019; Tiggemann & Zaccardo, 2018). Influencers and social media users portray the best versions of themselves using different micro-practices (Rich, 2018). The PETE students underlined the importance of working with social media as part of the PE curriculum to help students understand social media's power and how it influences their understanding of body ideals and health. PE teachers can sensitize students to what is being done with, and to, bodies on social media (Barker et al., 2020; Varea, 2016).

In contrast, the photos of the male body focused on the active, sporting body. This difference reflects traditional gender constructions regarding the active male body and the passive female body (Flintoff & Scraton, 2010). That the PETE students themselves

acknowledge the gender bias within their photos is important. The long history of gender issues in PE persists, and PE is often still defined as a male terrain, positioning female students as "problematic" (Flintoff & Scraton, 2010). According to the PETE students' discussions, body ideals have moved from thinspiration to fitspiration over the last few years. This finding is in line with previous research on changes in body ideals for women (Walseth & Tidslevold, 2019). The PETE students highlighted fitspiration as a positive trend since it makes them aware of taking care of their bodies. In contrast to thinspiration and the posed, objectified body, fitspiration presents active women with an empowered embodiment (Tiggemann & Zaccardo, 2018). However, the photos of fitspiration presented by the PETE students have many similarities to thinspiration photos, such as the focus on posed subjects and nudity that portrays sexualized bodies. The fitspiration photos of well-trained female and male bodies are constant reminders of a glorified and unreachable image of the body that has negatively affected many of the PETE students' embodied experiences. Brown and Tiggemann (2016) study reveal similar findings. They found that exposure to fitspiration images led to more body dissatisfaction. Hence, both thinspiration and fitspiration seem to be a part of what Camacho-Miñano et al. (2019) describes as a 'postfeminist biopedagogy' on social media that instructs and regulate girls' bodies through language of choice, empowerment and health. At the same time, presenting exercising as the solution to achieve the normative body. With many students involved in social media and continuously confronted with "the perfect" body, there is a need for PE to expose deceptions within the media and furnish students with realistic ideas about "normal" bodies and health (Barker et al., 2020).

In contrast to the dominant story of body pressure, the PETE students also discussed the growing trend of body positivity. Body positivity aims to challenge the prevailing messages about the idealized, thin body in the media and foster acceptance and appreciation

for bodies of all shapes, sizes, and appearances (Cohen et al., 2020; Cwynar-Horta, 2016).

The PETE students argued that these photos are reactions to the pressure of unattainable body ideals and remain rare on social media. The discussions among the PETE students revealed three body positivity approaches.

First, some body-positivity influencers focus on featuring the normal, unedited female body with all its natural flaws, often as a contrast to edited photos of "perfect" bodies. The picture of Falch (Figure 4), draws the attention to social media micro-practices of editing. It is a paradox and an example of social media's power that pictures of unedited, normal bodies, such as the photo of Falch, are removed by Instagram while photos of bodies conforming to dominate body ideals continue to flourish. Given the abundance of images of "perfect" bodies, encouraging young people to feel good about their "normal" bodies is necessary. However, body positivity maintains a focus on appearance and the body. Critics have argued that the trend merely perpetuates the underlying issues by keeping the focus on the body as an object and reinforces society's preoccupation with appearance. Others have noted that the emphasis on "loving your looks" (Cohen et al., 2019, p. 48) places new pressure on women to "love" their bodies (Oltuski, 2017) and, therefore, may make women feel worse about themselves if they do not. Our research makes visible the importance of PE teachers' acknowledging the complexities of social media. The PETE students embodied experiences are both negative and positive. Our study documents a new trend of body positivity that promotes the "natural body."

Second, some influencers use humor to challenge dominant body ideals. This is exemplified by female comedians who use their bodies as a tool to normalize and laugh about their bodies (Figure 5). Through humor, comedians can take the sting out of possible stigmatization related to being fat/plus-sized since the position of being "the funny one" is one of a few positive identity positions available to fat/plus-sized people (van Amsterdam &

van Eck, 2019, p. 312). However, by adopting the persona of the "funny fat person," comedians risk reinforcing negative stereotypes about fat people that exist within society by portraying them as disempowered, defeminized, and comic subjects. Nevertheless, most stereotypes are characterized by duality (Sandberg, 2014). By embodying this stereotype, many female comedians have used it to their own advantage, which gives them capital as comedians.

Third, some body-positivity influencers choose to focus on exercising as a tool for developing physical capacities, not for losing weight and looking good. This trend is exemplified by a personal trainer who challenges society's perceptions about fit bodies (Figure 6). That bodies should be valued for their capacities have been suggested as a healthier approach to exercising (Hill & Azzarito, 2012; Walseth & Tidslevold, 2019). However, the findings showed that personal trainers not conforming to fitspiration body ideals are criticized and considered less credible than other personal trainers. The loss of credibility can be explained by the stigma associated with being plus-sized (i.e., unhealthy and lazy (Afful & Ricciardelli, 2015)). A parallel can be drawn between this finding and studies within PE. Research have emphasized that PE teachers and PETE students tend to value sporty, slim, and able bodies (González-Calvo et al., 2017; Philpot et al., 2020). Investigating PE teachers' professional identities, Barker et al. (2020) highlighted that PE teachers concerned with inspiring activity and modeling health often place their own bodies within their pedagogical approaches. As a result, PE teachers tend to connect credibility to weight, claiming that students were unlikely to take an overweight PE teacher seriously.

The findings that influencers on social media can contribute to body pressure is not new and confirms the idea of social media as an arena for postfeminist biopedagogy, influencing the students embodied experiences negatively (Camacho-Miñano et al., 2019; Rich, 2018; Wright, 2009). The findings confirm how both influencers and students

participate in pedagogical micro practices on social media where pictures are shared, edited and liked. However, our findings do also show a 'new' trend on social media that are better described as feminist than postfeminist. The influencers in our data material are using their platform on social media to do feminist work. The body positivity influencers' common focus is on the 'natural' diversity of bodies, and the oppression of bodies that do not fit dominating thin/fitspiration ideals. The body positivity influencers are fronting 'normal bodies' on Instagram. This is done through comparing photos of 'normal bodies' to 'edited bodies', turning a stigma into capital as comedian, and showing that it is possible to be a successful personal trainer despite being described as 'plus size'. The body positivity influencers are a diverse group and can be interpreted as part of the poststructural inspired third wave feminism where the focus is on diversity among women (Azzarito & Katzew, 2010; Spencer, 2007). The body positivity movement has previously been associated with fat feminism (Afful & Ricciardelli, 2015; Cwynar-Horta, 2016). Fat feminisms focus on acceptance for all bodies regardless of weight, and work to dismantle oppressive power structures which disproportionately affect non-hegemonic bodies. We can see that there are similarities between the arguments used by fat feminism and the body positivity influencers in this study, even though the bodies portrayed in this study are smaller than those associated with fat feminism (Afful & Ricciardelli, 2015; van Amsterdam & van Eck, 2019).

Our research portrays social media as a site for public pedagogy that influences how and what PETE students learn about their bodies. However, as users of social media, the PETE students recognized their own power and agency to like or unlike posts and to follow or unfollow profiles. In contrast to "traditional" media (e.g., magazines), images and content on social media are constructed using the technology's interactive functionalities. Which content is recommended is actively shaped by algorithms and the active involvement of users (Goodyear & Armour, 2018). By unfollowing profiles, the PETE students influence the

algorithm and determine what kinds of photos Instagram will suggest for them in the future. The PETE students acknowledged the importance of teaching students about social media as an algorithmic media.

The activist approach applied in this study facilitated critical reflection among the PETE students of how visual cultures on social media form their embodied experiences. We argue that this is partly a result of the PETE students being able to work with self-chosen photos of influencers that they follow. This made the learning more affective and closer connected to their life outside campus. The PETE students also acknowledged visual methods' power to engage students in critical reflections about the body on social media. The visual approach worked as a form of student-centered inquiry of the body (Azzarito, 2013) in line with the activist approach. We found that working in small groups with students they trust allow PETE students to open-up and reflect critically about body ideals and the understandings of health presented on social media. The PETE students connected the relevance of working with social media in PE to competence goals in the national PE curriculum. We will argue that knowledge about both feminism and postfeminist biopedagogies on social media, will make PE teachers more able to connect to students' life outside school, and it might be useful to focus on diversity among influencers when critically challenging the public pedagogy of the body on social media. Even though the PETE students who participated in this study highlighted the value of working with the public pedagogy of the body through visual methods, more research is required to understand how PETE students experience the use of such methods in their own teaching.

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