Representation of Fat Women in *Wolipop.detik.com* and *Liputan6.com*: A Sara Mill's Analysis Perspective

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Abstract. Having an ideal body is a common opinion and stereotype of women's society. They are competing to achieve it all because it is also supported by the depiction of the massive mass media with advertisements that place beautiful and slim women as actors. However, on the other hand, not all women have an ideal body shape like fat women who always get unfair behavior from the dominant society. They become a subculture group that must fight against negative stigma to get justice. It is rare for women to be portrayed positively by the mass media. Using Sara Mills' critical discourse analysis, the writer wants to see how the representation of fat women at Wolipop. detik.com and Liputan6.com online media through three articles selected from each. This study uses a qualitative descriptive approach. The results show that these two media put writer-reader positions in place that see obese women as a subculture group struggling in the dominant society. However, many are brave enough to speak up nowadays, especially on social media. Wolipop. detik.com places more obese women as subjects, while for Liputan6.com women are told more as objects. These two media are still lack of Indonesian fat women positive stories, meaning that they still adhere to the dominant discourse and values.

Keywords: Body Image, Fat Acceptance, Discrimination, Fat Women, Stereotype

INTRODUCTION

For women, beauty is an achievement to get a good life. Women are willing to spend much money to take care of their bodies to keep them beautiful. Some even have plastic surgery, consuming cosmetic products, and taking slimming drugs. All of this is influenced by other factors. As is the case in a study conducted by Kim & Lee (2018) where the ideal beauty standards in Korea, China, and Japan are indeed different but are equally influenced by social competition factors, social norms, and social comparisons. However, on the other hand, this can give women a sense of superiority and satisfaction with themselves, some even reaching an obsessive stage like in Korea.

Advertisements in the mass media are also the most significant influence of

beauty standards. Because it often gives the image of beautiful women, which is conceived with a slim body posture, smooth white skin without blemishes, beautiful hair, and a beautiful face (Nagar & Virk, 2017; MacCallum & Widdows. 2018; Rosida & Saputri, 2019; Yamout et al., 2019). This is bewitching the women to pursue these beauty standards. So, women often feel dissatisfied with their faces and body. When parts of the face or body feel unsightly, they will complain and do various ways to return it to 'normal'. Because of this, the image of beauty standards began to affect their perception. If they see other women have flaws in their faces or body, they will advise or suggest the best way to be perfect. Whereas what is in the mass media results from the production process of edited images to eliminate these

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shortcomings. It means that the mass media has perpetuated the ideal beauty standards coveted by women. Then, on the other hand, this thing has affected women's acceptance in society, both in the work environment and in their daily environment. In Puspitasari & Survadi (2020) research, it was stated that current beauty standards, especially in Indonesia, can be seen in cosmetic advertisements. It was the influence of the Easternization era. From the 2000s, Japanese and Korean industrial trends began to enter the Indonesian market in the form of films, dramas, idols, and songs that attracted many Indonesian people, especially women. That is when the standard of Indonesian women's beauty also changed. Smooth and glowing white skin like those Japanese and Korean women was highly coveted by Indonesian women, different from before the 2000s where brown and olive-vellow skin became the standard for beautiful skin.

Moreover, the researcher found that based on a survey conducted by Jafra Indonesia in 2013, 68 per cent of women were not confident without cosmetics. Therefore, the Indonesian cosmetic industry took advantage of this moment to make 'whitening' products to whiten and make the skin glow. They did it to follow the common trend of Japanese and Korean women's skin and fulfil Indonesian women's desire to be like them.

Discourse about beauty standards came from various countries, but the dominant idea was Western that said beauty is flawless. We can see from how they create photo editing applications that make people edit their skin, body size and face in the photo (Yamout et al., 2019). They do it for social media purposes. With photo editing applications, women feel like they can be whomever they want and boost their self-esteem (Henriques & Patnaik, 2020). Besides that, based on

Aparicio-Martinez et al. (2019) research, these unrealistic ideal beauties also caused women to dare to do an unhealthy diet. They were obsessed with the slim body because, in their perception, the slim body was the ideal beauty they must have so that society could accept them. When we are talking about ideal beauty standards, it means fat or obese women become the exception. As we know, obese women often get various kinds of words and adverse treatment from people around them, for the example was coming from the story of a fat woman named Steffi, which was told in the Fimela.com online media article (Fimela.com, 2017). She said that people around her, such as friends, often ridiculed her for being fat. Although sometimes it was considered a funny thing, it made her sad too. While laughing, they called her "Fat", "Nduts", or "Fatty". Sometimes they bully her by saying, "That is Steffi, a fat girl and has a big body. Be careful. The tire will go flat.". Besides that, they described her body shape same with animals such as "Elephant", "Bear", "Rhino", "Whale", and other large animals, or compared her body with objects like "Tanker", "Galon Bottle", "Ton-Ton Truck", and "Barrel". Freedom of expression is also being limited. It is like they did not deserve to be beautiful too, for example when they are showing themselves in social media with confidence and speak up about how fat body is beautiful too, some people would just disagree with the idea by giving a comment which considered as rude or bad (Quirk, 2021).

Nowadays, even in most countries, the ideal slim body shape becomes a symbol of women, which is a dominant discourse in society. The mass media also helps to perpetuate the dominant discourse through its representation. The representation permeates the normative ideology of society through various kinds of advertisements, one of which is milk or slimming medicine or consumption of healthy food and sports as well as through television programs such as talk shows (Barker, 2004). The representation of beauty standards is also shown in social media through flawless photos and videos that women upload after some editing (Maharani et al., 2020). We can conclude that most women are afraid to be seen in their flaws and only focus on the importance of perfect physical things, so many people will be attracted to them (Oakes, 2019).

Women are often deemed inferior objects and are only limited to their physical appearance. The dominant construction of reality in our society about beauty standards defeats obese women's effort to show the world that they fight hard for their lives in society. This discourse has taken root since the Victorian era in the 18th century and has influenced the entire life all this time, including strengthening patriarchal ideology dominated by men (Nakayama & Halualani, 2011).

People who are considered inferior and have to fight to save their identity, in this case, the obese women, are indirectly included in the subculture group, namely the marginalized group. Many feel depressed and choose to avoid it, but some choose to fight against the dominant discourse about beauty standards (Poulter & Treharne, 2020). If possible, they fight it through social media and online news media by telling their stories.

Many stories about people can be seen in online news media. However, in media, there is always be gender bias. According to Jia et al. (2016) research, masculine values are still dominant even in the feminist news media. Women get more visual proportions than in the text. Meanwhile, men get more proportions in text. The mass media have an essential role in producing and reproducing these issues. From a feminist perspective, we can conduct a research using Sara Mills Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

Discourse analysis is a strategy to explore the structure and meaning behind a narrative that uses verbal and non-verbal language to describe certain realities that humans construct with different cultural and ideological backgrounds using units of analysis in text, talks acts, and artefacts (Hamad, 2007). According to Sara Mills, her CDA was very useful for Third Wave feminist linguistic to analyze sexism in society that constructed women's identity (Mills, 2008). This CDA emphasizes the issue of feminism shows the position of actors in a text and how the representation of women is depicted in the marginalized group that consists of the subject and object position, as well as the writer and reader's position, as shown at FIGURE 1 (Eriyanto, 2002: 200-210).

The position of the subject (the narrator) – object (the audience) describes how the position of social actors and how



FIGURE 1. Sara Mills Critical Discourse Analysis Model Framing

a story is presented in the text by the journalist. Meanwhile, the author-reader position bridges the negotiations that occur when constructing or producing and consuming a text, where there are pronouns such as 'I' and 'they', etc. Also, it uses specific words and sentences as a cultural code. Text production is based on various cultural backgrounds, ideologies, politics, identities, and knowledge that the journalist has (Eriyanto, 2002).

Previously, several previous used studies Sara Mill's critical discourse analysis model to discuss the representation of women. This research was conducted by taking four samples of Radio Female Semarang. The program name is Tupperware She Can! With the 3E tagline (enlighten, educate, and empower) in November 2010, the program is more likely to bring up inspiring stories of great women from career women, midwives, and housewives (Wardani et al., 2016). Using the critical discourse analysis of Sara Mill's model on the position of subject and object, the result was that Radio Female Semarang made an effort to build positive images of women through conversation stories in radio broadcasts. The female guest stars were in the position of subject and object, so there was no gender inequality. Radio Female Semarang shows that women are not always represented as inferior.

In the critical discourse analysis research conducted by Kamilah, R. et al. (2017) regarding the representation and the construction of women's image in 'Curahan Hati Perempuan' talk show program in Trans TV in February-March 2017, which was downloaded through YouTube. The talk show featured moderators and panellists who had direct dialogue with the informants, such as Dewi Persik with her story of being a widow and working as a golf caddy who had married a foreign man in Cisarua-Bogor. It was found that the informant tends to be positioned negatively as an object because the presenter tells the informant's stories more.

The depiction of resilient women is also pictured through the research conducted by Rafiga (2019) on Mrs Susi as the Minister of Marine Affairs who conducts the policy of sinking ships in Indonesia. The study found that after reviewing news from five different online news sites such as Detik.com, Kompas. com, Okezone.com, Tribunnews.com and Republika.co.id, each site described Mrs Susi positively and neutrally, even though she was in the position of object narrated. News writers, consisting of women and men, also have different points of view, emphasising their respective cultural codes to lead the reader's thoughts and opinions.

the Afterwards. on research conducted by Basarah (2019) on a web series by Tropicana Slim Stevia with the title SORE-Istri dari Masa Depan, it was discovered that the position of the female figure (named Sore) in the film is more dominant and the male figure (named Jo) is inferior. This is because Sore tries hard to make Jo have a healthy and regular life. In this case, the women indirectly are represented as solid figures who could organize and take control of the lives of others, especially their partners.

In the perspective of *Kumparan* online mediarelating to domestic violence, women are described as figures or objects which are oppressed and receive insulting action (Abdullah, 2019). There is also the theme of sexual violence against women (Widiyaningrum & Wahid, 2021).

On the report of the corruption cases of asset sales, BUMD in the Jawa Pos, Kompas and Tempo *online* newspaper tend to provide a place for news sources to become the subject of the news. Later the source person, which comes from law enforcement officers, is more positioned as marginalized objects and cannot express their opinions in the news.

Additionally, women are being used as commodity tools in Malaysia's advertisement *Slimmewhite* that exhibits a scene of violence of a husband towards his wife because of her lack of taking care of her body (Nasiha & Yunaldi, 2019). Gender discrimination theme in a novel titled *Entrok* by Okky Madasari describes the situation in the New Orde where state officials restricted women's rights (Novitasari, 2018).

Research on celebrity cases, one of them is Vanessa Angel, who is involved in prostitution cases and the *online* news site, Detik.com described as marginal people who are demeaned for their immoral acts and can merely cry and be sad because they receive much mockery from 'netizen' (Megawati, 2019).

From all of these research findings, we can see that women often become a small object in mass media and only have a good side from the visual but not the story. Therefore, through Sara Mills' critical discourse analysis method, which is used to raise the issue of women in various aspects of life's problems, I want to emphasize the importance of obese women's proportions in mass media. Because through that, we can see how much they can openly speak up against the negative stigma that says obese women are weak, lazy, unproductive, not successful and change the way people think about them. Based on the awareness of the researcher's experience as an obese woman and previous research from Cohen et al. (2020) about the rise of obese women in social media who wanted to express themselves and promote body positivity movement. Therefore, the researcher is interested in uncovering how obese women as a subculture are presented through the news on the online news media site Wolipop.detik.com and Liputan6.com as a popular Indonesian news site that raises the issue of obese

women, which shows their struggles in society.

METHOD

This research is a qualitative study with a descriptive research method. The researcher will use the constructivist paradigm, in which reality is perceived as something that its meaning is constructed (Neuman, 2014). Then to support this research, the researcher will use Sara Mills' critical discourse analysis model to compare the news about fat women in the online news media sites Wolipop.detik. com and Liputan6.com. The primary sources used by researchers are from 3 research-related news articles that were chosen randomly from each online news media site. The secondary data will be taken from books, journals, and other library sources regarding research.

The news title that will be employed as a research unit is divided into two online news sites: Wolipop.detik.com and Liputan6.com. The researcher chose these media because Wolipop.detik.com is a news portal under Detik.com that only bring up woman issues. However, Bakhtiar et al. (2019) said the problem was that not all journalists applied gender-sensitive perspectives to their news content. There was still gendered bias because it used diction that wasn't gender sensitive or harms the victim, especially in reporting on sexual harassment or rape and topics under lifestyle-themed channels such as detikhot, detikhealth, detiksport, detikX, and wollipop, Gender-sensitive language refers to gender equality through language. Instead of using direct gender bias words, it is better to use generalized words to mention someone, such as the terms' professor' can substitute 'female/male professor' (Harris et al., 2017). This was also because there were values differences between male and female journalists. Moreover, in Detik.com, the number of female journalists is still relatively small.

Namely 55 people (31.43%) compared to 120 male journalists (68.57%) (Bakhtiar et al., 2019).

Meanwhile, according to Fitriyani & Junaidi (2020) and Yoedtadi & Savitri (2020) research about *Liputan6.com*, all journalists already have the same ethnic, cultural, religious concept, and social diversity in society. They emphasized the importance of showing peace among differences. Therefore, they were cautious in writing the news by writing a piece of news based on the facts of the event but will not judge anyone.

Then the objects of research to be studied are three articles from Wolipop. detik.com and three articles from Liputan6.com. The following is a list of the research objects.

There will be several steps that will be taken for this research (Sugiyono, 2017: 247-253), those are: (1) first, the researcher conducts the data reduction process (focusing on discovering relevant data and selecting three news articles from each online news media site related to the research topic); (2) next, the researcher will continue with the data demonstration process (describes the grouping of data in a narrative manner associated with critical discourse analysis of the Sara Mills model and other supporting concepts); (3) lastly, the researcher will conclude and verify the data under the evidence of the findings from the results of data collection and data analysis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

After the researchers selected news from *Wolipop.detik.com* and *Liputan6. com* about fat women, the researcher conducted a Sara Mills analysis consisting of subject and object positions and author and reader positions as shown in TABLE 3 and TABLE 4.

As we all know, the subject's

No.	News Title	Writer's Name	Published Date
1	Curhatan Viral Wanita Gemuk yang Ditertawakan Saat Olahraga di Gym	Rahmi Anjani	14 March 2020
2	Wanita Bertubuh Plus-Size Ini Tiru Gaya Meghan Markle, Malah Dihujat	Kiki Oktaviani	18 November 2019
3	Kisah Wanita Berat Badan 234 kg yang Percaya Diri Pamer Foto Meski Dibully	Anggi Mayasari	22 August 2019

TABLE 1. 3 articles from V	Wolipop.detik.com
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TABLE 2. 3 articles	from Liputan6.com
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No.	News Title	Writer's Name	Published Date
1	Usaha Penumpang Pesawat Ber- badan Gemuk Melawan Diskriminasi Maskapai	Henry	5 March 2020
2	Lewat Yoga, Wanita Gemuk Ini Ubah Ejekan Jadi Pujian	Firman Fernando Silaban	12 April 2016
3	Balerina Gemuk Ini Buktikan Semua Bentuk Tubuh Itu Indah	Nilam Suri	11 May 2016

No.	News Title	Position Subject-Object
1	Viral confiding of A Fat Woman who laughed at while Working Out in Gym (Anjani, 2020)	Subject : the author writes a direct statement from a fat woman who says that both herself and others who experience unpleasant things like herself must keep a healthy spirit for themselves and do not need to listen to other people's ridicule and focus love yourself.
		"Thank you for reminding me to keep fighting after I had a long day. I still have to diet and exercise hard at the gym every day. Not because you or anyone else will accept me. This is for myself,"
		"Forget the skinny woman who laughs at you or the muscular man who says you are disgusting. Love your- self. Let us teach love. Today's world needs it,"
		Object: the author narrates the story of a woman who has tried to live a healthy life by exercising in the gym. Nevertheless, apparently, people still ridicule her in the gym. Despite already trying to diet, unfortunately, it is still not enough.
2	This Plus-Size Wom- an Imitates Meghan Markle's Style, but Blasphemed (Oktavi- ani, 2019)	Object : the author tells the story of a fat woman named Katie Sturino who likes to imitate the fashion styles of famous figures, including celebrities. They were start- ing from clothes to other parts of appearance. However, these shows try to educate the public that fat women can also dress up stylishly and not dull. Although she often gets negative comments, she still does not care and is even more enthusiastic about changing society's negative stigma.
3	A story of a woman weighing 234kg which is confident in show- ing off her photos despite being bullied (Mayasari, 2019)	Subject: a fat woman named Lauren Mudie said she had depression, eating disorder, and lymphedema for a long time. However, she is well aware of her situation and chooses to love herself still and help cultivate con- fidence in others. She uploaded a photo of herself on her Facebook account and admitted that she had received many positive comments.
		"My weight is something I work on, but I thought why sad and hated myself for this. I love empowering others, so I am glad I post pictures to show off my body. I feel good about the photos I want to share, and encouraging others also helps people increase their self-confidence."

TABLE 3. Position of Subject-Object on Wolipop.detik.com

"You are amazing," commented the netizen.

"Your weight is nobody's business but your own! Keep being you," added another netizen.

Object: the author tells the story of a 23-year-old fat woman named Lauren Mudie, who weighs 234 kg. During school time, many people did body shaming against her. Even so, she confidently flaunts photos of her body on Facebook as an effort to invite others to be more positive and love their own body regardless of its shape.

No.	News Title	Position Subject-Object
1	Efforts for Fat Airplane Pas- sengers Against Airline Discrim- ination (Henry, 2020)	Object: The author tells of a case that happened to a New Zealand citizen who was overweight. They are a mother and her two daughters discriminated against by Thai Airways. They ordered business chairs, but they were turned down because of their fat bodies. Then they were transferred to the economy chairs. After this story went viral, an activist and founder of Fat Girls Traveling raised this issue to make people aware that discrimination is not good and ask for justice. She also advised fat women to research airlines before travelling because regulations vary among countries.
2	Through Yoga, This Fat Woman Turns Ridicule Into Praise (Sila- ban, 2016)	Object: the author tells the story of Jessamyn Stanley from North Carolina, who is 27 years old. As a woman who dares to fight her self-doubt and tries to show the public that all this time, what they think about fat people cannot possibly move agilely is not valid. She shows herself that she can do yoga movements such as <i>headstands</i> and <i>handstands</i> , which are pretty difficult for obese people in general. She inspires fat people to dare to make changes through sports. Now, many people are praising her.
3	This Fat Balle- rina Proves All Body Shapes Are Beautiful (Suri, 2016)	Subject: a ballet dancer named Frostine Shake posted herself dancing ballet on Instagram, and she told the people about her life journey as a failed ballet dancer. Nevertheless, she finally dared to show her ability as a fat dancer through her ballet dance combined with <i>burlesque</i> dance. She cannot live without dancing and will try to love and respect herself more through the art of dance.
		"I started exploring different types of dance that gave me the freedom to express myself positively," she said.

TABLE 4. Position of Subject-Object on Liputan6.com

"Burlesque was able to convey my love for dance, art, music, and fashion."

"I love the structure and discipline it takes to dance ballet," she said.

"If you want to be the prime of a ballerina, keep trying, do not give up like me. Nevertheless, remember to put your trust and self-respect first."

"Dancing makes my body feel alive, and I do my best to give my art justice - and this includes loving my body."

Object: The writer tells a story about a make-up artist and a model from Texas, namely Frostine Shake, who has a strong passion for ballet. When she was younger, she almost gave up her dreams in ballet art because she had received much pressure about losing her weight and was forced to believe that being fat would hinder her from doing many ballet movements. By the time she grew up, she had found a dance art, namely burlesque, and thought to mix it up with ballet. She finally decided to dance again and asked her childhood friend to join and have ballet training with her.

position is someone who tells the story while an object is being told about. If we see a more direct speech from the source person in the article, it means the journalist gives more space for the source person to speak up. Meanwhile, if we see dominantly only describing the source person, the journalist gives a little space or even no space at all.

On the news about the fat woman, *Wolipop.detik.com* gives more space to many of them to share their stories than *Liputan6.com* does as a subject. It could be shown from 2 of 3 articles, *Wolipop.detik.com* made fat women as the subject of the narration.

For example, from these following titles: "Viral confiding of A Fat Woman who laughed at while Working Out in Gym (Anjani, 2020) and "A story of a woman weighing 234kg which is confident in showing off her photos despite being bullied (Mayasari, 2019)".

"Thank you for reminding me to keep fighting after I had a long day. I still have to do diet and exercise hard at the gym every day. Not because you or anyone else will accept me. This is for myself". (Anjani, 2020)

"Forget the skinny woman who laughs at you or the muscular man who says you are disgusting, love yourself. Let us teach love. Today's world needs it". (Anjani, 2020)

Anjani (2020) article above showed that the journalist wrote the direct speech from the source person. The source person told people around her and the reader to love themselves. She is also grateful because there were people still cheering her on and appreciating her efforts to lose weight. Meanwhile, in Mayasari (2019) article down below, we can see the journalist also did the same and even added the netizen's comment as another perspective. The source person was more like showing herself as a woman who did not care about anything except being confident and only focused on spreading that confidence to other people so that positive things could inspire them. As a result, the netizen felt positive towards this body positivity promoted by the fat woman and commented positively. They also gave her more spirit to live the way she wanted.

> "My weight is something I work on, but I thought why sad and hated myself for this. I love empowering others, so I am glad I post pictures to show off my body. I feel good about the photos I want to share, and encouraging others also helps people increase their selfconfidence." (Mayasari, 2019) "You are amazing," commented netizen. (Mayasari, 2019) "Your weight is nobody's business but your own! Keep being you," added another netizen. (Mayasari, 2019)

On the other hand, *Liputan6*. *com* showed more about fat women being the object of the narration. It was from 2 of 3 articles on the following news title: *"Efforts for Fat Airplane Passengers Against Airline Discrimination* (Henry, 2020) and *"Through Yoga, This Fat Woman Turns Ridicule Into Praise* (Silaban, 2016).

Object: The author tells of a case that happened to a New Zealand citizen who was overweight. They are a mother and her two daughters discriminated against by Thai Airways. They ordered business chairs, but they were turned down because of their fat bodies. Then they were transferred to the economy chairs. After this story went viral, an activist and founder of Fat Girls Traveling raised this issue to make people aware that discrimination is not good and ask for justice. She also advised fat women to research airlines before travelling because regulations vary among countries. (Henry, 2020)

Object: the author tells the story of Jessamyn Stanley from North Carolina, who is 27 years old. As a woman who dares to fight her self-doubt and tries to show the public that all this time, what they think about fat people cannot possibly move agilely is not valid. She shows herself that she can do yoga movements such as *headstands* and *handstands*, which are pretty difficult for obese people in general. Through it, she inspires fat people to dare to make changes through sports. Now, many people are praising her. (Silaban, 2016)

As we know, the writer also acts as a reader. There was also a relation to Harris et al. (2017), Bakhtiar et al. (2019), Fitriyani & Junaidi (2020), and Yoedtadi & Savitri (2020) explanation before about the values held by journalists in writing an article and whether there is a gender bias in their articles. From the data findings above, we can conclude that female journalists and male journalists were very different in writing news stories, especially how they described the source person and their ideas, which determined their position as subject or object. The male journalists from Liputan6.com presented the figure of a fat woman as a victim of discrimination who must prove that she is also capable of doing things like other people so that she could be recognized. Fat women were depicted as weak, in need of help and recognition.

Meanwhile, the female journalists from the *Wolipop.detik.com* wrote an idea that emphasized that fat women still appeared confident and did not care about other people's opinions. They only focus on body positivity and inspire others to love and appreciate themselves. Here, fat women were described as brave, assertive, and confident. It emphasizes the idea that women journalists had the awareness to highlight the perspectives of women journalists on women's issues and defend women who are often underestimated.

The Writer and the Reader Positioning

In a critical discourse analysis by Sara Mills, the position of the writer and the reader is a result of a negotiation process that happened in the past. By all means, the moment the writer or the journalist writes the article, the writing will contain more or less the knowledge, context, and background the writer has previously gone through in their real life, which is called cultural code (Setiawan, 2017). The knowledge will then help the writer to have a particular consideration before writing the article down.

On Wolipop.detik.com online media site, the writer is dominated by female journalists seeing from these titles "Viral confiding of A Fat Woman who laughed at while Working Out in Gym (Anjani, 2020); This Plus-Size Woman Imitates Meghan Markle's Style, but Blasphemed (Oktaviani, 2019); and A story of a woman weighing 234kg who is confident in showing off her photos despite being bullied (Mayasari, 2019). We can see from FIGURE 2.

While FIGURE 3 shows *Liputan6*. *com* online media site is dominated by male journalists seeing from the following news header: *Efforts for Fat*





FIGURE 2. Wolipop.detik.com Articles Written by Female Journalists

Airplane Passengers Against Airline Discrimination (Henry, 2020); Through Yoga, This Fat Woman Turns Ridicule Into Praise (Silaban, 2016); and This Fat Ballerina Proves All Body Shapes Are Beautiful (Suri, 2016).

However, as seen from one of the Wolipop.detik.com articles, the journalist includes elements of a cultural code to help readers position themselves and agree with the generally considered factual statements. Based on the cultural code written by journalist Anjani (2020), "Fat people are often underestimated because of their appearance.", the reader will agree with the journalist idea about stereotype phenomenon that generally exists in society, where fat people are often underestimated because they are considered not beautiful/handsome and sick. That way, the reader will agree with the journalist's idea and can place themselves as fat people who experience that stereotype.

Meanwhile, in two of Liputan6. com articles, there are also cultural codes as seen in Henry's (2020) and Silaban's (2016) writings, such as "Those who are big or fat are still often discriminated against in many ways." and "Yoga is known to require body flexibility because it has movements that are classified as difficult. For owners of a slim body, it is not a worry to be able to do difficult movements.". The reader will position themselves as fat and slim people. Then compare both of them. They will see that fat people have more disadvantages than slim people, especially discrimination. Because of their daily life experience, fat people struggle to live in the middle of a society full of negative stigma. Almost all women who have excessive weight suffer from discrimination and exclusion caused by their physical appearance. Discrimination, body shaming, and any other negative stigma will affect their mental health, which may cause them

to lose their self-confidence, raise their insecurities, and lose their motivation. This thing related to Puspitasari & Suryadi (2020) statement that a slim beautiful body was the dream of Asian women, including in Indonesia.

Overall, the reader's point of view on fat women places fat women as a subcultural group that often gets negative stigma and unfavourable treatment from society for their body shape that is not ideal. Then they have to fight against it all and show their enthusiasm through the article. On the other side, not all fat women want to be pitied because of their condition. They want other people to see that they are strong and deserve to get their happiness without caring about any adverse judgement.

Representation of Obese Women in Mass Media as a Subculture

The concept of representation focuses on social construction in describing a person or group that can generate positive or negative opinions, depending on the context of meaning described by different individuals and using specific symbols to describe it (Piliang, 2003; Danesi, 2010). Social construction is actually formed abstractly in the mind, then processed and translated through language and with that language, we can detect the meaning and intent behind the representations conveyed (Hall, 1997). Of course, there needs to be knowledge that underlies our assessment of a previously obtained picture of the cultural environment we come from. Sometimes, limited knowledge and reasoning can lead to negative stereotypes before getting to know the object described by the mass media. This is what also has an impact on obese women in general and they eventually become a subculture group.

A subculture is a form of meaning for a subordinate group, or that can be



FIGURE 3. Liputan6.com Articles Written by Male and Female Journalists

called a marginal group that differentiates and opposes the dominant group in society (Durham & Kellner, 2006). This subculture group uses certain symbols to mark themselves from clothing symbols, symbols of language styles, and others. They also create their own cultural values and norms within the group and usually only the in-group members that understand particular meanings. Often as a marginal group, they are cornered by the mass media's portrayals about them. The formation of this subcultural group can be due to various factors such as age, religion, gender, physical appearance, etc.

One of the foreign reality shows called The Biggest Loser shows fat people who are lazy and demotivated. Then through this program, they will be helped to be slim (Karsay & Schmuck,

2017). This event also emphasized that being slim is everyone's dream, and having a slim body can make a person more confident and easy to achieve success. Another example of a similar reality show is the one from TLC TV station entitled My 600-lb Life, which also depicts obese people dominated by women who cannot do any activity, are temperamental, and cannot control themselves. Of course, these shows are getting various responses, but they are more likely to make the viewers become afraid of being fat, and some even think that watching shows like this can help reduce their appetite. In addition, it can also impact people's perceptions of fat people.

Do not forget that advertising is a medium that produces meaning with the

strength of its language and visualization as in the slimming supplement advertisement in Malaysia, which presents with the images of fat women that have dangerous lives and so on (Zuraidah & Kui Ling, 2016). You have to buy and consume the advertised slimming supplement products to overcome this one. This indicates that the body of fat women become a commodification of industry stakeholders through the poor representation of fat women. Lousy representation is more dominating than good representation, thus triggering stereotypes against fat people, especially women.

Then Widiastuti (2018) said that there will always be a tendency towards gender in the mass media as a form of socio-cultural construction, both in the form of advertisements and news and in Indonesia, gender has different roles and degrees so that traditional stereotypes have influenced the social construction of gender. However, Indonesia already has the 1945 Constitution, which regulates gender equality. When presented in the mass media, the female gender is usually highlighted in terms of physical or appearance and popularity. Even then, it is placed as an object of observation rather than being a resource person. Like the phenomenon described by Yuniati & Fardiah (2017) in the news about elections, women's opportunity to represent themselves in the mass media is minimal, and this is influenced by gender bias.

CONCLUSION

Articles with the theme of fat women from *Wolipop.detik.com* and *Liputan6.com* explicitly present fat women as a subculture group struggling to position themselves and their identity in the middle of the dominant society. They carry a message for other obese women to love themselves regardless of their body shape and remove society's

negative stigma about them. In addition, the writer and the reader are presented in the position of a fat woman who can be independent without the need for defence or pity for her fat body shape. It also shows the struggle and the spirit of fat women to speak up their opinion about themself, that they can also be independent and not dependent on others. All of the negative stigma that says those fat women are lazy, unproductive, and so on were successfully broken by some of those fat women through their messages in the media article. Then there are the shortcomings in both online media, namely the lack of discussion of fat women from the Indonesian context. In consideration that Indonesian society still holds firm ideal beauty standards and lacks respect for freedom of expression and tolerance for the right of individuals to choose their way of life in any form of the body. This research found that Indonesia's famous online news media finally gave a good perspective about fat women, visual proportions and the text's proportions. It seems that they try to remove the negative stigma through the presented story, yet they have not shown any story from Indonesia's fat women. This means that those two online news media have not fully one hundred per cent supported fat women, especially in Indonesia. They still represent fat women in Indonesian as a subculture group that always sticks with that label.

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