"They are men, they will be looking even if you put on pants or a sweatshirt": Girl athletes' and coaches' experiences of body image in Mexico City sport settings

Aline Tinoco [*,1], Jekaterina Schneider [2], Sharon Haywood [3], Emily L. Matheson [4]

Centre for Appearance Research, School of Social Sciences, College of Health, Science and Society, University of the West of England, Coldharbour Lane, Bristol BS16 1QY, United Kingdom

ARTICLE INFO

ABSTRACT

Body image concerns are a barrier for girls' participation in sports. Scarce evidence from Mexico suggests adolescents experience high levels of body dissatisfaction, and national statistics report low levels of physical activity among girls. This study aimed to explore girls' body image concerns and coaches' perceptions of girls' body image experiences in sport. We used reflexive thematic analysis on secondary data from semi-structured focus groups conducted in Mexico City with 12 girls aged 11–17 years and six coaches from two sports organizations. Girls expressed feelings of self-consciousness about their performance, body-related teasing, the male gaze, and harassment within and outside sports contexts. Lack of support from coaches resulted in making excuses for withdrawing or supporting one another. Coaches' accounts demonstrate gender stereotypes about girls in sport. They acknowledge that girls abandon sport because of appearance-related teasing and body image concerns. In addition, colorism and discomfort with speaking directly about bodily functions are fundamental sociocultural influences affecting their communication. This is the first qualitative study exploring girls' body image concerns and coaches' perceptions of such concerns in Mexico City. Further research in lower- and middle-income countries is key in developing effective intervention programs to help girls benefit from sport.

1. Introduction

Body image concerns remain a barrier to girls' activity levels, despite the numerous mental and physical health benefits associated with a physically active lifestyle (Warburton & Bredin, 2017). Compared to their male peers, girls report greater appearance anxiety, objectifying and ill-fitting uniforms, and appearance teasing from peers and adults in sport settings (Slater & Tiggemann, 2011; Vani et al., 2020). Creating safer and more inclusive environments that encourage girls to initiate and maintain sports participation is therefore paramount. A crucial first step is gaining a better understanding of the body image concerns that girls face in sports contexts and how these are perceived by influential members within sports environments. To date, this has scarcely been investigated in Mexico and other Latin American populations.

1.1. Body image in Mexico

Girls' body image has been widely studied among White populations in high-income countries, with research consistently demonstrating a high level of appearance and body dissatisfaction in this demographic (Andersen & Swami, 2021). Despite the limited evidence pertaining to girls' body image in Mexico, rates of body dissatisfaction have been shown to be similar to, or higher than, those reported in high-income countries. Indeed, a 2006 study conducted with Mexican and Spanish girls aged 11–18 years found a similar risk for eating disorders between the two samples; furthermore, Mexican girls reported experiencing more pressure from parents and peers to lose weight (Toro et al., 2006). More recent evidence indicates that the prevalence of body dissatisfaction in Mexico ranges between 32 % and 70 % among adolescents aged 9–18 years; prevalence split by gender was not reported (Casarrubias-Jaimez et al., 2020; Oliva-Peña et al., 2016; Peña et al., 2019). Despite the lack of studies comparing body image concerns across genders

* Correspondence to: Centre for Appearance Research, University of the West of England, Coldharbour Lane, Bristol BS16 1QY, United Kingdom.
E-mail address: Aline.Tinoco@uwe.ac.uk (A. Tinoco).
[1] ORCID: 0000-0002-0293-4064.
[2] ORCID: 0000-0002-6069-4783.
[3] ORCID: 0000-0003-0761-5406.
[4] ORCID: 0000-0001-9692-0597.

within Mexican populations, evidence points to higher body dissatisfaction and thin ideal internalization among girls and women (Cocca et al., 2016; Pineda-García et al., 2021). Existing research on body image in Mexico is limited and has primarily examined body image in relation to the Body Mass Index (BMI) and how people's perceptions about their bodies impact weight management or contribute to eating disorders (Peña et al., 2019; Pineda-García et al., 2021; Ramos-Jiménez et al., 2017).

1.2. Body image and sports participation

The relationship between body image concerns and girls' sports participation has been explored across different countries and cultures, but these are predominantly high-income, non-Latin American countries (Sabiston et al., 2019). Among adolescent girls in the United States, body dissatisfaction has shown to predict exercise avoidance (Neumark-Sztainer et al., 2006) and is associated with reduced moderate to vigorous physical activity (More et al., 2019). Girls who experience body dissatisfaction struggle to initiate and maintain regular physical activity (More et al., 2019). Further, experiencing higher levels of weight stigma—prejudice, negative stereotypes, and discrimination toward people perceived to have excess weight (Tomiyama, 2014)—is associated with greater avoidance of exercise and lower levels of self-control, which result in reduced physical activity (Major et al., 2020).

Studies from high-income countries exploring the relationship between body image and sport focus mostly on the causal effects of physical activity or sport on body image, and to a lesser extent, on the causal effects of body image on physical activity or sport participation (Sabiston et al., 2019). Research on body image and sports in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) is underexplored, although limited studies from Latin America, namely Brazil, Chile, and Costa Rica, support these findings. That is, athletes who are teased show greater body dissatisfaction than non-athletes (Gonzaga et al., 2019); adolescents living with depression also manifest body dissatisfaction and low levels of physical activity (Delgado-Floody et al., 2020); and girls experience anxiety about being shamed and sexually objectified while practicing sport, contributing to a reduced desire to engage in physical activity (Monge-Rojas et al., 2017).

Research on body image and sports in Mexico is even further lacking. To date, only one study has explored the intersection of body image and movement in a Mexican population, which investigated the motivational mechanisms between weight stigma and physical activity in young adults from France and Mexico (Rojas-Sánchez et al., 2021). Results showed that BMI, perceived weight, perceived weight discrimination, and weight stigma concerns were significantly higher in the Mexican sample (Rojas-Sánchez et al., 2021). High levels of weight stigma and body dissatisfaction might play a role in the low rates of physical activity among Mexican youth. This is particularly concerning given that according to the latest national statistics, only 12.7 % of Mexican girls aged 10–14 years meet the recommended daily activity guidelines of 60 min of moderate to vigorous movement, compared to 21.8 % of boys (Shamah-Levy et al., 2018).

1.3. Objectification theory

One theory that can help explain the relationship between body image and sports participation among girls is objectification theory (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). It suggests that constant judgment and attention to one's body results in self-objectification, a psychological process in which a person views themselves as a physical object, which in turn increases levels of body shame and appearance anxiety (Slater & Tiggemann, 2012). Objectification theory originally inferred that participating in sport could reduce self-objectification by increasing the appreciation for what the body can do (Fredrickson

& Roberts, 1997). However, sport is often a social activity (Sabiston et al., 2014) in which athletes' bodies are commonly evaluated by professionals and peers, not only related to their performance but also their appearance. Girls who practice sport face complex and contradictory messages about their bodies, including appearance ideals from peers, parents, and the media (Shroff & Thompson, 2006), and pressures to live up to athletic and performance ideals (Lunde & Gattario, 2017).

There is ample evidence that girls and women in sport experience high levels of teasing (Slater & Tiggemann, 2011; Vani et al., 2020), shame (Ryall, 2019), body shaming (McMahon et al., 2021), sexual objectification (Daniels et al., 2020), body dissatisfaction (Gilchrist et al., 2021), and harassment (Breger et al., 2019) from peers, parents, coaches, and/or onlookers within sport environments. This suggests a normalization of gender stereotypes and harmful sport norms and values that negatively impact girls' body image and their experience in sport (Stirling & Kerr, 2008). The coach-athlete relationship is pivotal to many sport environments and institutions, and more often than not, it informs the culture of a team or sport community. For instance, coaches are involved in numerous aspects of athletes' lives, including their physical training and playing time; their social, emotional, and psychological well-being; their food intake; and body image (Petrie & Greenleaf, 2012). With regard to athletes' body image and eating behaviors, coaches have been identified as important social agents according to the sociocultural model of disordered eating in sport (Petrie & Greenleaf, 2007). Despite the significant influence of the coach-athlete relationship on athletes, there is a lack of understanding regarding the views of coaches and how they manage their athletes' body image concerns (Sabiston et al., 2020). To our knowledge, this topic has yet to be explored in Mexico.

1.4. The current study

This qualitative study conducted secondary analyses on data from a convenience sample of girls and coaches in Mexico City with the overarching aim of investigating girls' and coaches' perceptions of body image concerns among girls within sports environments, as well as the support both groups require from intervention programs. The aims of the focus groups were to gain insights into girls' body image experiences while participating in sports from the perspectives of girls and coaches; determine barriers and protective factors to girls' body image; and identify strategies that would help girls and coaches address girls' body image concerns in sport.

2. Materials and methods

2.1. Participants and procedures

This study is part of a larger project that is being conducted by an international multi-stakeholder collaboration among academic, industry, and community partners. The partnership aims to better understand body image within sports contexts and develop universal intervention programs for girls and coaches. From inception, a community-based participatory research lens (CBPR; Corbie-Smith et al., 2015) was utilized in the intervention development process. The current data came from three of 21 semi-structured focus groups facilitated in six countries (France, India, Japan, Mexico, the United Kingdom, and the United States) during May 2021. Participants were eligible if they were adolescent girls aged 11–17 years participating in any sport and their coaches. In the case of Mexican participants, additional eligibility criteria included girls and coaches who were Spanish speakers and residents of Mexico City.

Table 1
Girls' focus groups: structure and questions.

Time (mins)	Activity	Aims	Questions
20	Introduction	Introductions Reiterate focus group aims Communicate importance of girls' involvement Increase girls' and facilitators' comfortability	
30	Group discussion: presentation to the group on athletes' visualization sketches (individual visualization exercise prior to the focus group)	Gain insights into girl's body image experiences during sports	– How did you find this activity? (e.g., Was it enjoyable; challenging? Why?) – About your sketch: – Where are you? – What are you doing? – What are you experiencing? (e.g., what thoughts/feelings/physical sensations are you having?) – What is positive about this experience; what is negative?
30	Group discussion	Identify body image-related barriers and protective factors associated with girls' sports experiences	– When playing sport, what type of things help you feel good about your body, and why? – When playing sport, what type of things make you feel worse about your body, and why?
35	Group discussion	Invite girls to generate new ideas for program activities that address barriers and protective factors for sports participation	– In groups of three, we'd like you to brainstorm different activities that help girls feel better about their bodies (20 min). – Present 'new ideas' to the big group (15 min).
5	Closing remarks	Reminder about participants' rights (withdrawal and confidentiality) and follow-up tasks	

2.1.1. Participants

Girls and coaches were recruited through two Mexico City sports organizations (boxing and soccer), which provide programs to young people in underserved communities. Parental consent and participant assent were obtained through an opt-out modality, and 12 girls and six coaches (*n* = 18) participated across three focus groups. Girls were grouped by age and organization to increase their comfortability. One focus group involved six girls aged 15–17 years from the boxing organization, and another focus group consisted of six girls aged 11–14 years from the soccer organization. Three boxing coaches (one woman, two men) and three soccer coaches (two women, one man) attended the coaches' focus group.

2.1.2. Focus group design

The focus groups were designed by the second and fourth authors (CONCEALED et al., under review) in collaboration with research, community, and industry partners and were informed by existing evidence on body image, sport, and CBPR. The focus groups were semi-structured to allow for a broad discussion about body image in sports contexts and follow-up questioning (see Tables 1 and 2 for focus group questions for the girls' and coaches' focus groups, respectively).

The girls received an information pack one week prior to the focus group. Information about the research was complemented with a brief explanation of what body image is (i.e., how we think, feel, and behave in relation to our bodies; Cash & Smolak, 2011), a visualization exercise, and a journaling task to prepare participants for the discussions. Coaches also received an information pack with key definitions and a writing task that prompted them to reflect on body image concerns they perceive among their athletes and how they have dealt with these concerns. During the coaches' focus group, participants talked about the body image concerns they observed among girls in sport, their experiences and barriers to supporting girls, and their ideas about how to upskill coaches on the topic of body image in sport.

All focus groups were facilitated by the first author, a native of Mexico City, who identifies as a Hispanic Latina woman and has clinical experience in eating disorders and body image. The focus groups were co-facilitated by the third author, a White Canadian-Irish woman fluent in Spanish, who has experience working with Latin American adolescents and adults around the topic of body image. Both facilitators are research associates in the applied research field of body image. The focus groups were held online via Zoom. Facilitators attended using their own devices, and participants convened in their respective sports organization and joined the focus group on one shared device. Due to local COVID-19 measures, participants attended the focus group in spacious classrooms and wore facemasks. Staff from each sports organization attended the focus groups to provide support to the facilitators and participants, if required. Participants received a £ 50 (approximately US$68) voucher for their participation in this study. The recorded data were transcribed verbatim and translated by the first author. The project received ethics approval from the University of [CONCEALED] (ref no. [CONCEALED]).
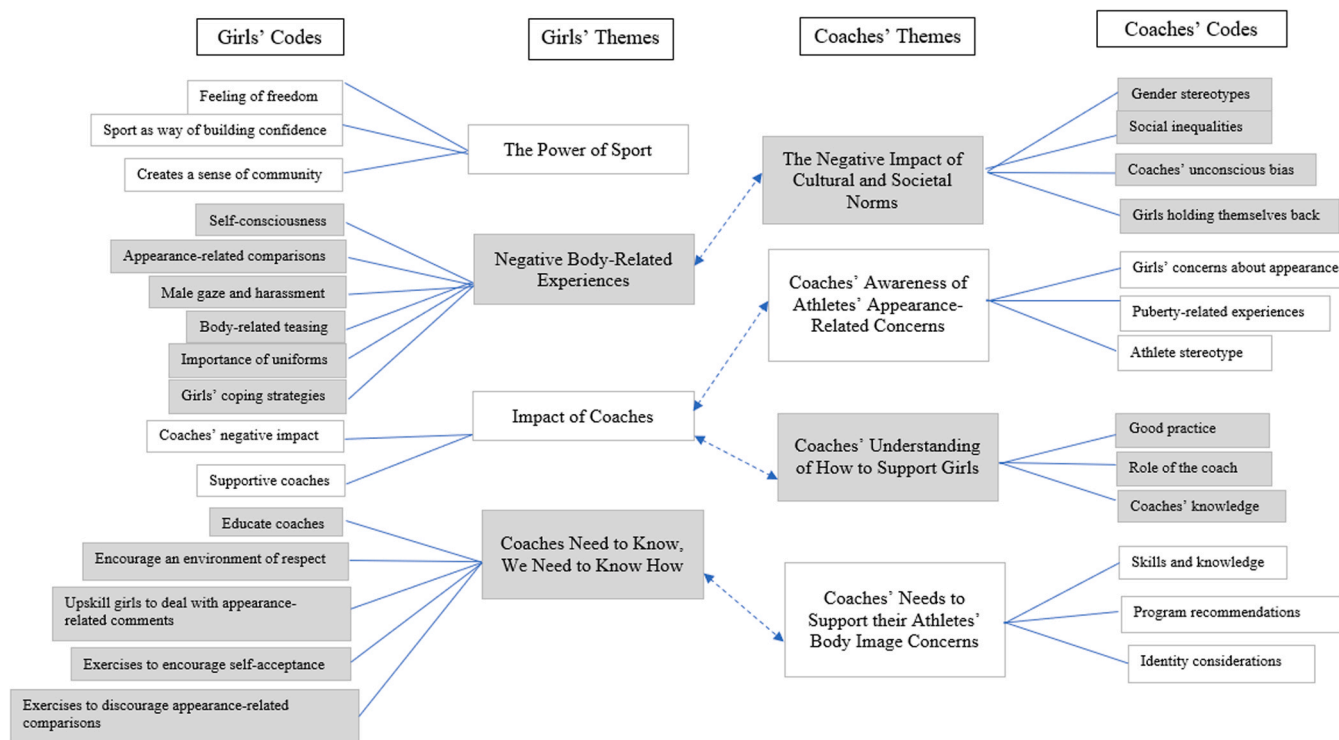
2.2. Data analysis

The transcripts were analyzed using reflexive thematic analysis (Braun et al., 2015; Clarke & Braun, 2013). A total sample of 12 girls and six coaches participated in the focus groups, which is in line with sample sizes reported in previous research using this methodological approach (McArdle et al., 2012; Rance et al., 2013; Sabiston et al., 2020).

The analysis was conducted by the first and third authors, working in parallel and discussing findings through regular discussion and review. Any content related to body image experiences in sport and what girls need from their sports environments was selected as data. Following the six steps of reflexive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), the authors (1) familiarized themselves with the transcripts, (2) engaged in systematic data coding, (3) identified preliminary codes from recurring patterns, and (4) grouped codes into themes. At this point, the authors convened to (5) discuss and resolve minor discrepancies and develop preliminary themes. This first iteration of themes was then shared with the second and fourth authors, who have expertise in body image, sports psychology, and qualitative research. They reviewed and provided comments, and the findings were discussed in multiple revision rounds until authors reached consensus on the themes. As a final step, (6) the first author checked the themes against the transcripts for accuracy, selected compelling extracts to elaborate on each theme, and wrote the results. The process of writing the results involved several revisions from all authors. Once the themes were confirmed, any differences

Table 2
Coaches' focus group: structure and questions.

Time (mins)	Activity	Aims	Questions
10	Introduction	Introductions Reiterate focus group aims Communicate importance of coaches' involvement Increase coaches' and facilitators' comfortability	
45	Group discussion	Reflection on body image concerns among girls in sport Discussion of coaches' knowledge, skills, and experiences of dealing with body image concerns among girls in sport	– Do you feel body image concerns are relevant in sport? (Why or why not? Are there specific concerns for adolescent girls?) – Have you experienced body image concerns in sport? (As an athlete? As a coach?) – What body image concerns have you noticed among your athletes? (Conversations? Behaviors? Impact on performance? Impact on mood?) – What do you think your role is as a coach in tackling body image concerns among your athletes? (What do you have influence over? What do you not have influence over?) – How do you think your thoughts about your own body influence how you address body image concerns among your athletes? (Do they have an impact? Why or why not?) – How have you responded to body image concerns among your athletes? – What has been helpful? What has not been helpful?
45	Group discussion	Invite coaches to generate new ideas for program activities that help coaches identify and address body image concerns among girls in sport	– What would help you identify and tackle body image concerns in the future? (Tools? Resources? Support?) – What needs to be included in a body image training tool to make it effective for coaches? (What do you want to learn more about?) – Are there any other things you feel we should know about or consider before developing this tool?
10	Closing remarks	Reminder about participants' rights (withdrawal and confidentiality) and follow-up tasks	

Fig. 1. Thematic map of themes and codes from the girls' and coaches' focus groups.

between the accounts of coaches and girls were explored, and a thematic map was created by the first author to highlight the themes and codes for each group of participants (girls and coaches) and the links between them (see Fig. 1).

2.2.1. Philosophical assumptions

The authors ascribe to a social constructionist epistemology that views meaning as the product of social processes and interactions (Andrews, 2015; Clarke & Braun, 2013). Therefore, the focus groups were seen as a collaborative process aimed at understanding the lived experience of the participants. This approach supports a more balanced power dynamic between researchers and participants,

with everyone bringing their experience and expertise to construct new meanings and realities. This is particularly relevant for the complexity and multi-dimensionality of body image (Gleeson & Frith, 2006). Ascribing to this epistemology allowed for the exploration of body image originating from the experiences of both girls and coaches.

2.2.2. Qualitative rigor

A variety of measures were taken to enhance the qualitative rigor of the study. The focus groups were part of a co-creation process to design an intervention for girls aged 11–17 years and their coaches. Therefore, girls and coaches from sports organizations known to the community partner were recruited. Thematic analysis is a recommended approach for applied research (Braun et al., 2016; Braun & Clarke, 2019); therefore, it was appropriate for the focus groups' purpose of intervention development. The focus groups were adapted, facilitated, and analyzed by the first author. Her expertise lies in non-diet approaches to nutrition in clinical practice, developing and implementing health and nutrition interventions for the charity Save the Children Mexico, and being a member of the former Health at Every Size© network in Mexico. The third author and co-facilitator in the focus groups collaborated with the analysis; she has extensive experience in leading body image-related advocacy work with the public, businesses, and government in the region.

The second and fourth authors provided support during the research conceptualization and execution (i.e., design and analyses) by critically questioning the processes to ensure high quality and robust research. Coding occurred at two main levels—semantic (the surface meaning of the data) and latent (the underlying meanings) (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The social constructionist theoretical framework allowed for the analysis to employ a critical lens and the researchers' interpretative resources to interrogate the assumptions of the participants' accounts (Clarke & Braun, 2013). The first author's knowledge of the Mexican context gave her insights into the nuanced ways in which participants communicated, allowing for a more latent analysis of the data. As recommended by Smith and McGannon (2017), calculation of inter-rater reliability was avoided as this was deemed inappropriate for reflexive thematic analysis using the social constructionist theoretical framework. Instead, having two researchers analyze the data served the purpose of reflecting on the assumptions, questioning the process, and strengthening credibility (King & Ussher, 2013; McArdle et al., 2012). This flexible and collective approach involved several rounds of discussion, which provided opportunities to involve multiple perspectives in the analysis and presentation of the results.

3. Results

Thematic analysis resulted in four themes for both the girls' and coaches' focus groups. Themes from the girls' focus groups included: 1) The Power of Sport, 2) Negative Body-Related Experiences, 3) Impact of Coaches, and 4) Coaches Need to Know, We Need to Know How. Themes from the coaches' focus groups included: 1) The Negative Impact of Cultural and Societal Norms, 2) Coaches' Awareness of Athletes' Appearance-Related Concerns, 3) Coaches' Understanding of How to Support Girls, and 4) Coaches' Needs to Support their Athletes' Body Image Concerns.

Participants are identified by code G1, G2, etc. for girls, with girls identified as GB1 to GB6 belonging to the boxing organization (15–17 years) and GS7 to GS12 belonging to the soccer organization (11–14 years). Coaches are identified by code C1, C2, etc., followed by W or M if the coach was a woman or a man, and B or S if they coach boxing or soccer, respectively (e.g., CMB4 = male boxing coach and CWS1 = female soccer coach). For a visual representation of themes and codes for girls and coaches, and the relationships between them, see Fig. 1.

3.1. "The Coach was a Bit Macho." Understanding Girls' Body-Related Experiences in Sports

3.1.1. Theme 1. The Power of Sport

Girls talked at length about the positive feelings they experience when participating in sports. Descriptors included: *"It helps me feel good with my body"* (GS11); *"I am happy, and I leave relaxed and wanting to continue playing"* (GS7); *"I feel so good with myself, satisfied, happy"* (GB5); *"I release stress. I feel at peace with myself in those moments"* (GS9). They also mentioned that sport supports their confidence: *"It is my favorite sport because it helped me overcome fears, gave me security"* (GB3). Additionally, they shared how sport helped create a sense of community: *"When my team is playing, knowing that my team supports me makes me feel happy"* (GS12).

Girls also mentioned how sport helps them gain confidence and push past feelings of self-consciousness. GB1 mentioned:

> (When playing sports) I have to concentrate and I forget everything, it is a moment when I do not think about the person next to me, what my friends are doing or what are my parents doing, because you literally have to concentrate so that things turn out well for you.

Some girls in this group used this moment to explain how practicing sport helps them cope with uncomfortable feelings, problems, and feelings of self-consciousness about their performance. For example (GB3):

> I feel at peace when I'm in the ring, it's satisfying, relaxing, I like to focus on something and not have to think about anything.

GB5 agreed and said: *"Boxing helps me to relax a lot from school and forget about homework"*.

In addition to the intrinsic satisfaction from participating in sport, girls focused on the sense of community they feel when playing with their teammates. Athletes kept mentioning how sport helped them overcome insecurities and several participants shared how they were able to move beyond their self-consciousness about their performance with the help of their teammates (GB2):

> (When I first started boxing, seeing my teammates) I didn't have any strength and I had no experience in sports, when I saw GB5 or other teammates and I felt weak, but it became my favorite sport not only because of the sport but because of the people with whom I practice it. It was my teammates who helped me.

3.1.2. Theme 2. Negative body-related experiences

Athletes also experienced appearance-related comparisons and body-related teasing among teammates. GS9 recalled: *"Sometimes they tell me that I am chubby, also sometimes that I am short"*. Girls in this group highlighted an uncomfortable feeling of being stared at: *"I don't like feeling that people are looking at me a lot…I feel that I attract attention and I don't like it"* (GS10).

Girls also stressed the negative effect of the male gaze, a way in which they are objectified. GB3 mentioned her experience not in the ring, but in the pool: *"In swimming, I am with boys and in my bathing suit. When I am in the water, I do not feel anything but when I get out, it is uncomfortable"*. She continued:

> I feel uncomfortable exercising in front of a man. We do not know how they take it, if the man is taking it as: 'that is a person doing exercise' or they are very rude people who are mean toward women. Then it is an insecurity; at that moment you get nervous, and, in your mind, you begin to imagine a thousand things.I think it's something that has happened to all of us.

Girls also recalled being teased by boys in physical education class: *"What bothered me a lot is that the boys always compared us saying 'no, but that girl is pretty'"* (GB2).

This account encouraged other teammates to speak up about their fears, and one of them (GB1) went on to share an experience of assault on her way home from sports practice: *"A guy came from behind and grabbed me…grabbed my waist. I felt very uncomfortable, and I started crying"*. These quotes reveal how aware girls are of the male gaze and harassment, to the point that the male presence is often a constant threat in their lives.

GS12 noted that comparison also happens between teammates: *"Other girls compare themselves with the bodies of other girls"*. GS9 added: *"I am tall, and some girls compare themselves against me, and I don't like it."*. GS7 also shared that girls called her names: *"They say to me, 'there goes shorty'. I don't like being given nicknames. It makes me want to cry"*. This opened the opportunity for a participant (GS8) to share some ableist judgments she had received from her teammates, such as: *"I don't have that much mobility. Sometimes girls say I should try harder; that makes me feel bad because I do make an effort"*. GS8 continued: *"What I don't like about my body is that I don't have as much strength as other girls and I don't like being reminded of that"*.

Moreover, uniforms play an important role, not only related to their physical comfort while practicing sports but also in terms of feeling exposed. This relates to the discomfort around the male gaze and was mostly implicit. Girls used phrases such as, *"I like to wear pants, it depends if the pants are not tight"* (GS8); *"I like t-shirts long and loose"* (GS10).

Girls have strategies to cope with these negative experiences, such as resorting to excuses, as GB1 recalled: *"'I'm on my period' was the only excuse we could use to avoid exercising and so the boys wouldn't bother us, but I could only use it very little"*. Another strategy she mentioned was supporting each other as a response to teasing or being victims of the male gaze*: "Once a girl got her shirt wet and all her clothes became see-through…what I did was I lent her my sweater"*. These experiences seem to happen quite frequently, as she explained: *"It was something so normal that we began to see how we solved that kind of problem among girls"*.

3.1.3. Theme 3. Impact of coaches

Repeatedly, girls reported nervousness and worry about judgment from coaches and peers. They experienced anxiety when coaches and other people judged different aspects of their performance (i.e., not being good enough, having different abilities, and being criticized). As GS7 said: *"I do not like to be criticized when I play because I feel very vulnerable"*.

Girls shared accounts that indicate coaches often criticize individual girls in front of others, making them feel embarrassed or shamed. One girl recalled: *"It annoys me when they put me in front of everybody saying what I do wrong"* (GS7). This was reflected in their recommendations, when a girl from a different focus group said: *"We would like that boxing coaches did not expose us in public, that they told us in private"* (GB4). Paradoxically, albeit to a lesser extent, girls also agreed that coaches can be supportive by celebrating their abilities, as GS8 expressed: *"Our coach is very kind and tells us what we do perfectly"*.

Intersecting with the previous theme, coaches overtly normalize the male gaze. GB1 shared that before boxing, she enjoyed playing basketball, but her coach would make them change and wear shorts at a moment where boys were practicing nearby. She also shared about her basketball coach: *"He was a bit macho, and he told us, 'Well, they are men, they will be looking even if you put on pants or a sweatshirt'"*.

3.1.4. Theme 4. Coaches need to know, we need to know how

Finally, girls suggested how their experience in sport could be improved to address their body image concerns. Girls mentioned ideas that can be categorized into two groups: coaches' awareness about girls' body image concerns and girls' practical skills on how to counteract negative feelings about their bodies. Girls want coaches

to be informed and aware of their body image concerns and to act as role models in creating safe and respectful environments. For example, one girl suggested that coaches should *"openly encourage talks about insecurities, that is, to talk openly about what makes you confident or insecure"* (GS9). In their community, girls would like men and close relatives to be involved as GB9 elaborated: *"We could have a general workshop for men and women to inform and make people aware of the situations, insecurities, and other things that a woman goes through in her life"*. Additionally, GS7 suggested: *"I want girls to have confidence in the family to share their insecurities"*.

With regard to their skills, girls want to learn how to deal with appearance-related comments, encourage self-acceptance, and discourage appearance-related comparisons. For example, GS7 suggested: *"If the girls knew how much they are worth they would not want to change their appearance to please other people"*. GS9 added that skills to manage negative thoughts about their appearance would be useful: *"Teach people how valuable their positive thoughts are and that they can work on turning negative thoughts into positive ones"*. Similarly, GS12 shared an exercise that could help overcome body image concerns: *"Make a list of the things you like about your body and a list of the things you don't like about your body, and identify why, and think about what you can do to feel better"*.

3.2. "The Boys are More Daring…the Girls are Calmer." Coaches' Perceptions About Girls in Sport and their Body Image Concerns

3.2.1. Theme 1. The negative impact of cultural and societal norms

Coaches seemed to recognize that at the root of the problem with girls' participation in sports and their body image concerns are societal gender expectations. They all agreed with CWS1, who commented on why girls drop out of sport:

> How we are culturally educated on gender issues, girls always… like…the parents take care of them more and they're more like, 'oh don't do this' or 'don't get so and so' or 'don't go so and so' and with the boys, it's always, 'yes, do what you want'…even more: 'you have to do it' that is, they encourage them.

This coach also pointed to wider social inequalities as a divide between themselves and the girls they coach. For instance:

> We are very different. The fact that I am White implies a shock that they see me and say, 'ah you are super different from me'.

Despite their awareness of certain inequalities, coaches had contradicting views regarding gender. For example, although coaches clearly identified that girls are raised differently, coaches seemed to also inadvertently reinforce certain gender stereotypes, such as labeling girls as less competitive than boys: *"The boys are, let's say, more daring, and when I tell them go to the punching bag, well, they go with all their might and burst against the punching bag. Not with the girls, the girls are calmer"* (CMB4).

Coaches also believed pubertal changes to be an obstacle to girls' performance, as CMB5 said: *"…because of the fact that the mechanics become a bit hampered when it comes to growing up or the growth of some parts"*. CMS2 agreed: *"…they are already beginning to grow, to develop, their skills may be interfered by this growth"*. There was agreement that girls hold themselves back, choosing not to fully apply themselves: *"I see a lot of limitation, self-limitation like, 'I can't do that' or 'no, I don't have the conditions to do that'. I think more in girls than in boys"* (CWS1). Coaches suggested that girls prefer to stay in their comfort zone and not push themselves, but they did not clearly identify why.

3.2.2. Theme 2. Coaches' awareness of athletes' appearance-related concerns

Coaches communicated a broad understanding of girls' body image problems. Sometimes girls shared their concerns with their

coaches as CMB5 said: *"Girls sometimes come to us with some dissatisfaction with their body"*. They are familiar with girls' drive to conform to media representations of idealized bodies; one coach expressed how his athletes want to have the body of boxers they see in the media: *"You see, they say, 'I want to learn boxing first, and then I want to have the body like that boxer'"* (CMB4). He also acknowledged the problem of athletic ideals:

> Anyone who thinks of a boxer will immediately imagine a completely athletic body. But we have great boxers who don't have defined muscles, many hit very well, strong, but their body is not the athletic one we are used to seeing…kids who stay away from sport, I see that it is because they fail to reach those standards.

However, there is a degree of uncertainty, as CMB5 expressed: *"So, she has been asking me for types of exercises that tell me that the girl is beginning to worry a little more about her physical appearance"*. They know that girls face teasing because of their changing bodies, as CMS2 shared about one of his athletes: *"Because they are growing, the others are teasing them"*.

A coach (CWB6) highlighted the importance of the coach's role when addressing these behaviors or comments from their athletes; specifically, she shared her experience when an athlete was restricting food to lose weight:

> I had a girl who wanted to be like the coach, right? Thin and the girl is not thin, and the mother approached me because the girl stopped eating, she was pale, and no longer had strength.

CWS3 agreed that body image is a common concern among young athletes: *"They are at the age…young when for many, their physique is like their main focus right?"*. CWS2 said she understood CWB6 and CWS3′s concerns, but acknowledged her thin privilege and the barrier this creates with her athletes:

> [My athletes] see me and say, 'you are super different from me'. I am thin, and I almost don't have to do anything, I don't have to try, and I keep my weight, right? That generates rather the opposite effect [of being a positive role model] of 'oh well yes, for you everything is easy'.

They also suspect that girls use being on their period as an excuse to skip practice but were unsure about the reason why (CMS2):

> They sometimes come up and say, 'Coach, today I cannot train, I am going through very difficult days and today I can't train'. So, then I have to weigh it up: Do I believe her? And generally, I tell them, 'I believe you'.

By saying *"going through very difficult days"*, the girl refers to having her period. This relates to girls having to resort to excuses due to lack of support and understanding from coaches about their body image concerns.

3.2.3. Theme 3. Coaches' understanding of how to support girls

Despite noteworthy gender stereotypes and being somewhat unaware of the extent of the challenges that girls face, coaches agreed that body image is a key reason why girls abandon sports (CMS2):

> Yes, I think it is an issue that in the vast majority of reasons from girls who stay away from sports is precisely because of those kinds of things that happen to their bodies, but above all, because of what [CWS1] says: culture, education, and the teasing that make girls withdraw.

Coaches shared a few examples of good practice and how they have managed some of the girls' concerns without causing harm. They highlighted the value of a multidisciplinary approach, by pointing to the importance of referring to experts. CWB6 said:

> This girl was not eating. Her mother asked me to please talk to her, and we approached a psychologist to give her a better orientation. So, thanks to the fact that we all talked about it in time, she is now eating, she is doing very well, and is very good at the sport.

Coaches also mentioned that promoting values that avoid focusing on appearance is part of their ethos: *"We should seek to put aside the physical aspect, eh…to put more emphasis on ability or effort, which is what we already do"* (CWS3). They also expressed that they want girls to know that everybody is different. As one coach clearly said, she wants her athletes to know that *"being thin does not mean being healthy and being a little overweight does not mean that you cannot perform activities"* (CWS6).

This theme portrays the constructive influence of coaches. They have an overall positive relationship with girls, understand the need for support and training to address their concerns, and are committed to promoting values that do not focus on appearance.

3.2.4. Theme 4. Coaches' needs to support their athletes' body image concerns

Finally, coaches identified a wide array of needs to better support girls. They were open about their insecurities and lack of knowledge. For instance, one coach shared his suspicions about one girl's body image concerns starting at a young age (CMB5):

> I wouldn't like to say because really, they are at most 8-year-old, maybe 9-year-old girls, but maybe they start to also care about how they look at this stage of their life, and that makes her feel safe and maybe that's why she wants to work more with certain type of exercises.

Coaches want to know how to identify and support girls with their body image concerns, as well as to learn more about puberty and other physiological aspects that impact body image. For instance, CWB6 expressed: *"[I want] to know how to identify each girl's problem; how to handle the case"*. Additionally, they are interested in understanding more about the impact of social inequalities. There was insecurity about how to handle body image concerns beyond weight, with skin color being identified as an issue: *"I'm a little scared to talk about it, I think, with my groups, I thought that maybe I lacked tools for that [talking about skin color and racism]"* (CWS1). CWS1 further stated that racism, social inequality, and class differences are a barrier between her and the girls she coaches, which she wishes she could handle better: *"I want to know how to approach it and talk about it. That is, to be able to talk about the differences, right?"*. Coaches stressed that they need knowledge and skills that can be applied experientially. For instance, CWS1 went on to say:

> It is also very easy to say, 'racism is this…' but in the game or on the court or in the ring or wherever we coach, this…implies like…to see specific cases and say, 'ahh here there was racism, here there was discrimination of this type'. Since we do not speak about it, sometimes you don't realize because all these things are normalized.

4. Discussion

This study aimed to explore the body image concerns of girls within sports environments in Mexico City, coaches' perceptions of girls' body image concerns in sport, and what support girls and coaches require from intervention programs. Girls identified three primary challenges: feeling highly self-conscious about their appearance and performance, facing body-related teasing among teammates, and being the target of the male gaze and harassment. Girls benefit significantly from their sport and develop skills beyond their practice. However, they frequently face negative experiences

with their coaches, boys, and men in and around sports contexts, such as when traveling to and from practice. They want to improve their own body image, while also highlighting the importance of educating men, families, and other members of the community on the gender-specific issues girls and women face. Some of the girls' views reflected in the themes coincide with coaches' views; however, most of the girls' body image experiences and feelings were unknown to the coaches. Overall, coaches understand there are cultural and societal influences in how girls are raised, and they are aware of some of the girls' challenges and pressures around their bodies. However, they believe that girls are inherently less competitive, and that puberty interferes with their performance. Coaches expressed willingness to learn and had very specific needs for training on this topic.

Body image is a multidimensional construct that encompasses both appearance and function (Cash & Smolak, 2011), and girls' themes reveal the complex messages they receive, the pressures from appearance ideals that girls and women experience in daily life, and the performance and athletic ideals they are subjected to by participating in sport. Girls' accounts relate to appearance-related teasing among teammates and being sexually objectified by boys who watch them during practice, with this latter concern being blatantly normalized by coaches who also publicly judge and criticize girls, making them feel self-conscious.

Girls' accounts are in line with the sociocultural model of disordered eating for athletes, where general sociocultural and sport-specific pressures are associated with internalization of body ideals, body dissatisfaction, and other symptoms related to disordered eating (Petrie & Greenleaf, 2012). Unsurprisingly, during the coaches' focus group, there was one account about an athlete restricting food to lose weight. These findings clearly support this model and highlight that despite the potential of sport for promoting positive body image, sport environments often reinforce objectification through experiences of teasing, shaming, sexual objectification, and harassment. In turn, girls report feeling self-conscious about their bodies and their performance in front of coaches and male peers, which are signs of self-objectification (Daniels et al., 2020; Slater & Tiggemann, 2012). Lack of support results in girls making excuses for not participating (e.g., saying they are on their period) or supporting one another (e.g., lending clothes to their teammates). These findings provide some context for the current evidence on girls' lower participation and higher dropout rates in sport.

4.1. Self-Consciousness and Critical Coaches

There appears to be a link between girls' self-consciousness and frequent mentioning of critical coaches who confront girls in front of their teammates. This aligns with previous research that describes the frequent practice of shaming to boost performance in sports contexts (Ryall, 2019; Willson & Kerr, 2021). This is further compounded by constantly experiencing the male gaze (Gervais et al., 2019; Slater & Tiggemann, 2012). Indeed, as one girl expressed, they learn to support each other and address how to minimize or prevent the teasing amongst themselves. Coaches normalize the male gaze and the objectification from boys and men. Despite all this, girls still enjoy sport and see it as a respite from life stressors and as a place where they can obtain valuable life lessons.

To a certain extent, coaches are aware of girls' body image concerns and have managed some issues without doing harm. For example, one coach referred one of her athletes to a specialist when she noticed her athlete was restricting food. That said, coaches wish to be better prepared to identify body image concerns and support girls. Of equal importance, girls would like to learn skills to manage their body image anxieties.

4.2. Body ideals, social comparison, and objectification in sports environments

Girls' accounts of their challenges are in line with the existing evidence. As other authors have reported, sports contexts usually endorse body ideals, social comparison, appearance evaluation, and objectification (Ryall, 2019; Slater & Tiggemann, 2012; Vani et al., 2020). Girls' accounts suggest they are surrounded by sociocultural pressures that put them at risk of developing poor body image and its consequences, such as low self-esteem and eating pathology (Sabiston et al., 2020). This aligns with what other researchers have observed: the high level of teasing and the male gaze girls experience in sports contexts are associated with increased risk of body image disturbances (Slater & Tiggemann, 2011; Vani et al., 2020; Willson & Kerr, 2021).

4.3. Coaches' gender stereotypes

Coaches demonstrated notable gender stereotypes in their views about girls in sports. Primarily, they believed that girls do not want to exert themselves, their performance is inferior to boys, and puberty is an obstacle. For example, a female coach described girls being socialized to be less active than boys, while a couple of male coaches stated that girls lack competitive traits for boxing and puberty is an obstacle for girls' participation in sports. We also found that coaches are somewhat cognizant of what affects girls' participation in sports. They acknowledged that girls abandon sport because they experience appearance-related teasing and that girls are concerned about their weight and overall appearance. Coaches also identify a wider cultural barrier, where girls are raised to avoid exercise, which aligns with previous explanations for gender differences in sport participation levels (Evans, 2006; Slater & Tiggemann, 2010).

However, coaches need to acquire greater awareness of their own biases around gender and awareness of girls' negative experiences with their body. Remarkably, coaches did not acknowledge the high levels of insecurity and harassment that girls experience within and outside the sports environment. Taken together, the girls' themes Negative Body-Related Experiences and Impact of Coaches, and the coaches' theme Negative Impact of Cultural and Societal Norms highlight that even though coaches have some idea of what impacts girls' participation in sports, they are unaware of the negative experiences girls regularly face, the developmental changes girls are going through, and their own biases around gender. At times, coaches' actions aimed at encouraging their athletes come across as negative, making girls feel singled out, embarrassed, and nervous. From these results, it is clear that coaches hold a fixed and simplified image of girls, revealing lack of awareness about girls' experience in society and in sport. Indeed, girls expressed the need for coaches to be educated on what they go through, and their issues, to improve their experience in sport. Both girls and coaches want to learn how to address body image concerns: girls want to feel better about themselves when practicing sport, and coaches want to prevent girls from abandoning sport.

4.4. Other Sociocultural Influences that Impact Girls' Experiences in Sport

An aspect of body image concerns that one coach stressed was skin color; although she mentioned the term "racism", it would be more accurate to speak of colorism—discrimination based on skin color (Maddox & Gray, 2002)—as this is more relevant in Mexico, where race and ethnicity are fairly homogenous (González Burchard et al., 2005; Reeskens & Velasco Aguilar, 2020). The European colonization of Mexico in combination with the widespread mixture of Indigenous People and people enslaved from Africa resulted in a

gradient of ethnicities and a minority White population. Colonizers developed a racial and skin color hierarchy that persists to this day. Indeed, researchers have identified how skin color influences access to employment and education in Mexico (Flores & Telles, 2012; Reeskens & Velasco Aguilar, 2020). Despite not being mentioned by girls during the focus group, skin color differences seem to be a barrier in the coach-athlete relationship, which is related to more profound social inequalities. Coaches are motivated to learn more about this as a way to connect with their athletes.

Finally, the focus groups highlighted the difficulty participants had speaking openly about one's body and its functions. It is common for Mexican people to feel uncomfortable and not speak directly about "private matters", particularly menstruation (Marván et al., 2006). For example, one girl told her coach that she is on her period by saying that she is *"going through very difficult days"*. Similarly, coaches used phrases such as *"the growth of some parts"* to indirectly refer to the development of breasts and hips during puberty. Indeed, this is an important cultural barrier that can make coaches disregard girls' issues and contribute to girls' avoidance of voicing their concerns.

4.5. Strengths, limitations, and future research

The findings from this study should be considered in light of several strengths and limitations. The results of this research are novel given no studies have explored body image concerns in sport settings in Mexico. Understanding the experiences girls regularly face in sports contexts can provide solutions to stop them from abandoning physical activities they enjoy. The simultaneous investigation of girls and coaches is also novel. Coaches are important social agents in the development of disordered eating in sports (Petrie & Greenleaf, 2012; Sabiston et al., 2019), and their views are currently underexplored (Sabiston et al., 2020). Additionally, the inclusion of an individual sport where weight is important (i.e., boxing) and a team sport where weight is not central to the sport (i.e., soccer) provides a more inclusive perspective.

Several limitations should also be acknowledged. First, it is of relevance that the focus groups were held via videoconference technology during the COVID-19 pandemic, requiring participants to be seated in large classrooms and to wear masks, which made communication difficult at times. The need to repeat information sometimes made the conversation lose momentum, which could have led to potentially missing key information. However, communication worked for the most part, and online methods are key for conducting research globally (Archibald et al., 2019). Second, body image was a new concept for participants, and despite receiving materials with the definition of body image and some activities to prepare in advance of the focus group, coaches recalled being challenged on their preconceptions about what body image is. Given that body image is a complex concept, this may have played a role in what was shared. Third, in the girls' focus groups, the presence of the facilitators and a member of their sports organization who attended for support and safeguarding purposes could have impacted the degree to which girls shared their experiences.

Finally, future research that includes other sports and communities outside of Mexico City to understand the particular manifestations of body image and body image concerns in the Mexican context would add to the current sparse evidence base in this area. This would help bridge the gap in body image research that has been conducted in predominantly high-income, White, and English-speaking countries (Andersen & Swami, 2021). Given the well-established benefits of sport, it is crucial to develop interventions that focus on changing sport's traditional culture and norms as these play a key role in the high levels of inactivity and dropout rates among girls. In particular, the findings of this study highlight the need to incorporate considerations of gender stereotypes, and other aspects of appearance discrimination such as colorism, to expand on existing body image theories (e.g., objectification theory) to develop effective interventions that improve body image and sport participation among girls in Mexico.

5. Conclusion

Our findings show that girls in Mexico City sports contexts experience body image concerns, teasing, and are subject to the male gaze. Coaches are aware, and to some extent, supportive of girls' concerns, but are limited by stereotypes that materialize in significant shortcomings in supporting girls effectively. Further research is required into girls' body image-related experiences in Mexico and other LMICs, which is a key first step in developing effective and acceptable intervention programs. The findings of this study support the need to focus efforts on prevention and helping girls to remain active and feel confident while playing sports. Risks for disturbances in body image often abound in sport settings, and coaches play a key role in mitigating these risks. As participating in sports brings substantial benefits for girls, it is crucial to protect these spaces.

CRediT authorship contribution statement

Aline Tinoco: Conceptualization**,** Methodology, Formal analysis, Investigation, Data curation, Writing – original draft, Project administration. **Jekaterina Schneider:** Conceptualization, Methodology, Writing – review & editing, Supervision. **Sharon Haywood:** Methodology, Formal Analysis, Investigation, Writing – review & editing. **Emily L. Matheson:** Conceptualization, Methodology, Writing – review & editing, Supervision, Funding acquisition.

Data Availability

Data will be made available on request.

Declaration of Competing Interest

The authors declare the following financial interests/personal relationships which may be considered as potential competing interests: Aline Tinoco reports financial support was provided by Unilever Plc. Aline Tinoco reports financial support was provided by Nike Inc. Emily L Matheson reports a relationship with Nike Inc that includes: consulting or advisory. Sharon Haywood reports a past relationship from 2013 to 2016 and 2021 with Unilever Plc that includes: consulting or advisory.

References

Andersen, N., & Swami, V. (2021). Science mapping research on body image: A bibliometric review of publications in Body Image, 2004–2020. *Body Image, 38*, 106–119. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2021.03.015

Andrews, T. (2015). What is Social Constructionism? *Social Constructionism,* 1–30. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315715421-1

Archibald, M. M., Ambagtsheer, R. C., Casey, M. G., & Lawless, M. (2019). Using Zoom videoconferencing for qualitative data collection: Perceptions and experiences of researchers and participants. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 18* 1609406919874596.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77–101.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2019). Reflecting on reflexive thematic analysis. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health, 11*(4), 589–597. https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676x.2019.1628806

Braun, V., Clarke, V., & Terry, G. (2015). Thematic analysis. *Qualitative Research in Clinical and Health Psychology*, 95–113. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-29105-9_7

Braun, V., Clarke, V., & Weate, P. (2016). Using thematic analysis in sport and exercise research. In B. Smith, & A. C. Sparkes (Eds.). *Routledge handbook of qualitative research in sport and exercise* (pp. 191–205). London: Routledge.

Breger, M. L., Holman, M. J., & Guerrero, M. D. (2019). Re-norming sport for inclusivity: How the sport community has the potential to change a toxic culture of harassment and abuse. *Journal of Clinical Sport Psychology, 13*(2), 274–289. https://doi.org/10.1123/jcsp.2019-0004

Casarrubias-Jaimez, A. I., Legorreta-Soberanis, J., Sánchez-Gervacio, B. M., Serrano-de los Santos, F. R., Paredes-Solís, S., Flores-Moreno, M., Anderson, N., & Cockcroft, A. (2020). Body image and obesity in children from public primary schools in Acapulco, Mexico: A cross-sectional study. *Boletín Médico del Hospital Infantil Dèlelőtt México, 77*(3), https://doi.org/10.24875/bmhim.20000027

Cash, T. F., & Smolak, L. (2011). *Body Image: A Handbook of Science, Practice, and Prevention.* Guilford,.

Clarke, V., & Braun, V. (2013). Teaching thematic analysis: Overcoming challenges and developing strategies for effective learning. *The Psychologist, 26*(2).

Cocca, A., Blanco Ornelas, J. R., Peinado Pérez, J. E., & Viciana Ramírez, J. (2016). Actual, social and ideal body image in Mexican adolescents and their relation with body dissatisfaction: Gender differences (Imagen corporal actual, social e ideal y su relación con el descontento corporal en adolescentes mexicanos: Diferencias por género). *Retos, 30*, 189–192. https://doi.org/10.47197/retos.v0i30.50243

Corbie-Smith, G., Bryant, A. R., Walker, D. J., Blumenthal, C., Council, B., Courtney, D., & Adimora, A. (2015). Building capacity in community-based participatory research partnerships through a focus on process and multiculturalism. *Progress in Community Health Partnerships: Research, Education, and Action, 9*(2), 261–273. https://doi.org/10.1353/cpr.2015.0038

Daniels, E. A., Zurbriggen, E. L., & Monique Ward, L. (2020). Becoming an object: A review of self-objectification in girls. *Body Image, 33*, 278–299. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2020.02.016

Delgado-Floody, P., Guzmán-Guzmán, I. P., Caamaño-Navarrete, F., Jerez-Mayorga, D., Zulic-Agramunt, C., & Cofré-Lizama, A. (2020). Depression is associated with lower levels of physical activity, body image dissatisfaction, and obesity in Chilean preadolescents. *Psychology, Health & Medicine, 26*(4), 518–531. https://doi.org/10.1080/13548506.2020.1817958

Evans, B. (2006). 'I'd feel ashamed': Girls' bodies and sports participation. *Gender, Place & Culture, 13*(5), 547–561. https://doi.org/10.1080/09663690600858952

Flores, R., & Telles, E. (2012). Social stratification in Mexico: Disentangling color, ethnicity, and class. *American Sociological Review, 77*(3), 486–494. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122412444720

Fredrickson, B. L., & Roberts, T.-A. (1997). Objectification theory: Toward understanding women's lived experiences and mental health risks. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 21*(2), 173–206. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1997.tb00108.x

Gervais, S. J., Sáez, G., Riemer, A. R., & Klein, O. (2019). The Social Interaction Model of Objectification: A process model of goal-based objectifying exchanges between men and women. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 59*(1), 248–283. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12339

Gilchrist, J. D., Pila, E., Lucibello, K. M., Sabiston, C. M., & Conroy, D. E. (2021). Body surveillance and affective judgments of physical activity in daily life. *Body Image, 36*, 127–133. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2020.11.004

Gleeson, K., & Frith, H. (2006). (De)Constructing body image. *Journal of Health Psychology, 11*(1), 79–90. https://doi.org/10.1177/1359105306058851

Gonzaga, I., Claumann, G. S., Scarabelot, K. S., Silva, D. A., & Pelegrini, A. (2019). Body image dissatisfaction in adolescents: Comparison with physical activity, teasing and social support. *Journal of Health Psychology, 26*(10), 1651–1660. https://doi.org/10.1177/1359105319887796

González Burchard, E., Borrell, L. N., Choudhry, S., Naqvi, M., Tsai, H.-J., Rodriguez-Santana, J. R., Chapela, R., Rogers, S. D., Mei, R., Rodriguez-Cintron, W., Arena, J. F., Kittles, R., Perez-Stable, E. J., Ziv, E., & Risch, N. (2005). Latino populations: A unique opportunity for the study of race, genetics, and social environment in epidemiological research. *American Journal of Public Health, 95*(12), 2161–2168. https://doi.org/10.2105/ajph.2005.068668

King, M., & Ussher, J. M. (2013). It's not all bad: Women's construction and lived experience of positive premenstrual change. *Feminism & Psychology, 23*(3), 399–417.

Lunde, C., & Gattario, K. H. (2017). Performance or appearance? Young female sport participants' body negotiations. *Body Image, 21*, 81–89. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2017.03.001

Maddox, K. B., & Gray, S. A. (2002). Cognitive representations of Black Americans: Reexploring the role of skin tone. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28*(2), 250–259. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167202282010

Major, B., Rathbone, J. A., Blodorn, A., & Hunger, J. M. (2020). The countervailing effects of weight stigma on weight-loss motivation and perceived capacity for weight control. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 46*(9), 1331–1343. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167220903184

Marván, M. L., Ramírez-Esparza, D., Cortés-Iniestra, S., & Chrisler, J. C. (2006). Development of a new scale to measure Beliefs about and Attitudes Toward Menstruation (BATM): Data from Mexico and the United States. *Health Care for Women International, 27*(5), 453–473. https://doi.org/10.1080/07399330600629658

McArdle, S., McGale, N., & Gaffney, P. (2012). A qualitative exploration of men's experiences of an integrated exercise/CBT mental health promotion programme. *International Journal of Men's Health, 11*(3), 240–257. https://doi.org/10.3149/jmh.1103.240

McMahon, J., McGannon, K. R., & Palmer, C. (2021). Body shaming and associated practices as abuse: Athlete entourage as perpetrators of abuse. *Sport, Education and Society*, 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2021.1890571

Monge-Rojas, R., Fuster-Baraona, T., Garita-Arce, C., Sánchez-López, M., Colon-Ramos, U., & Smith-Castro, V. (2017). How self-objectification impacts physical activity among adolescent girls in Costa Rica. *Journal of Physical Activity and Health, 14*(2), 123–129. https://doi.org/10.1123/jpah.2016-0322

More, K. R., Phillips, L. A., & Eisenberg Colman, M. H. (2019). Evaluating the potential roles of body dissatisfaction in exercise avoidance. *Body Image, 28*, 110–114. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2019.01.003

Neumark-Sztainer, D., Paxton, S. J., Hannan, P. J., Haines, J., & Story, M. (2006). Does body satisfaction matter? Five-year longitudinal associations between body satisfaction and health behaviors in adolescent females and males. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 39*(2), 244–251. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2005.12.001

Oliva-Peña, Y., Ordóñez-Luna, M., Santana-Carvajal, A., Marín-Cárdenas, A. D., Andueza-Pech, G., & Gómez-Castillo, I. A. (2016). Concordancia del IMC y la percepción de la imagen corporal en adolescentes de una localidad suburbana de Yucatán. *Revista Biomédica, 27*(2), 49–60. https://doi.org/10.32776/revbiomed.v27i2.24

Peña, Y. O., Carvajal, A. S., Luna, M. O., & Bojórquez, R. C. (2019). Gender, and satisfaction of body image in high school students of Yucatan, Mexico. *Psychology, 10*(01), 30–45. https://doi.org/10.4236/psych.2019.101003

Petrie, T. A., & Greenleaf, C. A. (2007). Eating disorders in sport: From theory to research to intervention. *Handbook of Sport Psychology*, 352–378. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118270011.ch16

Petrie, T. A., & Greenleaf, C. (2012). Eating disorders in sport. *Oxford handbooks online*Oxford University Presshttps://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199731763.013.0034

Pineda-García, G., Serrano-Medina, A., Ochoa-Ruíz, E., & Martínez, A. L. (2021). Body image, anxiety, and bulimic behavior during confinement due to COVID-19 in Mexico. *Healthcare, 9*(11), 1435. https://doi.org/10.3390/healthcare9111435

Ramos-Jiménez, A., Hernández-Torres, R. P., Urquidez-Romero, R., Wall-Medrano, A., & Villalobos-Molina, R. (2017). Body image satisfaction as a physical activity indicator in university students. *American Journal of Health Behavior, 41*(5), 599–607. https://doi.org/10.5993/ajhb.41.5.9

Rance, N. M., Clarke, V., & Moller, N. P. (2013). "If I see somebody … I'll immediately scope them out": Anorexia nervosa clients' perceptions of their therapists' body. *Eating Disorders, 22*(2), 111–120. https://doi.org/10.1080/10640266.2013.860847

Reeskens, T., & Velasco Aguilar, R. (2020). Being White is a full-time job? Explaining skin tone gradients in income in Mexico. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 47*(1), 46–68. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183x.2020.1775071

Rojas-Sánchez, A., Sarrazin, P., Joët, G., Major, B., & Chalabaev, A. (2021). Motivational processes of the relationship between weight stigma and physical activity: A comparison between France and Mexico. *International Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology, 20*(4), 1117–1132. https://doi.org/10.1080/1612197x.2021.1956565

Ryall, E. S. (2019). Shame in sport. *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport, 46*(2), 129–146. https://doi.org/10.1080/00948705.2019.1609359

Sabiston, C. M., Pila, E., Pinsonnault-Bilodeau, G., & Cox, A. E. (2014). Social physique anxiety experiences in physical activity: A comprehensive synthesis of research studies focused on measurement, theory, and predictors and outcomes. *International Review of Sport and Exercise Psychology, 7*(1), 158–183. https://doi.org/10.1080/1750984x.2014.904392

Sabiston, C. M., Pila, E., Vani, M., & Thogersen-Ntoumani, C. (2019). Body image, physical activity, and sport: A scoping review. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise, 42*, 48–57. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychsport.2018.12.010

Sabiston, C. M., Lucibello, K. M., Kuzmochka-Wilks, D., Koulanova, A., Pila, E., Sandmeyer-Graves, A., & Maginn, D. (2020). What's a coach to do? Exploring coaches' perspectives of body image in girls' sport. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise, 48*, Article 101669. . https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychsport.2020.101669

Shamah-Levy, T., Cuevas-Nasu, L., Gaona-Pineda, E. B., Gómez-Acosta, L. M., Morales-Rúan, M. D., Hernández-Ávila, M., & Rivera-Dommarco, J.Á. (2018). Sobrepeso y obesidad en niños y adolescentes en México, actualización de la Encuesta Nacional de Salud y Nutrición de Medio Camino 2016. *Salud Pública Dèlelőtt México, 60*(3), 244. https://doi.org/10.21149/8815

Shroff, H., & Thompson, J. K. (2006). The Tripartite Influence Model of body image and eating disturbance: A replication with adolescent girls. *Body Image, 3*(1), 17–23. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2005.10.004

Slater, A., & Tiggemann, M. (2010). "Uncool to do sport": A focus group study of adolescent girls' reasons for withdrawing from physical activity. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise, 11*(6), 619–626. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psychsport.2010.07.006

Slater, A., & Tiggemann, M. (2011). Gender differences in adolescent sport participation, teasing, self-objectification and body image concerns. *Journal of Adolescence, 34*(3), 455–463. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2010.06.007

Slater, A., & Tiggemann, M. (2012). Time since menarche and sport participation as predictors of self-objectification: A longitudinal study of adolescent girls. *Sex Roles, 67*(9), 571–581.

Smith, B., & McGannon, K. R. (2017). Developing rigor in qualitative research: Problems and opportunities within sport and exercise psychology. *International Review of Sport and Exercise Psychology, 11*(1), 101–121. https://doi.org/10.1080/1750984x.2017.1317357

Stirling, A. E., & Kerr, G. A. (2008). Defining and categorizing emotional abuse in sport. *European Journal of Sport Science, 8*(4), 173–181. https://doi.org/10.1080/17461390802086281

Tomiyama, A. J. (2014). Weight stigma is stressful. A review of evidence for the cyclic obesity/weight-based stigma model. *Appetite, 82*, 8–15. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appet.2014.06.108

Toro, J., Gomez-Peresmitré, G., Sentis, J., Vallés, A., Casulà, V., Castro, J., Pineda, G., Leon, R., Platas, S., & Rodriguez, R. (2006). Eating disorders and body image in Spanish and Mexican female adolescents. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology, 41*(7), 556–565. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00127-006-0067-

Vani, M. F., Pila, E., deJonge, M., Solomon-Krakus, S., & Sabiston, C. M. (2020). 'Can you move your fat ass off the baseline?' Exploring the sport experiences of adolescent girls with body image concerns. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health, 13*(4), 671–689. https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676x.2020.1771409

Warburton, D. E. R., & Bredin, S. S. D. (2017). Health benefits of physical activity. *Current Opinion in Cardiology, 32*(5), 541–556. https://doi.org/10.1097/hco.0000000000000437

Willson, E., & Kerr, G. (2021). Body shaming as a form of emotional abuse in sport. *International Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology, 20*(5), 1452–1470. https://doi.org/10.1080/1612197x.2021.1979079