



Sexism in @Lambeturah's Instagram Comments on Lisa Mariana: A Critical Discourse Analysis by Sara Mills

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to describe forms of sexism in posts about Lisa Mariana's latest appearance on Instagram @lambeturah through Sara Mills' critical discourse analysis approach, reviewed from the perspective of the subject-object and reader's position. This is based on the rampant discussion through negative comments on social media related to women who are victims of beauty construction and objectification based on their bad actions. The source of this research is netizen comments on posts on the Instagram account @lambeturah featuring Lisa Mariana's latest appearance. The research method used is qualitative descriptive. The data collection method used the observation method with the advanced mote-taking technique. Data analysis used the referential matching method with the basic technique of sorting determining elements (PUP). The results of this study show that there were 9 sexist comments and 6 reader responses to the sexist comments. Using Sara Mills subject-object and reader positions analysis model, the netizens who made sexist comments about Lisa Mariana were positioned as subjects who had the power to represent the object position or Lisa Mariana in a negative way, such as labeling, judging, defening, interpreting, evaluating, and interpreting Lisa Mariaa's body, as well as determining what was appropriate to do in response to the affair. The reader's position is divided between those who rejected sexism, reproduced sexism as a joke, and accepted sexism through body shaming practices.

Keyword: sexism, instagram comments, discourse analysis

Seksisme pada Komentar Instagram @Lambeturah terhadap Lisa Mariana: Analisis Wacana Kritis Sara Mills

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan bentuk seksisme dalam postingan mengenai penampilan terkini Lisa Mariana di Instagram @lambeturah melalui pendekatan analisis wacana kritis Sara Mills ditinjau dari posisi subjek-objek dan posisi pembaca. Hal ini didasarkan pada maraknya perbincangan melalui komentar-komentar negatif di media sosial terkait perempuan yang menjadi korban konstruksi kecantikan dan objektifikasi atas dasar tindakan buruknya. Sumber penelitian ini adalah komentar-komentar netizen dalam postingan di akun Instagram @lambeturah yang menampilkan penampilan terbaru Lisa Mariana. Metode penelitian menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif. Metode pengumpulan data menggunakan metode simak dengan teknik lanjutan teknik catat. Analisis data menggunakan metode padan referensial dengan teknik dasar pilah unsur penentu (PUP). Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa ditemukan sebanyak 9 data komentar seksisme dan 6 data komentar respon pembaca dari komentar seksisme. Dengan menggunakan analisis posisi subjek-objek dan pembaca model Sara Mills, para netizen yang berkomentar seksisme pada Lisa Mariana diposisikan sebagai subjek yang memiliki kuasa untuk merepresentasikan posisi objek atau Lisa Mariana secara negatif, seperti memberikan label, menghakimi, mendefinisikan, menafsirkan, menilai, memaknai tubuh Lisa Mariana, serta menentukan apa yang layak dilakukan untuk menyikapi kasus perselingkuhan tersebut. Adapun posisi pembaca terbagi antara pihak yang menolak seksisme, mereproduksi seksisme sebagai candaan, dan menerima seksisme melalui praktik *body shaming*.

Keywords: seksisme, komentar instagram, analisis wacana kritis

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INTRODUCTION

Language is a continual human activity in interacting with others (Multazamsyah & Rahman, 2023). Through language, a person can convey various forms of knowledge, messages, ideas, and thoughts (Amurwani, 2021). Technological developments have enabled increasingly widespread and flexible language use, enabling it to be used in various settings, both face-to-face and through virtual media. Thus, language has become an integral and essential part of human life (Mailani et al., 2022).

In linguistics, critical discourse analysis is understood as a study that emphasizes the use of language in social contexts, both spoken and written (Albaburrahim & Sujinah, 2017). Critical discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary approach used to examine and analyze the relationship between language, power, and ideology (Malikha, 2023). In critical discourse analysis, the data analyzed can come from various types of texts, one of which is text generated on social media. Social media is a digital platform that allows users to interact through various forms of content, such as text, images, video, and audio, through applications like Instagram, TikTok, Facebook, and Twitter (Armaya et al., 2023).

The development of social media today has created freedom of communication for everyone and opened up a space for the public to actively participate in various social issues. Furthermore, interactive communication also encourages people to participate in shaping, critiquing, and regulating how women's bodies are represented (Pasaribu & Alila, 2023). This includes discussions about private issues, such as family conflicts and sexuality (Elanda & Pitaloka, 2022). Among existing platforms, Instagram is one of the most actively used applications to discuss these issues. Instagram's fast-paced and open nature often creates a space where private conflicts become public consumption and generates comments that often contain sexist elements.

This can be seen in the Instagram post by @lambeturah, which features content related to

Lisa Mariana's latest appearance, which still involves the issue of infidelity. The appearance of the post invited the public to leave comments that were not directed at the alleged actions, but instead directed at her body and physical appearance. There were various netizen comments that demeaned and made fun of her body, physique, and identity as a woman, indicating elements of sexism and double standards that place women in a position that is more vulnerable to verbal abuse. This condition is in line with Mills's statement (1995) that when the use of the use of words such as "woman" or "female" in a derogatory context, the term is not only describing gender, but also carries negative connotations that place women as less valuable. This means that the language used can contain veiled sexism.

Although the insults began because she was a homewrecker (a homewrecker), the attacks actually contained gender discrimination, as seen in the comments that emerged, not criticizing her infidelity but rather attacking her body, physique, and identity. This is because the stigma against homewreckers is stronger in society than against wife-stealers (a homewrecker). Therefore, in many cases, women involved in extramarital affairs are often the primary targets of criticism, even though the affair involves both men and women (Rosjayani & Idrus, 2024). This type of treatment is a form of sexism, as linguistic sexism manifests itself through words, phrases, or speaking styles that reinforce gender stereotypes or marginalize the roles and contributions of one sex (T et al., 2025). According to Mills (2008), sexism, like racism and forms of linguistic discrimination, arises from pressure from the wider community, power imbalances within institutions, and conflicts over who has rights to certain resources and positions. Mary Vetterling-Braggin (in Mills, 1995) defines sexism as when someone defines, promotes, or exploits unfair, irrelevant, or disrespectful distinctions between women and men. Sexism must be understood as part of a broader issue at the discourse level. Mary Vetterling-Braggin (in Mills, 1995) emphasizes that words cannot be assessed



separately from the context in which they are used, as meaning emerges from the situation and discourse relationships surrounding them. Therefore, determining whether an expression is sexist must consider the specific context in which it appears.

Sara Mills suggests that there are two forms of sexism. First, overt sexism is the use of language that can be directly identified, either through linguistic markers or presuppositions, that has historically been associated with discriminatory opinions about women and signals to women that they are inferior to men (Mills, 2008). This open sexism is divided into two types, namely, (a) words and meanings include: (1) naming, (2) dictionaries, (3) pronouns and generic nouns, (4) derogatory terms for women, (5) semantic insults, (6) first names, surnames, and titles; (b) processes include: (1) transitivity, (2) reported speech, (3) jokes. Second, indirect sexism is sexism that tries to deny responsibility for an utterance, meditate on the utterance through irony or disguise the power of the sexism through humor, satire, embed sexism at the level of presupposition, and begin sexist statements with denial or doubt (Mills, 2008). This indirect sexism is divided into six types, namely: (1) humor, (2) presupposition, (3) conflicting messages, (4) scripts and metaphors, (5) collocation, (6) androcentric perspective.

In critical discourse analysis, these forms of sexism are not only understood as linguistic issues but also as discourse practices that reflect gender power relations. Therefore, the sexist comments directed at Lisa Mariana can be analyzed using Sara Mills' critical discourse analysis model. This model focuses more on how women are portrayed in discourse (Masitoh, 2020). Sara Mills' critical discourse analysis differs from other models in that it focuses on feminist discourse (Eriyanto, 2015). Mills explains in feminist stylistics how language is often used to represent women differently from men, where women are often placed in marginalized, objectified, and distorted positions (Defianty et al., 2025). Broadly speaking, Sara Mills' critical discourse analysis model focuses on how texts construct power relations through the

representation of subject-object positions and reader positions (Sariasih et al., 2023). Subject position refers to the party with the power to define and convey the narrative, while object position refers to the party whose existence is defined and described by others (Eriyanto, 2015:202). Mills pays particular attention to gender issues in relation to reader position. He explains how, when reading a text, male and female readers have different perspectives, and how men and women position themselves within the text (Eriyanto, 2015). Readers are positioned by the text in various ways that can be accepted or rejected (Mills, 1995).

Based on this background, the research problem can be formulated as follows:

1. What forms of sexism are present in comments on posts about Lisa Mariana's latest appearance on Instagram @lambeturah?
2. What are the subject-object and reader positions in these sexist comments, based on critical discourse analysis?

Based on the formulation of the problem, this study aims to describe the forms of sexism in posts about Lisa Mariana's latest appearance on Instagram @lambeturah through the focus of Sara Mills' critical discourse analysis reviewed from the subject-object and reader positions. The importance of this research is because social media is now increasingly becoming the main means in forming public opinion, including in interpreting and judging women through language. Now sexism incidents are often seen as a form of entertainment or spontaneous comments, so they are rarely identified as gender-based violence. Thus, the results of this study are expected to be not only academically useful but also can provide an understanding to the public how women involved in the issue of infidelity not only receive criticism for their actions, but also insults through their bodies.

A relevant study conducted by (Lubis, 2023) is entitled "Critical Discourse Analysis from Sara Mills' Perspective on Social Media on the Instagram Account @lambeturah." This study analyzed discourse on the same Instagram gossip

account, @lambeturah, using Sara Mills' approach. The posts studied also featured content that brought up the issue of infidelity, but used different posts and characters than this study. The results of this study indicate that N.S., as the object, is often positioned as the recipient of insults and marginalization, while the reader is positioned as someone who hates N.S. by making sexist comments.

Research by (Pasaribu & Alila, 2023) also examines Instagram comments regarding objectification and body judgment as a form of social control against women, except that the objects commented on were female students posted on the Instagram accounts @ugmcantik and @unpad.geulis. This study also used Sara Mills' critical discourse analysis approach. The difference is that the object of that study was comments on the Instagram accounts @ugmcantik and @unpad.geulis, which contained practices of constructing and objectifying women's bodies. This study, however, focused on sexist comments in posts about Lisa Mariana on the account @lambeturah. The research shows that, through photos and comments on both accounts, practices of objectification and constructing women's bodies are still perpetuated, and women are still dominated and considered passive.

Furthermore, a study by (Ningsih & Ratnasari, 2025) entitled *Sexism in the Novel "Women Who Cry to the Black Moon"* by Dian Purnomo: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Sara Mills. This study uses the same approach as this study, namely Sara Mills' critical discourse analysis, to examine sexism, specifically its forms of overt and indirect sexism. The difference lies in the object of study: this study analyzes the literary text of the novel *"Women Who Cry to the Black Moon"* by Dian Purnomo. The research shows that language plays an important role in reproducing gender inequality, then the results of the sexism analysis found the most dominant type of sexism, namely transitivity in the form of objectification of women and the androcentric perspective in the form of patriarchy.

METHOD

This study uses a qualitative descriptive research method, so the resulting data are in the form of words and sentences. As stated by Bogdan & Biklen (2007) qualitative research methods are research procedures that create descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words. The definition of qualitative descriptive research according to Fiantika (Glick & Fiske, 2011; Nadia et al., 2025) is research that aims to uncover a phenomenon by describing data and facts using words as a whole on the research subject. The data source in this study is netizen comments on posts on the Instagram account @lambeturah featuring Lisa Mariana's latest appearance (<https://www.instagram.com/p/DIQBQ2wTB9C/?igsh=N2FzdHcyZWx6YXpp>).

Not all comments will be used as data sources, the data collection was carried out using a purposive sampling method, namely selective data selection based on certain criteria deemed relevant by the researcher (Sugiyono, 2011; Razak, 2017; Abubakar, 2021). These criteria included comments that directly contained sexist elements, namely comments that demonstrated a derogatory subject-object position toward Lisa Mariana, who was caught up in an affair, as well as comments that addressed the position of readers who responded to these sexist comments. Using this method, at least 15 data sources or comments were found to be relevant to the research needs.

The data collection method in this study employed the listening method with a more advanced note-taking technique. The listening method is a research method used to obtain data by listening to someone's language use (Mahsun, 2012:91). The listening and note-taking method was applied in this study by observing or listening to the comment texts contained in the posts, then recording relevant data findings according to the research focus.

Next, the data was analyzed using the referential matching method. The matching method is a method whose determining tool is external, separate, and not part of the language being studied

(Sudaryanto, 2015). In applying the referential matching method to data analysis, a basic technique is also used, namely the determining element sorting technique (PUP) by selecting data in the form of comment texts that refer to or relate to Lisa Mariana's body, physique, and identity. The data is then sorted based on its referential meaning to find language elements that contain sexism, and categorized based on two core concepts in Sara Mills' critical discourse analysis model, namely subject-object position and reader position.

RESULT

Sexist Comments: Subject-Object Position

The data collected was selected based on the criteria of comments that position netizens as subjects who make sexist comments about Lisa Mariana, either explicitly or implicitly. The comments deemed sexist arose from the affair case involving Lisa Mariana, resulting in posts by the Instagram account @lambeturah that primarily targeted her physical appearance, clearly aimed at demeaning her rather than criticizing her actions, which were the real issue.

Based on the identification of sexist comments about Lisa Mariana, the data was further classified into various forms and types of sexism. This categorization refers to the division between overt and indirect sexism, as well as their types and subtypes, as outlined by Sara Mills in the introduction. This classification aims to demonstrate the types of sexism that appear in comments on the @lambeturah Instagram account's posts about Lisa Mariana's latest appearance, as well as to identify the most dominant forms of sexism used in depicting Lisa Mariana.

1. Overt Sexism or Direct Sexism

Naming

This type of naming refers to the use of words or terms to name, classify and give nicknames to women directly in a relatively negative context (Mills, 2008). Data-1: subtype of naming was

written by the owner of the Instagram account @defiraatj with the sentence "LM = LISA MEGALODON".



Figure-1

Sexist comments from Instagram user @defiraatj which fall into the Naming subtype

Derogatory Terms for Women

The term insulting women refers to the use of derogatory words or terms directed at women of a sexual nature, such as the use of the words bitch, ho, and pimp (Mills, 2008). Data 2: subtypes of derogatory terms for women were written by the account owner @rinzyang dengan kalimat "Ini sopo? Velakornya RK y??"



Figure-2

Sexist comments from Instagram user @rinzyang which fall into the subtype of Derogatory Terms for Women

Semantic Insults

According to Schultz (1990), semantic insults are a systematic process in which words and phrases associated with women acquire negative connotations (Mills, 2008). Data 3: semantic insults was written by the account holder @eudumpict with the sentence "Mrs. Cinta has been pregnant twice and given birth, never this much."



Figure-3

Sexist comments from Instagram user @eudumpict which fall into the subtype of Semantic Insults

2. Indirect Sexism

Humor

Lakoff (1990) suggests that humor makes serious or sensitive messages acceptable and creates a friendly atmosphere, even if the message contains controversial content (Mills, 2008). This means that sexist expressions can be conveyed or disguised through humor, allowing the speaker to avoid criticism for their statements. Data-4: types of humor was written by the account holder @megaagustiniiii with the sentence "Is this Mrs. Puff in Spongebob gasi?"



Figure-4

Sexist comments from Instagram user @megaagustiniiii which are included in the Humor category

Presuppositions

Presuppositions are more difficult to challenge. Christie (2001) states that, because it is necessary to uncover the assumptions underlying the sexism, these presuppositions are deliberately made to mask the sexism and give the speaker the opportunity to deny the intended sexism (Mills, 2008). Thus, the speaker can justify the sexist statement as merely an opinion or a joke, because the sexist elements are hidden through assumptions that are considered normal. Data-5: types of presuppositions was written by the owner of the account @indah_hafuza with the sentence "I want to make myself more beautiful so I can be Ani Ani again. WASPADAAAAA BU IBU".



Figure-5

Sexist comments from Instagram user @megaagustiniiii which are included in the Humor category

Conflicting Messages

Sara Mills explains that conflicting messages are ambiguous messages, namely messages that explicitly convey a neutral or even non-sexist attitude, but implicitly maintain a sexist ideology. Data-6: conflicting messages written by the account owner @intanpermatasari.ip71 with the sentence "Oh God, I don't want to insult you, I don't want to body shame you, but I've already repented, sir, repent, you @ridwankamil."



Figure-6

Sexist comments from Instagram user @intanpermatasari.ip71 which fall into the category of Conflicting Messages

Scripts and Metaphors

These types of scripts and metaphors are implicit insults through the use of specific metaphors and scenarios to represent women (Mills, 2008). Data-7: types of scripts and metaphors were written by the account owner @dyaaaaaaaaan_ with the sentence "like a suckling pig."



Figure-7

Sexist comments from Instagram user @dyaaaaaaaaan_ which fall into the Script and Metaphor categories

Collocation or Word Co-occurrence

Collocation refers to other words that typically accompany a word. Some words do not appear to be sexist in their literal meaning, except those that collocate or are associated with various negative connotations and negative lexical fields. The connotation of a word does not arise from the word itself, but from how it is used in context; the

meaning of a word is constructed by collocation patterns (Mills, 2008). Data-8: types of collocations or conjunctions was written by the account owner @chokipams with the sentence "I don't even want it for free... just add a horn and you've got a canned drink model with a penis... Mr. RK isn't very professional."



Figure-8

Sexist comments from Instagram user @chokipams which are included in the type of Collocation or Word Synonyms

Androcentric Perspective

Sara Mills explains that the androcentric perspective starts from a male perspective, so women are judged or regulated based on male perspectives and interests. Data-9: types of androcentric perspectives was written by the account owner @bima_kala with the sentence "Your trials are really tough, Mr. RK."



Figure-9

Sexist comments from Instagram user @bima_kala which fall into the Androcentric Perspective category

2. Komentar Posisi Pembaca

Reader position data was found from comments that showed reader responses to previous sexist comments, including agreement, acceptance, reproduction of discourse, as well as rejection and criticism of the subject's representation of Lisa Mariana. Six comment data were found in the reader position, including the following.

Data-10

@vnn99_ : "serem ih netijen indonesia nge bully fisik. Emang salah tindakan dia dll tp bukan berarti dibenarkan body shaming"



Figure-10

Reader Comments from Instagram user @vnn99_ as a party rejecting sexism

Data-11

@seniman_takraw : "Kalo trnyata benar faktanya jangan dinormalisasikan. Kalo pun tidak benar ceritanya jangan jdi lari ke fisik. Tetap fokus pada apa maksud mereka membuat isu/cerita sperti ini"

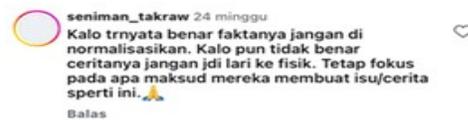


Figure-11

Reader Comments from Instagram user @seniman_takraw as a party rejecting sexism

Data-12

@imasrasmana_mua : "hiburan banget komennya"

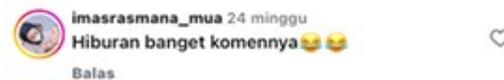


Figure-12

Reader Comments from Instagram user @imasrasmana_mua as the party who reproduces sexism into jokes

Data-13

@farahemyy_ : "komennya bikin ngompol"



Figure-13

Reader Comments from Instagram user @imasrasmana_mua as the party who reproduces sexism into jokes

Data -14

@meirsy_ : *"Sebenarnya nga boleh bodyshamingin orang tapi klo yg ini gapapa"*

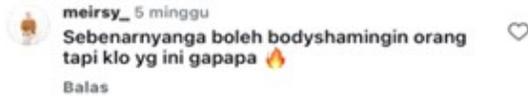


Figure-14

Reader Comments from Instagram user @meirsy_ as a party who received sexism through body shaming practices

Data-15

@ahmad_jayuli : *"gak boleh body shaming ya teman-teman, btw kaya gapuro kecamatan"*



Figure-15

Reader Comments from Instagram user @ahmad_jayuli as a party who receives sexism through body shaming practices

DISCUSSION

The existence of netizens as storytellers is a point of view in the sexist comments that appear, so that the representation of Lisa Mariana is greatly influenced by how netizens build narratives about Lisa Mariana, especially when the post displays photos of Lisa Mariana's physical condition, which used to be thinner, and photos that are now considered fatter. In this case, the subject is given to netizens who produce sexist comments in the post, while the object is positioned by Lisa Mariana who is the material for the netizens' stories.

The comment in data 1 falls into the pattern of overt sexism, namely naming, because it directly assigns the name or nickname "Lisa Megalodon" based on Lisa Mariana's body shape and initials, LM. This name carries a negative connotation because it refers to her large body size. The subject of the comment above, the owner of the account @defiraatj, is positioned as the party with the power to label and define Lisa Mariana's identity

through naming. Meanwhile, Lisa Mariana is positioned as an object named and defined based on her physical aspects. Her last name "Mariana" is changed to "Megalodon," a species of ancient shark of enormous size.

The comment in data 2 falls into the pattern of overt sexism, namely the use of derogatory terms for women, because the use of the term "pelakor" is a label that explicitly imposes social and moral stigma on women. This term is used to mark Lisa Mariana as the guilty party in an extramarital affair involving two people, while the man, Ridwan Kamil, is not subjected to the same derogatory label. Furthermore, the phrase "pelakor RK" suggests ownership, as if Lisa Mariana belonged to Ridwan Kamil, further emphasizing the subordinate position of women in the comment. The subject of the comment above, the owner of the @rinzyang account, is positioned as the party with the power to label and judge Lisa Mariana as Ridwan Kamil's pelakor. Meanwhile, Lisa Mariana is positioned as an object, negatively represented as the guilty party through the use of the term "pelakor." On the other hand, men tend to be neutralized.

The comment in data 3 falls into the pattern of overt sexism, a type of semantic insult, because it explicitly compares two women to demean one based on her reproductive experience (pregnancy and childbirth). Postpartum physical changes are used to judge and demean Lisa Mariana's body, while simultaneously reinforcing ideal female body standards based on other women's bodies.

The issue of Lisa Mariana's affair has made netizens increasingly aggressive in slandering Lisa Mariana, eventually dragging Ridwan Kamil's wife into the spotlight. Ridwan Kamil's wife is used as material to discriminate against Lisa Mariana by comparing their physical appearances based on their reproductive experiences. Lisa Mariana herself once said that her weight gain was due to pregnancy. Comments on data 6 above give the impression of belittling Lisa Mariana by making physical changes due to pregnancy as a subject of insult, then comparing it to the body of Ridwan



Kamil's wife who maintains an ideal body despite having been pregnant and given birth twice. In fact, pregnancy and childbirth are biologically natural changes to a woman's physique, especially to a woman's weight. As a result, the words "pregnant" and "giving birth" have shifted in meaning to have negative connotations and are used as tools to demean women. In the comment above, the subject is the owner of the account @eudumpict who is positioned as the party interpreting and defining an event from her own perspective. The account owner interprets that Lisa Mariana's pregnancy and childbirth made her body fat and despicable, then defines that her weight gain makes Lisa Mariana like a dugong. Meanwhile, Lisa Marina is positioned as a visual object that must meet certain standards, resulting in her body being compared to other women's bodies deemed to meet the ideal postpartum standard. Furthermore, Lisa Mariana is inappropriately portrayed as being likened to a dugong, a large marine mammal.

The comment in data 4 falls into the pattern of indirect sexism, a type of humor, because it implicitly aims to mock or insult Lisa Mariana's physical appearance. However, it is delivered as a rhetorical question packaged as a joke or humor, so that its sexist meaning appears as a joke. The account owner intended to ask whether the woman (Lisa Mariana) in the post is Mrs. Puff. Although it is a question, the comment does not actually require an answer, but has an implied meaning. In this case, the question aims to convey implicit mockery. The subject in the comment above is the account owner @megaagustiniiii who is positioned as the party interpreting and regulating the meaning of Lisa Mariana's overweight body. Lisa Mariana is positioned as an object represented not as a human but as a cartoon character, Mrs. Puff. In the animated film *Spongebob SquarePants*, the character Mrs. Puff is visualized as a fat pufferfish, so the insult to Lisa Mariana's physical appearance is considered something worthy of laughter.

The comment on data 5 above is considered indirect sexism, a type of presumption, because it builds a hidden assumption that women who

beautify themselves have the intention of seducing or stealing someone else's husband. The context of this comment is when a post on the account @lambeturah shows a video of Lisa Mariana, who has gained weight, chatting with a beauty clinic representative about what treatments she will undergo to become beautiful. In this case, the treatments Lisa Mariana intends to undergo to become beautiful are considered a trigger for infidelity, as if a woman's body and appearance are responsible for a man's behavior. In fact, infidelity is essentially carried out or involves two parties, both a woman and a man. Furthermore, the comment also suggests that women who are ordinary-looking and overweight are considered unattractive, thus safe from the possibility of men cheating. Furthermore, the call in the comment shows the presumption that married women must protect their households from the presence of women like Lisa Mariana. This assumption is stated implicitly, making it difficult to refute because the account owner can deny any sexist intent. The subject of the comment above, the account holder @indah_hafuza, is positioned as the authority to judge and define Lisa Mariana's morality and body. Meanwhile, Lisa Mariana is positioned as an object represented as a threat to others' households, thus being blamed and marginalized.

This comment in data 6 falls into the pattern of indirect sexism, a type of conflicting message. On the one hand, the account holder states that she does not want to engage in body shaming. However, on the other hand, she wants to participate in the judgment by calling on men to repent. This maintains gender inequality because women remain the ones blamed and judged, while men are reprimanded based on morality. Through this statement, she considers herself neutral, but ultimately, she perpetuates sexist behavior, albeit implicitly. Based on the photos and videos posted by the account @lambeturah regarding Lisa Mariana's latest appearance, the account holder sees Lisa Mariana's fat body as an opportunity to insult and body shame her. However, he refrained

from giving insults, while his statement that he did not want to do body shaming actually confirmed that there was indeed a reason to judge Lisa Mariana's body, it was just that he did not say it directly.

The subject of the comment above is the owner of the account @intanpermatasari.ip71, who is positioned as the judge and determine what is appropriate to do in response to Lisa Mariana's affair. Lisa Mariana is positioned as an object deserving of unfair treatment solely because of her body. The affair involved two people, and in this case, Lisa Mariana, as a woman, was more often the target of insults based on her actions and her body. Meanwhile, Ridwan Kamil, as a man, was not attacked physically, but was merely reprimanded to realize his mistake and then told to repent. Although at the time there was no certainty regarding the truth of the affair between the two, the comment by @intanpermatasari.ip71 demonstrates how gender inequality exists in the public's response to the issue of infidelity.

This comment in data 7 falls into the pattern of indirect sexism, both scripted and metaphorical, because Lisa Mariana's body is represented through the metaphor of the food "babi guling." This metaphor constructs a narrative of physical humiliation by referring to a woman's body with a metaphor based on its shape. The use of this metaphor normalizes the objectification of women's bodies, particularly overweight women, and reinforces negative social stigmas against women with certain body shapes. The subject in the above comment, the owner of the account @dyaaaaaaan_, is positioned as the authority to interpret and regulate the meaning of Lisa Mariana's body. Meanwhile, Lisa Mariana is positioned as an object, represented not as a human being, but rather as a suckling pig. Through this metaphor, the account owner refers to a fat pig that has been processed into a Balinese specialty, thus describing Lisa Mariana's fat body as being likened to suckling pig.

This comment in data 8 falls into the pattern of indirect sexism, a type of collocation, because

the sexist meaning does not emerge from a single word alone, but rather through the pairing of words that create negative connotations toward women or Lisa Mariana. The word "gratis" itself is not sexist, but when associated with a context for assessing women's self-worth, it can construct the sense that women are valued, even given for free. The subject of the comment above is the owner of the @chokipams account, who is positioned as having the power to judge and define Lisa Mariana's body and self-worth. Based on Lisa Mariana's overweight appearance, the account owner assumes she is no longer valuable or has no worth. He then views women's bodies as objects of transaction with a price tag. This negative view leads the account owner to reject Lisa Mariana, even if she is given one for free. Meanwhile, Lisa Mariana is positioned as an object represented as a low-value commodity, and is likened to the models or animals on canned drinks.

This comment in data 9 exemplifies the pattern of indirect sexism, a type of androcentric perspective, because it portrays the issue of infidelity as a test or trial experienced by the man, implicitly focusing attention and empathy on Ridwan Kamil. This comment ignores the fact that infidelity involves two parties. In this case, the woman is seen as the source of the problem, making the issue of infidelity a trial for the man. Furthermore, the phrase "really heavy" can also be interpreted as mocking Lisa Mariana's overweight body, thus implicitly containing elements of body shaming. The subject in the above comment is the owner of the @bima_kala account, who is positioned as the party with the power to determine how the issue of infidelity is assessed and interpreted. The subject's position here represents a patriarchal perspective, positioning the man, or Ridwan Kamil, as the party that can be understood and deserves pity. Meanwhile, Lisa Mariana is positioned as an object of blame, not given a voice, and considered the cause of the man's suffering.

The subject's previous position demonstrates how they define and narrate the object, or Lisa



Mariana, as a woman caught up in an affair. This demonstrates how women as objects of representation are always defined, used as narrative material, and unable to present themselves (Eriyanto, 2015:202). Thus, the reader's position here depends on how the subject previously presented the object in the text. Whether male or female readers tend to accept, agree with, and reproduce the representation of women constructed by the subject, or reject and criticize that representation, adhering to its supposed truth values.

Comments in data 10 and 11 are positioned as readers, both of whom have the same intent. The comment in data 10 was written by the account owner @vnn99_, who is known to be female. Meanwhile, the comment in data 11 was written by the account owner @seniman_takraw, who is male. The comment by @vnn99_ shows that female readers can position themselves as readers who empathize with Lisa Mariana as an object in the text. The word "serem" in this context is interpreted as his shock and horror at the physical bullying perpetrated by Indonesian netizens. Furthermore, the comment by @seniman_takraw conveys the same meaning, but from a male perspective, demonstrating that male readers can also feel the injustice experienced by the object. @seniman_takraw, as a male reader, places greater emphasis on the truth of the issue and information, thus rejecting body shaming not because of gendered experiences, but because it is considered irrelevant and deviates from the real issue.

This demonstrates that, although the texts produced by the subject are predominantly directed at female readers, because they concern gender discrimination that demeans women, male readers can also put themselves in the position of women. Both readers position themselves as those who respond to public issues without reproducing gender-based violence. Furthermore, both acknowledge the wrongdoing of Lisa Mariana's actions, but they reject sexist texts as a response to these bad actions.

The comments in data 12 and data 13 are positioned as readers, both of whom are positioned as readers who receive and reproduce sexist comments about Lisa Mariana. Comments in data 12 were written by the account holder @imasrasmana_mua and in data 13 by the account holder @farahemyy_. Both are female. @imasrasmana_mua's comment shows how she viewed the sexist comments against Lisa Mariana as a form of joke or entertainment, and therefore felt amused by them. Furthermore, @farahemyy_'s comment also intended to express how entertained she was to the point of laughing excessively at netizens' comments. The phrase "ngompol" is used as hyperbole, not literally meaning urinating, but rather to express how funny the sexist comments were to her. These two readers demonstrate that not all female readers can relate to other women who are the targets of sexist comments. In this case, female readers do not play a role in defending or rejecting the degrading of Lisa Mariana's body, as body shaming is not understood by either of them as a form of gender-based violence.

Comments on data 14 and data 15 are positioned as readers who both have the same intention, namely to realize that doing body shaming is an unjustified action. However, both realize this awareness in different ways. Comments on data 14 were written by the account owner @meirsy_ who is a woman. Meanwhile, comments on data 15 were written by the account owner @ahmad_jayuli who is a man. The comment by @meirsy_ shows that she as a female reader has an awareness that doing body shaming towards others is not allowed, meaning she considers and knows that body shaming is wrong, evil, and bad. However, there is an exception if it is done to Lisa Mariana who is considered to deserve it.

Similarly, the comment by the account owner @ahmad_jayuli demonstrates the same recognition, that body shaming should not occur. However, he contradicts the warning he gave at the beginning of the sentence in the next sentence by using the metaphor "regency gate" to represent

Lisa Mariana's body. This comment by a male reader can be interpreted as not being serious in his warning, as he ultimately body-shamed Lisa Mariana. Thus, as readers, they are aware and understand that body shaming is wrong, but they still do it and normalize it when directed at Lisa Mariana. Although the texts produced by the subject are predominantly directed at female readers, where women should feel equal, both female and male readers in data 5 and 6 still normalize body shaming of women caught up in affairs.

The research results (Haque & Sajarwa, 2025) show that there are 48 forms of sexism by Glick and Fiske out of a total of three types of sexism, namely Hostile sexism, Benevolent sexism, and Ambivalent sexism. After identifying the forms of sexism that were found, the next transformation of lexical changes was that a total of 63 data were found with details of the data that appeared most frequently to those that appeared least, namely generalization, modulation, specification, compensation, metaphorical transformation, and finally differentiation.

Glick & Fiske (2011) state that ambivalent sexism theory was incubated during a series of phone conversations, a scouting visit, and some pilot testing before Peter arrived at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst (then Susan's home institution) for the 1993–1994 academic year. We had already started work on our new, theory-based measure (a year was too short to start and complete such a project). The insights outlined informed our approach to constructing a new sexism measure, the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI). Moving ahead, we look forward to continuing to see others make use of the ASI, so long as it remains a useful instrument for researching sexist attitudes. From a theoretical perspective, we hope that our analysis of the structural underpinnings of sexist attitudes inspires new ways of thinking about the complexities of gender relations, especially the perils of "positive" prejudice toward women, as well as the ambivalences involved in other prejudices

CONCLUSION

The emergence of the issue of Lisa Mariana's affair with Ridwan Kamil demonstrates how the public often reacts differently to men and women caught up in affairs. In a post about Lisa Mariana's latest appearance on the Instagram account @lambeturah, various comments were found that aimed at moral and physical humiliation against Lisa Mariana based on her actions. However, the man, Ridwan Kamil, who was also involved, was not the primary target of the insults, particularly regarding physical abuse. These comments constitute sexism because the same treatment was not applied to the man. This research shows how language is used as a tool to respond to or retaliate against women's misconduct through sexist comments, thus deeming women deserving of verbal punishment. Based on the analysis, the most dominant form of sexism was indirect sexism rather than overt sexism. The findings of indirect sexism emerged implicitly, indicating that discrimination against women is more often generated through subtle and subtle language, yet still contains gender inequality.

Referring to the subject-object position in Sara Mills' critical discourse analysis, netizens who made sexist comments were positioned as subjects who labeled, judged, defined, interpreted, assessed, and gave meaning to Lisa Mariana's body, and determined what was appropriate to do in response to the affair. Meanwhile, Lisa Mariana as an object whose body is constructed negatively and degraded, so that the power relations in the discourse place women as the party that is blamed, controlled, and deserves to be insulted in the public space. The position of the reader is placed in a position that includes: (1) a male reader and a female reader provide a perspective that rejects sexist acts by adhering to the values ??of truth that should be. (2) two female readers who reproduce the sexist acts that have been constructed by the subject by considering the sexist acts as a joke or entertainment. (3) a male reader and a female reader who accept and agree that the sexist act in



the form of body shaming by the subject is directed at Lisa Mariana as an object.

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