Artigos

"Fat": mappings and correlations about an abject body through the Google Trends tool

"Gorda": mapeamentos e correlações sobre um corpo abjeto a partir da ferramenta Google Trends

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Abstract: *The present study discusses the associations attributed to the fat body through web searches in Brazil, with the main objective of mapping searches that use the word "fat" through Google Trends. To carry out the mapping and in order to better understand the dynamics between Google users and its database, the Actor-Network Theory was used. Additionally, this article included analyses that approached the fat body from the perspective of surveillance, according to Foucault and the abject body, following Butler. It was noticed that the adjectives used in searches with the word fat imply a place of abjection towards fat women, creating correlations with other minorities also considered abject. As a main finding, it is confirmed that Brazilian searches on the web about fat women are discriminatory.*

Keywords: *Database; mapping; fat woman*

Resumo: *O presente estudo discute as associações atribuídas ao corpo gordo por meio das buscas na web em território brasileiro, tendo como principal objetivo mapear as buscas que utilizam a palavra "gorda" por meio do Google Trends. Para a realização do mapeamento, e a fim de melhor compreender as dinâmicas entre os usuários do Google e seu banco de dados, foi utilizada a Teoria Ator-Rede. Adicionalmente, este artigo contou com análises que abordaram o corpo gordo numa perspectiva de vigilância, de acordo com Foucault, e de corpo abjeto seguindo Butler. Percebeu-se que os adjetivos utilizados nas buscas com a palavra gorda implicam em um local de abjeção às mulheres gordas, criando*

correlações com outras minorias, também consideradas abjetas. Como achado principal, confirma-se que as buscas brasileiras na web sobre as mulheres gordas são discriminatórias.

Palavras-chave: *Banco de dados; mapeamento; gorda*

Introduction

Since emerging in the 1960s, the internet has proven to be a relevant communication tool (LÉVY, 1999), widely used and easily accessible. The first social studies on the subject saw the internet as an environment distinct from reality that would be "a heavenly kingdom for discourse and mediated society" (HALAVAIS, in FRAGOSO et al. 2011. p. 12, our translation). The existing view of the web has changed over the years, as diverse interests have been influencing its mediating nature. Research began observing communicational innovation from the perspective of reproducing social structures. The interactions proposed by the web vary, thus constructing and reconstructing representations of what occurs in social practices (RECUERO, 2017).

Free access to information is one of the best-known internet resources. Google practically monopolizes such use through a search network configured through a feedback feature (CASTELLS, 2009). As users search for terms, the company includes them in peaks of interest and suggests them to others (giving them more visibility through its search tool), causing a chain reaction. Hence, we can check the most searched terms, their associations, and how the general population feeds databases.

Through indicators of social patterns found in Google searches, one can understand the search patterns of a group of individuals regarding different subjects. In this research, we delimited an object related to a social minority (CHAVES, 1970), in this case, fat women, so that through Google Trends, a service that gives visibility to searches made on Google, we could diagnose discriminatory and exclusionary behaviors. The company defines Google Trends as a "[...] tool that shows the most popular terms searched recently. The tool presents graphs on the frequency with which users search a particular term in various regions of the world and languages", which allows the mapping and analysis of the terms searched for.

It is worth highlighting that the object of research, the fat body, is stigmatized due to the divergence of aesthetic standards, which causes a

cycle that includes verbal violence, association of weight with diseases, and lack of visibility. The internet can reiterate the abject condition (BUTLER, 1993) of the fat body, mainly through hate speech. To better understand these issues, we mapped how Brazilian users perform searches using the term "fat," asking what the adjectives used in the searches imply. To this end, we established to search for the word "fat" in Brazilian territory, using exclusively the Google Trends tool. By doing this, it became evident we needed to understand how the adjectives used in searches imply the correlation of the fat body to an abject body. We collected data for analysis initially from January 30, 2018, to January 30, 2019, an interval methodologically delimited based on the need to obtain a distance from the data so that they were in a static situation, facilitating the development of the analysis. As a control, we applied the same methodology throughout March 2024 without finding considerable changes, which reinforces both the stigmas and the relevance of the object of study since, in almost five years, there were no significant changes. Thus, mapping search patterns is relevant, as it allows us to understand the cycle perpetuated by Google searches on fat and other bodies belonging to social minorities.

Actor-network relationship and databases

To begin the proposed discussions, we highlight the perspective of Pierre Lévy (1999), who, when studying the expansion of the internet, alludes to two terms: cyberspace and cyberculture. According to the author, cyberspace is a "new means of communication that arises from the global interconnection of computers" (LÉVY, 1999, p. 15), determining how people use this network as an everyday communication tool. Cyberculture refers to the "set of (material and intellectual) techniques, practices, attitudes, ways of thinking, and values that develop alongside the growth of cyberspace" (LÉVY, 1999, p. 16). We guide our research by conceptualizing these terms and considering their definitions to determine the actor-network relationship (LATOUR, 2012).

Bruno Latour (2012) defines Actor-Network Theory (ANT) as focusing on interactions without fixing points for actors and delimiting the network. To understand and apply such a theory to the existing dynamics of cyberspace and cyberculture, we must include the internet user in the equation. We can initially imagine cyberspace users as actors who interact or associate, as indicated by Latour (2012). These actors are "the moving target of a wide range of entities that swarm towards them" (LATOUR, 2012, p. 75), immersed in cyberculture, constantly and actively reproducing social values and practices.

When discussing the primary terms for reflection in this work, it is necessary to understand what shapes and provides information to the network: the database. This storage system has become present in most forms of media (MANOVICH, 2015), which justifies its function as the basis of cyberspace. Here, we highlight the active interference of the actor-network relationship through the algorithms that govern databases, fostering a cyberculture that reproduces social structures through the internet (RECUERO, 2017). Regarding this problem, Lévy (1999, p. 22) points out, "The difficulty of concretely analyzing the social and cultural implications of information technology or multimedia is multiplied by the radical lack of stability in this domain.".

Here, to map the associations arising from the actor-network relationship, it is necessary to discuss the representations in the computer network that follow a feedback cycle (LÉVY, 1999) involving the alternation between actor and network, as they mix and have active roles in the uses of the internet. Thus, the mapping, or cartography, of cyberspace (limited to the research object of this work) focuses on understanding a network of forces and agencies (LATOUR, 2012), which we do here through the Google company database.

From this perspective, the observational nature of ANT allows us to reflect on the reproduction and hierarchy of social positions on the web (RECUERO, 2017) since Latour (2012, p. 109) characterizes the ANT project as a means of "expanding the list and modifying the forms and figures of the participants, outlining how to make them act as a durable

whole.". Considering the positive and negative characteristics of social reproduction on the web, this type of analysis shows the perpetuation of stigmas or a change in the social pattern. To that effect, we must map (LATOUR, 2012) with the intention of tracing associations to understand the dynamics of the network, which actors shape while it shapes them.

We can map the relationship between the Google database and web users, given the understanding of the exchange of power that governs its visualization and exploration dynamics (LATOUR, 2012). Corroborating this point, Menezes states:

> [...] virtual spaces can be read as showcases of the state of crisis we are experiencing by highlighting the sparks arising from the contact between the current episteme and those who feel, in their bodies and experiences, a relationship of maladjustment relative to the dominant ordering system (MENEZES, 2018. p. 15).

Thus, it is possible to point out that the information dissemination proposed here, which draws on the dynamics of the internet and databases, is supported by the idea that hierarchies and individuals in positions of privilege are "threatened by the emergence of this new communication configuration." (LÉVY, 1999, p. 12).

The fat body in cyberspace

Socially, there is a need for control around bodies that deviate from the standard. This situation is part of the daily life of the most diverse social minorities (CHAVES, 1970). With the expansion of the media, the reiteration of hegemonies has generally become constant on the internet, expanding their reach. From this starting point, it is essential to discuss existing social control tools for restricting actions, ideologies, and bodies using a discipline present in societies. In this regard, Foucault argues that:

> The historical moment of disciplines is when an art of the human body is born, aiming not only at increasing its abilities nor deepening its subjection but at forming a relationship that, in the same mechanism, makes it more

obedient as it is more useful, and vice-versa. A policy of coercion is then formed as a work on the body, a calculated manipulation of its elements, gestures, and behaviors; the human body enters a machinery of power that scrutinizes it, disarticulates it, and recomposes it. (FOUCAULT, 2007, p. 133)

The philosopher's formulation opens possibilities for discussion regarding how societies monitor and readjust the body through a logic of control and utility in everyday associations, which currently permeate cyberspace. Thus, the reflections made here about the internet, focusing on the interactions and reproductions present on it, find a body pressured by surveillance to make it docile:

By the logic of power, neglecting details is dangerous. Referring to the body and how power controls it, all details must accord with the logic of the discipline. That could apply to the fat body, which, by the logic of discipline, is a body inattentive to details, which increases surveillance over that body. (FOUCAULT, 2007, p. 135).

It is through this process that social minorities reach a condition defined by Judith Butler (1993) as that of an abject body, which represents a social place of exclusion through the reiteration of a normative class of its space, determining what is "the uninhabitable, the nonnarrativizable, the traumatic" (BUTLER, 1993, p. 188). The fat body is in a social position of reinforced surveillance since it does not submit, directly or indirectly, to the ideal of the docile body (FOUCAULT, 2007) that follows a logic of utility, consumption, and social functionality, thus becoming abject in its condition of social exclusion (BUTLER, 1993). The idea of reinforced surveillance indicates that adjectivizing or doubly adjectivizing bodies in combinations such as "fat transvestite", "fat woman", "fat old woman", and "fat Black woman" imposes double surveillance on them: one is not only a transvestite, but also fat. You are not just a woman; you are also fat. One is not only old but also fat. You are not just Black but also fat. That increases both the abjection of bodies and the latent need to correct or control them, taking control here in the Foucaultian sense.

Due to the divergence of standards and the rejection of a biomedical health ideal (COOPER, 2008), the fat body is in a situation of social denial of its rights. Thus, certain social constraints sometimes deny the existence of this body through the media, consumption, and accessibility and sometimes make it visible as comic relief.

> How individuals deal with, feel, and perceive their body reflects a collective reality. Consequently, the body, first of all, begins to exist and have meaning within a social context that constructs it, attributing to it representations constituted of senses, images, and meanings within a symbolic universe, becoming a cultural fact. (VASCONCELOS *et al.* 2004, p. 75).

In this way, cyberculture reproduces the way fat people are treated and made socially visible. The associations arising from this reproduction constantly reinforce a stigmatized position of the fat body based on surveillance. Amidst this social dynamic, the oppression suffered by fat people is worst on women due to the need to fulfill gender roles that they transgress through the distance from a thin ideal (WOLF, 2018). The fat woman, in her dissonance with gender roles, goes against what Naomi Wolf (2018) calls the "beauty myth":

> For the dominant culture, it is inconceivable that it should respect, as a political commitment as profound as any ethnic or racial pride, a woman's determination to demonstrate her loyalty to her age, body, person, and life in defiance of a beauty myth as powerful as the myths about white supremacy. (WOLF, 2018, p. 89).

The internet reproduces the social behavior that represses and stigmatizes fat women, and that is the focus of the present research. "The computer age brought with it a new cultural algorithm: reality --> media --> data --> database" (MANOVICH, 2015, p. 1); that is, the Google company, one of the main databases today, has a very realistic view of how fat people are portrayed, and can provide indicators for analysis through tools such as Google Trends.

Before we continue, it is worth understanding that the current view of the fat body comes from Western culture (VASCONCELOS et al. 2004, p. 75), encouraged by the perpetuation of the "beauty myth" (WOLF, 2018). For Wolf (2018), this "myth" is related to the need for control over women and is reinforced after the third wave of feminism. At that moment, which combined the expansion of the media, the internet, and diets in magazines (WOLF, 2018), the repression of the fat body achieved greater media attention due to its divergence from the cultural and media ideal of unattainable thinness. The popularization of diets, for example, is encouraged by the biomedical ideal of health (COOPER, 2008), defended worldwide, even if refuted by fat activists during the Second Wave of the Fat Activist Movement in the 1990s.

The Fat Activist Movement emerged at the end of the 1960s in the United States and the United Kingdom (COOPER, 2008). In Brazil, the topic has been discussed since the early 2000s. However, the popularization of discussions occurs in conjunction with the expansion of social media. The repercussions on the Brazilian internet happened through the Body Positive Movement around 2015, with YouTubers producing content on the subject.

The research developed here draws from associations in cyberspace that continually reproduce and reiterate the social position of the fat woman's body. Therefore, the bibliographical review for this work focuses on the discussions of Lévy and Manovich to understand the internet and its associations, which brings our focus to Latour and Recuero. We use Foucault, Wolf, Cooper, and Vasconcelos et al. as a framework to discuss body surveillance, fat activism, fatphobia, and their variables. In this way, we seek to relate the pattern of searches on the web through the Google Trends tool with the reproduction of existing associations.

Methodological approach: data visualization and analysis indicators

Our main objective in this work is to understand the implications of the adjectives used in searches for the term "fat" in Brazilian territory by mapping the local Google search pattern. To do this, we delimited the timeframe of the analysis, deciding the research corpus would comprise queries and topics related to the word fat. First, we collected data from January 30, 2018, to January 30, 2019. In February 2024, we repeated the procedure only as a sample control. We determined the initial period (between 2018 and 2019) to establish a methodological distance from the data so that they were static over one year.

The data collected regarding the word fat during the period showed that the related queries are: 1. Fat woman; 2. Fat Black woman; 3. Fat old woman. The main connected topics were 1. Women; 2. Black; 3. Transvestite. Google Trends reveals relevant associations when we analyze terms such as "fat woman" (gender and weight), "fat Black woman" (weight, gender, and race), "fat old woman" (gender, age, and weight), and "fat transvestite" (gender with connotations linked to sexuality and the abject body). These associations point to the need to apply an intersectional perspective even in contexts that do not appear to touch on racial issues directly. That is because the intersections of race, gender, class, and body are present and shape experiences that we cannot understand separately. Intersectional studies, such as those proposed by Crenshaw (1989), help to understand how these markers intersect to create unique and complex subjectivities.

Analyzing these intersections in the case of fat women reveals how these bodies are seen and marginalized and how their subjectivities form from these intersections. The intertwining of these markers contributes to the construction of autonomous bodies and subjectivities, which are simultaneously differentiated and attributed to generalized social meanings. The fat body, when analyzed from this perspective, ceases to be just an individual body and becomes a field of symbolic and political dispute.

To understand Google Trends' labels, you need to think about the words suggested in the Google search bar. They vary according to how the search engine's thousands of users feed the platform's database through their searches. In labeling related subjects, Google Trends cites the subjects that include searches for the word fat. Thus, it is possible to understand several sets of subjects determined based on how users feed the platform. Among the searches for each term, the first results indicate those most searched for and at peak popularity. Google provides a metric informing the variation in interest in a specific term or topic over time. Google does not disclose the exact frequency of searches or number of times users searched for a term. Numerically, it is only possible to understand and study the variation of interest over time, which ranges from 0 to 100, without specifying the measure used by the company.

Based on Bardin's (2016) perspective on the word association analysis method, the relationships made by Google through the words and themes recorded in the database give rise to "spontaneous associations with the words explored at the level of the stereotypes it creates" (BARDIN, 2016, p. 58). The database we study here makes associations immediately within its dynamics and structuring, shaping and being shaped by users' views.

We carried out the data extraction process using the methodological delimitation created in this research with the tools offered by Google Trends. Google's product allows the analysis of data searched according to certain limitations, such as location ("worldwide," country, state); time (hours, days, months, years); categories (animals, arts, home, etc.), and web search, which includes image searches, news searches, Google shopping, and YouTube searches. Therefore, you need to choose a term to search for on the tool's home page (fat) and determine the location (Brazil), the analysis period (12 months), whether the search will refer to all categories (the case of the delimitation made here) to one of them or more than one, and whether it will be a web search. Google Trends shows results according to interest in Brazil in searching for the term in the metrics proposed, which vary from 0 to 100 according to interest.

The term that governs the search is the word "fat"; from it, we find others connected to the fat body in internet searches. Under this umbrella term, we chose another two on the same subject: "fatphobia" and "plus size". We selected them to address activism and consumption within the research. The idea was to provide a broader mapping of how internet users search for issues related to the fat body and what these terms correspond to during collection.

In the case of fatphobia, the related queries are 1. Fatphobia, meaning, 2. Fatphobia is a crime, and 3. What is fatphobia? The main connected topics were 1. Movement for the acceptance of obese people, 2. Netflix, and 3. Television series (during the research period, the Netflix streaming service released a series considered fatphobic). For the term plus size, the related queries were 1. Dress, 2. Plus size dress, and 3. Plus size clothing; the main related topics were 1. Plus size model, 2. Dress, and 3. Clothes.

To carry out the mapping, we employed the Actor-Network Theory to understand the dynamics between Google users and its database. Thus, we created a map by tracing interactions, seeking to show, in a fluid way, the actor-network relationship, which did not merely have methodological delimitations in the present paper. In other words, there was a hybridization of research methods that included the social network analysis methodology (RECUERO, 2017), in its perspective of social interactions and the analysis of cyberculture (LÉVY, 1999), which is the reproduction of social actions in cyberspace.

We also had to create indicators to analyze the words obtained through data mining. Thus, the concept of content analysis became relevant for the present research. Bardin (2016, p. 37) points out that:

> Content analysis is a set of techniques for analyzing communications. It is not a single instrument but a range of tools; more accurately, it is a single instrument, though marked by a significant disparity of forms and adaptable to an extensive field of application: communications. (BARDIN, 2016, p. 37).

Methodologically, through Bardin (2016), it was necessary to define criteria to classify words and interpretations. First, we must point out that content analysis goes through three phases: description, inference, and interpretation (BARDIN, 2016, p. 45). We describe the collected data to make inferences and interpretations. These steps consist of understanding and determining the importance and relevance of the results obtained through the search data. The perspective from which we interpreted the data comes from the literature on abject bodies (BUTLER, 1993) along with analyses related to the fat body as a socially monitored body (FOUCAULT, 2007) pressured by beauty standards (WOLF, 2018; COOPER, 2008). Thus, we organize the implications of the associations made around fat bodies in Google searches and, through this, point out results that demonstrate the need for changes in the approach to databases, knowing that these currently participate in cycles of perpetuating prejudices.

Analysis and results

The perspective of reconstructing reality through social networks (RECUERO, 2017) guides this analysis through the possibility of creating a map of actor-network interactions. We also propose to carry out the analysis steps determined by Bardin (2016) – inference and interpretation of data, which occur after the description, using the premises of content analysis and word association testing to diagnose the nature of the actor-network interactions existing here. To build the proposed map, we had to visualize the three main results of related queries from January 30, 2018, to January 30, 2019, according to the Google Trends tool. First, we listed the data related to the first results, including the popularity measurements proposed by the website (variations from 0 to 100 without specifying the type of unit used). These were the queries related to the word fat. In the control collection carried out in February 2024, there was no change in the words listed:

1.   Mulher gorda [Fat woman] (100);
2.   Fat Black woman [Gorda negra] (36);

3. Fat old woman [Velha gorda] (27).

From Bardin's (2016) perspective, it is possible to conduct an empirical analysis of the results obtained through Google Trends. The most common connection in Google's database queries during the analysis period was the combination of the words woman and fat. We expected this result due to the gender attributed to the word fat (gorda) in Portuguese in our search; hence, it is understandable that users and the search platform make the association automatically. That corresponds to the criterion of the word association test postulated by Bardin (2016), which makes explicit the associations made with the word "fat" when deducing the way a woman should be (in this case, not fat, within the current beauty standards).

With regard to the second result obtained during the analysis period, it is necessary to look at the association built by the actor-network, or user-database, interaction that exists in the production of content. The second most searched word demonstrates a correlation of abject bodies that brings up problems of fatphobia and racism. Understanding that people from these social groups are categorized and stigmatized from a surveillance perspective is essential to understanding the negative connotation given to non-hegemonic bodies. We must also understand that the word association test, the logic of the Google search bar, reinforces stereotypes created in language. In this case, when racialized, the fat body becomes intersectional and the target of double prejudice.

Regarding the third most searched content, "fat old woman", it is necessary to introduce ageism as a problem here. In this case, there is a similarity to the previous situation combining abject bodies. According to Wolf (2018), the beauty myth does not allow women to age naturally, like men, due to social surveillance exercised over their bodies. According to the author, the increase in the consumption of aesthetic procedures in the 1990s was caused by this social dynamic (WOLF, 2018), reinforcing the control over female bodies. In this case, one can also perceive a negative connotation aimed at stigmatized bodies in

our society. Here, it is possible to assume a link between aging and the existence of the fat body, following Bardin's (2016) word association test. Since the hegemonic perspective takes the elderly female body that has not undergone aesthetic procedures as decayed, fat makes it seem even more so sloppy in the stigmatized view.

To conclude this stage of the analysis, we must understand what Google Trends indicated during the collection of the following terms with their respective popularity numbers:
1.   Mulher [Woman] (100);
2.   Negros [Black] (24);
3.   Travesti [Transvestite] (10).

Initially, we return to the argument about the relationship between adjectives and the related queries. In this case, we also expected the result of the first related topic given the gender attributed to the word fat in Portuguese (gorda). Thus, this association is likely carried out in the actor-network relationship developed in the search. The second related issue corresponds again to racialization, which implies proof of the abject position of both the fat and Black body, as previously argued.

The third most frequently topic associated with the word fat brings to the discussion a non-narratable body (BUTLER, 1993). Transvestite bodies are abject due to the various forms of oppression they suffer for denying the heteronormative standards in force in Brazilian society. The correlation of two abject bodies, one of which is invisible (the body of fat women) and the other not subject to mourning (the body of transvestites), according to Butler (Ibidem), clearly exposes the social reproduction of stigmas in cyberculture. Our mapping through content analysis and the actor-network relationship between Google users in Brazil and the platform itself imprints negative characteristics on abject bodies by connecting them based on prejudices against them, now reproduced on the internet.

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Mappings and correlations of the words fatphobia and plus size and the counterpoint of the views of activism and consumption on the umbrella term, fat.

To further the analysis, we must observe other visibility regimes developed by the actor-network associations. The argument presented above, which builds the mapping and existing correlations of the word "fat", highlights how users' relationships with the Google platform database label certain bodies. Hence, we identified the need to broaden the view of the fat body in Brazilian territory. One way to study the visibility or invisibility of bodies is by determining other terms to map. It was necessary to think of a term that transcended all the stigmas related to the fat body; thus, we observed the relevance of searches for the word "fatphobia" between January 30, 2018, and January 30, 2019. To include the term, we had to enumerate "related queries" and "related topics" provided by Google Trends. Table 1 summarizes the data related to the search for the word "fatphobia".

Table 1 – Queries and topics related to the word fatphobia.

Related queries	Related topics
Fatphobia meaning (100)	Movement for the acceptance of obese people – Topic (100)
Fatphobia is a crime (83)	*Netflix* - Company (8)
What is fatphobia (67)	Television series - Company (6)

Source: The authors.

The results obtained reinforce the issue of invisibility. Through related searches, it is clear how Google users do not delve much into the topic of fatphobia, which, from the perspective of content analysis, occurs due to the systemic oppression suffered by a body under surveillance. The questions presented in the results draw attention to the abject condition established in the figure of the fat woman. Moreover, the view of fat activism seems to be addressed timidly in the country, something the searches carried out on Google prove.

The main categorization made by Google Trends on topics related to the word fatphobia contributes to stigmatization. The reference to the fat body as an obese body appeals to the medicalization of individuals, reiterating the classification of sickness constantly given to this abject body. However, this result is relevant to the research because it is consistent with the argument developed by Cooper (2008) about the existence of a biomedical ideal of health. Drawing from our content analysis, we can see the perpetuation of that ideal through a platform that moves between fluid actor-network positions, influencing and suffering influence in the process of reiterating stigmas.

Furthermore, it is possible to analyze the interest in the theme of fatphobia generated by Netflix. The second result obtained related to three productions available on the the streaming platform that address the issue: Insatiable (August 2018), Sierra Burgess Is a Loser (August 2018), and Dumplin' (December 2018). The oscillation between the fatphobic cliché and acceptance is evident in the temporal order of the productions. There is the possibility that the third result refers more notably to the series Insatiable, which was the target of criticism due to its fatphobic nature since it sought to portray the protagonist's weight loss as something strictly positive, or to the series Dietland, produced by the AMC television network, which deals with the journey of self-acceptance of a fat protagonist who comes into contact with different types of activism in its various aspects, which generates a radicalization of her view on bodies.

To complement the analysis, we verified how users search for the term plus size. As a counterpoint to the previous term, which refers to a dynamic of activism, plus size also implies a dynamic of consumption inherent to the words. In the data from January 30, 2018, to January 30, 2019, we could observe the following results, obtained through Google Trends, available in Table 2.

Table 2 – Queries and topics related to the word *plus size*.

Related queries	Related topics
Dress (100)	*Plus size* model - Topic (100)
Plus size dress (98)	Dress - Outfit (60)
Plus size fashion (68)	Clothing - Topic (34)

Source: The authors.

The direct relationship with the search for clothing is clear in queries and topics. The focus is on consumption by fat people, with metrics that vary less in relation to the previous terms. Thus, the dissemination of content related to fat women's consumption is within a dynamic of greater visibility, something that is assumed empirically within the assumptions of Bardin (2016) and proven by the lack of questions regarding the meaning of plus size or its association with other abject bodies The relationship between consumption and the greater visibility of the fat body is clear, as if fat women were valued only as consumers; in short, the fat woman, in her many abjectities, is only recognized in cyberculture when she demonstrates consumer power.

Finally, it is necessary to relate the perspectives of activism and consumption explained under the umbrella term, which governs the research and refers directly to those made invisible. A fat person is someone who does not fit into the current aesthetic standard, which subjects women to constant surveillance that seeks to tame their bodies, subject them to different forms of oppression, and confine them to a space of abjection in society. Whether in associations happening within broader social processes or strictly in cyberculture, fat women frequently undergo stigmatization, given they challenge the hegemonic model that has not changed from 2019 to 2024. The reproduction of prejudices through the internet functions as subtle or blatant reiterations of the position to which fat women should limit themselves. However, it is possible to observe a slow pattern of change that yearns for the improvement of associations made with the aim of confining the fat body to a non-narratable version of experiences.

Final considerations

In the mappings developed here, it is possible to see how the adjectives used in Google searches for the word fat imply an abjection of fat women, creating correlations with other minorities. As a main finding, we confirmed the hypothesis that Google searches conducted in Brazil on fat women are restrictive and reinforce prejudices, perpetuating the abject condition of fat women, along with Black and older women and transvestites, in cyberculture.

From an intersectional perspective, the terms "fat woman", "fat Black woman", "fat old woman," and "fat transvestite" are problematic because they represent the intersection of multiple oppressions and stigmas. These markers, when analyzed together, reveal how different forms of discrimination – based on gender, race, age, body, and sexuality – overlap, creating unique experiences of marginalization and social exclusion that converse with the notion of reinforced surveillance discussed earlier in this text.

Intersectionality indicates we cannot analyze these identities in isolation, as each brings a series of social expectations, norms, and oppressions that amplify each other. The problem lies precisely in the fact that these associations of terms contribute to stereotypes and stigmas that further marginalize the individuals who occupy these identities.

Moreover, the pattern of users' Google searches reproduces stigmas in a regime of visibility in which consumption by fat women prevails over the dynamics of activism inherent in the word fatphobia since this necessarily recognizes the existence of discriminatory behavior. This secondary finding makes it clear that awareness of the prejudices suffered by fat women, from the perspective of users of the Google search network, is low and that individuals affected by systemic oppression only show themselves to be socially relevant through their consumption power. Thus, the fat woman appears in cyberculture in a condition of abjection, associated with other social minorities, which the feedback dynamics of the databases constantly reiterate, legitimizing the place of hegemonic bodies in today's society amidst all its privileges.

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