Made in Whose Image: God's or the Media's?

By Marsena Konkle Novelist

How many of you are fans of a reality show? I'm a fan of *Fear Factor*. I'm not sure what that says about me, but for some reason, I think it's absolutely hilarious what people will do for fifteen minutes of fame and the chance to win \$50,000. I've talked jokingly about trying to get on the show—if nothing else, just for the one in a million chance to hear Joe Rogan say to me: "And apparently fear is not a factor for you"—but I never actually would. Not only because I don't relish the idea of eating live Madagascar hissing cockroaches and retching on national television, but because I don't have the right body type. Have you ever noticed how all the women on *Fear Factor* look great in a bikini? It's probably not a coincidence. The application guidelines say, "It's best—though not mandatory—to send two clear photos, one close-up and one full-body."

If I'm completely honest with you, it's less the cockroaches, and more the body type that keeps me from applying. Our society has a standard for beauty that I, with my cellulite and soft tummy, simply don't live up to. And no matter how much I love *Fear Factor*, I'm reminded of my physical inadequacies every time I watch it. I feel this way because the media has conditioned me to automatically think of beauty on their terms.

Images of beauty come at us and our children from all quarters of popular culture. There are television actresses and movie stars. Rock stars whose looks are as well-known as their music. And, of course, there are magazine covers, which no one who stands in line to buy groceries can avoid. If you look at the women in the media, you'll notice that one thing they all have in common is their size. As women, we see these images and we know without anyone telling us in so many words that to be beautiful these days is to be thin. And not just sort of thin. Pick any model on the cover of any magazine, even one like *Travel & Leisure*. Chances are, once you look closely, the model will be almost shockingly thin, perhaps even anorexic.

If you doubt the power of this unspoken message, you just have to look at the statistics. Constance Rhodes, in *Life Inside the Thin Cage*, writes that "81 percent of ten-year-olds are afraid of being fat." Nearly half "of first- through third-grade girls want to be thinner, and more than half of nine- to ten-year-old girls say they feel better about themselves if they are on a diet."

I know from experience and from talking to other women that teens feel this pressure, as do women in their twenties, thirties, forties, and on up into, believe it or not, their seventies. But, I think the fact that 81 percent of ten-year-olds are afraid of being fat is an indication of just how powerful the visual message is.

So far, we've only been talking about women, and I wouldn't want you guys to feel left out. Alicia Potter wrote an article for the Boston *Phoenix* called "Mirror Image," in which she points out that "currently, two competing body types dominate the pages of GQ and Men's Health. The first is a slender, sculpted, almost feminine look (think Brad Pitt); the second is a pumped-up but still low-fat physique." What does it mean to be an attractive man these days? Certainly, it involves low body fat and a sculpted look, whether you're pumped up like the Rock or lean and fit like Andy Irons, a world champion surfer, or an actor like Brad Pitt.

As if the visuals weren't enough, the advertising industry regularly invites us to evaluate our own physiques by comparing them to the ideal. Ads and magazine articles, in the guise of helping us and coming to our rescue, both support the media's definition of beauty while at the same time exacerbating our already sinking sense that we do indeed need a lot of help.

In the book Am I Thin Enough Yet?, Sharlene Hesse-Biber says,

Fueling [the trend toward a certain look] are large-scale market interests that exploit [our] insecurities about our looks. American food, weight loss, and cosmetic industries thrive on the purchases made to obtain the unobtainable goal of physical perfection. The . . . flawless [model] is an icon created by capitalism for the sake of profit. Millions . . . pay it homage. 1

Once you start paying attention to the number of ads aimed at our physical looks, you'll see them everywhere: in magazines, newspapers, on billboards, television, while surfing the Web, even when listening to the radio.

I think that most of us believe we are too smart to really be influenced by the ads we see. Yet, the influence of advertisements on our psyche—as well as our buying habits—is documented and undeniable.

In Deadly Persuasion: Why Women and Girls Must Fight the Addictive Power of Advertising, Jean Kilbourne writes,

Advertising performs much the same function in industrial society as myth performed in ancient . . . societies. It is both a creator and perpetuator of the dominant attitudes, values, and ideology of the culture, the social norms and myths by which most people govern their behavior. At the very least, advertising helps to create a climate in which certain attitudes and values flourish and others are not reflected at all.²

This may seem like an exaggeration, but let me ask: how many of you have kids? Or work with kids? Do I even need to try to convince you that they respond to advertising? You don't have to go far for concrete evidence that adults, too, are swayed by advertising: The number of cosmetic surgeries performed on men has increased 306 percent since 1997; they now make up about 10 percent of all cosmetic procedures, and no one is predicting that that number will go anywhere but up.³

Over 20,000 people applied to be a part of the second season of ABC's Extreme Makeover.⁴ In 2004, we spent just under \$12.5 billion dollars on cosmetic procedures.⁵

I believe all of this is a direct result of the fact that what's flourishing today is a specific definition of what it means to be beautiful, which has everything to do with our physical appearance and nothing at all to do with our minds or souls.

Consequences

Besides enticing us to spend a lot of money on weight loss products, gym memberships, and plastic surgery, let's think about what else happens when we accept the media's definition of beauty.

Very few people—men included—can live up to society's standards. Even those who *are* physically beautiful don't actually believe they are—including celebrities and models, whom we naturally assume feel very comfortable with how they look since they're the ones we're trying to emulate. Drew Barrymore, who is by most counts, a successful and beautiful actress, shows up not only in popular movies, but on the covers of magazines. In February 2004, she was on the cover of *People* magazine, where fully one-third of the four-page story was devoted to her recent weight loss, even including a side box for how readers might follow her example. In response to a question about her body, Barrymore said, "For the next lifetime, I've put in a bid for long, thin arms . . . tall thin legs," and then she stopped herself and laughed. The journalist concluded: "The girl they called Fatso says she can now look at herself naked in the mirror—though apparently she'd still rather see [Cameron] Diaz staring back."

Do you hear the contradiction in what Barrymore is saying? She feels good about her body, yet she'd still rather have a completely different shape.

Hesse-Biber writes in her book Am I Thin Enough Yet? that many of the girls she interviewed believed they did not measure up to the societal expectations of the correct body image. "Not measuring up" can lead to strong feelings of self-hatred. . . . [One girl she interviewed] said, "I'm just so powerless. I feel awful about myself, pretty much hate myself if I don't look a certain way. When I'm home and I'm gaining all that weight, I feel like [crap.]" For another girl, seeing extra pounds on the scale was like a death warrant: "I gained weight and I didn't feel good about myself," she said. "I gained four pounds. Doesn't that sound stu-

pid? I say that to myself, but when you see it on a scale, it's like death."7

Notice they didn't say they merely felt dissatisfied with their bodies. Rather, their words reveal a self-confidence under attack, resulting in self-hatred and powerlessness. Those are intense feelings.

A recent survey found that 70 percent of women felt depressed, guilty, and shameful after looking at a fashion magazine for only three minutes.⁸ Likewise, researchers at the University of Central Florida found that "men who watched commercials of muscular actors felt unhappy about their own physiques. This 'culture of muscularity' can be linked to eating disorders or steroid abuse."⁹

Michelle Graham, author of Wanting to Be Her: Body Image Secrets Victoria Won't Tell You, believes that "at the root of our physical insecurities, shame is flourishing." ¹⁰

Psychologist Lewis Smedes has noted that "the difference between guilt and shame is [clear]. We feel guilty for what we *do*. We feel shame for what we *are*. A person feels guilt because he *did* something wrong. A person feels shame because he *is* something wrong."¹¹

When we talk about struggling with our body image, it doesn't sound so bad. But the reality of being flooded with shame is devastating.

Riza West is a woman whose story was in the November 2003 issue of *People* magazine. In January 1994, Riza decided to have her eyes done, but when she talked to the plastic surgeon, he very nicely suggested that she "have her entire face reworked." She has had two face-lifts, rhinoplasty, breast lifts, liposuction, lip sculpture, lip lift, laser resurfacing on her face, fat insertions to fill out her cheeks, and botox treatments.

"I look prettier than I did as a teenager," she says. "I am thrilled with the results—and I will continue to do whatever is needed to make me look good." And what about [her husband], who, after all, signed onto the \$100,000 that Riza has spent so far on plastic surgery? "My wife looked better and better after each procedure," he says. "It's amazing! It was like living with a new woman! Riza is like an annuity; she has improved with age." 12

In other words, she is valuable, both to herself and her husband (and is worthy of accolades in the media) because of her physical appearance. It's easy to laugh and judge Riza and, especially, her husband. In fact, it took me quite a while to realize that I am more similar to her than I like to admit.

Riza and I are good examples of how we allow ourselves to be objectified, reduced to something that is less than truly human. Constance Rhodes, author of *Life Inside the Thin Cage*, says, "Our preciousness is no longer defined by the beauty of our soul or the standing of our spirit. We are the looks we draw." ¹³

For women, shame, or at least a sense of not measuring up, can lead to dieting, exercising obsessively, and falling into disordered eating habits, if not full-blown anorexia and bulimia. Men, often driven by perfectionism, go to the gym to try to bulk up, turn to supplements and steroids to boost their efforts, and an increasing number are also falling into eating disorders and unhealthy, obsessive exercising.

There are also the more subtle examples: women who won't undress in front of their husbands because they so hate their bodies; those of us who try not to catch our reflection in the mirror after a shower; or the embarrassment or fear we feel because we're losing the battle with age and gravity.

So this, ultimately, is what happens when we accept the media's framework for beauty in which nothing else matters except how we look. We feel it not only physically, but in our souls, and it has implications for our sense of who we are as humans and for how we determine our worth.

There's a lot at stake, not only for us, but also for our children. The more research I do in this area, the more I talk to others, the more convinced I am that one of the key ways in which our enemy, the devil, is on the prowl, devouring us, is through our body image. Because the media's message is impossible to miss, we need to sharpen our own swords and teach ourselves and our children how to fight back.

Deconstructing the Message

Actually, we've already taken a crucial first step. We've identified the message and some of its consequences. From there, we can work on deconstructing the message, by which I mean we need to pick apart the message, unravel it, search for truth, and call the rest what it is: lies. I'll walk you through a few examples.

I think it's safe to say that *Sports Illustrated* swimsuit models are considered beautiful. But is it realistic for women to want to look like these models? Ask a teenager and she's likely to say yes.

Many models are like this one, who is 5 feet, 9 inches tall and weighs 105 pounds. On a body mass index, which is what many doctors use to determine whether someone's weight is in a healthy range, she is off the charts, severely underweight, and is in the less-than-second percentile for weight, meaning that for women her height, fewer than 2 percent weigh less than she does. Her ideal weight would in fact be 149-161 pounds, compared to her actual weight of 105.

Although we have been trained to see these women—who are sort of like flesh and blood Barbie dolls—as beautiful, their weight is unnatural. They are underweight, perhaps dangerously so, and at risk for health problems. Striving to attain their kind of beauty isn't good for us, even though there's so much in the media trying to convince us otherwise.

Jean Kilbourne points out in *Deadly Persuasion* that "yesterday's sex symbols by today's standards would be considered fat . . . it has been estimated that 20 years ago the average model weighed 8 percent less than the average woman; today she weighs 23 percent less." ¹⁴

It's not that women have suddenly grown taller and thinner and therefore the models reflect that change; rather, the models have changed drastically. In order to look like this, we have to fight against what we were created to be. Women's bodies are made to have fat on them, to be curvy. When a woman loses a great deal of weight, she not only can lose her period and her ability to get pregnant, but her breasts often melt away as well.

I think Marilyn Monroe is probably one of our most famous American symbols of beauty. Just forty years ago, she was our ideal: curvy, voluptuous, soft, and feminine at 5 feet, 5? inches tall and 140 pounds, which is right smack dab in the middle of her ideal body mass index. If you look at her pictures, you'll see that her arms look very real, she has some skin under her neck, her stomach is not flat. When she sits on the beach in a bathing suit, her stomach does what stomachs do: it pooches out a little bit. These are all bodily features we have been taught to think of as ugly, to hate in ourselves, and we admire those, like this swimsuit model, who can bend over and have her stomach miraculously disappear into her spine.

In the 1940s and 50s, Jimmy Stewart was one of the leading men in movies, dashing, handsome, attractive to the audiences then, and still admired today. In 1954 he starred in the movie *Rear Window*. In it, he plays a wheelchair-bound reporter who spies on his neighbors and thinks he witnesses one of them kill another. A nurse comes to his apartment daily to help him get dressed. If you haven't seen this movie recently, it's worth watching, just so you can note what his chest, arms, and belly look like. (Hint: they're normal for a man his age!!!) Stewart was 46 when he made this movie. Compare his physique to other actors working today who are in the same age bracket. Brad Pitt is a good example.

These types of comparisons are good, not just so we can lament how much our culture has gone down-hill, but because it illustrates how unrealistic today's standards of beauty have become.

It's not just the literal bodies of today's celebrities that have changed, gotten thinner or more buff, but the pictures have changed, too. Kate Betts, former editor-in-chief of Harper's *Bazaar* says that most fashion pictures are retouched nowadays, ¹⁵ so even the thinner-than-thin models are made to look even thinner, their skin smoother, their breasts a little (or a lot) bigger.

I've watched some episodes of Tyra Banks' America's Next Top Model and am glad I did—although the shows are obviously dedicated to singling out the girls who fit most perfectly into the media's definition of beautiful, she also engages in discussions about the problems with the industry. She has shown "before" and "after" pictures of herself—the first one is the image as taken by the photographer and the second is the image as it is seen in the advertisement. Even though I know it's done, I was still shocked at how much thinner they made her look.

Angelina Jolie has a body that many would consider to be nearly perfect. But when she starred in *Lara Croft: Tomb Raider*, her breasts were made to look bigger in all the posters, and she complained about this publicly. Even she is being fed the message that she doesn't measure up.

Author Jean Kilbourne says that "the use of body doubles in films makes it even less likely that we'll see real women's bodies. A [poster] of Julia Roberts and Richard Gere for *Pretty Woman* featured Roberts' head but not her body. A body double was also used for her partially nude scenes. Not surprisingly, at least 85 per-

cent of body doubles have breast implants."16

What isn't done digitally or with body doubles can be done with costumes and makeup. For those of you who aren't familiar with her, Jennifer Garner is the star of the show *Alias*, in which she plays a female James Bond. I think Garner is incredibly beautiful and one of the proofs of that for me has been that she can wear every style and color of wig imaginable and still look drop-dead gorgeous. Who can pull that off, except someone who's naturally really beautiful? I recently watched an episode from the first season, which is out on DVD, and I listened to the audio commentary. Garner's hair and wig designer, Michael Reitz, was mentioned several times; it turns out that he has to carefully cut and style every wig she wears so that it looks flattering on her, and sometimes the color makes her skin look so awful that they have to use specially-colored makeup in order to cover up her natural color. Reitz, it turns out, is so good at what he does that he's been nominated for Emmys three years in a row and won a Hollywood Guild Award. Those that are in the industry can look at Garner's costumes and identify a master working behind the scenes to create the illusion that she looks great in everything. Most of us are not quick to see the illusion, but we should cultivate the ability to do so.

There's also unreality, even outright deception, in ads for weight-loss products. Like these, they always include the disclaimer "results are not typical," but still, we are enticed to believe that they are effective. We should be extremely skeptical when we see before and after pictures in these ads. In one ad, the before picture was a female athlete who had just had a baby and looked out of shape; and in another, the man was a professional weight lifter who had been paid by the company specifically to gain weight for his before picture.¹⁷

It would be worth it to pass our skepticism on to our children. I know of a family that started this process with their young children by paying them a quarter every time they watched television and were able to identify a lie, either in the show or in the advertisements. This developed a habit of critical thinking that followed the kids into adulthood.

Aside from the lies in these ads and pictures, what is it that we are being entitled to believe? That if we look a certain way, we will feel contentment, happiness, that we will be more attractive to the opposite sex, that we will be successful. This is a lie. As Michelle Graham writes in *Wanting to Be Her*,

It is a lie that I will be content once I have whatever I crave. Once I have that guy. Once I have those breast implants. Once I get my hair straightened. Those things may put Band-Aids on the problem for a little while. But contentment comes only from relationship with a God who has bigger and better plans for us than we have for ourselves. It comes from a choice to put God in the spotlight.¹⁸

Replace the Lies with Truth

As we reject the media's message, we need to fill the void with truth. When it comes to our bodies and beauty, what do we know to be true?

What comes to mind for me, first, is that we are made in the image of God. It's worthwhile to go back to Genesis and search the rest of Scripture to remind ourselves of what this looks like and what its implications are for how we view ourselves.

After God created Adam and Eve, he didn't just declare his creation to be good; he said we were very good. Our bodies, as he created them, are an essential and beautiful reflection of his character.

We also know that he created us to be fully integrated beings: physical as well as spiritual. As David exclaimed in Psalm 139, "For you created my inmost being; you knit me together in my mother's womb. I praise you because I am fearfully and wonderfully made" (Psalm 139:14).

Author Michelle Graham says,

When we realize that our bodies are made to collectively bear the image of God, we live free of the "worldly passion" of appearance obsession. When we rest in God's deep satisfaction in creating our body, we will stop worrying about what others think of us. When we know that our body is a priceless gift from a loving Father, we will take care of it well. When we live in the reality that God does not reject our body, we will stop hiding in shame.¹⁹

Beauty is a good gift from God. In reaction to our culture's obsession with bodies, we shouldn't swing to the other extreme of saying that beauty doesn't matter. The most cursory glance at nature is proof that our God is an artist of surpassing beauty. David, Solomon, Esther, were all beautiful, and in Esther's case, her physical beauty was the thing that put her in a position to do mighty things. Physical attractiveness is celebrated in exquisite detail in the Song of Songs; when Adam saw Eve for the first time, he broke out in poetry.

Because of the fall, it is easy for us to lose a balanced perspective. Esther, whose beauty must have been stunning, neither rejected her beauty nor placed her confidence in it. She had a strong sense of her true identity, and I imagine that as she aged, and as her physical beauty faded, she would not have needed plastic surgery to make her feel valuable.

To define Beauty as merely physical is a LIE. I have a friend who by the standard of society would have to be called ugly. His teeth are crooked, he's overweight, the features of his face are somehow put together wrong. When I first met him, and this is to my great shame, I was guilty of thinking, "eeeewwww!" But I have gotten to know him well. He has experienced more trials in his life than perhaps anyone I know, and yet he has responded with grace, growing in compassion for others, growing in his dependence on God to give him strength as he faces nearly every day with pain. His laughter is contagious. His sense of humor is amazing. His dedication to his family is encouraging.

When I think of the most beautiful people I know, he is at the top of list. You might think that I am only referring to his inner beauty. But I'm not. Because now, when I look at him, I can't remember why it was that I thought him ugly in the first place. Who he is has transformed how I see him. I would be deeply grieved if I discovered that he was judging himself by the media's standards and struggling with a sense of ugliness or physical inadequacy.

I have an aunt whom I love being around. At family functions, I have noticed that others are drawn to her, too. And I think that part of her appeal is that she is so at ease with herself, she sets everyone else at ease, too. Although she would never be asked to be a model, she is truly beautiful, both inside and out. When I ask myself what I want to be like, I answer, "Like her." I want to be so at ease with my body, no matter what I weigh, no matter how low my jowls hang as I grow older, that I set others at ease, too. I want others to feel such safety around me that they can believe they are beautiful because of who they are, not just if they are able to reach the cultural ideal.

In Reviving Ophelia: Saving the Selves of Adolescent Girls, Mary Pipher tells of her struggle to help adolescent girls navigate the pressures of their families as well as the culture. I think she's onto something when she says,

The most important question for every client is "Who are you?" I am not as interested in an answer as I am in teaching a process that the girl can use for the rest of her life. The process involves looking within to find a true core of self, acknowledging unique gifts . . . and making deep and firm decisions about values and meaning. The process includes knowing the difference between her own voice and the voice of others. The process includes discovering the personal impact of our cultural rules for women. It includes discussion about breaking those rules and formulating new, healthy guidelines for the self. The process teaches girls to chart a course based on the dictates of their true selves. The process is nonlinear, arduous and discouraging. It is also joyful, creative and full of surprises.²⁰

Get Real About Idols

Constance Rhodes says in Life Inside the Thin Cage that

for many of us today, our body has become our god. If not our only god, it certainly is an object of worship to us. Daily we give of our time, money, and energy to pay homage to [it]. Hoping to receive [its] blessing, we gladly offer sacrifices, such as spending an extra thirty minutes on the Stair

Master or refusing dessert...so that others will see that she is worthy of their worship, too.²¹

Galatians 1:10 prods me to ask: "Am I now trying to win the approval of men, or of God? Or am I trying to please men? If I were still trying to please men, I would not be a servant of Christ."

When I was getting ready to go the Indy car race, I was more concerned with impressing everyone there with how good I looked in my jeans than with enjoying my husband, getting to know his coworkers, or with any part of my own identity that ran deeper than skin. That moment revealed to me that I had definitely moved from a healthy and godly attitude toward caring for my body and landed smack dab in the middle of idolatry.

I think that one of the reasons idolatry is so destructive to us is because it enslaves us to a force that doesn't seek our good. In Am I Thin Enough Yet?, Hesse-Biber tells of a college sophomore who has a collage on the wall of her room of beautiful bodies that she's cut out of magazines. On her mirror, she taped a sign that says, "Thin Promises" in huge letters. She said, "I have it up on my mirror so I look at it every morning, just to pump me up a little bit, motivate me, dedicate me."22

For this sophomore, her worship of the ideal body, rather than helping her grow in confidence and a sense of worthiness, actually enslaves her, because every time she looks at that collage, she knows she falls short, no matter how hard she diets and exercises. Her object of worship is tearing her down and resulting in shame.

Although her idolatry is certainly a sin, I wouldn't begin my conversation with her about the need to repent. Rather, I would want to help her understand the character of God, which is primarily one of grace and love. That He accepts her as she is, right now, at this very moment, and He longs for her to experience security and assurance that transcends what she looks like. I would want to help her understand freedom in Christ.

I have found in my own life, again and again, that as Bono sings in "Vertigo," it's His love that teaches me to kneel. Or in the words of another song, it's "grace that's brought me this far and grace will bring me home."

Dive into Grace

We are in a mess because we are being persuaded to evaluate our bodies and our sense of worth by a standard of beauty that is unhealthy and destructive. The only true antidote I can think of is grace. I'd like to leave you with one more quote from Michelle Graham, author of *Wanting to Be Her*:

Shame has one enemy. It's called grace. It is the quintessential ingredient in God's kingdom. For those of us learning to follow Jesus, learning to live as a resident of God's community, it is the currency of life. If shame tells me I am defective, grace tells me I am valuable. Shame's greatest weapon is the fear of judgment. Grace's even greater weapon is the relief of unconditional love. Shame says that because I am flawed I am unacceptable. Grace says that though I am flawed I am cherished. Shame believes that the opinion of others is what matters. Grace believes that the opinion of God is what matters. Shame claims I must be perfect to earn the approval of others. Grace claims I am accepted regardless of seeming imperfections. Shame makes us hide. Grace makes us frolic. Shame is the language of the serpent. Grace is the language of Jesus.

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Notes

- ¹ Sharlene Hesse-Biber, Am I Thin Enough Yet?, 4.
- ² Jean Kilbourne, Deadly Persuasion: Why Women and Girls Must Fight the Addictive Power of Advertising, 67.
- 3 The American Society for Aesthetic Plastic Surgery. 2004 statistics, available online at: $\label{eq:http://surgery.org/press/news-release.php?iid=395}.$
- ⁴ People, Nov 17, 2003, 75.
- 5 www.surgery.org
- ⁶ People, Feb 23, 2004, 92.
- ⁷ Hesse-Biber, Am I Thin Enough Yet?, 70, 72.
- ⁸ Michelle Graham, Wanting to Be Her: Body Image Secrets Victoria Won't Tell You, 14.
- ⁹ "Experts: Male Eating Disorders on Rise," by Michael Hill, Associated Press Writer, May 11, 2004. Available online at: http://www.gurze.net/site12_5_00/aparticle.htm.
- 10 Graham, Wanting to Be Her, 40.
- ¹¹ Ibid., 39.
- 12 *People*, November 17, 2003, p. 77
- 13 Constance Rhodes, Life Inside the Thin Cage, 20.
- ¹⁴ Kilbourne, Deadly Persuasion, 125.
- ¹⁵ CBS online article on Jamie Lee Curtis.
- 16 Kilbourne, Deadly Persuasion, 123.
- 17 20/20, "Diet Pills Promise Rapid Weight Loss, With Faulty Tactics," April 23, 2005; available online at: www.abcnews.com.
- ¹⁸ Graham, Wanting to be Her, 52.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., 43.
- ²⁰ Mary Pipher, Reviving Ophelia: Saving the Selves of Adolescent Girls, 254.
- 21 Rhodes, Life Inside the Thin Cage, 64.
- ²² Hesse-Biber, Am I Thin Enough Yet?, 69.

