

7-31-2019

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Recommended Citation

Sukamto, M., Hamidah, H., & Fajrianthi, F. (2019). "Can I Look Like Her?": Body Image of Adolescent Girls who Use Social Media. *Makara Human Behavior Studies in Asia*, 23(1), 60-72. <https://doi.org/10.7454/hubs.asia.1120519>

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“Can I Look Like Her?”: Body Image of Adolescent Girls who Use Social Media

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Abstract

The use of social media is very popular among adolescents, particularly female adolescents. Social media applications that provide widespread opportunities to share photos with peers, celebrities, and families can impact the body image of adolescent girls. The aim of this study was to explore the use of social media and its impact on perceptions, cognitions, and emotions that underlie body image of adolescent girls. Furthermore, this study also explored specific behaviors as consequences of positive or negative body image of adolescent girls. The authors conducted focus group discussions on eleven first- and third-semester female students at a university in Surabaya. The results of this study showed that all participants used more than one social media application, including Line, Instagram, YouTube, WhatsApp, and Facebook. Activities these participants frequently engaged in, such as uploading photos, viewing other people's photos, following friends or Instagram celebrities (Insta-celebs), stimulated them to make upward appearance comparisons and more likely to cause negative body image, even though there were participants who still had positive body image. Media literacy, parental guidance, and self-appreciation are necessary to overcome this problem.

“Bisakah Aku Kelihatan Seperti Dia?”: Citra Tubuh Remaja Perempuan Pengguna Media Sosial

Abstrak

Penggunaan media sosial sangat populer di kalangan remaja, khususnya remaja perempuan. Aplikasi media sosial yang memberikan kesempatan luas untuk berbagi foto dengan teman sebaya, selebriti, dan keluarga dapat berdampak terhadap citra tubuh remaja perempuan. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah mengeksplorasi penggunaan media sosial dan dampaknya terhadap persepsi, kognisi, dan emosi yang mendasari citra tubuh remaja perempuan. Lebih lanjut, penelitian ini juga mengeksplorasi perilaku spesifik sebagai konsekuensi dari citra tubuh positif atau negatif remaja perempuan. Penulis melakukan diskusi kelompok terarah pada 11 orang mahasiswi semester pertama dan ketiga di sebuah universitas di Surabaya. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa semua partisipan menggunakan lebih dari satu aplikasi media sosial, seperti Line, Instagram, YouTube, WhatsApp, dan Facebook. Aktivitas yang sering mereka lakukan di media sosial, seperti *upload* foto, melihat foto orang lain, *men-follow* teman atau selebgram, mendorong mereka melakukan *upward appearance comparisons* dan lebih cenderung menyebabkan citra tubuh yang negatif, walaupun ada partisipan yang tetap memiliki citra tubuh positif. Literasi media, pendampingan orangtua, dan penghargaan terhadap diri sendiri sangat diperlukan untuk mengatasi permasalahan ini.

Keywords: appearance comparison, body dissatisfaction, social media influence

Citation:

Sukamto, M., Hamidah, H., & Fajrianthi, F. (2019). “Can I look like her?”: Body image of adolescent girls who use social media. *Makara Human Behavior Studies in Asia*, 23(1), 59-71. doi: 10.7454/hubs.asia.1120519

1. Introduction

The use of social media is growing rapidly around the globe. Based on the findings of Pew Research Center (2015), 92% of adolescents aged 13–17 years in the

U.S. reported being online every day, including 24% who reported being online “almost continuously,” 56% being online several times a day, and 12% online once a day. Only 6% of the adolescents reported online once a week and 2% of the participants were online less

frequently. Facebook was the most popular and frequently used social media application (71%) among American adolescents. Half (52%) of American adolescents used Instagram, and almost half (41%) used Snapchat. Most adolescents (71%) even reported using more than one social media application.

Social media uses web-based technology to create a highly interactive platform, so individuals and communities can share, foster, discuss, and modify user-generated contents (Kietzmann, Hermkens, McCarthy, & Silvestre, 2011). According to Kietzmann et al. (2011), there are seven functional blocks of social media, namely, identity, conversations, sharing, presence, relationships, reputation, and groups. The identity function represents the extent to which users reveal their identities in a social media setting, using demographics such as, name, age, gender, occupation, and location. The conversation function represents the extent to which users communicate with other users in a social media setting. The sharing function represents the extent to which users exchange, distribute, and receive contents such as texts, videos, images, sounds, links, and locations. The presence function represents the extent to which users can find out if other users can be accessed, including knowing where others are (in cyberspace and/or in the real world), and whether they can be contacted. The relationship function represents the extent to which users can relate to other users, i.e., whether the users have some forms of association that direct them to chat, share objects of sociality, meet, or just register with each other as friends or fans. The reputation function maps the extent to which users can identify the position of others, including themselves, in social media settings. For example, on YouTube, the reputation of the video may be based on "number of views" or "ranking," while on Facebook, it is based on "likes." The group functions represent the extent to which users can form communities and sub-communities. The more "social" a network is, the greater the group of friends, followers, and contacts is. Individuals can sort out their contacts and place their close friends, friends, followers, or fans into various self-made groups (for example, Twitter). Facebook and Flickr have groups with administrators who manage groups, approve prospective members, and invite others to join.

The use of social media is very popular among adolescent girls (Kimbrough, Guadagno, Muscanell, & Dill, 2013; Muscanell & Guadagno, 2012). Social media applications usually involve a lot of photo-sharing activities by peers and celebrities, and many adolescent girls (61%) use visually oriented social media applications, such as Instagram (Pew Research Center, 2015). Unlike televisions and magazines, which are more unidirectional and passive, social media allows greater participation by users, enabling young women to control, find, and share information they are interested

in. In this case, social media can differ from fashion magazines and television, and potentially be more dangerous than other media (Tiggemann & Miller, 2010). In addition, unlike more traditional forms of media (such as magazines and television), most of which display images of models, celebrities, or other strangers, social media (e.g., Facebook) contains images of different types of individuals. Facebook generally shows other people who are known (or "friends") that vary in the proximity of their relationships with users, including family members, close friends, and distant friends (i.e., people who may be known to users but with whom they do not interact on a regular basis). When using social media, users are also exposed to images from models and celebrities through advertisements, fan pages, and other commercial pages (Fardouly & Vartanian, 2015).

There are a number of unique characteristics that distinguish social media from traditional media and can have an impact on body image. First, social media displays users themselves (not just models and celebrities). Second, people often display the ideal version of themselves on social media by uploading the most attractive images of themselves (which can be improved through editing or enhancement) to their profile and delete the images they consider less attractive (Zhao, Grasmuck, & Martin, 2008). Third, though social media contains images of various types of people (e.g., friends, family, strangers, and celebrities), they are generally used to interact with peers. Research shows that the appearance comparisons with peers may be very influential on body image (Carey, Donaghue, & Broderick, 2014; Fardouly et al., 2017). Finally, in addition to images, people often post contents and comments in relation to appearance on social media, which can also influence how users feel about their appearance (Meier & Gray, 2014).

Body image is generally a multidimensional concept. The elements that underlie body image are (1) how one perceives his/her own body (as a whole or certain parts of his/her body) and how accurate or distorted that perception compared to objective standards; (2) the cognitions (thoughts) that someone has about his/her body, such as "my body is too big"; (3) feelings or emotions about his/her body, such as feeling proud, embarrassed, satisfied, or dissatisfied. Negative body image or body dissatisfaction arises when there is a discrepancy or difference between the individual's perception of his/her body and his/her preferred body, and this difference is considered important. Body dissatisfaction can range from a mild preference to have different body characteristics to severe distress and extreme behaviors to change the body or avoid criticism from others (Wertheim & Paxton, 2012).

Positive body image is distinct from negative body image (Tylka & Wood-Barcalow, 2015). The definition of positive body image is:

An overarching love and respect for the body that allows individuals to (a) appreciate the unique beauty of their body and the functions that it performs for them; (b) accept and even admire their body, including those aspects that are inconsistent with idealized images; (c) feel beautiful, comfortable, confident, and happy with their body, which is often reflected as an outer radiance, or a “glow;” (d) emphasize their body’s assets rather than dwell on their imperfections; (e) have a mindful connection with their body’s needs; and (f) interpret incoming information in a body-protective manner whereby most positive information is internalized and most negative information is rejected or reframed. (Wood-Barcalow, Tylka, & Augustus-Horvath, 2010, pp. 112)

Hence, positive body image is a multidimensional construct involving more than just body satisfaction or the extent to which individuals view their appearance well (Tylka & Wood-Barcalow, 2015).

Social media provides girls with a platform for frequent appearance comparisons, and, therefore, can contribute to body image problems. Fardouly, Diedrichs, Vartanian, and Halliwell (2015) found that female students reported being in a more negative mood after being briefly exposed (for 10 minutes) to Facebook rather than being exposed to a neutral website about appearance, and the participants who had a high tendency to compare their appearance felt greater gaps related to face, hair, and skin. The results of Fardouly and Vartanian’s (2015) study showed that participants most frequently compared their appearance with their distant peers on Facebook, compared appearance equally frequently against close friends and celebrities, and compared their appearance significantly less frequently against female family members. In addition, participants

rated their bodies as the most negative when comparing their appearance with that of female celebrities, followed by peers (close friends and distant friends), and as least negative when comparing their appearance with female family members. Thus, close friends, distant friends, and celebrities, but not family members, seem to be a source of upward appearance comparisons for female Facebook users. Brown and Tiggemann’s (2016) research on Instagram users found that acute exposure to images of female celebrities and unknown peers who were skinny and alluring had a directly negative effect on women’s mood and body image. Upward social comparisons illustrate comparisons between an individual and a comparison target that is considered superior on certain dimension, e.g. appearance, and provide evidence that someone is not as good as others, so they can lead to negative self-evaluation, such as body dissatisfaction (Halliwell, 2012).

Perloff’s (2014) model illustrates that social media can influence body dissatisfaction and eating disorders (see Figure 1). This model focuses on the potential effects of different social media applications, such as Facebook, Pinterest, and Instagram. The model also focuses on specific contents that can appear on social media, such as Thinspiration, a term for various Internet-based blogs and images that inspire thinness, and on websites that specifically promote eating disorders such as anorexia and bulimia. According to Tiggemann and Miller (2010), social media users can access (personally and whenever they want) websites related to appearance. Some of these can encourage the development of eating disorders, while others provide information about methods for losing weight, which may directly encourage users to want to be thin. Perloff’s model also shows that individual characteristics, such as low self-esteem, perfectionism, and thin-ideal internalization, help to determine the vulnerability of individuals to the influence of social media.

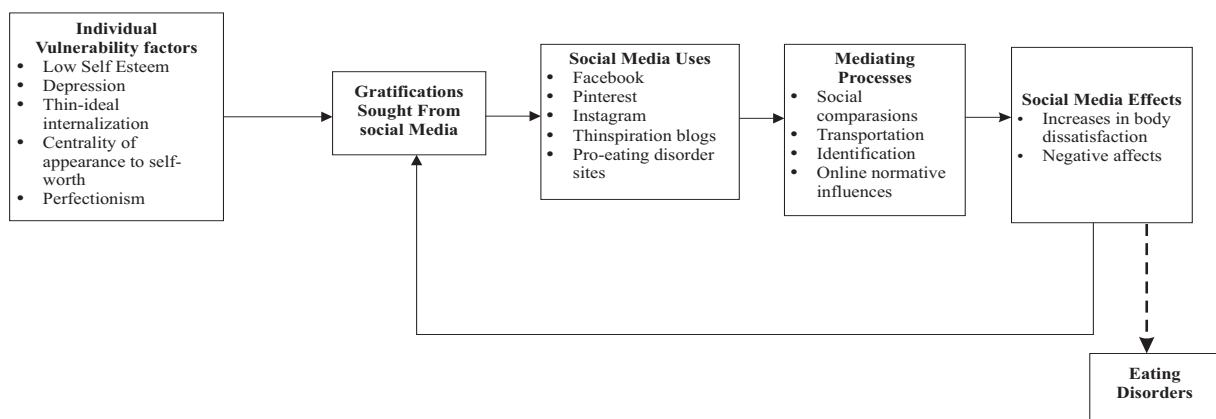


Figure 1. Model of Social Media and Body Image Problems (Perloff, 2014)

A literature review of 67 studies examined the relationship between Internet use and body image and eating problems (Rodgers & Melioli, 2016). Based on the results of the qualitative, correlational, and experimental studies, it was found that some content on the Internet and social media emphasized appearance at a high level, including contents that promote certain body shapes or extreme behaviors. Furthermore, the level of individual attention to the body and eating behavior is positively related to involvement in activities that are common in the use of social media, such as sharing photos, commenting on photos, and seeing pictures of skinny or fit bodies (which are designed to promote weight-loss or fitness). A more recent study (Fardouly, Pinkus, & Vartanian, 2017) that examined the impact of appearance comparisons made through social media, traditional media, and in-person among female undergraduate students found that appearance comparisons with people considered more attractive (upward appearance comparisons) was the most common type of comparison across all contexts. In addition, upward comparisons through social media were linked to thoughts about dieting and exercising more than in-person comparisons. Although research on social media is relatively new, several studies show that the impacts of social media are likely to be more harmful than that of traditional media (for example, Fardouly et al., 2015; Holland & Tiggemann, 2016; Tiggemann & Slater, 2013).

Until now, the author still has not found a survey that focuses on the behavior of adolescent users of social media in Indonesia like the one conducted by the Pew Research Center (2015) on adolescents in America. The survey conducted by the Indonesian Internet Service Providers Association (APJII) regarding Indonesian Internet User Penetration and Behavior in 2017 is still valid for all ages. The survey results from APJII (2017) showed that the penetration of Internet users in Indonesia based on age group is 13–18 years (75.50%), 19–34 years (74.23%), 35–54 years (44.06%), and >54 years (15.72%). This study differs from previous research on the impact of social media on adolescent's body image because it is investigated based on their own perspective particularly in terms of their views of the impact of social media on their cognition, emotions, and behaviors.

The aim of the present study is to explore the extent to which adolescent girls in Indonesia use social media and how the use of social media affects their body image through focus group discussions. First, we explored whether the activities carried out by participants on social media, particularly photo-related activities, might encourage them to make downward appearance comparisons besides upward appearance comparisons. Next, we investigated the effect of appearance comparisons (upward or downward) on the participants'

perceptions, cognitions, and emotions that underlie body image, whether upward appearance comparisons were always associated with negative body image. Finally, we also explored the extent to which participants' body image (positive or negative) influenced their behaviors. The results of this study were expected to provide insight to the author to conduct further research on the impact of the use of social media on the body image and appearance-related behaviors of adolescent girls in Indonesia.

2. Methods

Participants. The participants of the focus group discussion were 11 female students in their first or third semester at a faculty of psychology in a private university in Surabaya, aged 18–20 years. The criteria for participants in this focus group discussion were female students who were 20 years old at maximum (still included in late adolescence) and used social media.

Procedures. The recruitment process of research participants was conducted through Line and WhatsApp social media applications. First- and third-semester female students of the faculty of psychology were invited to participate in discussion forums on the lifestyle of today's adolescent girls. Interested students could register with the author or assistant researcher (psychology lecturers) via WhatsApp. After waiting for a week, the first author and research assistant were able to enroll 11 female students in the focus group discussions. Focus group discussions were carried out in two groups (there was a Wednesday group and a Friday group), and allocation to a discussion group was based on the available schedule of the participants. The first author assigned participants to each group (Wednesday or Friday) based on the available schedule of the participants (see Table 1).

Table 1. Assignment of Participants

Participant (initial)	Age (year)	Semester	FGD Group
Se	18	1	Wednesday
De	18	1	Wednesday
Al	18	1	Wednesday
Fi	18	1	Wednesday
Fa	18	1	Wednesday
Jo	19	3	Wednesday
St	19	3	Wednesday
Va	20	3	Friday
Pa	18	1	Friday
Er	19	3	Friday
At	19	3	Friday

During the focus group discussion, the first author was assisted by a research assistant (a psychology lecturer who actively used several social media applications), so the discussion process could be more interactive. The duration of each group discussion session was about two hours. At the beginning of the group discussion session, the first author informed several ethical aspects to the participants, such as the use of recording device, agreements to keep the confidentiality in group discussions, and the role of each participant as resource persons or ‘experts’ in this group discussion, so they would not feel afraid or ashamed to express their experiences or opinions. Before the focus group discussions started, the first author also held several meetings with the research assistant to discuss the list of questions, the criteria of participants, and the division of tasks during the group discussion process.

Focus group discussion guide. In the discussion groups, a semi-structured interview guide was used (See Table 2). It included questions about the use of social media in general; friends or celebrities that were followed on social media; and the impact of social media on cognition, emotions and attitudes, and behaviors.

Table 2. Focus Group Discussion Guide

The use of social media in general
a) Do the participants use social media?
b) What social media applications are used?
c) What activities do they do in the social media?
d) How often do they access the social media?
e) What social media applications are frequently accessed?
Peers or celebrities followed on social media
a) Whom do participants follow or befriend with on social media? For example, peers, Instagram celebrities, actresses, family members, online store accounts
b) Why do the participants follow or befriend with them?
c) Do peers or other people they follow usually post their photos?
Impact of social media on cognitions, emotions, and behaviors
a) What types of posts do the participants usually pay attention to? For example, photos, advertisements, status
b) What do the participants think or feel when seeing the posts?
c) What do the participants feel when other people give comments or ‘likes’ on their posts?
d) How do other people’s posts influence the participants’ feeling of themselves?
e) Do other people’s posts encourage the participants to do something?
f) Based on the participants’ observation, what impacts do social media have on their surrounding peers?

Data analysis. The focus group discussion was recorded, transcribed verbatim (word by word), and checked by the first author and research assistant for accuracy. All transcripts were then coded by the first author and research assistant. The purpose of coding was to provide a comprehensive framework for analysis, organize answers based on the content area, and ignore dialogs that were not relevant to the research questions. The transcript was read carefully for the entire contents and identification of the main categories. After reviewing the results of the discussions that have been transcribed, a coding template was created to categorize the answers. Furthermore, the first author and research assistant identified the main themes surrounding the use of social media and their impact on cognition, emotions and attitudes, and behaviors of participants that emerged from the data. Repeated themes were only coded once per participant because the first author and research assistant only wanted to identify whether a particular theme was discussed by each participant, not how many times it was mentioned. The first author and research assistant tried to ensure the consistency of the coding by discussing and making agreements about the unit of analysis (decapitation of participants speech) that was used and equating perceptions regarding all categories in the coding template.

3. Results and Discussion

The use of social media in general. All participants (11 female students) actively used social media and each used more than one application. Social media applications used included Instagram, Facebook, Snapchat, YouTube, Line, WhatsApp, Twitter, Path, Google+, Tumblr, Pinterest, GoogleDuo, Telegram, IMO, BBM, and Kakaotalk. This result is in line with the findings of the Pew Research Center (2015) in American adolescents showing that most adolescents (71%) used more than one social media application. Social media applications most commonly used by participants (sorted from the ones most mentioned) were Line, Instagram, WhatsApp, YouTube, and Facebook. There are seven functions that may exist in a social media application, namely identity, conversations, sharing, presence, relationships, reputation, and groups (Kietzmann et al., 2011). Instagram and Facebook apps offer all seven functions, Line and WhatsApp applications have six functions, excluding the reputation function, and the YouTube application also has six functions, excluding the presence function. The functions of the five social media applications seem to explain why they were chosen by participants as the most frequently-used applications. Instagram is arguably the most predominant social media source of body dissatisfaction. This is because Instagram is an online photo-sharing, video-sharing and social networking service that allows users to instantly post pictures to share with the world. Therefore, it contains masses of images of the thin-ideal and consequently promotes this

ideal to billions of users (Treneman-Evans, 2017). Additionally, Instagram users have the option to label images with multiple hashtags (e.g. #thin) that allow images to be categorised and more readily searched. This convenient and express approach to viewing images of the thin ideal arguably increases the number of users viewing “thinspiration” content in Instagram and in turn, can glorify and normalise the thin-ideal (Ghaznavi & Taylor, 2015).

Activities carried out by participants when using social media were diverse and included the following: uploading photos; seeing photos of other people; stalking or researching individuals or celebrities upon first hearing their name; shopping online (for cosmetics, home/room decoration, food, clothes, shoes, bags, diet food, and face care products); selling online; looking for information in friend groups or class groups about a meet-up or lecture; communication with parents; viewing instastory on Instagram; streaming music, vlogs, movies, lecture material, and lecture tutorials on YouTube; chatting; saving chats to phone; reading news on Facebook and Instagram; reading wise words; updating status; commenting on posts by known or unknown people; and expressing themselves or emotions in good words. According to Tiggemann and Miller (2010), social media allows greater participation by users, enabling adolescent girls to control, find, and share information they are interested in. This is what distinguishes social media from more traditional media (e.g., fashion magazines and television) and potentially offers a greater possibility of harm.

Table 3. Ranking of Social Media Applications Most Frequently Accessed and Activities

Applications	Ranking	Activities
Line	I	look for or share information in friend groups or class groups; update status; shop online
Instagram	II	upload photos; see photos of other people; stalk on someone or celebrities; view instastory; like/comment friend posts; shop/sell online
YouTube	III	stream music, vlogs, movies, lecture material and tutorial
WhatsApp	IV	chat with parents; look for or share information in friend groups or class groups; update status; shop online
Facebook	V	chat; save chats to phone; read news; upload photos; see photos of other people; like/comment friend posts; shop/sell online

The average duration of daily social media use among participants was between 4–5 hours and 12 hours per day. In addition, one participant reported that she only stopped when her battery was used up. Another participant started using social media from when she woke up until she fell asleep again. Another fell asleep with her mobile phone or laptop still turned on. Although the activities carried out by participants on social media varied, most activities gave participants the opportunity to compare their appearance with others. In terms of frequency of use, Instagram was ranked second among participants while Facebook was ranked fifth. Instagram is a unique social networking site because its main focus is sharing images. Instagram users can edit and filter their photos to achieve an “ideal” view, and then share them with friends or the public. According to Brown and Tiggemann (2016), this provides opportunities for Instagram users to be exposed to ideal images of peers. Body dissatisfaction can develop when women repeatedly compare their own appearance against the appearance of others (Fardouly et al., 2015; Keery, van den Berg, & Thompson, 2004; Vartanian & Dey, 2013). In addition, research from Meier and Gray (2014) showed that the amount of time on Facebook allocated to activities related to photos (for example, updating profile photos, posting photos, viewing photos of friends, commenting on friends’ photos, and marking one’s self in friends’ photos) was related to increased thin-ideal internalization, weight dissatisfaction, and encouragement to be thin, as opposed to time spent on other Facebook activities.

Peers or celebrities noticed on social media. People or peers followed by participants on social media included family members, friends, crushes, ex-boyfriends, Insta-celebs, online stores (that participants had a long-term intention of buying from), pet accounts, tutorials, food, humorous accounts, news, Indonesian or foreign celebrities, vloggers, badminton athletes, motivational words, traveling, political figures, inspirational religious figures (priests/pastors), motivators, photography, design, extreme violence accounts, public figures, quotes, 9gag, and Indopsiko accounts. For example, Va (Friday group) said:

There is also my friend . . . like fashion blogger, but she is not so famous. But she always updates photos of her wearing different types of clothes and her photos are always good. So yeah, I like seeing it too.

In addition, Er (Friday group) added:

I follow friends firstly because I want to keep on making friends and want to see their photos, who knows there is any change on their appearance. For example, there was my friend who used to be fat, now has become slim. I just want to see how she changes.

Consistent with exposure to images of models or celebrities, exposure to peers who closely match the thin-ideal has been found to increase women's body dissatisfaction (Treneman-Evans, 2017).

All participants followed/made friends with at least one Insta-celebs. Celebrities followed by participants included Agnes Monica, Awkarin, Nana Anjani, Gita Savitri, Dinda Firdaus (designer), Gisella Anastasia (because they wanted to see photos of her daughter), Kevin Hendrawan, Riaricis1795, taqy_malik and his wife, Aliyah Rajasa (because they wanted to see photos of her children), Anya Geraldine, Chelsea Olivia, Glen Alinskie, Ernest Prakarsa, and Ayudia Bing Slamet. For example, St (Wednesday group) said:

Chelsea Olivia with her husband Glenn Alinskie, next is Ernest Prakarsa with his wife, Mira, their life is interesting. If 'celebgram', there is Anya Geraldine, the friend of Awkarin. . . . I follow her, despite her life which in my opinion is negative and wasting money, physically she is a girl that I think is the most ideal, beautiful, proportional, her style also matches my style.

Furthermore, Va (Friday group) said:

I like that, the way she [Awkarin] . . . arranges her Instagram feeds. . . . But Awkarin, she's only 19, . . . but I just like to see it, you know, if you look at her, she always looks happy. . . . If Agnes, she's my idol so I follow her.

The online stores followed by participants included stores that sell clothing, cosmetics, jewelry, lenses, shoes, food, cellphone cases, facial treatments for acne, make-up, diet foods, and supplements. The online stores included Tokopedia, Shopee, and Althea (Korean brand). The reasons participants cited for shopping online included prices differing greatly from those at the counter and that they bought gifts for friends, though sometimes the quality or size did not match their needs.

Social media contains images of different classes of individual relations, such as other people (or "friends") who are known and who vary in terms of their relational proximity to users, including family members, close friends, and distant peers (i.e., people who may be known by the users but do not interact on a regular basis). Social media also includes pictures of models and celebrities seen through advertisements and other commercial pages (Fardouly & Vartanian, 2015). According to Fardouly and Vartanian (2015), female students compare their appearance on Facebook most often with distant peers, close friends, and celebrities, but less often with family members.

The impact of other people's posts and online stores on users' cognition, affect, and behaviors. The types of posts participants most frequently noticed were the aesthetics of photo techniques or clothing references, hijab celebrities or hijaber lifestyles, good photos, food, smiling faces, and good body shape. In addition, participants also noticed the unique features of people they followed, judged images uploaded by others, then sent them to close friends in chat groups. For example, St. (Wednesday Group) said:

Depending on the picture, for example, for a full-body picture, the clothing looks good, so that's what gets attention. This outfit can be imitated, I mean, it can be a clothing reference. . . . If in my opinion it is less appropriate, usually there is a direct message, so we are able to contact with friends. In a direct message we can create a group. . . . if there is something considered less appropriate, it's usually shared with that group.

What the participants thought, felt, and did when they saw other people's posts followed a number a themes: They were easily dismayed if other people texted them with no clear purpose; they felt disgusted when they saw inappropriate styles of courtship; there was a participant who felt sad and jealous of friends who lost weight (the participant wanted to be thin too so that she could wear any clothing she liked); they gave "likes" to people they knew, gave comments on posts they considered to be good; they learned the posing style and expressions of models; they saw some exercise techniques, for example, to shrink thighs; and they tried make-up. By looking at Insta-celebs as their role models, the participants intended to imitate them in terms of life purposes, clothing styles, clothing brands, and reduced eating portions (e.g., practicing a no-rice diet) because they wanted to upload good photos. If individuals lost a significant amount of weight, the participants would ask themselves what the person did or what kinds of exercise they did. The following were quotes from four participants, namely Fa, St (Wednesday group), Va, and Pa (Friday group). The following quotes from Fa (Wednesday group) illustrated that upward appearance comparisons led to negative perception related to her height:

If I see there is a friend or someone uploads [photos], if it's the whole body, not selfie, if she is beautiful, like if her body shape is good, like it's good to be tall. I wish I am tall.

The quotes from Fa that described behaviors that related to her body dissatisfaction:

If I see people posting . . . if she used to be fat and now she's thin, how could that be? Then I asked, how come you can be skinny. . . . then she showed

me a link on YouTube and on that day I also searched on YouTube, I tried it for a week. Then there was someone posted again who happen to be my aunt. I asked how come she can be thin and she taught me to drink this, then I tried for a month and I really can be thin. . . . Because I want to be thin at that time.

The following quotes from St illustrated that even though she had a positive body image, she still made upward appearance comparisons, but in a body-protective manner:

If the comments so far are still positive, so the comments don't really affect me. But, if I look at people like Anya Geraldine, I think she is a goal, physically, because she is beautiful, tall, not fat, not too thin, proportional. There is a desire like [to have] a body like that, it seems cool. . . . If the diet is still limited to desire. But if clothes, hair, and the like have been applied. I mean her clothes are good, then I'll imitate her. Her hairstyle is good, though there are lots of hair desires, but so far her styles are match.

This quotes from Va (Friday group) described that upward appearance comparisons related to fashion style caused negative emotions that underlying her body dissatisfaction:

I am just envious, I like to make it more as body goals actually because I like wearing any types of clothes. But because I am fat, I get insecure. So, the clothing options are limited. Usually, the adorable clothes are made for thin ones. So, looking at people wearing that clothes are so cute, but I can't wearing it. I become sad and envious. . . . when can I be like that? What motivates me is if I want that body goals then I have to diet.

The quotes from Pa (Friday group) also described negative emotions underlying dissatisfaction towards her body shape:

If I am the same, I tend to feel jealous, for example [my friend] used to be fat and now becomes thin, like the changes are drastic. [She] used to be fat, not beautiful, when [she] is thin, beautiful, wow, when [can I] be like that? But, if for example, we also diet, there must be someone whose diet doesn't work 100%.

The quotes from Va (Friday group) illustrated behaviors related to her body dissatisfaction as a result of upward appearance comparisons:

So, I used to shop, assuming 'my weapons' were a lot. [If I] have more clothes, I can use it for photos.

But I also realize that I can't possibly be the same as them, for example they're thin, I'm fat. My photos won't be good either because they use a camera and I use a cellphone. So I lower my standard to achieve the same satisfaction. But I try at least like them. But I'm not imitating until I have to be like them. But they inspire me if I want to look good also. On social media, I can show people that this is me, I can be like this. When it comes to try hard, sometimes [I] try, but the results can't be good because I'm limited. So over time, there's no need to do this, [I feel] lazy, just like this. . . .

The quotations above were in accordance with previous research (Brown & Tiggemann, 2016; Carey, et al., 2014; Fardouly et al., 2017; Fardouly & Vartanian, 2015) which showed that participants often made upward appearance comparisons on social media which mostly caused body dissatisfaction. Brown and Tiggemann (2016) showed that exposure to images of celebrities and peers on Instagram increased negative mood and body dissatisfaction among female students. Another research showed that appearance comparison with peers might have a stronger relationship with body image problems than appearance comparison with models and celebrities because the appearance of peers might seem more achievable than that of celebrity (Carey et al., 2014). However, the quotes from St showed that upward appearance comparisons did not always caused a negative body image. Even though St made upward appearance comparisons to a celebrity, she still had a positive body image because she had a body-protective manner. One of characteristics of people who have a positive body image is able to interpret incoming information in a body-protective manner, which is selective in internalizing positive information and rejecting or reframing negative information (Wood-Barcalow et al., 2010).

In addition, this study also found that there was a participant who made downward appearance comparisons. The quotes from Pa (Friday group) illustrated that downward appearance comparisons helped her to have a more positive body image:

Maybe if [I] see someone whose face has severe acne, but I see why she can be confident with that unfiltered face. Like inspiring, you know. Yes I'm also spotty, still struggling to solve zits Which girl doesn't want to have smooth skin. It's like a reflection for me, why if she can I can't.

This quotes described that Pa could accept her body (face) even though its condition was not consistent with the ideal image, which is one characteristic of people with a positive body image (Wood-Barcalow et al., 2010).

The thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of participants when viewing advertisements for online store products were various. There was a participant who wanted to buy diet products because they felt fat. There was a participant who wanted to try after seeing advertisements that endorsed height growth pills and bought calcium. There was also a participant who came to try ketogenesis diet, but became weak once she got into the ketosis phase. For example, Fa (Wednesday group) shared her behaviors related to dissatisfaction towards her height:

I follow like well-known accounts . . . they endorse like height growth pills. My body is so small, right? I want to try it, and then I happened to buy calcium. I bought it twice, then I am lazy to consume it. So, it's already bought but it's not used. . . I've already used it, but it's only been used for a week, but there is no benefit, so I become lazy to use it.

Va (Friday group) also shared that she really wanted to try diet products because of dissatisfaction with her body shape, but her mother prohibited her and she didn't dare to risk it:

I want it too, because I'm fat. Like my own friend, she sold it. . . there was like a testimony. She likes to capture her chat with her customer, client, like how many days that person could reduce a specific amount of weight. It is such a tantalizing one because honestly I'm too lazy to exercise. . . Then my aunt is using the acai berry and she gets thin. But the rumor it is not good if you consume it everyday. Herbal diets are one million in price, only a week you can get thin. My mother prohibits me from buying such product. . . I am keen, but also afraid if there are side effects, you know, if, for example, I get sick, and my body doesn't match with the medicine, it could happen. So I was like thinking twice. So I never buy it.

Va also added:

These days, there are a lot of types of such interesting drinks which might make you thinner. . . I just follow Awkarin, just a few months, she often endorses . . . drink this, whatever you eat you can stay slim. Every time there is an ads about dieting products, I always want to buy, but I'm not brave enough, honestly I don't dare.

Body dissatisfaction can range from a mild preference to have different body characteristics to severe distress and extreme behaviors to change the body or avoid criticism from others. Most studies in adolescent girls have examined body image and dissatisfaction related to weight and body shape problems because of the behavioral consequences of these body image disorders,

Table 4. Ranking of Upward Appearance Comparison Most Frequently Made by Participants

Upward Appearance Comparison	Ranking (based on the most frequently mentioned)
Body shape (slim and tall)	I
Fashion style	II
Make-up, skin care, hairstyle,	III

Note: Make-up, skin care, and hairstyle were mentioned in the same frequency by participants

such as eating disorders, extreme dieting, and binge eating (Wertheim & Paxton, 2012). Based on the quotes above, it could be concluded that the behaviors of the participants as consequences of body dissatisfaction did not cause harmful effects, but needed to be watched out, especially related to the use of diet and height growth products.

Participants' feelings when others give comments or "likes" on their posts. In general, participants felt happy when other people gave positive comments. Negative feelings (dismayed, irritated) arose when participants felt that other people bullied them, felt uncomfortable when someone they did not know commented on their posts, and felt dislike when someone commented on their physique or body shape. Forms of positive comments included images of hearts and direct messages (DM) asking to get to know them. However, participants felt uncomfortable if there was inappropriate content in their messages. The positive comments from others made participants wanted to repeat their behaviors. St (Wednesday group) shared the positive comments she got that caused positive emotions towards her body:

I remember, ma'am. There are many comments, if comments on Ig are positive so far, most are positive. . . Like for example, emoticons, but heart shaped ones. . . My feelings? There are two feelings. The first one is sometimes I feel happy, suppose I am appreciated in that way, but sometimes there is an uncomfortable feeling, this is especially for people who are not known. . . If I don't know him/her, it's uncomfortable, ma'am.

Va (Friday group) explained about her needs to get comments and 'likes' to make her feel good about her appearance:

If there is a comment, I'm okay. I'm pretty addicted, I feel insecure if for example the number of 'likes' doesn't reach, for example I have reached 'likes' this much, then because I rarely post and suddenly post again, the number of 'likes' that I get will decrease. . . So, I think about what other people think about me. . . Usually if it is about

self, I wish that other people say I'm pretty. I mean, a beautiful comment, a positive comment . . . I know I am not like them indeed, but if for example there is one or two, it already makes me glad. So, [I] need more appreciation from social media. . . . For example I feel most glad if I feel this photo is good, the number of 'likes' is many and there are many comments. It seems like there is a special satisfaction, you know. Actually, it is not good. So, there is that need, to get comments and likes.

Pa (Friday group) shared that comments about her body made her have a negative perception about her body:

The same ma'am ... maybe the stigma from the community towards fat people is not pretty, less aesthetic. So every time I go to church, I'm a Christian, meet people, [they ask] how come you look fatter? Then for example on Instagram, [when I] upload photos, there are comments like that. How come you seem to be getting fatter, your cheeks are getting chubby, huh.

In other section, Pa (Friday group) added about her negative emotions towards comments about her body shape:

Maybe I am in a bad mood replying a DM, though s/he talks jokingly, but still, just don't talk about body shape. Don't be physical. And if for example, the comments on my photos, there are many positive comments, saying I'm beautiful, so I'm happy. But there are also comments about my body shape. I don't like it, I feel like I want to scold that person.

However, there was also one participant who did not mind when other people commented on her obesity, such as Jo (Wednesday group) said:

If I post a photo of me, the comments recently are I'm getting fatter. . . but I'm fine with it. Oh there was also a college friend who commented on my photo, hamster. . . . Yeah some say hamster, some say otter, some say guinea pig, some say rabbit, don't know all kinds of things. But it's okay. . . . If I am, it's fine because [I] am getting fatter. . . . If I feel like . . . I don't feel ugly because they comment like that. . . . Only sometimes, for example, if there are comments on my friends' Instagram, there are some who are said pretty or something, if I look at my own ig, rarely do people comment like that. . . . I used to think when will there be comments saying I'm beautiful, but then I realize it's not their comments that determine my beauty.

Negative feelings, stemming from a desire to receive positive comments (e.g., you are beautiful) could

manifest in anger, and insecurity was found to emerge when participants received a negative comment or a little "like." This is consistent with the findings of Meier and Gray (2014) who claim that comments related to appearance on social media can also influence how users feel about their appearance.

Participants' observations about the impact of social media on friends around them. According to the participants, social media also has an impact on their friends. There are friends who become inferior, imitate the style and photo techniques of Insta-celebs to gain popularity, and some even show more extreme behaviors. In addition, the influence of social media can influence love relationships, fashion, and attention-seeking behaviors. According to the participants, there were many friends who needed appreciation. There were some who asked for comments and likes on their posts and there was a friend who was fasting, only drinking water. St (Wednesday group) explained how upward appearance comparisons made by her friends caused them had a negative body image and showed excessive appearance-related behaviors:

Ma'am, there is my friend who often sees social media and follows the beautiful celebrities that it affects her self-esteem, she becomes inferior. What am I compared to her, what a beautiful girl she is. . . . Possibly in [uploaded] photos, everyone looks more beautiful. So, celebrities originally are not so beautiful as that. But she perceives they are so beautiful that she becomes inferior. Then my other friend, because she sees the celebrities are so beautiful and well-known that she imitates them, even though in my opinion, originally she isn't someone like that. . . the way she dresses, takes photos, where she takes photos, because she wants to get 'likes', comments, popularity, although originally if she is not being photographed, she is a simple person, usually not using make-up, it's really different.

In addition, Va (Friday group) said:

So I feel like there are a number of people who are deliberately just to show their self-existence. . . . There are also those who post [just] because they like to post. So I don't care about any comments, just post it. So I just feel that, oh this person is seeking for attention, oh this is his/her hobby, or someone who is seldom, for example, like only one moment will be posted. . . . But because if it's not really important, he/she doesn't post. . . . But I think more people who need appreciation, I mean, they need recognition, more so than people who just post, happy, even though they don't get appreciation, it's okay.

Based on the model presented by Perloff (2014), individual characteristics determine individual vulnerability to the influence of social media. In addition, the ongoing process of upward comparisons without efforts to overcome them can cause adolescent girls to have an increasingly negative body image. This can even lead to risky behaviors, such as unhealthy weight control behaviors, and more serious problems such as eating disorders.

4. Conclusion

Based on findings discussed above, it can be concluded that the use of social media can affect body image of adolescent girls. This happens because on social media, such as Instagram, Facebook and YouTube, adolescent girls, consciously or unconsciously, engage in activities comparing their appearance with others. Moreover, adolescent girls tend to compare themselves more often with figures (peers or celebrities) who are more attractive, prettier, slimmer, and taller than them (upward appearance comparisons), although in this study we also found one participant who made downward appearance comparisons. Another finding from this study is upward appearance comparisons don't always cause negative body image. Adolescent girls who make upward appearance comparisons with a body-protective manner and appreciation of the unique beauty of their body still can have a positive body image. This study also find that research on social media need to focus on risky behavior caused by negative body image, such as taking diet pills and extreme dieting.

For future research, the influence of social media needs to be included in the development of a model explaining body image problems, e.g., the tripartite influence model. This model proposes that three main sources of sociocultural influence (peers, family, and media) cause the development of body dissatisfaction, dieting behavior, and eating disorders both directly and indirectly through two mediation processes, namely, thin-ideal internalization and appearance comparisons (Papp, Urbán, Czeglédi, Babusa, & Túry, 2013; Rodgers, Chabrol, & Paxton, 2011; Shroff & Thompson, 2006; Yamamiya, Shroff, & Thompson, 2008). By including social media in the model, the influence of social media on body image problems can be identified when compared to other sociocultural influences. In addition, further research also needs to examine the effect of media literacy as a variable expected to reduce the occurrence of upward appearance comparisons and thin-ideal internalization (McLean, Paxton, & Wertheim, 2016).

Some suggestions that can be given are: (1) Parents, especially mothers, still have an important role in monitoring and controlling the negative effects of the use of social media on adolescent girls, for example:

one participant described her mother's role in reminding her about the risk of consuming dieting products offered on social media; (2) Adolescent girls need to have good media literacy. Adolescent girls need to be aware that the photos of celebrities or peers they see on social media may have gone through a process of retouching (e.g., to make the model look slimmer and not to show the actual body's condition). This understanding could lead to adolescent girls being more careful when comparing their appearance against those who look more attractive on social media; (3) If photos of celebrities or peers seen on social media are considered to reflect actual conditions, adolescent girls also need to learn to accept and appreciate the beauty of others without feeling jealous; (4) Adolescent girls also need to increase their self-confidence by accepting their physique (accepting does not have to mean liking) and respecting strengths they have that are not related to appearance, such as intelligence, kindness, and communication skills. People who have positive body image often have the attitude that beauty comes in various forms and is not limited to what is considered ideal (Tylka & Wood-Barcalow, 2015); (5) Adolescent girls need to have the feeling that they are personal agents, and they can achieve this by making a conscious effort to avoid contents that encourage them to compare their appearance with that of other people. For example, they can learn to choose to avoid or ignore comments (sent through direct message) regarding their body shape (Tylka & Wood-Barcalow, 2015; Wood-Barcalow et al., 2010).

Acknowledgment

This article was presented in Temu Ilmiah Nasional Himpunan Psikologi Indonesia in Bandung, September 7 and 8, 2018.

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