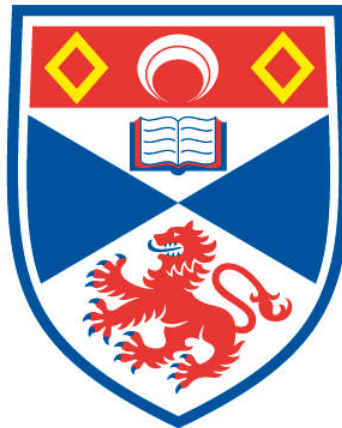


**A MIXED METHODS INVESTIGATION OF PERCEPTIONS
OF ADULTHOOD AND GENDER: LINKS TO STEREOTYPED
AND RISKY BEHAVIOURS AMONGST YOUNG PEOPLE IN
KIRKCALDY, FIFE**

Helen Popple

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



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**A Mixed Methods Investigation of Perceptions
of Adulthood and Gender: links to stereotyped
and risky behaviours amongst young people in
Kirkcaldy, Fife**

Helen Popple



This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of
Ph.D.
at the
University of St Andrews

12th December 2013

I, Helen Popple, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 73 179 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in July, 2009 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in July, 2010; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2009 and 2013.

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Abstract

Adolescence is a formative period of identity development. From the start of high school young people begin to direct their own development through peer selection and behavioural choices. During this time young people have the opportunity to engage in risky behaviours such as drinking alcohol, smoking, having unprotected sex and taking illegal drugs, for the first time. These behaviours amongst young people have been linked to a range of adverse health and wellbeing outcomes, both short and long term.

This study seeks to improve understanding of eleven to fifteen year olds' behavioural choices through investigation of potential links to perceptions of adulthood and gender. In order to capture this more fully a mixed methods approach is used with a quantitative cross-sectional pupil survey and in-depth intergenerational family qualitative interviews. By exploring a broad range of age and gender stereotyped, and risky behaviours, this study seeks to provide better understanding of participants' perceptions, motivations and involvement in these behaviours.

Results of the study demonstrate both gendered and age differentiated patterns of perceptions. Between eleven and fifteen years old, boys demonstrate more pronounced values attributed to masculine roles. Conversely, stereotyped feminine roles appear to decrease in appeal to girls. Fourth year girls perceive risky behaviours as considerably more relevant to them, than their male peers. Interviewed mothers were unsure of how best to manage their daughter's behaviours considering their own lack of experience and the apparently high value attributed to non-confrontational, friendship based, mothering.

Current methods of teaching and intervening generally address mixed gender age-group classes. This research suggests in order to modify risk-taking behaviours a gender specific approach may be more effective.

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This study has benefited from the guidance of many people through its development, instigation, analysis and write-up. I would particularly like to thank some of those most closely involved.

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Chapter One – Introduction

The aim of this study is to gain improved insight into young people's, their parent's and grandparent's ideas about gender and adulthood and the role this plays in developing one's identity in Scottish society. Improved understanding of this, it is theorised, may help us better understand the adoption of patterns of behaviour with lifetime health and wellbeing consequences.

The choices young people make may have significant consequences for their future. In the eleven to fifteen year old period many young people try smoking, start drinking and one third will have sexual intercourse (Currie et al., 2011). At this time young people are also taking school exams that profoundly shape their future career opportunities. Adolescence is thus a formative time of life and the first time that many young people get to direct their own development.

It is now well documented that in the early years the brain develops quickly and is highly sensitive to its environment (Nelson et al., in Damon and Lerner, 2008; DiPietro, 2000; Bertenthal and Campos, 1987; Brooks-Gunn and Duncan, 1997; Duncan and Brooks-Gunn, 2000). This influences a wide range of attributes, from learning to behaviour and health (Acheson, 1998; DiPietro, 2000; Hofer, 1994) but at this point the young child is largely impacted upon by external forces not of its own choosing. On the other hand, adolescence is different; it is now known that brain (re-)development speeds up again to a faster rate during this period (Johnson et al., 2009; Durston et al., 2001; Rakic et al., 1994). What is less clear is the link between the adolescent environment, continued brain development and future outcomes. As a young person gains independence they structure and shape their environment through choices more than at any earlier stage. In turn these choices direct behaviours which together form experiences; these experiences – particularly when risk-based – may affect health and wellbeing beyond the immediate and determine the future potential of that child. In this sense environment in adolescence continues to have an effect upon future outcomes.

It is important that parents, practitioners, professionals and policy makers understand what young people think about behaviour and why they think the ways they do. This enables them to best engage with young people and so assists in their facilitation of positive choices by young people in this important and vulnerable period. This study, by utilising a mixed methodology furthers understanding of how young people think about a wide range of behaviours from household roles, to risky, aggressive and sexualised behaviours; firstly enquiring about how young people view behaviours, quantitatively, and then asking more about why they think the ways they do through qualitative engagement.

Central to choices a person makes is their evaluation of the potential options. It is how a person thinks about, or perceives, a behaviour and how this in turn interacts with their sense of self and situation that influences their choice to be involved (or not) in a particular activity (Dayan et al., 2010). This is a complex phenomenon; however, this study particularly focuses upon the element of perception or cognition which has been relatively understudied in this field (Baumgartner et al., 2010; Livingston and Hadden, 2008) in comparison to the focus of many studies on the prevalence of risky behaviours among young people. Behaviours *perceived* as relevant or appropriate for a given peer group are likely to be easier to engage in than ones which are viewed as not relevant or inappropriate (Scholly, 2005). Perception then can be seen to link sense of identity and identity development through adolescence with behavioural choices.

Identity, how one displays what one is, and social acceptance of this is fundamental to personal development and wellbeing. Through adolescence this is especially crucial as young people experiment with different identities (Blos, 1962, 1968; Erikson, 1956), processing social and cultural cues from diverse sources (Minuchin, 2002; Parke and Kellam, 1994; Repetti, 1994) to determine what they *want to be* and what they *are*. More than future occupation this enables a young person to both subliminally and consciously decide where they fit in society and as such fundamentally shapes their future.

Gender is central to how we view ourselves and create our own various identities. It impacts upon all areas of a person's life; opening opportunities while in turn restricting

potential possibilities, social choices, occupational opportunities and self-concept. As stated by Bussey and Bandura:

“It is the primary basis on which people get differentiated, with pervasive effects on their daily lives...” (Bussey and Bandura in Eagly et al., 2004).

The term *gender* is used by some social researchers to describe culturally embedded and developed behavioural traits broadly more associated with one biological *sex* over another. In this sense biological sex is described as “assigned” while gender is “achieved” (West and Zimmerman, 1987). The range of norms of human anatomy and genitalia has left the two sex biological model deemed controversial by some who argue that it is misrepresentative of the range of human biological sex (Kessler, 1990), while others point to the diversity of sexes accepted across cultures (Fausto-Sterling, 1993).

Moreover, studies are now revealing that while biology undoubtedly determines some traits and personal potentials, inherited characteristics display more flexibility than previously assumed (Kendrick et al. in Eagly et al., 2004), and are shaped by environment through early years and into adolescence.

Gender is often dichotomised with maleness and femaleness appearing at opposite ends of a scale. This then allows for characteristics to be allocated to apparently natural male/female distinctive categories. However these *female* and *male* characteristics do not generally hold equal value: those ascribed to males such as “rationality, stoicism, independence, aggression and achievement-orientation” (Haddock et al. in Walsh, 2003) are regarded with higher status and import than those ascribed to females (Berscheid, 1993). Attributes of femininity are described in more expressive and emotional terms such as nurturance, relationships and dependency (Haddock et al. in Walsh, 2003). These extensive flexible traits are mouldable into gender roles and play into both political and cultural ideas of gender with associated value judgements upon behaviours, characteristics and occupations. While some aspects of this difference may be due to engrained gender legacies, observed gender difference may, at least in part, be explained by self-fulfilling

prophecy; a young child who plays with building blocks is likely to develop different skills to one who plays at feeding and changing dolls.

Recently, studies have explored the similarities between men and women, finding that frequently sexes have more in common (psychologically) than in difference (Hyde, 2005). Yet this has not changed our cultural expectations of gender which remain primarily based around defining a person by their *physically* presented gender.

Stereotypes are cognitive schemata through which individuals consistently and subliminally process information about their environment (Bodenhausen et al., 1998). From a very young age children experience socialisation with implicit (and explicit) learning of the socially accepted norms of their cultural environment. It is through this socialisation that stereotypes become imprinted. Intrinsic to each individual, personal stereotypes become engrained as unconscious and habitual processes of understanding with pervasive effects upon the interactions and experiences of the individual. These stereotypes in turn interact with cultural changes.

Culture can at times appear static, particularly through writing and film, but cultural norms are in continuous flux and development (Patricia, 1997). The lived experience of this is gradual. As such it is only by looking over longer time spans that cultural changes may appear more obvious. Commonly it appears that there are generational differences in perspective; older generations may view behaviours differently to younger generations. Moreover, young children' and adolescents' concepts of cultural norms may be less defined and thus appear more flexible and accepting of supposed deviance, whereas older individuals are regularly portrayed as holding more defined expectations regarding behaviours or a more fixed set of beliefs. Further to this complexity the point at which an individual's personal norms become more set does not appear obvious or easily academically studied. This study explores gendered perceptions of a wide range of behaviours and will add to understanding of young people's development of gender norms between the ages of eleven and fifteen as well as engaging with mothers' and grandmothers' perceptions of change. This strategy effectively pulls together both shorter

and longer term potential patterns of perception of culture which may impact differently upon young people's development of gendered norms.

Beyond gender, this study engages with young people's perception of adulthood; what this means, when it happens and how this affects behaviour. The purpose of this is to understand if there is a connection between uptake of *adult* behaviours and perceptions of personal adulthood, adding to the overall aim of this study which is to advance understanding of young people's perceptions of gender and adulthood and the role this plays in developing one's identity in Scottish society. This is more complex than it may at first appear; we rarely purely identify someone (young) as adult or child. English language has concocted many terms to describe the in-between phase such as *young person*, *young adult*, *youth* and *adolescent*. These terms point to the subjectivity of adulthood. As a group I shall refer to the pupils of the survey and girls of the interview study as *young people* as this does not hold any necessary connection to perceived adult-ness. In order to simplify the study the language of the questionnaire and interview is defined in terms of adult and child, no in-between stage available as a choice. This enables examination of the core of adulthood and childhood, whereby pupils and interview participants distinguish between these realms.

This study is funded by the Equally Well initiative of the Scottish Government which was set up to better understand and tackle inequalities in Scotland. This initiative led to the development of eight test sites across Scotland, one of which was in the Templehall area of Kirkcaldy in Fife. As such this current study is geographically placed in Kirkcaldy.

Kirkcaldy is situated in Fife on the east coast of Scotland thirty miles from Dundee to the north and Edinburgh to the south. In 2008 the population was estimated at 48,630 making Kirkcaldy the largest town in Fife. Historically there have been significant rises and falls in manufacturing and trading in the town. These changes, alongside the cultural changes in employment opportunities for women have had a significant impact upon the Kirkcaldy population.

Over the past 10 years Kirkcaldy, similarly to the rest of Fife, has increasingly been recognised as an area of deprivation. Of particular focus for Equally Well Fife was the Templehall area of Kirkcaldy. According to the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) 32.5% of the population of Templehall is income deprived (Know Fife Dataset: 20.5.13). However this presents a drop from 39.2% in 2010 and as such these figures demonstrate improvements in this area. Although this is one of the more extreme areas of deprivation in Fife, deprivation is also present, though less acutely, across Kirkcaldy.

According to the Scottish Public Health Observatory (ScotPHO) the population of Kirkcaldy and Levenmouth community health partnership (CHP) was significantly more income deprived according to the SIMD in 2009 than the Scottish average (18.6%, as opposed to 15.1%) (ScotPHO: 20.5.13). The latest figures from the Know Fife Dataset (2012) show mild improvement but Kirkcaldy and Levenmouth CHP remains relatively deprived when compared to Scottish averages (17.5%, as opposed to 13.4%) (Know Fife Dataset: 20.5.13). Fife overall, however, is marginally better than the Scottish average with 13.3% of the population SIMD income deprived in 2012 (Know Fife Dataset: 20.5.13).

These figures show levels of income deprivation across Fife to be unequally distributed and it is established that effects of deprivation may be more strongly felt in areas where inequality is marked (Zhang et al., 2013).

For the current study the Templehall population was too small to target alone. Moreover by developing a project focussing purely on perceptions or behaviour of young people in a deprived area there is a potential to generate stigmatisation, for instance linking risk behaviours with certain groups. Thus this study expanded its geographical focus to the whole of Kirkcaldy. This population is generally representative of broader, more deprived regions of Scotland. Specific to Kirkcaldy, there are lower proportions of residents born outside of the United Kingdom but a higher proportion of residents aged 75 and older (Know Fife Dataset: 20.5.13). Also, Kirkcaldy has a higher number of long-term unemployed and lower numbers of full-time students than the Fife and Scottish averages (Know Fife Dataset: 20.5.13).

Although Kirkcaldy's specific demographic makeup is not completely representative of the Scottish population as whole it is similar enough, experiencing moderate amounts of social issues to describe it as typical of a post-industrial, less affluent Scottish town. This in turn makes this study useful as a potential baseline of knowledge informing future work beyond Kirkcaldy, across Scotland and perhaps the rest of Britain.

The aim of this study is to gain a better understanding of young people's, their parent's and grandparent's perceptions of gender and adulthood and the role this plays in developing identity in Scottish society. By doing this, this study will contribute to the established literature around participation in risky, aggressive and stereotyped behaviours in diverse fields such as public health, psychology, sociology, gender studies and social policy studies. By asking about a broad mix of gender and age stereotyped behaviours, not just risk behaviours or participation in behaviours, we can gain insight across a wider range of experiences from the perspective of young people in modern Scottish culture.

The following chapter "Chapter Two: Literature" will contextualise the study drawing on public health, sociology, psychology, identity, gender and social policy studies to explore what is already known about the role of adulthood and gender in developing one's identity in Scottish society and how this may be reflected in risk-taking and stereotyped behaviours.

"Chapter Three – Methodology" discusses the design, implementation, ethics and procedures of this study and the presentation of results and figures within this thesis. The three data driven chapters of this thesis focus on different aspects of the behaviour, gender, age-group intersect, examining perceptions of appropriateness or relevance of risk and stereotyped behaviours to the pupil groups and interview subjects (daughters, mothers and grandmothers).

This study analyses responses link to notions of adulthood and gender, as such "Chapter Four – Participant Characteristics" will first introduce the pupil groups and interviewee subjects to explore their responses to the opening questions which set the scene for later analyses.

The first data driven topic chapter is “Chapter Five – Division of the Household: Caregiving and Careers”. This chapter focuses on the private sphere of the home and perceptive appeals of the execution of the division of labour (breadwinning vs. nurturance) in terms of gender. This then expands to investigate more general notions of femininity and masculinity and what the interview participants discussed in terms of ideal family setups, the norms they have experienced or observed and their beliefs about appropriate gendered behaviour in a home environment.

“Chapter Six – Girl or Woman: Appearance, Sexualisation and Risk” explores more public aspects of identity, examining a potential media effect upon gendered adulthood and how this may be linked to perceived risk for girls by mothers and grandmothers.

The final data driven chapter “Chapter Seven – Risk, Aggression and Safety” takes the notion of risk further, explicitly examining what risk means to young people and potential changes between the ages of eleven and fifteen.

The final Chapter “Chapter Eight – Conclusions” pulls together the emergent themes from the previous chapters and discusses limitations, areas for potential future work and possible implications and value of the study.

Chapter Two – Literature

This study explores young people's views of adulthood and gender at ages 11-12 and 14-15 and the views of parents and grandparents with children in this age bracket. The study links ideas of a broad range of stereotyped and risk behaviours to adulthood and gender to investigate potential links between these constructs in developing identity on Scottish society. Initially I ask young people to identify whether they view themselves as adult, or not adult. They are then asked at what age they generally believe people become adults and then what makes a person an adult. As such the present study is embedded in young people's perceptions of their own developing adult-ness and connects with studies of identity development, psychology, public health, sociology, gender studies and social policy engaging with young people's own perceptions of the development of adult-ness and adult characteristics.

Previous studies have generally investigated either risk behaviour or stereotyping. This study combines both in order to explore what young people think influences adulthood and gender rather than necessarily imposing an adult perspective upon the frames of exploration. Of course some limitations are always imposed in research as to the questions asked and topics covered. Closed question responses are restricted even more so with a limited range of response options offered. However, this study attempts to understand young people's perspectives of a diverse range of attributes to explore their perceived relevance to young people's lives and links to adult, gendered identity.

This chapter will contextualise the study in the broad base of literature in which it resides spanning public health, sociology and psychology, social policy, gender and identity studies. I will firstly explore what is already known, this is divided into three sections to present the current literature base. These are:

- 1) What is known about young people's participation in risky behaviours
- 2) Young people's perceptions of risk, particularly health risk behaviours as this is the focus of most literature.
- 3) Young people and the role of gender in identity development

What is known and young people's participation in risky behaviours in Scotland?

In recent years young people's participation in risk behaviours has gathered more interest from policy makers and health professionals. Although young people, as they move from childhood into adulthood, become "fitter, stronger, faster and cleverer" (Hale and Viner, 2012), morbidity and mortality rises year on year into adulthood (Viner and Barker, 2005). This is largely attributed to increases in injuries and non-communicable diseases linked to lifestyle choices made at this time (Hale and Viner, 2012). As a result many studies have aimed to find out how many young people are involved in behaviours that expose young people to high levels of risk (Scottish examples include: Black et al., 2010; Currie et al., 2011). These studies are constructed in this way largely because it is known that uptake of risky behaviours among people aged eleven to fifteen is not only a more common age to start smoking, drinking alcohol, having sex, taking drugs and fighting but also that it is early involvement in these risky behaviours that can profoundly influence the future life course of that young person (Hale and Viner, 2012; Jackson et al., 2012; Jackson, Sweeting and Haw, 2012; Tripp and Viner, 2005). Moreover, as young people of this age are in a sense captive at school, the age-group presents both a worthy and convenient group to be targeted by policy. This has led to a large amount of research examining rates of young people's involvement in smoking, drinking alcohol, getting involved in fighting, taking illegal drugs, engaging in risky and/or underage sexual practices.

In Scotland the Scottish Schools Adolescent Lifestyle and Substance Use Survey (SALSUS) and the Health Behaviours of School-Aged Children (HBSC) studies currently monitor levels of participation in risk taking behaviours of young people (Black et al., 2010; Currie et al., 2011). As such a good deal is known about the health risk behaviours of young people in Scotland. The HBSC study has collected data about the behaviours of young people for more than thirty years sampling pupil from age eleven, thirteen and fifteen year old age-groups. SALSUS also documents periodically the behaviours of Scottish young people in years Secondary 2 and Secondary 4 (mainly thirteen and fifteen year olds). Similar studies exist at local, national and international levels monitoring the rates of young people's participation in a wide range of behaviours.

HBSC's Scottish National Report (2011) found that *"one in ten 13-year olds and more than one in four fifteen-year olds drink alcohol at least once a week"* (Currie et al., 2011). *"19% of 15-year old and 4% of 13-year olds have used cannabis"* presenting a *"considerable drop"* from rates observed in 2002 (Currie et al., 2011).

In terms of sexual initiation: *"Almost a third of 15-year olds say that they have had sexual intercourse, with girls (35%) more likely to report sexual intercourse than boys (27%)"* (Currie et al., 2011).

In asking young people about sexual risk taking HBSC found that *"The proportion of 15-year olds who used a condom during last intercourse increased between 2002 and 2006, from 70% to 79%, but has since dropped to 72% in 2010"* (Currie et al., 2011). The primary sources of information cited by young people were most often friends and school. However, *"...compared with 2006, boys [were] more likely to source information on sexual matters from the internet and less likely to get information from school"* (Currie et al., 2011).

Other studies have stated that: *"[t]he first time a young person has sex is one of the riskiest times for young people in the United Kingdom: half of under 16s and a third of those aged 16 to 19 use no contraception the first time they have sex, as much as double the rates in some other developed countries."* (Tripp and Viner, 2005)

Moreover the same study found that *"About 10% of boys in the United Kingdom report that they were drunk or stoned when they first had sex, and 11% of girls report being pressurised by their partner when they first had sex. Of those under 16 years who have ever had sex, about a third to a half of both sexes report ever having had unsafe sex".* (Tripp and Viner, 2005)

In this sense gathering information about when young people are likely to start engaging in sexual behaviours is valuable. What may be more valuable however is understanding what motivates their engagement in these behaviours and what influences their perceptions of sexual behaviours as relevant to their lives.

HBSC also asked young people about their involvement in violent behaviour – fighting, and found that this is “*more prevalent among younger than older boys*” (Currie et al., 2010). The present study draws on this finding to examine whether attitudes towards aggression may be linked to developing adult gendered identity.

It is important that rates of young people’s participation in risky behaviours is documented as this enables policymakers and professionals involved in interacting with the needs of young people to best target both specific behaviours and demographic groups. However, these studies cannot capture young people’s perceptions of behaviours and cannot decipher young people’s attitudes towards these behaviours in terms of how this links to their own sense of developing, gendered, identity. The contribution of this research then is to compliment the ‘actual figures’ provided by studies such as HBSC and other participation counting studies with a more detailed account of why young people may choose to become involved in risky, dangerous or stereotyped behaviours despite in many cases being aware of risks (Beyth-Marom et al., 1993; Cohn et al., 1995; Gerrard et al., 1996; Moore and Gullone, 1996; Reppucci et al., 1991).

What is known about young people’s perceptions of risk?

As shown, much is known about young people’s participation in (risky) behaviours. However, in general less is known about young people’s perceptions of those behaviours. Weber et al.’s Domain-Specific Risk-Taking scale (DOSPERT) (2002) assesses individuals’ propensity to engage in risk behaviours across six domains. They found that while skydivers (risk-takers in the ‘recreation domain’) take risks in this one aspect of their lives they do not necessarily display similar risk-proneness in the ‘investment’ or other domains. As such, they determined that risk behaviour is less a single personality trait and more a broad set of judgments based on assessments of potential risks and benefits. In this respect DOSPERT evaluates two aspects of risk-taking; motivation and propensity. Findings from DOSPERT studies indicate that individual differences in risk-taking behaviour are:

“...less driven by differences in the appetite for risk itself (the risk attitude) but by individual differences in the perception of risks and returns” (Figner and Weber, 2011).

Further to this, it is widely accepted that gender effects perception of risk (Byrnes, Miller, and Schafer, 1999; Gustafsson, 2006). However, Figner and Weber (2011) argue that there is no gender difference in “appetite for risk”, difference instead stems from culturally constructed differences in perceptions of the balance of benefit versus risk in the given situation. When compared to men, women tend to perceive higher risk in financial, ethical and recreational domains but perceive lower risk in the social domain: Figner and Weber link this to observed patterns of risk-taking behaviours whereby women are less likely to take risks in financial or investment, ethical or recreational decisions but are more likely to take ‘social risks’ (Figner and Weber, 2011). Thus *perceptions* of risk accounts for general differential patterns in risk behaviours between genders.

Weber, Siebenmorgen, and Weber (2005) discuss the importance of experience of risk as essential to developing risk attitude and perception (in turn feeding risk judgment and behaviour). However other studies have pointed to young people’s awareness of the negative associated outcomes of risk behaviour (Beyth-Marom et al., 1993; Cohn et al., 1995; Denscombe, 2001a; Gerrard et al., 1996; Moore and Gullone, 1996; Reppucci et al., 1991) and despite this, noted their involvement. Longitudinal studies of young people’s risk perceptions have found that while initial perceptions of risks associated with drinking alcohol, illegal substance use and unprotected sex were high, lack of negative outcome was associated with reduced perceptions of risk (Goldberg, Halpern-Felsher, and Millstein, 2002; Katz, Fromme and D’Amico, 2000; Millstein and Halpern-Felsher, 2001). Johnson, McCaul and Klein (2001) argue that this contributes to evidence that it is not a “knowledge deficit” that influences young people’s involvement in risk behaviours. Figner and Weber (2011) suggest an alternative hypothesis to explain observed difference between adults’ and young peoples’ perception and uptake of risk –behaviours regarding emotion and affect: they suggest there are hot or cold feelings and reactions linked to risk-participation. While young people are known to take more risks in terms of driving, substance use and sexual practices (Albert and Steinberg, 2011), in laboratory tests young people regularly do not demonstrate significant differences from adults or younger children (Byrnes et al., 1999;

Figner et al., 2009; Reyna and Farley, 2006). Figner et al. (2009) designed experiments to examine potential differences between 'hot' and 'cold' decision-making in adults, young people and children. While all three groups were comparable in their behaviour in 'cold' tasks (delayed outcome response, reasoned decision-making), young people were significantly different in their behaviour in 'hot' tasks (instant feedback regarding success/failure, intuitive and reactive decision-making – producing increased arousal as measured through skin conductance) (Albert and Steinberg, 2011; Epstein, 1994; Figner et al., 2009; Figner and Weber, 2011; Gerrard, et al., 2008). Young people in the hot tasks generally used less information and neglected to recognise relevant information; they took greater risks. Recently this has been linked to developments in neuropsychology that point to differing speeds of neural process maturation with resultant implications for young people's psychology, in this case affecting decision-making and risk (Albert and Steinberg, 2011; Somerville, Jones and Casey, 2010; Steinberg, 2010).

Further to this, Albert and Steinberg (2011), illustrate the effect and complexity of *circumstance* interacting with biology to create a context of young people's risk-taking behaviours. The "in the moment" nature of decision-making (Albert and Steinberg, 2011), has been relatively less studied. Moreover, the same researchers found perceived *benefits* associated with risk behaviours to be more predictive of young people's uptake of those behaviours, than perceived cost to be associated with non-uptake (Albert and Steinberg, 2011; Michels et al., 2005; Peters et al., 2009). In this light Denscombe (2001b) found that many young people perceived smoking as an activity that had personal benefits and something they willingly engaged in with knowledge of the health risks they are taking (Denscombe, 2001b).

In response to this some researchers have investigated young people's perception of invulnerability or "unrealistic optimism" (Weinstein, 1980). There is some debate as to whether young people really do see themselves as less vulnerable than younger children and older adults (Johnson, McCaul and Klein, 2001). Some authors have found that young people feel more immune to harm than other populations (Elkind, 1967; Jack, 1989; Milam et al., 2000; Moore and Rosenthal, 1991; Reppucci et al., 1991). Others have found that

generally young people perceive their likelihood of negative outcomes from risk behaviours similarly to adults (Cohn et al., 1995; Quadrel et al., 1993).

The interwoven effects of gender, culture, circumstance, risk- domain and developmental neural biology create a complex picture of young people's risk-taking decisions.

Further to this, perceptions of health behaviours may differ between adults and young people but this is has received less research attention:

“youth's perspectives on what constitutes health and what factors influence health are relatively unknown.” (Woodgate and Leech, 2010)

Thus, further complexity is added to studying young people's developing perceptions of health as linked to behaviours. However, young people's developing notions of risk emerge in the context of peers and family relationships. Previous research has highlighted the role of parents in young people's decision-making:

“Parental factors are consistent and critical resources for youth. These factors include support, monitoring, and communication skills.” (Fergus and Zimmerman, 2005)

Additionally, recent studies have explored peer effects; increased time spent with peers predicted higher cannabis use, in particular going out in the evenings with friends was associated with opportunities to obtain and use cannabis (Best et al., 2005; Hight, 2004; Kuntsche et al., 2009).

Parental supervision is considered central in predicting young people's involvement in some risk behaviours: McKegany et al. (2004) found that young people's cannabis use was associated with low parental supervision. It is also accepted that peer and parental perceptions of smoking closely contribute to a young person's uptake of smoking (Otten, Engels and Prinstein, 2009; Otten, Wanner, Vitaro, and Engels, 2009). Further to this, Foxcroft and Lowe (1995) found that young people's perception of their family life was linked to uptake of risk-behaviours stating:

“...results showed significant relationships between perceived family life and a range of self-reported adolescent drinking, smoking and other substance use involvement variables.” (Foxcroft and Lowe, 1995)

As such this study is designed to engage with families due to the known influence of parents on young people’s perceptions and uptake of risky behaviours.

Young people’s perception of positive wellbeing is suggested to predict positive perception of general health which in turn has been found to correlate with reduced rates of smoking, drinking alcohol, illegal drug-taking and other risk behaviours. As such positive wellbeing may be a central factor to physiological health of young people (Hoyt et al., 2012). In response to the potential role of wellbeing the present study chose to explore behaviours beyond simply those considered risky and to include behaviours linked to identity development. A key element of becoming an adult is the generation of personal identity into a mature man or woman. This aspect of growing up has been discussed as experimental, a period of identity flux (Miles et al., 1998). As such, the present study engages with young people’s perceptions of a range of gender stereotyped behaviours beyond risk behaviours. Central to the analyses in the current study is perceptions and role of gender.

What is known about the role of gender in identity development among young people?

Identity development through teenage years has been discussed by theorists for decades as particularly turbulent and marked by testing boundaries (Bergman and Scott, 2001; Blos, 1968; Erikson, 1968; Hall, 1904). During teenage years young people may experiment in a range of behaviours some of which may track into adulthood (Gordon-Larsen et al., 2004). Although for most young people the (risk-taking behavioural) experimentation they do as teenagers, does not continue into adulthood for those who it does, this poses a substantial risk to their adult health, wellbeing and life course. This study explores whether risky behavioural choices are linked to young people’s perceptions of adulthood – or becoming an adult and as such are entwined with their notions of developing adult identity.

Key facets of identity may vary between genders and age-groups. Erikson's (1950) theory of identity was criticised for lack of engagement with gender as a feature of identity development (Cramer, 2000; Grotevant et al. 1982; Marcia, 1980). However it is generally accepted that physically presented sex is a primary way by which people are defined by others and central to defining oneself in most modern Western cultures (Bussey and Bandura, 2004). Norms and values have been shown to be easily assimilated into developing notions of appropriate gender roles with studies through the 1970s and 1980s demonstrating that children start to develop gender or sex role stereotypes sometime between two and four years old, reaching views similar to adults by the age of five (Nadelman, 1974; Weinraub et al., 1984) – though, less articulated. Boys demonstrate heightened awareness of gender roles when compared to girls which some researchers have linked to parental gendered expectations being stronger for boys than girls (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). As adults men who display more feminine characteristics are chastised more significantly by society than adult women who display more masculine characteristics (Carrigan et al., 1985; Connell and Connell, 2005; Wentworth and Chell in Lee, 2005). In this sense expectation allied to cultural gender norms have a clear role in developing one's identity and accessing others.

However, culture is not static, over generations norms change and values shift. As such, young people not only act to develop their own identity but also play a part in the process of cultural norm development (Patricia, 1997). In recent decades technological advancements have greatly impacted upon the availability of imagery and media, particularly online (Abbott, 1998; Flanagin et al., 2001; Livingstone, 2002; MacBeth, 1996; Purcell et al., 2010; Rideout, et al., 2010; van der Voort et al., 1998). Cultural representations of appropriate gender behaviour are ubiquitous, present in all forms of media, and now available at all times (Gauntlett, 2008). Recently theorists have debated the impact of heavily gender stereotyped roles in a range of media formats; computer games and music videos, magazines and television and cinematic portrayals.

Dill and Thill (2007) explored representations of gender in video games (more commonly played by boys and men) finding that men were portrayed as "powerful, dominant, and aggressive" while women were "extreme physical specimens, visions of beauty, objects of

men's heterosexual fantasies". Interestingly they also found over time that female characters were more violent.

Hoffner and Buchanan (2005) explored the attributes young adults find desirable in television characters and want for their own identity – they called this “wishful identification” (Hoffner and Buchanan, 2005). These researchers found that there are differences in what young women and young men find desirable. Of particular note these authors found that young men were more like to wishfully-identify with aggressive and violent characters, young women were more likely to wishfully-identify with attractive characters: thus portraying the attributes that these young adults find desirable or important. Linking these two studies the present study asks young people about their perceptions of aggression in various forms to assess how relevant they find these behaviours to gender and aged- roles. Moreover, as touched on by Hoffner and Buchanan, appearance and the interplay between beauty ideals, sexualisation, body image and young female's identity has attracted a great deal of attention from scholars (Gill, 2007; Gimlin, 2000; Lowes and Tiggemann, 2003; Mazur, 1986). The present study adds to this literature investigating whether both girls and boys desire to look different and the level of importance attributed to this between genders and age-groups of participants.

Physical appearance is known to predict popularity and self-esteem from an early age (Coleman and Henry, 1990). Moreover, studies have found that girls and women are significantly more likely to link appearance and self-concept or identity than men (Gill, 2007; Gimlin, 2000), in this sense a girl (or woman) may feel more judged by her appearance. In modern culture beauty is commonly attributed to specific and narrow feminine physical ideals and as such the interplay between these concepts may leave women more vulnerable to low self-esteem and negative bodily ideation (Cho and Lee, 2013). More recently both popular media and academic scholarship has engaged with the increasingly sexualised portrayal of *young* women and girls. Argued by Arnett (2002) to be becoming more explicit year on year and lately climaxing with the hysteria surrounding Miley Cyrus's appearance at the VMA 2013 music awards show (Cyrus, 2013).

Debates linking girls' appearance to sexual behaviour have a long history (Lees, 1993; Odem, 1995; Rahimi and Liston, 2009) however this study seeks to engage with both boys' and girls' perceptions of appearance and sexual behaviours to explore how these interact to create a potential sexualisation of youth. With the internet available to most young people in Scotland at all times it is recognised that pornographic material is likely to be accessed by some of them. Figures of young people who regularly use pornography are not currently available however figures from HBSC show that the internet is increasingly being used by young people to learn about sex (Currie et al., 2011). Studies from the United States suggest that young people from the age of eleven may use pornography (Ropelato, 2007). The present study therefore investigates whether young people in this general sample believe pornographic media is relevant to their lives, in Scotland. Results from this part of the survey may help policymakers to then engage with this age-group based upon knowledge of young people's interactions.

Results from these previous studies suggest that the current research will find that while appearance may hold more value for girls in terms of identity, aggression and dominance will hold more import for boys.

Further to this, the study engages with traditionally stereotyped household roles to investigate whether young people, their parents and grandparents hold similar or divergent views about the division of labour in the household. For the grandparental group little choice may have been available in terms on one's role following marriage (Faludi, 1992). This has changed considerably over the past five decades (Lewis, 2001). Expression of one's self or identity through career- choice (Savickas, 1993; 2002) and appears to be a suitable target of focus for this study. However, much less is known about what young people find desirable in terms of the role they wish to play in the household or the salience of these gender stereotypes to young people in Scotland. This level of identity formation may not impact overtly on their current lives but exposes their potential biases for the future therefore adding to understanding about perceptions of adulthood and gender in Scottish society.

The topics and results of this study can contribute to a wide range of debates across multiple disciplines due to the broad areas explored within the survey. Moreover, specific contributions of the qualitative interview participants point to further areas for exploration in future work. This chapter has provided an overview of the underlying literature that this thesis hopes to contribute to. However this is not an exhaustive list but more defines the theoretical and epistemological background and stance of the researcher and this study.

Tied to this literature background are the aims of the study. This study aims to contribute to diverse literature fields; public health, psychology, sociology, gender studies, and social policy studies; to understand, from young people's, their parents and grandparents perspectives, what growing up in Scotland means in terms of perceptions of one's developing role in society as an adult man or woman. Included in this is how role-perception change from first year at High School to fourth year at High School and how this is observed by parents and grandparents in relation to their own experiences.

Each chapter of this thesis helps to build a picture of specific elements of behavioural and character perception from the home environment, to perception and importance of physical appearance, to the role of risk-behaviours in becoming *adult*. As such, each chapter defines its aim separately whilst contributing to the clearly defined aim of understanding young people, their parents and grandparents perspective of roles in Scottish society.

The following chapter will investigate how this research was conducted and the methodological and ethical issues encountered and overcome in its development.

Chapter Three – Methodology

This chapter describes the methods used in this study in terms of approach, study administration, analysis and presentation. It examines why these methods were the most appropriate, response rates and participation numbers as well as identifying the primary demographics of the participatory groups. Initially I will outline the aims of the study and consider how these developed through the study period. This is followed by a discussion of the terms used within the study particularly with regards to *sex* and *gender*. Following this contextualisation I shall describe the methods of literature search followed by the mixed methodological approach of the study. At this point I shall delve deeper into the methodology to examine first the quantitative procedures, participation, analyses and presentation followed then by the qualitative procedures, participation and analyses. Finally I will outline the chapter structure of this thesis.

Background and Aims

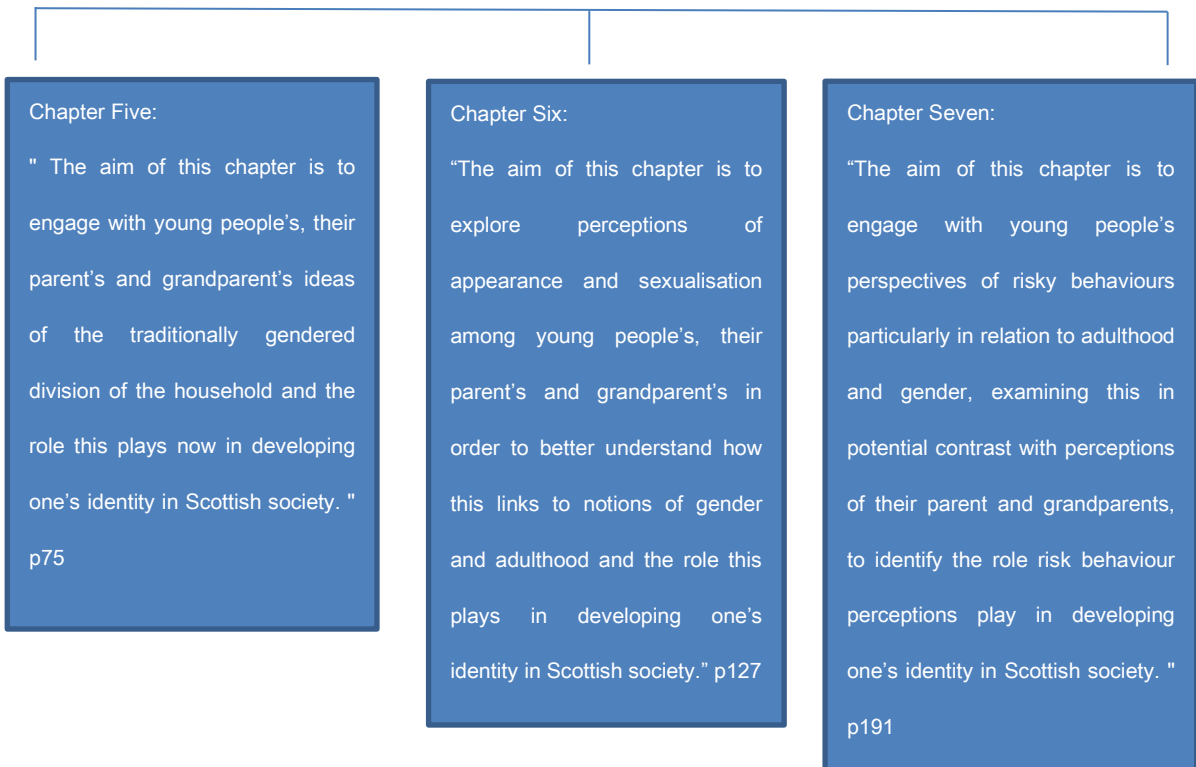
This study aims to contribute to diverse literature fields; public health, psychology, sociology, gender studies, and social policy studies; to understand, from young people's, their parents and grandparents perspectives, what growing up in Scotland means in terms of perceptions of one's developing identity (or role) in society as an adult man or woman. Included in this is how role-perception changes from first year at High School to fourth year at High School and how this is observed by parents and grandparents in relation to their own experiences.

Each chapter of this thesis helps to build a picture of specific elements of behavioural and character perception from the home environment, to perception and importance of physical appearance, to the role of risk-behaviours in developing one's identity in Scottish society. As such, each chapter defines its aim separately whilst contributing to the clearly defined aim of understanding young people, their parents and grandparents perspectives of roles in Scottish society. This is illustrated in a schematic, on the following page:

Key Aim

"The aim of this study is to gain improved insight into young people's, their parent's and grandparent's ideas about gender and adulthood and the role this plays in developing one's identity in Scottish society" p12

Data Driven Chapter Contributory Aims



The aims of this study will be explicitly revisited throughout the thesis to maintain focus and demonstrate the contribution of each chapter.

This study is designed to explore concepts of adult roles and gender norms and how these concepts shape a person's thoughts and personal choices. Initially the study was envisaged as a longitudinal quantitative survey within the schools following first year to second year pupils. However, on reflection it was felt that over one year it may be difficult to detect significant changes in a young persons' perception. Further as the young person would be aware of the study topics the second time around the survey may fail to show change if participants remembered their previous answers and responded the same way. By instead developing the study cross-sectionally this study benefits from a broader range of age groups (first year and fourth year pupil groups) and their uninhibited first appraisal of

the topics and more streamlined ethical procedures; therefore maximising the potential for accurate, reliable results. Further, this also removed further complications within the education authority and prevented the study being further held up with their significant ethics procedures and associated delays.

The study explores the perceptions of children aged eleven to fifteen regarding a wide range of behaviours. Within the interview element of the study it was decided that child participants could lie anywhere within the eleven to fifteen year old age range in order to access as many eligible families as possible. As will be explained later in the chapter all participants of the interview element are girls and women. The perceptions of the interview participants are then used to explore the emergent themes resulting from the pupils' survey and the parental and grandparental interviews are used to examine potential perceptions of societal change.

Survey and Interview Topics

Topics for both the quantitative pupil survey and the qualitative family interviews were primarily chosen following observation and interaction with young people within Kirkcaldy. This was then followed by an investigation of recent literature to ensure the topics were of broader academic interest.

Key in developing the survey topics was preliminary work done by the author prior to commencing the body of this dissertation which involved the facilitation of a Fife Alcohol Support Service (FASS) Intervention pilot in which offenders aged sixteen and older were referred for an educational session following receipt of a fixed penalty notice for alcohol related offences. Within these sessions young people often made up the majority of the FASS intervention pilot group. These young people frequently demonstrated frustration at their own lives, lack of perceived opportunities and also lack of motivation to create their own opportunities. Many of them already felt it was too late to do anything positive with their lives. One sixteen year old boy had a particular impact; he had left school at sixteen without qualifications, he claimed he had struggled academically, did not have encouragement at home and 'got into trouble'. When asked about what he had wanted to

do when he grew up, as a child, he said he “never really had any dreams”. The study topics chosen aimed to investigate what young people want from their lives and also help them to think about their lives more positively – in this sense in the final substantive question – ‘if you could change two things...’ the question may stimulate these young people to relate the survey back to their own lives. By giving them options it indicates there *are* options. In this sense the survey was developed not only as a tool to gain original data and interesting results but hopefully also to encourage young people to think about their own life opportunities in a non-intimidating way.

The topics of the survey demonstrate a variety of commonly perceived stereotyped behaviours; some gender stereotyped (such as nurture and breadwinning) and other age limited or age stereotyped (such as drinking alcohol or being independent). The range of positive and negative behaviours and characteristics enquired about is a deliberate attempt to balance the questionnaire and inhibit participants from denoting any form of blame attached when answering questions. By this I mean that participants might feel uncomfortable answering negatively about one gender or age-group throughout the questionnaire if questions were blocked in such a way that it is clear what is being explored, moreover this may appear more obvious if all of the questions were negatively attributable. However, if they attribute some negative characteristics to a gender but also some positive attributes, it not only allows a more realistic view of a person’s complex beliefs about gender and age but also could make it more acceptable to give a gendered response – reducing the probability of responding neutrally – ‘no difference’ throughout. These techniques should not only help to maximise participation of each question but should also help to maximise engagement, and therefore potentially, honesty of the participant. Thus participants who responded with ‘no difference’ may be interpreted as genuinely holding views that adults and children display no difference, or females and males display no difference, for the given behaviour.

Further, linking the topics of the questionnaire to the interviews allows for measured albeit partial triangulation of results. As the closed questions of the survey cannot illustrate *why* young people answered the way they did, the interviews enable at least a limited exploration of this.

The target groups within the pupil survey and children interview respondents were also chosen to lie within the legal age limit for which all young people must attend school; as such this enables the broadest possible sample of young people within the pupil survey aspect.

Language – Gender or Sex

The purpose of this study is not to debate definitions of gender or sex. The term gender is predominantly used in this study as an alternative to sex purely to distinguish sex from acts of sexual intercourse that are discussed in later chapters. During the piloting of this study the professional staff involved questioned young people's understanding of the terminological use of *sex* to define biological categories, also it was thought that most young people would not have a problem with this, those who would may be 'put off' by the language. It was felt that the use of the word sex in a school classroom environment may not only be potentially confusing but also could provoke classroom excitement which teachers would struggle with. The language-level of the survey is discussed later in this chapter. For these reasons and in order to retain consistency the lay-use of the term *gender* is used to define biological categories throughout this survey, analysis and presentation.

Most people in society distinguish themselves as male or female. This study did not include participants who did not distinguish themselves in this way. For this reason 26 participants' questionnaires from the schools study were removed. All other participants assigned themselves a 'gender' and this was utilised in the following analyses.

Literature Search

In order to identify and develop this study a complex review of the literature was undergone. This included searches of multiple academic databases (Cochrane Library, EbscoHOST, JSTOR, MEDLINE, Philosopher's Index, Philosophy Online, PsycARTICLES, PsycINFO, ScienceDirect, Scopus, SpringerLink, Web of Knowledge and Wiley Online

Library). These were accessed through the University of St Andrews library 'Seeker' service. Search terms included:

"youth", "adolescen*", "young person", "young people", "risk*", "behav*", "aggress*", "house*", "nurtur*", "upbring*", "growing-up", "matur*", "school", "sex*", "relation*", "female", "male", "femnin*", "masculin*", "pressure", "appear*", "makeup", "makeup", "histor*", "*satisfaction", "confidence", "esteem", "respect", "alcohol*", "drink*", "violen*", "drug", "porn*", "image*", "technolo*", "generation*", "famil*" and "change" amongst others where * denotes a wildcard.

These terms were used in different variations to identify a broad range of relevant journal articles, books and popular press articles from different disciplines, from across the social sciences. Articles with the most relevance to the search terms were identified and read. The main reasons for literature being rejected from this study was either the age of the publication deeming it out of date, or the specific context of the material. For instance a publication looking at alcoholism in young people based in 1950s Brazil would be rejected; on the other hand a publication looking at alcoholism among young people in Scotland in 1950 would be accepted as this may be relevant to the sample population.

Due to the broad scope of subjects used in this study a significant amount of literature has been sourced and referenced. However, due to the breadth of topics covered a systematic review of this literature was inappropriate. This would present an interesting further piece of work, pulling together diverse sources covering a very broad range of literature relevant to young people's behaviours, perceptions and relations however, for the present study this would remove focus from the production of original data.

References for each chapter will be included at the end of the thesis grouped by chapter. At the end of these a larger bibliography details all journal articles, books and webpages which informed development of the study. This includes literature which was not used in the writing of the thesis but which moulded the basis of the study informing the development of the questionnaire and interview topics and as such are included as background reading.

Mixed Methodology

By combining quantitative numerical data and qualitative depth and detail throughout development and analysis this study is able to engage with young people's perceptions of complex topics more completely than if undertaken separately (Creswell, 2002; Green et al., 1989). This study utilises a modified form of sequential explanatory mixed methods design to explore both quantitative and qualitative data (Creswell, 2002). This method enables identification of major findings through quantitative data and interpretation of these results through use of deep qualitative data. This study uses a modified form of this approach as there was an overlap of data collection in line with the restricted timespan of the research project. Mixed methods research embraces the pragmatic reality of research, striving for the reality of the research topic (Creswell, 1998; Maxcy, 2003). Therefore, the focus is on the compatibility of methods and their implementation rather than necessarily structured protocol. Interpretation of data and analyses were conducted simultaneously across sources leading to deeper understanding of results from both qualitative and quantitative strands (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). By utilising this mixed methods approach the study aims to maximise crossover of results generating interrelated reliability as well as more complete understanding than could otherwise be achieved (Greene and Caracelli, 1997).

Ideally mixed methods of this type may explore first the results of the quantitative survey and follow this up with more targeted interviews. However, due to the restricted time period of this study and the substantial ethical procedures undergone within Fife Education Authority and both schools this was beyond the scope of the current project. To make the most of the methodology the interviews covered a wide range of topics spanning most of those within the quantitative survey. This was a lengthy procedure but rather than predicting those topics of more import this has enabled the participants to identify – through amount of discussion focus – which topics they viewed as more important or relevant to their lives.

Having contextualised the common areas of the research methods the following sections explore the quantitative element of the study and then the qualitative element of the study in much greater depth.

Quantitative Element

Quantitative Study Permissions Procedures

The ethical procedures of the quantitative element of this study were complex and time consuming but successful navigation of these meant that the study methods, outcomes and potential risks were very rigorously examined and prepared for prior to data collection.

The school survey required approval from the Local Education Authority – in Fife this must be granted before formal discussions concerning permissions with the schools. Initially, the Local Authority representatives, who are based within the Local Authority's Educational Psychology group, were hesitant to grant permission as they were cautious about the two questions of sexual content and did not want to ask children about their actual participation in these behaviours and other behaviours including smoking and drinking. To allay their concerns and develop a questionnaire in line with their demands a group of professionals experienced with Educational Psychology and the Local Authority practices were approached to refine the questionnaire and show support for the study.

Collaboration

The final questionnaire was designed in collaboration with Julie Dickson from the Local Authority Centre for Adult Education, Graham Milne from Integrated Community Schools and Maureen Lyall, Education Officer for Kirkcaldy. The first and final drafts are attached as appendices (B and C) at the end of this thesis. Through multiple meetings the questionnaire was discussed and refined in order to investigate behaviours of particular interest to the study but also, with knowledge of the schools priorities. Further topics were included to ensure positive engagement and participation while others were removed in line with Educational Psychology's demands. Moreover the structure of the questions was

changed from statements to full questions to enhance understanding and the language simplified to make it more accessible. Language in the questionnaire was set at a low level, readable for approximately age nine, in order to maximise comprehension and therefore provide more reliable and valid results. In line with the Education Authority request the final section of the questionnaire which asked young people about their participation in a range of risk-behaviours (drinking alcohol, taking drugs, having sex, watching pornography, involvement in fighting) was removed. This meant that the study could no longer internally link perception with actual behaviour. Ultimately it was deemed that the study is still valuable without this. Many studies (as discussed in the previous chapter) have examined the extent of risk-behaviour participation in Scotland among these target age-group (11-12 and 14-15 years old). As such, it was felt that conceding this element of the study, though not ideal, did not undermine its contribution. It does however perhaps point to a level of protectionism within Fife Education Authority which could be somewhat out of synchrony with the rest of Scotland and International jurisdictions.

In place of this section, a new element was added to explore what young people would choose to change about their lives. This, it was thought, would finish the study on a positive rather than negative element. Moreover, the question was designed to engage with what young people find most important in their lives. From a list of eleven options (please see Appendix C, final page), young people were asked to identify two elements of their lives that they would like to change. Results from this section showed changes in priorities between first year pupils and fourth year pupils and gendered differences, some of which remained stable between year groups pointing to more constant constructs of gender. This question enabled linkages to be made to the other survey questions and also provided good discussion points in the qualitative family interviews.

Pilot

In order to test the study the final version was rigorously piloted with approximately fifteen members of the Integrated Community Schools (ICS) team. During this trial all consent forms and allied information, the questionnaire and interviews were tested among the group as well as interviewer style (this element of the pilot is discussed in greater detail in the

following qualitative methodology section, below). This was followed by an in depth conversation about each question covering comprehensibility and accuracy of wording, interpretation of questions and subliminal forcing. Only one substantive change was made to the study following the pilot. This followed a very productive discussion centred on the use of terminology. It was felt by these professionals that the term “sex” could be confusing when referring to the *act* of “sex” later in the survey. As such it was thought that “gender” (used in the lay-sense) would be a more understandable term in this case. Moreover, some felt this would also help to avoid “classroom hysterics” at the start of a new task. In response to points raised the final version of the questionnaire was circulated to the collaborative team.

School Participation

Following the reformulation of the questionnaire the Local Authority was re-approached and granted permission. This allowed the researcher to instigate further discussions with schools. All three non-denominational schools in Kirkcaldy were initially approached to take part in the survey. The fourth school was deemed ineligible to take part due to its significantly different catchment area.

In total 582 pupils from two non-denominational High Schools took part in this study, 554 responses were valid and submitted for analysis. Ineligibility of 26 candidates was due to lack of designation of gender – a key element of analysis. A further two pupils indicated that they were aged 16 to 17 which could have been due to repeating a year at school or other reasons: as aged-perception is key to this study, these two participants were also removed. Between School One and School Two the questionnaire was improved to highlight the importance of participant gender.

In both schools the Head or Deputy Head Teacher involved in negotiation with the researcher determined the running of the questionnaire. In both cases they preferred to run the questionnaire within normal classes but which classes were not determined.

Contextual Issues

During 2010 around the time of first approaching the High Schools in Kirkcaldy a major news story broke in the national press regarding a young teacher now imprisoned for child sex offences. At least one of the charges included the use or distribution of child pornographic material to or with pupils in the Kirkcaldy area. As such schools in the local area appeared particularly sensitive to the survey question concerning pornography. However, in discussion with the collaborative team it was felt that the question was of such import and relevance that it should be included. In order to respond to the concerns of the schools the question about sexually explicit material was included only in the survey for fourth year pupils.

It should be noted that this contextual issue may have affected the participatory willingness of the third school. For future studies this context may be less relevant resulting in participation of more schools and higher response rates within schools.

Pupils Consent Procedures

Consent was given by the parents through an opt-out consent form sent to parents either with the School newsletter or separate 'letter home'. Contact details for the researcher and supervisor were made available in order to allow concerns to be raised with the research team. Lack of parental consent accounted for many pupils from School One (particularly in first year) not taking part in the survey. However, due to issues of confidentiality and school logistics neither school kept a record of parental non-consent. Those parents who did allow consent then enabled their child to choose to take part. As such the division of non-consent between parents and pupils is unclear other than through the casual information provided by staff contacts at the time.

The survey was conducted in School Two months after School One – and almost a year since the contextual issues previously described. As such parents may have been less sensitive to the topics of the questionnaire and as such less anxious to deny consent to take part in the survey contributing to the higher response rates of School Two as shown in

Figure 3.1 (below). This shows a clear difference in response rates between School One and School Two:

School Pupil Response Rates

	School One	School Two
First Year Pupils	39.3%	80.6%
Fourth Year Pupils	57.9%	75.4%

Figure 3.1: Pupil Response Rates

The questionnaire was run with all eligible (parentally consenting) pupils of first year and fourth year present in class on the date chosen by the Head or Deputy Head Teacher and was supervised by the regular class teacher; both schools preferred to conduct the survey without the researcher present. Within the class, pupils were given verbal information about the study as directed by the researcher through a guidance letter to teachers. Pupils were then given a ‘participant information leaflet’ and consent form should they wish to take part. At no point was the survey deemed compulsory. Once consent was given pupils undertook the survey. Following this a further leaflet detailing support services was given. Consent forms and questionnaires were then collected by the researcher. The survey was successfully conducted with 583 pupils between the two schools; this represents an overall 63.3% response rate.

Quantitative Analyses and Presentation

The quantitative data was processed into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. This total data file was then managed into smaller samples (first year, fourth year, first year girls, fourth year girls, first year boys and fourth year boys) in order to run descriptive statistical analyses. All files were uploaded into IBM SPSS 19. Through SPSS, files were examined to identify frequencies; these were used to design tabular and graphical presentations of the data. Data were also analysed for significance through SPSS with Fisher’s Exact Tests. 2x2 table analysis was chosen in order to allow exploration of as much of the data as possible. One key element of the approach of this study is to be led by the data, as such it would not be

appropriate to choose to present only some sections of the results. Understanding the patterns within the data between pupil groups means it is important to illustrate patterns of significance, this is generally done through 2x2 tables. In future further analyses of this data it would be possible to conduct logistical regressions to explore relationships between responses and populations. However, this level of analysis would be unmanageable for a thesis of this word-count with the quantity of data emerging from the study in both qualitative and quantitative formats. It is accepted that for some this could be regarded as a limitation of the *thesis* however, it is also felt that the breadth of topics and alignment with young people's perceptions also makes this potentially a major strength of the *study*.

Within this remit Fisher's Exact Test was chosen over the traditional Chi Squared Test due to the low numbers in some of the cells of the contingency tables within some of the survey questions. These low cell counts meant that Chi Squared testing became less accurate for many of the more extreme results of the survey – SPSS warned of this in its statistical read-outs. Although not all questions displayed low cell counts within the contingency tables in order to maintain consistency Fisher's Exact test is used throughout.

The analysis and interpretation of contingency tables is a highly debated and contested topic in statistics with the literature devoted to this being described as "voluminous" (Hirji, 2006). Fisher's Exact Test (FET) has been criticised for being too conservative in displaying significant results at $\alpha=0.05$, however Chi Squared is more strongly criticised for being less reliable with lower numbers and would therefore be *inconsistently* less reliable. For these reasons Fisher's Exact is the most appropriate statistical method to test for significance of response patterns within this study's data (Andres and Tejedor, 1997; Hirji, Tan and Elashoff, 1991; Overall and Hornick 1982; Larntz, 1978).

This enabled patterns of response to be compared to identify whether results were more or less likely due to chance or presented a statistically significant difference. By patterns of response I am interested in identifying difference between for instance, girls and boys in their response answers of, a) 'female behaviour', b) 'male behaviour', c) 'no difference'. Any difference detected then is between the participant groups (and their answers) not the response answers themselves. An example is portrayed on the next page:

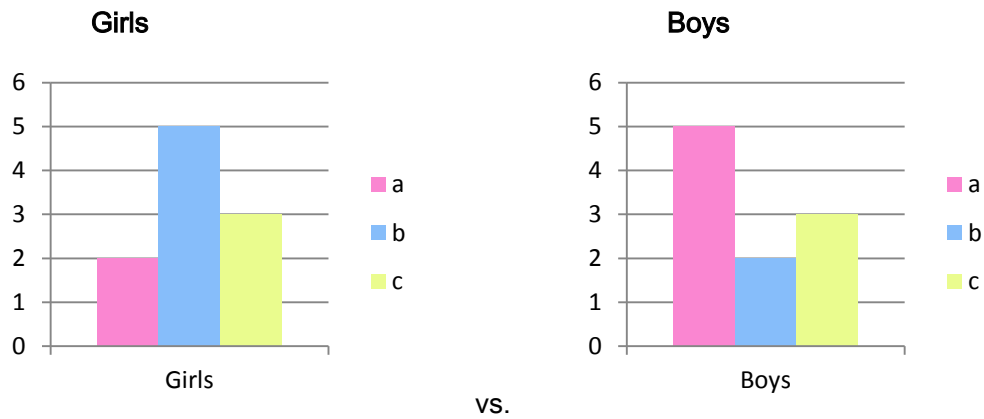


Figure 3.2: Analysis Description

I am not comparing Ga (Girls response a) to Ba (Boys response a), Gb to Bb and Gc to Bc. Instead I am comparing the overall pattern of response: *Gabc* to *Babc*. However in order to show results most clearly, clustered column graphs display patterns by response (as shown below):

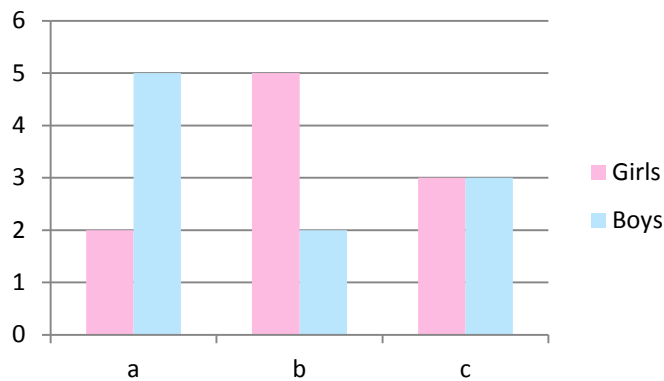


Figure 3.3: Example... Level One

These graphs demonstrate the patterns of response for each topic through use of intuitive colours and allow more information to be included on the graph without confusing the data. Response answers are presented in clusters on the horizontal axis, while different colours denote different response groups.

In graphs demonstrating responses from all four groups, older age-groups are presented in darker versions of the same colours (as demonstrated in Figure 3.4, on the following page:

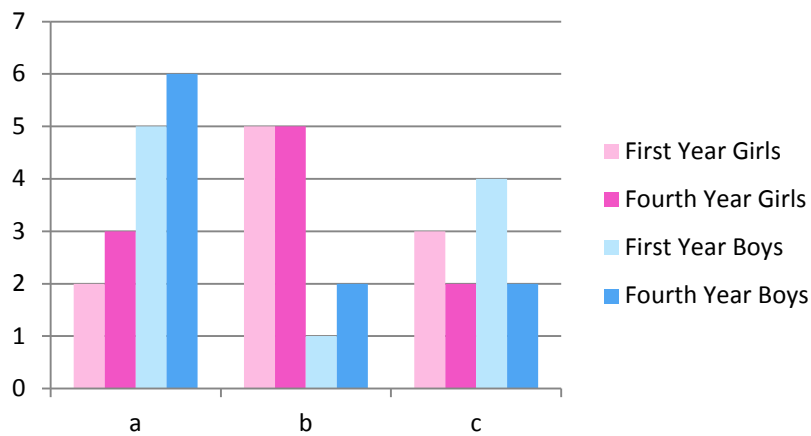


Figure 3.4: Example... Level Two

In order to portray responses in the most visually comparable way, in each case responses show *percentage* values although Fisher's Exact Tests are formulated from actual numerical counts. This allows the reader to compare response patterns visually between any of the groups.

Fisher's Exact Tests have been conducted to identify significant patterns of response between general groups – girls vs. boys, first year vs. fourth year. To delve deeper Fisher's Exact Tests have also been use to examine the year and gendered groups: first year girls vs. first year boys, first year boys vs. fourth year boys, first year girls vs. fourth year girls, and fourth year girls vs. fourth year boys. In order to make this clearer, within the following chapters these are displayed in tables below their relevant graph as so:

-Breadwinning-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
1 st year Girls x 4 th year Girls		FET(N= 290)= 0.829, p=0.682
1 st year Boys x 4 th year Boys		FET(N= 263)= 1.858, p=0.364
1 st year Girls x 1 st year Boys	FET(N= 247)= 8.540, p= 0.012	
4 th year Girls x 4 th year Boys	FET(N= 306)= 22.993, p= 0.000	

Topic is indicated in the top left-hand corner to ensure the reader identifies the subject of interest. These tables then allow for easier visual interpretation of the significance patterns – if both lower groups – First Year Girls vs. First Year Boys and Fourth Year Girls vs. Fourth

Year Boys display significant patterns then this suggests a generally significant pattern with regards to *gendered* different responses.

-Breadwinning-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls		FET(N= 290)= 0.829, p= 0.682
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 263)= 1.858, p= 0.364
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys	FET(N= 247)= 8.540, p= 0.012	
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 306)= 22.993, p= 0.000	

If on the other hand the top rows display significant differences (between First Year Girls vs. Fourth Year Girls and First Year Boys and Fourth Year Boys), this suggests a significantly different general pattern due to *maturation* whereby responses have changed in both genders between first year to fourth year – though this may or may not be a movement towards an ‘adult’ perception of the behaviour or attribute. Moreover, as this study is not longitudinal this must not be interpreted as a shift in response within one group over time – these are separate groups of individuals in different year groups.

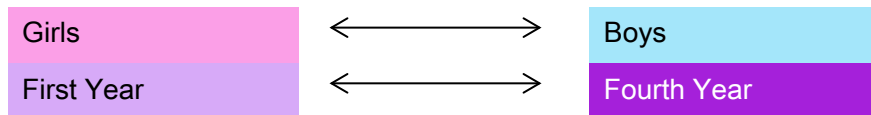
-Intelligence-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls	FET(N= 290), p= 0.041	
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 264), p= 0.000	
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys		FET(N= 247), p= 0.214
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 307), p= 0.151

Although response patterns portraying significant differences can be informative, so too can response patterns that do not demonstrate significant difference, as such tables within each chapter will not highlight (as above) the significant patterns as this may distract from the apparent congruence of response suggested by the non-significant results. For instance results exhibiting congruence of response patterns among all four groups may indicate a culturally embedded stereotype not affected by gender or changed between age eleven and fifteen years old, this in itself may be of considerable interest.

By referring to both the percentages as shown in the graph and the significance of the result patterns between groups as shown by the table, the reader can quickly grasp how strongly each group responded to the question topic and how significant that groups' response pattern was in terms of difference from other groups' responses.

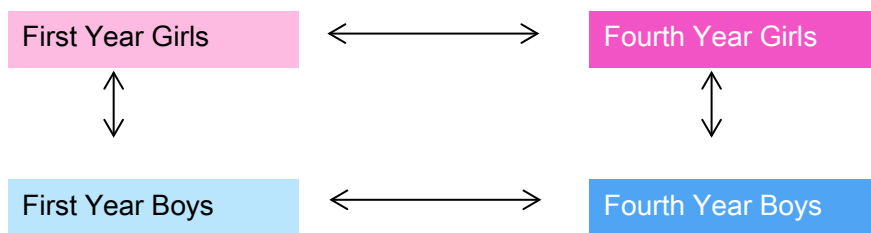
For any given question analysis will be divided into two or three levels of analysis and discussed. Level One denotes comparisons of patterns at the most basic level – boys versus girls and first year versus fourth year for any given question (as illustrated below).

Level One



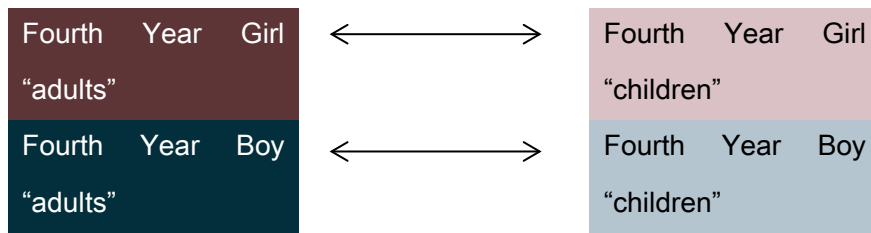
Level Two delves deeper into the data exploring emergent patterns across the four groups. In all questions analysis Levels One and Two will be present.

Level Two



Amongst fourth year pupils Fisher's Exact Tests of groups who identified themselves as "adult" (Yes), versus those who responded "not adult" (No) have shown significant differences in responses patterns for five questions throughout the thesis. These tests were not conducted for first year pupils as only four first year boys (3.6%) and five first year girls (3.6%) responded that they perceived themselves as adults. For each question in which adulthood reached significance the difference will be noted and shown in a graph. This is referred to as analysis Level Three (and is demonstrated on the following page):

Level Three



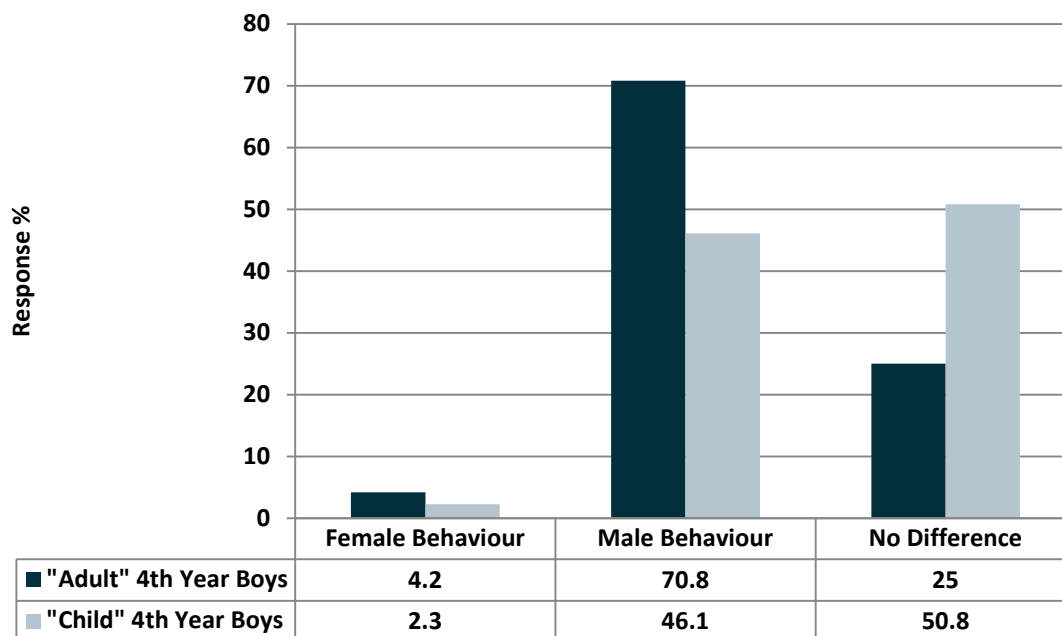
Level Three analysis will indicate *only* the group in which ‘adult-ness’ became significant to their response patterns. In most questions response to “Are you an Adult?” did not significantly alter the response patterns and as such this is given as the default.

Rather than referring to respondents who identified as not adults as “not adult”, they will be referred to as “child” or “children” in line with the discussion of descriptive terms of adolescence in the introductory chapter. This study focusses on perception of behaviours and self, these perceptions are inherently subjective, flexible and dialogical. How one perceives oneself may change rapidly and can be contingent on interactions with others. As such this study in order to maximise clarity allowed only two categories of maturity “adult” or “child”. In reality both groups may perceive themselves within a liminal period – not quite adult but not quite child, however for the purposes of this study those who responded “not adult” are not adults and thus are children. Those who are adults then are different; if they perceive themselves as in a liminal period they see themselves as ‘adult enough’, more adult-like than child-like.

Pupils’ responses to the self-perception of adulthood question are discussed in more detail in the following chapter (Chapter Four – Participant Characteristics). Setup of level three is demonstrated on the following page:

Level Three

Fourth Year Boys - Breadwinning x Are you an Adult?



-Breadwinning 4 th year Boys-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
"Adult" vs. "Child"	FET(N= 151)= 6.088, p= 0.036	

Figure 3.5: Example... Level Three

In this case the darker colour represents the "adult" respondents and the lighter colour represents the "child" respondents, this is followed by the appropriate significance table.

Although the number of fourth year participants viewing themselves as "adult" was low the analyses demonstrate that the differences in a few select questions were different enough to denote significance. This suggests that those who deem themselves adults do, in some topics, view these differently to the "child" peers. This will be discussed with relevance to those topics in more detail in the following chapters.

These three levels of analysis collectively explore perceptions of a broad range of behaviours structured into topics in the following chapters. In chapters four and five this is supported by questions about what the pupils wanted to change about their lives. Pupils were asked to choose two aspects of their lives that they wanted to change from a list of

eleven options. All of these questions group together as topics into “Parts” and “Sections” in order to best navigate through the behaviours, levels and types of analysis.

Qualitative Element

The purpose of the family interviews was to illustrate the results of the pupil survey data with examples given by the families in interview. If girls (the same age range as the pupils survey) responded consistently at odds with the results of the girls within the pupil survey then this would require further investigation. On the other hand results which demonstrated similarity with the survey responses may denote a more stable set of values or beliefs about a specific behaviour or characteristic. Most importantly however it facilitates a more informed interpretation of the pupils’ responses. These qualitative interviews enable us to ask why young people think in the way they do, going beyond just how many think in such a way. Moreover by seeking to begin to understand what they think and why they think it, further insight into related behavioural outcomes may begin to become possible.

Semi-Structured Interview Development

Interviewing is a popular technique thought crucial by some in order to gain the point of view of the participant most clearly (Burgess, 1982). The purpose of in-depth interviews is to balance and combine structure with flexibility (Legard, Keegan and Ward, 2003). In this sense I followed an interview protocol or topic guide (attached as Appendices D, E and F) but allowed the conversation to be led by the participant who focussed on some topics while moving more quickly from others. In this study the semi-structured interviews were developed to work synergistically with the topics of the pupil survey and as such the interview guide followed these topics. Topics chosen for the interviews maximise the cross-over between the study elements with the semi-structured nature of the interview technique allowing participants to discuss specific themes of interest more freely. Families with children aged eleven to fifteen were targeted to enable comparability with the age groups in the school pupils’ questionnaire.

The parental and grandparental data collected, though a small sample, gives insight into the observations and concerns of these groups. Moreover all three generations taken together describe the processes of culture (Patricia, 1997) and demonstrate the sometimes considerable changes that they have observed and lived through.

Pilot

The qualitative element of the study was piloted at the same time as the quantitative element in order to assess cross-over between the two aspects of the methodology. This also enabled the researcher to practice interview technique.

Interviews were practiced six times (twice for each generational interview) as the topics differed slightly in their focus. Interviews were practiced with one partner and observed by another member of the Integrated Community Schools (ICS) team. Between each interview feedback was given in order to maximise learning and help with both technique and flow. The interview partner enacted a variety of roles (from disinterested teenager to overly chatty parent and slightly provocative grandparent) to test interviewer reaction and help develop skills particularly with regards to time management and use of the most accessible language. This practice proved extremely valuable in the eventual family interviews.

I employed an Empathetic Interviewing technique (Fontana and Frey, 2005) whereby I remained engaged with the emotional cues of the respondents and prioritised this ahead of the data collection. However, in line with Rubin and Rubin (2011) I sought to maintain some reasonable distance and not become *over-involved*, aware that I am not suitably trained in counselling. This is an area of active debate within the qualitative community. Some feminist writers, in particular, have argued the reciprocity of interviewing and that personal disclosure reciprocity may help in that exchange (Douglas, 1985; Goode, 2002; Oakley, 2003). Others have suggested that this does little to *even out* the balance of power in the interview situation as disclosure only occurs as the interviewer *wants something* from the participant, their views or personal disclosures (Fontana and Frey, 2005). In this case Empathetic Interviewing was chosen as the appropriate method as it acknowledges the subjectivity and non-neutral reality of interviewing and engages with the personal aspect of

this research method. In this sense interviewing is not seen as a method of *just getting answers* it becomes a reciprocal and *active* process (Atkinson and Silverman, 1997, Holstein and Gubrium, 1995) but conscious of the limits of my training, expertise and role. The success of the interview is then based upon the successful establishment of a positive and trusting interaction whereby the interview participant also feels they are *getting something* from the encounter and as such is more likely to engage fully with the interviewer. Moreover, I was sensitive to the “best face” phenomenon whereby individuals are more likely to try and give *right answers* when placed in situations that make them uncomfortable. A one-to-one interview is very likely to provoke this natural behaviour. As such establishing trust and rapport with the participants was very important (Fontana and Frey, 2005). The pilot study allowed me to think about this and practice my approach.

On reflection this element of the pilot gave me a particularly valuable insight into what I would face in the ‘real-life’ family interview sessions. The partners I practiced with, with their extensive experience, tested these scenarios and took the roles seriously to help develop my skills for difficult situations. The participants I eventually interviewed were generally not as challenging as the pilot fictional characters I was tested with. The pilot interviews and feedback I received gave me more confidence in my abilities which in turn may have contributed to the success of the final study interview sessions.

Participant Recruitment and Interview Procedures

In order to access as many families as possible advertisements were posted around the Templehall (the focus of the Equally Well Test Site) and Dunniker areas of Kirkcaldy. The advertisement (Appendix G) gave information about the study and mentioned the £50 ASDA voucher which was offered to each family for their participation.

The family interviews took place in the homes of the participants in all but one of the cases – in this final case the participant was interviewed at a Family Centre. In all but one family the participants were interviewed individually. In one case the child interview took place as a part of a family group as the participant asked for the parents to remain present. Each

interview was digitally recorded and assigned a participant code in order to ensure confidentiality.

Initially the interview topics and procedures were discussed with all of the potential participants of the family as a group. At this point potential participants were given the information sheet which was read aloud by the researcher, followed by the consent form. Before completing the consent form potential participants were asked if they had any questions. Once any questions were answered and the forms were complete other family members left the room (apart from in one case already mentioned) and the interview commenced. At the start of each interview participants were asked if they had any questions and then (on tape) asked if they were still happy to take part. Each interview lasted between twenty and ninety minutes depending upon the participant. At the end of the interview participants were thanked and given a debrief form with contacts of support organisations and researcher and departmental contact details in case they were not satisfied with their experience or had more questions at a later date. On completion of all of the interviews for the family they were given their ASDA voucher which they then signed for receipt.

Interview Participants

In total eleven families were interviewed, on advice from the academic panel the qualitative data collection part of the study was limited at this point due to the amount of rich data already collected. Seven of these families have been used within this study. No male adults (fathers or grandfathers) responded to the study advertisement meaning that all of the boys in the study were accompanied by mothers and/or grandmothers; thus no comparisons could be made between generations of males (father-son, son-grandfather, father-grandfather). Moreover, all of the boys who were interviewed fell into the younger range of the age group not enabling a good enough spread of ages for contrast (only young girl participants would really be comparable). Two of the four boys within this sample also had a disability as opposed to none of the girls. As such, the four families involving boys as interviewees have not been included in the study.

A potential area of further research could be to link sons, fathers and grandfathers to explore males' perceptions of masculinity and understandings of femininity. This could then be contrasted with the qualitative element of the existing study which now focuses on perceptions of gender through a mainly female perspective. Data from the boys in the pupils' survey has allowed good insight into these age-groups' views of gender and age stereotypes but without interview data it is harder to give full meaning to these responses. As interpretations without solid evidence will carry researcher bias I offer suggestions to explain boys' quantitative responses based on recent literature, where no literature has been found to aid interpretation I identify these areas for potential interest in future studies.

Analysis

Transcription of the data was undertaken cumulatively by the researcher as each family was interviewed. Each digitally recorded interview was listened to carefully once, then listened to and simultaneously word-processed. This transcription was then read and re-listened to, to check for inconsistencies. During write-up when sense was questioned or wording seemed ambiguous the tape was re-accessed, the transcription was checked and then updated if necessary. Transcriptions included researcher derived punctuation to indicate emphasis, new sentence, interruptions and pauses. Note was made of specific unequivocal emotional signals, for instance within three interviews the participant cried while discussing grievance, loss and harm. These situations were noted however less extreme body language and emotional cues were not recorded due to lack of evidence on the digital recording and potential for interviewer derived cognitive bias.

Once transcribed the interviews were re-read to decide upon coding technique which was conducted through NVivo. The semi-structured interview prompt (Appendices D, E and F) used in every interview enabled the development of a simple Framework coding mechanism following the topics of the interview – these topics tie to the questionnaire assisting the linking of findings. Once configured into the framework matrices, specific quotes were identified to best illustrate the sub-themes which now denote the major themes within each chapter.

Framework Analysis can be conducted very tightly to define text into very specific themes and wording or more loosely to maintain context and is debate from both sides (Coffrey and Atkinson, 1996; Richards and Richards, 1994; Strauss, 1987). A highly prescriptive approach was deemed not suitable for the present study as it would remove important context and simplify the discussion beyond a reasonable level, as such a more loose framework, still adopting the main tenants of Framework Analysis was utilised. This has been described by as “lumping” as opposed to “splitting” (Ryan and Bernard, 2000). For each interview respondent, their response were coded, linked to questions from the interview prompt and general category (positive, negative, no answer), these responses were maintained in long-hand form so that context was not lost in their interpretation as such analyses was grounded in the data. This method appeared to enable the researcher to capture as much as possible from these complex, and at times long, interactions. The current study uses the rich qualitative discussions of the interviews to illustrate how girls and women think about the wide-range of topics covered by both the qualitative and quantitative aspects. However the responses of the interviews were often contradictory; within the same interview a participant would state a point of view only to pursue a contradictory position later in the interview. More ambiguously a participant may state they feel one way and give evidence for feeling another way. In some cases this pointed to a change in opinion about a topic during the discussion, where this occurred it has been identified within the following chapters. These complexities meant interpretation of the discussions was difficult and time-consuming.

The loose coding scheme allowed the best possible understanding and use of the data. Participants were not put into boxes as more controlled Framework Analysis would specify. Instead in trying to capture the essence of what they believed, their discussions of a topic were taken as a whole. Specific quotes were then chosen to best illustrate the range of points of view posited by the participants in response to each topic while remaining true to their *essence* as viewed from their total conversation.

Confidentiality and Anonymity

Of particular ethical concern to this study were issues confidentiality and anonymity. As some of the topics were of a particularly sensitive nature for the respondents it was imperative that they could not identify their family members' contributions. As such the generations of participants are not linked within this study. Within the following chapters daughters are labelled D.1 to D.7, mothers – M.1 to M.5, and grandmothers – G.1 to G.3. However, D.1, M.1 and G.1 are not members of one family. The numerical code only distinguishes *within* the generational group and does not link to a particular family (between generations). This ensures that although D.1 may be able to identify herself within the text she cannot identify the personal responses of her mother and grandmother. Moreover, participant characteristics are kept confidential; although the following chapter (Chapter Four – Participant Characteristics) explores the age distributions of the participants this is not linked to participant labels as this too may aid identification of individuals due the low numbers of the study. Participants were made aware of the confidentiality and anonymity procedures of the study and asked questions about these; as such the participants appeared at ease to discuss and disclose personal information.

In order to be prepared for disclosures from children a framework was developed and ethically screened by the University Ethics Committee to provide guidance for different levels of disclosure covering use of alcohol or drugs, sexual behaviours, violence and neglect. Most disclosures were not from the child participant of this study and as such this framework was not required, instead mothers and grandmothers were more likely to identify serious acts of violence which had previously not been reported or raised within the family. In this sense these interviews provided a forum for these women to voice issues that they may not have confronted emotionally. This in turn shaped the interviews and gave a more human experience to both the researcher and participant.

Reliability

The interviews in this study portray an insight into these individuals personal lives, their responses are shaped by longer term patterns emerging from their upbringing and from

then on but also their experience that day, their emotions, and local and specifically temporal context.

This is also shaped by the same forces acting upon the researcher as personal context would equally impact upon the situation of the interview from both participatory 'sides'. The reflexivity of the interview both limits it – its comparability to other interviews and intrinsic lack of objectivity, and is its strength – the *human* nature of the interaction gives greater insight to both the topics of conversation and the human being, being studied, and demands creativity and open-mindedness in its interpretation. Aware of this, every effort was made to minimise the impact of the researcher upon participant responses. As such the semi-structured guidance questions were assessed for potential 'leading' within the pilot and appearance of the researcher was purposefully non-provocative and neutral.

The interviews of this study are, like all interviews, open to subjective interpretation leading to some criticism about validity of interview data. However this study has minimised this through rigorous procedures instigated throughout development, data collection, analysis and interpretation.

Thesis and Chapter Structure

Each of the three substantive chapters of this thesis are organised and presented in the same format. Initially each chapter opens with an introductory section of socio-historical context and literature in which the current study rests. Following this introduction the data are presented. Each survey question relevant to the chapter topic is outlined sequentially in a results section in which each topic is examined from a lighter level of analysis – Level One, to deeper analysis of emergent themes within the participant groups in Level Two. In Chapters Five and Six pupil responses to the “what would you change...” question are then included as the topics of these changes are relevant to the other subject matter of the chapter. At the end of quantitative section there is a discussion of the results.

This is followed by the qualitative section which explores the range of perceptions portrayed about the chapter topics as discussed by the interview participants. The

quantitative results are illustrated by qualitative quotes from the interviews. However the qualitative results also portray the detailed and sometimes conflicted perceptions and beliefs of the participants and also demonstrate the degree of congruence or disparity of opinions of this sample population. This section begins with the daughters' responses, followed by the mothers' and grandmothers' contributions.

Finally the chapter closes with a concluding section which pulls out the major emerging themes, central findings and scope for further research.

Conclusions

The ethical and administrative procedures undertaken to develop and instigate this research have been rigorous and lengthy. This has led to the development of a thoughtful mixed methodological study benefitting from quantitative numerical data through a broad sample of young people and the generational qualitative element which helps to understand these findings and stands independently to demonstrate the perceived changes observed by the participants over time. The topics of the study in both elements represent a broad range of behaviours and characteristics, both positively and negatively attributable to optimise positive participation as well as enabling exploration of many topics of interest.

The quantitative element of this study gives insight into the perceptions of young people aged eleven and fifteen. This has produced results both in line with hypotheses and some that are less immediately expected. The use of mixed methods has enabled some explanation of these findings through the qualitative element. As the numbers of interview participants are small this cannot be used to demonstrate a generalised effect. However the insights given by the qualitative interviews offer some potential explanations for the quantitative responses and point to topics of consideration for future work. The quantitative questionnaire, first and final drafts, and qualitative interview guidance protocols are included as Appendices B, C, D, E and F at the end of this thesis.

The aim of the structural layout of following chapters and description of the presentation methodology utilised in the figures of the thesis is to optimise the clarity and comprehensibility of the data and analyses.

Chapter Four – Participant Characteristics

This chapter will outline some characteristics of the participants, including basic demographics and perception of personal adulthood, initially looking at the pupils and then the interviewee subjects. The aim of this is to introduce key features of the groups which are then used in analysis particularly in the quantitative element throughout the data driven chapters of the thesis.

The Pupils

Core to the analyses of the study are young people's perceptions of behaviours as gendered or 'aged' in order to decipher whether they perceive behaviours as relevant to themselves and their peers, or deemed as 'other'. As such responses to the demographic question: "Gender (please circle): Male/ Female" was then linked to responses to questions about male, female and gender-neutral (no difference) questions. To analyse young people's perceptions as to whether they view behaviours as relevant to their age-group they were initially asked whether they believe they are adults. Responses to this question are then linked to questions with answer options of "adult", "child" or "no difference". Further, patterns of response are explored looking at similarities and differences between first year, fourth year, male and female groups in order to provide insight to particular characteristics of each group and potential relationships between groups.

In this part I will present responses to three questions: firstly pupils gender responses; secondly their self-determined "adult", "not adult" response; and finally why they think a person becomes an adult.

Pupils by Gender

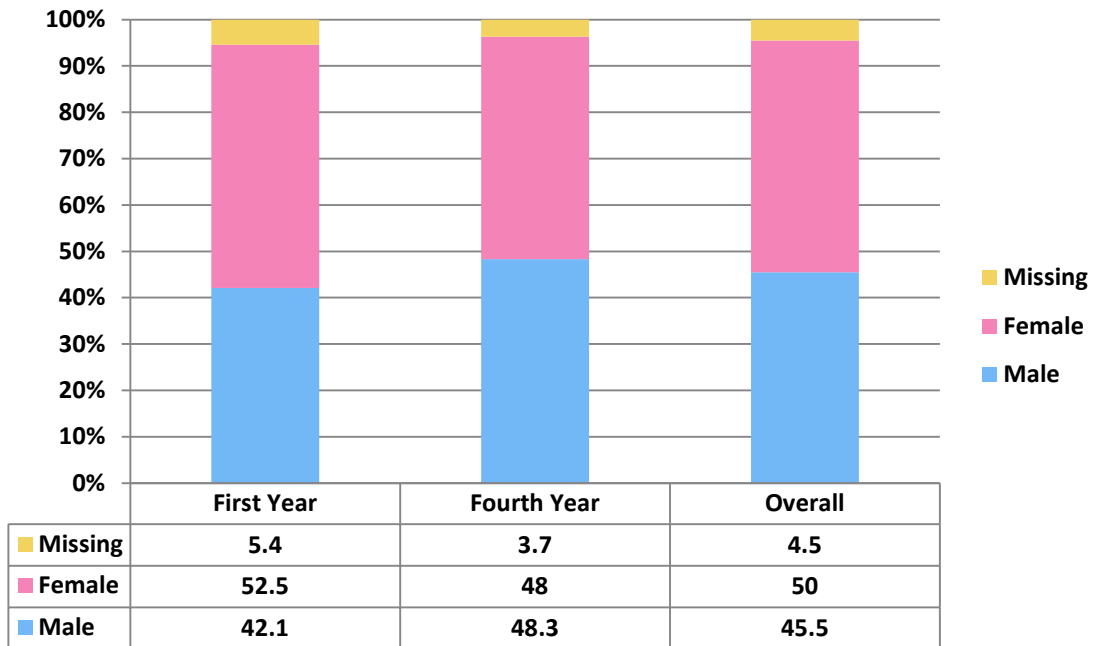


Figure 4.1: Pupils by Gender

The gender split of the pupils presents a relatively even distribution of male and female pupils with just over 10% more girls than boys in first year, and 0.3% more boys than girls in fourth year. Pupils who failed to indicate their gender in this question were removed from the study as this is core to all later analyses (N= 26). 247 first year pupils and 307 fourth year pupils participated in this survey.

Further to their gender pupils were asked about whether they perceive themselves as adult in order to link this to responses in which answer options included “Adult”, “Child” or “No Difference”. Pupils’ answers to this question are displayed below under the three levels of analysis explained in Chapter Three.

Survey Question: Are You an Adult?

Level One

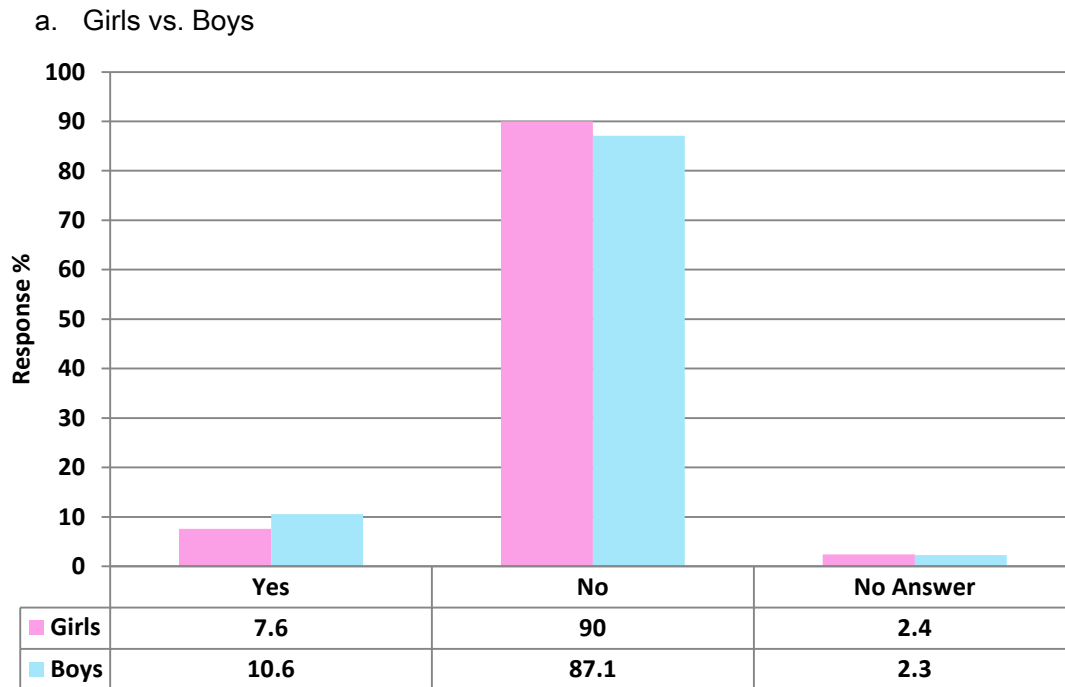


Figure 4.2: Are you an Adult? Level One – a

Girls: 7.6% of girls answered that they are adult (N= 22), 90% responded that they are not adult (N= 261) while 2.4% (N= 7) failed to answer this question.

Boys: 10.6% of boys responded that they are adult (N= 28), 87.1% answered that they are not adult (N= 230), and the remaining 2.3% (N= 6) did not answer this question.

Girls and boys answered this question similarly and so did not produce statistically significant results to the Fisher's Exact Test: FET(N= 541), $p= 0.139$. This indicates that gender does not significantly affect boys and girls perceptions of their own state of 'adulthood' between first year and fourth year.

b. First Year vs. Fourth Year

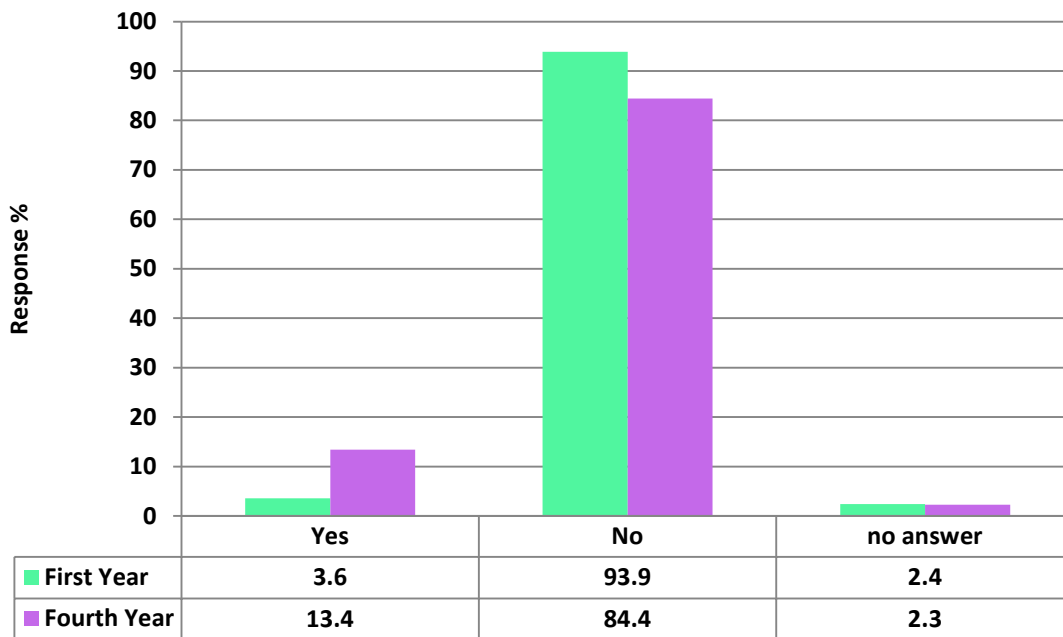


Figure 4.3: Are you an Adult? Level One – b

-Are you an adult?-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
Girls x Boys		FET(N= 541), p= 0.139
1st year x 4th year	FET(N=541), p= 0.000	

First year: 3.6% of first year pupils (N= 9) answered that they are adult, 93.9% (N= 232) answered that they are not adult, and 2.4% (N=6) did not answer.

Fourth year: 13.4% of fourth year pupils (N= 41) answered that they are adult, 84.4% (N= 259) responded that they are not adult and the remaining 2.3% (N= 7) did not answer this question.

Response patterns to this question showed statistically significant differences between first and fourth year pupils; FET(N=541), p= 0.000; this suggests that as pupils get older they are more likely to perceive themselves as adult.

Pupils who did not answer whether they are adult or not adult were not excluded from the analyses as they present a small groups and this does not form the basis of the central analyses of the data.

Level Two

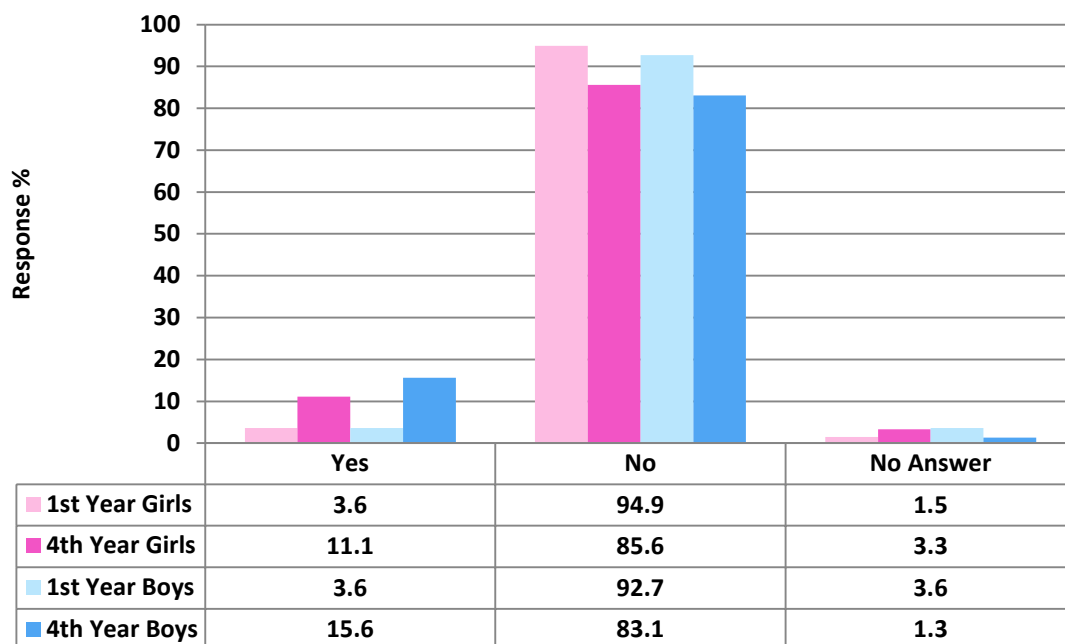


Figure 4.4: Are you an Adult? Level Two

-Are you an Adult?-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls	FET(N= 283), p= 0.012	
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 258), p= 0.001	
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys		FET(N= 241), p= 0.617
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 300), p= 0.180

The majority of pupils in each group identify themselves as not-adult. However, more pupils in fourth year respond that they are adult resulting in statistical significance amongst both boys and girls.

As most pupils indicate that they are not adults we can therefore conclude that in latter questions when they associate a behaviour as 'adult' behaviour they are associating it with 'other', 'not me'. Child behaviour then, becomes shorthand for behaviour which is relevant to me and my peers.

Where a response of 'child' is given this suggests that the participant views that behaviour as not relevant to adults – in this sense they perceive it is a behaviour that is most likely to

diminish as one matures – something to grow out of. On the other hand, a response of ‘adult’ suggests the behaviour is perceived as relevant only to adults – not applicable to children; as such it is something one ‘grows in to’. Behaviours in which the response ‘no difference’ is given may be interpreted as perceived as relevant to the young person but also others (adults or children). As such this is a behaviour that is seen as normalised through all age-groups – not something to grow into, or something to grow out of.

In order to properly understand the pupils’ perceptions of adulthood pupils were asked what they thought it was that makes someone an adult, as opposed to a child.

Survey Question: What makes a person an adult?

Level One

A	Independence: financial, transport (driving licence), or own home
B	Responsibility: children, long term relationship or caring for family members
C	Education or Career: going to or finishing school, college or university, passing exams, choosing a career
D	Legalities: when the law says you are an adult, often 16 or 18
E	Behaviours: making personal choices – alcohol, smoking, taking drugs or having intimate relations (e.g. sex)

a) Girls vs. Boys

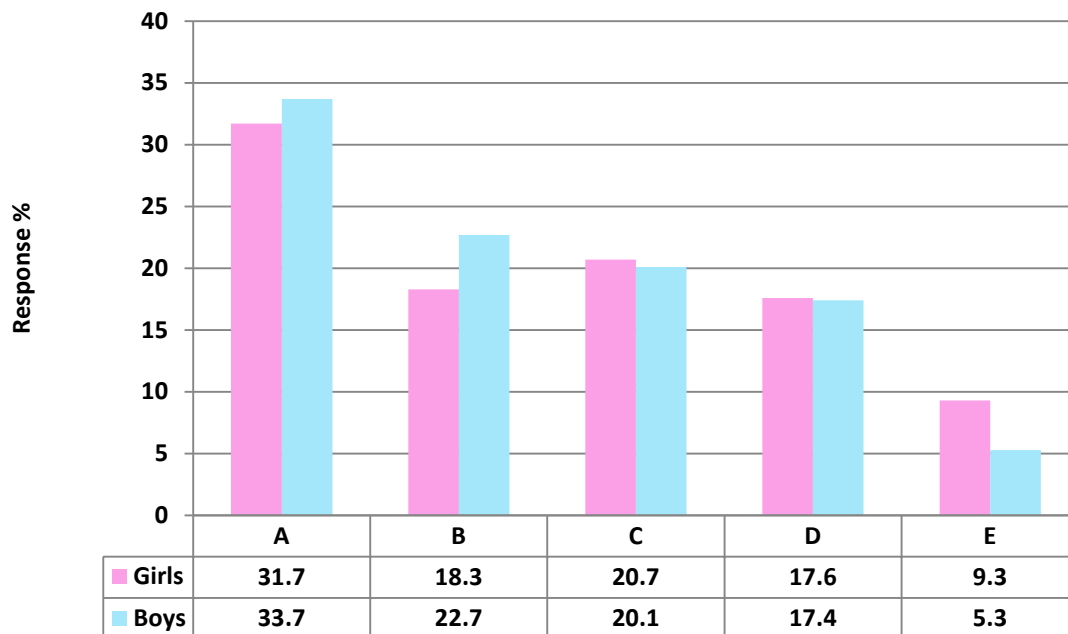


Figure 4.5: What makes a person an adult? Level One – a

Boys and girls response patterns to this question demonstrate similar patterns. The most common response was that someone becomes an adult through being independent, this accounted for approximately a third of all responses. The least common response was that

behavioural choices make someone an adult with only 5.3% of boys and 9.3% of girls responding this way.

a. First Year vs. Fourth Year

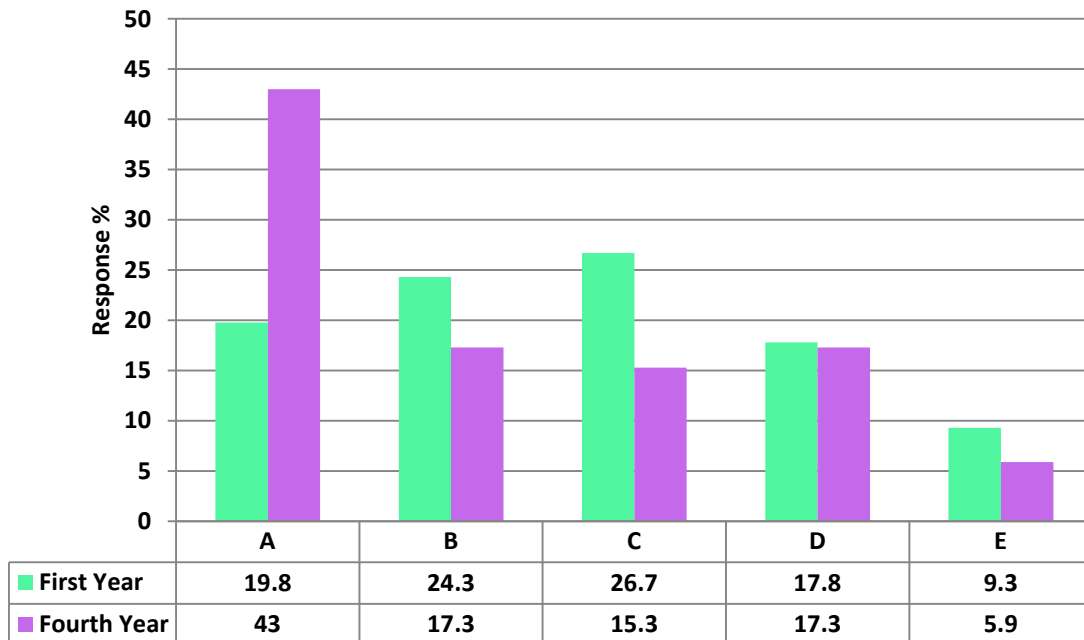


Figure 4.6: What makes a person an adult? Level One – b

-What makes someone an adult?-	Significant ($p < 0.05$)	Non-Significant
Girls x Boys		FET(N= 546)= 5.340, $p= 0.355$
1st year x 4th year	FET(N= 546)= 38.751, $p= 0.000$	

First year and fourth year pupils responded to this question differently: FET(N=546)= 38.751, $p= 0.000$. Fourth year pupils were more likely to indicate independence as the characteristic that make someone an adult, whereas first year pupils were more likely to choose education and career. This pattern suggests a maturation effect influencing perceptions of means of achieving adulthood.

Level Two



Figure 4.7: What makes a person an adult? Level Two

-What makes a person an adult?-	Significant ($p < 0.05$)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls	FET(N=283)=31.464, $p = 0.000$	
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys	FET(N=262)=11.911, $p = 0.017$	
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys		FET(N=242)=4.304, $p = 0.369$
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys		FET(N=303)=6.101, $p = 0.191$

Fourth year pupils (both boys and girls) appear to have more defined perceptions of what makes a person an adult, this may be because they are investigating their own maturity and are therefore thinking about aspects of adulthood. First year pupils on the other hand have more diverse perceptions of what makes a person an adult with a more even spread of choices than their fourth year counterparts. This could be due to their perception of adulthood as still relative remote and as such an 'unknown'.

Level Three

a. Fourth Year Boys: Are you an adult? X What makes a person an adult?

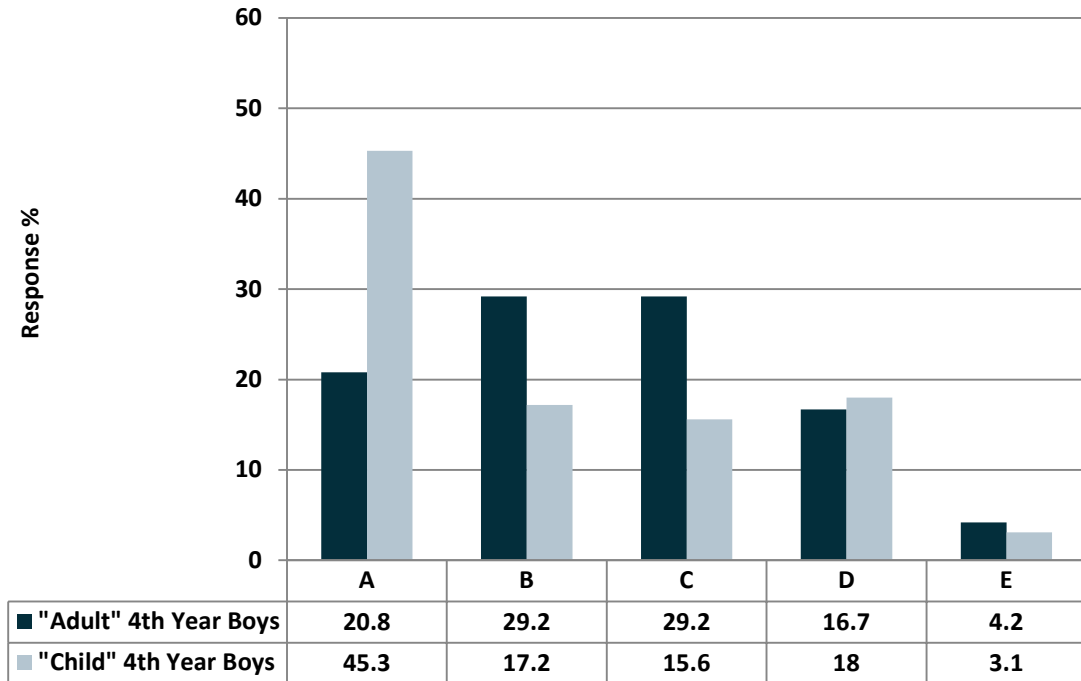


Figure 4.8: What makes a person an adult? Level Three – a

-What makes a person an adult?-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
"Adult" vs. "Child"		FET(N= 151)= 7.191, p= 0.105

Fourth year boys who perceive themselves as adults demonstrate a pattern of response more in line with first year boys. "Adult" fourth year boys hold considerably more diverse perceptions of what makes a person an adult when compared to fourth year boys who identify as children. These *children* demonstrate more defined notions of adulthood around independence – which in responding they are not adults – they state is not relevant to them, yet. These patterns of response, though visually striking, are not statistically significant (FET(N= 151)= 7.191, p= 0.105) but do suggest further work would be interesting to more fully understand boys perceptions of adulthood.

b. Fourth Year Girls: Are you an adult? X What makes a person an adult?

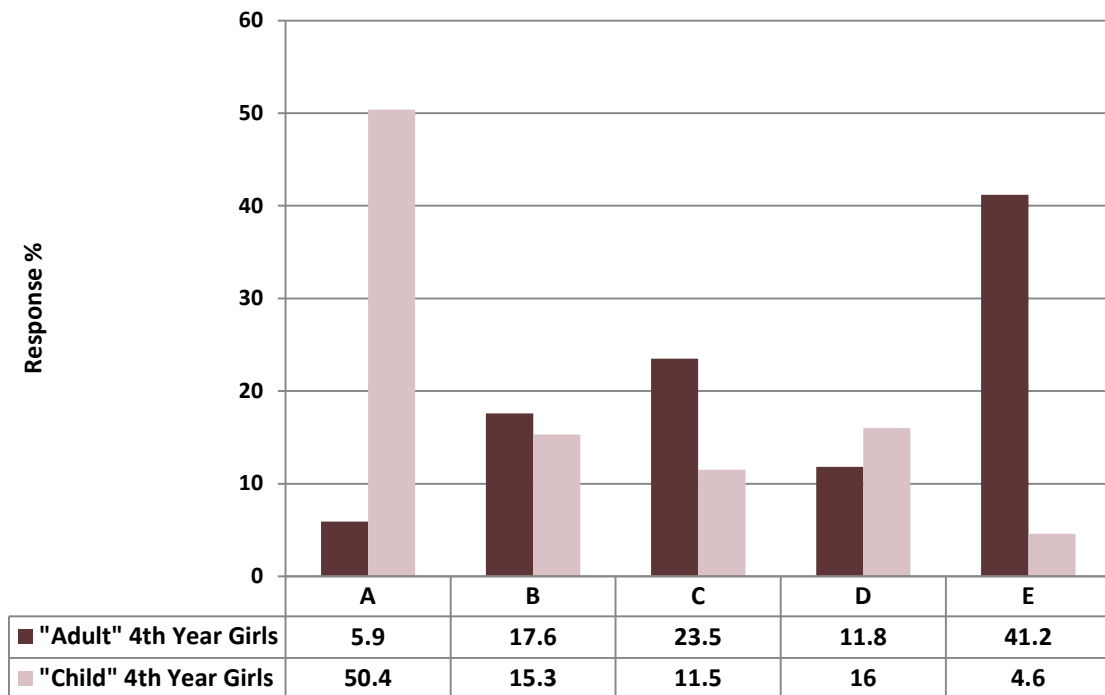


Figure 4.9: What makes a person an adult? Level Three – b

-What makes a person an adult?-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
"Adult" vs. "Child"	FET(N= 145)= 25.105, p= 0.000	

Fourth year girls who identify as adults indicate that a person becomes an adult through their behavioural choices. Those girls who identify as children perceive adulthood as developed through independence.

"Adult" fourth year girls stand out from the other groups in their perception of adulthood. Overall, answer E, "behaviours" accounted for only 7.4% of the total responses to this question however among this group 41.2% responded this way. This may be important as during this age-group young people are more likely to engage in risky behaviour with potential consequence for the current as well as future health and wellbeing (Barnekow-Bergkvist et al., 2001). If these behavioural choices are linked to their quest for adulthood then interventions and services may be better equipped to effectively target this group with knowledge of the reasoning behind those individual's behavioural choices.

The results of this question have in turn led to further questions: is it the identification of self as adult which informs the reason for what makes a person an adult (I am an adult, followed by, why/how)? Or is it what makes someone an adult (independence/ responsibility/ legalities/ education/ behaviours) which then informs their perception of self as adult (or not) (This is what an adult is – am I an adult)?

To add more complexity, this direction of perception may differ between groups. These results point to an intriguing issue of adolescent reasoning through developing adulthood which is deserving of future investigation.

The Interviewees

In total fifteen interview participant responses, from seven families, have been analysed for the qualitative element of this study. Due to confidentiality and anonymity requirements little can be shared about the individuals of the interview study. However their age distributions present the spread of youngest to oldest participant and numbers of participants in each age group as shown in Figure 4.10 (below).

Interviewee Ages

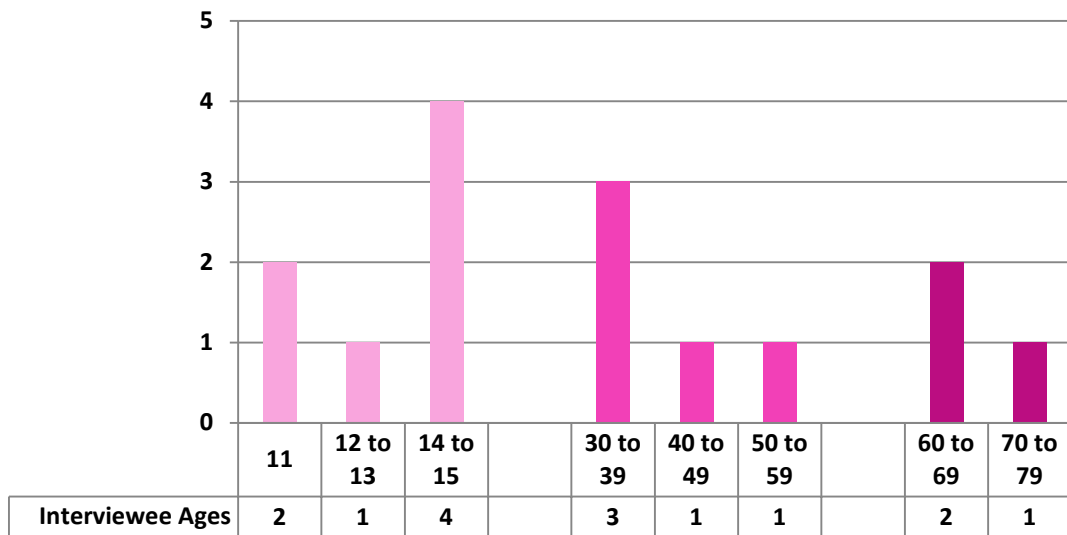


Figure 4.10: Interviewees by Age

The seven daughters (or girls) interviewed in this study ranged from eleven to fifteen years old with fourteen to fifteen year olds being the most numerous group. Five mothers took part in the study with a broad age range from thirty to thirty-nine, to, fifty to fifty-nine. While three grandmothers ranged from sixty to sixty-nine, to, seventy to seventy-nine.

The qualitative element of this study is limited as within the discussion of the interviews the age of the participants will not be revealed. The low numbers of this study could lead to identification of individuals and thus would be in breach of confidentiality and anonymity requirements. However in future studies linking age of participant with responses would be

beneficial to capturing the perceptions of participants across different ages, this would be more easily linked to quantitative results across age groups.

Conclusions

Attributes that make someone an adult as opposed to a child are complex. Categorisation of self as adult or child may be based on several judgements based upon experiences, comparisons to others, desire to view oneself one way or another and judgements made by others. Pupil responses to questions about personal adulthood and what makes a person an adult demonstrate significant differences between first year and fourth year pupils.

More fourth year pupils than first year pupils identify as adults, this is in line with expectation as older pupils may be starting to assert more *adult-like* characteristics. When asked what makes a person an adult, first year pupils demonstrate a more diverse range of responses whereas fourth year pupils largely indicate that adulthood is linked to independence. In this sense fourth year pupils concepts of adulthood appear more organised than those of first year pupils.

Fourth year girls who identify as adults were more likely to view adulthood as linked to behaviours, in particular drinking, smoking, and having sex. This is of particular note as it is these behaviours that are particularly associated with poorer health outcomes (Barnekow-Bergkvist et al., 2001; Mokdad et al., 2004). What is not clear from these findings is whether young people view adulthood as an absolute which is then achieved, or as something perceived on reflection of personal attributes. This may be important to establish through future studies in order to more fully understand how young people achieve *adulthood* particularly with relation to risky behavioural choices.

These results lay the groundwork for the analyses through the following chapters and also display independent areas of potential interest for future exploration.

Chapter Five – Division of the Household: Caregiving and Careers

The aim of this chapter is to engage with young people's, their parent's and grandparent's ideas of the traditionally gendered division of the household and the role this plays now in developing one's identity in Scottish society. Family is particularly important in terms of development of personal identity, wellbeing and health, learning of cultural norms and interpersonal relationships (Henderson and Berla, 1994). But family itself is not a stable construct. Traditionally they have been considered as groups of people linked through blood line or marriage (McGoldrick and Carter, 2003). However, in recent years the concept of family has become a lot more complex. Though potentially always more complex than was acknowledged, different forms of family are now more widely accepted and practiced in modern western culture (Horrell and Humphries, 1997). The traditional nuclear family provided a limited range of role options for each family member usually arranged by gender and birth order – as family structure has changed so too have the opportunities and norms for individual family members.

Family is the realm which most potently demonstrates social changes by responding to and generating debates around social structure and culture (Zimmerman, 1950). Families are embedded in culture with lineages through history, moreover they are at the intersect of micro and macro- economics, in this sense they are both discrete, independent systems and part of a whole in society through time.

Previous studies and census data have demonstrated employment patterns and divisions of household labour; however, fewer studies have explored *perceptions* of household roles (nurture and breadwinning). This study explores young people's developing perceptions of household roles. Further, the qualitative interview element of this study enables better understanding of the broader quantitative pupil survey.

This chapter explores perceptions of the roles of the household – nurture and breadwinning, as well as kindness and business mindedness or entrepreneurship to investigate role perceptions and preferences amongst young people, mothers and

grandmothers. The gendered exclusivity of these roles anecdotally appears to be diminishing. This study is interested in whether different groups of participants view these important roles and behaviours differently or similarly, how perception may have changed through generations, and what this means for young people's behavioural choices with regards to their future desires and prospects.

The next few pages outline key social developments in gender role equality and family norms through the Industrial Revolution and Victorian Britain (1789 to 1901), wartime and Post-War Britain to modern families (1970- now). Following this contextualisation I will introduce the quantitative data of the pupil survey. I will investigate the pupils' perceptions of nurture, breadwinning, kindness and business-mindedness through three levels of analysis and draw some initial conclusions. This will be followed by a discussion of the interviewee data from the seven families of this part of the study. These women's (and girls) views will be explored group by group to gain a clear insight into their complex and sometimes conflicting observations and opinions. Finally, I shall close this chapter with overall conclusions drawing together the quantitative and qualitative elements within their socio-economic and historical context in an attempt to more fully understanding of household roles in our culture.

Social History of the Family

During the Industrial Revolution increased visibility of inequality, and conditions suffered by the worst off led some to question the validity of traditional values which left some families extremely vulnerable to destitution, disease and isolation (Poster, 1978; Koven and Michel, 1990). However, by the start of the Victorian era (1830s) society had changed little in this regard, society was not equal: until 1832 less than 10% of the population had the right to vote. It was not until 1928 that universal suffrage was eventually introduced; the process towards this was slow.

Through the Victorian period marriage was generally based upon the notion of 'romance', a change from its beginnings when marriage was a property arrangement (Boswell, 1996). However, society dictated suitability of marriage candidates particularly based on class.

Marriage was of particular import for women as their access to rights was largely linked to their husband. But, for both men and women marriage signified a transition into adulthood through independence from parents, not marrying then symbolised a deficiency of autonomy. For women this also presented economic insecurity and social isolation (Thornton, 1982).

Family sizes declined at this time from an average of six children in the 1860s to around four in the 1900s (Thompson, 1998). Through the nineteenth century Britain was generally becoming more prosperous with increased industrialisation. The allure of middle class lifestyles was strong; this was represented by a shift from the importance of family size to ensure family labour in a rural environment to a more urban environment with a focus on the procurement of technologies, consumer goods and services. At this time the diversity and availability was growing quickly, from gas lighting to bathrooms and family photographs. These items were very desirable, not purely from a status point of view but also from the perspective of comfort. However, in order to procure these things a larger proportion of disposable income was necessary; large families were costly and in the urban environment unnecessary and as such families sought to limit the number of children they had (Thompson, 1998).

Generally the Victorian family was viewed as the centre of a stable domain separated from the public eye and work environment. A clear division of labour was expected and enforced through social structure (Korven and Michel, 1990). This was not entirely harmonious but continued through to 1914 when a new challenge emerged for the gender norms, the labour force and society with the start of World War One.

Although it is undeniable that women contributed greatly to the war effort and took up many manual tasks presumed only appropriate for men, indeed that only men would be capable, it was also during the First World War that the state first implemented a broader scale benefits system through 'separation allowances'.

Separation allowances were given to wives and children of sailors and soldiers. At its largest the government supported 1.5 million wives and several million children (Pedersen,

1990). Although this system ended with the War the overriding culture it instilled in British social policy making remained. For these wartime wives the state functioned as a “surrogate husband” (Pedersen, 1990). Yet, women were not paid an allowance owing to their needs, they were paid because of their husband’s occupation, in this sense women were denied autonomy (Pink, 2004). Income allowance from the state was tied to a wife’s duties in the home, and fidelity to her husband (Pedersen, 1990). This further embedded into British culture the gender roles of breadwinning man and dependent wife. Women were still not citizens worthy of state support in their own right; this was left to charitable and philanthropic organisations or the good will of *men* (Pedersen, 1990).

Feminists of this period sought to reconcile the importance of household ‘service’ as equal but different to the employment, ‘service’ of men: both equally deserving of welfare rights. However this mainly served to further women’s role as private homemaker and mother, separate and subservient to the male role of breadwinner and world of formal employment. Women in this system were only relevant to the state in the absence of a competent *male* breadwinner.

As such the two World Wars were not as revolutionary for women’s rights as may have been expected. Although in the inter-war years suffrage finally became universal, gender roles within the household more-or-less went back to normal (Thomson, 2013). Enforced maternity leave was granted pay in 1911 but this was not given to the pregnant mother but to her husband, this practice had changed little by 1942. During of the development of Beveridge’s Welfare State:

“A nonearning wife’s access to state benefits was mediated by her husband’s status, and she drew independent benefits only for childbirth or in the event of his absence or death.”
(Pedersen, 1990)

This was barely a step forward from the inequality present in the Victorian era – men were still presumed to provide maintenance for ‘their’ woman and children, despite the evident capability of women presented in the War effort (Horrell and Humphries, 1997).

The Modern Family

Women have perhaps always been more active in the workforce than is historically acknowledged (Horrell and Humphries, 1997; Duffy, 2007; Lewis, 2001). However, since the 1970s it has become more socially acceptable, and now presumed, for women to work signifying a considerable change (Dex, 1988; Faludi, 1992; Inglehart and Baker, 2000; Lewis, 2001). According to the Labour Force Survey from the Office of National Statistics (ONS) women account for 49% of Britain's economically active workforce (ONS, 2011), yet, the distribution of full time versus part time work is different between men and women (Hakim, 1991). 28% of women work full time, as opposed to 45% of men; while 21% of women work part time and only 8% of men work part time. It is thought that this accounts for women's lower hourly wages (Averaging £12.42/hour for men and £10/hour for women) (ONS, 2011).

Despite these changes some have argued that little has really improved. Women account for proportionately very few high ranking positions across most employment sectors, those seeking leadership positions may be viewed as less capable, or if capable, less *desirable* than male applicants (Eagly and Karau, 2002; Bierema, 2002; Sen, 2001). This concept of "the glass ceiling"; the differential of male and female wages at the same position, the slowing or stopping of career progression for women in managerial roles and the allied beliefs around women's capabilities in management have been studied at length (Arulampalam, 2007; Barreto et al., 2009; Biagetti and Scicchitano, 2011; Davidson and Cooper, 1992; Russo and Hassink, 2012; Smith, 2012; Williams and Cuddy, 2012).

Further, investigation of the makeup of families as economic systems has suggested that in families where a man is not employed a woman is less likely to be employed too; where a man is employed it is more likely that the woman would be employed too. Thus, women remain the secondary income earner and a 'polarisation' of the workforce is observed; this may contribute to the increasing inequality seen many developed nations (Pahl, 1987).

Increases in working hours have particularly affected men, with knock-on effects for home-life (Haddock et al. in Walsh, 2003; Galinsky, 1999). This in effect works to further

distinguish family roles; finite time means that this restricts men to limited, peripheral involvement in family life, imposing the bulk of the household duties upon the (female) partner. For families with two parents the difficulties of 'being around' for your children, being able to provide financially for your family, while achieving personal goals and targets with regards to work promotion, income or even hobbies appears impossible. Instead the traditional route of one parent per task (home/work) still remains (Haddock *et al.* in Walsh, 2003).

However, increasingly it is the norm for families to be 'blended'; a mixed of biological links, step and half siblings and shared times with different parents. This is the result of the increasing acceptability and uptake of divorce. Currently 42% of marriages (in England and Wales) are estimated by the Office of National Statistics to end in divorce by the thirtieth anniversary (ONS – Divorces in England and Wales, 2012). Divorce is thought to be one of the most stressful events in one's life – on a par with bereavement (Holmes and Rahe, 1967). Influences of divorce, particularly where children are involved has developed as an area of research due to the potential to affect children's behaviour (Strohschein, 2005) and emotions (Amato, 2001; Harland et al., 2002; Lengua et al., 2000). While some point to the harms of divorce and separation upon children who require stability for secure attachment (Bowlby, 1988), others cite the harms caused by exposure to aggressive or violent behaviours as a result of parental unhappy relationships (Finklehor et al., 2006). What is undeniable is that divorce is part of modern culture and as a result family setups have changed.

In single-parent families the roles of nurturer and breadwinner must be negotiated by one individual – further stretching resources. Through my time spent in Kirkcaldy it was clear that families were often supported by extended family, providing a cushioning effect particularly of import for single-parent setups. Children were often raised or co-raised by grandparents. Though they may view their primary-carer as their parent, more 'nurture time' appeared to be spent with a combination of grandparents and other extended family members.

Families are important as they are the primary models on which children build their concept of *normal* upbringing acting as a frame of reference for their future. Nurturance by multiple

generations in this sense may mould a young person's attitudes, perceptions and behaviours. Families' movement through the life cycle is affected by the era in which they live (Cohler, Hosteler, and Boxer, 1998; Elder, 2000; Neugarten, 1979): this in turn influences each individual's internal orientation and "meaning of life" (Elder, 1998). Through the dialogical nature of identity creation (Aronsson, 1998; Batory, 2010; Taylor, 2004), families develop both as unitary systems and as groupings of individual identities.

In any household there must be a means of earning money on which to live, and in those with children, a means of caring for (or nurturing) them. The following sections explore pupils' perceptions of nurture, breadwinning, kindness and business behaviours to investigate potential gender stereotyping of these roles. Results from the pupil survey demonstrate pupils' beliefs about who they felt *would be better* at bringing up a family and providing for their family. Further, perceptions of kindness and business mindedness consider whether these linked attributes are viewed similarly, enabling investigation of the consistency of pupils' perceptions. Following the quantitative data results and discussion sections the qualitative data will be introduced and discussed by group; daughters, mothers and grandmothers. The qualitative interview data demonstrates the realities of gender role changes that the parental and grandparental generations have observed through their own choices. This is concluded with a final section which draws together key findings.

Roles within the Family – Quantitative Results

This section explores who the pupil participants felt would be better at the household roles of breadwinning and nurture and allied concepts of kindness and business mindedness. Participants were given three choices, 'Female', 'Male' or 'No Difference'. The data has been analysed to investigate similarities and differences in the responses of the groups. Part A, Level One analysis explores girls vs. boys and first year vs. fourth year results. This shows total groups of girl respondents and boy respondents, first year respondents and fourth year respondents' results.

Level Two analysis further deconstructs this by delving deeper in to the data: first year girls vs. first year boys, fourth year girls vs. fourth year boys, first year girls vs. fourth year girls and first year boys vs. fourth year boys.

Part B will examine the results of what the pupils chose to change about their lives. This chapter will focus three of the potential choices; money, career, and intelligence. I will explore the patterns of response that emerged between the groups of respondents to investigate what this suggests about how differently or similarly they feel about these topics. Fisher's Exact Tests are used throughout the levels of analysis to assess the degree of congruence between sample population groups. The setup of data topics are demonstrated below:

Chapter Five	Part A		Part B
Question Topics	Nurture, Breadwinning, Kindness and Business	→	Career, money and Intelligence

Figure 5.1: Chapter Topics Layout

Part A – Nurture, Breadwinning, Kindness and Business

Survey Question: Who do you think is more likely to be good at bringing up a family?

Level One

a. Girls vs. Boys

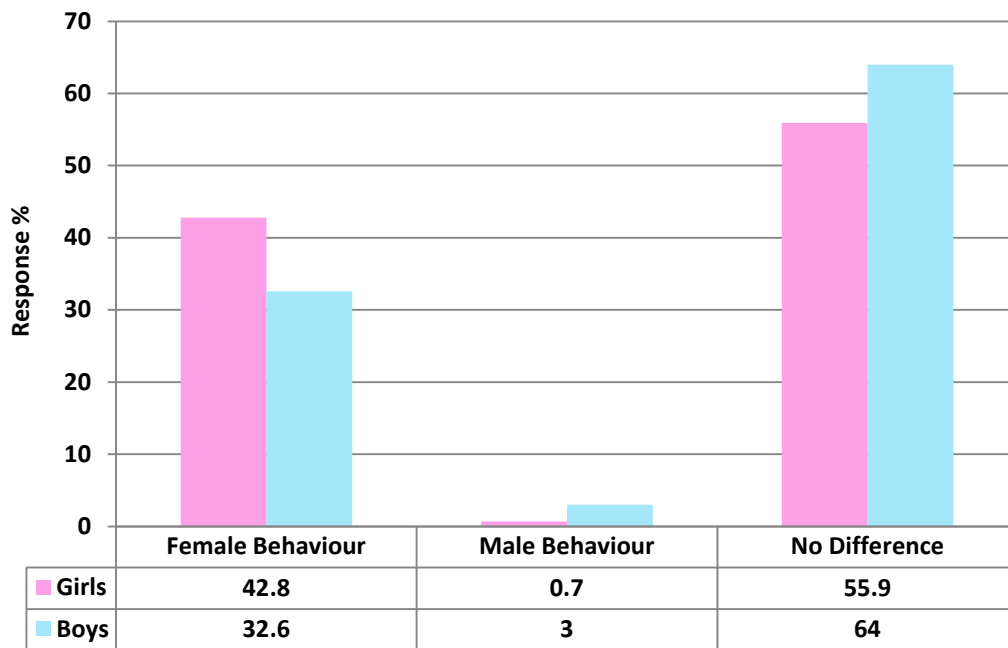


Figure 5.2: Nurture... Level One – a

Girls: 42.8% girls (N= 124) thought that females are more likely to be good at bringing up a family than males, 55.9% (N= 162) thought that both males and females are equally good at bringing up a family and 0.7% (N= 2) thought that males are more likely to be good at this.

Boys: 32.6% boys (N= 86) answered that females would be better at bring up a family than males, 64% (N= 169) thought that there is no difference between genders and 3% (N= 8) thought males would be more likely to be good at bringing up a family. Two girls (0.7%) and one boy (0.4%) did not answer this question.

The data suggest that these boys and girls think differently about who would be good at bringing up a family. Girls are 10% more likely than boys to attribute nurturing behaviour to females, though overall the majority of responses in both groups indicate that both males and female are equally likely to be good at bringing up a family. This result is statistically significant: FET(N= 551) = 9.399, p= 0.008 and thus is unlikely to be a chance finding.

b. First Year vs. Fourth Year

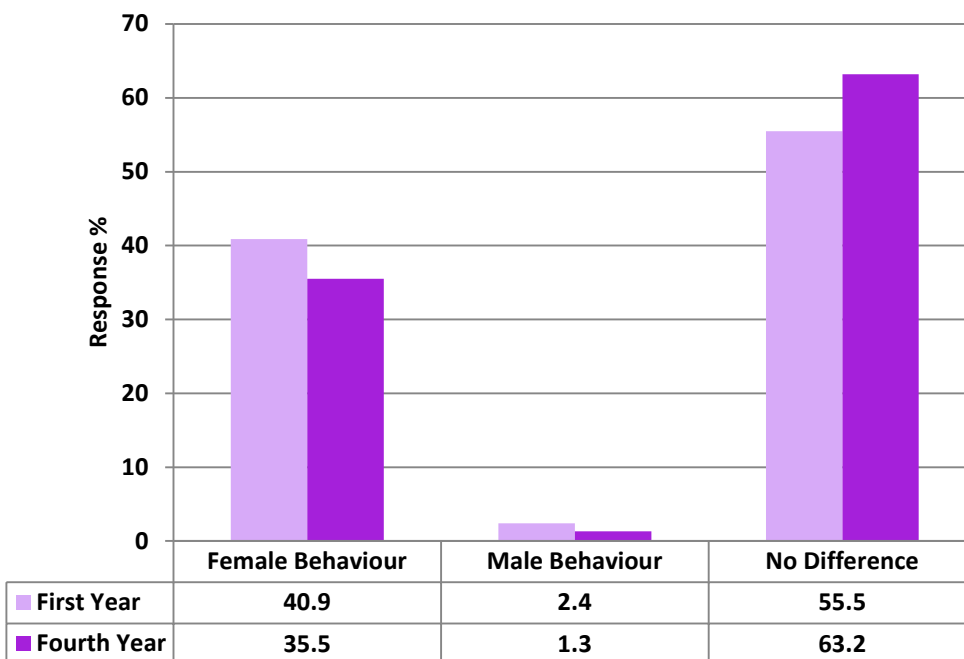


Figure 5.3: Nurture... Level One – b

-Nurture-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
Girls x Boys	FET(N= 551)= 9.399, p= 0.008	
1st year x 4th year		FET(N= 551)= 3.376, p= 0.176

First year: 40.9% of first year pupils (N= 101) answered that females are more likely to be good at bringing up a family than males, 55.5% (N= 137) thought that males and females would be equally good at bringing up a family the remaining 2.4% (N= 6) thought that males would be better. Three first year pupils (1.2%) did not answer this question

Fourth year: 35.5% (N= 109) of fourth year pupils answered that females are more likely to be good at bringing up a family, 63.2% (N= 194) responded that there is no difference between males and females, and the remaining 1.3% (N= 4) of fourth year pupils answered

that males are more likely to be good at bringing up a family than females. All fourth year pupils answered this question.

First year and fourth year pupils answered this question similarly and as such this result is not statistically significant: $FET(N= 551) = 3.376, p= 0.176$.

These results suggest that gender is a more influential factor than age-group in determining response about the caregiver role within the household.

Level Two

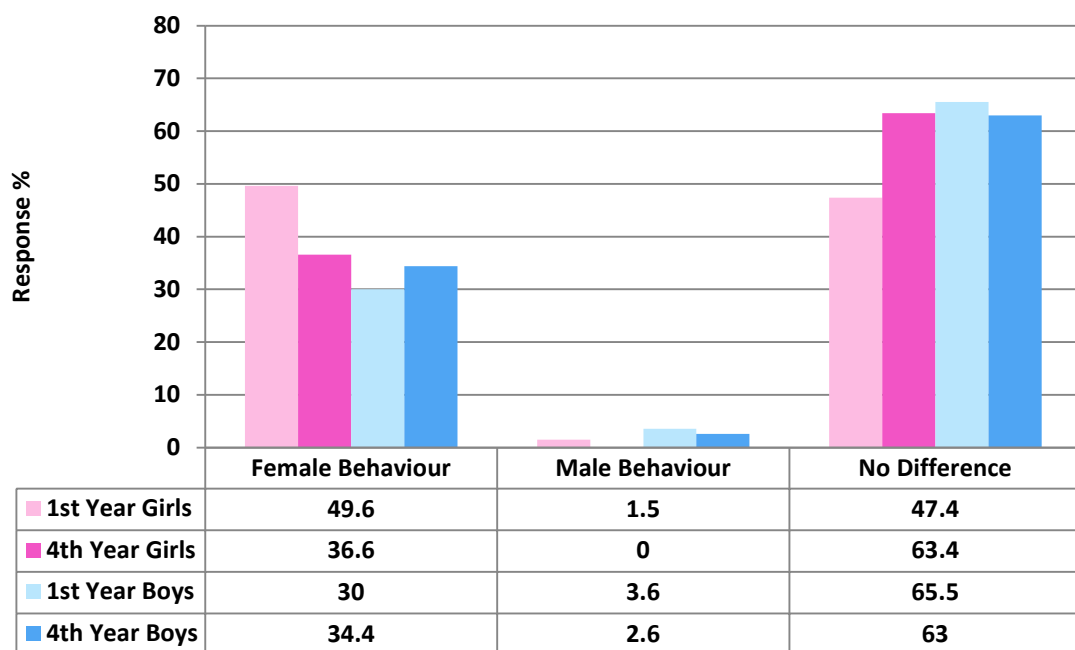


Figure 5.4: Nurture... Level Two

-Nurture-	Significant ($p < 0.05$)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls	$FET(N= 288) = 7.996, p= 0.009$	
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys		$FET(N= 263) = 0.749, p= 0.738$
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys	$FET(N= 244) = 10.535, p= 0.003$	
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys		$FET(N= 307) = 3.791, p= 0.179$

Fourth year girls and fourth year boys did not answer this question with a statistically significant difference $FET(N= 307) = 3.791, p= 0.179$: suggesting that they have similar expectations about caregiving.

Boys from first and fourth year also answered this question similarly and as such the patterns were not significant $FET(N= 263) = 0.749, p= 0.738$. This indicates that boys have a reasonably stable and defined set of expectations or norms associated with who is more likely to be good at bringing up a family and that this does not change between the ages of eleven and fifteen. These results are also in line with fourth year girls' responses. In this case these groups generally think that men and women would be equally likely to be good caregivers, however where there is a gender preference they are more likely to suggest that women would be better at this role; very few pupils believe that men are better caregivers than women.

On the other hand, first year girls and first year boys answered this question differently resulting in a significant result $FET(N= 244) = 10.535, p= 0.003$. There is also a significant difference between how girls in first year and girls in fourth year responded to this question $FET(N= 288) = 7.996, p= 0.009$.

In this question first year girls stand out as answering differently from the other groups. Almost 20% more girls in first year answered that females are more likely to be good at bringing up a family than their first year boy counterparts. The most common answer to this question for first year girls attributed nurturing behaviours to females only. In this sense of all of the groups, first year girls stand out as the most gendered in their response patterns.

First year girls were 13% more likely to perceive nurture as a female behaviour than fourth year girls. This could indicate that as girls mature they perceive this role as less intrinsically part of female identity. This will be explored further and with reference to other results throughout this thesis.

The relatively similar pattern among the other three groups portrays a reasonably stable set of beliefs about who would be better at bringing up a family. More than 60% of responses from these three groups state that there is no difference between men and women while the remaining percentage is a largely female response. Very few respondents (1.9%)

answered than men are more likely to be good at bringing up a family. As such nurture is viewed as a more female, but not female-only behaviour by these pupils.

Survey Question: Who do you think is more likely to be good at providing money for their family?

Level One

a. Girls vs. Boys

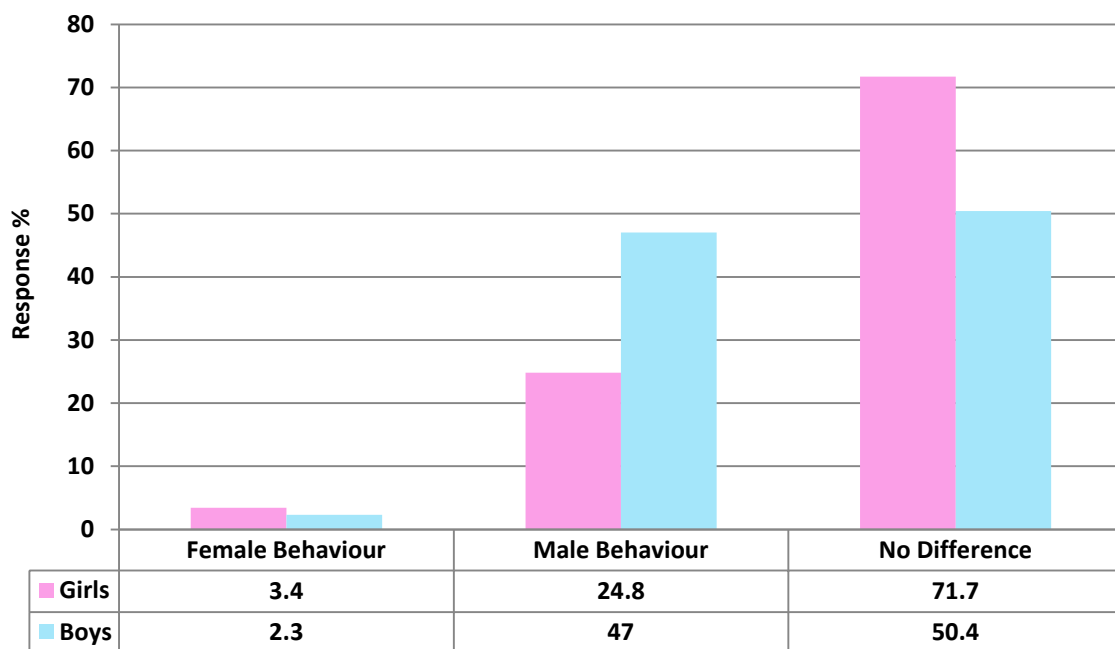


Figure 5.5: Breadwinning... Level One – a

Girls: 24.8% of girls (N= 72) perceived males to be more likely to be good breadwinners, 71.7% (N= 208) thought both males and females would be equally good at providing for their family but only 3.4% of girls (N= 10) thought that females would be more likely to be good breadwinners. All girls responded to this question.

Boys: By comparison, 47% (N= 124) boys answered that males are more likely to be good breadwinners, 50.4% (N= 133) thought that males and females would be equally likely to be good at providing for their family and 2.3% of boys (N= 6) answered that females are more likely to be good breadwinners than males. One boy did not answer this question.

Boys and girls answered this question differently, as such this result is statistically significant: FET(N= 553) = 30.143, p= 0.000 and is therefore unlikely to be as a result of chance.

This data suggest that boys and girls think differently about who is more likely to be good at providing for a family. Boys hold more gendered perceptions of breadwinning than girls with over 20% more responding that this is a behaviour that males are more likely to be good at.

b. First Year vs. Fourth Year

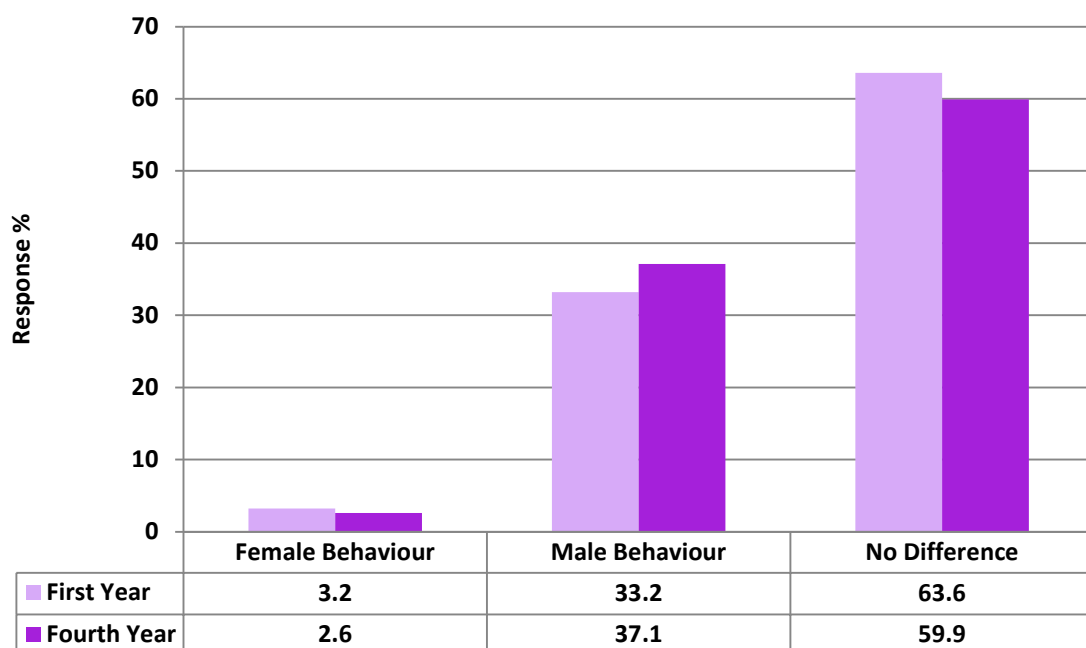


Figure 5.6: Breadwinning... Level One – b

-Breadwinning-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
Girls x Boys	FET(N= 553)= 30.143, p= 0.000	
1st year x 4th year		FET(N=553)= 1.117, p= 0.596

First year: 33.2% of first year pupils (N= 82) perceived males to be more likely to be good at providing money for their family. 63.6% (N= 157) thought that there is no difference between genders, while only 3.2% (N= 8) thought that females would be more likely to be good breadwinners. All first year pupils answered this question.

Fourth year: 37.1% of fourth year pupils (N= 114) answered that males are more likely to be good breadwinners, 59.9% (N= 184) answered that both genders would be equally good at providing for their family, only 2.6% of fourth year pupils (N= 8) perceived females to be more likely to be good at providing for their family. One fourth year pupil (0.3%) did not respond to this question.

First year pupils and fourth year pupils answered this question similarly and as such this result is not statistically significant: FET(N= 553) = 1.117, p= 0.596.

In line with the previous finding about nurturance, this pattern of response is indicative that gender is a more significant factor affecting response about breadwinning than age-group.

Level Two

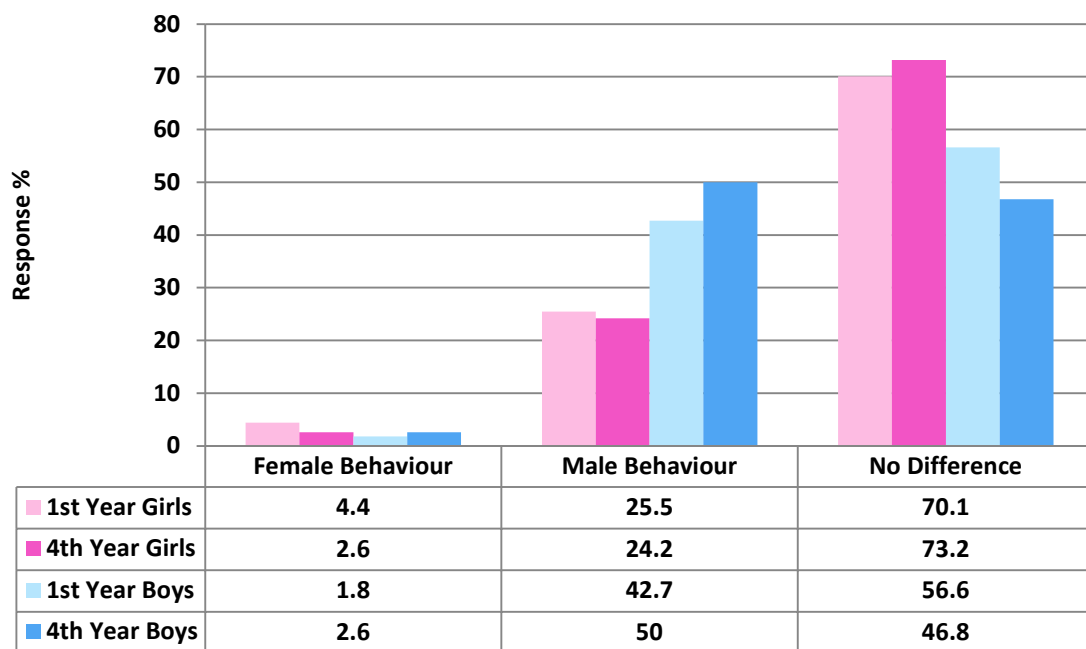


Figure 5.7: Breadwinning... Level Two

-Breadwinning-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls		FET(N= 290)= 0.829, p= 0.682
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 263)= 1.858, p= 0.364
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys	FET(N= 247)= 8.540, p= 0.012	
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 306)= 22.993, p= 0.000	

Visually it is clear that boys and girls have answered this question differently. First year girls and first year boys have statistically different patterns of response for this question $FET(N=247) = 8.540, p= 0.012$. Fourth year girls and fourth year boys also answered this question statistically differently $FET(N= 306) =22.993, p= 0.000$.

First year girls and fourth year girls however have responded to this question similarly and as such the result is not significant: $FET(N= 290) =0.829, p= 0.682$. Also, first year boys and fourth year boys answered the question similarly and the result was not significant: $FET(N= 263) =1.858, p= 0.364$.

As such it appears that boys and girls demonstrate a strong difference in views regarding breadwinning that remain consistent between the ages of eleven and fifteen. However this may be more complex: boys are more likely to attribute breadwinning to males than females. This response pattern becomes more pronounced from the first year to the fourth year. A similar pattern is evident among girls; they become marginally more likely to attribute breadwinning to both genders than follow the traditional model of male breadwinner role. In this sense gender divergence of response strengthens between the ages of eleven and fifteen. Though subtle between the ages of eleven and fifteen this pattern may be interesting to explore in future studies to examine whether this apparent divergence continues to increase.

In this question fourth year boys who identified as “adult” differed in their response patterns to those who identified as not-adult (now referred to as “child”).

Level Three

Fourth Year Boys: Are you an Adult? X Breadwinning

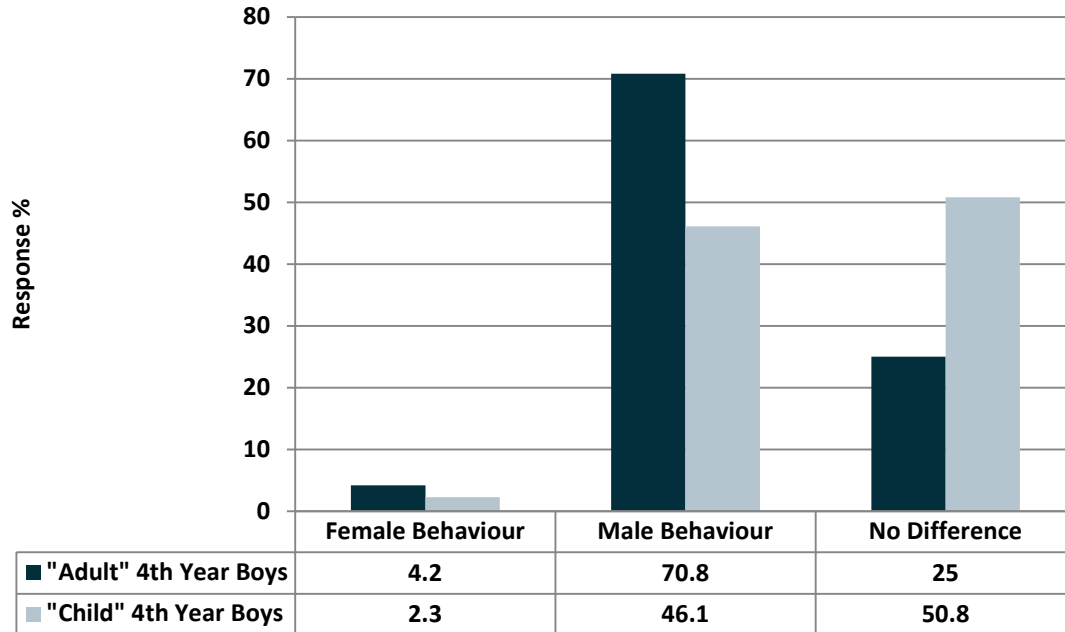


Figure 5.8: Breadwinning... Level Three

-Breadwinning 4th year Boys-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
"Adult" vs. "Child"	FET(N= 151)= 6.088, p= 0.036	

This result demonstrates a clear difference in opinion between fourth year boy adults, and fourth year boy children. The adult group have a more gendered view of breadwinning with over 70% viewing this as a male behaviour. On the other hand the child group shows a gender preference for males as breadwinners but largely responds that breadwinning is a gender-neutral, "no difference" behaviour. Viewed as a continuum, first year boys demonstrate the most gender neutral view, showing a preferences for breadwinning as a male behaviour rather than female but predominantly viewing it as a "no difference" behaviour, fourth year boys who identify as children resemble a mid-point, more gendered towards male behavioural perception but still most commonly answering in a gender neutral fashion. Fourth year boy adults then, are the other end of this spectrum, with the most defined gendered responses.

This result is intriguing. Do perceptions of breadwinning change as one views oneself as an adult? Or, is there a factor common to both self-perceived adulthood and more gendered views of breadwinning? Further research would be required to properly understand this result. By adding another, older age-group where the majority of participants view themselves as adults it may be possible to unpick the elements at play. Moreover, qualitative engagement with fourth year boys who identify as adults would be interesting to explore their thoughts of developing adulthood and its relationship with masculinity in regards to breadwinning and other masculinised behaviours or characteristics.

Survey Question: Who do you think is more likely to be kind?

Level One

a. Girls vs. Boys

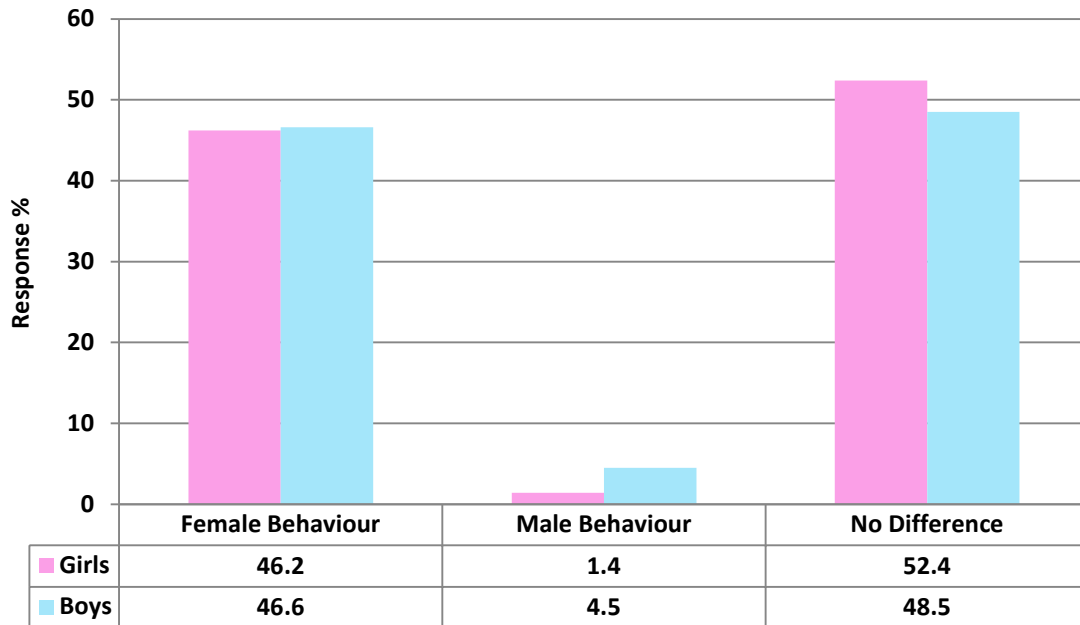


Figure 5.9: Kindness... Level One – a

Girls: 46.2% of girls (N= 134) thought that females are more likely to be kind than males, 52.4% (N= 152) thought that both genders are equally likely to be kind while the remaining 1.4% of girls (N= 4) perceived males as more likely to be kind. All girls answered this question.

Boys: 46.6% of boys (N= 123) answered that females are more likely to be kind than males. 48.5% (N= 128) thought that there is no difference and 4.5% of boys (N= 12) answered that males are more likely to be kind. One boy did not answer this question (0.4%).

Boys and girls answered this question similarly, this result is not statistically significant: FET(N= 553)= 5.516, p= 0.074. Pupils regarded kindness as generally more attributable to females than males with very few responding that kindness is a masculine characteristic. However, the most common response in both groups was that kindness is equally male and female.

b. First Year vs. Fourth Year

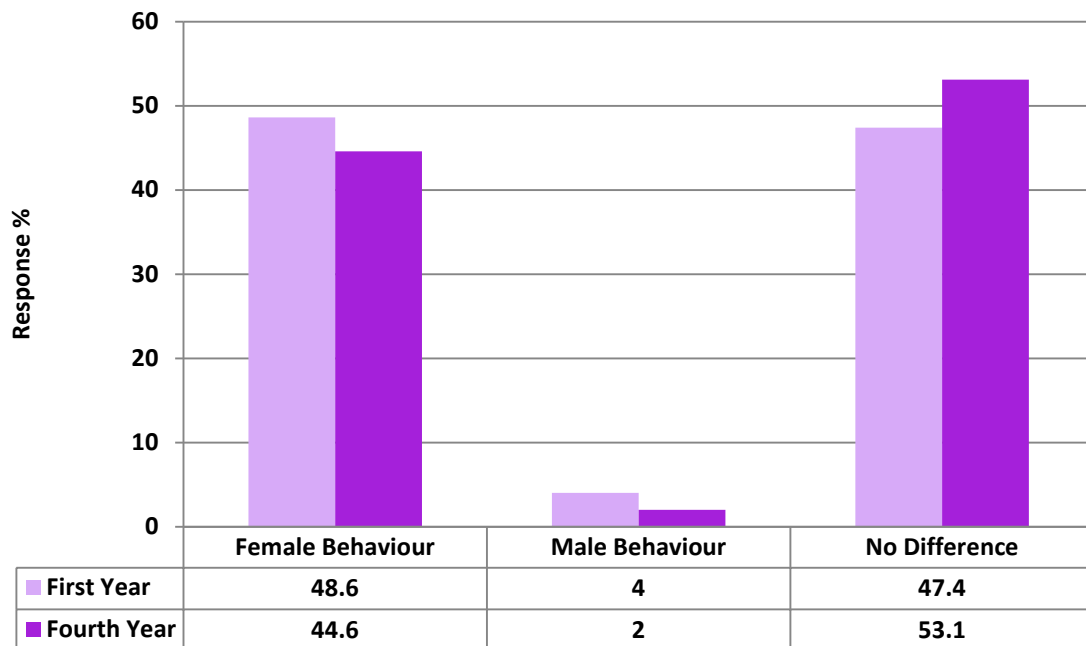


Figure 5.10: Kindness... Level One – b

-Kind-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
Girls x Boys		FET(N= 553)= 5.516, p= 0.074
1st year x 4th year		FET(N=553)= 3.396, p= 0.184

First year: 48.6% of first year pupils (N= 120) perceived females to be more likely to be kind than males, 47.4% (N= 117) thought that there is no difference between genders and the remaining 4% first year pupils (N= 10) answered that kindness is more likely to be a male characteristic. All first year pupils answered this question.

Fourth year: 44.6% of fourth year pupils (N= 137) perceived females to be more likely to be kind than males, 53.1% (N= 163) thought that there is no difference between genders and the remaining 2% of fourth year pupils (N= 6) answered that they thought males are more likely to be kind than females. One fourth year pupil did not answer this question (0.3%).

As first and fourth year pupils answered this question similarly the result is not statistically significant: FET(N=553)= 3.396, p= 0.184. The degree of significance suggests that age-group is a less defining characteristic in perceptions of kindness than gender. However patterns of response about kindness appear reasonably stable between groups.

Level Two

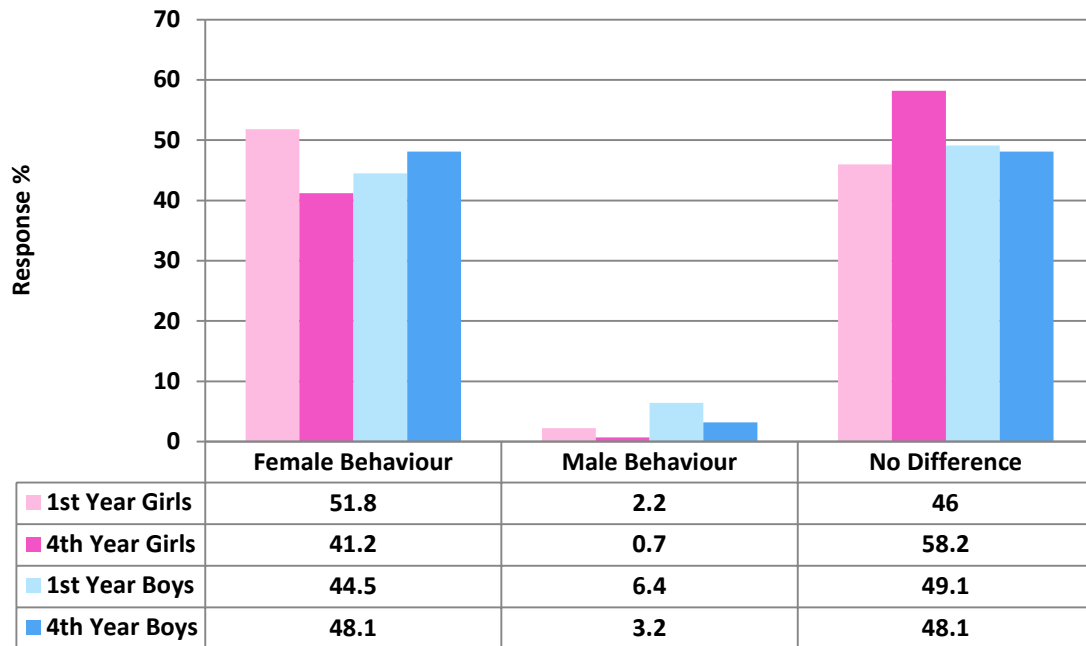


Figure 5.11: Kindness... Level Two

-Kind-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls		FET(N= 290)= 4.980, p= 0.069
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 263)= 1.563, p= 0.444
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys		FET(N= 247)= 3.328, p= 0.180
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 306)= 4.748, p= 0.094

The results from this question display strong similarities in response patterns amongst all four groups. This indicates that while not all pupils agree who is more likely to be kind, the patterns *within* each group are consistent *between* groups: in this sense kindness appears to be a reasonably stable concept for boys and girls between the ages of eleven and fifteen. Most pupils view kindness as a more female behaviour (than male behaviour) but the most common response in most groups is that there is no difference between females and males. Strikingly, very few pupils attribute kindness to males alone.

Survey Question: Who do you think is more likely to be good at setting up and running their own business?

Level One

a. Girls vs. Boys

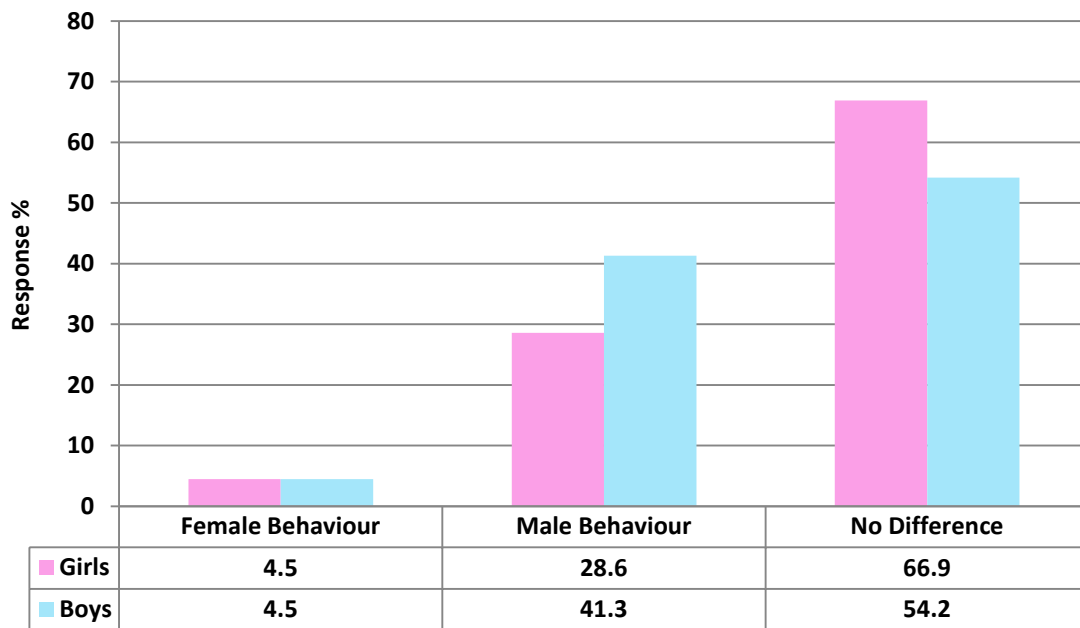


Figure 5.12: Entrepreneurship... Level One – a

Girls: 28.6% of girls (N= 83) responded that males are more likely to be good at setting up and running a business, 66.9% (N= 194) answered that both genders are equally likely to be good at this while 4.5% (N= 13) viewed females to be more likely to be good at setting up and running their own business.

Boys: 41.3% of boys (N= 109) answered that males are more likely to be good at setting up a business, 54.2% (N= 143) thought that there is no gender difference and 4.5% of boys (N= 12) responded females are more likely to be good at setting up and running a business. All pupils answered this question.

This presents a statistically significant difference in perception of ability to run a business between boys and girls $FET(N= 554)= 10.086, p= 0.006$. Over 10% more boys attributed

entrepreneurship of this fashion to males while girls are more likely to view this as a gender-neutral behaviour.

b. First Year vs. Fourth Year

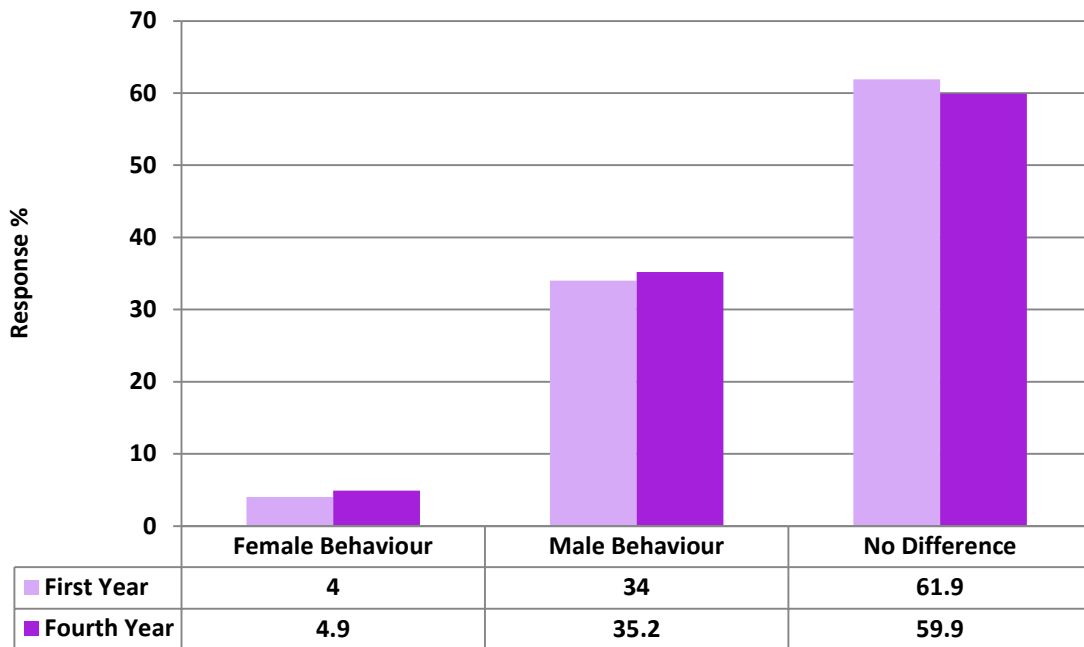


Figure 5.13: Entrepreneurship... Level One – b

-Business-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
Girls x Boys	FET(N= 554)= 10.086, p= 0.006	
1st year x 4th year		FET(N=554)= 0.354, p= 0.838

First year: 34% of first year pupils (N= 84) answered that males are more likely to be good at setting up and running their own business than females. 61.9% (N= 153) thought that there is no difference between genders but only 4% (N= 10) answered that females are more likely to be good at setting up and running their own business than males.

Fourth year: 35.2% of fourth year pupils (N= 108) answered that males are more likely to be good at setting up and running their own business, 59.9% (N= 184) answered that both genders are equally likely to be good at setting up and running their own business, the remaining 4.9% (N= 15) responded that females are more likely to be good at this.

This result was not significant FET(N=554)= 0.354, p= 0.838. This suggests that gender is a more influential factor upon perception of who is more likely to be good at setting up and running a business than age-group between eleven and fifteen years old.

Level Two

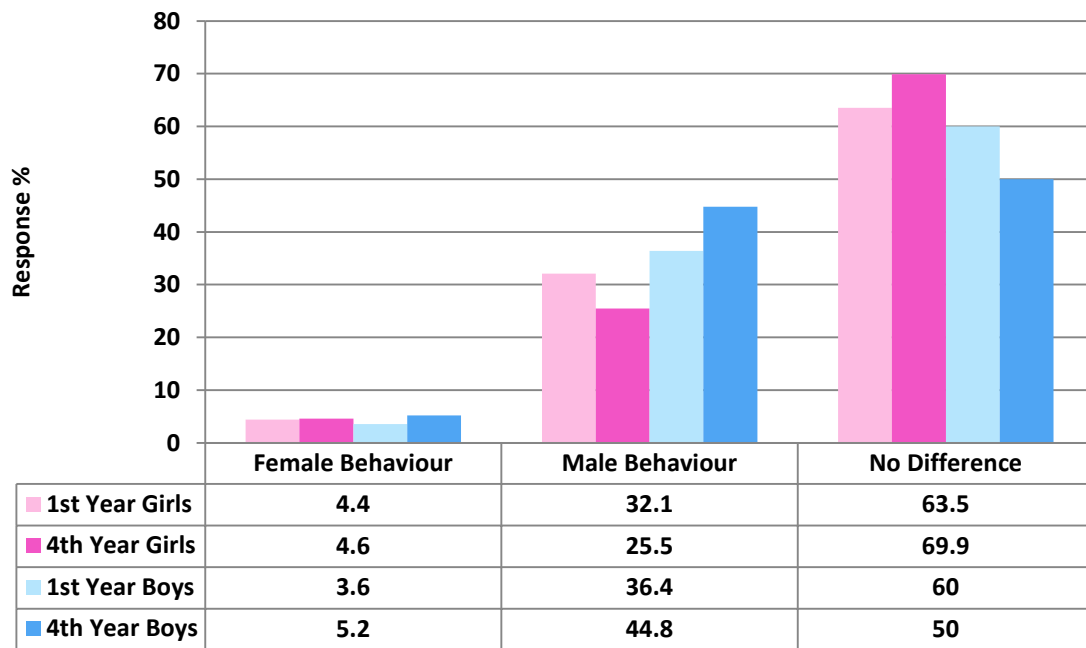


Figure 5.14: Entrepreneurship... Level Two

-Entrepreneurship-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls		FET(N= 290)= 1.595, p= 0.441
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 264)= 2.590, p= 0.286
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys		FET(N= 247)= 0.561, p= 0.779
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 307)= 13.349, p= 0.001	

Setting up and running a business – a form of entrepreneurship, was regarded by the pupils to be more attributable to males than females. However, among all groups ‘no difference’ was the most common answer suggesting that pupils believe there is generally no difference between females and males in setting up and running a business. Yet more boys responded that this is a male behaviour than girls, girls were more likely than boys to perceive this as a behaviour of both females and males. This pattern only achieved significance between the fourth year groups perhaps demonstrating increased gender-differentiation in views regarding this behaviour.

As this study does not represent a longitudinal group but instead a cross-section of two age-groups it cannot be said that this is a movement along a time-axis. In future studies it would be interesting to follow opinions of behaviours, such as this one, where these groups have indicated a congruence of response between genders in first year but a divergence in fourth year to investigate direction and stability of changes and then perhaps try to establish causation of these perceptive changes.

Part B – Changes – Money, Career and Intelligence

This Part of the study asked young people to choose two things they would likely to change about their lives. They were given a list of eleven options of which the analyses of three are displayed below.

In future work, qualitative engagement with young people about what they want to change for their futures, and why these elements are important, would enable links to be made between gendered perceptions of behaviours and desires for the future. This is unfortunately beyond the scope of the current project. As such I offer a few potential (perhaps speculative) explanations for their choices and the differences between groups. Results from these data may provide some direction for future in depth qualitative exploration which would engage with the complexities of adolescent thoughts of their futures.

Survey Question: If you could change any two things in your life...



Figure 5.15: Changes... Money, Career, Intelligence

-Money-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls		FET(N= 290), p= 0.484
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 264), p= 0.082
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys	FET(N= 247), p= 0.000	
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 307), p= 0.024	

Within the responses to this question boys and girls demonstrated different perceptions of money. Boys were more likely than girls (in both first and fourth year) to choose to change their financial situation. For both year groups this resulted in statistical significance, showing a clear gendered difference.

Of first year boys, changing their monetary situation was the top choice out of all eleven options. This perhaps suggests that first year boys would like to “get rich quick”, not have to work but just have money. By fourth year they may have grown out of this fantasy and started to desire more attainable options; options that they could *make* happen, and as such money is chosen less often.

Girls chose this option less frequently than boys in both year groups. This could suggest that they lack the fantasy of their male counterparts and as such choose other options because they are *possibilities* rather than *dreams*. In this sense girls may be choosing options that they wish to act upon – aspirations, whereas more of the boys are responding with dreams in mind.

-Careers-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls		FET(N= 290), p= 0.268
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 264), p= 0.276
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys		FET(N= 247), p= 0.271
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 307), p= 0.228

All groups rated career opportunities high on their list of things they would change. Of the first year girls, fourth year girls and fourth year boys this was the most frequently chosen answer.

In general girls were more likely than boys to choose to change their career opportunities. However, the differences in responses were not significant according to the Fisher's Exact Tests. In terms of proportion of response first year girls were most likely of all of the groups to want to change their future career opportunities: almost 95% of respondents chose this option.

It is somewhat surprising that eleven to twelve year old girls are more likely to choose this answer than their older counterparts. This element of the study cannot engage with *why* pupils responded in the ways they did, however a few possible suggestions may include that girls in first year could be starting to become aware of their own futures and thinking about subjects at school. Or, they may have started to think about their perceived lack of opportunities or inequality and want to change this.

Although only 76.6% of fourth year boys chose to change their career opportunities it was still their most frequently chosen answer. The spread of fourth year boys' responses was particularly even among their top four; career 76.6%, money 68.8%, relationships 59.6%

and intelligence 54.4%, these options accounted for over 60% of this group's responses. Fourth year boys as a group wanted to change a broader range of things in their lives than the other groups, this may suggest that, as a group, they are quite diverse in what they view as important. Further examination and questioning would be required to understand this; as such this may present a potentially fruitful area to explore in future studies.

Most pupils, regardless of age and gender chose to change their career opportunities. This could suggest that they are not satisfied with their current potential career opportunities – as, if they were then they would not wish to change this. Currently the negative economic climate is in the news almost daily. Pupils may be responding to the reported lack of jobs and opportunities and choosing to change their career outcomes because of the hardship they view in popular media and press or in their own lives through older siblings, parents or other family members. Girls being marginally, but not statistically significantly, more likely to choose this option could indicate an awareness of difficulties or challenges facing career *women* as discussed in the introduction of this chapter. This may be another potentially interesting area for further investigation in future studies.

-Intelligence-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls	FET(N= 290), p= 0.041	
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 264), p= 0.000	
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys		FET(N= 247), p= 0.214
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 307), p= 0.151

These data indicate a change in priority of intelligence between age groups; particularly clearly exhibited between age-groups of boys. Fourth year pupils were more likely to choose to change their intelligence than first year pupils (within both genders). This resulted in statistically significant results between both first year girls and fourth year girls and first year boys and fourth year boys. This significance was strongest between the groups of boys with more than 35% more fourth year boys choosing to change their intelligence than first year boys.

The results from the first year boys suggests that this group were least concerned about changing their level of intelligence. However, the increase represented by the fourth year

boy group suggest that boys may be significantly more concerned about this as they mature, perhaps linked to increased examinations and grading. Another potential area to explore in future studies would concern the much reported underachievement of boys in school and their apparent self-confidence in achievement in first year. Does this lead to misplaced confidence and lack of effort in first year perhaps resulting in spiralling poorer attainment and lower confidence? This in turn could develop as poorer self-perceived intelligence by fourth year, when exam results become crucial. Further qualitative exploration of self-perceived intelligence and changes over time would be particularly helpful in understanding boys' relationship with this choice.

Quantitative Discussion

This sample of over 550 first and fourth year pupils display social stereotyping in line with *traditional* norms – males are assigned breadwinning and business related roles, while nurture and kindness are associated with females. However the patterns of response between pupil groups are complex and indicate some sharp contrasts in perception.

Amongst first year pupils girls were more likely than boys to perceive caregiving as a female behaviour; boys were more likely to assign it gender neutrally. Regarding breadwinning, boys were more likely to perceive this as a male behaviour, whereas girls answered more gender neutrally. In this sense, first year pupils answered in line with stereotypes more strongly when referring to behaviour assigned to their own gender. When answering about stereotyped behaviours of the opposite gender they were more likely to perceive both genders as equally capable.

Amongst fourth year pupils this pattern is more pronounced regarding breadwinning but less so for caregiving. This implies a decrease in perceived value of the caregiving role amongst fourth year girls. On the other hand breadwinning increases in value for fourth year boys and girls.

In this sense, business-mindedness and breadwinning are perceived as behaviours that both boys and girls want to do (boys answer male, girls answer no difference), particularly by fourth year. Nurture and kindness are perceived as more gender neutral, suggesting these characteristics lose their value amongst girls. Boys however maintain their value of caregiving and kindness with little change between first year and fourth year pupils: both groups perceive these behaviours gender neutrally.

The responses from Part B suggest that girls and boys are equally likely to prioritise their career if they could change two things about their life. While both age-groups of girls most frequently chose career opportunities as the element of their life they want to change. Boys, as a group, had a more diverse range of priorities; career, money, relationships, sporting prowess, intelligence and health were all more common responses.

In particular first year boys wished to change their monetary situation; this was their most commonly chosen response (87.2%). In both first year and fourth year more boys than girls wanted to improve their financial future. This may suggest that wanting to have money is linked to developing masculinity. Future qualitative work could explore the intersect of emerging masculinity, breadwinning perception, wealth and lifestyle. This may help expose the intricacies of relationships between these concepts and enable improved understanding as to how this informs identity.

Both age-groups of girls chose changes to career opportunities most frequently with almost 95% of first year girls wishing to change this. In this sense girls present as a largely aspirational group, however this level of response choice may also indicate girls' perception of poorer current career opportunities and difficulties associated with gender and workplaces. Daughters, mothers and grandmothers contribute to this discussion in the following section, however more focused qualitative work would be necessary to fully understand how girls perceive their future careers.

Another potential interpretation of these responses points to the idealism, naivety and dreams presented in the boys desires, particularly in relation to their answers about money; these notions are linked to 'childlike' behaviours. On the other hand girls appear realistic and focused on practicalities, thus they appear more adult-like in their responses of what they wish to change. The next section engages with the qualitative interview data and explores the participant's thoughts and experiences regarding household roles and gender. This is then followed by a concluding section to pull together the findings of this chapter.

Interview Data and Discussion

Perceptions of the family

As discussed in the opening to this chapter the formation of the family unit and roles of members of the family have changed significantly. This is in part due to cultural changes and external pressures, both economic and technological. The mother and grandmother interview participants' experiences of some of these changes within their own upbringing and families' evidence these changes.

Many of the daughters, mothers and grandmothers interviewed did not grow up with one or other parent. Within the group of girls most did not have a father and had grown up with their mothers. Of those with only their mothers there was a mix of step-parental influence. One girl had largely been brought up by her grandparents.

Of the grandmothers two had grown up without their mother as a result of maternal death in childbirth of a sibling. Figure 5.16 (below), from work by Chamberlain (2006), shows that maternal mortality decreased dramatically from about 1935.



Figure 5.16: Maternal Mortality (Chamberlain, 2006)

Annual death rate per 1000 total births from maternal mortality in England and Wales (1850- 1970) Registrar General Report (Chamberlain, 2006).

This decrease attributed to developments in medicine and access to healthcare, particularly the ability to fight infections through antibiotics and chemotherapy (Chamberlain, 2006).

Leading to the reduction of maternal mortality to the current rate of approximately 6.8 deaths per 100, 000 births (Lewis, 2012). Mothers in the study discussed being brought up by a mix of only-mother-present, both parents, and step-father present family designs.

In this section I shall discuss the observations of these girls and women of their own upbringing and parental and household roles. Although many of the participants did not have both parents involved in their upbringing all had an opinion of what it meant to be mother or a father. I will discuss these findings with reference to the pupil survey quantitative results.

Daughters – Household Roles and Expectations

From the quantitative results displayed in the previous section one may expect that the girls in the interview sample would have more gender neutral preferences about breadwinning with tendency towards preferring females in caregiver roles. While some of the participants did express this, the majority thought women would be as good, if not better at both caregiving *and breadwinning* than men. Firstly I will investigate the survey girls' perceptions of the caregiving role in the household followed by their thoughts about breadwinning.

Caregiving

The girls interviewed generally showed a preference for mothers acting as caregiver within the household. However, the reasons for this were not uniform through these participants. D.2 believed that mothers were more likely to be better nurturers than men due to an inbuilt tendency of mothers to nurture and bond with their children.

“I think a Mum would stay at home and I think it's different. 'Cause it, like it is kinda been proved in a way, you know? Like if babies are like upset and stuff... basically what I'm trying to say is that you know women are more in tune to the kids than what the men are...”

(D.2)

D.2 felt that mothers are naturally more in tune with their children than fathers. This was important, as by being aware of the needs of the child the mother would be able to fulfil those needs. On the other hand, a father – she felt, would be less likely to be in touch with

the needs of the child and therefore less able to look after that child. D.2's perspective is in line with research which has argued a notion of innate nurturance particular to, or more adaptively preferable in females (Cassidy and Shaver, 2008; Frankel, 1994; Fransson et al., 2005), in many cases it appears implicit that females will assume the nurturing role – especially in relation to infants and newborns. Biosocial theorists argue that although women may be more likely to be pre-disposed to nurturing it is then necessary for women to be conditioned, socially, to nurturance and situationally prompted (Eagly and Wood, 2011), in order for them to display this behaviour appropriately. While on the other hand it is argued that males display “genuine fatherliness” (Benedek, 1970) and “engrossment” with newborn babies (Greenberg and Morris, 1974) but may not be given adequate support, direction or social acceptance to become *fulltime* fathers, primary caregivers. In this sense culture teaches females, nurturance, it does not do the same for males, this acts to embed nurture as a feminine characteristic and therefore, gendered, role.

By contrast D.4, rather than asserting an innate factor determining quality of care, felt that choice plays a significant part in determining who would be a better caregiver.

“I think males could do it. They could do it if they wanted to. But they've got to want to do it.” (D.4)

As she believed fathers would be less likely to choose this role, she also thought they would be less likely to be good at it. This does not necessarily conflict with D.2: perhaps there may be an innate factor that makes women more likely to *choose* to take up the nurturing role of the household while men choose the breadwinning role. This would lead to the perception that women are better at nurturing and men better at breadwinning, as they choose these roles and therefore become good at them.

However, as discussed in the opening element of this chapter, parents have traditionally had *less choice* in their roles within the household. Simplistically, it was presumed that men would work and mothers would nurture – or at least be at home. The role of a man in this sense is not to be a parent – it is to be a worker, the role of a woman is to be a mother, *the* parent. The element of choice was therefore not present. It is argued in the following discussion by mothers that there is equally little choice now; it appears that many more women are working and many fewer men due to economic changes and necessity.

'Wanting to do it' becomes less important if there is not an equal option of roles available for both genders.

In a work environment (in line with D.4's assertion,) it may be argued that one is more likely to be good at their job if they enjoy it. Previous research coming from management and human resources has pointed to the role of enjoyment and supportive environment in maximising productivity amongst staff (Argyle, 1989; Bockerman and Ilmakunnas, 2012). D.4, in her discussion of choice and desire illustrates a new debate in the roles of the household whereby enjoyment and productivity of the caregiver role is rarely given the same scrutiny as formal working environments. It could be argued then that the *most successful* families (as judged by this management approach) are those where both parents do what they *want to do* rather than conforming to social norms or are confined by financial pressures. This would likely reserve the best nurturing environments and fulfilling careers to the middle and upper classes. These groups are more likely to be cushioned to a better extent from the effects of the economy than low income families; as such their household roles are less likely to be dependent upon this. This would enable these families to exert *choice* in their household roles and therefore affect the quality of their work in those roles.

In agreement with D.4, D.3 felt that women would be better nurturers than men because women would be more likely to choose this role. However, in particular (and in contrast) she believed that men would become nurturers because they were *unsuccessful* in work:

"Maybe he just can't handle the work." (D.3)

D.3 felt that men choosing to bring up children would likely be due to them being unable to cope with work rather than unable to find work, or as an active choice to bring up children. This depiction of a father-caregiver being deficient or incapable in some way is not also targeted at women in the same caregiving role. In this sense she displays negative feelings towards men in caregiving roles rather than more generally men out of work.

This is not an unusual stance: men who do not conform to male stereotypes are in general perceived more negatively than women who do not conform to female stereotypes. This was found by Wentworth and Chell who examined perceptions of househusband and

housewife roles. Both roles were perceived negatively *“but the harshest evaluation was reserved for househusbands”* (Wentworth and Chell in Lee, 2005). They concluded that this was due to the *“more rigid concept of the male gender role”* (Wentworth and Chell in Lee, 2005).

D.3 did not view male caregiving as a choice; instead it was deemed a deficiency. D.5 also viewed no choice in household roles however she more positively viewed mothering as the only form of household nurturance. She *assumed* that the role of a mother was to look after children and this therefore meant she could not work:

“[Mothers are] like busy anyway 24/7 with the kid. You cannae just leave them... so it is like a job.” (D.5)

D.5’s assumption displays a deeply engrained belief that a mother’s role is to care for children. She did not portray a value judgement about this role just that it was a certainty – mothers stay a home.

Unlike D.4 there is no element or importance of choice in her statement, nor is there necessarily any innate reasoning behind a mother’s role. D.5 may be responding to perceived social norms – simply caring is what women do, and breadwinning is what men do, because they always have. The next section will explore perceptions of breadwinning in more detail.

Breadwinning

Girls within the interviews discussed breadwinning less; also their perceptions of breadwinning were less defined than for caregiving. In line with her previous traditional and quite embedded norms D.5 thought that a man’s role was to provide.

“...the guy should go out and bring in money...” (D.5)

This makes sense as D.5 displays a traditional model of assigning gender roles. However, D.5 discussed mothers as caregivers without indicating why they were most suited to this role. In contrast she discusses why she thinks men should be breadwinners.

“Cause men like to provide for their family and feel good about doing it.” (D.5)

Interestingly, D.5 has considered what a man may wish to do but does not consider a woman's preferred occupation. The corollary to this may be that a woman will be happy if her partner is satisfied, exposing a gender preference for male dominance and female subservience.

Women have typically been viewed as more passive in nature than men; this was the counter to perceived male dominance (Reciniello, 1999). Typically male characteristics such as dominance, objectivity and rationality are valued higher than typically female characteristics of passivity, intuition and empathy (Wentworth and Chell in Lee, 2005). Although on a superficial level, female gender behaviour may have been granted some equality, it remains the case that male character traits are usually more widely valued (Bierema, 2001; Cejka and Eagly, 2000; Diekman and Eagly, 2000). As such, in order for a woman to be successful within the apparently masculine sphere of the workplace she must put aside femininity (in terms of character traits) and adopt more masculine traits (Fagenson, 1990, Wentworth and Chell in Lee, 2005). However, there is much less literature exploring young people's ideas about this and as such the present study contributes these girl's perspectives.

D.5's preference for traditional roles is defined; she not only views caregiving as a woman's role she also indicates a preference for, or assumption of, male dominance. On the other hand D.3's opinions are in stark contrast.

"...I just think that men think they can go out and earn all the money, where women can do it as well." (D.3)

D.3's observation that men think men make better breadwinners correlates with the results of the pupil survey. Boys were significantly more likely to identify men as more likely to be good at breadwinning than girls of the same age. In line with the girls of the pupil survey D.3 disagrees. D.3 allows little scope for the role of a father; she does not view men in caregiving positively and believes women can be as successful as men in work. In part this may be due to her own upbringing. D.3's mother works, she views this positively:

"I know my mum likes to go out to work. And she likes to go and have fun at work and she likes to come home and play with us and stuff." (D.3)

D.3 felt that by working her mother was more content and made more of the time they shared together. In D.3's eyes it appears that her mother is a 'do-it-all' type. Her mother is perceived to be able to work and care; there is no real need for a father figure, there is no defined role for him to fill.

Where both parents are present D.1 felt that the best option would be for both parents to work.

"I think they should just both go to work..." (D.1)

She believed that younger children would be best served in a nursery or playgroup where they could interact with other children and that with both parents working the family would be most stable. D.1 does not appear to value the role of caregiver in the same way as D.2 and D.4, she is more in line with D.3's perception as caregiving as a secondary role. On the other hand she views career and breadwinning as more desirable and potentially worthwhile and thus something that both parents may want to do – and should do.

In summary, D.3 and D.5 display opposing views regarding breadwinning; while D.5 maintains traditional preferences, D.3 disputes these. D.3's views are in line with the results of the pupil survey, whereby boys were more likely to assign breadwinning as a male gender role and girls were more likely to view this as equally likely between genders. D.1 too portrayed a more gender neutral approach but she felt that this would be best served by both parents working essentially devaluing the role of nurturer.

Mothers – Household Roles and Expectations

Caregiving

Mothers' perceptions of household roles were in some ways very similar to those expressed by their daughters; however, their reasoning for their views differed as did their experience.

The concept of an inbuilt nurturing tendency, as mentioned by D.2 was also expressed by M.1:

"I think instinctively maybe the majority of women have that nurturing side..." (M.1)

The use of the word “instinctively” indicates the innate element of the behaviour in women. However, she goes on to discuss her own experiences:

“I think women by nature are better at nurture... but it wouldn't be fair to say all women... I think there's a lot of women out there that don't have a hormonal bone in their body when it comes to taking care of a child... and to a certain extent if I was truthful, until I had [my daughter], I possibly could've been one of them...” (M.1)

In her own experience having her daughter was the trigger for her nurturing personality to emerge. In this sense she adopts a more biosocial approach (Eagly and Wood, 2011) – nurturance may be inbuilt but requires socialisation and circumstances to combine and result in nurturing behaviours. M.1 supposes that women are more likely than men to have an innate tendency towards nurturance; however she does not think this is preventative of men being nurturing:

“men can learn... I've seen and I've met single men who are damn good parents.” (M.1)

In this sense, it is the socialisation and the circumstances that appear most central to M.1's perceptions of who would be the better caregiver within a family. Men, according to M.1 are not as likely to have natural nurturing instincts but they are capable of acquiring these skills through *learning*. However, she notes that single men – single fathers – make good parents. She does not identify that men would choose the caregiver role within a two parent setup. In other words it is not a choice – they are nurturing by necessity – and are good at it.

This discussion of choice again mirrors the daughters' beliefs about the importance of *wanting to do it [caregiving]*. M.3 rather than implicitly implying lack of choice like M.1, directly states:

“I mean I've experienced it, stay at home dads are just (pause). It's no what they want.” (M.3)

From M.3's experience men would rather not be the caregiver of a household. However, she did not associate this with biological or innate factors, she reasoned that a major part of not wishing to be a stay-at-home dad is the lack of facilities for men to socialise with other parents, particularly other dads, with their children:

“...there's not an awful lot for dads. Like there's mother and toddler groups... there is more for mums to do with kids.” (M.3)

In this sense she believes it is a social response to the isolation felt by fathers in a caregiver role. As M.3 states, women can experience a good level of social support as caregiver, attending coffee mornings and nursery groups. This is supported by other studies that found that men, who are caregivers often do not receive the same level of support offered to females in the same role (Smith, 1998); and some may experience negative feedback in the form of prejudice and isolation. Maslow (1943) argued the importance of fulfilling a person's social needs: recognition and respect from others and the need for personal development and achievement, all of which have been linked to the allied importance of work. In line with M.3's assertion Emslie and colleagues (2004) found that as a househusband, men are more likely to experience social isolation and as such may not be as satisfied in the role of caregiver. As a result men may be more likely to suffer adverse health and wellbeing outcomes (if left unsupported) in this role (Emslie et al., 2004).

If the experience of social isolation and prejudice were eliminated then perhaps more men would be willing to fulfil the caregiver role. However as it is emerging from this study, inbuilt notions of gender roles of the family do appear to be reasonably engrained in this sample of British culture despite diverse forms of families and gender roles within families becoming more normal.

"...it has become the norm that men are staying at home a lot more with their children and not going to work." (M.2)

This observation by M.2 shows her belief in the changing shapes of families. However, she does not indicate that this is culturally accepted or approved; just that it is what is happening. She goes on to say:

"I go to college and I go to work, and I sometimes resent my partner for the time that he has to enjoy the children."... "Whereas I feel like I would have loved to have done that. D'ya know what I mean?" (M.2)

M.2 states that she "would have loved" to be the caregiver within her family, indeed she feels resentment towards her partner as she cannot do the role that she may prefer. This resentment is also noted by househusbands (Dykes, 1979). In M.2's case, her partner did not choose to be the caregiver, he was made redundant and this has determined their familial roles, neither parent made a choice to do a particular role. The roles of the household in this sense are not designed through dominance. M.2's partner did not dictate

that he would be the caregiver; instead their roles were constructed due to household finances. Although M.2 states that norms are changing her own situation appears more affected by necessity and not changing culture with regards to gender roles.

For M.4 the who – who stays at home – does not really matter:

“I think kids could (pause) are the same, whether it’s the mum or dad stays at home or they go into childcare or Gran or whatever. I think they still grow up ... you know? Perfectly stable.” (M.4)

The person doing the role in this sense matters less than the fact that the care is given. This view is in line with D.1 who felt that both parents should work. Similarly, M.4 shows a mild preference for female caregiving, even though it may not be the mother; the alternatives that she suggests refer to female family members – not just family members in general.

In summary, these mothers believed that fathers can be adequate caregivers, but generally perceived this to be at odds with men’s’ desires. Where men are caregivers it appears more likely due to external factors rather than internal motivation. In contrast, mothers viewed nurturance as a naturally female characteristic and displayed motivation towards the caregiver role though they were not always able to fulfil this role in their families due to financial constraints.

Breadwinning

In the previous section mother M.1, M.2 and M.3 indicated that they felt fathers would either not wish to be caregivers or would be less likely to be good at it. M.3 indicated that even though it is difficult for men to find employment, in general fathers *want* to provide for their family, they may even feel a duty to do so:

“I know a lot of men... that are like, “I have to provide, I have to do this.”...they get agitated more with kids.” (M.3)

In this sense M.3 is stating that men feel a desire to provide, and want this to be their role in the household; moreover, they are less suited to caregiving. This is in line with her earlier statement that men do not want to “stay at home”. M.3 portrays an inclination towards traditional gender roles in men but she does not indicate what she thinks women would

prefer – caregiving or breadwinning. This in itself may denote a preference for traditional roles; this is similar to D.5 in that she considers male preferences over her own, or general female choice.

M.2, like M.3, displays preferences for traditional roles; earlier however she noted that it has become the norm for men to be the caregiver within a household due to changes in the local economy. Kirkcaldy has changed considerably since the 1970s. Historically there have been significant employment opportunities in manufacturing and trade in the town, centred predominantly in mining and the linoleum industry. With the closure of the last linoleum factory in the 1970s this major employer, with its allied trades and services vanished leaving Kirkcaldy as a service and dormitory based town.

The change towards a larger service industry has been viewed as more female-friendly employment and alongside cultural changes in employment opportunities and choices for women this has significantly impacted upon the Kirkcaldy population (Bell, 1973; Hout et al., 1993). However this is perceived as potentially having particularly negative outcomes for the male population (Nayak, 2006). The mothers of the current study discussed experiences of this:

“it’s tricky, because (pause)... nowadays it’s harder for a man to get a job if you know what I mean. There’s a lot more jobs out there for women.” (M.2)

M.2 has relatively traditional gender role preferences – she desires to be the caregiver and feels her partner would prefer to work. However, within her family the opposite is the case – M.2 works and her partner is househusband. This conflict between her beliefs and her wishes is noticeable. Indeed she describes the situation as ‘tricky’, evidence that in her eyes this is not the ideal arrangement for her family. Her own upbringing displays more traditional roles:

“I mean, I remember mostly my mum being at home because my stepdad worked, whereas now it’s like both sorta have to work, eh.” (M.2)

As recognised by M.2 a more common occurrence in modern families, with both parents present, is that of dual-earner households. M.2 does not regard this as an active choice of women to start working – she regards this as a response to a household necessity.

Within dual earner households there are a variety of potential configurations. It is less likely that both parents will contribute equally in terms of income and time. It is more likely that one parent will display a majority proportion to either household (or house-work), or to career-work. Yet, even in households where women provide the majority of income and spend more time engaged in external, *career-work* they remain more likely to do more of the house-work than men (Coltrane and Shih, 2010; Hochschild and Machung, 1989; Pittman et al., 1999; Shelton, 1992). In other words, the role of women who work is not just that of breadwinner, they are also more likely to be involved in further household duties that men in employment would not be expected to do. Thus the female role expands and the opportunity for the man's domain to become the home (instead of a formal workplace) is reduced.

M.2's observed shift in employment opportunities and is supported by M.5 who has also experienced the differences in employment opportunities within her own family:

"He couldnae find work it was easier for me to find work..." (M.5)

In contrast to M.2 however M.5 viewed this positively – her partner's unemployment provided the opportunity for him to bond with their children:

"...they were always running to Mummy but when Mummy wasn't there they had to go to Dad, when I was at work and such. Aye it was, it built up a good relationship with their Dad." (M.5)

For M.5's family the change of set up worked very well to the extent that her partner stopped looking for work and remains a full-time househusband. Indeed this was decided as both parents felt caregiving should be maintained within the family:

"...I liked the thought of no having anybody else bring up ma children" (M.5)

For this family the mother was settled into a career and the father enjoyed the role of househusband and as such these are the roles they adopted and maintained. However, she implies that this was not the intended outcome; instead an unfortunate circumstance had been a happy accident where both parents enjoyed their roles.

In contrast to the portrayed reduction of opportunities for men illustrated by M.2 and M.5, M.4 states her views of opportunities for women. M.4 only portrayed mildly gendered views

with regards to caregiving; however, her perceptions of career and breadwinning are more strongly defined.

"I have advised [my daughter] to think about doing a guy's careers rather than female's career... she asked me why I said that and tried to explain that if you go into like, say my son does welding, you will always be paid the same as a man. Whereas in like an office career, like myself, there's guys in the office who will be paid a lot more than me." (M.4)

This demonstrates M.4's belief that workplaces are still unequal in terms of opportunities for women. However, it also evidences a more strongly detailed view of gendered work and an intention to oppose this. M.4 notes the inequity in *female careers* – men being paid better than women – but instead of fighting this inequality head on, getting to the top of these careers she is suggesting to her daughter that women take on "guy's careers". In this sense M.4 is encouraging her daughter to negotiate the "glass ceiling" by targeting *more* masculine careers. Men in traditionally female occupations such as nursing or primary school teaching are alleged to be paid more, to progress further up pay scale and offered opportunities in managerial or supervisory roles faster than their female counterparts. However, the numbers of men in these professions is very low perhaps due to the prevailing stigma surrounding men in cross-gendered roles. M.4 appears to be suggesting that her daughter does the same to "guy's careers".

Careers that she views as male include trades, (specifically she mentions welding,) and other manufacturing and industry based jobs. However numbers of these jobs in Kirkcaldy have decreased and as such this may not prove effective in tackling gender inequality. Moreover, primary and secondary sector jobs such as farming and construction often require levels of physical strength which most women cannot so easily achieve. In this sense women may be less suited to these types of work. On the other hand, nursing which may regularly require physical strength is made up of almost 89.3% women and only 10.6% men (Nursing and Midwifery Council, 2008). M.4's discussion highlights the ambition she holds for her daughter; it also demonstrates her perception of gendered workplaces and inequality.

Lack of job opportunities is an uneasy norm of this decade. However, these mothers perceived the hardship being particular focused on men and offered this as an explanation

of the emergent familial role patterns (Gutek et al., 1991). These patterns are regarded as positive by M.5 who found that cross-gendered roles work well for her family. However others appeared less content; their family roles were perceived as due to necessity rather than out of choice and not ideal. Finally M.4 appeared particularly conscious of the inequalities faced by women in the workplace and ambitious for her daughter to succeed.

Grandmothers – Household Roles and Expectations

Caregiving

The grandmothers in this study stood out from the other groups in the importance they placed upon caregiving. Unlike their grandchildren (the girl or daughter group), they appeared to prioritise caregiving over breadwinning in its status within the household. The grandmothers also noted considerable changes in the roles of caregiver and breadwinner. Although they largely displayed traditional role preferences, reasoning for their preference differed from their granddaughters and daughters. G.3 displayed her traditional role preferences saying:

"[Mothers should] stay at home eh till the kids is at least a bit older ...you know? To give them the benefit of having their Mum there..." (G.3)

In this sense she thinks children *benefit* from having a mother present – she does not state more generally parent or parents. But she goes further to say:

"I think they have to spend time with their kids really, when they're young... if you don't, you miss out an awful lot." (G.3)

Here she indicates the importance of the caregiving role to the *mother* and her perception of the potentially negative outcomes of *missing out* by not fulfilling this role; again she does not appear to view fathers as missing out in the same way. Thus she portrays a gender bias with regards to caregiving. However, she also noted changes:

"Yeah, I think they have more choice now. I mean when I was young it was a case, the man always went to work... He looked after the wife and the home, you know? But now (pause), men can bring up their kids every bit as good as the women." (G.3)

The second half of G.3's statement appears to be suggesting that men have improved – they were not as competent at caregiving but now men are more on a par with women and

can do this role as well as women. This is in contrast to the previous groups who more often presented changes in terms of *women* becoming equally capable (and more likely) breadwinners. These groups thus expanded the role of women and were more likely to view a diminished role of men in the household. G.3, on the other hand is portraying the opposite, a father's role expanding and a mother's role maintained, she also attributes this to *choice*. She goes further to say:

"...some Dads are even better sometimes than their wives. You know?" (G.3)

In this statement, not only are men equal to – some are better than – their female counterparts, this is perceived as a significant change. Indeed G.2 discussed her experience bringing up her own children in the 1950s and 1960s.

"...some of ma pals, they say, "ken you're lucky", he does a lot, ken? ... wi the bairns he'll take them away to the park and their men never... and they had to dae all the baths and all them..." (G.2)

G.2's partner was a *hands-on-dad* and this was viewed as unusual – but positive – by her friends. In families where both parents are present it is expected that fathers will be more actively involved in the upbringing of their children. However, the division of these tasks is still somewhat gendered. Fathers are more likely to be involved in teaching and discipline, whereas mothers are more likely to be involved in food preparation and bathing (Berk, 1985).

These grandmothers noted considerable changes in the likelihood and capability of fathers in involvement in the household – particularly in terms of their involvement with children. This was generally viewed positively; however, G.3's gender preference was still evident as she displayed underlying assumptions; not only do children value the presence of their *mother* but mothers benefit too.

Breadwinning

Grandmothers also noted changes in cultural expectations of breadwinning:

"Well I worked... I worked in a drapers shop then I got married. In these days you didn't get to work after [you got married]... you had to give up." (G.1)

As discussed in the opening element of this chapter there have been somewhat dramatic changes in the roles of men and women over the last few generations and one of these changes is women's acceptance in work. G.1's statement portrays the lack of choice given to women after they married. However G.1 goes on to explain:

"nowadays it seems to be both parents have to work if they have a mortgage or anything."
(G.1)

This again demonstrates a lack of choice in the roles of the household. However, rather than cultural norms or standards *preventing* women working there is a perceived need for both parents to work – due to financial requirements. It may be argued that the role of women has changed not necessarily due to advances in equality standards but instead because there is no alternative. Women's role is in this sense dictated by pragmatic requirements rather than a sense of social justice.

A similar sentiment was portrayed by G.3:

"as long as they could afford to do that... but if they can't afford to do it and they have to go out, as long as they have somebody like their Mother, a Grandmother or somebody to look after the kids..." (G.3)

G.3 again illustrates more traditional role preferences as she assigns caregiving to female family members however she notes that there may be financial restrictions that prevent a mother from fulfilling this role. In this sense a mother is permitted to become a secondary wage-earner, if *necessary*, however it is presumed that the father will be the primary income-maker, in line with traditional norms.

Overall, the grandmothers in this study held traditional gender role preferences in the household however; they noted changes in the setup of families. In particular they perceived women as being more accepted in work than previously, although women were viewed as secondary income providers rather than taking over the male primary breadwinner role. G.1 viewed women in work as a reaction to financial need rather than a change in culture. This indicates she perhaps did not view modern household roles as actually more equal, a female's role remains determined by the role and success of the man.

Conclusions

Traditionally gender roles of the family were defined and inflexible: men were workers, women were mothers. However, within a few generations the roles of the household and expectations surrounding those roles have changed considerably. Yet this may not be a purely socio-cultural development but more a response to increased economic pressures brought about in part by desire for higher living standards which stretch family finances. Moreover, changes in Kirkcaldy's economy have reduced the numbers of male dominant industries and instead replaced these with the more female- oriented service industries enabling women to compete favourably for the limited employment opportunities.

This chapter found that the division of household labour has changed from traditional roles of male breadwinning and female nurture or caregiving to more flexible notions of 'normal'. However many interviewees, particularly mothers and grandmothers, generally preferred the traditional model. They believed the shift towards male nurturance and female breadwinning was the result of economic changes, not changes in acceptability or equality, but *necessity*. These points of view were at times voiced explicitly, though other participants also portrayed these beliefs through subtleties referring to *she* when discussing nurturance or *he* when explaining views about careers or work. In line with the interviewees, the school survey showed that pupils generally preferred the traditional model of household division of labour; however boys presented the clearest views in this regard.

Between first year and fourth year pupils' opinions of household roles appear to become more pronounced and divided along gender lines. Girls' views become *less* gender stereotyped, while boys become *more* gender stereotyped – particularly with regards to traditionally male behaviours.

First year girl's views are generally more traditionally stereotyped than those of fourth year girls. As such the difference between first year girls and fourth year girls is of particular interest. Between these ages something influences girls' perceptions of household role

behaviours. In exploring what young people wished to change about their lives girls in particular appeared focused on their future career prospects again pointing to the value of career (and potentially allied breadwinning behaviours). Further qualitative work would be necessary to fully ascertain the link between perceptions of breadwinning and career desire. The evidence presented by this study indicates this may be an interesting area for further work.

Boys generally held more gendered perceptions of household roles than girls with the difference most evident between fourth year groups. Fourth year boys were more likely to attribute the traditionally stereotyped male role of breadwinning to males than fourth year girls were likely to attribute the traditionally stereotyped female role of caregiving to females. This suggests that generally breadwinning may be viewed with higher regard than nurture amongst these groups. Fourth year boys, in this sense, presented as a group who value breadwinning as an attribute of *masculinity*. Fourth year girls do not ascribe the same value to *feminine* nurture.

Within the interviews one girl (daughter) showed awareness of boys' traditional perceptions of breadwinning potentially exposing the strength of this view amongst her male peers. More generally girl-interviewees demonstrated their perceptions of the importance of career and work through discussion of their mothers' choices and presented a diverse range of beliefs about traditional family models. Girls' in interview displayed starkly contrasting and strongly held views with little flexibility. This group displayed the most divergent views of household roles. While some of the girls clearly preferred or *assumed* traditional gender role divisions, others believed this no longer applied.

Within this group, those who showed preference for more traditional stereotypes tended to provide a role to both genders. On the other hand, in cases where female breadwinning was promoted, male caregiving was not necessarily accepted equally. This supports the evidence presented by the quantitative survey results whereby girls appeared more likely to assign caregiving to women but also viewed breadwinning and business-mindedness as behaviours attributable to both males and females. In this sense these girls may demote the importance of a male in family structure. This study is unable to identify the structure of

the families of these girls; however in future work it may be interesting to explore the root of this apparent devaluation of men in the household as potentially linked to experience and family structure or changing local economies.

Grandmothers' views appeared similarly defined though generally more in line with traditional norms. Mothers on the other hand displayed more varied conceptions of household roles with diverse reasoning for their preferences. In this sense mothers views appear more linked to their circumstances and experiences which in turn appeared more varied than the admittedly small sample of grandmothers of this study. As such their more complex beliefs around family structure may be linked to their experiences growing up and through nurturing their own children, both of which are potentially more likely to have been more complex, given societal changes than those experiences of their own mothers. Traditional models of the household were regularly preferred by mothers and grandmothers yet these were also discussed as unattainable.

It was clear that some mothers believed a changing job market and more recently the struggling economy may be disproportionately affecting men's access to stable and sustainable jobs. More generally mothers acknowledged that decisions about the home were directly linked to the economic realities of their situation (Gutek et al., 1991). It was accepted that, where possible, it is often the case that both parents have to work.

Together, mothers' observations of changing job markets, daughter's perceptions indicating a diminishing male role, and girls of the pupil survey's de-masculinisation of stereotyped male behaviours presents a potential problem for the role of men. Fundamentally this suggests that men's role has changed from head of the household and often sole breadwinner and income provider, to second-rated nurturer with little job security, and not fundamentally necessary to the successful running of a household. This was by no means universally accepted, but evidences the need for new forms and acceptance of masculinities that engage with cultural and economic realities.

Overall this chapter has examined young people's, their parent's and grandparent's ideas of the traditionally gendered division of the household with the role this plays in developing

identity among young people in Scottish society differing between boys and girls. The quantitative female pupil's survey data is supported and illustrated by the views of the daughter or girl group within the qualitative interviews however the diverse ages of interview participants and delineation of girl-pupils' views along age-group lines is a limitation of this study. The mothers and grandmothers interviewees provide a more experiential account of changing patterns of gender roles in the family but often the most insightful elements of their statements are the underlying assumptions which betray their fundamental beliefs and preferences: more clearly defined and traditional gender roles. In future studies it may be interesting to explore the intersect between explicit beliefs about gender equality, assumptions of gender role preferences and satisfaction with personal household roles to further understand how compromise, equality and family economics develop to form family structures within the culture of diverse roles.

Chapter Six – Girl or Woman: Appearance, Sexualisation and Risk

The aim of this chapter is to explore perceptions of appearance and sexualisation among young people's, their parent's and grandparent's in order to better understand how this links to notions of gender and adulthood and the role this plays in developing one's identity in Scottish society. This chapter explores perceptions of female beauty, its links to sexual attractiveness and allied perceptions of potential risk. Boys and girls create their self-concept of appropriate gendered appearance and develop beliefs about the opposite sex in light of socialisation through global, 24/7 media and other sources. Notions of attractive appearance are differentiated between genders, across time, culture and sub-culture. Even within these (usually) experientially fixed domains appearance is experienced differently from one person to another – what one person finds attractive the next may not despite similar upbringings, the same gender and being asked at the same time. As such “no definition can capture beauty entirely” (Etcoff, 1999). However, in modern society the overriding portrayal of beauty is a female figure; young, slim but busty, tall, long-haired, symmetrically faced with clear skin, full lips and large eyes (Calogero et al., 2007; Groesz et al., 2002; Grogan, 2008; Marchessault, 2000; Thompson and Tantleff, 1992).

These are the images of women that cover magazines and appear on television; images that sell sofas, ready meals, clothing and holidays (Tiggemann and Pickering, 1996; Englis et al., 1994; Richins, 1991). Women who naturally appear as those mentioned in the media are not representative of the female population; the current ideals of beauty that they encompass are not attainable for most, despite makeup, cosmetic procedures or dieting (Mischner et al., 2013).

Children aged eleven to fifteen, who are the focus of this study, are aware of images of attractiveness (Dion and Berschied, 1974; Lowes and Tiggemann, 2003; Saxton et al., 2006). Adolescence is known to be a time of increased importance with regards to development of body image standards (Polce-Lynch et al., 2001).

Moreover, feminine concepts of attractiveness and focus upon feminine beauty are most prevalent in our culture. As such, appearance is regarded as a more defining feature of female identity (Mazur, 1986). This in turn leaves young women particularly vulnerable to poor self-image (Grover et al., 2003; Katz, 1979; Papadopoulos, 2010).

Girls are generally perceived to invest more heavily in physical appearance and feel more negatively about their physical appearance than boys (Brown et al., 1990; Cash et al., 2004; Thomas et al., 2000). Feminine beauty is a process of maintenance, “a state to be constantly sought” (Black and Sharma, 2001) through day-to-day hair removal, makeup application, moisturisation, deodorisation, straightening, curling and dyeing (Black and Sharma, 2001; Holland et al., 1994). In this sense good appearance requires sustained attention and effort.

Awareness and self-comparison to idealised images of beauty have been linked to increased body dissatisfaction among girls (Cattarin et al., 2000; Cho and Lee, 2013). Women with lower self-esteem have been found to be more likely to internalise unrealistic beauty ideals (Mischner et al., 2013); thus this creates a cycle of awareness and wish to achieve an idealised appearance, repeated comparison with self to unattainable ideals, lower self-esteem and further engraining of the ideal and so on.

Increasingly research is exploring concepts of male body ideals and potential effects of media exposure to idealised masculine attractiveness on men’s body image. So far studies have shown much weaker correlations between exposure to idealised male bodies and boy’s or men’s body concerns than is evident for women and girls (Hargreaves and Tiggemann, 2004; Harrison, 2000; Ricciardelli et al., 2000). However there is evidence that exposure to sexualised and idealised images of women influences men’s concept of female attractiveness (Barak and Fisher, 1997; Kendrick et al., 2003; Jansma et al., 1997).

Before discussing the data I will briefly outline a few socio-historical representations of beauty through Victorian to Modern Britain. This will contextualise the later discussions of ‘good appearance’, its importance to young people, in particular girls, and will suggest reasons for particular *types* of beauty becoming mainstream in modern culture. In the

following discussion I will use the term beauty to describe idealised *good-looks* of a time or age. In the qualitative interviews participants were more likely to refer to *being good-looking, trying to look-good, or nice*, to be as concise as possible in the following section I refer to these concepts as *beauty* or *beauty ideals* but these terms are regarded as transferrable in this study.

A Brief Social History of Female Beauty

Victorian beauty was bound to the corset. This particular contraption sculpted the female body, it is discussed by feminists as a device which “shaped and controlled women’s sexuality” (Summers, 2011). But more than this it was a fashion which was bought into on a large scale. Victorian women aimed for tiny waists, protruding, large breasts and rounded bottoms; this was achieved by the use of a corset and bustle. During this period and until this time, rounded, soft ‘plump’ female figures were perceived to portray the more attractive female fertile form, as represented in art (Grogan, 2008).

This preference was replaced in the 1920s with flapper girls embracing *freedom* with shift dresses, which for the suitable figure, removed the need for underwear (Caldwell, 1981). The fashionable body of this time was a very slim, boyish figure teamed with a shorter haircut and red lipstick (Peiss, 2000). Women of the 1920s resorted to extreme dieting and binding of the breasts to achieve the desirable look of the time (Caldwell, 1981).

By the 1950s breasts had become fashionable again as shown by Marilyn Monroe in the first Playboy centrefold (Grogan, 2008). Yet at this time there was a divergence of apparently idealised female bodies. On the one hand Audrey Hepburn portrayed feminine *sophistication* through slimness. On the other Marilyn Monroe portrayed the *sexual* through bodily curves.

The revival of slimness appeared once again with Twiggy in the 1960s. This perpetuated and progressed into the 1990s with fashion models becoming progressively taller and leaner (Sypeck et al., 2004); however, in *Lad’s Mags* breasts remained as large if not larger than in the 1950s (Grogan, 2008).

The consistent theme emerging from this brief history of female beauty is the requirement of women to modify themselves to fit an idealised form through sometimes painful re-contouring of the body. Women's' appearances through these periods and into modern life represent more than just a woman's physical *objective* beauty; appearance is linked to notions of self-control, inclusiveness in society, success and class (Gimlin, 2002; Soley-Beltran, 2004), and is thus central to self-perception and identity (Gimlin, 2000).

What is beauty now?

Female attractiveness in the 2000s appears to have maintained its divergence of sexiness and sophistication. Fashion models are regularly portrayed as very thin and tall. Glamour modelling on the other hand seeks large, usually surgically enhanced breasts, larger bottoms, very small waists and long, lean legs (Grogan, 2008). Both of these forms of modelling – and resultant imagery – have been discussed as generating body ideals for women (and girls) (Coy and Garner, 2010; Gill, 2007). The more sexualised imagery of glamour modelling has become considerably more mainstream resulting in increased opportunities for girls and women to compare themselves with *glamorised* bodies. The language of glamour modelling too evokes celebrity, wealth and luxury though the reality of glamour model life is unlikely to usually match this fantasy (Coy and Garner, 2010).

The notion and importance of youth in imagery adds to the unattainability of idealised beauty for older women, but may also act to normalise ideal appearance for younger girls and women. Merskin (2004) examined a variety of controversial advertisements which appear to explicitly sexualise under-age children in order to sell a variety of products:

“...the image of a young-looking girl with blackened eyes and the copy “so he can smell it when you say no.” (Merskin, 2004)

This advertisement links youth with sexuality and also with violence and threat. This case appears as an extreme example. However, widespread more moderate images portraying the sexual accessibility of young girls may in turn normalise the perception of young girls *generally* as sexually inviting. Imagery in this way shapes “appropriate targets of desire” (Henslin, 1994). Moreover, girls' absorption of this imagery may in turn affect their self-concept.

Beyond advertising, research has also identified themes in popular music videos which objectify women and relegate them to body *parts* and submissive roles (Bell et al., 2007; Mischner et al., 2013). These roles are more frequently sexually suggestive and subordinate to the depicted males: “prostitutes, nightclub performers or servants” (Mischner et al., 2013).

Despite being deemed by some as ‘degrading’ in a Lab TV poll of 1000 girls aged fifteen to nineteen 63% responded that they considered glamour modelling as their *ideal* profession, a further 25% cited lap dancing from a list that included a variety of choices such as teaching and medicine (Deeley, 2008). This has led to debate as to the perception of sexualised media by young people. While most studies espouse the potentially negative impacts of sexualised media upon identity formation and confidence, risky behavioural practices and eating disorders (Dines, 2010; Hargreaves and Tiggemann, 2003), others argue that young people are capable of critical engagement with sexualised media and more regularly project negative effects upon others but perceive themselves as unaffected (Bale, 2011).

Boys and girls appear to be *sexually*-socialised differently; girls may be processing messages about appropriate appearance from mainstream media sources and a trickle-down effect of sexualised media, on the other hand boys are more likely to engage with explicit pornographic resources on the internet (Carroll et al., 2008).

Research by Ropelato (2007) found that the average age of “first viewing” of pornography among boys is around eleven years old. Research into young people’s increasing access to sexually explicit imagery, and the potential implications of this on their wellbeing, health and sexual or gender attitudes is expanding. However, the intersect and interaction between those who *choose* to watch sexualised media and those who passively absorb sexualised messages appears under-researched. Further, most studies have focused on attitudes or behaviours of either male college students or inmates; this study, and in particular this chapter engages with a wide breadth of relevant topics and diverse, young population to investigate perceptions of sexualisation.

For young women beauty appears to be regularly linked to sexually idealised appearance rather than necessarily high-fashion thinness. The link between boys' perceptions of normal, desirable bodies – as potentially informed by pornography; and girls' desires for physical attractiveness as influenced by *glamour* need to be better understood. The meeting of these two perceptions of beauty may leave young women vulnerable to bodily scrutiny and low self-esteem as the glamorised ideal of beauty remains the most unnatural form of beauty to achieve (Engeln-Maddox, 2006; Gimlin, 2002). This is succinctly put by Rosalind Gill:

“in today's media it is possession of a 'sexy body' that is presented as women's key (if not sole) source of identity” (Gill, 2007).

As such this chapter investigates perceptions and risks linked to this apparent ideal. Pulling together data from the quantitative survey and qualitative interviews this chapter will try to present a better understanding of perceptions of appearance and sexualisation in Scottish culture. It will investigate perceived changes in access to, and use of, sexualised content, and potential impacts of these changes as discussed by the participants. These concepts will be linked together through the notion of observer socialisation and misinterpretation of sexual signals and age, as identified as potentially risky by interviewed mothers.

The following sections will explore the quantitative data results. These results are split into two sections. Part A investigates attitudes towards appearance; vanity, changing one's appearance, healthiness and sporting ability. Part B investigates sexualisation through attitudes towards sexually explicit imagery, casual sex, promiscuity, and changes regarding relationships. At the end of these sections a summary will pull these data together and draw key conclusions. This is followed by the qualitative results exploring the views of daughters, mothers and grandmothers. Finally the data will be pulled together in the concluding section of core findings.

Appearance and Sexualisation – Quantitative Results

Within the pupil survey participants were asked who they felt was *more likely* to display or be good at a range of characteristics and behaviours. This chapter focuses on topics relevant to appearance and sexualisation in light of the potential links between the two.

Part A explores perceptions of vanity and pupils' choices to change their appearance, health, sporting ability, and age. This is followed by Part B which investigates pupils' attitudes towards pornography, casual sex, promiscuity and changing relationships.

The layout of topics in this chapter is shown below in Figure 6.1.

Chapter Six	Part A – Appearance		Part B – Sexualisation
Section A	Vanity		Pornography, casual sex, promiscuity
↓			↓
Section B	Appearance, Sport and Health		Appearance, Relationships
↓			
Section C	Appearance, Older, Young	-	

Figure 6.1: Chapter Topics Layout

Within each topic the relevant levels of analysis will be conducted from levels one to three.

Part A – Section A – Vanity

Survey Question: Who do you think is more likely to put the way they look above other things?

Level One

a. Girls vs. Boys

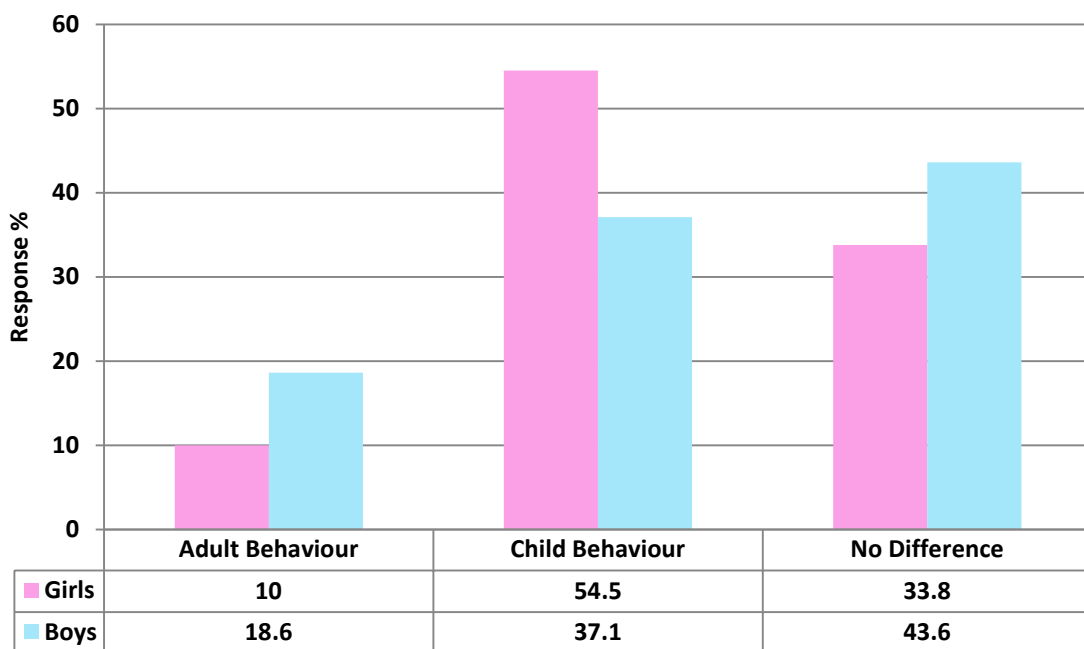


Figure 6.2: Vanity... Level One – a

Girls: 10% of girls (N= 29) responded that adults are more likely to be vain, 33.8% (N= 98) thought that adults and children are equally likely to be vain, the majority, 54.5% of girls (N= 158) perceived vanity to be more likely to be attributable to children. Five girls (1.7%) did not answer this question.

Boys: 18.6% of boys (N= 49) answered that they thought adults are more likely to put the way they look above other things, 43.6% (N= 115) thought that there is no difference and 37.1% of boys (N= 98) answered that children are more likely to be vain than adults. Two boys (0.8%) did not answer this question.

This result presents a statistically significant difference in perceptions of vanity by boys and girls $FET(N= 547) = 19.656, p= 0.000$. While boys are more likely to perceive no difference between adult and children, girls attribute vanity to children alone. This implies that girls may perceive vanity as a behaviour that children grow out of and thus is less likely amongst adults.

b. First Year vs. Fourth Year

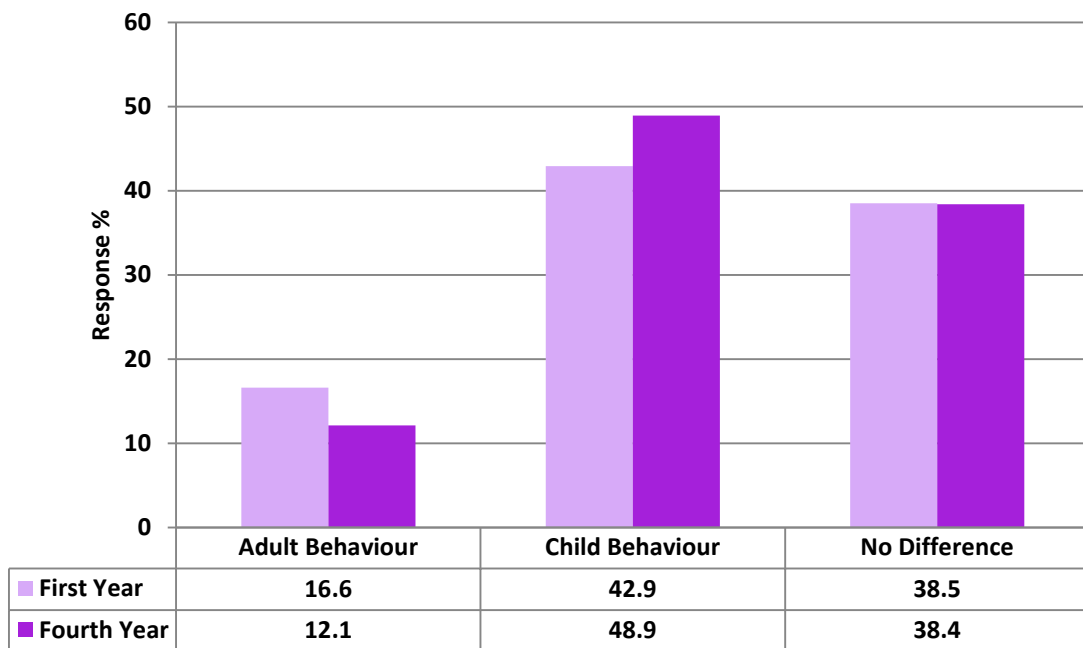


Figure 6.3: Vanity... Level One – b

-Vanity-	Significant ($p < 0.05$)	Non-Significant
Girls x Boys	$FET(N= 547) = 19.656, p = 0.000$	
1st year x 4th year		$FET(N= 547) = 3.027, p = 0.221$

First year: 42.9% of first year pupils ($N= 106$) answered that children are more likely to be vain than adults, 16.6% ($N= 41$) thought that adults are more likely to be vain than children while the remaining 38.5% ($N= 95$) of first year pupils thought that adults and children are equally likely to be vain. Five first year pupils (2%) did not answer this question.

Fourth year: 48.9% of fourth year pupils ($N= 105$) indicated that children are more likely than adults to put the way they look before other things, as opposed to 12.1% ($N= 37$) who thought adults are more likely to do this. 38.4% ($N= 118$) of fourth year pupils thought that

adults and children are equally likely to be vain. Two fourth year pupils (0.7%) did not answer this question.

As first and fourth year pupils answered this question similarly the result is not statistically significant: FET(N= 547) = 3.027, p= 0.221. These results suggest that gender is more influential in perceptions of vanity than age-group.

Level Two

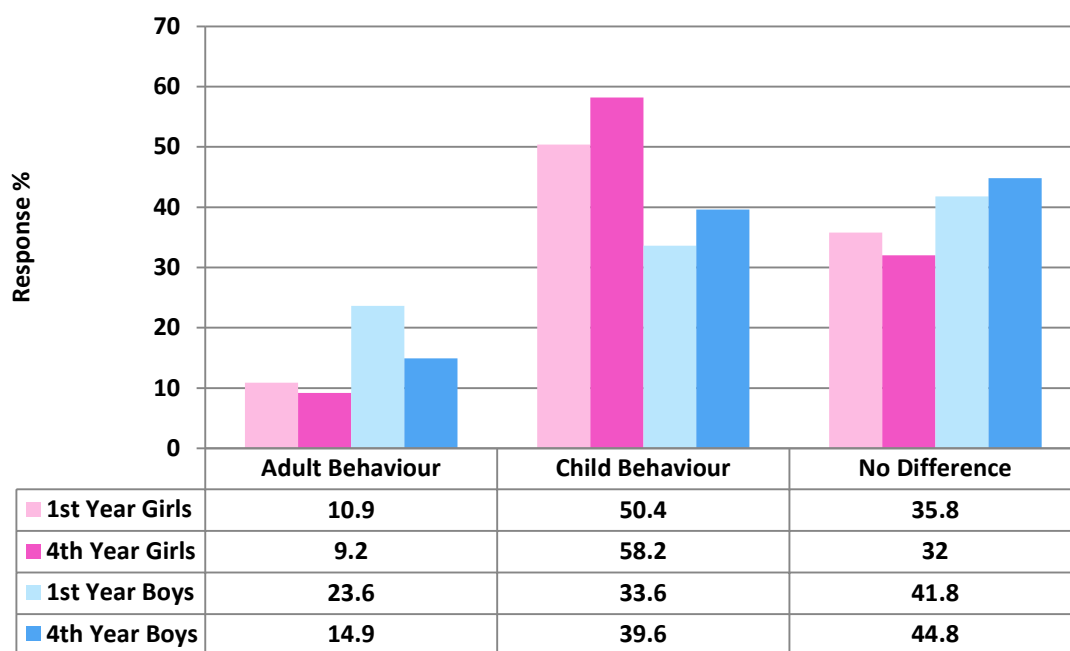


Figure 6.4: Vanity... Level Two

-Vanity-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls		FET(N= 285)= 1.325, p= 0.511
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 262)= 3.326, p= 0.190
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys	FET(N= 242)= 10.391, p= 0.006	
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 305)= 10.767, p= 0.004	

Girls in both first and fourth year were significantly more likely to attribute vanity – putting the way you look above other things – to children rather than adults, than their male classmates were. Very few girls thought that vanity was a behaviour more likely in adults-only. This suggests that these girls view preoccupation with appearance as something they may identify with and that perhaps they believe they will grow out of.

Most boys, on the other hand, felt that adults and children were equally likely to put the way they look above other things. More boys answered that children were more likely to be vain than answered that adults were more likely to act this way, but most responses were that there is no difference.

Both boys and girls display similar results between age groups indicating that opinions about vanity do not change significantly between the ages of eleven and fifteen but instead are more affected by gender.

This result is in line with expectation as girls typically invest more heavily in their appearance spending more time on daily routines than boys (Brown et al., 1990). Although boys do not typically spend as much time in pursuit of physical ideals through cosmetics and fashion they may take part in more physical exercise perhaps in order to reach masculine physical ideals which are more commonly aligned to muscularity (Cafri et al., 2005). However, more recently cosmetic industries appear to be increasingly targeting boys and men with products for hair styling, 'guy-liner' and male specific concealers.

Level Three

Fourth Year Boys: Are you an Adult? X Vanity

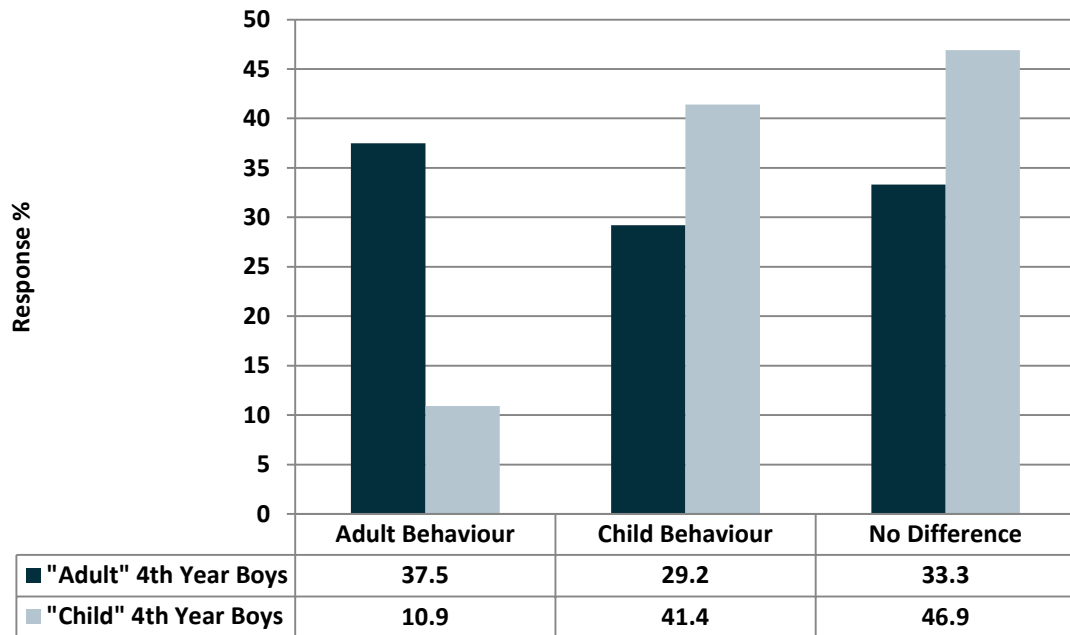


Figure 6.5: Vanity... Level Three

-Vanity 4th year Boys-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
"Adult" vs. "Child"	FET(N= 151)= 9.097, p= 0.009	

Fourth year boys who identify as adults were more likely than their child counterparts to view vanity as a behaviour attributable to adults. Fourth year boys who perceive themselves as children were more likely to view vanity as attributable to children. Thus, as adult or child, fourth year boys viewed vanity as relevant to themselves and their peers.

However, 'children' who responded that vanity is a child behaviour may be indicating that once they are adults they will no longer be vain or view vanity as relevant to themselves and their peers. Those who answer 'no difference' are indicating that they may not grow out of this behaviour, adults and children are equally likely to be vain; this was the most common response of fourth year boy 'children'. On the other hand, fourth year boys who perceive themselves as adults who then respond that vanity is a behaviour attributable to children may be indicating that they once were, but are no longer, vain. Fourth year boy 'adults' identify no difference between adults and children. This implies that they perceive

vanity as relevant to themselves and their peers, as children, and continue to perceive it this way, as an adult.

Overall this result suggests that fourth year boys may perceive appearance as important to themselves and their peers. These results would then indicate that appealing to fourth year boys' personal aesthetics would be a potentially effective way of engaging with allied health and physical activity targets.

Part A – Section B – Changes – Appearance, Health and Sport

Survey Question: If you could change any two things in your life...

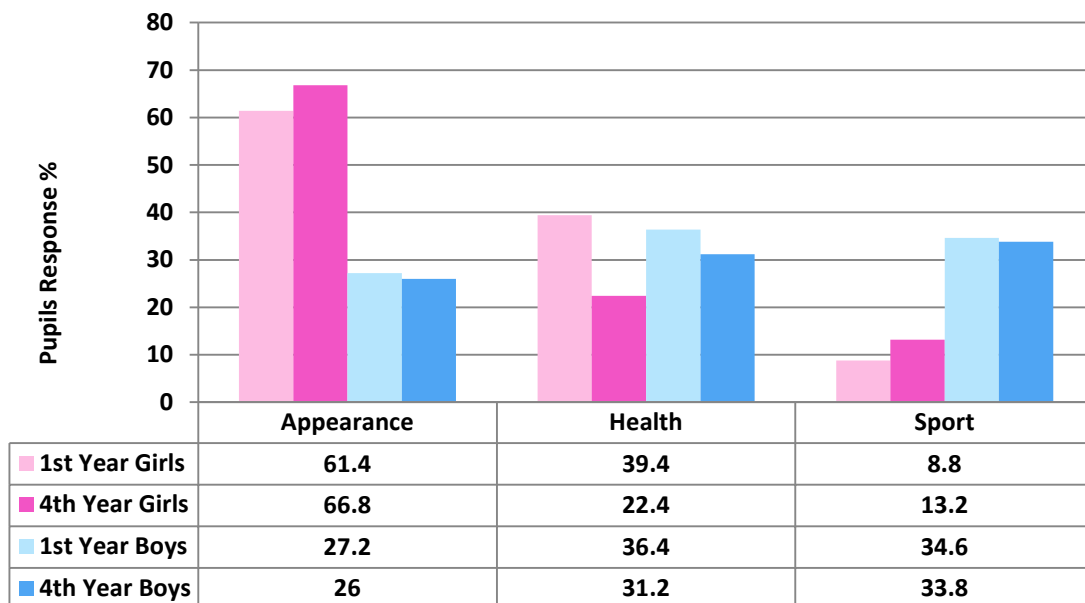


Figure 6.6: Changes... Appearance, Health, Sport

Appearance (change your body, face or both)...

-Appearance-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls		FET(N= 290), p= 0.316
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 264), p= 0.509
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys	FET(N= 247), p= 0.001	
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 307), p= 0.000	

Girls in both first year and fourth year were significantly more likely than their male classmates to choose to change their appearance. Changing appearance was first year

girls' second most chosen response and third most popular response of fourth year girls; by contrast it was the sixth most common response for first year boys and seventh most common response for fourth year boys.

These results indicate that girls and boys value appearance differently; girls prioritise their appearance more than boys do. This is in line with the previously cited literature that suggests a greater link between girls' identity and appearance, and self-confidence.

These results may also suggest that girls are unhappy with their appearance from eleven years old and as such desire to change it. Alternatively it may point to girls' perception that they *ought* to want to change their appearance regardless of whether they actually view their appearance negatively. In this sense the way girls may be internalising societal messages is not that the idealised appearance matters it is the *desire* to change your appearance which in a sense indicates that you 'fit in': "all girls are unhappy with their appearance/body", therefore a girl must seem unhappy with their appearance to conform to the norms of being a girl.

The interview participants discussed appearance in detail; these discussions aid the interpretation of the pupil survey results in the latter sections.

Health (not have any illness, disabilities, disorders or diseases)...

-Health-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls	FET(N= 290), p= 0.044	
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 264), p= 0.295
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys		FET(N= 247), p= 0.446
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 307), p= 0.258

First year pupils were especially concerned about their health with almost 40% of first year girls and over 36% of first year boys wanting to change their health; this corresponds to the fifth most common response for first year girls and fourth most popular choice for first year boys. Fourth year pupils did not choose to change their health as frequently as first year pupils resulting in this choice ranking lower down their lists (boys= 6th, girls= 7th).

This could indicate that first year pupils feel they are unhealthy, and as such want to be healthier. It may be associated with the first year girls' high proportion choosing to change their appearance. For instance perhaps first year girls are concerned about skin problems like acne or their weight and thus want to change their appearance and their health too (Freedman, 1984). Moreover, some first year girls in thinking about these problems may have only chosen one of these options to fix a perceived issue. Yet fourth year girls who were even more likely to want to change their appearance (66.8%) were the least likely of all of the groups to choose 'health' (22.4%). This resulted in the only statistically significant difference between patterns of response to this question. Interpretation of these results is challenging as pupils only indicate choice without reasoning, as such further qualitative work would be required to fully engage with these responses.

A potential link between responses to changing appearance and changing health would not explain first year boys' response to this question as only 27.2% chose to change their appearance and 36.4% want improved health. First year boys may truly be concerned by their health, one explanation may be their experiences of puberty, however, fourth year boys responded similarly that they wanted to change their health (31.2%) and as such this does not provide adequate reasoning. An alternative may be to link attitudes regarding health to boys' desire for sporting ability.

Another potential interpretation of this result may be more generally and somewhat idealistically that respondents wish not to be ill – therefore choosing health. This could suggest that they want to live long, maybe unending lives, without illness.

These results were among the more unexpected findings from this question and suggest an awareness of and concern regarding current health and future health amongst participants. On the one hand it is encouraging that pupils in first and fourth year are thinking about their health, on the other it perhaps indicates that young people want to be engaged about their health more than currently as they do not feel secure about their health in the future. Moreover, the patterns of response cannot be suitably understood through the current study alone as such further investigation into attitudes of these groups regarding their

health and perceived health outcomes is needed to uncover why so many young people wanted to change this aspect of their lives.

Sport (be better at any or every sport)...

-Sport-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls		FET(N= 290), p= 0.295
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 264), p= 0.531
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys	FET(N= 247), p= 0.001	
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 307), p= 0.004	

In line with cultural expectations boys prioritised sporting ability significantly more frequently than girls in both first year and fourth year. For both first and fourth year boys this was their number five most chosen option. However for girls it was their ninth choice in both first and fourth year. These differences in response patterns are clear through the non-significant patterns *within* genders and the significant patterns presented *between* genders.

The priority of sporting ability for boys does not change as they mature from age eleven to fifteen, this may be because school sports such as football, and in some instances rugby, hockey or cricket particularly appeal to boys. After leaving school not as many boys are likely to maintain sport in their daily lives (Curtis et al. 1999; Flintoff, 2008; Roberts, 1996). It would be interesting then to investigate whether boys' prioritisation of sporting ability changes after leaving school.

Part A – Section C – Changes – Appearance and Age

Survey Question: If you could change any two things in your life...

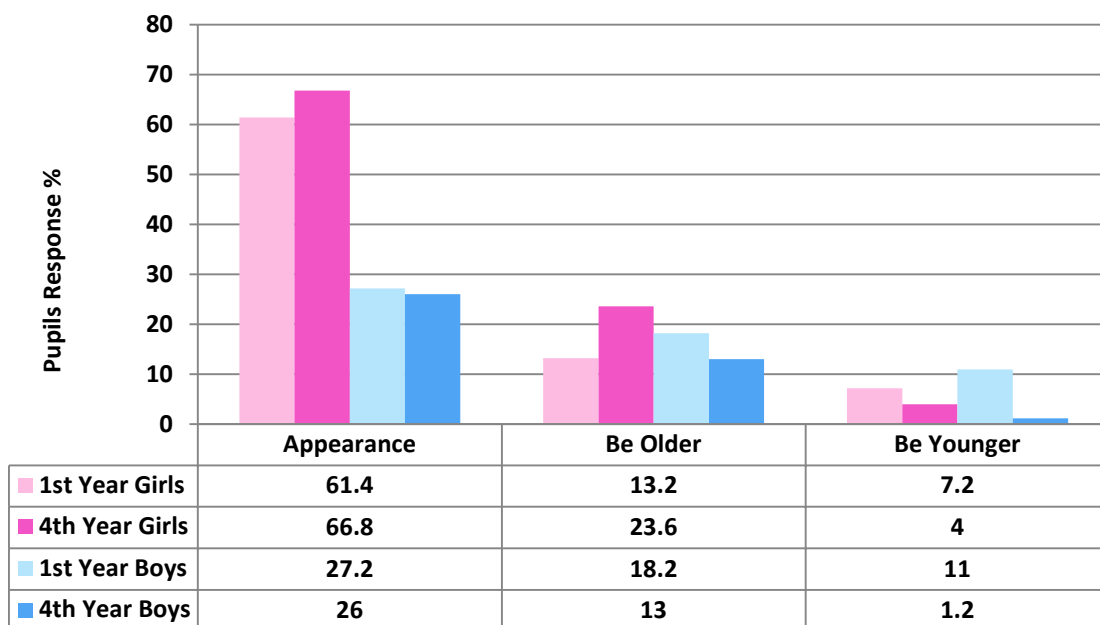


Figure 6.7: Changes... Appearance, Older, Younger

Appearance (change your body, face or both)...

-Appearance-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls		FET(N= 290), p= 0.316
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 264), p= 0.509
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys	FET(N= 247), p= 0.001	
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 307), p= 0.000	

Be Older...

-Be Older-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls		FET(N= 290), p= 0.093
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 264), p= 0.289
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys		FET(N= 247), p= 0.307
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 307), p= 0.079

In total only 47 pupils (17%) responded that they wanted to be older. The distribution of these responses was reasonably even resulting in no significantly different patterns of response between groups.

First year boys (29.2%) and fourth year girls (27.6%) were the most likely of the four groups to wish to change their age – either older or younger – and this is explored in more detail in the next section in which respondents chose to the change option ‘be younger’.

Be Younger...

-Be Younger-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls		FET(N= 290), p= 0.302
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 264), p= 0.022	
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys		FET(N= 247), p= 0.352
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 307), p= 0.309

Very few participants stated that they wanted to be younger; only fifteen respondents chose this as one of their two options. This was among the least chosen responses of all the options in every group; least chosen option by fourth year boys and first year girls (equal with belongings for this group), second-least chosen option by fourth year girls and third least chosen option by first year boys.

Only one fourth year boy wanted to be younger in contrast with the marginally higher response of six first year boys however this represents a significant difference in response.

It appears that particularly for boys the desire to be young – or a child – diminishes with maturity. There are a variety of ways in which this result can be interpreted; boys may become more comfortable with themselves by the age of fifteen having gone through much of puberty and as such these boys do not wish to be younger, in contrast to eleven and twelve year old (first year) boys who are adjusting to puberty and may wish to feel like they use to, hence they may wish to feel younger again. Alternatively, it could be interpreted that the experience of puberty is so traumatic for boys that they do not want to go through it again – as such older boys do not wish to be younger. Alternatively it could indicate that other things simply become more important to boys and being younger, though it may be desirable, is further down their list of priorities and thus not detected by this question; there is also a potential for a combination of these reasons affecting response rates.

Although the difference in response between first year and fourth year boys was significant, the numbers are comparatively small suggesting that this is not a major issue for most boys. Eight girls overall responded that they wish to be younger, marginally more than the boys (ngirls= 8, nboys=7), however these were distributed differently.

Among the girls, five first year girls and three fourth year girls responded that they wanted to be younger. This did not present a significant difference. Although very few girls wanted to be younger, their responses were more stable between first and fourth year; this may be more important in terms of indicating unhappiness with some aspect of their life that endures between the ages of eleven and fifteen.

The responses to this question suggest that for most pupils being younger is not a high priority, for those boys who did choose this option it may point to a variety of complex emotions around their comfort going through puberty or the step from primary school to high school which then diminishes with age. For girls whose responses remained more stable (though low) between first and fourth year it indicates a potentially more worrying pattern of unhappiness with getting older or purely fanciful desire to be a child.

Taken together the responses from the 'be younger' 'be older' category options of change are intriguing. First year girls and fourth year boys response patterns are similar, while first year boys and fourth year girls responses indicate higher priority of age; older in the case of fourth year girls and both younger and older in the case of first year boys. This suggests an overall dissatisfaction of these respondents with their current age. Boys appear to *grow out* of this and become less willing to choose an *age-option*. On the other hand there is no observable maturation effect upon girls' responses. If any effect is to be noted it is that girls become slightly more likely to want to be older while some remain wanting to be younger resulting in an increase of almost 7% in age-related responses. Further investigation in future studies could examine this in more detail to understand the mechanisms driving pupils' perceptions of age, adulthood and childhood.

Part B – Section A – Pornography, Casual Sex and Promiscuity

Survey Question: Who do you think is more likely to look at sexually explicit imagery?

This question was asked to fourth year pupils only, in line with educational psychology and school requests as discussed in the methodology chapter. As such these results portray fourth year pupils' responses, from both schools.

Level One

a. All Fourth Year Pupils

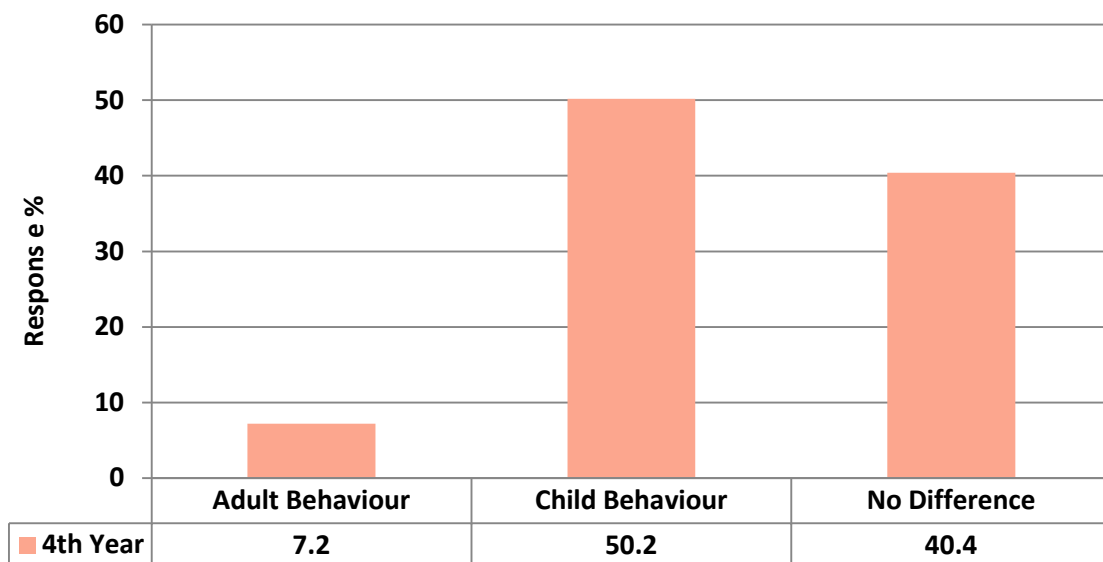


Figure 6.8: Pornography... Level One – a

Within the questionnaire 307 fourth year pupils were asked who they thought was more likely to view explicit sexual imagery, or pornography. As shown by the result above pupils most often answered that children are more likely to view such imagery (50.2%). Over ninety percent of respondents (N= 278) thought that this form of imagery was more likely to be viewed by children, or children and adults equally. This shows that these pupils perceive pornography and watching sexually explicit imagery is a child-relevant behaviour. Seven fourth year pupils (2.3%) did not answer this question.

b. Girls vs. Boys

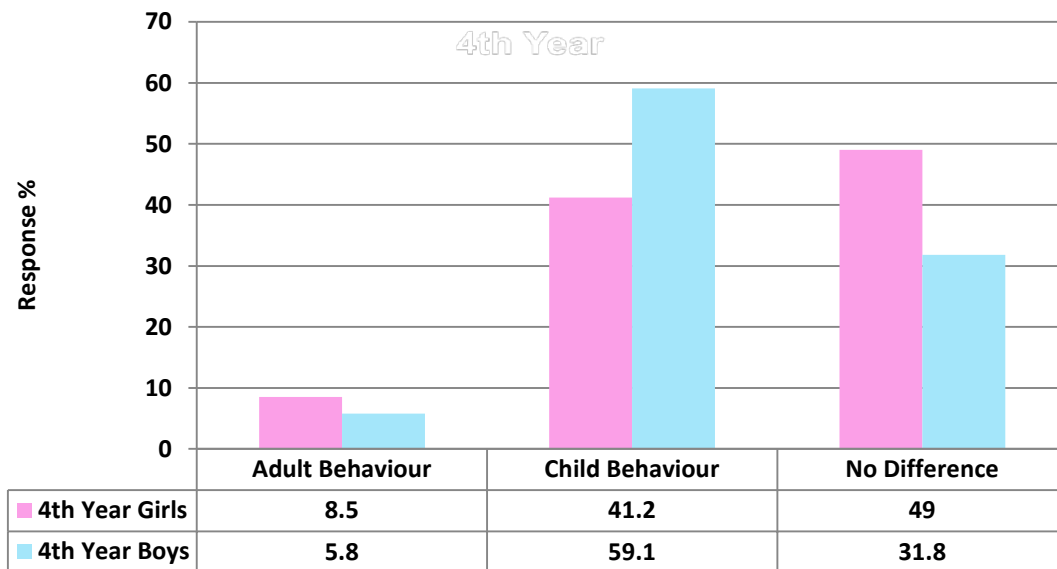


Figure 6.9: Pomography... Level One – b

-Pornography-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 300) = 11.247, p= 0.003	

Fourth year girls: 8.5% of fourth year girls (N= 13) answered that adults are more likely to watch pornography. 41.2% (N= 63) responded that children are more likely to watch pornography and 49% (N= 75) thought that there is no difference between adults and children. Two girls (1.3%) did not answer this question.

Fourth year boys: 5.8% of fourth year boys (N= 9) answered that adults are more likely to watch pornography than children. 31.8% (N= 49) responded that adults and children are equally likely to watch pornography. The majority, 59.1% (N= 91), answered that children are more likely than adults to watch pornography. Five boys (3.2%) did not answer this question.

The results of this gender analysis show that boys and girls respond differently about pornography, resulting in statistical significance; FET(N= 300) = 11.247, p= 0.003. Boys are more likely to answer that this behaviour is attributable only to children, whereas the predominant answer for girls is that adults and children are equally likely to view

pornography. Strikingly, very few pupils answered that viewing sexual imagery or pornography is an adult-only behaviour.

By answering that viewing sexual imagery is child behaviour boys imply that they themselves or their peers view pornography and that they perceive this as a behaviour that they may no longer do as an adult. In this sense watching pornography is linked by these boys to childhood.

Girls on the other hand perceive pornography use as continuing into adulthood. What is clear is that watching pornography is not perceived as a behaviour only 'done' by adults, this is a child-relevant behaviour according to these fourth year pupils.

Survey Question: Who do you think is more likely to have casual sexual relationships?

Level One

a. Girls vs. Boys

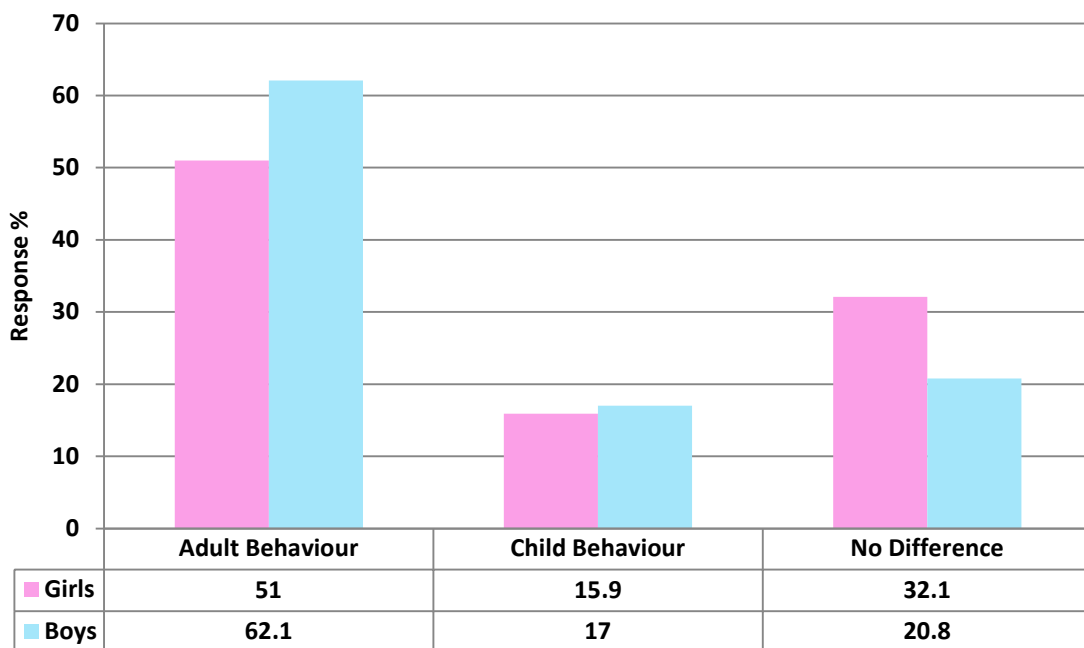


Figure 6.10: Casual Sex... Level One – a

Girls: 51% of girls (N=148) thought that adults are more likely than children to have casual sexual relationships, 32.1% (N=93) thought that adults and children are equally likely to

have casual sex and 15.9% (N=46) thought that this behaviour was more attributable to children.

Boys: 62.1% of boys (N=164) perceived casual sexual behaviour as an adult behaviour, 20.8% (N=55) answered that there is no difference between adults and children in who is more likely to have casual sex. The remaining 17% (N=45) thought that children are more likely than adults to have casual sexual relationships.

This presents a statically significant difference in response patterns between genders (FET(N= 551)= 9.683, p= 0.008). Although fewer girls thought that adults-only were more likely to have casual sex they were also more likely to attribute this to both adults and children. Boys on the other hand were marginally more likely to attribute casual sexual behaviour to children than their female classmates were whilst the majority maintained that this was an adult-only behaviour.

b. First Year vs. Fourth Year

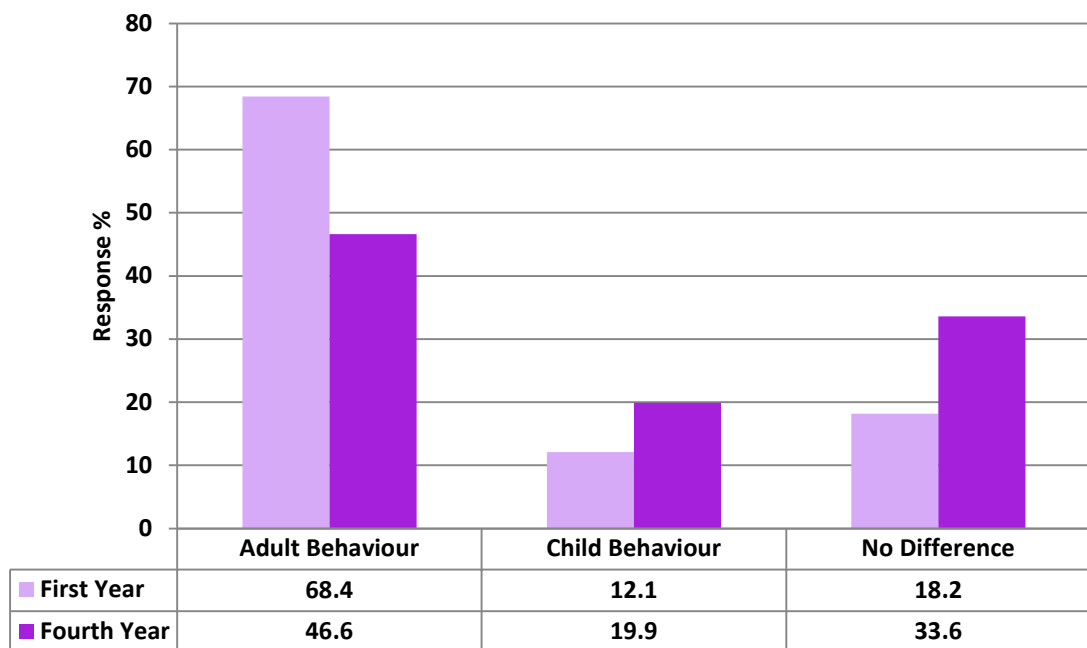


Figure 6.11 Casual Sex... Level One – b

-Casual Sex-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
Girls x Boys	FET(N= 551)= 9.683, p= 0.008	
1st Year x 4th Year	FET(N= 551)= 28.829, p= 0.000	

First year: The overwhelming majority of first year pupils (N=169, 68.4%) responded that casual sex is an adult behaviour. 18.2% (N=45) answered that there is no difference between adults and children regarding casual sexual behaviour and 12.1% (N=30) attributed this to children.

Fourth year: 46.6% of fourth year pupils (N=143) answered that adults are more likely to have casual sex, 33.6% (N=103) thought both adults and children were equally likely to have casual sex the remaining 19.9% (N=61) thought children were more likely than adults to have casual sex.

The variance in response patterns illustrated in this question demonstrates a clear significant difference between first and fourth year pupils (FET(N= 551)= 28.829, p= 0.000). Pupils in fourth year were more likely to attribute casual sexual behaviours to child-relevant groups ('no difference' and 'child behaviour'). This suggests that more of these fourth year pupils recognise casual sex as a behaviour they or their peers may engage in. On the other hand the majority of first year pupils see casual sex as an adult behaviour – not something they think is relevant to them or their peers.

The results of this question show perceptions of casual sex to be affected by both age-group and gender. The complexities of these patterns are now illustrated in more detail.

Level Two

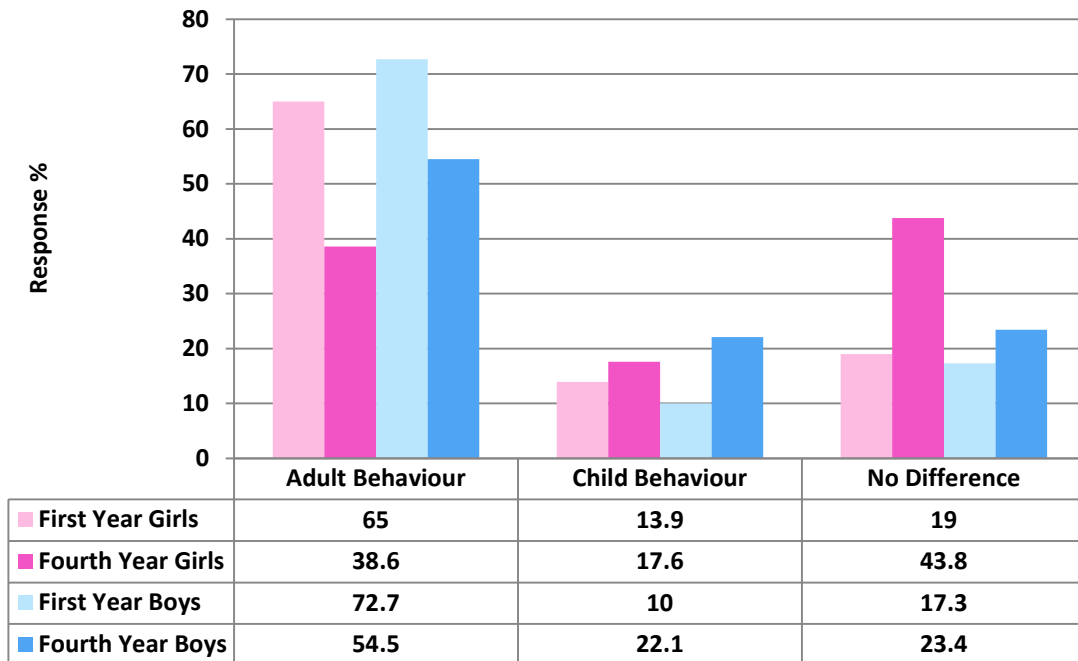


Figure 6.12: Casual Sex... Level Two

-Casual Sex-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls	FET(N= 287)= 24.719, p= 0.000	
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 264)= 10.110, p= 0.006	
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys		FET(N= 244)= 1.327, p= 0.525
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 307)= 14.548, p= 0.001	

Fourth year girls were significantly more likely than any other group to identify casual sexual relationships as a behaviour equally attributable to adults and children, this was the most common answer to this question by fourth year girls resulting in almost 44% of responses. However, fourth year boys were the group most likely to identify casual sexual relationships as a child-only behaviour with over 22% of respondents answering this way. The difference between fourth year girls' and fourth year boys' response patterns resulted in statistically significant difference.

The most significant differences in response were evident between first year and fourth year girls; first year girls largely perceived casual sexual behaviour as an adult-only behaviour (65%), whereas only just over 38% of fourth year girls concurred. This may suggest a strong maturation effect upon girls' perceptions of casual sexual behaviours.

First year boys were the group least likely to attribute casual sexual behaviour to children (10%) and most likely to perceive it as an adult-behaviour (72.7%). First year boys' responses were the most defined of all the groups pointing to a generalised perception of casual sexual behaviour as an adult only behaviour. The difference in response patterns between first year and fourth year boys produced a statistically significant difference.

The only test which did not display significant difference was first year girls and boys. These groups responded with enough similarity to not produce significant results however this is interesting as it points to a generalised maturation effect influencing perception of casual sexual relationships. Moreover as significant differences were displayed between genders in fourth year a divergence of perception is indicated. This perhaps illustrates differing speed of maturation (if boys were to 'catch up' in opinion with girls), or purely differing perceptions of casual sexual behaviours. This could be tested in future studies by adding a third, older, age-group to the study and testing through the same question.

A response to this question attributing casual sexual behaviours as 'child behaviour' or 'no difference' could be interpreted to suggest that these respondents think that most adults do not have casual sex as they are married or are in long-term relationships. In this case fourth year girls may not be suggesting that they view casual sex as relevant to them and their peers but that they have a more idealised view of adult relationships. Although this does not seem as likely considering approximately 35% of fifteen year old girls in Scotland are thought to be sexually active (Currie, 2011), this is however another potential interpretation of these results that cannot be completely refuted without further investigation.

Fourth year boys responses to this question differed according to self-reported adulthood. This result is shown in the following graph.

Level Three

Fourth Year Boys: Are you an Adult? X Casual Sex

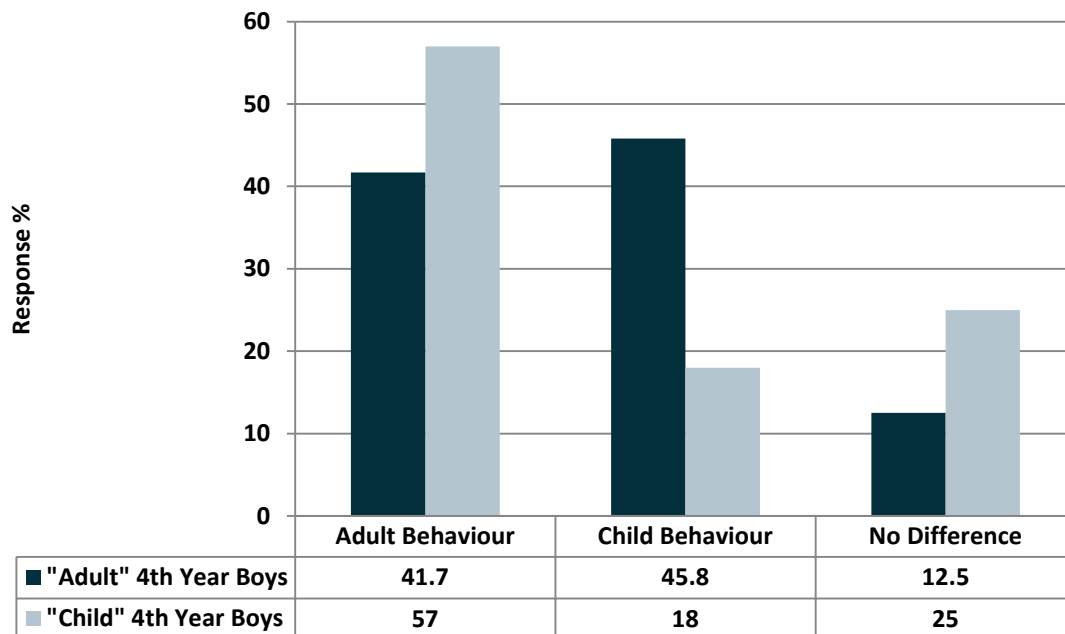


Figure 6.13: Casual Sex... Level Three

-Casual Sex 4th year Boys-	Significant ($p < 0.05$)	Non-Significant
"Adult" vs. "Child"	FET(N= 152)= 8.069, $p = 0.015$	

Fourth year boys who perceive themselves as adults were more likely to answer that casual sex is relevant to children than those who identify themselves as children. Fourth year boys who identify as children were more likely to perceive casual sex as a behaviour of adults. Fourth year boys who see themselves as children also answered "no difference" twice as often as fourth year boys who view themselves as adults. These results suggest that fourth year boys generally perceive casual as a behaviour of other people, not relevant to themselves.

However, a larger proportion of fourth year boy 'adults' identify casual sex as an adult behaviour than 'children' who identify it as child behaviour. As such the group who view themselves as adult appear to be potentially more likely to be engaging in casual sex than their 'child' counterparts.

As shown in Chapter Four fourth year boys generally did not view adulthood as linked to behaviours (but instead to independence), as such having casual sex is probably not what *makes* these fourth year boy 'adults' perceive themselves in this way, nor do they overwhelmingly suggest that casual sex is an adult behaviour. This result could hold a wide range of potential explanations: perhaps more fourth year boy 'adults' have had casual sex and now feel they are 'growing out' of this behaviour, whereas fourth year boy 'children' feel they will 'grow into' casual sex. Alternatively perhaps fourth year boy 'adults' view casual sex as generally less desirable than their 'child' counterparts do. Future qualitative work exploring links between perceptions of adulthood, maturation and sexual behaviours may help to shed light on the intricacies of this result.

Survey Question: Who do you think is more likely to have sex with lots of different people?

Level One

a. Girls vs. Boys



Figure 6.14: Promiscuity... Level One – a

Girls: 35.2% of girls (N= 102) responded that males are more likely than females to have sex with lots of different people (be promiscuous), 61% (N= 177) answered that there is no difference between females and males, while 3.4% (N= 10) answered that promiscuity is more attributable to females.

Boys: 35.6% of boys (N= 94) thought that males are more likely than females to be promiscuous, 48.9% (N= 129) answered that there is no difference between males and females. The remaining 13.3% (N= 35) responded that females are more likely than males to have sex with lots of different people. One girl and six boys did not answer this question.

Boys and girls regarded promiscuity differently and as such this result is statistically significant: $F(2, 547) = 20.474, p = 0.000$. Generally promiscuity was attributed more to males than females by both boys and girls. However, girls generally regarded promiscuity to be gender-neutral, in comparison to boys' more gendered perceptions.

b. First Year vs. Fourth Year

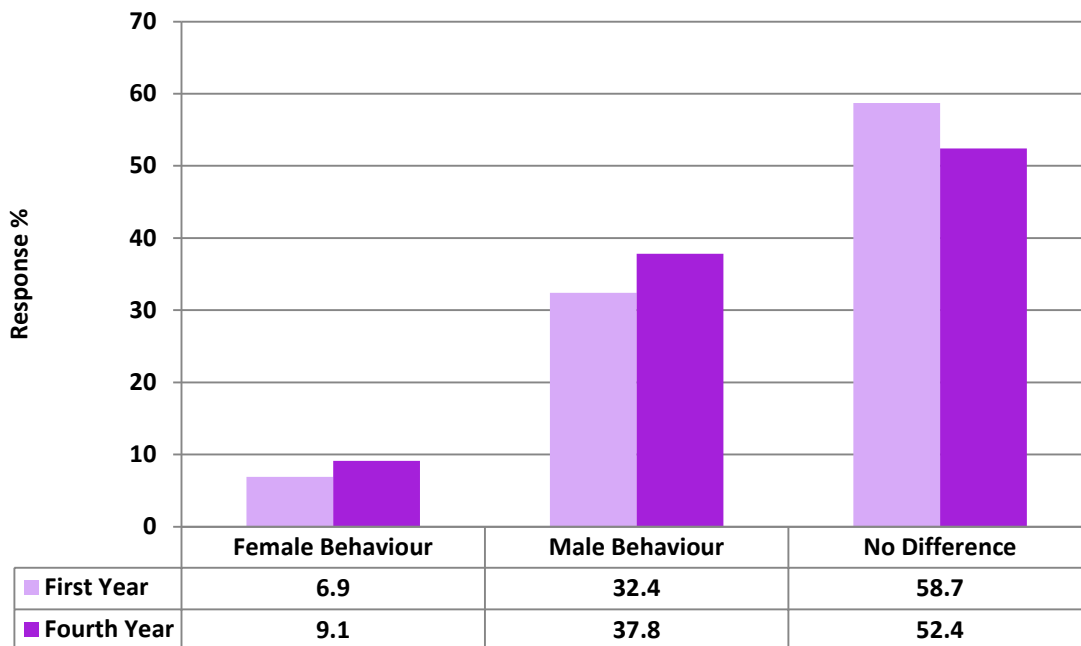


Figure 6.15: Promiscuity... Level One – b

-Promiscuity-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
Girls x Boys	FET(N= 547)= 20.474, p= 0.000	
1st year x 4th year		FET(N=547)= 2.888, p= 0.231

First year: 32.4% of first year pupils (N= 80) attributed promiscuity to males, 6.9% (N= 17) thought that females are more likely to be promiscuous, however the majority of first year pupils (58.7%, N= 145), answered that there is no difference between males and females in who is more likely to have sex with lots of different people.

Fourth year: 37.8% of fourth year pupils (N= 116) answered that males are more likely than females to be promiscuous, 9.1% (N= 28) thought that females are more likely to be promiscuous. However, the majority of fourth year pupils (52.4%, N= 161) answered that there is no difference between males and females. Five first year pupils and two fourth year pupils did not answer this question.

This result is not statistically significant: FET(N=547)= 2.888, p= 0.231, as first year and fourth year pupils response patterns portray similar beliefs regarding promiscuity.

These results show that gender is more important in perception of promiscuity than age-group between eleven and fifteen.

Level Two

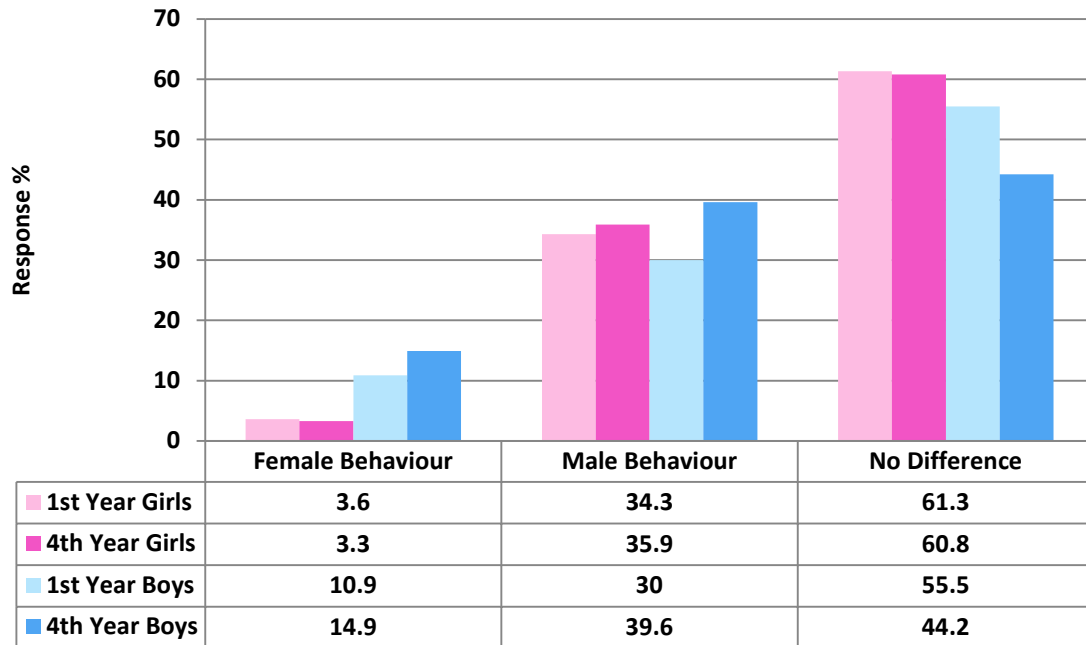


Figure 6.16: Promiscuity... Level Two

-Promiscuity-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls		FET(N= 289)= 0.143, p= 0.976
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 258)= 4.041, p= 0.142
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys		FET(N= 242)= 5.217, p= 0.076
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 305)= 16.225, p= 0.000	

Amongst all groups promiscuity was generally viewed as a behaviour equally attributable to males and females. No significant results were generated between first year groups or their gender counterparts. However, by fourth year strongly significant patterns emerge FET(N= 305)= 16.225, p= 0.000.

Perceptions of promiscuity are similar among first year boys and girls however, by fourth year boys and girls think differently (and therefore respond differently) about gender and promiscuous behaviour. Fourth year girls in comparison to their first year counterparts are marginally more likely to identify promiscuity as a male behaviour but at each data point

remain within 2% of the first year girls' result demonstrating clear stability between age groups.

Fourth year boys differ more clearly from their first year counterparts but still remain within statistical non-significance. However, fourth year boys responses are more gendered than first year boys, more clearly identifying promiscuity as a male behaviour.

As these results do not present a longitudinal study it cannot be said that this result demonstrates a development or progression of opinion from first year to fourth year. This result does however show that amongst these pupils fourth year groups hold more gendered perceptions of promiscuity than first year groups and that in both cases promiscuity becomes more likely to be attributed to males than females.

Part B – Section B – Changes – Appearance and Relationships

Survey Question: If you could change any two things in your life...

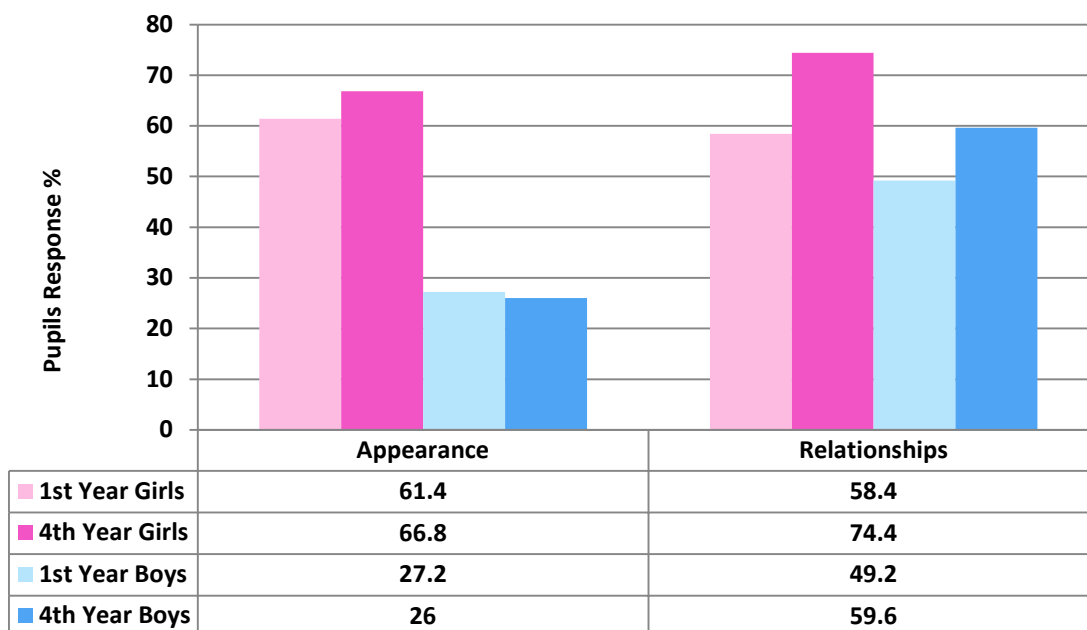


Figure 6.17: Changes... Appearance, Relationships

Appearance (change your body, face or both)...

-Appearance-	Significant (p < 0.05)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls		FET(N= 290), p= 0.316
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 264), p= 0.509
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys	FET(N= 247), p= 0.001	
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 307), p= 0.000	

Relationships (better, more or fewer friendships/family members/ partners)...

-Relationships-	Significant (p < 0.05)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls		FET(N= 290), p= 0.092
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 264), p= 0.208
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys		FET(N= 247), p= 0.251
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 307), p= 0.106

Relationships were ranked third most popular choice for first year girls, first year boys and fourth year boys. For fourth year girls it was the second most common choice. This may indicate that either, almost universally, young people are not happy with their current relationships or that they think relationships are important and want better relationships for their future. Although visually it is clear that girls chose this option more often than boys the differences were not significant across gender or age-group.

Between first year and fourth year, girls reduced the desire for changing their appearance and increased their choice of relationships. By changing their relationships I mean that they chose to change *something* about 'relationships', in the description accompanying the question they were suggested "better, more or fewer", as such they could have been thinking about any of these options when responding 'relationships'. I did not want the participants to only answer positively to this question assuming that it meant they were unhappy with their current boyfriend/girlfriend – and as such wanted to 'change relationship'. In order to encourage the participants to think broadly about relationships the accompaniment also mentioned "friendships/family members/partners", the aim of this was to explore how important interpersonal relationships were in the lives of young people in contrast other potential priorities.

It was hypothesized that relationships would be important, particularly to girls; however the extent of this importance to all groups suggests that from first year to fourth year most pupils care deeply about relationships and prioritise this over other things. It also perhaps suggests an importance in 'being liked'; the corollary of any relationship is that the person you like also should like you too.

Quantitative Discussion

The quantitative results of this study demonstrate that there are profound differences between boys' and girls' perceptions of appearance based behaviours. This is demonstrated by gender differentiated patterns of significance with regards to questions on vanity and the choice of pupils to choose to change their appearance. In both of these questions girls' responses point to a higher level of import placed upon appearance

behaviours. These results are in line with literature which links female physicality to self-concept and identity (Gill, 2007; Mazur, 1986).

Further, fourth year boys' responses within the sexualisation section identify pornography and sexually explicit imagery as relevant to this group. They identified watching pornography as a behaviour more likely to be relevant to children, more frequently, than as a behaviour equally likely for both adults and children (the response more chosen by fourth year girls). The infrequency with which pornography use was attributed to adults *only*, is striking. This suggests that for most pupils, pornography use is viewed as relevant to their own age group, and for boys, something one grows out of. In future studies asking this question to younger pupils would enable investigation into what age pornography use becomes regarded as relevant. The current study has demonstrated that by fourth year over 90% of pupils perceive pornography as child-relevant and as such applicable to them.

These results demonstrate that pornography is a topic appropriate for and relevant to fourth year pupils. Previous research into pornography has generated much debate and controversy attributing its use to potential violence against women and greater acceptance of violence against women, greater acceptance of rape myths, objectification of women, lower perception of attractiveness of partners amongst other effects (Boyle, 2000, 2010; Flood, 2009; Dines, 2010; Peter and Valkenburg, 2007; Kimmel and Plante, 2004; Williams, 2004). However, few studies enquire about young people's perceptions and use of pornography and as such more rigorous engagement is required.

This study cannot fully explain boys' perceptions of pornography. However, as boys attribute pornography use to children this indicates they believe they will grow out its use. This could suggest that they link pornography to sexual experience (or lack of it) and therefore utilise pornography as an educational tool. In the same vein boys could view pornography as an alternative to interactive intimate relationships and as such perceive pornography as a substitute which may not be needed by adults in relationships.

In the following section daughters and mothers of the interview element discuss boys' use of pornography. However, in future work qualitative engagement with young people,

particularly boys, regarding pornography, its uses and effects, would greatly aid the interpretation of the current study's results and help develop a fuller understanding of this topic.

Pornography is rarely attributed to positive behaviours, characteristics or perceptions of self and others. This is important as pupils within the survey overwhelmingly prioritised relationships among the options they would change in their lives. Though this may indicate that these pupils are currently unhappy with their relationships it could also be explained simply as a wish to have *good* relationships with others and the importance of this in their lives. If pornography is used as an educational resource by boys this may affect their relationships. As such understanding the interactions between these concepts for young people appears particularly pertinent.

These data indicate that young people are aware of the increasingly sexualised environment in which they live and that they see some of its content as relevant to them and their peers. Moreover the results of this study suggest that girls are highly aware of their appearance from at least first year of high school. These messages combined may go some way to explain young people's opinions and insecurities regarding their own emerging adult identities and their perceptions of others.

The next section explores discussions from the qualitative interviews initially with the youngest interviewees, then their mothers and finally the grandmother participants of the study. Each generational discussion opens with their views around appearance and *good-looks* and then follows with their perceptions of sexualisation and pornography. In many cases the links between the two are less pronounced as respondents did not explicitly link sexualised appearance to pornography use but more to the generalised *trickle-down* effect of sexualisation. This more moderate form of sexualised media – such as glamour modelling – would be an appropriate and worthy organic next step to this study to examine perceptions of the realities of more mainstreamed sexual media in British society.

Interview Data and Discussion

Daughters – Appearance and Sexualisation

On arrival to the interviews it was clear that in general the daughters in particular had *made an effort* in their appearance. Most wore makeup, many had straightened hair, a few had fake tan, and a couple had false nails, eye lashes or hair extensions. However the girls did not necessarily see this as making an effort it was merely part of their daily routine. D.7 briefly described what she did that morning:

“Put ma slap on and did ma hair” (D.7)

When asked her to tell me more:

“... all my makeup... I wear loads” (D.7)

D.7 appeared to enjoy wearing makeup but was aware that peers and parents may view her makeup as too much. Indeed D.6 referred to some of her friends in this respect.

“Some of ma pals try a bit too hard and just go over the top wi make up and fake tan and that” (D.6)

This indicates, in line with general observation, that there is no generalised view of appropriate makeup use amongst this group. None of the girls regarded ‘too little’ make up negatively but they did not choose this for their own appearance. Moreover, although D.7 thinks she wears “loads” of makeup this is a subjective measure and some of the participants who wear more may have viewed their makeup use as moderate. D.6 refers to her friends “trying too hard”, but she does not indicate the reason for this effort. It may indicate that they feel pressure to look their best and are not confident naturally in their appearance yet the reason for this lack of confidence is not clarified. However, D.6 does not indicate why her friends wear makeup.

Other participants did explain why they choose to look the way they do in doing so two of the seven girls effectively normalised makeup use:

“Just to blend in... I just like wear the same amount of makeup as ma friends” (D.2)

“I just wear foundation, blusher, mascara and lipgloss” (D.2)

“Just to look better” (D.1)

In all three quotes above I have added emphasis to demonstrate the point. D.1 and D.2 talk about “just” wearing makeup which acts to diminish its importance – the just strategy. D.2

used the 'just' strategy more than the other participants; she appeared to use this as a justification for her use of makeup perhaps demonstrating self-consciousness about this behaviour. Moreover her wish to 'blend in' furthers the idea of her low confidence. The actual amount of makeup she describes resembles a full-face of makeup but she appears to try and diminish the importance of this through the 'just' strategy. The impression D.2 gives is that perhaps due to low confidence she wears make up and wishes to portray this as normal behaviour as she tries to 'blend in'.

D.1 also uses the same approach to declare her reason for wearing makeup. By stating that she wears makeup 'to look better' she indicates that she is not satisfied with her appearance without makeup or, at least, that she believes that her appearance is assisted by the use of makeup and that this is desirable. By adding 'just' she indicates that this is a reasonable, ergo normal, decision. She is also stating that there is no other reason for her physical effort; by explicitly doing so she may be attempting to defensively cover up another possible reason for trying to look good, a reason that she perceives as undesirable. As D.1 did not elaborate on her response in this way this cannot be reliably analysed further. In both cases the girls show low confidence with regards to their appearance.

In line with the first and fourth year girls' responses to the pupil survey the girls in the interview study clearly valued appearance and took pride in their own physicality. D.2 following from her earlier statement about fitting in remarked that she wears makeup...

"Cause everyone else wears it and it makes you look better" (D.2)

This is in line with her previous comment and furthers her notion that makeup is worn by the majority of her female peers. She also comments that it improves her appearance – the underlying message behind this is that appearance is important. She is implying that 'looking better' is worth effort, and so is fitting in.

D.5, consistent with D.2, directly states the importance of looking good:

"you've got to look nice at high school" (D.5)

By saying this D.5 is asserting that it is a necessary part of high school life – not optional, and as such appears to be very important to her. It also to a degree demonstrates this girl's priorities in which her appearance ranks highly. Again she does not explicitly mention the

intended audience for her efforts, it may only be assumed that high school peers (and perhaps) teachers opinions of her appearance are important.

Beyond school D.7 described her use of makeup:

"[I] Can't go out the door without it" (D.7)

For D.7 makeup is an essential part of everyday getting ready to be seen in public. Although D.7 did not state why it is that she feels she cannot be in public without makeup this indicates, similarly to D.2 that she is not satisfied with her appearance without makeup, perhaps lacking self-confidence in this way. All of these girls in discussion have to varying degrees pointed to the normalised nature of makeup use in girls aged eleven to fifteen. For girls at any part of this age range to feel the *requirement* to wear makeup to fit in, feel good about their appearance or 'just' to make them look better as they value their appearance to such a degree, may be interpreted as pointing to the endemic value of female appearance – over other things – in British society. This appears to go hand-in-hand with self-judgement and insecurity surrounding appearance which has been linked by Cho and Lee (2013) to body dissatisfaction surrounding weight (Cho and Lee, 2013). Two girls (D.3 and D.6) expressed bodily dissatisfaction. D.3 asserted:

"Realistically I want to be thin and half my pals are quite thin" (D.3)

D.3 does not refer to the more moderate *slim*, or imply tone or fitness. Instead her focus is on low weight – thin. She also seemed to believe that thin-ness is achievable with her use of 'realistically' to describe her wishes. She then goes on to mention her 'quite thin' friends which further emphasises her perception of the validity of this aim. Much attention has been given by researchers to body dysmorphia and eating disorders on the one hand and childhood obesity and physical inactivity on the other. The girls in this study generally appeared more concerned by using makeup and straightening hair than their weight, which is perhaps because none of the girls appeared physically to be at either end of extremes of weight. However many displayed levels of dissatisfaction with their appearance which in the light of developing adulthood and changing bodily shapes could result in future weight concerns.

None of the girls discussed how their appearance would attract boys or men or the potential *sexiness* of the image they were displaying. Instead they viewed their choice to wear makeup or low-cut tops as *just to look nice*; in their perception there was no sexual

meaning to their appearance as displayed in the interviews. Even if the girls wanted to look nice for boys to like or *fancy* them they did not in any case imply that there should be a sexual interpretation of their appearance. This mirrors the findings of studies exploring adult female aims of appearance and friendly demeanour and sexual misinterpretation by men. In these studies while women generally did not interpret men's appearance or behaviour as sexual motivated, men were more likely to assume (and misinterpret) female friendliness and attractive appearance as sexual motivated and perceive interest on the women's part (Johnson et al., 1991; Lindgren et al., 2008).

All but one of the girls felt they knew what pornography was and had an opinion about it. Of the six girls that talked about pornography in the interviews five believed that watching pornography was a male behaviour – specifically a 'boy thing' (D.3). Pornography in this sense is not only attributed to males but to *young* males, boys, not men or the more general 'guys'. Findings of the pupil survey indicated that over 40% of fourth girls thought children are more likely than adults to watch pornography; the girls' comments in the interviews are in line with this result. However, in the survey most fourth year girls thought that adults and children are equally likely to watch pornography. This difference could be explained as the survey pupils represent a group of fourteen and fifteen year old girls and the family study daughters are more diverse in age, or that the interviewees were more focused on gender – males – than age-group.

Only one girl indicated that both girls and boys might watch it; however this participant was unsure stating:

"I don't think I would ever do that... It could be both, I'm not sure"(D.5)

Views on pornography among the five other girls were strong and clearly expressed. D.1 once establishing that she thought boys are more likely to view pornography:

"it would be more boys"(D.1)

She then went on to assert that pornography itself is:

"quite sick"(D.1)

D.1 was not alone in expressing repulsion towards the concept of pornography. D.7 described boys (who watch pornography):

"They're just dirty wee things"(D.7)

Further girls watching pornography was viewed negatively:

"A lass shouldn't be doing that, that's just wrong" (D.7)

Female actors within pornography were reserved for particular disdain, described as:

"sluts" (D.2)

In all of the above cases pornography is viewed negatively with the participants and viewers regarded poorly. D.7 in particular comments on the viewers of pornography: although boys watching pornography are 'dirty', girls who watch pornography are doing something it is perceived they 'shouldn't be doing'. In this sense she expresses more acceptance – though not positively – of boys watching pornography, for girls however this is seen more negatively as *wrong*.

D.2 also condemns women's interaction with pornography describing women within pornography in a derogative fashion. In this regard D.2 does not feel any empathy towards women in pornography, she does not identify with them as girls. This implies an objectification of women in pornography by D.2, albeit not in the usual way. D.2 is not identifying with the humanness of women working in pornography – similarly to how men watching pornography do not identify with her as a person but as an image. This may demonstrate the society-wide, cultural acceptance or assumption of objectification of women in sex industries. These women lose their human identity in pornography becoming viewed as purely images by both men (and boys) who watch pornography and women (and girls) who may not. However the realities attached to participation in sex industries and careers within these industries is often not known by many who hold views about sex workers.

The prolific nature of pornography among male school peers was expressed throughout this group of girls for example D.3 states:

"Every boy I know watches it [pornography]" (D.3)

This was furthered by D.2 who went on to discuss the boys in her class at school:

"They just talk about it all the time... They'll have like photos on their phones and that... Like, as their screensavers... And wallpapers (giggles)" (D.2)

It is not revolutionary to find comments about boys talking about sex or sexual imagery. Boys are often perceived as *sex obsessed* and girls, *boy obsessed*. However boys being able to access sex resources during school and share this with their peers through instant

messaging and social media is a new aspect of culture particularly in the last five to ten years. This is continuing to increase with more young people affording smartphones and tablets which allow instant and unlimited access to the internet without supervision, monitoring or censorship.

D.6 described why she felt boys watch pornography:

“For them to like (pause) learn from it” (D.6)

This concept of learning through pornography was further discussed by the mothers within the interview study and will be investigated in greater depth in the following section. However, this comment illustrates girls’ awareness of pornography as a potential educational tool. And yet, if this was the sole reason for pornography’s appeal to boys perhaps girls who typically have earlier sexual initiations with therefore older (and perhaps) more experienced boys would also feel pressure to educate themselves and as such would access the educational resource of pornography too. Other potential reasons for boys pornography use were also aired:

“I think guys are hornier than girls... I think it’s in their genes...” (D.3)

D.3 believes there is a biological explanation for boys use of pornography however this could be because she views so many boys as pornography-users that this must mean there is a *in-built* cause for it, rather than a social or cultural explanation. On the other hand D.2 and D.7 deem the pervasive use of pornography by boys as resulting from the physical gratification they obtain from it:

“For pleasure” (D.2)

“To get pleasure out of it.” (D.7)

The purely physical sexual pleasure gained from stimulation sources from pornographic imagery is clearly not lost on these girls. They are aware of boys’ sexual habits and the use of pornography in this. However, pornography is not essential for masturbation which can be assumed to be the ‘pleasure’ referred to by these girls and as such this cannot fully explain the prevalence of perceived pornography use among the male peers of this group of girls.

In summary the girls of this study were highly aware of their physical appearance and appeared to make a significant effort to make sure they reached a level of attractiveness that they, and their peers, found acceptable. In most cases this involved the use of makeup

which was discussed as a necessary part of their routines. However, this also seemed to link to underlying dissatisfaction with elements of their appearance and a prevailing desire to fit in with their peers. Girls from this study did not explicitly link efforts in their appearance to the desire to attract boys or men. Instead they implied cultural norms and the wish for general acceptance as motivators to look good. None of the girls referred to sexiness or sexual appeal. However, all but one of the girls was aware of pornography and held views regarding this.

Generally pornography was viewed negatively and as an overriding male-behaviour. Girls referred specifically to *boys* watching pornography – not *men*. This suggests they were thinking of their peers when responding, not other familiar men – such as family members. Girls went some way to try and explain boys' use of pornography identifying its use as a masturbatory tool and educational resource. However, naturally, most girls displayed a more emotive connection to pornography and those involved in its production and use, than a critical one.

Mothers – Appearance and Sexualisation

In terms of daughters making an effort in their appearance the mothers largely supported their daughters, some seeing this as little different from their own experiences. For instance M.5 recalled:

“Oh makeup, you wouldnae walk out the door without your makeup on... you wouldnae even open your bedroom curtains without your makeup on!” (M.5)

M.5's use of 'you' suggests that she is remembering this not only as her own experience but that of her peers of the time. In this sense she views wearing makeup as a normal part of a young girl's routine. The dramatic style of language used also invokes the histrionic nature of teenage girls' emotions. This appears intentional and adds humour to how M.5 views her own – and now her daughter's – use of makeup.

Humour was also utilised by M.1 in describing her daughter's appearance:

“We'll have a few days where she'll look reasonably normal and then other times you'll think she looks like some alien...” (M.1)

M.1 emphasises how bizarre she feels her daughter looks when she overdoes her fake tan and makeup. She clearly describes how different her daughter looks from her normal appearance. The use of 'alien' also has underlying connotations of not fitting it – a reason for wearing makeup previously suggested by one of the daughters. This may be a coincidence of language but it could also be interpreted as holding subliminal meaning. Undoubtedly M.1 is stating that in order to look like an alien her daughter is wearing a considerable amount of makeup, by inference too much.

Mothers also suggested that the rules are different in differing contexts. For instance in school:

"I don't think they should be allowed to go to school with lots of foundation or blusher or anything like that on... It should just be sorta minimal" (M.2)

However, this is exactly where the daughters previously stated they needed or wanted to look good. Daughters want to look their best in front of their peers and commonly school is where they see their peers, as such it is a key arena to display one's attractive image. It may be difficult for schools to monitor, police and punish for more than 'minimal' makeup as this may be regarded by bullish teenagers as too subjective. However M.2 generally felt that it was a good thing that young people "take pride" (M.2) in their appearance:

"I don't honestly see a problem with that at all... As long as it's no anything cosmetic" (M.2)

M.2's concern is that the push for good looks goes beyond makeup and towards cosmetic surgeries at younger ages. It is interesting that M.2 is more concerned by girls opting for cosmetic surgery than the risk of eating disorders. By focusing on this she is perhaps suggesting that girls want to choose larger breasts or *quick-fix* weight loss like liposuction not control of diet or perceived fitness.

A moderating factor in M.1's daughter was the influence of her friends. M.1 described what she viewed as issues regarding her daughter's appearance from time to time:

"Too much chest on show, too much makeup... too much fake tan, when she looks tango-ed" (M.1)

Despite trying to discuss and change this with her daughter little changed until her friends started to point it out:

"Some of her pals will say to her like, "put them away"" (M.1)

In this sense M.1's daughter's friends are acting as a moderating and pseudo-censoring team with regards to the daughter's appearance. If she showed too much of her chest or is over made-up then her friends point it out and her behaviour changes. This also points to the influence of peers on how young people dress and the makeup or cosmetics they wear. It may be theorised that if it was accepted by M.1's daughter's friends that cleavage was visible and dark tanning was 'normal' then her daughter's appearance would probably be more "alien"-like more of the time.

Yet it was not only girls that were viewed as making an effort, it was noted by M.5 that boys too are interesting in looking good:

"Boys seem to make more of an effort now with their appearance than when I was growing up" (M.5)

This describes a perceived change in social norms between M.5's upbringing and that of her daughter. M.4 consistent with this observation mentioned her own son:

"He's a bodybuilder and he's right into the perfect body" (M.4)

M.4 uses the word "perfect" illustrating her son's wish to achieve an idealised body. For men this is regularly linked to muscularity (Cho and Lee, 2013) and as such is consistent with the pastime of bodybuilding. However the aim of perfection is regarded as harmful by some researchers who view this as a moving goal which one does not commonly reach leading to overall dissatisfaction with one's appearance and potentially more dangerous body dysmorphia. However, as this study was unable to involve boys within the interviews this topic cannot be examined in suitable detail. This would suggest a fruitful area for future research exploring the nature of masculine bodily ideals, perceived attainability of these goals and perceptions between generations of this.

Girls' efforts to look good were, similarly to the notions suggested for boys seeking perfection above, linked to self-confidence and esteem. M.1 felt her daughter was susceptible to low confidence and that this impacted directly on her use of makeup:

"she thinks she's fat then she'll say she thinks she's not pretty and that, then you know more makeup goes on..." (M.1)

The description of the extent of her insecurities demonstrates that appearance is important to her sense of identity and allied confidence. Makeup is viewed as a means of bolstering her confidence through perceived improved physicality. M.1 furthered this, stating:

"I think in some instances it's hiding behind a mask... give her a confidence boost" (M.1)

The idea of makeup as a mask or 'war-paint' is a common theme within lay-talk about makeup particularly amongst young women. However, this conceals an important aspect of makeup which is that it allows girls to appear as something they are not. They can take on a personality they may not usually display without makeup. M.1's notion of a mask particularly illustrates this. The character her daughter may be playing is a more confidence and self-assured version of herself this but not actually how she feels. In contrast M.1 describes her own physical identity growing up:

"I was happy in a pair of jeans and a t-shirt... no makeup no nothing" (M.1)

M.1 did not wear a "mask" of makeup; moreover M.1 in using "happy" to describe her state of being in jeans and a t-shirt exemplifies her satisfaction or at least acceptance of her appearance without need for alteration. This signifies a substantial change between the generation of mother and daughter in this family with regard to self-esteem and motivation to improve appearance, at least in the perception of the mother.

M.1 was not the only mother to notice a change in the importance of appearance. The reduction in age of girls' awareness of appearance was discussed by all of the mothers in this study. M.2 expresses this in contrast to her memory of growing up:

"I wasnae really that interested in my appearance... I think they are a lot younger now" (M.2)

This not only demonstrates that M.2 perceives an increase in younger girls being interested in their appearance; it also may point to an overall growth in importance of appearance within general culture. M.2 *does not* state that she started being interested in her appearance at an older age, she goes further, she generalises that she was 'not really interested' *overall*.

However, M.3 does identify her perceived change in age of awareness of appearance:

"Thirteen, fourteen year old you did suddenly become more aware of the way you looked... I look at [my daughter] and think, God, she she's become more aware of herself like nine, ten" (M.3)

M.3 considers that there has been a reduction in age of first awareness of appearance from when she became aware of her appearance, to her daughter's awareness three to five years younger than her own experience. Taken together these statements by M.2 and M.3

point to an overall increase in the importance of appearance among girls and a reduction of age at which this awareness and importance of appearance starts.

Part of the change observed by M.4 is the cosmetic enhancements accessed by young girls:

"I mean now they've got fake nails, they get a spray tan at ten and twelve" (M.4)

This is offered as evidence of girls trying to look good from a younger age and the lengths they are willing to go to, to achieve this. However, girls aged ten cannot, by law, legally work and earn their own money so it may be assumed that parents are contributing to their monetary access to cosmetic resources. According to M.4's assertion, parents must be paying for their ten to twelve year old daughters to have spray tans and fake nails. This in turn indicates general acceptance of this among those parents and perhaps by those parents peers. By some girls accessing these types of cosmetic enhancements at this age more girls of a similar age may be likely to pressure their parents to have the same as their friends perhaps in order to fit in, eventually resulting in a cultural shift towards acceptance, if not approval, of young girls with fake tans and nails. The result of this may be younger people look older than they actually are in line with M.5:

"The kids they do, they look older all the time" (M.5)

M.5 asserts a progression, an increasing age of appearance for the same age of child. This furthered by M.2 and M.3:

"I think that boys in particular could... mebbe think, oh she's sixteen or whatever, when really she's only fourteen or whatever, eh." (M.2)

"older teenage boys will look at her and think, "Oh my God, she's the same age as us" (M.3)

These comments particularly display the interpretation of *boys* as problematic. In this sense it is not the appearance of the girls that is the issue it is the interpretation of this appearance (by males) and the daughter's age that causes concern.

M.5 also asserts:

"You dinnae want your, your, well especially your daughter going out dressed like she's nineteen, twenty... especially in this society that we live in now." (M.5)

In this sense M.5, though only subliminally, is suggesting that the dress of girls provokes the reaction by boys – if she did not dress this way – there would not be a potential problem. Her reference to 'this society that we live in now' suggests an observed negative

change and increased threat to safety posed by dressing older (and looking older) now than in her own younger years.

Moreover mothers linked looking older with looking sexual:

“it over sexualises them as well... and makes them appear more adult than they are... because at the end of the day they are only like really young girls, and they’re no really aware”(M.3)

M.3 is aware that by looking older her daughter may be seen in ways by men that are not intended and not foreseen by the daughter. Particularly she is concerned about sexualisation of her daughter’s appearance – or interpretation of her appearance in this way. However, dressing and looking older does not necessarily determine that the daughter looks sexual. Yet, the understanding by M.3 is that merely by looking of consensual age her daughter is at greater risk from boys (or men). She stated:

“They’re doing it to look pretty for theirself and for their friends and not doing it for male attention... whereas I think it does attract a lot of male attention... whether they want it or not”(M.3)

M.3 perceives her daughter’s interest in her physical appearance as innocent and for acceptance by her peers, not to attract attention from men. Yet, she thinks that her appearance “does attract a lot of male attention”. In this sense she believes that it is not only her daughter’s opinion of her appearance that counts, onlookers could perceive it differently, the underlying tone of threat suggests an increased perception of risk.

In line with M.3, M.4 perceives misinterpretation by *adults* of young people’s appearance:

“I don’t think it should be taken in the wrong way by adults, but it could be”(M.4)

In this sense M.4 believes although the strategy is open to mistakes people make sexual assumptions about others based on appearance. Young people’s efforts to look good and associated outcome of looking older than their age may be negatively misinterpreted as denoted by “the wrong way” which appears to also have an undercurrent of sexual connotations. This also suggests there is a right way of interpreting young people’s appearance – perhaps as an innocent expression of their insecurity and eagerness to conform.

M.3 and M.4’s concerns are in line with Perilloux et al. (2012) who found that men are more likely than women to over-perceive sexual interest in the opposite sex; particularly

men who consider themselves attractive are more likely to perceive *attractive* women as sexually interested. This study was conducted with college students (mean age = 18.70 years) (Perilloux et al., 2012). As such these students are considerably older than the daughters and pupils of the present study. In future studies it would be interesting to conduct a similar experiment with younger participants and mixed age-groups to consider the effect of *perceived* age and misinterpretation of interest.

Mothers' M.2 and M.4 did perceive some clothing as inappropriate, inferring an awareness of potential misinterpretation due to this:

"I have to be honest and say, that if I seen her going out the door like half the way I seen her friends dressed, I'd be like no chance, it's not happening!" (M.2)

Although M.2 does not state the nature of this clothing it is interpreted that the clothing was perceived as too revealing. M.4 goes on to further this:

"Most of the time great, but there's occasionally that you do see young ones and their gear is not appropriate... Just too tarty for such a young person." (M.4)

By describing the clothing as "tarty" M.4 is indicating that the young girl's dress was sexually provocative. This suggests that judgement would be made not only against the clothing but also the girl wearing it. M.4 not only describes the appearance of the girl but indicates behaviours that some people – who do not necessarily know the wearer – may imply from her appearance. Yet, by concluding with 'for such a young person' she is also potentially condoning this appearance, and interpretation of that appearance, for an older person in line with M.3's earlier statement. In this way both M.4 and M.3 appear to link sexual appearance with older age. For M.4 this is observed as a change from her own choices of clothes:

"It was maybe trendy but it was never anything racy!" (M.4)

M.4 is drawing a distinction between looking *fashionable* – "trendy", and looking *sexy* – "racy", this implies that now girls do wear sexy clothes where when M.4 was growing up the focus was on following fashion which was not specifically sexy.

On top of physical appearance affecting perception of age in turn impacting on sexual risks towards their daughters M.2 pointed to associated behaviours of girls:

"There's a lot eh misunderstandings that way [girls looking older]. And mebbe them getting into nightclubs and stuff like that, with fake ID as well, so there's a lot of scare that way."

(M.2)

In this sense it is not only girls looking older but acting older and being in environments where age is presumed older by other visitors that leaves their physical appearance open to misinterpretation.

Further to this, alcohol has previously been linked by other studies to a range of potential emotional and physical problems (Brown, 2004; Tomlinson et al., 2004). Davis and colleagues (2006) found that alcohol myopia, due to alcohol intoxication, increased men's (self-reported) sexual response to violent pornography, reducing their awareness of victim distress, and increasing their self-reported likelihood of portraying the offender role in the scenario (Davis et al., 2006). Evidence suggests that the daughter age-group of this study may be starting to drink alcohol; according to HBSC statistics for Scotland (2010) one in ten thirteen year olds and more than one in four fifteen year olds drink alcohol at least once a week (Currie et al., 2011). Within environments such as nightclubs as suggested by M.2 the potential over-interpretation of sexual interest of "attractive females" by men as suggested by Perilloux and colleagues (2012) combined with intoxication effects as cited by Davis et al. (2006) and lack of experience in handling similar situations of young girls has potential to result in negative outcomes for all involved.

However M.2 (at least subliminally) attributed responsibility of misinterpretation largely to girls' choice of clothing and went on to refer to a recent public health campaign:

"I mean I totally believe that advert on the telly the, when the girl's picking that clothes to wear to be raped that night... it's a really good advert because it shows that what you wear... does have a big reflection on the person that you are" (M.2)

This comment clarifies the extent of sexual risk perceived by M.2 due to her daughter's appearance. However, the message of the campaign may have been misinterpreted itself. M.2 uses this as evidence that boys misconstrue sexy appearance for sexual obtainability. However the real aim of the campaign appeared to be to show that no girl or woman would choose what she wore in order to attract sex against her will. In this sense it does not matter what a girl wears – she is not sexually obtainable purely by the fact of her

appearance. M.2 instead perceived the message of this campaign to be a warning that boys or men may regard sexy appearance as sexually inviting regardless of other factors (such as being intoxicated or saying no). M.3 and M.5 also relay similar sentiments regarding boys “taking advantage”:

“It’s nice for her to have boys fancy her and say she looks good and all the rest of it, but I dinnae want them... taking advantage or... especially unwanted ones as well because that can happen” (M.3)

“I just don’t want boys taking advantage... there’s more, you ken you hear more, rapists” (M.5)

M.3 is aware that her daughter appreciates boys “fancying” her but is concerned about them perceiving her appearance not only as attractive but also sexually inviting. M.5 goes further initially pointing to ‘taking advantage’ but also viewing this in terms of rape. It appears there is a difference between a boy who *takes advantage* and a *rapist* in this statement although in reality this difference is not clear.

Overall the mothers in this study were very concerned about the sexualisation of their daughters’ appearance by boys and men. Although they did not identify their daughters’ appearance as explicitly directed towards attracting men (or boys) or being *sexy* they attributed risks to the perception and misinterpretation of appearance in this way. This was particularly linked to looking older than their age. Mothers also perceived makeup use as widespread, normal and starting at a younger age than when they were growing up. Moreover excessive makeup use was described as a response to low self-esteem and a means of daughters’ increasing their contentment with their appearance. Boys were also perceived to have an increased interest in their appearance. Although the mothers of the study suggested that their daughters’ interest in their appearance could be wrongly judged to imply sexual interest they did not explore why men may interpret their girls’ appearance this way.

One growing form of sexual media is internet pornography; the mothers’ opinions of pornography were in all but one case very accepting, at least initially:

“Each to their own at the end of the day” (M.1)

"I'm pretty open minded I suppose. If it if it's like ... used for the proper purposes, right, then I don't really see a problem" (M.2)

"If it's used for the intended purposes then it's fine" (M.2)

"It's up to them" (M.5)

All of these mothers appear to show that they accept pornography. M.1 and M.5 both refer to personal choice. M.2 refers to herself as open-minded and feels that if pornography is used for the *right purposes* then it is "fine" she states this twice.

By opting for individual choice and declaring themselves as 'open-minded' these mothers seemed to want to display liberal attitudes towards pornography implying that being *anti-pornography* is regarded negatively perhaps as being synonymous with *anti-sex*. This is further evidenced through their following conversations in which these mothers regularly reappraised their views and suggested that for particular audiences or types of pornography their feelings were different.

Some mothers raised particular elements within the use of pornography. M.4 discussed pornography in relation to issues of consent:

"as long as it is people that are both consenting I don't have a problem with it at all" (M.4)

M.4 refers to consent as an important issue though she does not define consent for whom – the pornographic actors or viewers? This issue was also raised by M.2:

"as long as in the actual pornography that it's consenting adults... over the age of eighteen or whatever ken the consenting age then I suppose it's fine" (M.2)

M.2 who asserted herself as open-minded discusses consent of the pornographic actors but does not know the age that these actors legally should be. In this sense although she displays liberal attitudes towards pornography she appears to not really know much about it. M.2 trusts the legal safeguards but is also perhaps less sure about what constitutes consent in a commercial sexual transaction. Pornography in this respect can be compared with prostitution. She goes on to discuss the educational value of pornography – an element raised by the daughters in this study:

"it could be quite educational to them... if maybe their parents or that aren't explaining what it is or whatever" (M.2)

In this sense she is comparing a discussion about sex with parents to viewing pornography as an alternative should parental information not be clear or present at all. Parents are typically seen as a *good* source of education, by this I mean they may describe the realities

of topic, refer to their own experience of a topic and generally ground a discussion in thoughts, feelings and real life. On the other hand pornography would not present an explanation of sex in this manner; in this sense pornography would not be considered a *good sex-educational source*.

Most mainstream commercial pornographic material does not portray safe-sex practices. This is evidenced through the concluding *money shot*. This is a shot by which the male actor is seen to ejaculate usually over the female actor's body, back, face, or chest area. This is described as giving "proof" to the enjoyment of the interaction (Salmon, 2012; Dines, 2010). In most cases this also is evidence that no condom was used (Maddison in Attwood, 2009). As pornography usually portrays, and is, a brief sexual encounter, not as part of a committed monogamous relationship, the actors are evidently not teaching safe sexual practice. Indeed the purpose of pornography is rarely justified as a sexual educational resource – more often as masturbatory and entertainment media.

M.2 went on to state that using pornography allowed safer sexual stimulation:

"I think it's probably safer them doing that, as trying to explore maybe with boys outside or girls outside" (M.2)

M.2 is suggesting a perception of 'outside' being not safe and therefore pornography use as a safe alternative. For those watching pornography alone they will not be exposed to sexually transmitted infections and diseases neither are they at risk of rape, in this sense pornography use is regarded as safer than sex. This may suggest that M.2 would rather boys experiment with sex and sexual practices alone (via pornography) and therefore not with her daughter, thus leaving her daughter safer from *threatening boys*.

No participants explicitly acknowledged the risks taken by pornographic actors or the emotions of those involved. This was interesting, as it was thought women may relate to women in pornography even merely on the level of shared femininity. This could be due to a lack of understanding of the job specification of a pornographic actor or perceived glamorisation of the industry through glamour modelling which may leave the general population of women feeling far removed from this.

The main impression given by M.2 was that pornography was not relevant to her own personal life and as such she appears less informed about it. In this sense it is hard to hold

an opinion about pornography when it is outside personal experience and in the case of these mothers not referred to as relevant to their age-group or gender. Thus views may be formed upon television portrayals of pornography or as referred to by M.2 “page three in the Sun for example” (M.2) both of which are milder than the versions of sexual media accessible on the internet. When this is perceived as the extent of pornography the disparity between perception and reality becomes clear.

However M.5 was aware of the content of the pornography viewed by her son and discussed her reactions to it:

“I’ve got a son and we got a cable bill, watching porn, I was quite annoyed at that ‘cause he was only fifteen” (M.5)

M.5 described being annoyed by the bill but not shocked or surprised by this behaviour. The main concern was his age, being ‘only’ fifteen. However a further incident did provoke shock due to content found:

“Like the video I found on [my son’s] phone when he came back from the cadets, I was mortified... I hadnae seen anything like that and I was like “Oh My God!”... He was only like thirteen at the time. But it was like oh my God! They actually watch things like this... I think in three years it’s going to be a lot worse.” (M.5)

M.5 in the case was clearly shocked by the explicit nature of the video found on her son’s phone although she did not explain the content. Her emphasis on “mortified” further highlights her reaction. She was clearly aware of the content of the videos her son was watching through having found this material, she also felt that the pornography that he is likely to be watching would be progressively more hard-core and “a lot worse” now, three years on.

M.5 described pornography in similar terms to mothers’ descriptions of girls with makeup:

“they’re curious, to see what it actually all is. Obviously at school; “did you see? Have you seen this?” (M.5)

Initially she outlines ‘curiosity’ as a motivator for looking at sexual content but she also asserts the ‘fitting-in’ aspect of *sharing* pornography. This may be interpreted as a display of masculinity aligned to assumed heterosexuality. This aspect of masculinity associated with pornographic use and sharing would be an interesting topic to explore in more detail

with a group of male participants however, this was unfortunately beyond the scope of the current work.

Curiosity was also mentioned by M.1 in describing reasons for use of pornography:

“Self-gratification, curiosity, possibly I don’t know, maybe wanting to learn something different” (M.1)

M.1 pulls together three key ideas surrounding the use of pornography; pleasure, curiosity and education. However, with regards to education she only states that boys may think of pornography in this way, she does not indicate whether she thinks this is a valuable or good source of education for them. This is in contrast to M.2’s previous comment which appeared to indicate pornography as an alternative to parental sexual guidance. In line with the girls observations mothers too offered sexual gratification as a reason for boys using pornography:

“to get a bit of pleasure” (M.5)

“I think it turns them on” (M.4)

“I think for boys it’s a means to an end” (M.1)

These comments are consistent with the normalised view as pornography as a commonly used stimulus in male masturbation. These mothers previously expressed acceptance of the use of pornography – perhaps this opinion relates to the acceptance of masturbation which they, through these quotes, link to pornography. Therefore, they accept masturbation as a bodily function, the normalisation of pornography use for masturbation then makes this behaviour acceptable. However, masturbation could be undergone without visual stimuli but this is no longer presumed typical. In line with this theory M.4 states:

“I think you expect it of boys” (M.4)

Boys are *expected* to watch pornography. This portrays M.4’s belief that most boys watch pornography, evidence of its normalisation. This is in line with the interpretation of the pupils survey in which boys overwhelmingly responded that pornography use was relevant to children (over 90% answering viewing sexually explicit material was a “child” or “no difference” behaviour). However, consistent with the daughters’ views, use of pornography amongst girls was not expected. Through the linking of masturbation and pornography it could be surmised that the participants also do not expect masturbation in girls despite the growing sex toy industry marketed directly at women.

The connection between masturbation and pornography also indicates an implied wish not to be perceived as prudish with regards to broader sexual themes. Perhaps the mothers within this study were also aware of the labels or characteristics attributed to women who appear negative towards sexual behaviours and pleasures.

This was the experience of the researcher in discussion of this work with other professionals. In many cases it was presumed that opinions regarding pornography were evidence of the researcher's own sexuality. Thus, if one presented an *anti-porn* opinion this is interpreted as prudish and frigid. On the other hand if a *pro-porn* opinion is presented then one is assumed to be nymph-like and highly sexed. Opinions regarding pornography may not just be viewed as *opinions on pornography* but opinions of *sexual behaviours* which in turn become shorthand for the sexualised nature of the opinion holder. This again presents a potential area to explore in future studies – how do people perceive *pro-porn* and *anti-porn* opinion holders and what do they deduce about those individuals in light of only this knowledge, or this and gender, age or appearance.

The only mother who did not accept use of pornography, M.3, felt pornography did not express sexual reality or female desires:

“it is sensationalised that way... girls really like getting into other girls, and there's always these threesomes and blah. And it's no like that [in real life]” (M.3)

She went on to discuss how boys may misinterpret this as a representation of real relationships and that in practice they would get a “bump” (M.3) back to reality. M.3's observation is backed by cultivation theory which suggests that if a behaviour is depicted as common in the media then observers will perceive such behaviour as usual in the real-world (Sprankle et al., 2012). On the other hand:

“An adult's probably experienced more and, and knows that, well d'ya know what, that's just there for entertainment” (M.3)

In this sense M.3 is implying that for adults who have experienced sex and relationships the impact of pornography is milder – it does not inform their view of actual sexual practice. For young people without sexual knowledge this does appear to show *normal* sex as they have nothing to compare it to. M.3 regards pornography as ‘entertainment’ not educational.

Perception of increased availability of pornography within entertainment was succinctly put by M.1:

“if you want pornography you can get it on your telly... It’s in your living room and it just wasn’t. Of course it was around, but it wasn’t in your life” (M.1)

M.1 views a significant change in not only access to pornography but the extent to which it is present within modern life without actively seeking it. M.1 went on to state the effect she felt this would have:

“I think it can trivialise [sex]” (M.1)

M.4 took this further by explaining her perception that pornography was likely to impact upon sexual relationships:

“I would imagine it does make a difference ‘cause it’s very explicit now” (M.4)

This again indicates the potential of pornography to shape people’s perception of what constitutes a ‘normal’ sexual interaction or relationship. The use of “now” suggests that pornography has changed – become *more* explicit – and that it is this change that is the source of the potential problem which in M.1’s view is the trivialisation of sex. Both M.1 and M.4 initially voiced accepting opinions of pornography. However, through the conversation their views appeared to change as they became critical towards the potential they viewed pornography as holding in terms of shaping sexual norms especially in the light of sexual relationships between young people. The development of these opinions suggests that with further discussion and perhaps increased awareness of pornography mothers’ perceptions would change. Mothers’ willingness to engaging in this aspect of the study is encouraging to note, it indicates that mothers are open to discussion and debate around the sensitive topics of pornography use, content and masturbation. Mothers dedicated a great deal of time during the interview to the discussion of sexualisation and pornography. This in itself indicates that mothers’ *want* to talk about these topics and think they are important.

In summary mothers’ views of pornography appear significantly more disparate and perhaps confused than the opinions of their daughters. Most mothers, at least initially, suggested pornography use was acceptable with M.4 proposing it was *expected* among boys. In most cases it was linked to personal sexual pleasure through masturbation though no mothers actually explicitly used this term instead opting for ‘pleasure’ or ‘sexual gratification’. This may portray unease with this topic perhaps simply from not having

discussed pornography or masturbation previously. Mothers displayed varied levels of awareness of the content of pornography from accounts pointing to *page three* to evidence of perceived extreme pornography found on technological sources. No mothers identified with the female actors of pornography. It was felt by many mothers that pornography was used as an educational source by boys, some went further to note that this could impact upon perceived sexual norms. M.3 in particular felt this was presenting unrealistic ideals to inexperienced boys which would impact upon their sense of 'normal' sexual practice.

Grandmothers – Appearance and Sexualisation

The grandmothers' discussions of appearance and sexuality in the interviews fell into three main topics of makeup, clothing and finally their thoughts about pornography. Although the use of makeup was seen as different and starting younger in general the grandmothers were not negative about the use of makeup by their granddaughters and they related it to their own experiences.

"I tried every makeup, all ma pals used to wear that pan-stick..." (G.2)

Enjoyment and experimentation with makeup appears to be an aspect of growing up that G.2 identifies with. However when she was growing up wearing makeup to school was not allowed and she concludes:

"... But not at the school!" (G.2)

G.1 also saw this change and commented upon her granddaughter's use of makeup when going to school:

"Makeup, she puts it on to the school" (G.1)

Both of these grandmother's expressed surprise at how normal this, in their opinion, had become:

"I cannae believe it, but they all go like that!" (G.2)

By suggesting that *all* girls wear makeup to school she is expressing a change in 'normality' from her experience of girls not wearing makeup to school generally when she was growing up, to most if not all girls wearing makeup to school now.

G.2 displayed surprise also at the school's reaction:

"see how her makeup's perfect and everything for... going to school... I, I just dinnae understand the schools nowadays, I really dinnae" (G.2)

With this comment she implies that schools would not condone wearing makeup when she was growing up yet this has changed and she does not understand why.

Moreover G.3 felt that girls wear more makeup than she had done despite no difference perceived in enjoyment of makeup:

"everybody liked makeup"(G.3)

She then asserts the use of makeup has increased:

"I think they go more in, more into makeup than what we did"(G.3)

This may be explained by the increased availability, choice of makeup on offer combined with increased marketing targeting younger girls.

Perceptions of why girls wear makeup more often and more of it were not clear except from G.1 who stated:

"Because their pals do it"(G.1)

Similarly to the views expressed by the girls and mothers, G.1 perceives makeup use as a means of conforming and fitting in. However none of the grandmothers expressed concerns over lack of confidence being the reason for makeup use as mothers in the interviews had suggested.

In terms of clothing G.3 enjoyed the fashion of young people commenting:

"I like to see them dressed up... the young girls, I like to see them fashionable"(G.3)

In her view fashion was not a problem:

"as far as fashion is concerned it's not that much difference. It seems to go round in a circle... it all comes back to long skirts, miniskirts and trousers... so I'm alright wi [my granddaughter's] fashion"(G.3)

In this sense G.3 views little change in fashion in absolute terms, instead fashions are cyclical. This appears to make fashion *safer* in G.3's view and as such it is enjoyable to view 'young girls' in fashions that she has experienced before.

Other grandmothers were less positive:

"I just had to wear what I got"(G.2)

"Far too much clothes"(G.1)

Both G.1 and G.2 point to the materialism created through fashion. Where G.2 had little option with regard to her clothing, G.1 points to the extensive wardrobe of her

granddaughter. Moreover G.1 feels the clothing worn by her granddaughter may be inappropriate:

*“some of things she wears like, you just think “oh no, you’re only twelve years old” (G.1)
“she’s skimpy tops on” (G.1)*

This is in line with the concerns over sexualisation and age-appropriate clothing expressed by the mothers. G.1 also suggests that some of her granddaughter’s clothing is too revealing – ‘skimpy’. G.2 also expressed surprise at the clothing requested by her granddaughter:

*“it used to be wee padded bras I had to buy her... noo it’s like pumped up gel things...”
(G.2)*

Not only are younger girls concerned by their ‘outerwear’ G.2 is also suggesting a concern around appropriate underwear. The choice of padding in particular gel padded may imply the granddaughter is also concerned about her figure, and feels she will improve this through larger breasts obtained by wearing gel padded bras. This in turn may also be explained by her granddaughter’s role model of the time:

“Jordan was in it [her granddaughter’s magazine], I says, “for God’s sake, that’s somebody to look up to?”” (G.2)

In this sense G.2’s granddaughter’s desire for a gel padded bra may be linked to her idolisation of large breasted model, Jordan. By comparing herself to Jordan and wishing to achieve a similar appearance G.2’s granddaughter may have felt her chest was not adequate resulting in the request for the gel bra. Jordan’s glamour model career is perhaps a more interesting aspect of the *role model* choice. It was not clear whether G.2’s granddaughter admired Jordan as a *career* role model or only a *physical* one. In either case it suggests importance of appearance, particularly an appearance based upon a highly sexualised, idealised female form – large breasts, small waist, large lips and long blonde hair.

The overwhelming theme from the discussion of pornography within the grandmother interviews was their perception of considerable change of content and availability in mainstream media. Both grandmothers G.1 and G.2 interpretations of pornography were wide and they described the contents of popular television shows, magazines and social media platforms as being of pornographic content. Grandmother G.2 stated that

pornography was “bound to” (G.2) affect young people’s thoughts about sex and relationships because of this. G.3 furthered this, stating:

“I think it could change some people you know?” (G.3)

“Especially when they’re young, they could be so led” (G.3)

In this sense young people were viewed as most sensitive to messages within pornographic media. Being easily “led” also holds more negative connotations of lack of control. As such G.3 implies that pornography would affect young people adversely. However the grandmothers in the study were generally less willing to talk about pornography and had significantly less to say about it than daughters and granddaughters. It appeared that they felt this topic was not relevant to them. Generally it was regarded negatively –“terrible” (G.1), “a bad move” (G.3) and little more discussion was made.

The grandmothers’ views of fashion portrayed an observed change in the importance of appearance and particularly the acceptability of wearing makeup to school. This was regarded as a significant and not entirely understood change. Clothing and fashion was seen as reasonably unchanged by G.3. On the other hand G.1 and G.2 perceived this as linked to increased commercialism and the fashion choices available to girls. The sexualisation of girls’ clothing was also mentioned in regard to one granddaughter’s role model – Jordan. The wish to increase breast size through use of a *gel bra* at a young age furthered this grandmother’s perception of sexualised youth appearance.

Conclusions

Appearance is important for many people but may be particularly so for young people (Polce-Lynch et al., 2001). This study corroborates findings from Mischner and colleagues (2013) and Cho and Lee (2013) who found that in our increasingly media-centric culture images of idealised appearance are common and may shape not only what is perceived as desirable but also what is seen as *normal* by young people (Mischner et al., 2013; Cho and Lee, 2013). Idealised feminine beauty is a cultural construct that has changed many times over the past century. What has remained stable is the importance of women’s physical attractiveness to female identity (Gill, 2007; Mazur, 1986).

Girls in the schools survey perceived vanity as more likely among children and therefore relevant to themselves. More girls than boys chose to change their appearance in the 'what would you change' question. These elements taken together, in line with current literature, indicate the importance of appearance to girls which showed little change between eleven and fifteen year old groups. Girls (daughters) within the interviews were generally concerned by makeup and cosmetic use rather than dieting, surgeries or exercise. They demonstrated complex day-to-day cosmetic regimes which suggested they were generally more concerned about their facial beauty than their body. Girls also referred to friends' attractiveness and makeup use suggesting peer interaction about this and constructs of beauty that may be more linked to discrete peer *groups*. This notion of localised peer-generated concepts of beauty would be interesting to explore further in future work to better understand emerging notions of beauty ideals amongst girls and young women.

Mothers linked *excessive* makeup use to their daughter's poor self-image. However the concept of *excessive* makeup was conceded as subjective by both daughters and mothers. A few mothers and grandmothers noted daughters and granddaughters dissatisfaction with specific *parts* of their body which in turn suggests a more glamorised ideal was internalised in these cases in line with findings from previous research (Mischner et al., 2013). Modern concepts of beauty desired by teenage girls, as portrayed in the interviews, were regularly a more sexualised and *glamorised* form than the high-fashion thinness model of beauty. However, idealised appearance in line with this norm may leave girls at higher risk of misinterpretation by boys and men.

Boys and men are thought to more regularly seek and access sexually explicit media sources than girls and women (Carroll et al., 2008). Previous studies have found links between these media forms and perceptions of female physical ideals (Barak and Fisher, 1997; Kendrick et al., 2003; Jansma et al., 1997). Further, studies have also suggested a link between pornography use and objectification of girls (Boyle, 2000, 2010).

When teenage girls conforming to sexual portrayals of beauty, meet males with constructs of beauty based on pornographic sources, there is potential for misinterpretation and risk for both parties. Mothers interviewed in this study appeared particularly aware of their

daughters' vulnerability but unsure of how to minimise the risk. In this sense, mothers viewed their daughters as being sexually objectified due to their appearance. Mothers did not explicitly link boys' use of pornography to sexual objectification of their daughter instead they discussed these points separately, referring to boys as normalised users of pornography.

The qualitative interviews support the results of the quantitative survey in this regard. Fourth year boys and girls held different opinions about pornography. Boys largely perceived this as a behaviour of childhood and therefore relevant to them but something they do not think they will do in adulthood. This could suggest that boys' use of pornography is linked to sexual inexperience and therefore sexual education as opposed to necessarily for sexual gratification, i.e. without intent to objectify. However pornographic portrayals of sexual intimacy may be at odds with mutually gratifying sexual practice and sexual health messages. Girls perceived pornography differently, attributing its use to both adults and children; this may indicate they think pornography is used for different reasons than boys. Within the interviews a few potential explanations of pornography use were discussed by the girls, from education to enjoyment or entertainment but most girls seemed unsure about reasons for pornographic use.

Boys and girls both chose relationships as an area of their lives they wish to change. This suggests the importance of relationships to these young people and may strengthen the argument of boys' educational use of pornography as they desire mutually fulfilling sexual relationships. Further research is required to more fully understand young people's use and understandings of pornography and sexually explicit media. This may be particularly important for this age-group when increased physical relationships begin with both boys and girls vulnerable to insecurities and pressures.

This chapter has explored perceptions of appearance and sexualisation among young people's, their parent's and grandparent's gaining better understanding of how this links to notions of gender and adulthood and the role played in young people's developing identities in Scottish society. In particular it was found that, in line with current literature, girls from both interview and survey elements value highly good appearance (Cash et al.,

2004). Mothers discussed the sexualised nature of the ideals their daughters' desire and portrayed concern about how boys may perceive this. Pornography was discussed by interviewees in terms of gender and less in terms of age-group. As such its use was attributed to males and perceived as a mainstream behaviour among boys and men. Adolescents' use of pornography is not fully understood but this may be an important area for future work due to young people's perception of its relevance particularly in light of evidence of its potential educational use.

Chapter Seven – Risk, Aggression and Safety

The aim of this chapter is to engage with young people's perspectives of risky behaviours particularly in relation to adulthood and gender, examining this in potential contrast with perceptions of their parent and grandparents, to identify the role this plays in developing one's identity in Scottish society. It is now established that experiences in childhood shape the health and wellbeing of young children beyond childhood, through adulthood and into later life. Studies such as those into adverse childhood experiences have linked negative experiences through childhood to mental illness and suicide, cancers and heart disease amongst others (Brown et al., 2010; Chapman et al., 2004; Dong et al., 2004; Dube et al., 2001; Dube et al., 2009; Edwards et al., 2003; Felitti et al., 1998; Hooven et al., 2012). But beyond those experiences imposed upon children which have implications for their future health there are those behaviours that they may choose to experience – their 'risky' behavioural choices; these too may have implications for their future health and wellbeing (Barnekow-Bergkvist et al., 2001). Modifiable health risk behaviours, such as drinking alcohol, smoking tobacco, taking illegal drugs and having unprotected sex are thought to account for 50% of morbidity and mortality with genetic factors and access to health care accounting to the 'other half' of influences upon longevity and health (Mokdad et al., 2004).

As children get older they shape their own health and wellbeing through the choices they make and the behaviours they are involved in. Adolescents are more likely than any other age-group to be involved in behaviours such as smoking tobacco, taking illegal drugs, drinking alcohol to excess and engaging in risky sexual practices (Steinberg, 2008; Mahalik et al., 2013). These risk behaviours are known to have potentially detrimental effects upon both more immediate and longer-term health. Early initiation itself, and cumulative effects over the life course, increase chances of negative health outcomes. Moreover, recent research has shown that participation in risky behaviours may cluster so that alcohol use, drug use, smoking and risky sexual practices become linked (Huang et al., 2012; Willoughby et al., 2004).

Young people are not so much shaped by *experiences* which denotes passivity in nature but instead by their active *choices*. Although for some this may be part of the experience of adolescence, a phase that they then mature out of, for others these behaviours may come to characterise their lives and lifestyles tracking through to adulthood (Gordon-Larsen et al., 2004). In the case of smoking tobacco, few habitual smokers start after the age of eighteen and stopping smoking is notoriously challenging (Burt and Petersen, 1998). Moreover the impacts of smoking are most frequently demonstrated decades later. This pattern is emerging in many forms of risk behaviour such as alcohol use and drug-taking– the potential outcomes of these behaviours may not reveal themselves until much later in life but initiate through behavioural choices of young people.

A driver for young people's participation in risk behaviours is their *perception* of those behaviours – do they see drinking alcohol as *desirable*, relevant to them and their peers, part of growing up? The more a risky behaviour is viewed as part of their peer group landscape the more likely they are to participate themselves. In this sense how young people experience the culture of growing up and how that culture regards *risk* behaviours is vital to understanding behavioural participation.

It may appear common sense that excessive drinking, taking illegal drugs and engaging in aggressive behaviours are *risky* to one's health. However risk denotes an evaluation of positive versus negative outcomes, with higher possible rewards reducing in likelihood with increasing associated costs of failure. As discussed in the Chapter Two, risk assessment has been found to vary by both age-group and gender (Byrnes, Miller, and Schafer, 1999; Gustafson, 2006), and to add further complexity the Domain-Specific Risk-Taking scale studies (DOSPERT) found domain specific differences in risk-calculation and perception (Weber et al., 2002) Therefore a behaviour assessed as too risky to some may be subjectively considered as an acceptable risk by others (Tallman and Gray, 1990; Heimer, 1988).

Public health practitioners clearly view binge drinking as risky behaviour citing its detrimental effect upon young people's health; this forms part of a *culture* of public health – broadly shared norms and values. However, young people are unlikely to view risk (or this

behaviour) in the same way (Steinberg and Cauffman, 1996). Indeed, adolescents have been found to evaluate risks differently from adults, placing increased import upon potential rewards rather than the potentially negative consequential focus of adults (Cauffman et al., 2010; Matsueda et al., 2006). Similarly research by Denscombe (2001) found that young people actively perceived positive outcomes from smoking which outweighed the negative effects in their views. Taken together, an understanding of how young people perceive risk, in a sense their culture of risk, and the relevance of risky behaviours to their lives, the better prepared interventionists can be to formulate suitably targeted, knowledge driven measures.

The seminal works of Erikson identified adolescence as a key phase of identity development which continues then into adulthood (Erikson 1950; 1956; 1968; 1977; 1980): key to identity through this period are notions of developing (gendered) adulthood. As such participation in risk behaviours may be linked to adolescent notions of adulthood or gender; engaging in risky behaviours then could be viewed as “enacting” perceived adult roles (Crosnoe et al., 2007). Moreover, generally it has been found that men are more likely to engage in risky behaviours than women at all stages of the lifespan which may in turn be linked to their increased morbidities and mortality rates (Courtenay, 2011; Evans et al., 2011; Pinkhasov et al., 2010). However Weber et al.’s DOSPERT studies (2002) suggest that this is unevenly spread across types of risk-taking. Could it be that notions of masculinity which value aggression, competition and recreational risks place males at higher vulnerability to poorer health outcomes? In this sense risk behaviour participation may delineate along gender lines according to cultural norms of gender. This may in part help to explain men (rather than women’s) burden of risk taking behaviour and associated morbidities and mortality (Gough, 2013). By examining perception of risk behaviours through both the lenses of adulthood and gender this study attempts to explain the relationships between young people’s perceptions of adult gender-hood and risk behaviours.

This chapter adds young people’s perspectives and perceptions of risk behaviours to the already well-studied knowledge base of numbers of young people participating in risk behaviour through studies such as the Health Behaviours of School-Aged Children study

(HBSC) and Scottish Schools Adolescent Lifestyle and Substance Use Survey (SALSUS). This chapter engages with young people's understandings of risky behaviours and how they perceive these in relation to adulthood and gendered roles, examining this in potential contrast with perceptions of their parent and grandparents. This chapter explores pupils' responses to questions around drinking alcohol, smoking tobacco, taking illegal drugs and taking responsibility. They were also asked about a range of 'aggressive' forms of behaviour including rage or losing your temper, holding a grudge and being competitive. The latter two topics may not be considered concrete aggression but as aggression-relevant behaviours. In this way this chapter contributes to the overall aim of the thesis of furthering understanding of young people's ideas about adulthood and gender, and the role this plays in developing one's identity in Scottish society.

Parenting and discipline have been cited as potential determinates for adolescent uptake of risk behaviours and generalised misconduct at school (de Looze et al., 2012; Koning et al., 2009; Sigfúsdóttir et al., 2009). As such this chapter investigates daughters', mothers' and grandmothers' perceptions of discipline and behaviour. This became a topic of most import to the latter groups who identified significant changes over the time from their own schooling to that now.

The pupils' responses to these questions indicate difference between first year and fourth year pupils particularly regarding risky behaviours. More gendered differentiate patterns of response are observed between fourth year groups. Following a detailed exploration of the pupil responses, the qualitative element examines how this translates into the real life experiences of girls living in Kirkcaldy, their mothers' and grandmothers' views of these behaviours as well as their reflections on their own behaviours and childhoods.

Risk, Aggression and Safety – Quantitative Results

The layout of topics discussed in this chapter is demonstrated below in figure 7.1:

Chapter Seven	Part A – Responsibility and Risky Behaviours		Part B – Forms of Aggression
Questions	Responsibility, drugs, smoking, drinking	→	Aggression, rage, grudge, competition

Figure 7.1: Chapter Topics Layout

Within each topic the relevant levels of analysis will be conducted from levels one to three.

Part A: Responsibility and Risky Behaviours

Survey Question: Who do you think is more likely to be responsible (for their own actions and sometimes those of others)?

Level One

a. Girls vs. Boys

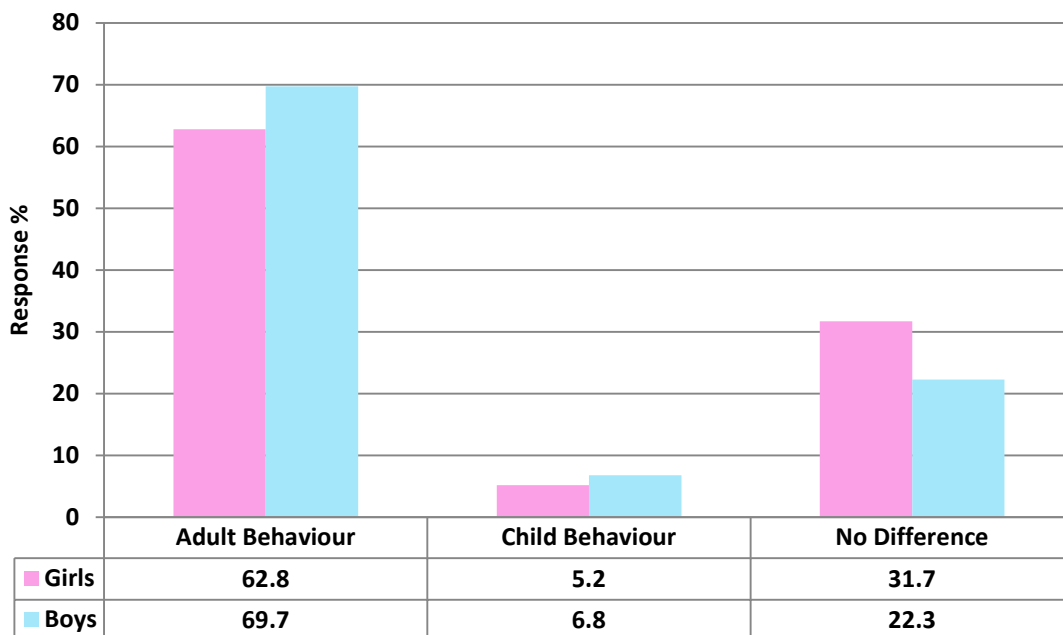


Figure 7.2: Responsibility... Level One – a

Girls: 62.8% of girls (N= 182) responded that adults are more likely to be responsible, 31.7% (N= 92) answered adults and children as being equally responsible, only 5.2% (N= 15) responded children as being more likely to be responsible than adults.

Boys: 69.7% of boys (N= 184) answered that adults are more likely to be responsible than children. 22.3% (N= 59) thought that there is no difference between adult and children and the remaining 6.8% of boys (N= 18) answered that children are more likely to act responsibly. One girl (0.3%) and three boys (1.1%) did not respond to this question. This result presents borderline statistical significance: FET(N= 550)= 6.098, p= 0.046.

b. First Year vs. Fourth Year

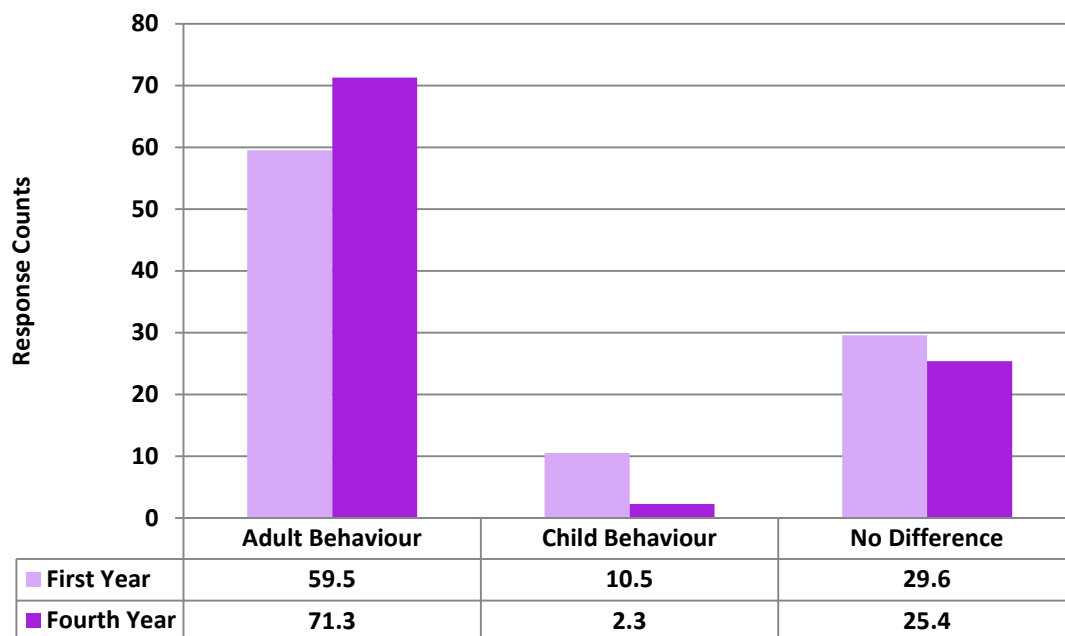


Figure 7.3: Responsibility... Level One – b

-Responsibility-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
Girls x Boys	FET(N= 550)= 6.098, p= 0.046	
1st year x 4th year	FET(N= 550)= 19.556, p= 0.000	

First year: 59.5% of first year pupils (N= 147) thought that adults are more likely to be responsible than children, 29.6% (N= 73) answered that both adults and children are equally likely to be responsible while the remaining 10.5% of first year pupils (N= 26) perceived children to be more likely to be responsible than adults.

Fourth year: 71.3% of fourth year pupils (N= 219) answered that adults are more likely to be responsible than children. 25.4% (N= 78) thought that adults and children are equally likely to be responsible while only 2.3% (N= 7) answered that they thought children are more likely to be responsible. One first year pupil (0.4%) and three fourth year pupils (1%) did not respond to this question.

First year pupils and fourth year pupils answered this question differently and as such this result is statistically significant: FET(N= 550)= 19.556, p= 0.000. These results suggest that age-group is a more defining feature affecting perceptions of responsibility than gender.

Level Two

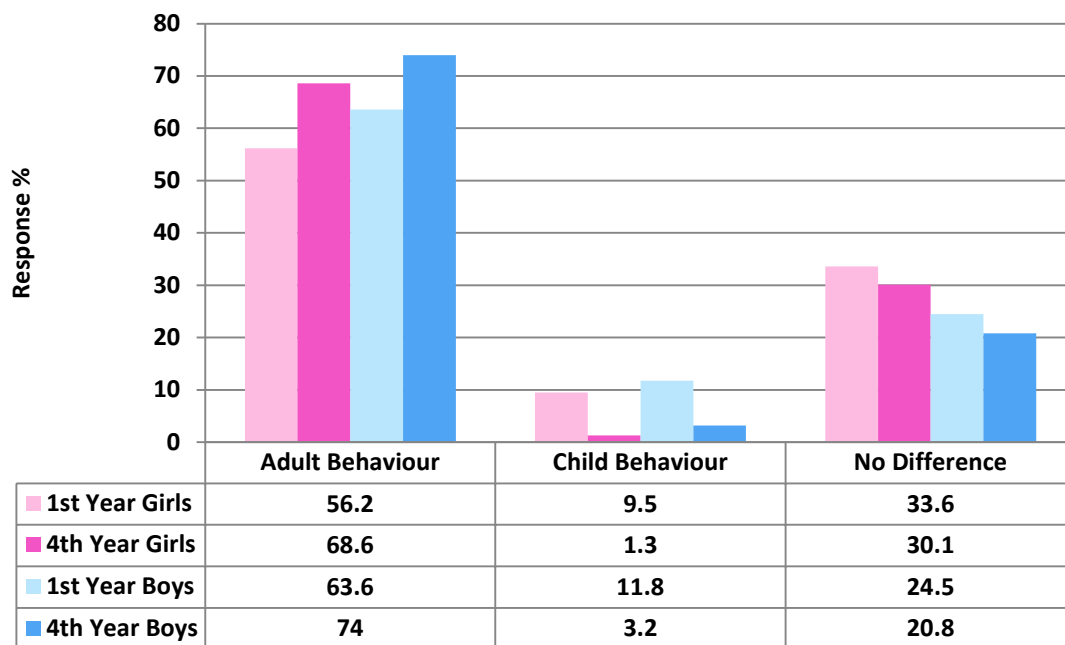


Figure 7.4: Responsibility... Level Two

-Responsibility-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls	FET(N= 289)= 11.644, p= 0.003	
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 261)= 8.099, p= 0.018	
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys		FET(N= 246)= 2.572, p= 0.265
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 304)= 4.074, p= 0.123

These results demonstrate different patterns of response between first year pupils and fourth year pupils across both boys and girls. Most pupils, from all groups, viewed responsibility for yourself and sometimes others as a behaviour more attributable to adults.

This is not particularly surprising. However, what is more surprising is that first year pupils, both boys and girls, are more likely than their fourth year counterparts to answer 'child behaviour' or 'no difference'. This may indicate that more first year pupils than fourth year pupils are likely to try to be responsible, or at least see this as something that they *should* be.

Fourth year pupils' response patterns may be explained as a rejection of the commitments and responsibilities of being as adult imposed upon them as they reach young-adulthood. In this sense, while they may seek increasing independence they may not value the allied responsibility this brings. In this sense while they may wish to increasingly spend time away from home, they may still desire a life rather than take personal responsibility for their transport. These response patterns may indicate fourth year pupils' potential awareness of this contrary element of development into adulthood.

First year pupils' on the other hand are more likely to indicate their acceptance of responsibility. This may be because at age eleven or twelve less is asked of them in terms of taking responsibility as such it does not clash so clearly with their desire for independence which is not yet as established.

Survey Question: Who do you think is more likely to take illegal drugs?

Level One

a. Girls vs. Boys

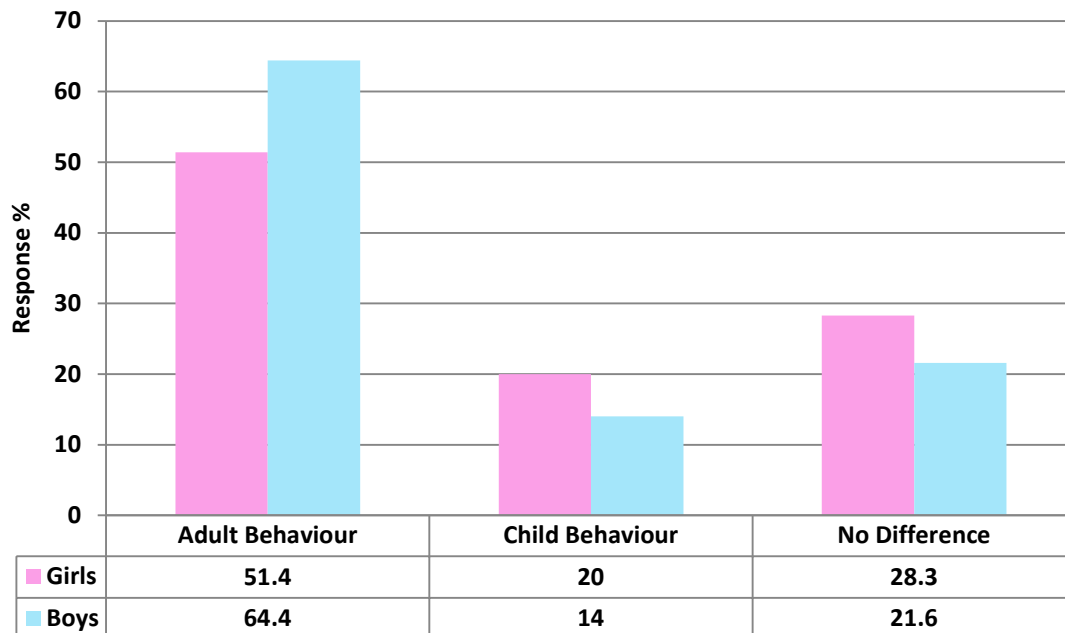


Figure 7.5: Drugs... Level One – a

Girls: 51.4% (N= 149) of girls responded that adults are more likely than children to take drugs, 28.3% (N= 82) answered that adults and children are equally likely to take drugs. The remaining 20% of girls (N= 58) answered that drug-taking is more likely to be a child behaviour.

Boys: 64.4% of boys (N= 170) answered that adults are more likely than children to take drugs, 21.6% (N= 57) responded that adults and children are equally likely to take drugs and the remaining 14% of boys (N= 37) answered that children are more likely to take drugs. One girl (0.3%) did not respond to this question, all of the boys in the survey responded. Boys and girls viewed drug taking statistically significantly differently $FET(N= 553)= 9.383, p= 0.009$.

b. First Year vs. Fourth Year

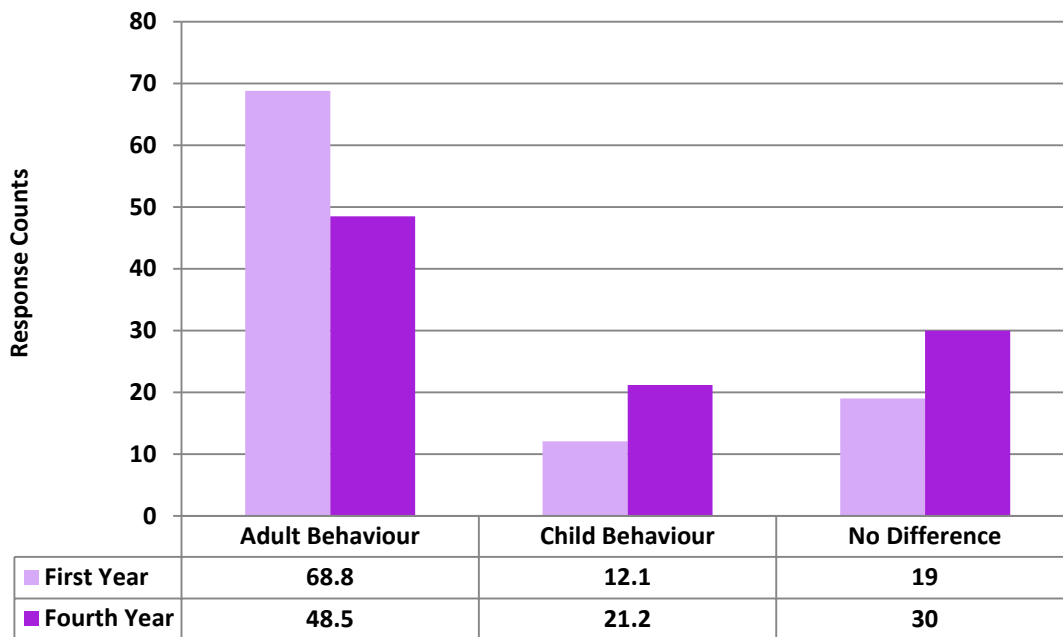


Figure 7.6: Drugs... Level One – b

-Drug Use-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
Girls x Boys	FET(N= 553)= 9.383, p= 0.009	
1st year x 4th year	FET(N= 553)= 22.899, p= 0.000	

First year: 68.8% of first year pupils (N= 170) answered that adults are more likely to take drugs than children. 12.1% (N= 30) answered that children are more likely to take drugs while 19% (N= 47) responded that there is no difference.

Fourth year: 48.5% of fourth year pupils (N= 149) answered that adults are more likely than children to take drugs, 21.2% (N= 65) thought that children were more likely to take drugs than adults and 30% (N= 92) thought there is no difference. One fourth year pupil (0.3%) did not answer this question, all first year pupils responded to this survey question.

First year pupils and fourth year pupils responded differently about drug taking and as such this result is statistically significant: FET(N= 553)= 22.899, p= 0.000. Perceptions of drug use appear to be affected by both gender and age-group. The complexities of these patterns are now shown in further detail.

Level Two

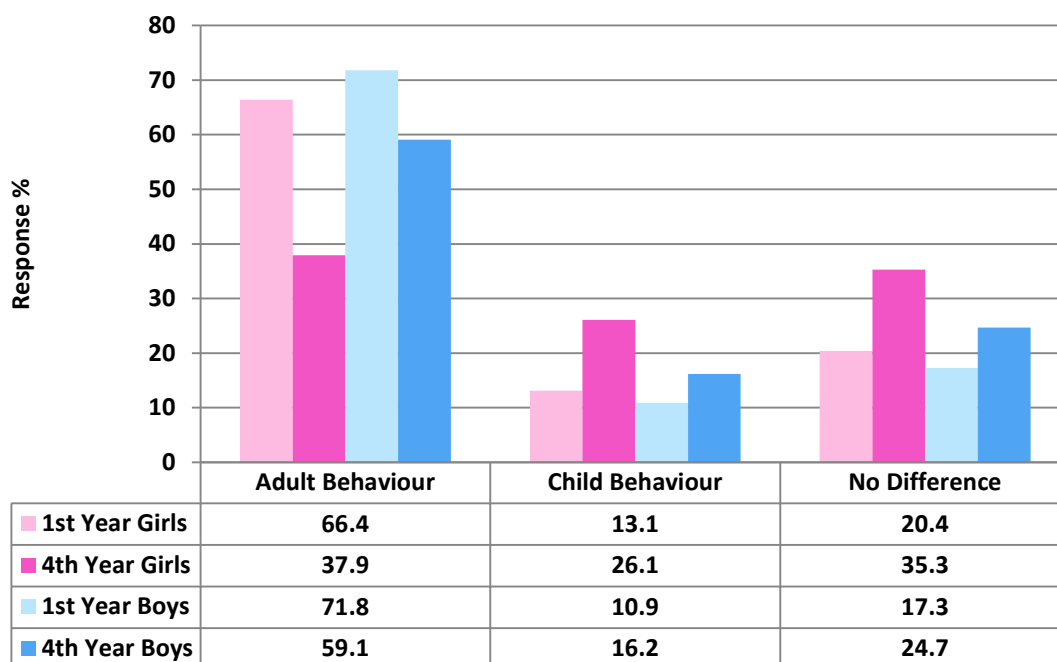


Figure 7.7: Drugs... Level Two

-Drug Use-	Significant ($p < 0.05$)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls	FET(N= 289)= 23.252, $p = 0.000$	
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 264)= 4.460, $p = 0.109$
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys		FET(N= 247)= 0.815, $p = 0.692$
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 306)= 13.527, $p = 0.001$	

The responses to this question highlight fourth year girls as a standalone group in terms of their responses. The majority of pupils in the three other groups identified drug use as an adult behaviour with over 50% of responses from these pupils answering this way.

Pupils' responses present a scale ranging from adult behaviour to child behaviour with 'no difference' as the middle road. The pupils' patterns of response correspond to this with most first year pupils and fourth year boys answering towards the *adult-end* of the spectrum. The responses patterns of fourth year girls of the other hand demonstrate a movement down this spectrum with almost equal numbers responding that drug use is an adult behaviour as responded that there is no difference between adult and children's likelihood to use drugs. Fourth year girls were also more likely to attribute drug-use to children's behaviour.

Survey Question: Who do you think is more likely to smoke tobacco?

Level One

a. Girls vs. Boys

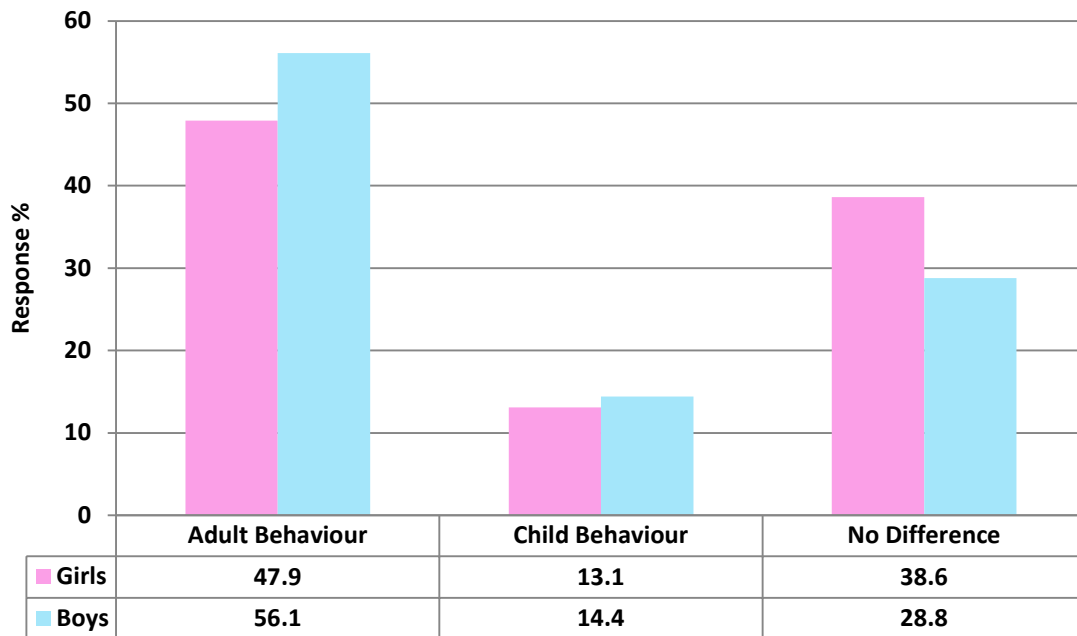


Figure 7.8: Smoke Tobacco... Level One – a

Girls: 47.9% of girls (N= 139) answered that adults are more likely than children to smoke, 38.6% (N= 112) responded that smoking is equally likely between children and adults and the remaining 13.1% of girls (N= 38) answered that smoking is more likely to be a child-only behaviour.

Boys: 56.1% of boys (N= 148) answered that adults are more likely to smoke than children. 28.8% (N= 76) perceived that both are equally likely to smoke and the remaining 14.4% of boys (N= 38) thought that children are more likely to smoke. One girl (0.3%) and two boys (0.8%) did not answer this survey question.

This result shows no statistically significant difference between the views of boys and girls with regard to whether adults or children are more likely to smoke. However this presents a borderline result: FET(N= 551)= 5.874, p= 0.055.

b. First Year vs. Fourth Year

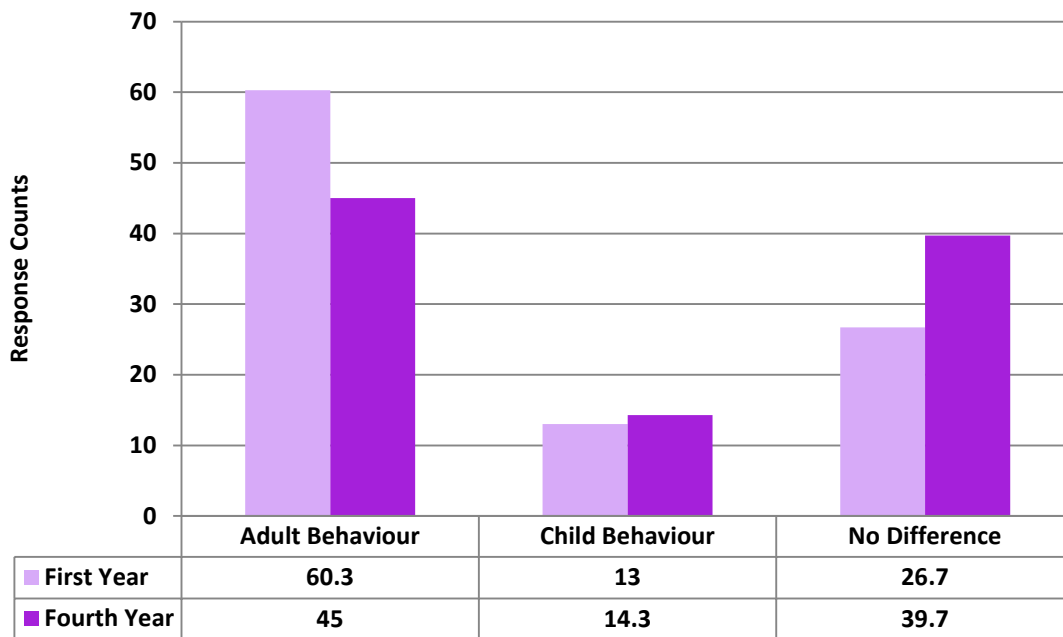


Figure 7.9: Smoke Tobacco... Level One – b

-Smoking-	Significant ($p < 0.05$)	Non-Significant
Girls x Boys		FET(N= 551)= 5.874, $p = 0.055$
1st year x 4th year	FET(N= 551)= 13.277, $p = 0.001$	

First year: 60.3% of first year pupils (N= 149) answered that adults are more likely to smoke than children. 26.7% (N= 66) thought that there is no difference between adults and children and 13% (N= 32) thought that smoking is more likely to be a child behaviour.

Fourth year: 45% of fourth year pupils (N= 138) responded that smoking is more likely to be an adult behaviour. 39.7% (N= 122) answered that there is no difference between adults and children and 14.3% (N= 44) thought that children are more likely than adults to smoke. Three fourth year pupils (1%) did not respond to this question, all first year pupils answered this survey question.

First and fourth year answered this question differently, therefore this result is statistically significant: FET(N= 551)= 13.277, $p = 0.001$. These results suggest that age-group is a more defining feature than gender in perceptions of smoking.

Level Two

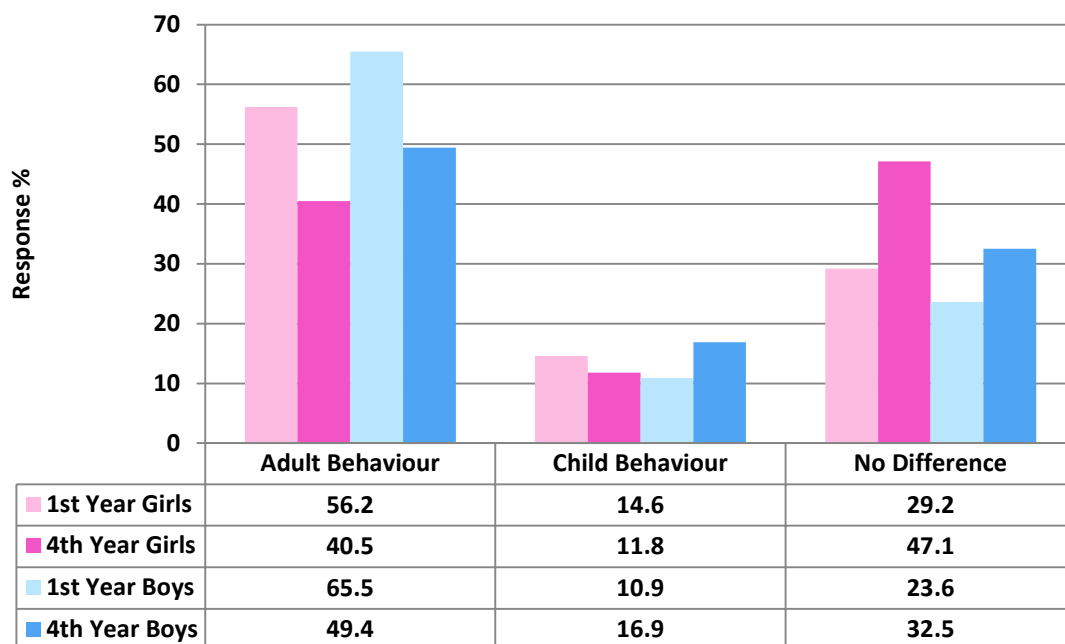


Figure 7.10: Smoke Tobacco... Level Two

-Smoking-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls	FET(N= 289)= 10.148, p= 0.006	
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 262)= 6.189, p= 0.048	
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys		FET(N= 247)= 2.175, p= 0.330
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 304)= 6.816, p= 0.035	

Pupils' responses to this question demonstrate very similar response patterns to those of drug use. Again fourth year girls' response patterns differ significantly from the other groups; this results in statistically significant difference between fourth year girls and their comparator groups (first year girls and fourth year boys). All three other groups' most common answer to this question was that smoking is more likely to be an adult behaviour. However, fourth year girls' most common response was that there is no difference between adult's and children's likelihood to smoke.

First year and fourth year girls responses demonstrate clear statistical significance (FET(N= 289)= 10.148, p= 0.006), as such these result as much less likely to be due to chance. Fourth year girls are more likely to perceive smoking to be a behaviour of both adults and children whereas first year girls largely regard smoking to be a behaviour of adults.

First year and fourth year boys demonstrate statistically significant differences in response patterns to this question. First year boys overwhelmingly viewed smoking as a behaviour of adults (65.5%). Although most fourth year boys also answered this way (49.4%) they were more likely than their younger counterparts to respond that there is no difference between adults and children regarding likelihood to smoke. However, the level of statistical significance displayed between first year and fourth year boys is marginal (FET(N= 262)= 6.189, p= 0.048). This indicates a greater possibility of the result being due to chance and as such requires further investigation to determine how differently boys of these ages regard smoking. One possibility for this is suggested by the following figure, (Figure 6.11):

Level Three

Fourth Year Boys – Are you an Adult? X Smoking

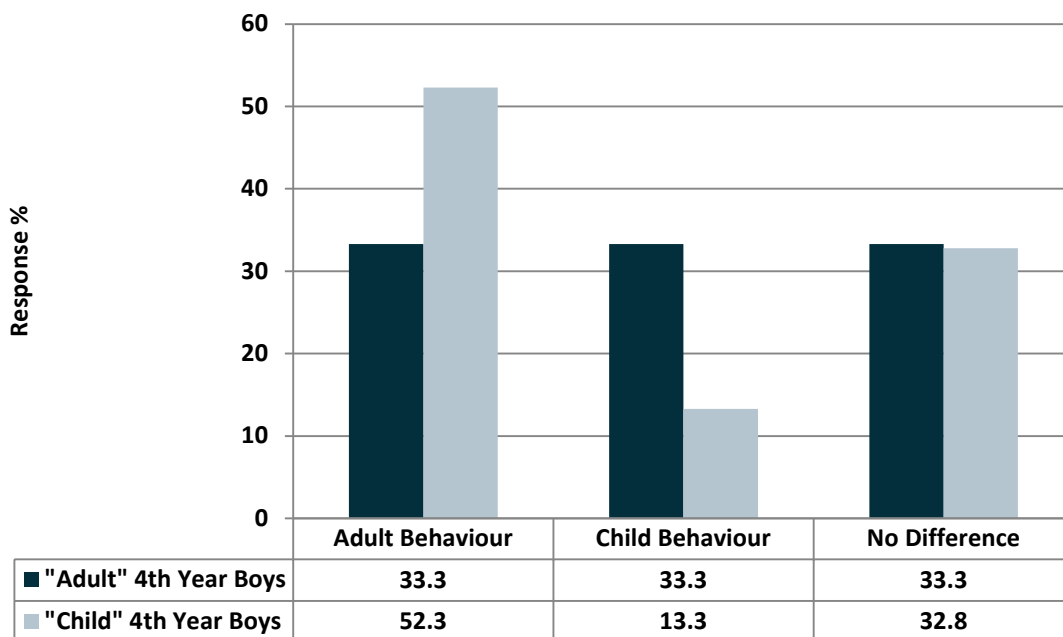


Figure 7.11: Smoke Tobacco... Level Three

Smoking – 4th year Boys	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
"Adult" vs. "Child"		FET(N= 150)= 5.864, p= 0.050

Boys in fourth year who perceived themselves as being adults answer this question (visually) differently to those who identified themselves as not-adults (children). This result is marginally outside statistical significance. However, as this result is borderline this may

indicate that further research exploring perceptions of smoking and links to adulthood could be a fruitful area for further investigation.

Survey Question: Who do you think is more likely to drink too much?

Level One

a. Girls vs. Boys

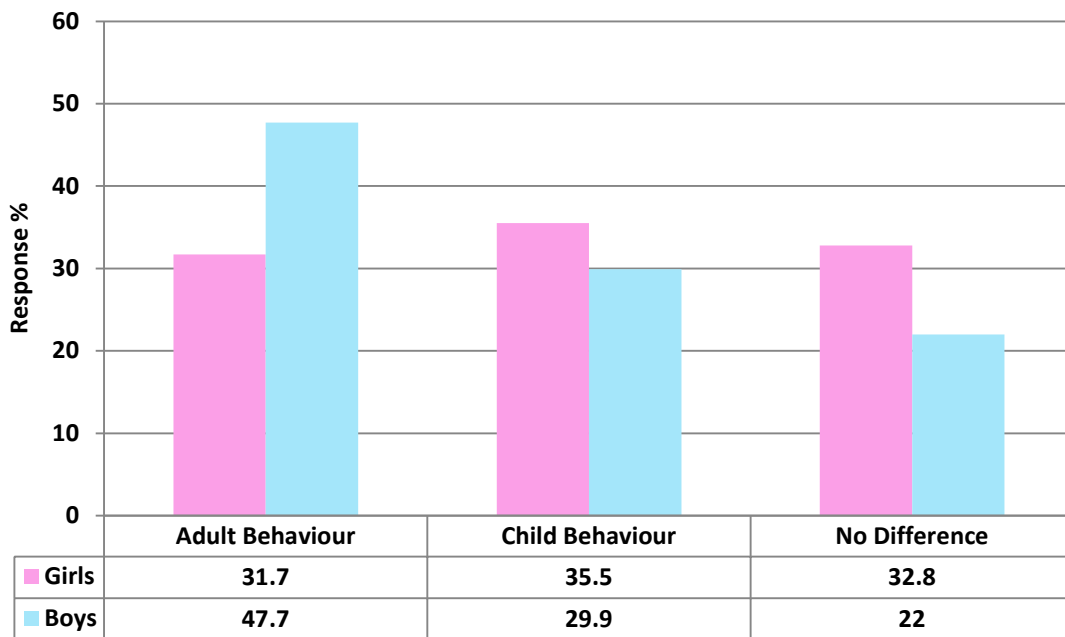


Figure 7.12: Alcohol... Level One – a

Girls: 31.7% of girls (N= 92) answered that adults are more likely than children to drink too much, 35.5% (N= 103) answered that children are more likely to drink too much while the remaining 32.8% (N= 95) responded that there is no difference between adults and children in who is more likely to drink too much.

Boys: 47.7% of boys (N= 126) responded that adults are more likely to drink too much, 29.9% (N= 79) answered that children are more likely than adults to drink too much and the remaining 22% (N= 58) thought that adults and children are equally likely to drink too much. One boy (0.4%) did not answer, but all girls answered this survey question.

There is a statistically significant difference between boys' and girls' perceptions of drinking too much: FET(N= 553)= 16.129, p= 0.000.

b. First Year vs. Fourth Year

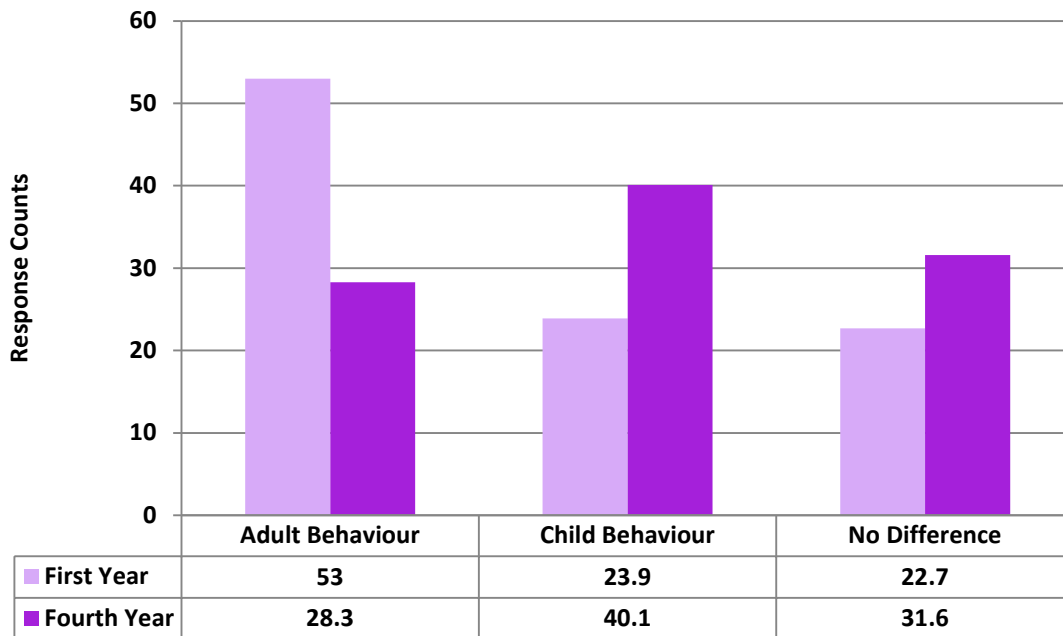


Figure 7.13: Alcohol... Level One – b

-Drink Too Much Alcohol-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
Girls x Boys	FET(N= 553)= 16.129, p= 0.000	
1st year x 4th year	FET(N= 553)= 36.113, p= 0.000	

First year: 53% of first year pupils (N= 131) answered that adults are more likely than children to drink too much. 23.9% (N= 59) responded that children are more likely to drink too much and the remaining 22.7% of first year pupils (N= 56) answered that adults and children are equally likely to drink too much.

Fourth year: 28.3% of fourth year pupils (N= 87) answered that adults are more likely to drink too much as opposed to 40.1% (N= 123) who responded that children are more likely to drink too much. 31.6% of fourth year pupils (N= 97) answered that there is no difference between adults and children. One first year pupil (0.4%) did not answer this question, all fourth year pupils did answer this question.

First year pupils and fourth year pupil responded differently to this question and as such the result is statistically significant: FET(N= 553)= 36.113, p= 0.000. Gender and age-group appear to interact to create complex patterns of response to this question. These are now discussed in further detail.

Level Two

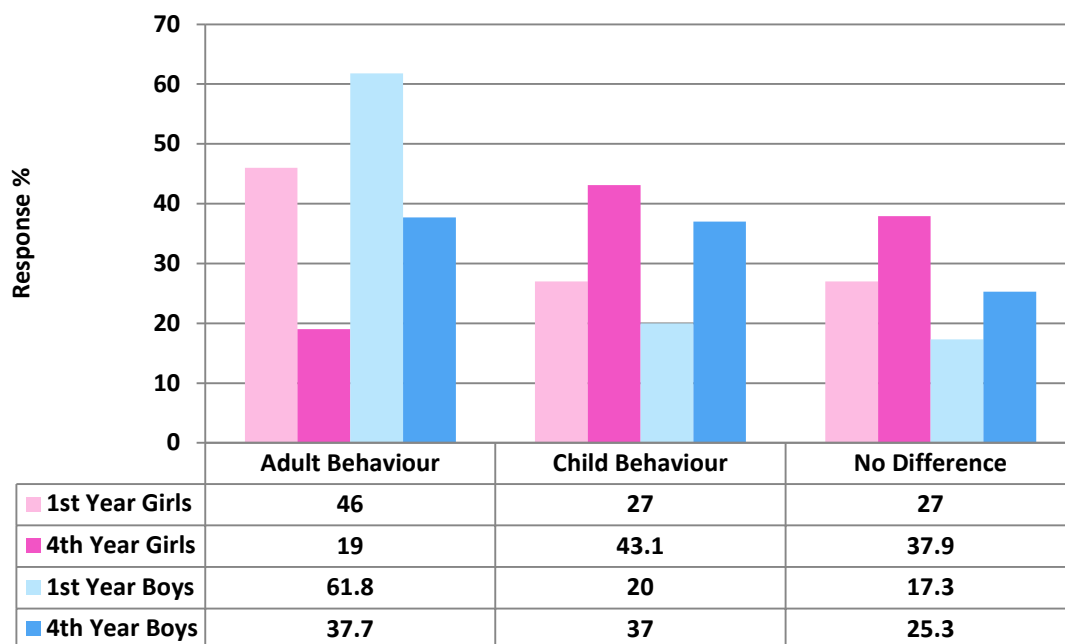


Figure 7.14: Alcohol... Level Two

-Drink Too Much Alcohol-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls	FET(N= 290)= 24.688, p= 0.000	
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 263)= 15.914, p= 0.000	
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys	FET(N= 246)= 6.626, p= 0.036	
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 307)= 14.108, p= 0.001	

This question demonstrates similar response patterns to the two previous questions. Fourth year girls responses demonstrate statistically (and visually) strong differences to their comparator groups. In terms of the previously described spectrum of responses, fourth year girls' answers to this question demonstrate a movement towards the *child-end* of the spectrum with this question. The most common response to this question among fourth year girls is that drinking too much alcohol is behaviour more likely in children with marginally fewer responding 'no difference' and less than 20% responding that this is an

'adult behaviour'. This is in contrast with their younger, first year, counterparts whose most common answer was that drinking too much alcohol was a behaviour more likely in adults.

First year boys remain most strongly at the *adult-end* of the spectrum with most pupils answering that drinking too much alcohol is more likely to be a behaviour of adults. This clearly differs from their fourth year counterparts who were almost as likely to respond that drinking too much is a child behaviour as respond that it is an adult behaviour. Fewer fourth year boys than fourth year girls regarded drinking too much as equally attributable to adults and children. Fourth year boys either answered 'adult' or 'child', but fewer answered *both* (no difference). This suggests a more polarised set of opinions between boys in fourth year.

Quantitative Discussion: Responsibility and Risky Behaviours

In terms of the risky behaviours discussed in this chapter (smoking, drug-use and drinking too much alcohol), fourth year girls portray a standalone group in terms of the extent of their perceptions of these as behaviours relevant to children. Fourth year girls' perceptions of these risky behaviours may be linked to their own behaviours or those of their peers. This is in line with findings from the HBSC and SALSUS which point to the prevalence of some of these behaviours amongst girls aged fifteen in Scotland. However, this does not explain fourth year boys' response patterns. SALSUS (2010) found that boys aged 15 were more likely than girls of the same age to have taken illegal drugs (24%: 18%) and were equally likely to have drunk alcohol, referring to the figures as "very similar" (SALSUS, 2010). However, results from the current study indicate that fourth year boys and fourth year girls demonstrate significant differences in how they think about smoking, drinking and taking drugs, despite self-reported participation scores in SALSUS and HBSC.

Girls may engage in risky behaviours at a younger age as they appear more likely to socialise with older boys explaining the relative differences exposed between fourth year girls and fourth year boys in perception of risk behaviours. In this sense they may perceive these behaviours differently (by viewing others) from their own actual participation. However these results suggest that further research is necessary to fully understand the gendered differences demonstrated between fourth year girls and boys.

Importantly, there was no statistically significant difference between fourth year girls who perceived themselves as adults and the majority of the group who self-identified as “not adult”. This may be explained by the reasonably high “no difference” scores across the risk-taking behaviour questions. If any individual (adult or child) thinks a behaviour is applicable to both adults and children then they answer ‘no difference’, this would be stating ‘me and others’, regardless of personal categorisation (adult/ not adult). What this demonstrates is that there is no difference in perceived appropriateness of risk taking behaviours between adult fourth year girls and child fourth year girls; generally they view these behaviours as relevant to them and their peer group.

Further, SALSUS (Black et al., 2010) found that fourth year girls were more likely to smoke tobacco than boys of the same age (14%: 11%). In this study smoking was the only behaviour in which boys who self-identified as “adults” produced borderline difference from the majority who self-identified as “not-adult”. However this result was not statistically significant.

There is established literature linking peer-groups to uptake and maintenance of smoking, as well as potential for cessation (Bauman et al., 1984; Burt and Petersen, 1998; Eiser et al., 1991; Ennett et al., 1994; Mercken et al., 2012; Stanton et al., 2006; Sussman et al., 1990). As this has not yet been linked to those groups’ perceptions and self-identification regarding becoming adults, the current study could provide potential direction for future work.

Responses to these questions also demonstrated a maturation effect particularly prominent between first year and fourth year girls. Although boys also displayed this maturation effect it was more moderate – apart from their strongly differing responses regarding drinking alcohol. This could either suggest that boys have more stable opinions or perceptions of risky behaviours from a younger age, or possibly more likely, they continue to develop their points of view beyond the age groups of this study. This would require at least one further, older, age-group being added to the current study to determine and could raise potential for further interesting work.

Surprisingly, first year pupils were more likely than their fourth year counterparts to view responsibility as a behaviour relevant to children. This could be explained as their acceptance of the relatively low level of responsibility placed upon them. In the same regard fourth year pupils apparent lack of acceptance of responsibility could result from the increasing levels of personal responsibility being handed to them particularly from their parents and teachers (and also perhaps legally).

Although fourth year girls were most likely to perceive risky behaviours as relevant to children they did not view responsibility in the same way. Fourth year girls were the group least likely to answer that responsibility is a behaviour of children (1.3%), they largely attributed responsibility to adults, although 30.1% associated it as an equally adult and child behaviour. This suggests that fourth year girls perceive risky behaviours as relevant to them and their peers, but may not necessarily engage with the burden of responsibility that this in turn places upon them. As such this could leave these young girls particularly vulnerable if their situation goes beyond their level of control.

The outcomes of this element suggest that fourth year girls in particular are worthy targets of interventions regarding risky behaviours, perhaps alone from their male counterparts who theoretically may be influenced by their female peers.

Participation in crime - particularly violent crime – is regularly linked to alcohol; the Scottish Crime and Justice Survey (2010-2011) found that 63% of victims stated that the individual who committed violence against them was under the influence of alcohol, and 34% stated that the offender was under this influence of drugs (Scottish Government, 2011). As such the following section explores pupils' attitudes towards broadly aggressive forms of behaviour, aggression, rage, competitiveness and tendency to hold a grudge.

Part B: Forms of Aggression

Survey Question: Who do you think is more likely to be aggressive?

Level One

a. Girls vs. Boys

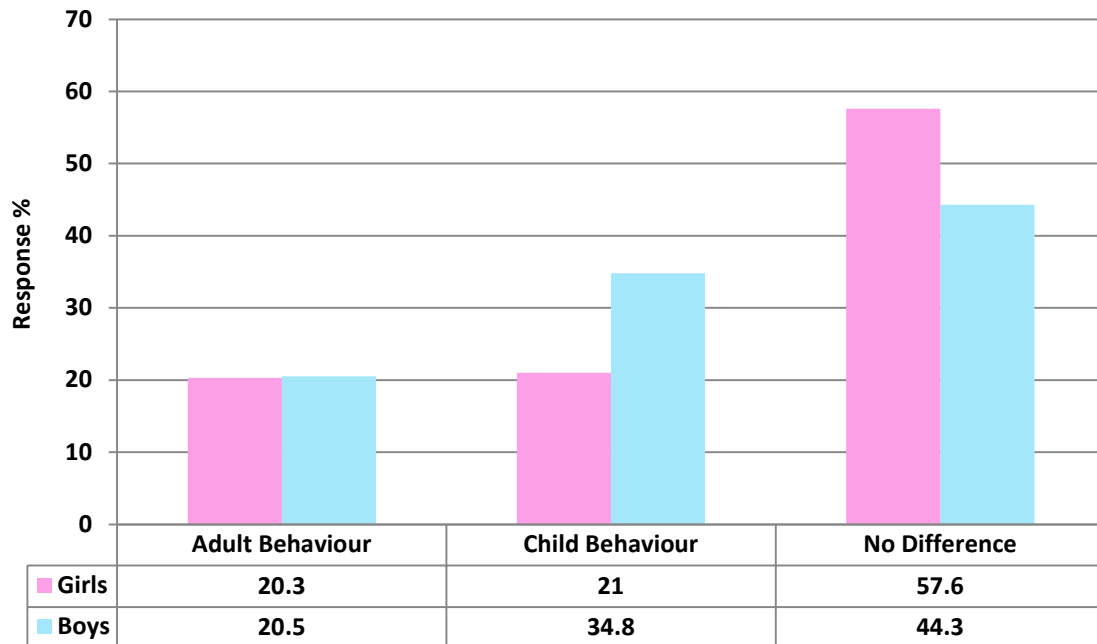


Figure 7.15: Aggression... Level One – a

Girls: 20.3% of girls (N= 59) answered that adults are more likely than children to be aggressive. 57.6% (N= 167) answered that adults and children are equally likely to be aggressive and the remaining 21% of girls (N= 61) responded that children are more likely than adults to be aggressive.

Boys: 20.5% of boys (N= 54) responded that adults are more likely to be aggressive, 44.3% (N= 117) thought that this was equally likely among adults and children and 34.8% of boys (N= 92) answered that children are more likely than adults to be aggressive.

Three girls (1%) and one boy (0.4%) did not answer this question. This result shows a statistically significant difference in how boys and girls view aggression $F(2, 550) = 14.286, p = 0.001$.

b. First Year vs. Fourth Year

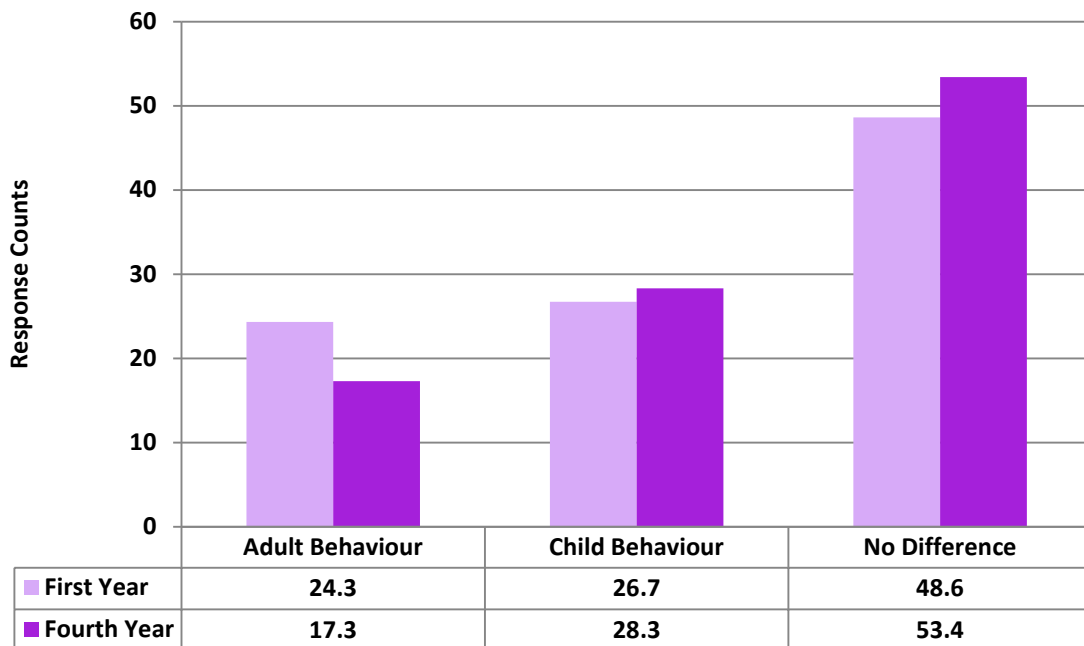


Figure 7.16: Aggression... Level One – b

-Aggression-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
Girls x Boys	FET(N= 550)= 14.286, p= 0.001	
1st year x 4th year		FET(N= 550)= 4.037, p= 0.138

First year: 24.3% of first year pupils (N= 60) answered that adults are more likely to be aggressive than children, 26.7% (N= 66) answered that children are more likely to be aggressive. 48.6% of first year pupils (N= 120) responded that there is no difference.

Fourth year: 17.3% of fourth year pupils (N= 53) answered that adults are more likely to be aggressive than children, 28.3% (N= 87) perceived children to be more likely to be aggressive than adults while the majority (53.4%, N= 164) thought that adults and children are equally likely to be aggressive. One first year pupil (0.4%) and three fourth year pupils (1%) did not answer this question.

First year pupils and fourth year pupils answered this question similarly and as such this result is not statistically significant: FET(N= 550)= 4.037, p= 0.138. These results indicate that gender is more influential in perceptions of aggression than age-group. The complexity of these patterns will now be explored.

Level Two



Figure 7.17: Aggression... Level Two

-Aggression-	Significant ($p < 0.05$)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls	FET(N= 287)= 5.960, $p = 0.049$	
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 263)= 0.270, $p = 0.884$
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys		FET(N= 246)= 4.654, $p = 0.098$
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 304)= 11.769, $p = 0.003$	

The most common response to this question was that adults and children are equally likely to display aggression. However, visually it is clear that boys were more likely than girls to suggest that children are more likely than adult to be aggressive. Fourth year girls and boys presented the clearest difference in response patterns with regards to perceptions of aggression (FET(N= 304)= 11.769, $p = 0.003$). Fourth year boys were the group most likely to identify aggression as a behaviour of children. On the other hand fourth year girls were the group most likely to view no difference between adults and children. Yet, fourth year girls' responses delineated depending on their perception of themselves as adults or not adults as shown in the figure below.

Level Three

Fourth Year Girls: Are you an Adult? X Aggression

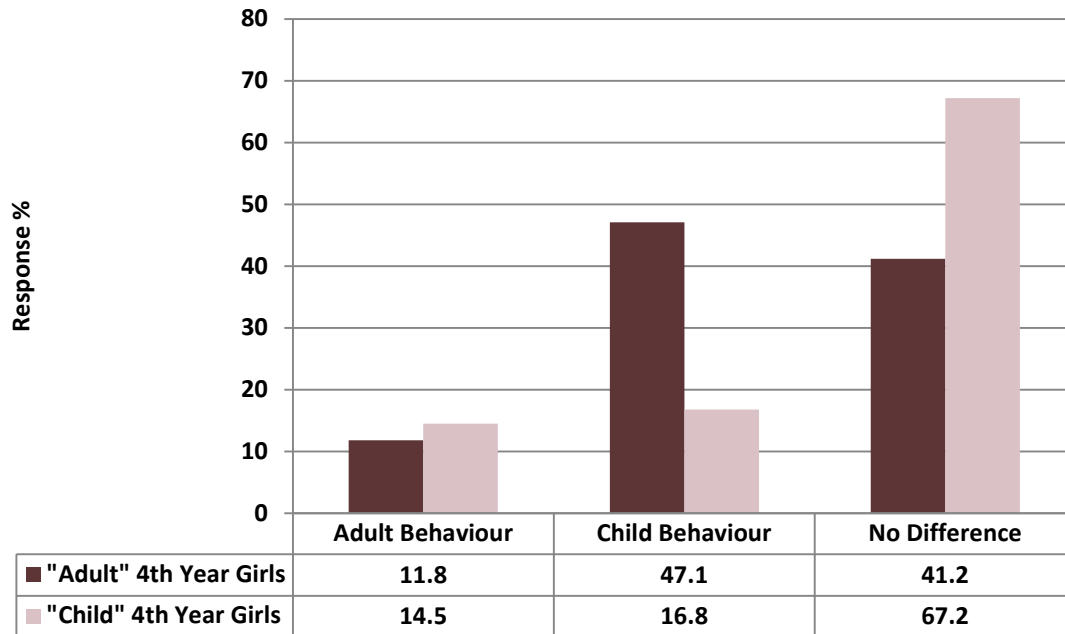


Figure 7.18: Aggression... Level Three

-Aggression 4th year Girls-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
"Adult" vs. "Child"	FET(N= 146)= 7.241, p= 0.019	

These significantly different patterns of response (FET(N= 146)= 7.241, p= 0.019) show that girls who perceive themselves as adults believe that children are more likely to be aggressive, whereas those who perceive themselves as not adult are more likely to view 'no difference' between adult and children regarding aggression. This may suggest that those "adults" are more likely to think aggression is a behaviour less relevant to them as adults (more relevant to children). However not-adult fourth year girls overwhelmingly respond that there is no difference, with significantly fewer participants responding that aggression is affected by age (whether young (child) or older (adult)).

This result was not expected and as such would be interesting to develop further in future research. By adding another older age group whereby most female participants view themselves as adult further response patterns could be explored. This would help ascertain

whether this is an emerging pattern of young females' perceptions of aggression or an anomaly of this group.

Survey Question: Who do you think is more likely to really lose their temper?

Level One

a. Girls vs. Boys

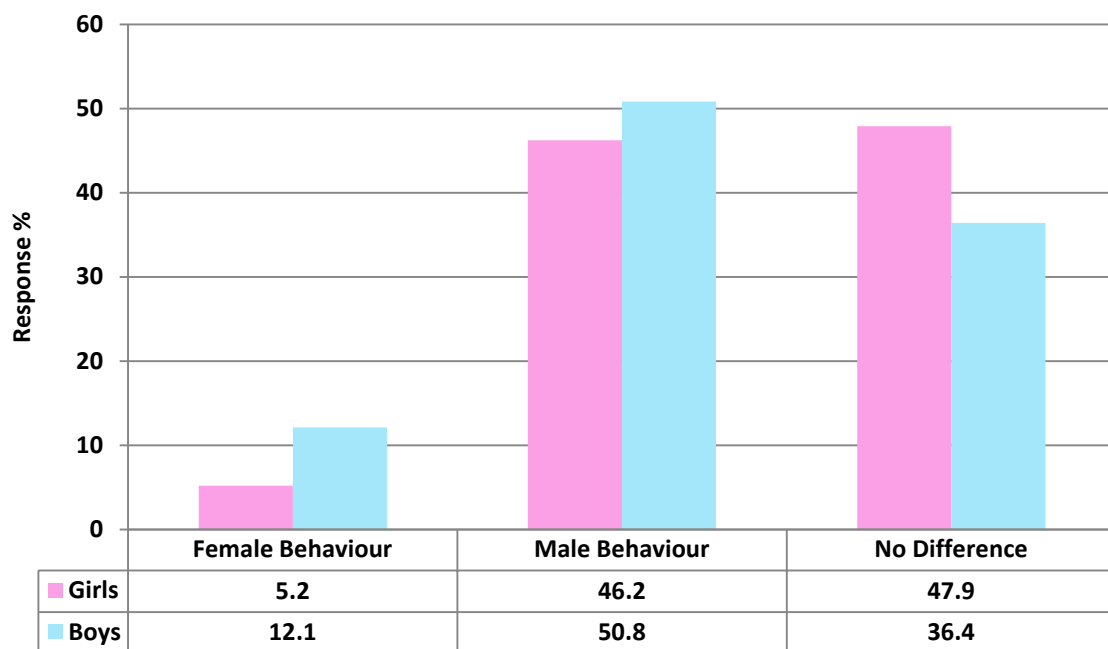


Figure 7.19: Rage... Level One – a

Girls: 46.2% of girls (N= 134) responded that males are more likely than females to exhibit rage. 47.9% (N= 139) answered that there is no difference in which gender is more likely to really lose their temper, the remaining 5.2% (N= 15) answered that this was more likely to be a behaviour of females.

Boys: 50.8% of boys (N= 134) answered that males are more likely than females to really lose their temper, 36.4% (N= 96) responded both genders are equally likely to lose their temper and 12.1% (N= 32) answered that females are more likely to lose their temper than males. Two girls (0.7%) and two boys (0.8%) did not answer this question.

This behaviour was perceived statistically significantly differently between boys and girls:
 FET(N= 550)= 12.822, p= 0.002.

b. First Year vs. Fourth Year

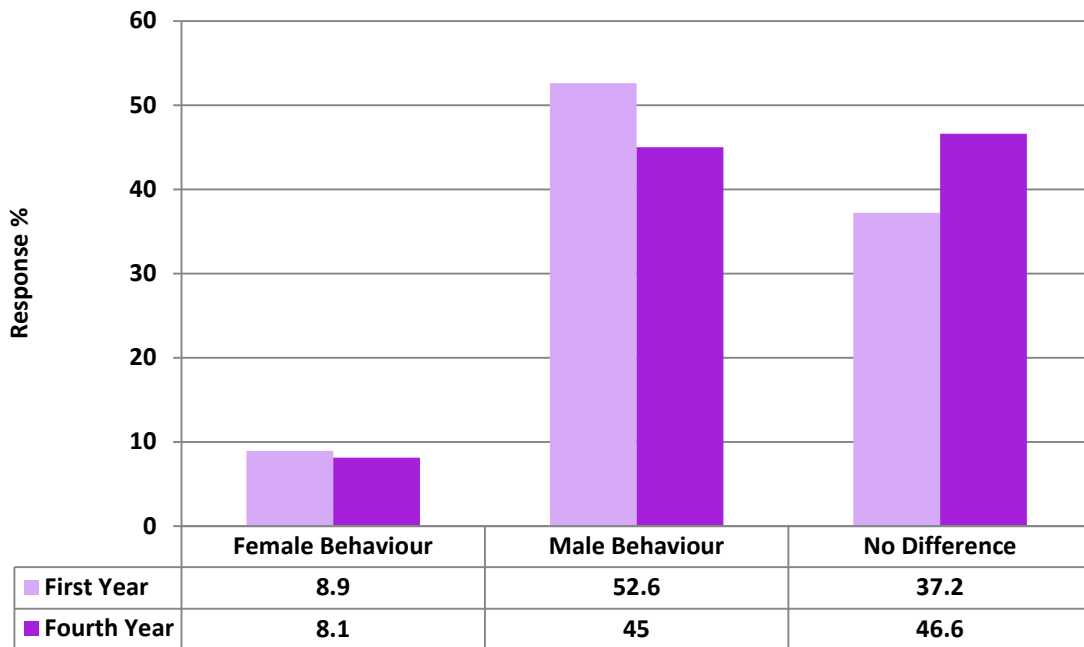


Figure 7.20: Rage... Level One – b

-Rage-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
Girls x Boys	FET(N= 550)= 12.822, p= 0.002	
1st year x 4th year		FET(N= 550)= 4.582, p= 0.100

First year: 52.6% of first year pupils (N= 130) answered that males are more likely to really lose their temper than females, 37.2% (N= 92) responded that there is no difference between genders and the remaining 8.9% (N= 22) answered that females are more likely to lose their temper.

Fourth year: 45% of fourth year pupils (N= 138) answered that males are more likely to really lose their temper, 46.6% (N= 143) responded that both genders are equally likely to lose their temper and the remaining 8.1% (N= 25) believed females are more likely to exhibit rage.

Three first year pupils (1.2%) and one fourth year pupil (0.3%) did not answer this question. First year pupils and fourth year pupils answered this question similarly and as such the result is not statistically significant: FET(N= 550)= 4.582, p= 0.100. These results suggest that perceptions of rage are effected more by gender than by age-group.

Level Two



Figure 7.21: Rage... Level Two

-Rage-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls		FET(N= 288)= 3.950, p= 0.139
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys		FET(N= 262)= 1.761, p= 0.420
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys	FET(N= 244)= 6.483, p= 0.041	
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 306)= 7.315, p= 0.027	

Overall rage or really losing your temper was viewed as more likely to be a male behaviour than a female behaviour with all but one of the groups demonstrating this as their most common answer. This question displays a gender difference in response patterns in both first year and fourth year pupil responses. This difference is marginally clearer between fourth year boys and girls.

First year pupils generally responded with more decisiveness regarding male rage with over 50% of pupils (both boys and girls) answering this way. This indicates that this age-group – regardless of gender – perceive males to be more likely to really lose their temper., Despite demonstrating significant difference in response patterns, fourth year boys and girls both answered that rage is a male behaviour with less than 50% frequency; demonstrating their less strong views regarding rage as a male behaviour when compared to their first year counterparts.

Fourth year girls were most likely to respond that rage is a behaviour equally likely between males and females (53.6%). However, girls from both first year and fourth year were less likely than their male counterparts to identify rage as a purely female behaviour. Although the numbers of pupils identifying rage in this way are small, it is interesting to note this clear difference in perspective.

It is tricky to unpick the differences in these response patterns. It may be that boys display rage or lose their tempers more publicly than girls do – in this sense the young people's responses explain their experiences. On the other hand the prevalence of media portraying masculine identities as violent – soldiers, mercenaries, pirates, gangsters amongst others in video/computer games, films and other popular media sources could influence what they view as acceptable behaviour for males. As such this may impact upon young people's perceptions of the realities of people losing their temper or may influence their awareness of such incidents in their everyday lives. However this does not explain why fourth year girls more commonly answered that rage is gender neutral. This requires further study to explore what young people regard as losing one's temper or rage and their gendered perceptions of this.

Survey Question: Who do you think is more likely to hold a grudge?

Level One

a. Girls vs. Boys

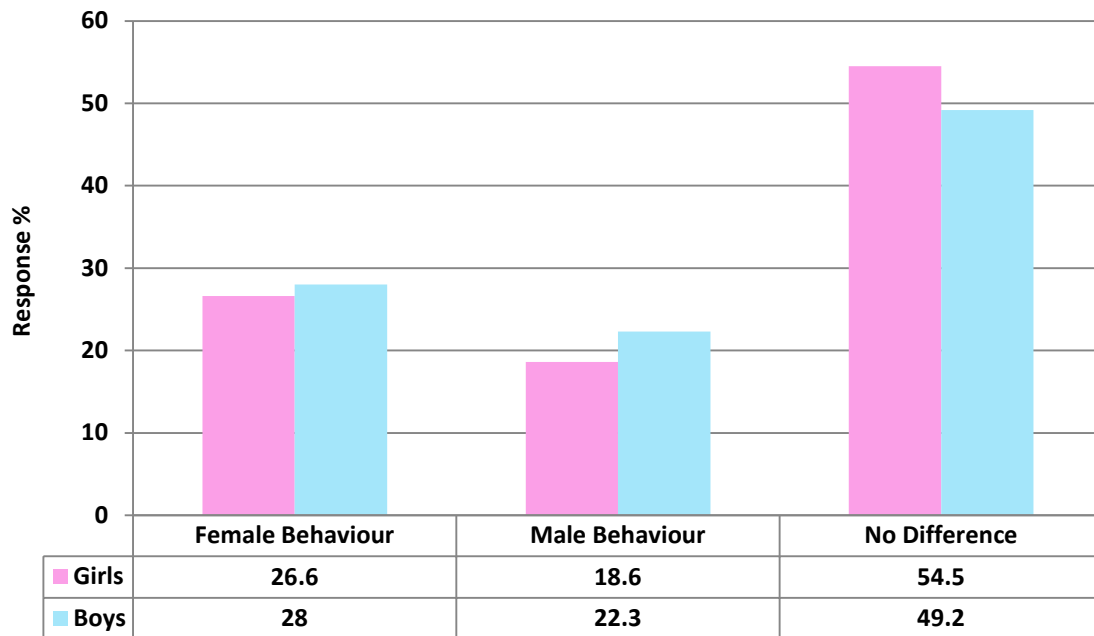


Figure 7.22: Grudge... Level One – a

Girls: 26.6% of girls (N= 77) answered that females are more likely to hold a grudge following a disagreement, 54.5% (N= 158) responded that there is no difference between males and female and 18.6% (N= 54) answered that males are more likely to hold a grudge than females.

Boys: 28% of boys (N= 74) answered that females are more likely to hold a grudge than males, 49.2% (N= 130) thought there was no gender difference and the remaining 22.3% of boys (N= 59) thought that males are more likely to hold a grudge. One girl (0.3%) and one boy (0.4%) did not answer this survey question.

There was no statistically significant difference between the views of the boys and girls FET(N= 552)= 1.786, p= 0.414.

b. First Year vs. Fourth Year

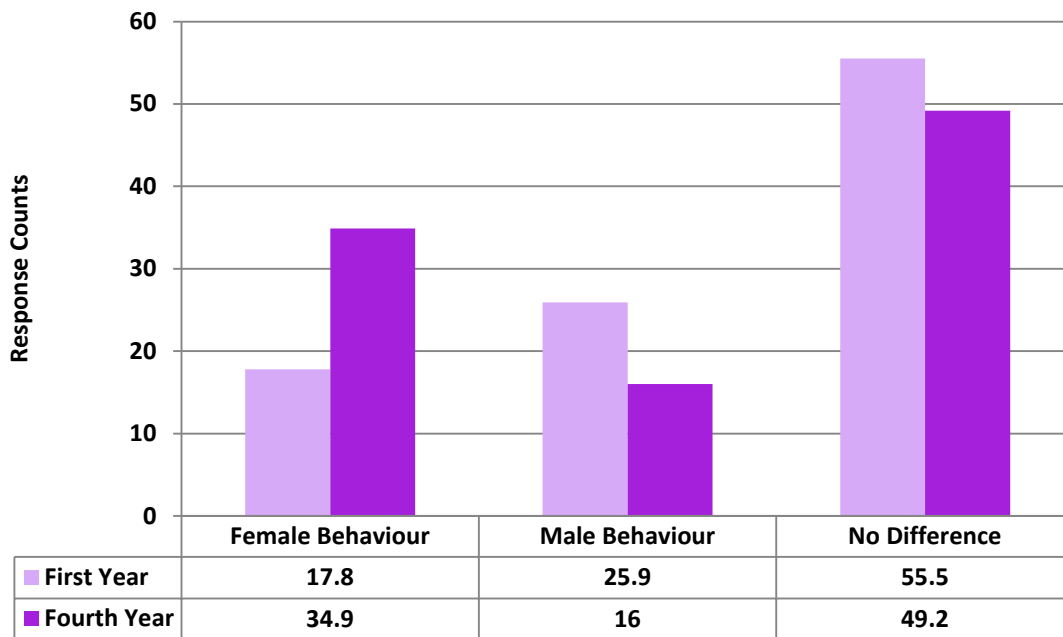


Figure 7.23: Grudge... Level One – b

-Hold a Grudge-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
Girls x Boys		FET(N= 552)= 1.786, p= 0.414
1st year x 4th year	FET(N= 552)= 22.642, p= 0.000	

First year: 25.9% of first year pupils (N= 64) answered that males are more likely to hold a grudge following a disagreement than females, 17.8% (N= 44) responded that females are more likely to hold a grudge while the majority of first year pupils (55.5%, N= 137) answered that there is no difference between genders.

Fourth year: 16% of fourth year pupils (N= 49) responded that males are more likely to hold a grudge than females, 34.9% (N= 107) answered that females are more likely to hold a grudge than males. 49.2% of fourth year pupils (N= 151) answered that both genders are equally likely to hold a grudge. Two first year pupils (0.8%) did not respond to this question, all fourth year pupils responded.

First year pupils and fourth year pupils answered this question differently and as such this result is statistically significant: FET(N= 552)= 22.642, p= 0.000. These results suggest that

age-group is more influential than gender in perceptions of holding a grudge; however this becomes more complex when explored in further detail.

Level Two

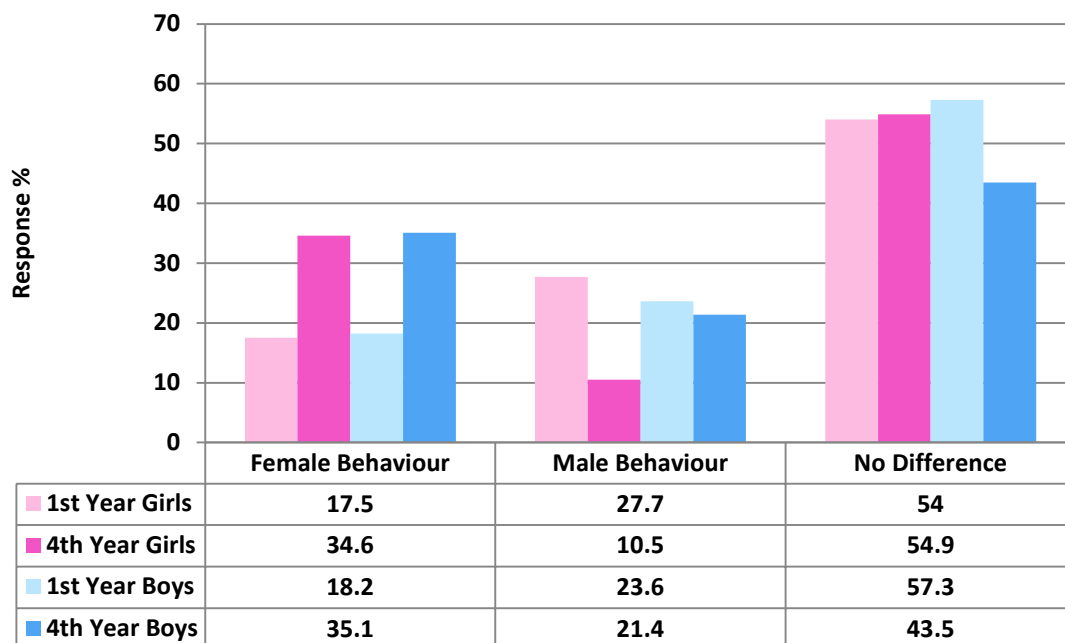


Figure 7.24: Grudge... Level Two

-Hold a Grudge-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
1st year Girls x 4th year Girls	FET(N= 289)= 19.751, p= 0.000	
1st year Boys x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 263)= 9.298, p= 0.009	
1st year Girls x 1st year Boys		FET(N= 245)= 0.538, p= 0.798
4th year Girls x 4th year Boys	FET(N= 307)= 7.824, p= 0.020	

This result demonstrates statistical significance in three of the four categories, presenting a more disordered perception of this behaviour among young people. There is a clear difference in how first year pupils and fourth year pupils regard one's likelihood of holding a grudge: in both genders this changes between year groups.

First year girls and first year boys are the only category whose views display similarity (resulting in non-significant difference). First year pupils generally believe that both genders are equally likely to hold a grudge. When choosing between male and female behaviour,

first year pupils were more likely to think that holding a grudge is something that men are more likely to do.

Fourth year pupils' response patterns differed by gender. Most fourth year girls and boys attribute holding a grudge gender neutrally, responding no difference. However girls more often perceived no difference between genders, boys more frequently gender-assigned this behaviour (to either males or females). Ultimately this produces statistically difference patterns of response.

As the groups of this study are cross-sections of pupils at one point in time, not a longitudinal cohort followed over time, I cannot say that there is a movement in their response patterns. However, the data suggest that pupils appear to change their minds about in gendered perception of holding a grudge.

First year girls are more likely to answer that where holding a grudge is gendered, it is a male behaviour; by fourth year, more girls respond that this is more likely to be a female behaviour. However, in fourth year, more girls attribute holding a grudge gender neutrally than their first year counterparts.

Gendered responses by first year boys were more likely to attribute holding a grudge to males, by fourth year more gendered responses are attributed to females but with a reduction in gender-neutral responses.

This results in similar response *percentages* with between fourth year boys and girls to holding a grudge as a 'female behaviour' but portrays a *different pattern* in where those responses come from in terms of how that affects the rest of their response pattern.

This result is important as it suggests that each group may have different reasons for their opinions about who is more likely to hold a grudge, moreover different mechanisms may act to change those perceptions. These data cannot explain *why* pupils have particular perceptions of behaviours or the processes that may act to change their perceptions. A targeted, and likely mixed methods, piece of further research looking at the mechanisms of

perceptive changes across gender and age group would be required to further understand these complex patterns.

Survey Question: Who do you think is more likely to be competitive?

Level One

a. Girls vs. Boys

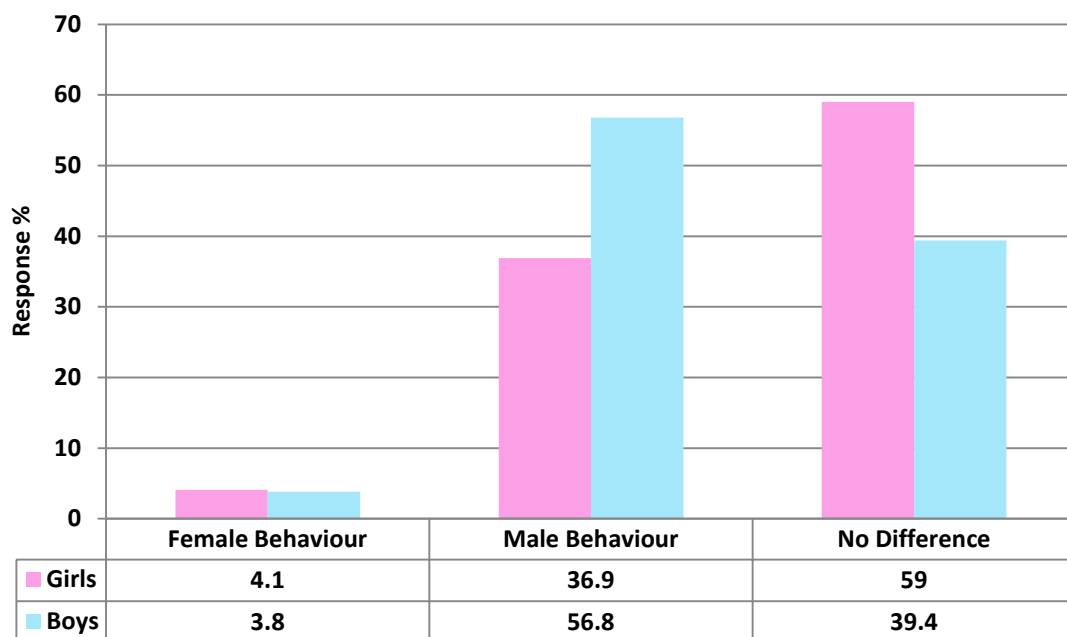


Figure 7.25: Competitiveness... Level One – a

Girls: 36.9% of girls (N= 107) answered that males are more likely to be competitive than females, 59% (N= 171) responded that males and females are equally likely to be competitive and 4.1% (N= 21) answered that females are more likely to be competitive than males.

Boys: The majority of boys (56.8%, N= 150) responded that males are more likely to be competitive than females, 39.4% (N= 104) answered that there is no difference between genders and 3.8% (N= 10) thought that females are more likely to be competitive than males. All pupils answered this survey question.

Boys and girls answered this question differently and as such this result is statistically significant: FET(N= 554)= 22.614, p= 0.000.

b. First Year vs. Fourth Year

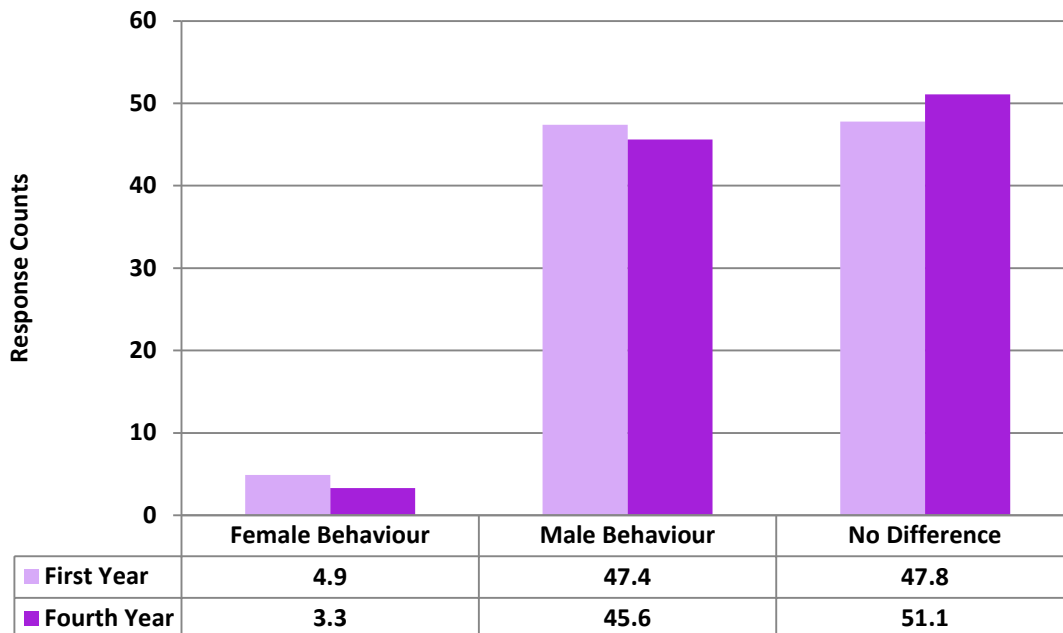


Figure 7.26: Competitiveness... Level One – b

-Competitive-	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
Girls x Boys	FET(N= 554)= 22.614, p= 0.000	
1st year x 4th year		FET(N= 554)= 1.306, p= 0.534

First year: 47.4% of first year pupils (N= 117) answered that males are more likely to be competitive, A similar number (N= 118, 47.8%) responded that there is no difference between genders while the remaining 4.9% of first year pupils (N= 12) answered that females are more likely to be competitive than males.

Fourth year: 45.6% of fourth year pupils (N= 140) answered that males are more likely to be competitive than females, 51.1% (N= 157) responded that both genders are equally likely to be competitive, the remaining 3.3% of fourth year pupils (N= 10) answered that females are more likely to be competitive than males. All pupils answered this survey question.

First year and fourth year pupils viewed competitiveness similarly, as such the result is not statistically significant: FET(N= 554)= 1.306, p= 0.534. This suggests that gender is a more defining feature than age-group in perceptions of competitiveness.

Level Two

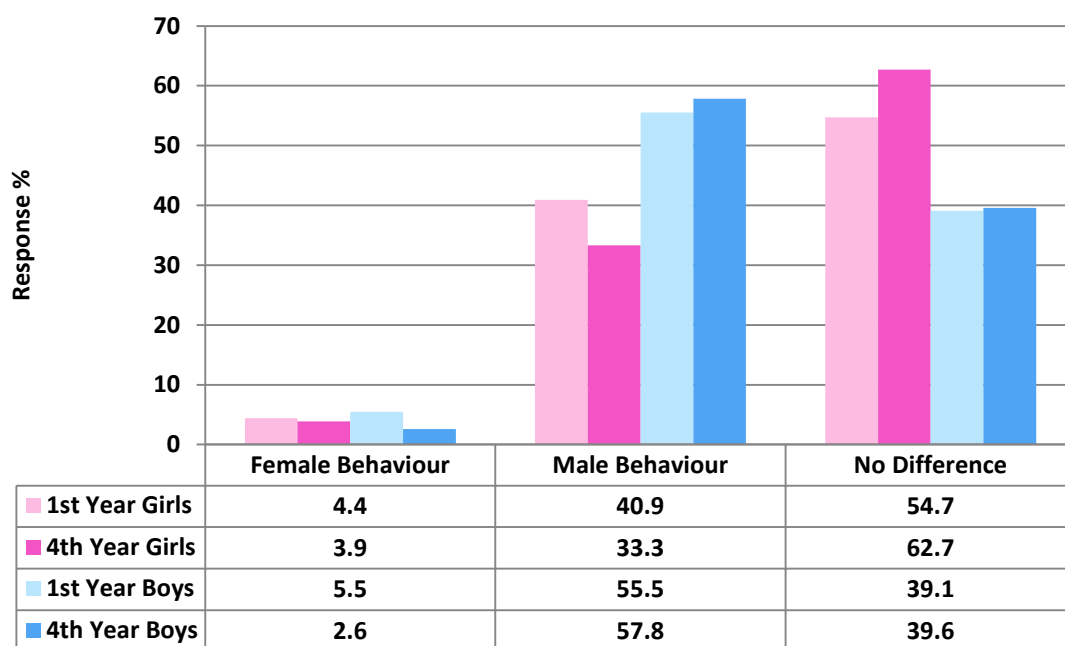


Figure 7.27: Competitiveness... Level Two

Competitiveness	Significant (p< 0.05)	Non-Significant
1 st year Girls x 4 th year Girls		FET(N= 290)= 1.975, p= 0.383
1 st year Boys x 4 th year Boys		FET(N= 264)= 1.461, p= 0.517
1 st year Girls x 1 st year Boys	FET(N= 247)= 6.050, p= 0.045	
4 th year Girls x 4 th year Boys	FET(N= 307)= 18.603, p= 0.000	

Across all groups very few pupils viewed competitiveness as a behaviour more likely to be associated with females. While boys from both first year and fourth were more likely to answer that competitiveness is more likely to be a masculine trait, girls from both first year and fourth year were most likely to view no difference between males and females competitiveness. As such the significance table displays a gendered difference in response patterns.

Between first year girls and boys the level of significance indicates less certainty than is shown between the patterns of difference between fourth year boys and girls. This may indicate that boys and girls opinions about competitiveness diverge with age. A future study examining perceptions of competitiveness in both younger and older age groups would be required to establish whether this represents an anomaly of the current data or a true change in perception.

It may be also interesting to explore what young people are thinking of when they think of competitiveness. When referring to competitive behaviour commonly people may imagine sports. The majority of sports portrayed in the media are male dominated – football, rugby, golf, even snooker. Boys are also more likely than girls to engage in sports, either casually (a kick-about) or formally (clubs, teams and school P.E.) (Eccles and Harold, 1990; Fagrell et al., 2012; Slater and Tiggemann, 2011). Masculine competitive sport may then be what boys imagine as ‘competitiveness’. However, competitiveness for girls may centre on more subtly competitive behaviours such as wearing make-up – competition to look the best, or perhaps around being popular and having relationships. These are behaviours which girls indicated were important to them in the previous chapter, they are also behaviours which can lead to a degree of comparison with peers resulting in competition. In this sense boys and girls are likely to have very different experiences of competitiveness (Merten, 1997) and as such could be referring to very different sources of competition in their responses.

As sporting competitiveness is so visually prevalent in society this may explain why girls are more likely to view both males and female as equally likely to be competitive. Girls have *experience* of female competition and *view* male sporting competition; as such they are more likely to identify competitiveness as a *gender -neutral* behaviour. Boys on the other hand may be less likely to directly experience or engage with the apparently *feminine* competition of their peers and as such are perhaps more likely to only view sporting competitiveness as competition, and therefore perceive competitiveness as a male behaviour.

Quantitative Discussion: Forms of Aggression

Aggression, competition and dominance are pervasively linked to masculinity in western popular cultures (Batalha et al., 2011). In line with this, pupils' responses to the survey questions expose broadly aggressive forms of behaviour as more likely to be perceived as attributable to males, particularly by boys. The exception to this was holding a grudge which was more frequently associated with females.

Boys are more likely to attribute aggressive behaviours to males and young people, as such perceiving these forms of behaviour as relevant to themselves. Aggression is often linked to masculinity in popular media (video/computer games, films and music videos) (Dietz, 1998). Masculine characters in these formats may be portrayed as strong, forceful and violent to achieve particular desirable goals (Burgess et al., 2007; Dietz, 1998; Martins et al., 2011; Miller and Summer, 2007; Mischner et al., 2013). In this sense young people's responses to these questions may be less a product of their own real-life experience but more a product of their imaginary media landscape. However crime statistics (though notoriously difficult to accurately use across time periods) suggest that there are real differences in tendency towards criminally aggressive, violent behaviours. According to the Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research:

"[Since 2002] 16-30 year-olds have consistently accounted for more than 50% of homicide offenders. It is also worth noting that during the same time period 16-30 year-olds accounted for between 30 and 35% of homicide victims. In terms of gender differences, males are consistently more likely to be both victims and offenders in homicide cases—accounting yearly for an approximate 90% of offenders, and 70-85% of victims, since 1989." (Fraser et al., 2010)

These Scottish figures could not be broken down to demonstrate what percentage was attributable to younger groups – such as under 18s. However, figures from England and Wales state:

"In around half of violent incidents (52%) the offender was believed to be aged between 16 and 24 years and over four out of five (86%) involved male offenders... young people (using a different age group 10 to 17 year olds) were the offenders in 18% of violence against the person and 51% of robbery offences in 2009/10." (ONS, 2013)

These statistics point to more than a cultural skew towards *perceiving* males as more aggressive. Males in British society *are* more (criminally) aggressive than females in general; boys in this study, from as young as eleven years old appear aware of this. Interestingly although girls are exposed to the same media messages they do not view aggression in the same way as boys. Girls hold less gendered views of rage and holding a grudge (as evidenced by their 'no difference' responses) than do boys of the same ages.

Further, girls perceived all forms of aggression as more likely to be attributable to both adults and children, or females and males, where their male counterparts responded with aged/gendered answers. The only anomaly to this being fourth year girls who perceive themselves as adults: this group were more likely to answer that aggression is a behaviour of children.

Overall boys in this survey generally perceive aggressive forms of behaviour as more relevant to themselves and their peers (whether as a child or male). Girls generally do not regard gender (or age) as a defining feature, instead viewing aggressive behaviours as equally likely from any of these groups. This suggests that in future studies it may be fruitful to explore the relationship between emerging masculinity/femininity and perceptions of aggression. This could enable a better understanding of the differences between boys and girls responses around aggressive behaviours. Moreover, if these potential future studies were to identify aggression as perceptively linked to boys' thoughts around masculinity then this could positively inform interventions to counter adolescent violence and crime.

The following three sections explore the daughters', mothers' and grandmothers' perceptions of risky behaviours, responsibility, safety and discipline to uncover the degree of changed experienced over three generations and explore the implications of these quantitative findings in real-life experience of young people.

Interview Data and Discussion

Daughters – Risk, Aggression and Safety

In this section I explore the opinions of the daughters of the interview component of the study. These eleven to fifteen year old girls were asked their opinions of drinking, smoking and drug use, in line with the quantitative element, they were asked their perceptions of safety in their local area and about how they felt young people treated those in authority such as parents, grandparents and teachers. Initially I will explore how the girls perceived risky behaviours terms of risk-taking behaviours, the girls interviewed in this study portrayed a mix of opinions. Although the ages of the girls cannot be disclosed, as this would jeopardise the anonymity of the participants, it may be surmised that the difference between the girls' points of view may reflect the pupil survey results. These results demonstrated first year girls' and fourth year girls' (sometimes dramatically) differing patterns of response with regards to risky behaviours (smoking, drinking alcohol and drug use). Linked to this I shall explore their perceptions of aggression. The girls discussed aggression in social situations as well as in apparently more controlled environments such as school. Finally I shall link this to their perceptions discipline and manners both at home and at school.

In terms of drugs D.3 and D.4 discussed their thoughts which present opposing points of view. D.4 feels threatened by drug users around her home:

"I don't really go out at night, 'cause I don't feel safe outside at night... Because like people who do drugs and that, I just don't really feel safe outside at night" (D.4)

D.4 appears to view drug use and drug users as intimidating and potentially hostile. This prevents her from going out at night. On the other hand D.3 has a more relaxed attitude to drugs and drug users due to her personal relationships:

"they're not really into drugs as in like proper drugs it's never really, I think if anything they're all quite skint so they don't really...the worst they do is weed basically, it's the worst they've ever done" (D.3)

D.3 shows a perceptive distinction between “proper drugs” and cannabis (weed) which by inference she views as ‘not-proper’ drugs. Cannabis is currently classified in the United Kingdom as a Class B drug; if this is viewed as a *not-proper* drug then those that are considered *proper* are most likely to be Class A drugs. This classification includes heroin, cocaine and ecstasy. D.3’s reasoning for their use of cannabis as opposed to other drugs is its relative cheapness and their apparent lack of funds. This reveals a potentially concerning aspect of young people’s use of illegal drugs. As their income increases with employment their drug use – if largely tempered by money, as suggested – may change too. This would enable them to access more expensive drugs such as Class A cocaine. Researchers have linked risky sexual practices, use of other illegal substances, aggression or violence and smoking to use of cannabis (Parks et al., 2012; Bryan et al., 2012; Brook et al., 1999; Duncan et al., 1999; Staton et al., 1999, MacLeod et al., 2004). As cannabis is more regularly *shared* and used in social environments young people are more likely to build longer term socially disadvantageous peer networks through sustained use of cannabis (Shrier et al., 2012; Redonnet et al., 2012).

Moreoevr, the girls of this study rarely mentioned smoking and this was not discussed as a risky behaviour. D.3 mentions smoking referring both to her own and her mother’s smoking habit:

“Yeah I do, but I’ve never really been in to anything but fags... she doesn’t stop me because I think the way she sees it is I don’t do anything else really... she [D.3’s mother] does since she was thirteen as well...”(D.3)

Studies have linked cigarette smoking and cannabis use amongst young people (Shrier et al., 2012; Amos et al., 2003). Results from this small sample are in line with these previous studies: D.3 went on to discuss her own use of cannabis. She stated that she had tried cannabis:

“...ages ago, but I was drunk...”(D.3)

D.3 states that she has used cannabis but suggests that this was because she had been drinking alcohol which in turn implies she was not fully in control or that she is less responsible for her drug use due to being “drunk”. This corroborates findings from multiple studies that have found clustering effects in risk-behaviours (Hale and Viner, 2012; Hight, 2004; Jackson, Henderson, Frank and Haw, 2012; Jackson Sweeting and Haw, 2012).

Further to this D.3's remarks are supported by those of the quantitative element. Responses from fourth year girls' to the quantitative survey showed that they were less likely than first year girls to identify responsibility as relevant to children but more likely to identify risky behaviours, including drug use as child relevant. For this reason D.3's discussion of drugs, though she is only one participant, may shed light on the perceptions of responsibility and risk behaviours and the thinking behind those responses of the broader sample of fourth year girls.

However some of the girls clearly demonstrated their ability to take responsibility:

"It's also good 'cause if they're like falling over or that, or they hurt themselves someone's like sober to help them." (D.2)

D.2 talked about looking after intoxicated friends when she did not drink alcohol. This shows both a level of compassion and a willingness to take responsibility for the wellbeing of her friends. However, this may present a different form of responsibility. D.2 demonstrates a willingness to look after others who are vulnerable, however perhaps young people do not recognise the *personal responsibility* imposed when drinking alcohol as *responsibility*. As such they can use being "drunk" as an excuse for behaviours which they believe they would not otherwise have done.

Access to alcohol and the extent of teenage drinking was implied by some the girls in the study. D.2 discussed how regularly her friends drink alcohol:

"Yeah, like every weekend" (D.2)

D.2 does not seem concerned and stated it purely as a fact. She went on to imply the extent of their drinking:

"I think it's quite funny when they get like... like when they get like a little bit drunk but not when they're in hospital getting their stomachs pumped and everything...I just think that's stupid" (D.2)

This suggests that her friends habitually drink reasonably large amounts. Researchers studying rats have observed that adolescent and younger rats present reduced sensitivity to a range of alcoholic induced effects such as motor and social impairment, analgesia and hangover symptomology (Hollstedt et al. 1980; Silveri et al., 2001; White et al. 2000; Hernandez et al., 2006; in humans, Martin and Winters, 1998). These studies suggest that

teenagers (and younger) are relatively less sensitive to the effects of ethanol than adults of their species. Further, Johnston et al. (2001) in the Monitoring the Future study with American 8th and 10th graders found that while 14.1% and 26.2% respectively reported they had consumed five or more alcoholic drinks in a row within the past two weeks, 8.3% and 23.5% reported having been drunk in the past month. This may indicate that although they may drink enough to be intoxicated they either do not believe they are intoxicated or do not *feel* intoxicated. According to this research D.2's friends could be drinking considerable amounts to achieve the affects she describes. This level of drinking would be potentially harmful in terms of physical damage to the organs and accidents when intoxicated. When repeated the potential for harm increases. Why then would young people put themselves at risk?

"Because it's something to do that makes... it makes you have fun 'cause it's getting boring these days... so drinking makes you have fun."(D.6)

D.6 felt that her peers' alcohol use is linked to their boredom and that alcohol provided them with entertainment. In this sense educational programmes which highlight the damaging effects of alcohol may not be addressing a key source of the alcohol use amongst this group. In further studies it may be interesting to instead empower young people to design recreational programmes which divert them from alcohol use but provide the social, mixed gender platform that they enjoy about their drinking environment. YMCA and other youth projects have previously employed diversionary techniques, usually focused on *at risk* groups however this participant suggests that in Kirkcaldy these have not been more broadly effective.

The difference between boys' and girls' use of alcohol was briefly mentioned by a couple of participants. D.1 viewed a distinction between their alcohol consumptions:

"usually older boys drink more than girls"(D.1)

D.3 observed a change in cultural drinking norms:

*"I think, you know, it's kind of weird cause years and years ago you know? Like that's what I mean by grandparents they have an opinion of well, men are more likely smoke, men are more likely to drink... I don't think there's any difference these days"*D.3

D.1 perceives older boys to drink more, whereas D.3 perceives no difference in *likelihood* to drink. Both of these quotes suggest that these two participants perceive teenage drinking as relatively normal but that they view differences across genders and generations regarding those norms. The normality and extent of teenage drinking as discussed by these participants is supported by results from HBSC that showed that:

“one in ten thirteen-year olds and more than one in four fifteen-year olds drink alcohol at least once a week” (Currie et al., 2011)

However some of the participants discussed the more violent aspects of *drinking culture* that they observed. D.6 explained that this was because of *where* young people drink:

“Like it’s alright when they’re out clubbing but, or in the house having a drink but I think drinking out on the streets is no right ‘cause then that’s when all the trouble starts.” (D.6)

D.6 is aware that her peers go to nightclubs and other venues for which they are underage. However, she views this as preferable to them drinking ‘on the streets’ which she views as a source of “trouble”, she went further to explain what this trouble entails:

“Like folk just being idiots like breaking into cars, smashing windows and starting fights.” (D.6)

D.6 initially uses the term “idiots” but goes on to describe more serious violent and criminal behaviours. However she is clear about her reasoning stating that aggression leading to violence is more likely when groups gather and drink on the streets rather than in established venues. D.3 also discussed similar behaviours:

“I mean there’s tons of things that go on around here... I mean there’s tons of folk who get stabbed and all sorts and it usually all seems to happen where all ma pals know what’s going on. They know who it is, and I usually know who it is... I wouldn’t say deserve it, ‘cause that’s not the right word to use and they don’t deserve it... but they don’t exactly go out being innocent and not wind the person up or not try and fight...” (D.3)

When discussing why the violence occurs, D.3 states:

“It depends ‘cause hmm usually time, quite a lot of the time they’re drunk... so you don’t know if it’s accidental or on purpose. They couldn’t even tell you themselves” (D.3)

In this sense D.3 and D.6 both link alcohol and violence in their discussions. D.3 discusses the violent and criminal outcomes of alcohol as dependent upon where young people drink: she views violence as an outcome of alcohol use in particular circumstances whereas D.3

explains alcohol a potential *precondition* of violence. Moreover she appears to accept or at least acknowledges that for the perpetrator, violence enacted while intoxicated is a different form of violence to that which is perpetrated while sober.

Violence and aggression as discussed earlier are often linked to perceptions of masculinity. The pupil survey demonstrated that boys are more likely to identify aggressive forms of behaviour as relevant to themselves (child or male). Girls in the interviews discussed behaviour in the classroom and their perception of gender differences in aggressive behaviours towards teachers:

"...boys mainly do it though... They show-off, that oh look, we back-chat the teacher. We're brave..." (D.5)

"Well the boys are really bad" (D.4)

D.4 and D.5 indicate that boys are worse than girls in their behaviour towards teachers at school. D.5 indicates that this is only verbal misbehaviour, D.4 is more vague. However D.5 goes on to talk about an incident involving a female peer:

"Well at school I'm very shy. I don't like to say very much. I don't talk in front of the teacher or anything like that... but my friends have, I've got one in particular, she's very cheeky, she back-chats everybody, she even called a teacher a cow once... she was getting in trouble and she turned around, she swore at the teacher and everything..." (D.5)

D.5 appears shocked with the behaviour of her friend. This quote demonstrates the potential inconsistencies in memories. D.5 overall views boys as more badly behaved in class however it is this incident with a *female* friend which is her clearest memory of classmate's misbehaving. This may be because it was such a surprising incident and that bad behaviour among the boys is more commonplace. Alternatively this may be the clearest memory as it involved a closer friend than the alternative boy misbehaviour. This discussion with D.5 sheds light on the complexities of semi-structured interviewing and participant recall.

When discussing why pupils misbehave participants regularly referred to corporal punishment.

"No because they would've got the... the like whip, no not the whip..." (D.2)

"...because obviously they don't hit or anything anymore at schools..." (D.3)

Although D.2 is unsure of the terminology she is clear enough to illustrate her belief that the use of the belt was key to explaining good behaviour in her grandparents' and parents school classes, D.3 agrees. Both participants implied that if corporal punishment was re-introduced that they felt behaviour would improve, but currently there are little consequences for bad behaviour.

In general the girls perceive classroom behaviour as alright:

"quite polite... [there are] just like two or three"(D.1)

"everybody's going to have someone that's shy, and someone that quite likes to show-off in a class..."(D.5)

D.1 generally viewed her class peers' behaviour as "polite" with only a few pupils misbehaving. D.5's discussion mirrors this; she felt that generally pupils behave, though there is a mix of quieter and more disruptive pupils in her class. In this study it is not possible to identify what school year these girls are in; in further studies it may be interesting to explore young people's perceptions of their peers' classroom behaviour by school year to identify trends in perceived as well as actual misbehaviour.

However, D.3 discussed her experience of the classroom environment and some of the challenges this may bring both for teachers and pupils:

"Some teachers will sit and swear but it's not like them being nasty, it's more to get you more relaxed so you can come and ask them anything, like say if you know some of them will have problems at home... it's more to try and get them to like them... to get them to listen to them and to get the respect from them... the fact that they're relaxed and a bit more like them..."(D.3)

D.3 discusses the more casual approach some teachers may employ pointing to these teachers' willingness to engage with pupils' home lives and wish to gain respect from pupils. However, perhaps the wish to be respected through relating to pupils in a friendly manner may go against the actualisation of respect from these pupils; D.3 goes on to suggest that this may leave behavioural expectations unclear for pupils:

"But some of them always cross the line... The only problem is that some of them don't know where the line is with teachers like that... 'cause you can't really tell..."(D.3)

"I don't back-chat teachers but I mean like I have a relaxed way of talking to teachers"
(D.3)

D.3 appreciates the more relaxed attitude of teachers describing her own style with teachers in this way. However, she is aware that for some pupils they may assume an informal, perhaps friendly manner with some teachers which is deemed inappropriate as the rules and behavioural boundaries are not defined clearly enough and are inconsistent between teachers. These quotes from the discussion with D.3 demonstrate her thoughtfulness regarding the classroom environment.

D.2 and D.4 also discussed use of language and style with respect to different audiences; D.2 discussed her perception of use of language in both home and school environments:

"Except from swearing. Like, that's not in front of your parents... I wouldn't swear in front of my teachers either"(D.2)

In this sense D.2 regards language used with friends as clearly defined from that which she used with both teachers and parents. D.4 also made this distinction:

"I know I am cheeky to my mum sometimes and my dad. But, I would never swear at my mum... I would never swear at my dad either"(D.4)

However, D.2 was aware of her demeanour at home:

"cheeky, attitude... know-it-all... that's me anyway"(D.2)

D.4 and D.7 on the other hand talked about other young people's behaviour:

"I just think it's really bad how people treat, em their parents and that because like they wouldn't want to be treated like that"(D.4)

"Quite shocking like... 'Cause they just treat their Mum like I dinnae ken, like a piece of crap on their shoe."(D.7)

This suggests that D.4 and D.7 are aware of issues surrounding how young people talk to parents but that they do not think they act this way themselves. D.6 echoed this referring to how she has changed:

"I used to give them a load of stick. But now... I've total changed. Like I understand how they're feeling"(D.6)

D.6 is both aware of her previous actions and how they affected her parents and feels that she has changed now that she understands this. D.7 on the other hand talked about what happens when she misbehaves:

"I got grounded.... for going mental at them"(D.7)

However, she also perceived differences in how each parent disciplines:

"I wouldnae be too strict like (points to Mum)..."(D.7)

"cause she's too strict and ma Dad just lets us go away with it"(D.7)

D.7 felt her mum is too strict. Being strict was generally regarded across all three generations negatively as such this will be discussed further in the following sections. D.7 prefers her dad's more relaxed disciplinary approach, this is understandable; it is human nature to be happier to get one's own way. However, as young people are learning about acceptable behaviours, experimenting with responsibility and risk this may leave them more vulnerable to poor decision making.

In conclusion, the girls interviewed during this study demonstrated similarities with the girls' responses of the pupil survey. While some related their experience of drug-taking and peer drug use others held no significant views and generally perceived the topic as not relevant to them and their peers. Those who did talk about drug-use used language which indicated a trivialisation of Class B cannabis which in turn may point to its prevalence within that girl's circle of peers.

Alcohol is regarded similarly; girls discussed the effects of alcohol upon their friends, it's prevalence amongst their peer group and the potential outcomes of accidents, aggression and criminality. Alcohol was generally viewed as a reasonable excuse for otherwise unreasonable behaviour. This was particularly the case when discussing violence.

Overall the girls were aware but not accepting of poor discipline and bad manners amongst their peer group. This was discussed in detail by D.3 as partly due to the lack of boundaries set by teachers and the inconsistency of their application between teachers. This may possibly be generalised to all adults and the inconsistency of adult behavioural expectations in modern society. In this way the line between friendly relationship and professional relationship may not be clear to young people. As such behavioural distinctions between friends and teachers or parents may be as apparently minor as only not swearing in front of these groups, anything else goes. Traditionally the etiquette of addressing one's seniors and elders may have been considerably more defined, with severe penalties for trespass of these rules. Most of the girls of this study felt they were not

badly behaved, but their friends were, while others perceived that they had changed or had grown out of it.

The girls demonstrated a broad range of opinions regarding risk-taking, aggression and manners this is also the case for their mothers in the following section.

Mothers – Risk, Aggression and Safety

In this section I will firstly explore the mothers' view of risky behaviours, particularly with regard to drinking alcohol and drug use. Following this the mothers' perceptions of violence and safety will be demonstrated. Finally I will investigate the mothers' thoughts about discipline and manners in both school and home environments.

The mothers interviewed in this study demonstrated a diverse range of points of view when discussing alcohol use amongst young people. Many talked about their own experiences growing up. For instance M.4 states:

“we drunk just the same as they do now... I mean I even remember drinking cider at thirteen or fourteen, just exactly the same as what my kids done.” (M.4)

M.4 views little change in teenage alcohol use viewing it as similar to her own experiences. However M.5's opinion differs:

“you'd go away and hide and drink. And you'd go away and hide up a wee quiet park or a wee quiet field where you couldnae get caught by your Mum or Dad or your friends Mum's friends or anything like that and you always made sure that you were, you's kept together, you's didnae like let anybody like wander away on their own...” (M.5)

M.5 shows the extent of her memories of drinking as a teenager through the detail of her discussion. M.5's teenage drinking appears reasonably organised, she points out the private nature of teenage drinking and the precautions she and her friends took to avoid being caught as well as looking after each other. This appears in contrast with M.5's account of current youth drinking culture:

“They drink excessive now, they've got to be falling about the streets” (M.5)

In this sense where M.5 and her friends would drink outside – but privately – so as to avoid being caught, young people now do not feel the necessity of hiding their alcohol

consumption this may indicate an increased general cultural acceptability of youth alcohol consumption, or perhaps perceived lack of ability to change it. Moreover, M.5 implies that young people drink more now than her own generation largely did. M.1 agrees:

"I think alcohol was still pretty available. I mean I wouldn't say I drank at thirteen I wouldn't say I drank, I tried it at thirteen...I think the difference is now is the extreme of everything... now it's the norm for at twelve or at thirteen you know to have two, three glasses of wine. And it's a, there isn't, there doesn't seem to be the same sort of limits." (M.1)

M.1 also indicates that young people drink more now than they did when she was growing up. She notes that alcohol was just as readily available but believes young people do not "limit" themselves in the same way that her own generation did. She goes further:

"I would say ninety-nine per cent of them are very bright young people... want to do well at school and everything else, but they go out and they get absolutely, completely out of their heads. To the point that the parents don't know where they are, you know? And it's... that's scary" (M.1)

"They try alcohol, but they don't just try it, they'll have the bottle, they'll get drunk...there's some that'll end up in intensive care... that extreme wasn't there when I was her age." (M.1)

M.1 points to the extent of the alcoholic intoxication of some young people. By stating that they are "very bright young people" she indicates that they are *actively* choosing to drink excessively. M.1 also implies the potential risks that young people may put themselves in whilst drunk and the impact this causes upon parents. However, if, as M.1 has implied, young people drink excessively through choice, then why would they wish to do this? M.4 suggests:

"I think if parents put restrictions it doesn't help but I think that growing up can be quite stressful for them... and therefore they maybe think, oh if we try that we'll maybe get a little release..." (M.4)

"if they're told that it's bad, "no, you can't have that", that is more likely when they go crazy." (M.4)

M.4 suggests that young people view drinking alcohol as a coping strategy for the pressures of growing up; in this sense young people drink alcohol to cope with life. M.4 does not feel that parents can prevent their child from consuming alcohol; she states that trying to restrict children drinking "doesn't help" or can make things worse: "go crazy". This

suggests that M.4 may view young people's alcohol use as a protest against parental restrictions. M.2 points to the inevitability of young people drinking:

"I think that like they're gonnae do it anyway."(M.2)

"I think it's just a phase that they go through, that they want to, to be drunk"(M.2)

M.2 suggests this is a phase, but more than just drinking alcohol she considers the phase to be of over-drinking – getting "drunk". However this did not concern her:

"I don't really see it as a big major concern. I think I'll be able to control it."(M.2)

Further, M.2 indicates why this is not a "big major concern":

"it's a social thing"(M.2)

"And to be honest with you, I think it sometimes it would be better for them... to try alcohol as drugs."(M.2)

In this sense alcohol is viewed as a lesser evil: preferable to drug-taking. However, in the discussion with one daughter, a connection was established between her drinking alcohol and drug use. As such M.2's argument that drinking alcohol may limit her daughter's interest in drugs is perhaps less sound. M.3 on the other hand views little change in why young people drink:

"I dinnae think that's changed. Peer pressure."(M.3)

M.3 points to the pressure upon young people to conform as the source of teenage drinking and the lack of change in this from her own experiences. M.5 implies a similar cause:

"...to be like everybody else and be like look at me"(M.5)

M.5 suggests that young people both want to conform but also wish to show-off. Whilst M.5 implies this is natural, if not normal, she felt the major change from drinking when she was growing up was the extent of disruption teenage drinking causes other people and the extent of aggression it provoked amongst young people:

"it's experimenting with all different things...but from when I was growing up to like the kids nowadays you never went and caused hassle wi' anybody, you never broke into places or smashed anything up..."(M.5)

In line with the daughters' perceptions alcohol use was linked by mothers to violence and aggressive behaviours amongst young people. M.5 went on to discuss an incident involving a friend attacked by drunk young people:

"oh aye, ma mate's the same age as me and he got jumped on a couple of Christmas's ago... covered in blood. And he'd been cut and battered..."(M.5)

“you’ve got kids carrying knives nowadays, anything they can get away with...” (M.5)

M.5 indicates the high level of perceived threat posed by drunk and potentially armed young people. Knives were also discussed as linked to drug use:

“because there is more drugs and other things, there’s more people that have got issues therefore there’s more people likely to have knives and more knife crime, more drug related things...” (M.1)

These mothers link alcohol, drugs and knife crime. In this sense their concerns go beyond immediate effects of drinking alcohol or taking drugs to more diverse knock-on effects particularly involving violence. However there were general concerns raised about drugs in the local area. M.1 perceives her daughter’s knowledge of drugs to be beyond her own experience:

“And drugs weren’t really an issue.... I think they’re exposed to sex, drugs, rock and roll, whatever...A lot earlier age. I mean I couldn’t tell you what cocaine looks like, heroin looks like, speed or whatever the hell it is...I couldn’t tell you what any of that looks like...but you know, [my daughter] could. I know she could... and the majority or her friends if not all of them probably could as well... drugs are easily available” (M.1)

M.1 feels that young people are more aware of drugs than when she was growing up; she also believes they are more available. On the other hand M.3 states:

“when I was growing up there wasn’t so much like drugs, I mean it was probably there but it wasn’t so publicised.” (M.3)

In this sense M.3 discusses the visibility of drugs having increased rather than their actual availability. This is similar to M.5’s discussion of visible youth drinking culture as opposed to her experience of more secret drinking in her own youth. Generally drugs were viewed by the mothers as much more concerning than teenage drinking and other risky behaviours.

M.1 states:

“that’s the one thing over pregnancy, STIs sort of thing is the drugs. And I’ve said that to [my daughter], “you going on drugs would finish me completely.” (M.1)

This was reiterated by M.3:

“I mean drugs is the main, the main thing.” (M.3)

Drug use was not widely reported by the girls in the study interviews; however the pupil survey figures do suggest that there is a pronounced change between first year girls and fourth year girls. As such, mothers’ concerns may be due to their experience living with the

changing perceptions of their daughters as well as perhaps their own lack of experience in this regard. Moreover, M.1 notes young people's perception of consequences:

"I think a lot of them don't seem to have a fear. Or don't seem to realise...the consequences, what might happen" (M.1)

Being aware of consequences of one's actions and assessing potential risks is a part of assuming responsibility for those actions. M.1 implies that young people take risks without regard for these consequences and as such cannot take responsibility for themselves.

Generally the mothers viewed life as less safe than when they were growing up:

"I don't think it's as safe a world anymore." (M.2)

"...it was a lot safer... whereas I wouldn't let my kids do what I used to do" (M.4)

Both M.2 and M.4 indicate a change towards a less safe society. M.4 feels that this has impacted upon her children's activities. M.2 goes further stating:

"I feel like there's not as many children playing out any more. But then I also feel like that because parents are aware eh maybe bad things that could happen like them... their children getting snatched by mebbe paedophiles or whatever so... they try to keep them... indoors more so they can watch them... so they do supply them... with computer games and stuff like that" (M.2)

M.2 expands upon M.4's point; she believes that children's leisure activities have changed because of perceived lack of safety for children, particularly citing kidnap and paedophilia as sources of concern. M.1 on the other hand states:

"In my day we didn't have that. I mean there's always been people with knives and paedophiles and all that sort of thing... but that wasn't really my chain of thought. It was more a drug issue or... teenage pregnancy, STIs... I think that that is more prevalent now." (M.1)

M.1 does not perceive a difference in crimes being committed against children, her concern is the increased opportunity for young people to be involved in risky behaviours and the allied health concerns attached to these.

M.5 goes beyond this to point out her general safety concerns in her local area:

"Ken when I was growing up you were able to leave your doors unlocked at night, you could wander the streets and you knew everybody and... you werenae feart to go

anywhere. But nowadays you cannae go out after nine o'clock or like me, if I go round to Templehall shops after nine I take the car... I don't walk round" (M.5)

M.5 perceives risks beyond those for young people. In this case young people are not only potentially at risk, they also constitute a potential risk to others. This change in perceived safety left mothers feeling that their children may be missing out:

"I think sometimes I am over cautious. Whereas my mum used to let us...we had more, we did have more freedom." (M.3)

M.3 demonstrates the balance that these mothers are trying to negotiate. They generally perceive threat – though the sources of this threat differ – on the other hand, they want their children to socialise and enjoy the freedoms which they enjoyed growing up. In this sense these mothers are describing boundaries and limits they place upon their daughters' behaviour. M.1 mentioned earlier the apparent lack of inclusion of consequences in her daughter's decision making, because of this she states:

"if I take [my daughter's] personality she's never had a limit on herself. I've obviously put limits on her..." (M.1)

However, later she states:

"I know I'm too soft with her, I know I am, and I think we've had issues with [my daughter] which maybe if I had been stricter in some instances possibly might not have happened. However, I can't change (pause)...I wouldn't brow-beat her into anything because... knowing the type of personality she is I would lose her emotionally. I know I would..." (M.1)

M.1 appears to prioritise a positive relationship with her daughter over discipline and 'strictness'. Although she does mention limiting her daughter she acknowledges that if her rules had been tighter that some negative events or "issues" could have been avoided.

However other mothers too implied that they did not want to be perceived as strict. Across all three generations the notion of being strict was viewed negatively, this is furthered by M.2:

"I know that for a fact that my youngest daughter knows that if her dad's at home she's gonnae get away with a lot more than if mum's at home" (M.2)

"it's not that I'm any stricter than him. It's just that if I say something I mean it" (M.2)

M.2 clearly does not want to be considered strict – just decisive. But it is not made clear why being strict is negative. This would be an interesting area for potential further study,

what do people consider as *being strict*? And why is this behaviour not regarded as desirable? Particularly when young people's behaviour is described as:

"Terrible" (M.5)

M4 discussed how discipline has changed:

"if you got stopped by the Police it was like "oh my God! They're going to take me home, they're going to tell my parents!" But they were allowed to turn you round and put a foot up your backside and tell you get home or, if they seen you again they would take you home, and that was what you didnae want so you did stay out their way or you did go home... but nowadays they're not allow to do that..." (M.5)

M.5 shows that involvement with the police was regarded as a scary event, not only could they physically reprimand but worse they could take you home and that this would result in punishment from parents. Overall M.5 is showing that bad behaviour held consequences at home and that this in turn encouraged better behaviour. Now, M.5 implies that the police hold less authority in that they cannot "put a foot up your backside", but also perhaps the threat of being taken home is less concerning for young people; M.2 suggests a similar point:

"Like before we'd get like slapped on the back of the leg or whatever. D'ya know what I mean if we were cheeky. But they know they can do stuff if they feel like they're being mistreated at home. That it's easy to contact like Childline or the NSPCC and somethings..." (M.2)

This demonstrates how she was disciplined at home but also the fear that some parents may have of their own children *using the system* if they do not agree with being disciplined. However, for her own daughter she states:

"To be honest with you, I don't see there's much point in me smacking her because it only relieves my frustration for about mebbe five seconds... and then I feel really bad" (M.2)

"...to discipline her you have to ground her, which is keeping her in the house, and that is the worst form of torture to her... you have to find the one thing that they really hate and use it..." (M.2)

M.2 provides her own methodology for child discipline. This indicates her understanding of her daughter and the importance of discipline *working* both for the parent (so that they will consistently apply it) and the child (so that they will respond to it appropriately).

M.5 and M.2 both indicate that the use of (or threat of use of) physical punishment was central to staying within the boundaries of good behaviour. This was also discussed in terms of discipline at school:

"...it didnae do me any harm. I got the belt once at primary school and I would never, I vowed I would never, ever, and I never, ever got it again..." (M.5)

"...the whole schooling system's just gone right downhill because of behaviour...I think it's got worse since they stopped, eh, them getting the belt to be honest..." (M.2)

M.5's discussion shows how she felt that the use of the belt shaped her behaviour as she made a concerted effort not to be punished again. Similarly M.2 stated her perception that lack of discipline in education is affecting education. These mothers proposed new forms of discipline for schools:

"I would think more like sweep the playground or cause something like that, rather than just saying, "you're getting sent home, you're excluded."... That's like, that's like a holiday for a kid." (M.5)

M.5 believed that exclusion from school does not work for pupils who may not wish to be in school anyway, likening it to a holiday. Instead she felt that something more helpful to the school community and vaguely embarrassing to the pupil, such as sweeping the playground would be more effective. This is similar to M.2's approach with her children at home whereby targeting something which the pupil values – such as their pride, may help to reduce their likelihood to misbehave. M.2 suggested another method for school discipline along the same lines:

"if she didnae behave at school I'd go and sit with her... and really embarrass her into behaving... I think that's what they should do... the children that don't behave, they should take the parents into school and make them go to school with them... actually sit beside them in class and make them behave... until they're at the point they're gonnae behave on their own enough" (M.2)

One of the other mothers discussed having done this in response to her son's poor attendance record:

"I've had it first hand, I sat wi [my son] at a high school class 'cause he was ticking school and he was warned and he was warned and I said keep it up and Mum will come to school, "No you'll not, no you'll not!" and I did... I sat next to him in his class and he was third year

in high school... I was in the class about twenty minutes and I wanted to stand up and tell them all to shut up, to stop... They were so ignorant, it was absolutely appalling” (M.5)

This demonstrates how parental attendance could be used as a punishment to pupils in school. However, from M.5’s discussion it appears that this was ineffective in improving the overall behaviour of the pupils. Exclusion from school is generally viewed as a last resort; M.1 discussed how she viewed the changes to this that have occurred since her schooling:

“...there was always ones that were just horrendous...but they just weren’t tolerated, they were out and weren’t let back in... Whereas they seem, they get excluded and then they’re back in... then they’re back out...” (M.1)

Exclusion has become a controversial topic, when pupils are excluded they miss out on education; this in turn effects their literacy and numeracy, thereby potentially affecting their future life chances. For this reason educationalists generally favour trying to reintegrate and accommodate disruptive pupils. Furthermore there is currently debate about the potential role of ADHD spectrum diagnoses being attributed to young people’s bad behaviour (Bunte et al., 2013; Molina et al., 2001; Vitulano et al., 2012). This then may make it more difficult for schools to permanently exclude pupils. In this sense the educational system could be discussed as being more child focused rather than as a system purely of learning. This is how M.1 discussed perceived educational changes:

“You went to school you did this, you did that, you didn’t do it you got lines, you got you know, the belt or whatever... whereas it’s more, at the school it’s about the whole child and the inner child and what they think they could do better. And their perception on things whereas that wasn’t an issue at school, nobody really gave a damn about what your perception was. You’re there to learn.” (M.1)

M.1 demonstrates how she views a move from a focus on education to more general learning and focus on wellbeing. In turn the relationship between children and their teachers was discussed as changed:

“Whereas now the kids seem to have a better relationship and they can say what’s on their mind...” (M.4)

M.4 implies a more conversational relationship with teachers than was implied by M.1. This is in line with D.3’s discussion earlier in which she explained how teachers attempted to relate more to their pupils. D.3 stated that this may however blur the boundaries of what is

considered appropriate classroom behaviour and leave some pupils confused about the rules. This is also implied by M.1:

"...there just doesn't seem to be the back-up for the teachers nor the structure from a pupil point of view..." (M.1)

M.1 acknowledges the issues from both angles – teachers require support for discipline while pupils may require defined expectations and rules. As such the current culture of the education system may be perceived as potentially detrimental to both teachers and pupils.

M.2 states:

"I think to be honest that it's a really dangerous job for a lady to go in and be a teacher nowadays especially at high school... By that stage, their friends think it's cool if they stand up to the teacher or be cheeky... and really there isn't a lot they can do to discipline it" (M.2)

M.2 feels that there is little support for teachers disciplining pupils and that this in turn can be "dangerous" for some teachers. This quote demonstrates again M.2's view of the potential threat posed by groups of young people. M.1 took this further stating:

"it's like it's almost... like not accepted as such, but it's because it like it's 'oh well, this is just the society we live in' it's just not right. Anywhere else you wouldn't accept if somebody threw a chair at you...but some of the teachers are meant to accept that. And a pupil shouldn't think it's okay to do that..." (M.1)

M.1 and M.2 view school as a chaotic and potentially violent place. However not all of the mothers agreed. M.3 felt there had been behaviour changes but that mostly bad behaviour was the same as it was in her schooling days:

"you were cheeky to teachers, but not... not to the extent that I know some of them are now. And there was always the odd one or two, so it's kinda the same." (M.3)

M.3's point is in line with the daughters' views that most bad behaviour is perpetrated by only a few pupils. Although mothers did not entirely agree on the extent of school discipline there was a generalised sense of lack of respect among young people:

"They're a lot less respectful" (M.1)

"I've had run-ins with them and they, they swear. It's like 6 or 7 year olds and they're standing there swearing at you." (M.3)

"I was brought up to respect... parents... elders, anybody" (M.3)

"I don't think kids have as much respect for their teachers now... as we did when we were young. I always remember when I was young that teachers were not approachable really"

(M.4)

"...even the young ones, you hear them shouting and swearing at the police... They've nae respect that is the biggest thing..." (M.5)

The perception of lack of respect was widespread and discussed in terms of experiences and changes. This was viewed as a core problem with young people, M.5 went on to state:

"the biggest thing is there isn't respect because they can speak to you, like the Police the way they want, to the teachers the way they want.....and in the end what do they get?"

(M.5)

M.5 links respect (and lack of it) to the lack of consequences for bad behaviour. In this sense young people who are not punished for their misbehaviour will be more likely to be disrespectful as they deem there are no consequences for their actions. D.3 as discussed previously stated that teachers seek respect *and* wish to be liked; if M.5's assertion is correct then these may be less compatible. To nurture respect, teachers would instead have to set clear standards and reprisals for misbehaviour though this may leave them unpopular.

In conclusion, although two mothers stated that drug use was their biggest concern *all* mothers spent more of the interview discussing discipline and manners of young people. Despite this M.2 was the only mother to explicitly state how she enacts discipline within the household. M.1 identifies that she is "too soft" and the remaining mothers largely discussed discipline in terms of the school environment. This in itself is interesting and perhaps indicates that these mothers view discipline as a teacher's role not necessarily primarily one of the parent.

The behaviour of young people clearly troubled these mothers but they appear unsure of the cause of misbehaviour and lack of respect. Two mothers discussed how discipline could be improved at school however the other mothers identified the problem but were at a loss as to a means to resolve this.

Moreover, these mothers did not generally identify their own child as a source of the problem. Instead the issues were commonly described as generalities. In this sense it could be suggested that media attention surrounding classroom behaviour and young offenders could be influencing the thoughts of these mothers and exacerbating their concerns.

However, the mothers' views about young people drinking alcohol were less consistent; it was discussed as an inevitability of growing up and preferable to taking drugs but mothers also expressed concern about the degree of drinking amongst young people and their lack of awareness regarding the consequences of their actions whilst drunk.

Grandmothers – Risk, Aggression and Safety

Grandmothers of this study described their relationship with alcohol very differently to the mothers' and daughters'. None of them regularly drank alcohol. Further, they discussed the age and circumstances surrounding when they first drank:

"I think the first time was when I was married. I was at, it must've been at New Years time we were at ma Husband's auntie's." (G.1)

"I think I had ma first drink when I was about seventeen and it was only one." (G.2)

"...we never really got into alcohol when we were young... you got it at the New Year time." (G.3)

All three grandmothers share a similar recollection of their use of alcohol when they were growing up. Generally it appear to not have held much importance to them, G.1 went on to state:

"...we didnae drink at all." (G.1)

G.3 thought that this was due to 'the dancing':

"When we were that young we were more interested in dancing than drinking." (G.3)

"When we went to dancing, it wasnae drink, you went upstairs it was ice-drinks... that's what you got. A glass of lemonade or lemonade wi an ice-cream in it." (G.3)

Young people's culture described in this way demonstrates the focus on the social dancing activity rather than social drinking activity. G.3 enjoyed dancing without the need for alcohol, this is similar to D.6's statement about the importance of location of drinking in the

outcomes for her peers – in a nightclub environment she felt they were more likely to enjoy themselves whereas aggression and violence was more likely on the streets. In this sense perhaps D.6 is likening the modern nightclub situation to the dance halls of G.3's youth. However, nightclubs have alcohol consumption as a core component of their business. Thus they are age-restricted and less accessible for young people and fundamentally different to G.3's experience. Moreover G.2 talked about the age young people start drinking:

"they were all drinking... all night long and I mean, she was, she was only thirteen then."
(G.2)

G.2's emphasis on her granddaughter's age highlighted her shock at this change from her own first experience drinking at seventeen. Moreover where G.2 only had one drink her granddaughter was drinking "all night long". This was echoed by G.3:

"I don't mind them a drink, as long as they keep it in moderation... But, I think youngsters seem to think that "oooh I must get drunk to enjoy yoursel'..." (G.3)

This requirement to be drunk to have fun appears as a fundamental change from the grandmothers' experience. When asked why this change may have happened G.3 stated:

"I don't know why it's changed. I really don't." (G.3)

G.1 thought it could be the result of peer pressure or showing off:

"...because their pals do it and they think it's big." (G.1)

This reasoning is similar to that mentioned by both mothers and daughters however; there is no explanation of why children may be more enticed towards alcohol consumption in the granddaughters' generation than experience by their own. Where does the peer pressure come from? In this sense peer pressure is equally likely to have affected young people's behaviours across all three generations but towards different behaviours, why does the current generation of youth feel pressure to drink alcohol? This may represent another area of interest to explore in future studies but was unfortunately beyond the scope of the current work.

G.3 felt overall that preoccupation with alcohol was having a detrimental effect upon young people's wellbeing:

"They just didnae seem to have the enjoyment that we had when we were younger." (G.3)

D.6 felt that life was *boring* and that this explained why young people drink – for enjoyment. This is in stark contrast with G.3's perception of alcohol as a core component of young people's life dissatisfaction. Generally grandmothers perceived life to be less enjoyable than it was for them growing up and a key element of this was their perception of safety. This was discussed in terms of basic household safety:

"Well, before we never ever locked our door... We never locked the doors." (G.1)

The use of "before" indicates that now things are different: you do need to lock the doors. Beyond this G.2 discussed the dangers outside of the house:

"I wasnae feart to go oot but there wasnae the, the dangers there is noo" (G.2)

Again G.2 uses a contrast of past safety with "dangers" associated with now. G.3 agreed stating:

"it's not near as safe as it was when I was young. I mean, we could go out at any time of the night; we could even walk up the road at four o'clock in the morning and think nothing of it. I mean, when we used to go to the dancing, I used to go wi ma brother sometimes... So we used to walk down the railway line... now, you couldnae do that now" (G.3)

The dangers posed by trains to pedestrians on the rail tracks have not changed but the perception of safety in this respect has. It is now considered trespassing and is an offence. Beyond this G.3 demonstrates a change in general perception of night time as threatening.

The grandmothers' perceptions of dangers could be linked to their relative age, when they were younger they may have felt more physically capable and as such less aware of potential threats. The daughters of the study appeared to not consider consequences of their actions; this was re-iterated by mothers in the study. However, in referring to their own youth these grandmothers have indicated their own perception of safety growing up – could this be that they were simply not considering the potential consequences of their actions and thus viewing their choices as safe? This would indicate that young people generally may not have yet developed skills in accessing potential outcomes of behaviour and leaves a challenge for parents to negotiate safe freedoms so young people learn about risk without leaving these vulnerable people open to poor, un-informed decision-making.

Beyond the choice of their youth grandmothers noted other safety concerns:

“...there’s so much kidnapping and everything now. To what it was when we were younger...”(G.3)

“Nothing like kidnapping and perverts and no doubt there would be an occasional one but nothing for to get worried about you know.”(G.3)

“it was more friendly you didn’t have to worry about where your child was... not as dangerous as what it is now.”(G.3)

G.3 was particularly concerned by what she perceived as an increase in serious crimes against children. This is in line with the concerns raised by M.2 and furthers her view of the world as less safe. However G.3 goes further to note that life is now “dangerous” where once it was “friendly”. This may be in part explained in terms of the diminishing strength of the local community. Kirkcaldy as an industrial town was smaller and (at least in some parts) workers for particular factories and industries clustered together, this generated more of a community feel. This was discussed in terms of groups regularly going on walks – as a community – and activities where children would group together and play and explore in the local area:

“All the neighbours gathered together every night at tea time, all the kids and all the women neighbours...and we all went walk every night, everybody went for a walk...it was more friendly you didn’t have to worry about where your child was...”(G.3)

G.3’s memories appear idyllic and somewhat of a public health professional’s dream; a community spirit fostered on social physical activity. Moreover G.3 notes that parents did not have to worry about where their children were in this group. Other social activities discussed by the grandmothers included chap-door-run:

“Chap-door-run that’s it, and just pull the string. That was... the most you got up to... That was the worst you got up to.”(G.1)

This was contrasted with G.1’s concern about her granddaughter’s peers’ behaviour:

“Oh, I don’t know. It’s just that you just... hope, that they’re not lifting anything... it’s just too easy I think for them nowadays.”(G.1)

From the apparent innocence of knocking on doors and running away to stealing from shops G.1 perceives a significant change in the leisure pursuits of young people. However, if young people were to knock on her door and run away perhaps she would perceive chap-door-run more negatively, but as this game is less common G.1 does not view it as problematic. Further G.1 talks about “lifting” (stealing from shops) as a general pastime of

young people in Kirkcaldy; no other participants discussed this form of behaviour however this may be due to its criminal nature.

Overall the grandmothers suggested that young people's attitude towards others is significantly different to their own experiences growing up.

"I think they have nae fear in them noo the kids, the day." (G.2)

G.2 notes that young people are not *fearful* now this suggests that when she was growing up there was an element of fear. G.2 goes on to link this to discipline at school:

"there's no the discipline noo and, and I think... the schools, there's nae discipline..." (G.2)

"the teachers, they dinnae seem a threat to them... when we went, well if you done something, you got the belt" (G.2)

G.2 views corporal punishment similarly to M.2 and M.5. Again the mention of corporal punishment suggests that young people were fearful of the belt and thus behaved. This is in contrast to G.2's perception of discipline in school now where she feels there is none. In turn teachers were perceived as a "threat", whereas as both mothers and daughters recognised a more positive *relationship* between pupils and their teachers now.

G.1 agrees with G.2's summation of no discipline in schools:

"I think they get away with murder at the school as well... I think the teachers don't have any control, but they're not allowed to have any..." (G.1)

G.1 states that teachers 'are not allowed' to have control, in other words, they are not able to discipline. This may again be a reference to the abolishment of corporal punishment in schools but more generally acknowledges the challenging pupils behaviour facing teachers.

G.1 presented this in contrast with her own experiences:

"You didn't speak back... Even though you were in the right you didn't – speak – back. Didn't contradict them" (G.1)

"Even your elders it doesnae matter who they were... you didnae speak back to them." (G.1)

In this sense behavioural standards were set for all interactions with 'your elders', these rules were made clear and if crossed resulted in punishment. However these standards went for adult behaviour too:

"And he would never allow ma brother or anybody to swear. He never swore in front eh us and he would never allow that." (G.3)

In this sense G.1 and G.3 discuss a two-way relationship of behavioural standards marked by respect. They both identify standards for behaviour set for *all* members of society when they were growing up. Perhaps in modern society standards of behaviour are not made clear for all members and as such children do not learn about different, but universal expected standards of behaviour. As such *bare minimum* good behaviour is not defined and therefore can be easily avoided, in contrast the defined expectations of bare minimum behaviour were stringently taught to the grandmothers of the study during their childhoods.

In conclusion the grandmothers in this study demonstrated their beliefs about the considerable changes in young people's culture and growing up in our modern society in comparison to their own experiences. Grandmothers' memories of drinking started generally at an older age than the daughters of the study and did not appear to include getting *drunk*. Grandmothers viewed the rise in alcohol consumption amongst young people as a sign of their lack of enjoyment of life, as starting younger and as being excessive.

The topic of most concern to the grandmothers was the lack of perceived safety in comparison to their own experiences of *community* growing up. Generally they stated that life had become progressively less safe both for children and for the rest of society. They mentioned their own feelings of vulnerability but also identified that young people appear to take more risks. However in mentioning how safe they felt growing up they also indicated behaviours that would now be viewed as risky if not potentially illegal. As such they may be demonstrating the same lack of thought in their youth regarding consequences that mothers attributed to the granddaughters in this study.

Conclusions

Behavioural patterns initiated in adolescence can hold profound consequences for future health and wellbeing (Barnekow-Bergkvist et al., 2001; Gordon-Larsen et al., 2004; Mokdad et al., 2004). Eleven to fifteen year olds start to direct their own development and are therefore particularly vulnerable to making choices with outcomes they could not predict (Cauuffman et al., 2010). Technological advances and cultural changes leave parents

inexperienced to the potential risks their children face. By understanding young people's perception of what risky behaviours are relevant to them we may be able to design more appropriately *targeted* interventions and services. The design of those potential interventions then may benefit from improved understanding of how young people evaluate risky choices and engage with family members about these.

With regards to aggressive behaviour, stereotypically masculine behaviours such as aggression, losing one's temper and being competitive were largely viewed as male by the pupils. However, boys were more likely to perceive these behaviours as male attributes than girls, who were more likely to perceive no gender difference. Boys present more gendered views along traditionally stereotyped lines than girls particularly in connection with male-behaviours. This indicates their internalised view of masculinity and *ownership* of these behaviours.

Girls and boys considered risky and aggressive behaviours differently; these differences increased with age between eleven and fifteen. Consequently, by fourth year, pupils demonstrated substantial gender differences in their perceptions of aggression and rage, smoking tobacco, drinking too much alcohol and taking illegal drugs. First year pupils demonstrate generally more gender-cohesive perceptions of these behaviours.

Fourth year girls in particular present striking differences in their perceptions of risky behaviour when compared to their male counterparts and first year pupils. These girls generally regard risky behaviours as relevant to themselves as indicated by their answers of "no difference" and "child behaviour". Previous research has indicated that the perception of behaviour as relevant amongst an adolescent peer groups is linked to increased participation by members of that group (Gibbons et al., 1995; Sofronoff et al., 2005) and that this in turn is linked to increased perception of others participation (Heilbron and Prinstein, 2008), leading to potential escalation of uptake of those behaviours. In line with this, the results of the current study indicate that separate strategies may be required for engaging most successfully with fourth year boys and girls differing attitudes towards risky behaviours.

The quantitative results are supported by the qualitative interviews with regards to perceptions of risky behaviour. Many daughters and mothers felt that smoking tobacco and drinking too much alcohol were generally part of growing up, not too concerning, while grandmothers discussed considerable changes in young people's culture.

Daughters demonstrated opinions of risky behaviours that suggested their overall acceptance of drinking alcohol. Alcohol use was viewed as normal behaviour among some of these girls' peer groups. They identified that this could at times be excessive, which they viewed as risky, but discussed taking precautions and as such did not perceive a substantial or prohibitive risk.

Perceptions of risky behaviours presented the widest contrast of views from mothers. Some felt that drinking alcohol was reasonably harmless and part of adolescent socialisation. Other mothers identified risks associated with *excessive* drinking and linked these to other risky practices. Many mothers discussed their inability to prevent their daughter from drinking with peers. Diversity of mothers' views may be linked to the age of their daughter and whether they have any other children and therefore experience. In future work it may be interesting to explore the interactions between mothers risk perceptions and number, order and gender of children, in order to more fully understand the complexities of these interconnected elements of perception and reaction to adolescent risk.

Illegal drug use was voiced by mothers as the most concerning element of modern youth culture. Although some mothers perceived drugs as being very accessible, a change from their own experience growing up other mothers appeared to view this as changed little. Mothers regularly linked drug-use with criminality and associated fear for their daughters (and themselves). In this sense mothers appeared to accept pervasive alcohol use amongst teenagers as *normal*. However drugs, despite being less prevalent than drinking (Black et al., 2010; Currie et al., 2011), presented a link to criminality which was of greater concern. As such it is hard to identify mothers' greatest concern – drug use itself, or associated criminality – or equally both.

During the interviews many mothers and grandmothers focused on perceived change in youth respect, adolescent misbehaviour and crime. Changes in school discipline were discussed by mothers and grandmothers as a source of considerable change with profound impacts upon young people's behaviour. Overall mothers and grandmothers described a decline in respect for teachers and other elders by young people which would not have been tolerated during their own upbringing.

Mothers generally viewed strictness and discipline as at odds with the friendship based relationship they coveted with their daughter. As such school was discussed as the key domain of discipline for young people; reduction in perceived effective discipline at school was viewed as particularly challenging.

Traditionally discipline has been viewed as a masculine role in the household. In future studies it would be interesting to explore boys', fathers' and grandfathers' opinions of these discipline and respect to determine how this interacts with their perceptions of masculinities.

This chapter investigated young people's perspectives of risky behaviours particularly in relation to adulthood and gender, examining this in potential contrast with perceptions of their parent and grandparents, to identify the role risk-behaviours play in developing identity in Scottish society. It was found that patterns of perception regarding risky and aggressive behaviours differ between age groups and gender. These differences may be important as they potentially influence young people's choices to be involved in risky behaviours which in turn may affect their future health and wellbeing. Between fourth year boys and girls this difference is particularly striking and may indicate that different approaches are required to engage fully with the differing perceptions of these groups.

Chapter Eight – Conclusions

The aim of this study was to gain improved insight into young people's, their parent's and grandparent's ideas about gender and adulthood and the role this plays in developing identity in Scottish society, in order to help better understand the adoption of patterns of behaviour with lifetime health and wellbeing consequences. This chapter explores the key findings of this study to examine what they mean and consider how they could help to inform future work and policy.

At the end of each chapter topic-specific findings have been described and explored in an attempt to better understand what they mean and how they may add to already established knowledge. Here I bring together and summarise these individual chapter findings and highlight potential policy and practice implications as well as consider areas for potential future work.

This study has found that first year and fourth year pupils differ in their perception of gendered and stereotyped behaviours. First year pupils are a cohesive group with fewer behavioural perceptions affected by gender. By fourth year, pupils demonstrate greater differences in perceptions between genders. This change is supported by the qualitative element of the study which demonstrated the daughter-group's strongly held and at times quite polarised opinions. This polarisation of perceptions between participants was consistent amongst all three generational groups but mothers in particular were most internally inconsistent (less consistent within their individual interview).

Unsurprisingly more fourth year pupils self-identified as adults than first year pupils, particularly for boys this appeared to impact upon their perceptions of some behaviours. The most striking element of this study is the fourth year pupils' answers. Fourth year boys were more likely than first year boys to attribute stereotyped and traditional norms to male behaviours, they were more likely to perceive male stereotyped behaviours as relevant to themselves when considering adult and child behaviours. In this sense fourth year boys perceive masculinity as desirable. Fourth year boys want to be men, or think they already

are men. Fourth year girls differed from first year girls in their less gendered perceptions of traditionally female stereotyped behaviours. Fourth year girls were more likely to identify risky and adult behaviours as relevant to themselves. In this sense they desire adulthood and adult-ness but not stereotyped *femininity*.

In other words: fourth year boys want to be men (but not necessarily adults); fourth year girls want to be adults (but not necessarily women).

Fourth year girls perceived risky behaviours as relevant to them and therefore may be more likely to participate in these (Gibbons et al., 1995; Scholly, 2005; Sofronoff et al., 2005). This may be of some practical importance as studies have shown adolescent risk-taking behaviours are more likely to continue into adulthood and pose serious health and wellbeing concerns (Barnekow-Bergkvist et al., 2001; Gordon-Larsen et al., 2004). Fourth year boys appear different in their perception of risky behaviours. By mixing these two distinct groups in school classes and discussing behaviours (with *generally* divergent views) fourth year girls more accepting perspectives may influence the *as yet* less inclined fourth year boys and escalate participation in risk behaviours. This may be an argument for separating these classes. This is not current practice.

Fourth year pupils also demonstrated particularly gender divergent views regarding use of pornographic and sexually explicit imagery. Fourth year boys perceived this as more likely to be relevant to children than adults whereas girls were more likely to answer that both adults and children view this. This seems to suggest that boys think they will no longer look at pornography when they are adults – and conversely is also potential evidence of their current use. Moreover – as they believe they will grow out of viewing pornographic imagery it appears reasonable to conclude that boys may be using pornography as a source of sexual information. This study suggests that further engagement with fourth year pupils about pornographic material would be beneficial in understanding their use of pornography and belief about this. The current literature suggests that pornographic material and exposure to sexualised and idealised portrayals of bodies may affect (particularly girls) attitudes towards their own bodies and self-concept (Cattarin et al., 2000; Cho and Lee, 2013; Dines, 2010; Hargreaves and Tiggemann, 2003).

There may therefore be a case for engaging the divergent concerns of fourth year boys and girls separately: engaging with girls around risky behaviours and boys around sexuality, relationships and imagery. Such an approach may be helpful in tackling adverse health and wellbeing outcomes for these groups.

The family interviews provide additional insights into personal experiences, observed intergenerational changes and family across the broad range of subjects explored in this study. Grandmothers and girls (daughters) demonstrated reasonably stable opinions, though varied and at times polarised between individual participants. However mothers portrayed internally inconsistent perceptions and beliefs particularly with respect to risky behaviours.

Girls (or daughters) presented opinions in line with the pupil survey and provided some insights into why pupils may have responded in the ways they did. Where there is diversity of responses given by these girls, this could be linked to their age and as such this provides potential scope for future studies.

Mothers presented as the most confused group, presenting internally conflicting views within interview as well as extreme differences of opinion between individual participants. There are a range of potential explanations for mothers' confused beliefs linked to their relationships with their daughters, differences from their own personal experience of adolescence in light of dramatic technological and cultural changes over the past twenty years and media portrayals of young people's culture. I will briefly outline these points in turn.

Mothers came across as particularly concerned to appear accepting of new norms or perceived mainstreamed behaviours – e.g. the use of pornography. This also extended to their tolerant views of teenage alcohol consumption. However, once mothers started talking about their opinions their positions appeared to change – at times to support a very different, and opposing, point of view to the one originally stated. Mothers were anxious to 'do the best' for their daughters but seemed unsure how to achieve this. One strategy they appeared to adopt was to be (or at least appear to be) accepting of behaviours so that their

daughter would talk to them. Friendship between mothers and daughters was discussed as very important to these mums. As such, mothers did not want to undermine the positive relationship with their daughter through disagreement about risk behaviours. This was particularly clear when discussing authority and discipline where mothers largely appeared to delegate this to schooling and teachers. Discipline was seen as detrimental to a positive relationship with their daughter. This could help to explain mothers' wish to accept more risky behavioural choices of their daughters as they then do not have to apply discipline and potentially harm their important friendship-based parent-child relationship.

Another potential explanation of mothers' more confused perceptions of risk behaviours lies in technological and cultural changes over the past twenty years. The potential range of experiences of daughters is markedly different from their own experience. As such mothers may be unsure of how to engage with new potential risks, to evaluate if they truly are risks, and if they are, what to do about them. In this sense mothers' more confused perceptions of risky adolescent behaviours lies in lack of knowledge and experience. Parenting is notoriously a task of learning on the job. However, in light of the potentially harmful effects of uptake of risky behaviours through adolescence (Barnekow-Bergkvist et al., 2001), and associated anxiety (or complacency) in parents, parents may benefit from more information about what actually does present a risk to their children and at what stage to intervene (and maybe even how).

Mothers appear to gain knowledge about adolescent risk-taking and harms through mainstream tabloid newspaper sources. These are not known for their impartiality or at times accuracy and as such could increase mothers' confusion about these behaviours in light of their own lack of experience. This was evident in mothers' perceptions of drug use. This issue was regarded as the most worrying problem by a number of mothers but in reality this is less prevalent in Scotland than teenage drinking and sexual risk taking among eleven to fifteen year olds (Black et al., 2010; Currie et al., 2011).

Practical implications flowing from these findings include the value of finding ways to improve mothers' awareness and knowledge of the realities of young people's cultures and

to enhance their confidence in addressing behavioural concerns with their daughters despite the potential for confrontation.

However, the qualitative element of this thesis explores only the thoughts of seven families – all women and girls. As such there is considerable scope for expansion of this work. Of particular interest would be to engage with men and boys to understand whether the same concerns about girls are evident about boys, and if fathers interact differently than mothers in terms of perceptions of risk. The present qualitative element of the study was limited in linking generations of families and identifying participant attributes, such as age (this was for reasons of ensuring family and individual confidentiality in line with the obtained ethical approval). In future work it may be possible to obtain ethical approval allowing discussion of different options with participants in order to adjust the level of confidentiality and anonymity they require. This would allow more to be made of the importance of family, age and circumstances to participants' responses. Moreover it would enable linkages to be established between ages of interview participants and age-groups of pupils allowing more connectivity between qualitative and quantitative results. This would be of particular interest in a larger study in order to make more realistic associations between participant quantitative responses and qualitative reasoning.

When taken together, the qualitative and quantitative elements of this study appear to demonstrate considerable differences in the maturation pathways of boys and girls growing up in a somewhat deprived but not atypical part of Scotland. Whilst young men strive for masculinity, young women prioritise adulthood over the adoption of stereotypically female characteristics. This leads them to see a number of risky behaviours as particularly salient to themselves and thus fifteen-year-old girls appear disproportionately at risk. Their mothers struggle to know how to respond apparently trapped between the conflict avoidance they assume to be demanded by female cross generational friendship and a feeling that they should somehow be doing more to protect their daughters. Intergenerational changes limit the input that their own mothers can make. Helping teenage girls and their mothers together more safely negotiate the transition into adulthood seems a strategy worth exploring as having the potential to deliver Public Health dividends.

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Glossary

CHP: Community Health Partnership

CLD: Community Learning and Development

DOSPERT: Domain-Specific Risk-Taking scale

HBSC: Health Behaviours of School-Aged Children

ONS: Office for National Statistics

SALSUS: Scottish Schools Adolescent Lifestyle and Substance Use Survey

SIMD: Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation

ScotPHO: Scottish Public Health Observatory

Appendix A – Ethical Approval



University of St Andrews

University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee

18th June 2013

Helen Popple
School of Medicine

Dear Helen

Re: Changing notions of adulthood and gender in modern Scottish society: links to aggressive and risk-taking behaviours in Kirkcaldy, Fife

Many thanks for submitting Amendment 2 for the above project. The application has been reviewed and has been given **full approval** via the Chairman's action.

We have amended our records to reflect the new project title "A Mixed Methods Investigation of Perceptions of Adulthood and Gender: links to stereotyped and risky behaviours amongst young people in Kirkcaldy, Fife"

Yours sincerely

Professor Gerry Humphris
School Ethics Committee Convenor

Appendix B – Pupil Survey Questionnaire – First Draft

Behaviours, Attitudes and Emotions Questionnaire

Instructor: Helen Popple, University of St Andrews
Contact: hp55@st-andrews.ac.uk

Generation: Child / Adult / Grandparent
Mobile: 07872418219

Sex: Male / Female
Date:

Age	(Please tick one)		
12- 13	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	40- 49
14- 15	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	50- 59
16- 17	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	60- 69
18- 25	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	70- 79
26- 29	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	80 and over
30- 39	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

Do you consider yourself (please tick one):

Working Class	<input type="checkbox"/>
Middle Class	<input type="checkbox"/>
Upper Class	<input type="checkbox"/>

Instructions

The purpose of this questionnaire is to look at your opinions of some behaviours, attitudes, characteristics and emotions. Please answer **all** of the questions **circling just one** answer for each.

The first part will explore when you think somebody becomes an adult and why.

Parts II and III investigate ideas of male and female differences and similarities.

Parts IV and V will ask you questions about adult and child behaviours. And finally, Part VI will ask about behaviours that you do regularly.

The term 'child' in Parts II to VI of this questionnaire describes someone **aged 12 to 15**, in adolescence. Please think of this age group when answering the following questions.

Please think about **what you believe** is the case in each question. Don't worry about what might be the 'right' answer, there are no correct answers in this questionnaire, I am only interested in your views.

Remember, the answers you give are **anonymous** (nobody will know who gave the answers, not even the researcher). And you can opt out of the questionnaire at any point (though I'd rather you didn't!)

Part I: Becoming an adult

- 1) **Generally in which age-bracket does someone become an adult?**
 - a. Less than 12 years of age
 - b. 12 to 14 years of age
 - c. 15 to 17 years of age
 - d. 18 to 20 years of age
 - e. 21 to 29 years of age
 - f. 30 years or older

- 2) **What is the main reason that makes someone an adult?**
 - a. Independence: financial, transport (driving licence), or own home
 - b. Responsibility: children, long term relationship or caring for family members
 - c. Education/ Career: going to or finishing school, college or university, passing exams,
 - d. Legalities: when the law says that you are an adult – often 16 or 18
 - e. Behaviours: making personal choices - alcohol, smoking, taking drugs or having

- 3) **Overall, are you an adult?**
- a. Yes
 - b. No

Part II: Are these attributes and characteristics, in your opinion, more feminine (female), masculine (male), or equal to both?

- 1) **Nurture: Bringing up a family**
- a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. Both
- 2) **Entrepreneurship: Setting up and running your own business**
- a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. Both
- 3) **Sexual Promiscuity: Having sexual relations with lots of different people**
- a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. Both
- 4) **Violence: For instance, hitting someone in the face**
- a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. Both
- 5) **Breadwinning: Making money to provide financially for a family**
- a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. Both
- 6) **Manipulation: Getting your own way with other people**
- a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. Both

Part III: Do you think that these emotions or attributes are more female or male or generally equal therefore both?

- 1) **Rage**
 - a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. Both

- 2) **Kindness**
 - a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. Both

- 3) **Competitiveness**
 - a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. Both

- 4) **Passion (for a subject, pastime, career or cause)**
 - a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. Both

- 5) **Sexiness (being sexually attractive – this does not imply your sexuality)**
 - a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. Both

- 6) **Resentment**
 - a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. Both

Part IV: This part explores common behaviours. Do you think that those who do them are adult, child or can be both?

- 1) **Drink moderately**
 - a. Adult
 - b. Child
 - c. Both

- 2) **Smoke tobacco**
 - a. Adult
 - b. Child
 - c. Both

- 3) **Have one night or brief sexual relations**
 - a. Adult
 - b. Child
 - c. Both

- 4) **Take illicit (illegal) drugs**
 - a. Adult
 - b. Child
 - c. Both

- 5) **Have intimate relationships (lasting physical relationships)**
 - a. Adult
 - b. Child
 - c. Both

- 6) **Watch pornography**
 - a. Adult
 - b. Child
 - c. Both

Part V: Do you think that these attributes are adult, child or both?

- 1) **Aggression**
 - a. Adult
 - b. Child
 - c. Both

- 2) **Responsibility**
 - a. Adult
 - b. Child
 - c. Both

- 3) **Ambition (achievement seeking)**
 - a. Adult
 - b. Child
 - c. Both

- 4) **Independence**
 - a. Adult
 - b. Child
 - c. Both

- 5) **Spontaneity (impulsive, do things without planning)**
 - a. Adult
 - b. Child
 - c. Both

- 6) **Vanity (placing importance in how you look over other personal attributes)**
 - a. Adult
 - b. Child
 - c. Both

Part VI: Do you regularly do any of these behaviours? (Please be honest).

- 1) **Drink alcohol (more than twice a week)**
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

- 2) **Take illegal drugs (more than twice a week)**
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

- 3) **Smoke tobacco (more than twice a week)**
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

- 4) **Have sex (more than twice a week)**
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

- 5) **Watch pornography (more than twice a week)**
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

- 6) **Get involved in fighting (more than once a month)**
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

Appendix C – Pupil Survey Questionnaire Final

What do you think and how do you feel?

Questionnaire

Instructor: Helen Popple, University of St Andrews

Contact details: 07872418219 or hp55@st-andrews.ac.uk

Date: _____

About you (please circle)... Gender: Male / Female

What Primary School did you go to? _____

Age Group	(Please tick one)		
11- 13	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14- 15	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16- 17	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18- 25	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

What class do you consider yourself? (Please circle one answer only):

- a) Working class
- b) Middle class
- c) Upper class

Instructions

The purpose of this questionnaire is to get your opinion on a number of important issues.

Please answer **all** of the questions.

The first part will ask for your opinion on when you think someone becomes an adult and why you think that way.

Please think about **what you believe** is the case in each question. Don't worry about what might be the 'right' answer. There are no correct answers in this questionnaire; I am only interested in what you think.

Remember, the answers you give are **anonymous** (nobody will know who gave the answers, not even the researcher). And you can opt out of the questionnaire at any point (though I'd rather you didn't!)

If there is anything you do not understand please ask.

Part 1: Becoming an adult

1) What age do you think someone becomes an adult? (Please circle one answer only)

- a. Less than 12 years of age
- b. 12 to 14 years of age
- c. 15 to 17 years of age
- d. 18 to 20 years of age
- e. 21 to 29 years of age
- f. 30 years or older

2) What makes a person an adult? (Please circle one answer only)

- a. Independence: financial, transport (driving licence), or own home
- b. Responsibility: children, long term relationship or caring for family members
- c. Education/ Career: going to or finishing school, college or university, passing exams, choosing a career
- d. Legalities: when the law says that you are an adult - often 16 or 18
- e. Behaviours: making personal choices - alcohol, smoking, taking drugs or having intimate relations (e.g. sex)

3) Are you an adult? (Please circle one answer only)

- a. Yes
- b. No

This part looks at how you think men and women are different and how you think they are the same.

Part 2: Who do you think is more likely to do these activities?

(For questions 1 - 6 please circle one answer only)

- 1) Who do you think is more likely to be good at bringing up a family?**
 - a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. No difference

- 2) Who do you think is more likely to be good at setting up and running their own business?**
 - a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. No difference

- 3) Who do you think is more likely to have sexual relationships with lots of different people?**
 - a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. No difference

- 4) Who do you think is more likely to do something even if they know that it will hurt or upset somebody?**
 - a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. No difference

- 5) Who do you think is more likely to provide money for their family?**
 - a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. No difference

- 6) Who do you think is more likely to do anything to get their own way?**
 - a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. No difference

This part looks at how you think men and women are different and how you think they are the same.

Part 3: Who do you think is more likely to behave in these ways?

(For questions 1 - 6 please circle one answer only)

- 1) Who do you think is more likely to go into a rage / really lose their temper?**
 - a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. No difference

- 2) Who do you think is more likely to be kind?**
 - a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. No difference

- 3) Who do you think is more likely to be competitive?**
 - a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. No difference

- 4) Who do you think is more likely to be passionate / very enthusiastic and motivated?**
 - a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. No difference

- 5) Who do you think is more likely to be a flirt?**
 - a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. No difference

- 6) Who do you think is more likely to hold a grudge?**
 - a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. No difference

4

This part asks you questions about adult and child behaviours.

Part 4: Who do you think is more likely to be doing these behaviours, adults, children aged 12 and older, or both?

(For questions 1 - 6 please circle one answer only)

- 1) Who do you think is more likely to drink too much?
 - a. Adult
 - b. Child (age 12 and older)
 - c. No difference

- 2) Who do you think is more likely to smoke tobacco? (Cigarettes, pipe, cigars, rollies etc.)
 - a. Adult
 - b. Child (age 12 and older)
 - c. No difference

- 3) Who do you think is more likely to have casual sexual relationships?
 - a. Adult
 - b. Child (age 12 and older)
 - c. No difference

- 4) Who do you think is more likely to take illegal drugs? (Such as, cannabis, heroin, cocaine, ecstasy, etc.)
 - a. Adult
 - b. Child (age 12 and older)
 - c. No difference

- 5) Who do you think is more likely to be looking for a long term relationship?
 - a. Adult
 - b. Child (age 12 and older)
 - c. No difference

- 6) Who do you think is more likely to look at sexually explicit images and videos? (On the internet, television, DVDs or in magazines)
 - a. Adult
 - b. Child (age 12 and older)
 - c. No difference

5

This part asks you questions about adult and child behaviours.

Part 5: Who do you think is more likely to show these characteristics, adults, children aged 12 and older or both?

(For questions 1 - 6 please circle one answer only)

- 1) Who do you think is more likely to be aggressive?**
 - a. Adult
 - b. Child (age 12 and older)
 - c. No difference

- 2) Who do you think is more likely to be responsible (for their own actions and sometimes those of others)?**
 - a. Adult
 - b. Child (age 12 and older)
 - c. No difference

- 3) Who do you think is more likely to be ambitious and seek achievements?**
 - a. Adult
 - b. Child (age 12 and older)
 - c. No difference

- 4) Who do you think is more likely to be independent (do things by themselves)?**
 - a. Adult
 - b. Child (age 12 and older)
 - c. No difference

- 5) Who do you think is more likely to do things without planning or thinking about what might happen?**
 - a. Adult
 - b. Child (age 12 and older)
 - c. No difference

- 6) Who do you think is more likely to put the way they look above other things?**
 - a. Adult
 - b. Child (age 12 and older)
 - c. No difference

This part asks you about things in your life that you would like to change.

Part 6: If you could change any two things in your life what would you choose?

(Please circle two answers only)

- a. **Money** (have more or less)
- b. **Relationships** (better, more or fewer friendships/ familymembers/ partners)
- c. **Appearance** (change your body, face or both)
- d. **Career Opportunities** (achieve your dream job/ go to university)
- e. **Intelligence** (more or less intelligent/ better at different things)
- f. **Belongings** (have more or better things - house, television, car etc.)
- g. **Sport** (be better at any or every sport)
- h. **Creative** (be better at music, singing, dancing or art)
- i. **Health** (not have any illness, disabilities, disorders or diseases)
- j. **Be Older**
- k. **Be Younger**

This part asks you about when you think someone becomes an adult.

I am asking you the same question as at the beginning of the questionnaire to see whether your opinions have changed after thinking about these behaviours - it is not a test.

WITHOUT LOOKING BACK AT YOUR PREVIOUS ANSWERS...

Part 7: What age do you think someone becomes an adult? (Please circle one answer only)

- a. Less than 12 years of age
- b. 12 to 14 years of age
- c. 15 to 17 years of age
- d. 18 to 20 years of age
- e. 21 to 29 years of age
- f. 30 years or older

Thank you for answering this questionnaire!

Appendix D – Child Semi-Structured Interview Guidance Protocol

Beliefs and Attitudes Semi- Structured Interview

(Children)

Topics and Potential Questions:

(General Changes)

What sorts of things do you do for fun?

- Do you get to play outside?

Who brought you up?

- What do you think of that?

(Family Dynamics)

What do you think of how young people talk to their parents and teachers?

- Do you think your parents and grandparents talked to their parents and teachers like that?
- Why do you think that might have changed?

When do you think you will become an adult (if not already)?

- What do you think will change this?

(How) do you think having a single parent affects a child?

What do you think your parents want you to achieve?

- How does this make you feel?

Do you want those things?

Do you think you will achieve those things?

Can you talk to your parents about sex/ drugs/ alcohol?

- Have you?

Can you talk to your grandparents about sex/ drugs/ alcohol?

- Have you?

(What did you think about what they said?)

(Sex and Pornography)

What do you think about the age of consent?

- Do you think it matters to your parents and grandparents?

What do you think about people watching pornography?

- Why do you think they watch it?
- Is there any difference between boys and girls watching pornography?

(Dress)

What do you do to make yourself look like you do today?

- Why did you do that?

What do your parents think about the way you look?

- What do you think they did to look good when they were your age?
 - o Why do you think that's changed?

(Safety and technology)

Do you feel safe when you are out in Kirkcaldy?

Do you think your parents feel you are safe when you are out in Kirkcaldy?

What do you think about the internet in terms of safety?

- Do you take precautions to keep yourself safe online?
 - o What do you do?

(Alcohol)

What do you think about young people drinking alcohol?

- Why do you think they drink alcohol?

Do you think there are differences in boys and girls drinking alcohol?

- Why do you think that is?

-

Do you think your parents felt the same way about alcohol when they were your age?

What do you think your grandparents thought of alcohol when they were your age?

(Employment)

What do you think of women deciding to be 'stay at home mums' (housewife)?

What do you think of men deciding to be 'stay at home dads' (househusband)?

Why do you think women/ men make that choice?

- Is there a difference?

How do you think it affects their children?

Appendix E – Parent Semi-Structured Interview Guidance Protocol

Beliefs and Attitudes Semi- Structured Interview

(Parents)

Topics and Potential Questions:

(General Changes)

How has childhood changed since you were growing up?

- What did you do for fun as a child?
- Did you get to play outside as a child?
- Would you or did you let your child do that?

What did your child/ children do for fun when they were growing up?

Who brought you up?

- What do you think of that now?

(Family Dynamics)

What do you think of how young people talk to their parents and teachers?

- How/ why do you think this has changed?

When do you think your child will become an adult (if not already)?

- What do you think will change this?

How do you think being a single parent affects a child?

What are your aspirations for your child? / What do you want your child to do/ achieve?

What did you want to do when you were your child's age?

- Do you think this is the same?

What do you think your parents wanted you to achieve?

- How did this make you feel?
- Did you achieve those things?

When you were growing up did you or could you talk to your parents about sex/ drugs/ alcohol?

- Can you discuss these things with your child?
 - o Have you done so?

(Sex and Pornography)

What do you think about the age of consent?

- Do you think young people care about it?

What did you think about sex when you were 12/15 (dependant on age of child)?

- Do you think differently now? How/ why?

What do you think about people watching pornography?

- Why do you think people watch it?

Were you aware of pornography when you were growing up?

- Has pornography use/ content changed since you were growing up?
 - o Do you think this matters?

What do you think about young people using/ viewing pornography?

- Is there any difference between boys and girls watching pornography?

Do you think pornography has changed how people have sex? How/ why?

(Dress)

What do you think about the clothing young people wear?

How did you dress when you were growing up?

What did young people do to improve or alter their appearance when you were growing up?

- Do you think most people did this/ these?

What do you think of things young people do now?

- What do you think has changed?

How do you think this has changed since your parents were young?

(Safety and technology)

Do you think life is as safe as it used to be?

How has that changed? What has that changed?

What do you think of the internet in terms of safety?

(Alcohol)

What did you think of young people drinking alcohol when you were growing up?

Were there any differences between boys and girls drinking alcohol when you were growing up?

What do you think of young people drinking now?

Why do you think young people drinking alcohol?

(Employment)

What do you think of women deciding to be 'stay at home mums' (housewife)?

What do you think of men deciding to be 'stay at home dads' (househusband)?

Why do you think women/ men make that choice?

- Is there a difference?

Do you think it affects their children?

Appendix F – Grandparent Semi-Structured Interview Guidance Protocol

Beliefs and Attitudes Semi- Structured Interview

(Grandparents)

Topics and Potential Questions:

(General Changes)

How has childhood changed since you were growing up?

- What did you do for fun as a child?
- Did you get to play outside as a child?
- Would you or did you let your child do that?

What did your child/ children do for fun when they were growing up?

Who brought you up?

- What do you think of that now?

(Family Dynamics)

What do you think of how young people talk to their parents and teachers?

- How/ why do you think this has changed?

When do you think your child became an adult (if they are)?

- What do you think changed this?

How do you think being a single parent affects a child?

What were your aspirations for your child? / What did you want your child to do/ achieve when they were growing up?

- Did they achieve this? / Are they achieving this?

What are your aspirations for your grandchild?

- Are they different?
 - o How/ why?

When you were growing up did you or could you talk to your parents about sex/ drugs/ alcohol?

- Did you discuss these things with your child?
- Can you discuss these things with your grandchild?
 - o Have you done so?

(Sex and Pornography)

What do you think about the age of consent?

- Do you think young people care about it?

What did you think about sex when you were 12/15 (dependant on age of grandchild)?

- Do you think differently now? How/ why?

What do you think about people watching pornography?

- Why do you think people watch it?

Were you aware of pornography when you were growing up?

- Has pornography use/ content changed since you were growing up?
 - o Do you think this matters?

What do you think about young people using/ viewing pornography?

- Is there any difference between boys and girls watching pornography?

Do you think pornography has changed how people have sex? How/ why?

(Dress and Bodies)

What do you think about the clothing young people wear?

How did you dress when you were growing up?

What did you think of the clothes your child[ren] wore when they were growing up?

What did young people do to improve or alter their appearance when you were growing up?

- Do you think most people did this/ these?

What do you think of things young people do now?

- What do you think has changed?

(Safety and technology)

Do you think life is as safe as it used to be?

How has that changed? What has that changed?

What do you think of the internet in terms of safety?

(Alcohol)

What did you think of young people drinking alcohol when you were growing up?

Were there any differences between boys and girls drinking alcohol when you were growing up?

What do you think of young people drinking now?

Why do you think young people drinking alcohol?

(Employment)

What do you think of women deciding to be 'stay at home mums' (housewife)?

What do you think of men deciding to be 'stay at home dads' (househusband)?

Why do you think women/ men make that choice?

- Is there a difference?

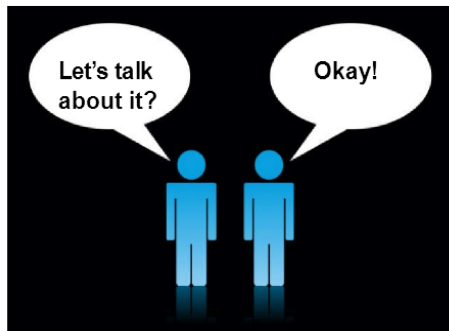
Do you think it affects their children?

Appendix G – Interview Participant Recruitment Advertisement



We Need YOU!!

(University of St Andrews)



Are you 11 to 15 years old?
Would you like to take part in some research about families?

- Families are very important to how young people grow up.



- Some people think that growing up has changed!

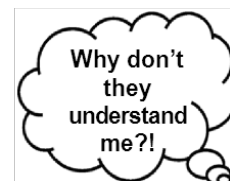
- We want to find out how growing up has changed and how this affects families

Who can take part?

- Anyone aged 11 to 15 and their parent, guardian or grandparent

What would I be asked to?

- Answer a confidential questionnaire
- Have a confidential, individual interview about growing up



What do I get for taking part?

- Each family will receive a **£50 ASDA Voucher or a family portrait** by Catch Professional Photography in Kirkcaldy – you choose!



- If you would like to take part or want some more information please contact Helen Popple on the contacts below...

Phone: 07872418219

Email: hp55@st-andrews.ac.uk

Contact Helen Popple on 07872418219 or hp55@st-andrews.ac.uk for more information

