Exploring Body Positivity Through Instagram Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Clara Dao and Her Audience

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Abstract. This study focuses on the feminist stylistic features of Clara Dao's Instagram discourse. A qualitative research design is employed, using Sara Mills's feminist stylistics within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which focuses on the word, sentence, and discourse levels. Data were collected through purposive sampling and documentation techniques. The subject of the study is the commentary associated with Clara Dao's Instagram content, explicitly discussing body image issues. The data include 18 comments categorized as positive, negative, and neutral, selected based on the relevance issue of body positivity. The findings reveal that societal expectations impose certain norms and standards on women's physical appearances. These expectations influence how women are judged and often criticized when they do not conform to dominant beauty ideals. Additionally, the construction of female identity is shown to be shaped by social norms that dictate how women should behave and present themselves in public discourse.

Keywords: body positivity, feminist stylistics, critical discourse analysis, Instagram

Introduction

Social media is often used as a place to express ideas and opinions, including about body image and beauty standards. One of the movements found on Instagram is body positivity, which encourages people to accept and love their bodies regardless of shape, size, or appearance. This study focuses on Clara Dao, an influencer who shares messages about self-love and confidence, especially for women with different body types. By analyzing the comments on her posts, this research aims to understand how people respond to body positivity. Using Sara Mills's feminist stylistics within Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the study.

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looks at language used in these comments on the word, sentence, and discourse levels.

The social movement and notion of body positivity, which holds that all bodies are good bodies, is controversial. For people who have various bodies, it can mean different things (Griffin et al., 2022). This positive movement honors the qualities that make each person unique. The body types, such as shape, size, and body appearance, are followed by blackheads, cellulite, acne, body hair (such as in the legs or armpits), bodies with numerous scars, and bodies belonging to individuals with disabilities (Jannatania et al., 2023).

The following is an example of body positivity messages; it emphasizes deeper self-acceptance and respect. One such example can be seen in a post by influencer Clara Dao, who encourages her audience to embrace their bodies and flaws. In a reflective caption, she wrote:

Have you ever taken time to truly see yourself? It's not always easy, but it's so worth it. Taking the time to truly see every part of yourself will help you appreciate the beauty in every curve and line, in every scar and strech mark. It's about more than just looking; it's about understanding, accepting, and loving yourself exactly as you are. Each moment spent in front of the mirror is a step towards deeper self-awareness and confidence. When you embrace your reflection, you acknowledge the strength, resilience, uniqueness that make you who you are. Celebrate your body for all its incredible abilities and the journey it's taken you on. Remember, self-love is a practice, and every glance is a reminder that you are beautiful and worthy. #Selflove #BodyPositivity #EmbraceYourself #Confidence #SelfAcceptance #BodyConfidence (Clara Dao, 2024).

The message above implies support in self-acceptance, body love, and appreciation of all body parts, including curves, scars, and stretch marks. This principle of body positivity emphasizes that all bodies have unique and precious beauty, regardless of traditional or societal standards of beauty. It promotes self-love, self-acceptance, and body confidence, which are fundamental to the body positivity movement. Therefore, these values were then created by several people through social media. One of them is Clara Dao, who openly shared her struggle to accept her body and respond to beauty pressure.

According to a report by Detik (Oktaviani, 2021), Clara Dao, an influencer, gets bullied because of her body shape. The 19-year-old girl is frequently made fun of for being anorexic and referred to as a man because of her thin body and flat chest. Clara admits that despite the bullying she experiences, she still feels good about her body. Clara talks a lot about body positivity on her TikTok. Anybody who types should be accepted, in her opinion. Rather than giving in to insecurity or having plastic surgery, she became more confident (Oktaviani, 2021).

Therefore, feminist activist Clara Dao speaks about the issues of body positivity and skinny-shaming. Through the videos she posts, she helps several viewers develop confidence by focusing on the issue of female empowerment (Astuti, V. P. M., 2023). The following is a comment from Clara Dao promoting body positivity on her Instagram account that will be used in this research data.

Figure 1. Clara Dao's Instagram Account

Figure 2. Clara Dao's Instagram Post

But her messages trigger positive and negative responses depending on the individual who sees them. Because this response reflects the perspective and personal experience involved in the discussion in the post (Clara Dao, 2022).
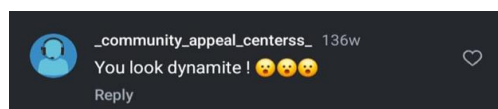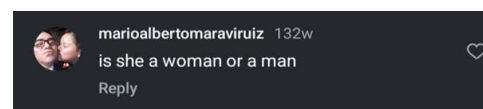

Figure 3. Positive Comment

Figure 4. Negative Comment

It turns out that Clara Dao's posts have positive and negative comments that show support and compliments using metaphors. Also, critics of her body type used sarcasm. In addition, language has an important role in users' comments on posts. Meanwhile, this research aims to analyze the speech narrative in the comments in Clara Dao's Instagram posts. Based on the data above, it is clear that cultures across the world place women's and girls' bodies at the center of intrigue based on concepts of beauty like nice lines and sexuality (Kaziga et al., 2021).

The most popular social media platform for posting pictures is Instagram because users can upload digital photos, can also change their appearances using filters, and share photos with other people. Hashtags provide an easy way to find photos with similar themes (Landsverk, 2014). Reality only has a part of the influence on body image. People may or may not adjust their body image to reflect physical changes. Impaired self-concept and self-esteem are often connected to problems with body image. The body-positive movement appeared on social media in recent years to challenge mainstream notions of beauty to inspire individuals to accept and value their bodies (Astle et al., 2023, p. 459).

The negative effects of using and being exposed to social networking sites (SNSs) on body image have been proven by a growing body of research (Fioravanti et al., 2022). Therefore, the research found that, in comparison to neutral and thin-ideal Instagram content, exposure to body-positive content increased feelings of body satisfaction and appreciation (Nelson, et al., 2022). By examining text and speech as instances of power abuse, critical discourse analysis specifically looks at

how discourse contributes to the (re)production of social inequality (Van Dijk, 2008, p. 217).

The book *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (Wodak & Meyer, 2002, p. 103) states that CDA is more interested in ideologically biased discourses and the methods to polarize the representation of us (ingroups) and them (outgroups). Also, we often observe the pattern of 'positive self-presentation and negative other presentation', in which positive and negative characteristics are highlighted, and the good and bad things are minimized at both global and local levels of meaning analysis. Then, to change and highlight attention, the way gender is represented is feminist stylistics, because a lot of these representational practices are not in the same favor of either women or men. So, feminist stylistics analysis aims to not only discover sexism in a text, but also determine, from a point of view, agency, metaphor, or transitivity linked to gender issues, to find whether women's writing practices can be described, and so on (Mills, 1995, p. 1).

Researchers have reviewed various studies that discuss Feminist Stylistics and its application in analyzing texts at the word, sentence, and discourse levels. These studies examine a range of gender-related issues, including stereotypes of women and patriarchal norms, sexism in language, the need for education for women, gender-specific social bias, and identity through language teaching materials (Hashmi & Asif, 2023; Kanwal, 2022; Perveen et al., 2021; Raslie & Zaidi, 2022; Siregar et al., 2020; Tyarakanita et al., 2020).

This is reflected in various cultures and societies, both contemporary and historical. Modern examples include countries such as Pakistan, Malaysia, Canada, and Indonesia. Meanwhile, ancient civilizations such as the Babylonians, Ancient Greeks, Romans, Hindus, Ancient Chinese, Ancient Jews, and Ancient Arabs also demonstrated similar patterns. These are represented in various forms of media, including literary works, advertisements, drama, poetry, and educational materials. The findings of this research show that women are frequently objectified and discriminated against through traditional roles, sexist imagery, lack of political representation (such as voting rights), and unequal gender portrayals in educational content, particularly in the depiction of professional roles.

Based on the authors' observation, Feminist stylistics has been widely used to analyze representations of women in various media, but it has rarely been applied in the context of the body positivity movement on social media. This study fills that gap by analyzing the discourse in the comments on posts by Clara Dao, an influencer who promotes acceptance of flat-chested bodies. Although she received a lot of support through positive and neutral comments, negative comments still dominated. Using a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach and Sara Mills' feminist stylistics framework.

The novelty of this research lies in the application of feminist stylistics to analyze public comments on social media, a form of online communication that has not been extensively studied in feminist discourse studies. The findings are expected to contribute to the understanding of gender discourse on social media. Also, it can serve as an input for researchers, activists, and social media users in observing how society responds to narratives about women's bodies and the importance of self-acceptance. For this reason, it is essential to examine the utterances in the comment forms in Clara Dao's post.

Method

A qualitative method was used in this study. The researchers adopt Sara Mills's feminist stylistics of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), focusing on word level, sentence level, and discourse levels. The subject of this study consists of a speech narrative on Clara Dao's Instagram post that explicitly discusses body positivity. The data include comments categorized as positive, negative, and neutral, selected based on the relevance issue of body positivity.

Research Subject

The researchers selected comments from various months and years to gather data, considering the potential representation of body positivity issues, the continuity of Clara Dao's posts promoting the movement, and a deep message emphasizing not comparing ourselves to others. The data will consist of 18 comments from three different years: January 11 and September 13 in 2021; July 4 in 2022; and August 9, 22, and October 7 in 2023. Also, it will be categorized into three contexts: positive, negative, and neutral.

The selected posts were chosen to reflect how the discourse of body positivity evolved from 2021 to 2023. Audience engagement also changed over time initially more passive and limited to likes, which increased each year. The focus of the content shifted, from dealing with body shaming (2021), to promoting self-acceptance (2022), and to challenging beauty standards (2023). According to post content analysis, content that directly challenged dominant beauty standards received the highest engagement, as seen in the October 7, 2023 post, which reached 1.9 million likes & 139,000 comments.

Data Collection

Research that provides descriptive data is referred to as qualitative methodo logies: written or spoken words and behaviors of individuals (Bogdan & Taylor. 1975). A comparatively small and purposefully chosen sample may be used in a qualitative study (Miles M. & A, 1994). Selected respondents who are most likely to yield appropriate and useful information are the definition of purposeful sampling (Kelly & Dingwall, 2010, p. 317). Purposive sampling was employed in the study to gather posts and content in Indigenous languages on Facebook and Instagram (Ajani et al., 2024, p. 229). There is more flexibility with quota sampling because it identifies categories and the minimum number required for each one, as opposed to requiring a set number of instances with specific criteria (Mason, J., 2002).

Then, the data collection involves collecting data through quota purposive sampling and documentation. Therefore, in using quota sampling, researchers set certain criteria for the basis of selecting posts and comments. The selection criteria for quota purposive sampling include (1) Posts referring to body positivity content, (2) comments responding to body positivity issues raised in the post, and (3) a variety of responses reflecting diverse viewpoints and discourse strategies. Furthermore, a few steps exist to gather information to collect the data. The first step is selecting posts that represent the body positivity movement from Clara Dao's Instagram account. The second is that the comments were selected using the purposive sampling method and collected using the documentation that specifically focuses on body positivity comments. The third step is classifying the data according to word, sentence, and discourse levels. After that, the researcher will analyze the data used in feminist stylistics by Sara Mills.

Data Analysis Technique

The researcher classified the data using Sara Mills's feminist stylistic framework, which involves analysis at the word, sentence, and discourse levels. The data were categorized through purposive sampling, with the selection of utterances found in user comments based on specific criteria. This method allowed the researcher to focus on comments that were most relevant to the research objectives, particularly those reflecting discourse surrounding the body positivity movement. The criteria will then be categorized into utterances found in user comment forms, like positive, negative, and neutral. The comment criteria involve narratives expressing opinions on body positivity, while ignoring spam or irrelevant comments and the identity of the user.

The researcher used data analysis to provide answers to the issues mentioned in the research questions. The researcher employed a descriptive qualitative analysis approach. To address the problem, the researcher analyzed the collected data using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and the theories of feminist stylistics. The framework of feminist stylistics (Mills, 1995, p. 15), states that not all the components that add up to differences are balanced; feminist analysis goes beyond just analyzing differences; discrimination and differential access to power and rights need to be considered.

Feminist stylistics involves analysis of texts at three levels: of the word, of the phrase or sentence, and of discourse. It is not simply enough to analyze the language at the level of the word, because words have meaning only in terms of their context. It is also clear that certain words related to gender differences often represent generalized gender prejudice and, as such, may need to be examined separately (Mills, 1995, p. 15). Furthermore, the analysis of text such as (a) the level of the word categorized into sexism in language and sexism in its meaning; (b) the level of the sentence and phrase categorized into naming, sexual harassment of women, self-pitying, and euphemism; (c) the level of the discourse categorized into characterization, fragmentation, focalization, and schemata (Mills, 2005. p. 62).

The level of the word, Sara Mills (1995, p. 62), addresses gender bias by analyzing words individually. Analyzing sexism in language includes more than just criticizing language differences between males and females; rather, it also looks at the differences that have consequences (p. 74). Sara Mills discussed several different types of words that can be sexist if they encourage unfair discrimination, such as Generic Pronouns, Generic Nouns, and Women as the mark form. The second is analyzing sexism in its meaning, the way in which meanings may be sex-specific. It is focused on describing linguistic structures that appear to determine the types of meanings that terms linked with gender will have, so that terms associated with women will assume a variety of clearly identified connotations (p. 77). Then, the sexiest meaning discussed in Naming, The Semantic Derogation of Women, Gender-specific Conventions, Edearments, Euphemisms and Taboos, Lexical Gaps, and Dictionaries and Gatekeepers.

At the level of phrase or sentence, a contemporary and simple belief of linguistics is to analyze the words through their contextual relation. When a word is analyzed in isolation, it has a certain meaning because a word cannot contain its meaning alone (p. 98). Meanwhile, in these elements, there are six components ready-made phrase, presupposition and inference, metaphor, jokes and humor,

transitivity choices, feminism, and ideology. The Level of Discourse focuses on the gendered analysis feminists can do by concentrating on the larger-scale structures at the discourse level, or the sentence level. This chapter seeks to view content - the substance of the text - as a negotiation of textual elements, codes, and external forces that influence the construction of the text and our interpretation of its meaning. Rather than treating the content as a given (p. 123). There are four components in this chapter such as characters/roles, fragmentation, focalization, and schemata.

Characters/roles are characters are made of words; they are not human replicas; rather, they are just words that the reader has learned to construct into a series of ideological messages based on her understanding of how texts have been and are written, as well as the opinions that are common in society concerning the characteristics of men and women (p. 123). Then, Fragmentation is well known that pornographic writing uses a technique of breaking up the female body (see especially Kappeler 1986). There are two main effects of this. The body is first reduced to its parts, objectified, and depersonalized. Second, the scenario cannot be focalized from the perspective of the female protagonist since she is not portrayed as a single, aware physical entity; in other words, her experience is essentially left out of the text. Therefore, male focalization and the fragmentation of the female are linked; the female is viewed by the male gaze as an item or group of objects (p. 133).

Focalization is the point of view and focalization, that is, one's position within the story and level of persistence, have been closely investigated in the field of narrative theory. Focalization can be internal or external to the story, depending on where it falls in relation to the narrative. According to Robinson-Kenan (1983:74), external focalization "is felt to be close to the narrating agent." It is known as the "narrator-focalizer" (Bal 1985:37). Additional factors to consider while analyzing focalization are the textual focalizer's control over time and space. Schemata is a broad framework over a variety of texts that creates the different ways that men and women appear (Tyarakanita et al., 2020).

Findings and Discussion

The research has been completed, and the subsequent section analyzes the data and discusses the results. After conducting a purposive sampling and documentation with the specific criteria in the comments on Clara Dao's Instagram Post, here is the summary of the data result using feminist stylistics by Sara Mills (1995).

1. Variation of Gender

This part of the analysis focuses on the presentation of a few words indicating the specific gender that the researchers found in Clara Dao's Instagram Comments as follows on the table below.

Table 1. Generic Nouns

No	Generic Nouns	Gender
1	Paedophilia	It refers to people who like the small chest. It is associated with children that do not have puberty. Refers to everyone (gender)

2	Bodies	It refers to the mature body type as an adult. Refers to everyone (gender)
3	Malnutrition	It refers to people who have a lack of nutrition. Refers to everyone (gender)
4	Shave	It refers to body hair both women and men in the part of hair growth must be shaved. Refers to everyone (gender)

This part of the analysis focuses on the presentation of a few words indicating the generic nouns that the researchers found in Clara Dao's Instagram Comments as follows in the table above. In the table, researchers found 4 data in generic nouns for both genders. In the words represented a body image such as opinion, criticism, and stereotypes of women.

Table 2. Generic Pronouns

No	Generic Pronoun	Gender
1	People	It refers to both males and females who ask and suggest eating behaviors to gain weight. Refers to everyone (gender)

This part of the analysis focuses on the presentation of a few words indicating the generic pronouns that the researchers found in Clara Dao's Instagram Comments as follows in the table above. In the table, researchers found 1 data in generic pronouns that represented both genders that have criticism about body weight.

Analysis at the word level focuses on generic gender which can be seen in the use of individual words or lexical items conducted in **Table 1** and **Table 2** that indicate the nouns and pronouns are the generic genders revealed in Clara Dao's Instagram comments. Besides, this study has generic nouns and generic pronouns indicated in the comments.

In the (Data.3) described the generic pronoun 'people' refers to generic gender, because the user does not mention the gender. But, the user implicitly mentioned having a skinny body like Clara Dao in the utterances *"so nice to say I'm not alone"*. So 'people' described have the power to criticize gender body image for skinny bodies. This proves that body shaming of skinny bodies will always be criticized, not just fat bodies. This is not only based on personal perspectives and opinions but also supported by beauty standards in society. That there is a set ideal standard that is considered beautiful. Thus, body shaming is the context that society constructs when the utterances are directed at beauty standards. (Jannatania et al., 2023).

Meanwhile, (Data.11) and (D.18) described the generic noun that refers to generic gender to criticize and suggest human hygiene and stereotypes of women. The user's perspective and opinions emphasize the beauty standard. Thus, these two feelings are related naturally: the statement "neglectful of her private area" for body hair becomes evidence perceived as "gross" to other women and men. It makes women's body hair ashamed of showing it (Mullinax et al., 2015).

2. Sexist Women Representation

This part of the analysis focuses on the connotation of body positivity or beauty standards in the terms used to describe the users with positive and negative comments that the researchers found in Clara Dao's Instagram comments in the table below.

Table 3. The Positive and Negative Connotation

No	The terms	Comments	Positive/ Negative	Connotation (Body Positivity/Beauty Standard)
1	Boobs	"... who don't find large breasted women sexy" (D.1)	Positive	The connotation "boobs" describe does not depend on size. It promotes body positivity
2	Skinny	"… You make me realise that being skinny and flat chested is also Beautiful…" (D.4)	Positive	The connotations of "skinny" and "flat chest" describe the variation of beauty in women's body types. It promotes body positivity.
3	Hair	"... ya'll need to normalize natural body hair…" (D.5)	Positive	The connotations of "body hair" describe the natural body in the human body both female and male. It emphasizes the word "normalize". It promotes body positivity.
4		… Body hair growing in places it grows is not gross. Hair on women isn't gross…" (D.17)	Positive	The connotations of "hair on women" describe it as a natural thing in a natural human body that does not depend on gender. It emphasizes in the utterances "hair growing in places it grows" and "is not gross". It promotes body positivity.
5		"Body hair not only make women look gross and disgusting the same for men …" (D.11)	Negative	The connotations of "body hair" describe hair that is not normal and incompatible with any gender. It promotes beauty standards.
6		"... idk as a woman it doesn't suit any woman" (D.12)	Negative	The connotations of "body hair" describe stereotypes in society that women should be hairless and smooth. It promotes beauty standards.
7		"I think men and women should shave. It causes odor …" (D.18)	Negative	The connotations of "body hair" describe hair that is not suitable for any gender. It promotes beauty standards.

In the Table above, researchers found 7 data in terms of positive and negative connotations of users' comments. Most of the data has a positive connotation 4 data included boobs, skinny, and hair that promote body positivity. Besides, the resistance data for 3 data has a negative connotation and is mostly about hair, which emphasizes beauty standards.

Table 4. The Phrase/Sentence Level

No	The terms	Comments	Positive/ Negative	Connotation (Body Positivity/Beauty Standard)
1	Boobs	"... who don't find large breasted women sexy" (D.1)	Positive	The connotation "boobs" describe does not depend on size. It promotes body positivity
2	Skinny	"… You make me realise that being skinny and flat chested is also Beautiful…" (D.4)	Positive	The connotations of "skinny" and "flat chest" describe the variation of beauty in women's body types. It promotes body positivity.
3	Hair	"... ya'll need to normalize natural body hair…" (D.5)	Positive	The connotations of "body hair" describe the natural body in the human body both female and male. It emphasizes the word "normalize". It promotes body positivity.
4		… Body hair growing in places it grows is not gross. Hair on women isn't gross…" (D.17)	Positive	The connotations of "hair on women" describe it as a natural thing in a natural human body that does not depend on gender. It emphasizes in the utterances "hair growing in places it grows" and "is not gross". It promotes body positivity.

This part of the analysis focuses on the body image inside metaphor and jokes and humor that the researchers found in Clara Dao's Instagram Comments as follows in the table above. The result is described in the table. Researchers found 5 data for the phrase/sentence level that relate to women's body image. The data consists of 2 used metaphors and 1 used joke and humor. Mostly it is relatable to women's boobs and the resist is relatable to women's body types. In general, researchers concluded that criticism and making jokes about Clara Dao's body were.

Analysis at the Phrase or Sentence level focuses on the women's representation in sexist connotations that can be seen in the sentence applied in Table 5. This was revealed in Clara Dao's Instagram Comments. People used sexist language to make jokes about body image. Also, the representation of positive and

negative connotations for women's bodies is in Table 4. Then, the belief that words must be examined "in relation to their context" is a common belief in modern linguistics (Mills, 2005, p. 98) because the meaning is not limited to the words alone. Then the analysis is conducted in Metaphor and Jokes, and Humor.

The connotations of women's bodies are described in Table 4. Mostly, the hair is equally emphasized by the beauty standards and body positivity. Both standards are influenced by society and personal perspectives. In the (Data.5) and (D.11) described body positivity emphasizes the *"natural"* things that happen in the human body that regardless of gender must be normalized. Otherwise, Beauty standards emphasize the body hair in the words *"gross"* and *"disgusting"* for both genders. It can be influenced by people's personal preferences.

The metaphor in (D.9) describes Clara Dao's body type that is described as *"flat like earth"* in the Cambridge dictionary (Cambridge, 2024) flat means *"level and smooth, with no curved, high, or hollow parts"*, it means because she does not have a curvy body type. Then, if someone does not fit into the 'ideal of beauty' or 'prevailing aesthetic body models, they will have a greater body dissatisfaction with their body image (Rabito-Alcón, M. F., & Rodríguez-Molina, 2015).
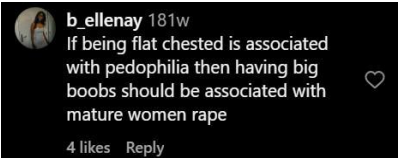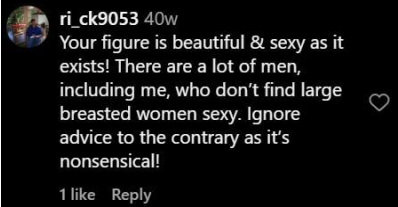
Meanwhile, the jokes and humor in (Data.8) the phrase make her an objectification that is being criticized and mocks Clara Dao's boobs. Because she does not have an ideal figure related to beauty standards. The user emphasizes that the word *"at least"* is an idiom meaning in the dictionary "a number or amount" (Cambridge, 2024). It is related to women who have to wear bras. So, they have to buy bras to fulfill their needs. Because it costs money. This means that Clara does not have to spend much to buy a bra because she does not have boobs. Then, the sexism may be disguised under the cover of humor, the reader may unwittingly participate in the perpetuation of the sexism embedded in the text when s/he laughs at the wit. (Mills, 1995, p. 106).

3. Women Must Conform to Beauty Norms and Standards

This part of the analysis focuses on the discourse level such as characterization, fragmentation, focalization and schemata in the terms used to describe the users included to promote which are in body positivity or beauty standards that the researchers found in Clara Dao's Instagram Comments as follows on the table below.

Table 5. The Discourse Level

No	Discourse Level	Comments	Body Positivity/Beauty Standard	Body Image
1	Characteri zation	emma_error 201w 📌 · ❤ 🐾 I HATE it when people tell girls with small chests that we promote paedophilia. What the actual fuck. Stop associating womanhood with big chests. We're not women with the bodies of children, just women with small chests. Reply ♡ 1516	The user against the stereotypes of womanhood is large boobs as an ideal type. Also, against the perception that flat chests are associated with childre n's bodies. It promotes body positivity. (D.2)	Boobs

2	Fragmentation		The user suggests plastic surgery but the way out is considered a problem by the user. It promotes beauty standards. (D.7)	Boobs
3	Focalization		The Users criticize the association with the size of women's boobs. It promotes body positivity. (D.14)	Boobs
4	Schemata		The user adores Clara Dao, a figure described as "beautiful and sexy". It promotes body positivity. (D.1)	Boobs

These 4 data points are representative of some of the data. In the table above, researchers found 26 data that represented between support for body positivity and beauty standards. The data, such as characterization found 11 data, fragmentation found 8 data, focalization found 5 data, and schemata found 7 data. Mostly, the result promoting body positivity is 17 data. Besides, the resistance promoting beauty standards is 9 data. Also, the body image mostly on body hair is 11 data, boobs are 9 data, body type is 5 data, and body weight is 2 data.

Analysis at the discourse level focuses on the discourse in society, on the comments in Table 5, which indicate the discourse revealed in Clara Dao's Instagram. In this way, the analysis links the word and the phrase with a larger notion of ideology through these textual patterns and structures (Mills, 1995: 123). Then, the characterization described Clara Dao and the women characters on women's body image in the user's utterances below.

In data (D.2) women characters have been analyzed to reveal stereotypical knowledge. The characters of Clara Dao and other women are described as *"we're not women with the bodies of children, just women with small chests"*, which emphasizes the perception of women having flat chests that are associated with the bodies of children. Also, society expects women to have curvy bodies, big boobs, and smooth skin. Then, the users are against and criticize the beauty expectations. Because women have diverse bodies. The second characteristic, described as *"stop associating womanhood with big chests"*, emphasizes that womanhood is correlated to stereotypes of beauty standards. It has a specific meaning to shape women's bodies. So, the characters are described based on ideologies and societal expectations. The standardization of beauty created by society causes the marginalization of women in certain groups, as they do not fit into the existing beauty standards (Aprilita & Listyani, 2016).

The second analysis is fragmentation, describes women's body image representation as objectifying in the user's utterances below. Meanwhile, the body is depersonalized, objectified, and reduced to its parts (Mills 1995, p. 133). Data (D.7) described the representation of fragmented Clara Dao's breasts, which is suggested to have undergone plastic surgery *"undergo a breast surgery"*, It

emphasizes that women's bodies are not related to social norms that must be "*fixed*" and *"modification"*. Then, her breasts need to be reduced to meet social standards. The user places a certain beauty standard on women's bodies. It proves that women's bodies are only judged and criticized based on physical appearance. Thus, ideal female beauty is influenced by the common white view, leading Asian women to undergo cosmetic surgery (Chou & Joe, 2015, p. 153).

The third analysis is the focalization describing women's body image representation that influenced readers to know women's stereotypes in the user utterances below. Furthermore, Mills (2005, p. 166) defines focalization as the process by which events in a story are related to the reader through character awareness or the narrator. In data (D.14) described based on the perspective of the user as narrator utterance conveyed through internal focalization (personal awareness) and external focalization (critical observer) to criticize women's stereotypes about the representation of women's bodies and rape culture in the utterances *"flat chested is associated with pedophilia"* and *"having big boobs should be associated with mature women rape"*.

Then, described to readers that the ideology of women's chests can be associated with sexual preferences. It emphasizes the specific comparisons of negative representations of women's chests like *"flat chests"* and *"big boobs"*. Also, women are seen as objects of sexual gratification, which the perpetrators do without feeling guilty. In other words, women are more likely to be used for sexual gratification with less regret if they are constantly judged based on their physical characteristics (Riemer et al., 2022).

The fourth analysis is the schemata describing the representation of women's bodies as objects and men's domination in the utterances (D.1) the user adores Clara Dao's figures as *"beautiful"* and *"sexy"* figures and emphasizes the support from a male perspective *"There are a lot of men including me"* that have control to give an evaluation of his personal preferences. This dominance in outlining beauty and sexiness reflects how male figures are conditioned to uphold traditional gender norms, maintaining their role as arbiters of women's attractiveness. In this sense, they become passive actors of societal expectations, supporting Mills' (1995: 148) argument that male figures appeared to be passive instruments of a dominant masculine ideology. Moreover, men must seek the influence women manifest, as women must be expected to manifest (the beauty standards) (Wolf, 2002, p. 12).

Discussion

This research highlights how body positivity discourse is negotiated in social media through public commentary, particularly on Clara Dao's Instagram posts. The analysis is organized across three levels. The first analysis at the word level revealed the variation of genders conducted in generic nouns and pronouns. Meanwhile, it is concluded that society has the power to criticize women's body image, such as body types and body hair. The second analysis at the word level revealed the sexist representation. It is concluded that women's bodies have negative and positive connotations, mostly in body hair, that equally stress body positivity and beauty standards. Then, the metaphor and jokes humor are emphasize beauty standards. The third analysis at the discourse level revealed that women must conform to beauty norms and standards conducted through

characterization, fragmentation, focalization, and schemata. These findings reflect broader stereotypes, the representation of body images, and the objectification of women's bodies in beauty norms. Furthermore, this research contributes to feminist discourse analysis by using stylistic analysis to examine user-generated, real-life social media content in a context that can be ignored in feminist stylistic studies.

Conclusion

The data analysis examines the utterances in the comment forms in Clara Dao's post. The findings of this study demonstrate that word-level analysis reveals women as objects represented in generic nouns and generic pronouns towards women's body image such as body type and body hair. The criticism of body type is pedophilia and malnutrition indicated skinny, flat boobs, and butt-like children's bodies. The body hair indicated the word shave, which represented women having smooth skin without hair and hygiene. Meanwhile, the generic pronouns in the word people indicate society's expectation that women's bodies to look perfect. So, it is concluded that society has the power and expectation to build women's body image representation to emphasize beauty standards.

The phrase or sentence level analysis reveals that sexist women's representation reveals positive and negative connotations, metaphors, jokes, and humor in women's body image. The metaphor mostly indicates women's body types towards skinny bodies by using nouns like earth and table. Likens to women's bodies can be associated with an object that is flat and lifeless. Also, the jokes and humor used sarcasm towards Clara's boobs. It shows the comparison of boobs sizes. The indication of flat boobs prohibited covering it with bras, but big boobs are allowed. Meanwhile, the connotation most indicated as positive promotes body positivity such as boobs, skinny, and body hair. Otherwise, the negative connotation emphasizes beauty standards towards body hair. So, it is concluded that women's body image is represented in nouns. Because society can be valued and managed by society's perspectives and expectations based on personal preferences.

The discourse level analysis reveals that women are against the beauty norms and standards. Promoting body positivity is the highest mention in the comments. The body image mostly mentioned are body hair, boobs, body type, and body weight. Then, body hair is the biggest issue, and body weight is the least. In characterization, discovers against stereotypical beauty standards. Because women's characters are being assessed and formed by beauty norms. The second is fragmentation discovers the representation of women's body image as an object. Emphasizes that women's bodies that do not capable to beauty standards are unattractive and must be modified.

The third is focalization, which discovers the representation of women's body image that influences readers to know stereotypes. They criticized women's rape culture based on boobs sizes. The last is that schemata discover men's domination to create the representation of women's bodies. The compliments of physical appearances are supported through male perspectives to get accepted in their evaluation preferences. Hence, the word level and phrase/sentence analysis are focused on criticizing body types, and the discourse level analysis is focused on criticizing body hair.

Moreover, the three analyses above state that there are rules that must be followed by women who are not spared by the perspective and domination of society in assessing and criticizing the physical form of women who do not conform to the prevailing norms and beauty as their personal preferences or social standards. So is the formation of female characters that needs to be adjusted to the expectations of society. Thus, the female body is used as an object that can be negatively associated and modified to meet the norms and beauty standards of society. This proves that there are pressures and expectations that women must meet and realize to feel accepted. Even if they resist and fight for the body positivity movement, they will still be judged and criticized physically.

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