

**Fat Looking:
Exploring the Dialogue Between Visual Representations of the Body**

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Abstract

Is our concern over the 'obesity epidemic' simply a moral cudgel by which to denigrate those whose bodies do not conform to the social ideal? Through juxtaposing a New York City public health campaign with a fat positive blog, this paper explores visual representations of the fat body and tracks their dialogue. It seeks to analyze the impact of visual body representation on the viewer and the subject - and attempts to understand their relationship to dominant narratives around health, bodies and identity.

Ways of seeing the body are intricately connected to how we make sense of the world around us (Berger, 1972). Berger writes, “Every image embodies a way of seeing. Even a photograph. For photographs are not, as is often assumed, a mechanical record. Every time we look at a photograph, we are aware, however slightly, of the photographer selecting that sight from an infinity of other possible sights” (p. 10).

Obsessions with the thin body and the vilification of the fat body have a complicated history in the United States. This narrative has been shaped in part by a changing economy, the explosion of the mass production industry and, perhaps most significantly, a shift from religious morals to those surrounding the growth of science and medicine (Fraser, 1997). This history has led to current day anxieties surrounding weight, dieting and exercise and has produced a palpable fat phobic culture (Fraser, 1997; LeBesco, 2010). “Obesity” labeling and the pop-cultural interpretation of fatness further delineate power relations in the United States (Levy-Navarro, 2009). Anti-fat sentiments are infused into the fabric of cultural ideologies of health, identity and citizenry (LeBesco, 2010). While no one is exempt from the impact of fat phobia, fat people are public targets for stigmatization, as their bodies speak their alleged marginalized status (Pausé, 2012, p. 45).

How do visual representations of the fat body strengthen and habituate a way of looking at, and subsequently relating to, different sized bodies? In what ways do visual representations engender ways of scripting difference? Drawing on Disability Theory and Fat Studies, I will compare images in The New York Department of Health and Mental Hygiene's “Cut Your Portion, Cut Your Risk” campaign and the Fat Positive tumblr blog

Fuck Yeah Fat Positive. I will explore how each of these sources foster, or subvert, narratives of the fat body and mirror larger trends within the public sphere of fat politics.

Disability Studies and Fat Studies support one another as fields of academic discipline that decode socially constructed ideas of so-called natural and unnatural bodies. In *Feminist Disability Studies*, Garland-Thomson (2005) asserts bodies that do not conform to social standards are targets for social discrimination. She extends classifications of atypical embodiment beyond those considered classically disabled to include the, “Ugly, deformed, fat, grotesque, ambiguous, disproportionate, or marked by scarring or so-called birthmarks” (2005, p. 1579). The medicalization of body difference within modern societies serves as a mechanism to limit human variation (Garland-Thomson, 2005). Applying a Disability Studies lens to the ways the fat body has been deemed pathological exposes a politic of appearance and identity within fat discourse. While Disability Studies shifts its perspective from comparing disabled bodies with a culturally imagined “body norm,” Fat Studies situates the stigmatization of fatness within its historical and political context. Fatness and the social connotations attached to it must be critically evaluated as a political issue, along with all bodies that are labeled by popular culture as different and problematic (Garland Thomson, 2005).

In 2011, The New York Department of Health and Mental Hygiene released the ‘Cut Your Portions, Cut your Risk’ campaign to increase awareness of growing portion sizes. The campaign was composed of three different versions of a similar ad depicting a fast food product (soda, burger, fries) in three sizes. Each product gets larger, with text that reads “then” over the smallest size and “now” over the largest exemplifying how

portion sizes have enlarged over time (see Figures 1-3). In two of the advertisements a red banner reads, “Portions have grown: So has obesity. Which can lead to many health problems.” The third advertisement reads, “Portions have grown. So has type 2 Diabetes, which can lead to amputations.” In the background of each is an anonymous, larger bodied individual; one black male and two white females. Each of the subject’s faces is made invisible, either cropped so only the body is seen (and therefore headless) or looking down and obscuring the face. Two of the photographs depict individuals with a physical disability; the man has an amputated leg and one of the women is in a wheelchair. The viewer only sees the profile of the subject in the wheelchair, as if the person does not know the picture is being taken. The third advertisement is a bird’s eye view of a woman walking up subway stairs. Her face is not visible to the viewer.

This campaign is unremarkable when compared to other anti-obesity campaigns and the related images that have emerged over the past decade (Thompson & Kumar, 2011; Cooper, 2013). With the goal of encouraging behavior change, the subjects are stripped of agency and their bodies are used as symbols of ill health, risk, and the threat of what not to become (Cooper, 2013). “Obese” is the only identity that these subjects are given, and that identity is being publicly denounced, their existence attacked. The campaign implies that the bodies in the picture are dangerous.

For Garland-Thomson (2009), looking or “staring” at bodies that are deemed different is born out of a natural curiosity. She describes the interactive staring encounters as an embodied exchange between two people in which a person looks at another and the other looks back. Like the images described in the anti-obesity campaign, the staring

experience was changed by modern technology, specifically the phenomenon of the photograph (Garland-Thomson, 2009). The photographs in this series set up what Garland-Thomson calls “virtual staring.” The role of the “staree” is vital as a way of asserting personhood however, these subjects are unable to look back at the starrer. In her article *Headless Fatties*, Cooper (2013) argues that by preventing subjects’ faces from being seen, they are silenced and stripped of personhood. Cooper writes:

As Headless Fatties, the body becomes symbolic: we are there but we have no voice, not even a mouth in a head, no brain, no thoughts or opinions. Instead we are reduced and dehumanized as symbols of cultural fear: the body, the belly, the arse, food. There’s a symbolism, too, in the way that the people in these photographs have been beheaded. It’s as though we have been punished for existing, our right to speak has been removed by a prurient gaze, our headless images accompany articles that assume a world without people like us would be a better world altogether (para 3).

In the name of health, these advertisements engender ways of looking that position the alleged healthy and slender body as the *starrer* and the fat, sick body as the disempowered *staree*. The images force the bodies who resemble those in the picture to further internalize the problematic nature of their physicality. Objectification theory, born out of feminist psychoanalytic scholarship, adds another layer to this imagery. Objectification theory was developed to better understand the ways in which the culture becomes embodied by the self (McKinley, 2004). An individual internalizes the objectifying messages and in turn, evaluates his or her own body as an outside observer, rather than an embodied subject. Body surveillance, body shame and appearance control

are the three principles of objectified body consciousness (McKinley, 2004). It does not take much exposure to the greater culture to imagine the lived reality of this internalized objectification, the power of internalized size-ism and its implications on a person's mental and physical well-being. These images are just one example of the ways in which messaging from the outside world seeps into one's intimate sense of self.

The campaign covertly reminds the viewer that looking is political; who gets to look, and who gets looked at exists within a matrix of social, cultural and visual politics (Garland-Thomson, 2009). Garland-Thomson's work, *Staring: How We Look*, contextualizes the act of staring within a shifting political, historical and gendered environment. By highlighting the ways in which staring emerges from a human curiosity of difference, Garland-Thomson asserts that the relationship between "starer" and "staree" is a potential site for domination or visual activism. Garland-Thomson does not identify these sites of "staring" as inherently oppressive. Rather, these interactions demand critical examination of the ethics of looking, particularly *how* we look and in what context. The objectification of looking at "Othered" bodies through, say the medical gaze or male gaze, is different from the staring encounter (Garland-Thomson). While the "gaze" strips an individual of personhood and agency, the stare is a site of potential embodied exchange (Garland-Thomson, 2009).

The bodies in the photographs teach a way of looking that is specific to the image; what is included and left outside the frame is deliberate. As Berger (1972) cautions, "All images are man-made" (p 4). Thus, anti-obesity campaigns are an important site for

evaluating the line between the “gaze” and the “stare.” Are we gazing or staring at these images?

According to Garland-Thomson, staring is a universal impulse. However, not all bodies are the recipient of the stare; institutional mechanisms place certain bodies in positions of “staring” and “stared at.” In his critique of the medical representations of inter-sexed bodies, Singer (2006) argues that the use of a bar over the eyes of the subjects attempts to assert scientific objectivity through dehumanizing and desexualizing the person. This exemplifies how bodies that are Othered are turned into the passive and dehumanized subject of the looker. Singer argues that medicine and criminology gradually merged to create a particular aesthetic impulse in which bodies that do not confirm to the social ideal become marginalized and socially outcast. While the history of the medicalization and subsequent perception of intersex bodies differs from fat bodies, visual representations of both contribute to the dehumanization of these marginalized body cultures.

In *From the Medical Gaze to Sublime Mutations*, Singer problematizes photography as a site for achieving visual, objective evidence of pathology and criminal deviance (2006). Similarly, the images in the anti-obesity campaign encourage viewers to adopt a way of looking that reduces people with nonstandard bodies to a medical disorder. As a public health announcement, these photographs create an illusion of medical objectivity, displaying the subjects as anonymous bodies existing outside of their particular social context. Singer cautions, “Photographs literally *show* us how to relate to

another person, which is of course also the central concern of ethics: *a proper regard for the other's legitimate claims for recognition*" (p. 602).

When fat becomes the antithesis of health, stigmatizing rhetoric is disguised as an intervention to "cure," imbuing the culture around body and health with moralizing language. In her essay *Fat Panic and the New Morality*, Kathleen LeBesco (2010) chronicles the demonization of fat in American society. In evaluating the obesity epidemic as an example of a "moral panic" LeBesco writes, "Our insistence on turning efforts to achieve good health into a greater moral enterprise means that health also becomes a sharp political stick in which much harm is ultimately done" (p. 78).

The fear of the obese body must be situated within wider anxieties around race, class and sex (LeBesco, 2010; Firth, 2012). LeBesco interrogates the historical shift in attitude of fat as a symbol of status and health to one of poverty and sickness (2010, p 75). LeBesco writes, "If African Americans and Latinos are fatter than whites and Asians, and women are more likely than men to be fat, fatness haunts us as a reminder of deteriorating physical privilege in terms of race and sex" (p. 75). In response to the growing fear of certain bodies taking up physical and, even, political space a "war on obesity" was waged in 1996 with the U.S. Surgeon General Richard Carmona describing obesity as a greater threat to our country than terrorism (Oliver 2005). In the middle of this epidemic, few took note of the National Institute of Health's alteration of the Body Mass Index range in 1998, drastically changing the number of individuals categorized as "obese" overnight (Oliver, 2005). This shift extended the idea of the American dream

where you can achieve anything you put your mind to, now acutely incorporating the body as an all consuming project (LeBesco).

The visual cues in these advertisements can be understood as playing into the script of a “moral panic,” perpetuating a “healthism” that stigmatizes and marginalizes bodies that do not conform to the social ideal. LeBesco quotes Audre Lorde’s famous words stating, “The master’s tools of medical fact are unable to dismantle the house of fat oppression built on a foundation of scientific rhetoric” (p. 76). In other words, though guised in the language of objectivity and neutrality, health interventions targeting fatness are deeply imbedded in the belief that fat bodies are problematic.

As an extension of the medical field, the imagery in public health campaigns are consumed as unmediated visual objectivity. They are, however, very much subjective representations that mirror the beliefs and agendas of those creating them and the greater culture at large. They confirm a narrative of the fat body as inherently pathological. The political underpinnings of these advertisements are further complicated by the fact that the subjects in the campaign are individuals pulled from public domain stock photos.

The photographs chosen mimic the greater trend of representing fat bodies in the media. None of the subjects consented to having their image used for the campaign and, while this is not uncommon for stock photographs, it mirrors the larger phenomenon of capturing fat people without consent and reading fatness as inherently pathological. Could we imagine new subjects in the campaign with a diversity of body types? Given the research that food-related health problems manifest in a variety of sizes (Bacon, 2008), it is misleading and dangerous to attach one body type to illness (i.e. diabetes).

Furthermore, the pictures chosen mimic the fad of photographing fat bodies while they are not looking (Cooper, 2013). Cooper calls for fat activists to step up and speak out against these forms of representation. Furthermore, she calls for viewers to look critically at the media's depiction of the fat body, urging individuals to challenge their initial reaction, look for the photographed bodies personhood and finally, question the forces in place which dehumanize bodies that are different (2013).

Remarkably, two of the three models used in the public health campaign found ways to do exactly what Cooper calls for; they demanded that their voices be heard and spoke out against the use of their photographs (McGeehan, 2012). Cleo Berry, the man with the amputated leg, publicly stated that he was shocked to see his picture used for the campaign and to find his leg photoshopped off and crutches added digitally (McGeehan, 2012). This man – placed as a mascot for diabetes and ill health – was digitally manipulated to look the imagined part of a man with diabetes. Mr. Berry stated, “It is an illustration now, clearly not the picture I did” (McGeehan, 2012). By claiming that this is an “illustration,” Mr. Berry boldly calls out the manipulation and photoshopping of his body. Contrary to what the advertisement suggests, Mr. Berry is a healthy and active man in a large body (McGeehan, 2012)

The female climbing the stairs, Beth Anne Sacks, was similarly disturbed by the representation of her body (McGeehan, 2012) and publicly stated she did not think the photograph was a useful way to encourage healthy behaviors. Identifying these images transparent scare tactics to promote weight loss Ms. Sacks stated, “The ad of me doesn't scare me” (McGeehan, 2012). While each model had different reactions both found ways

to publicly speak out, indirectly suggesting that this campaign is *of* them rather than *for* them. By publicly stating that their own image does not suffice as a scare tactic, each model is reminding the viewer of their humanity and subjectivity. They are forcing their personhood and agency back into the frame. These responses to the campaign begs the question: who is this campaign for, who is intended to *look* and who be *looked at*?

Returning to the act of staring, Garland-Thomson asserts that the question is not whether we *should* stare but rather *how* we should stare. Similarly, Singer (2006) identifies sites of representation in which the subject can ‘stare back,’ challenging the power dynamics of looking. According to Singer, these opportunities teach the viewer how to look at the body, question ideal physicality and how bodies are photographically represented. Therefore staring back has the power to become a site of visual activism (Garland-Thomson, 2009; Singer, 2006).

The ‘Cut Your Portion, Cut Your Risk’ campaign prevented the subjects from staring back, perpetuating the medical narrative of the body by denying personhood and claiming objectivity. In opposition, representations of the fat body that do not align with the conventional medical model are rich spaces to understand how individuals, and communities, resist oppressive, anti-fat narratives of their body. Similar to the individuals who spoke out against the public health campaign, body activists have found their voices through alternative visual self-representations.

The Blogosphere or more specifically the emergence of the Fatosphere, created a burgeoning international fat positive community (Dickins, Thomas, King, Lewis &, Holland, 2011). The proliferation of blogs dedicated to fat acceptance exemplify the need

for safe spaces where fat people can accept and celebrate themselves. Research by Dickins *et al.* (2011) confirmed that individuals benefited from belonging to the Fatosphere in that they felt empowered, an increased sense of social connectedness and improved overall mental and physical health (p.1685). This illustrates the impact of having access to an accepting and supportive community in resisting the dominant paradigms of fat as pathology (Dickins *et al.* 2011).

Fuck Yeah Fat Positive is one fat acceptance blog which is composed of Garland-Thomson's "Strategic staring encounters" that challenge the dominant beauty culture. While there have been a surge of blogs on the Internet devoted to fat positivity and size diversity, this site is unique because of its uncensored and visually oriented format. Unlike other blogs, it focuses on self-representations and self-photographs as a source of community building. It differs from the general tone of the Fatosphere which relies more on copy and pasting images and text from the Internet at large. The *Fuck Yeah Fat Positive* website *shows* rather than *tells*. It has one guideline: "This is a fat positive space. There will be no discussion of dieting. None. Zip. Zero. Nada. No" (Fuckyeahfatpositive.com). Furthermore, in contrast to the public health narrative evaluated earlier, this website is authored by multiple voices making it a rich space for celebrating bodies that are elsewhere deemed devious or unhealthy. As an uncensored blog (outside of its single no diet talk rule), members have the freedom to represent themselves however they desire. Lastly, as a "fuck yeah" tumblr site¹, this blog is situated

¹ "Fuck Yeah" tumblrs are an Internet trend of single topic blogs that subscribe to the same format of documenting and commemorating something the blogger is excited about. There are over 100,000 sites currently active. (Collier, The Daily Dot.com)

within a greater Internet community of blogs dedicated to celebrating and documenting various topics.

Fuck Yeah Fat Positive is filled with self-representations that deliberately engage viewers through conventional poses and depictions seen in everyday visual culture, but rarely in these bodies. Ordinary pictures fill this site; individuals pose in playful and sexualized outfits, display humor and celebrate personhood by documenting eccentric hobbies and personal quirks. Many submissions contain text with positive affirmations by the individual submitting the post. On the surface level, the representations on the blog are unremarkable; the Internet and its subsequent explosion of social networking sites provide endless opportunities to document and display the body. Images found in the blogosphere are part of the cultural landscape of beauty ideals. The self-portraits on this site, however, are different from the dominant media and they highlight the problematic assumptions of how fat bodies are represented. They rebel against the common imagery of the fat body by capturing their own image on their own terms and refusing to feel shame for their body.

One submission by ‘minnesotabetsyville’ shows a white woman in revealing gym clothing – a low cut muscle shirt exposing a sports bra (Figure 3). The woman’s stomach is exposed. She wears shorts that reveal the tops of her thighs. The woman is striking an action pose in which she has both arms curled up as if in the middle of bicep curl, with her body in a stable and strong position. Her face is scrunched up as if grunting from the exertion of her imagined weight lifting. Her gaze is fixed directly at the camera. This visual playfully challenges dominant stereotypes and myths about fat bodies and exercise.

Further complicating the image, the subject appears happy; she enjoys her body and movement.

In a society where exercise is a prescription for weight loss, this image is perplexing. For a fat body to be seen taking pleasure in exercise and be playful with one's body requires a certain element of body peace and self-acceptance. The photograph is accompanied by the text "...The next time I go to the gym, I am going to wear this shirt. Reppin' my fattiness and Nebraska. What a wonderful combination" (Christians, 2012). Not only does this submission directly confront stereotypes about size and self-care, but the woman meets the gaze of the viewer. She does not turn away from the camera. Through this simple act she is satirizing and, hence, subverting the stereotype of fatness as sickness. She turns the political stick that denigrates her body as unhealthy back onto the viewer by refusing to succumb to the body bashing that places fat bodies in a space of constant self transformation (LeBesco, 2004). She goes to the gym proud of her body, proud to move on her own terms; proud to be from Nebraska. The general sentiment is life-affirming; the viewer almost forgets the battle a person of size must fight to get to this point of basic freedom.

In an anonymous submission, a self-portrait challenges the typical fragmented or objectified visual representations of the fat body. A white woman poses in a black bra and underwear (Figure 4). The midsection of her body is the focus of the photograph displaying stretch marks and a belly. Her head and legs are left out of the frame. Her body faces the camera and with both hands forward, she flips the camera off. The text underneath the photograph reads "Fuck what other people think and love your body!"

Stretch marks, rolls, dimples, folds, flabs, giggles, and wiggles. Everything” (Foster, 2012). This image is alarmingly familiar, paralleling the very “Headless Fatties” that Cooper describes. However, it also complicates and politicizes the common imagery. Rather than passively allowing the viewer to objectify her body, she becomes an actor in the frame. She meets the gaze onto her body with aggression, showing that she is not a victim of the “staree.” She confuses the viewer by showing an image that is frequently presented - a fleshy midsection - but then forces the viewer to question this commonplace imagery as they themselves are met with the aggression. The viewer is forced to question how they are looking at that body.

In another image by a user named ‘queerandpresentdanger’ (Figure 6), a description of the image reads as follows: “A fat brown man stands to his side in his bathroom, holding his right arm out and taking a photo with the phone in his hand. He had a cupcake-print bandana sticking out of his right back pocket and his fingernails are painted a silver, glittery color. His left arm is scratching the back of his head, and his stomach is protruding” (Luna, 2012). Below the photograph the subject writes, “Vanity is really time consuming (cruising 4 cupcakes).” Photographing oneself looking into a mirror is a commonplace form of self-representation on social networking sites (referred to as a “selfie²”).

This self portrait reminds the viewer that fatness is not an exclusively female space. Bell and McNaughton (2007) argue that the contemporary critique of fatness as an inherently feminist issue excludes the male body experience. Furthermore, these feminist

² The word “Selfie” is defined by the Oxford Dictionary as a photograph that one has taken of oneself, typically one taken with a smartphone or webcam and uploaded to a social media website.

theories render the fat man invisible (Bell & McNaughton, 2007). Bell and McNaughton document the equally intricate history of masculine body ideals and call for a new framework within the academy to more fully understand the complexity of this lived experience. In this image, Queerandpresentdanger “comes out” (Pausé, 2012) as a fat man, proudly attaching himself to a contested identity. As a man who identifies as queer and of color, fat is just one piece of his personhood that he celebrates in the photograph. Unlike the representation of the man with an amputated leg in the public health campaign, Queerandpresentdanger’s individuality emanates through his post; he asserts his personhood and humor and, most of all, he makes an emphatic point of being seen.

Unlike the photographic representations of fat bodies in the public health campaign, these representations bring personhood into the frame. They rebel against the unconscious narrative of the fat body as unsocial, undesirable, lazy, unlovable, shameful, asexual and pathological and contribute to a new narrative of the fat body. Instead of warning of the dangers of diabetes or promoting a new fad diet and exercise routine or containing the words ‘before’ and ‘after,’ these images celebrate the subjects’ body-size as is. The subjects’ bodies become, as LeBesco (2004) describes, “Revolting bodies” or individuals who are visual activists re-teaching how we look at fat bodies. Individually, each self-portrait is a single subversion of dominant dialogues. The images challenge normative ways of looking at the body by simply proclaiming their right to exist in their body proudly. These submissions declare the socially unthinkable – that fat is a preferred way of being in the world.

Judith Butler's (1999) theory on gender performance can give a more complex understanding of fat bodies and the role of power. Through exploring the seeming "naturalness" of the gender binary, Butler argues that embodiment is not a fact of nature but produced by and through discourse (p. 129). According to Butler, all bodies are gendered from the beginning of their social existence. Gender is not something one *is* but rather something one *does*, following a particular script of how to perform as that gender. Butler extends this theory to the body by asserting that the body cannot be separated from the language and discourse that name it. While Butler focuses on the "performativity" of sex and gender, her theory extends to discourse on the body and the idea of what is "natural."

Discourse on the fat body as sick is perpetuated by public health campaigns which conflate health with body size (Dickins, et al., 2011). The visual representations propagate the cultural belief that fat is inherently bad, non-normative, asexual, something to be avoided or gotten rid of, a spectacle to be looked at. It is not just reflecting an objective truth but shaping and defining how people engage and make sense of the bodies around them. If, as Butler argues, the body does not exist as an objective and natural thing, how can we understand the use of such public health advertisements as a mechanism for constructing a power-dynamic segregating a class of citizens?

In 2012, a controversial public health campaign launched in Georgia to address childhood obesity. The campaign was composed of black and white photographs of children looking sadly at the camera (Browner, 2013). Underneath each picture was text that read of the hardships of being fat: "Fat prevention begins at home. And the buffet

line” or “It’s hard to be a little girl if you’re not.” This campaign was met with tremendous backlash among the Fat Acceptance community, highlighting the need for size diversity and anti-bullying initiatives, not prescriptions of weight control and dieting (Segedie, L, 2012). An on-the-ground campaign was initiated as a retaliation, entitled “I Stand,” to combat the detrimental and stigmatizing effects of the ads (Browner, 2013). This counter campaign was composed of different contributors who submitted photos with a personal message stating what they stood for, such as, “I stand for bodies of all sizes and ages to be free from bullying” (www.Stand4Kids.com). This call and response dynamic shows an intrinsic relationship between these visual depictions and activist response.

The “Cut Your Portion, Cut Your Risk” images and the representations on the *Fuck Yeah Fat Positive* blog present a unique version of a call and response dialogue. Although the blog is not a direct response to the public health campaign, the submissions are a clear resistance to depictions of the fat body as sick and voiceless, even decapitated. Each individual’s self portrait has the opportunity to teach, or rather demand, a new way of looking. Submissions invite the viewer to stare on the blogger’s own terms. The collection of photographs creates a powerful shared voice that fosters a narrative that is not reduced to matters of health or photoshop. These self-representations directly confront myths around the fat body and deconstructs them. Furthermore, the blog and its community fosters a new way of relating to the self not as the objectified and marginalized Other (Dickins, et al., 2011) but, rather, as an embodied being.

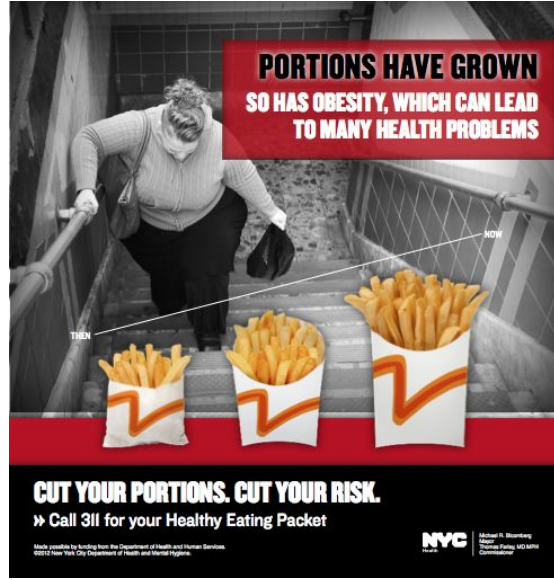
The fat positive community fosters a new way of looking at the fat body that is defined by individuality and challenges the problematic politics of looking. Individuals are demanding their right to stare back and create new narratives of the body that resist mere pathology. Unlike the representations in the public health campaign, the self-portraits submitted to the blog refuse to be stared at. Rather, they unapologetically put their life-affirming vision of themselves out for the world to see; they are now the photographer, not just a photograph.

Figure 1:



NYC.gov – no permission needed

Figure 2:



NYC.gov – no permission needed

Figure 3:



NYC.gov – no permission needed

Figure 4:

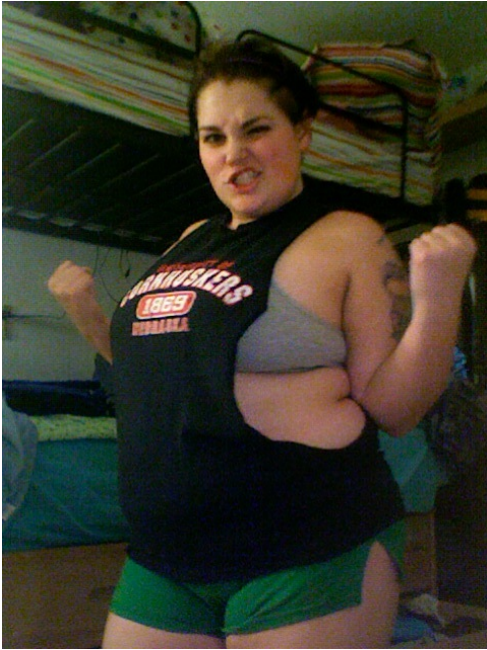


Figure 5:



Figure 6:



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