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## Non-Normative Gender Performances of Fat Video Game Characters

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**Abstract.** While video games unquestionably became more diverse and inclusive in the past decade, there is still a striking underrepresentation of characters whose bodies do not conform to the heterosexist concept of normativity, including those perceived as fat. My article begins with the introduction of fat studies as the interdisciplinary field concerned with the ways media construct fat people as unattractive, undesirable, and asexual. Next, it discusses how these prejudices are reflected in a medium in which fat has been historically coded as villainous and monstrous. The last part includes two case studies of positive fat representation: Ellie from the mainstream game *Borderlands 2* (Gearbox Software 2012) and the eponymous character from the independent title *Felix the Reaper* (Kong Orange 2019). Their gender performances are coded equally as non-normative.

**Keywords:** fat studies, independent video games, female masculinity, soft masculinities, performativity.

### Introduction

The aim of this article is to show that preconceptions about fatness are strongly embedded in discourses and representations in popular culture, and video games in particular. Notwithstanding the significant increase in inclusive and diverse narratives as well as characters during the last decade, the non-normative bodies and identities still remain vastly underrepresented in video games. Additionally, despite substantial critique aimed over the years at hypersexualised, unrealistically skinny women designs, not much attention has been given to the lack of representation of fat bodies outside of the monster or enemy design, in which case fatness signals strength and difficulty level.

The article sets out by introducing the discipline of fat studies and summarizing the main discourses about fat bodies, various prejudices that surround them, and their representation in the media. Next, it moves to analyse the portrayal of fat characters in video games, from the "fat villain" trope to the very few positive characters, revealing that even the latter are often unable to escape the misconceptions and stereotypes.

#### Fat Resistance: Introduction to Fat Studies

While it has been over fifty years since the first size acceptance movements were established in the US (the National Association to Advance Fat Acceptance, Fat Liberation Front, and Fat Underground), fat studies is still a very young research field. Marilyn Wann, who was among the first to use the term (Rothblum 2012), ties its beginnings to a 2004 conference at the Columbia University Teachers College entitled Fat Attitudes: An Examination of an American Subculture and the Representation of the Female Body (Wann 2009, xi). Both the movements and the field of study challenge the socially constructed notions of beauty concerning one's appearance and the predominantly negative associations with fat bodies. Both strive to reclaim the word "fat" as opposed to the medical and often derogatory as well as oppressive meaning of such terms like "obese" and "overweight." Wann stresses that especially the latter is "inherently anti-fat" (2009, xii) since it establishes a vaguely defined, idealized, and, thus, often unattainable "norm" and positions fat bodies outside of it. Although persistent voices argue that fatness is a medical and health issue, writers like Amy Erdman Farrell, author of Fat Shame: Stigma and the Fat Body in American Culture (2011), point out that this process of stigmatization is cultural and precedes modern medicine's interest in weight.

As scrutiny targets mainly the bodies, especially those perceived as feminine, a complex relationship emerges between external beauty standards, the internalized drive for thinness, one's sexuality, and one's mental health. The endorsement of Western beauty standards in media and popular culture is continuously linked to dissatisfaction with one's body shape, which often results in low self-esteem and a number of mental health conditions, including, but not limited to, eating disorders (see e.g. Kim and Lennon 2007, Dalley et al. 2009, Raisborough 2016, Ravary et al. 2019). Not only is fatness considered non-normative, but discourses tackling it tend to be largely omitted from the discussions of the inherent experiences of subversive bodies, while the tendencies to marginalize fat bodies still prevail in scholarly work and texts of popular culture.

Fat has been primarily discussed in the context of bodies considered female and feminine, with less attention devoted to those coded as male. Furthermore, it is important to notice the different expectations and stereotypes relating to how Black, Latina, POC, or White women should look like<sup>1</sup>. Nonetheless, it is equally noteworthy that while the fat on the female body is ridiculed as unattractive; on certain areas of a male body such as the stomach, it can signify masculinity, while on others (e.g. breasts or hips), it is subjected to social ridicule because of being considered effeminate, strengthening the negative demands regarding what a female body should be (Richardson 2010, 81–82). Furthermore, considering fatness a feminine trait enhances the associations between male fatness and queerness. Unsurprisingly then, the majority of research on male fat concentrates on marginalized gay identities and groups (Beattie 2014) with less attention devoted to heterosexual male bodies.

Nonetheless, *Queering Fat Embodiment* edited by Jackie Wykes together with Cat Pausé and Samantha Murray in 2014 was a first volume drawing direct parallels between fatness and queerness, exploring the "parallels between fat and queer experience, investigat[ing] the intersection of fat and queer, or even argu[ing] that fat necessarily is queer" (4). Wykes agrees that "potential queerness – and queer potential – of fat has long been an important part of the political project of fat activism and scholarship" (2014, 3).

By queering fat studies one continues the efforts of feminist writers, who commented on the "tyranny of slenderness" (Chernin 1981) and deemed fat as "a response to the many oppressive manifestations of a sexist culture" (Orbach 1979, 21), facilitating a more in-depth analysis of the intersections between race, class, sexuality, desire, and embodiment, while also allowing for the exploration of how fatness is entangled with the hegemonic structures of oppression.

## Fat Representation in Video Games

Since "fat" is a socially and culturally constructed concept, "what counts as fat and how it is valued is far from universal, indeed, these judgments are saturated with cultural, historical, political, and economic influences" (Braziel and LeBesco 2001, 2) with different standards applying depending on one's race, gender, class and age. As a consequence, fat becomes a threat to be avoided, while the ideal thin state is defined by negation, as "not being fat." In turn, this "fat stigmatization"

For more in-depth analysis of the way Western ideals of beauty are used as means of oppression and are opposed by Black people see Andrea Shaw's *Embodiment of Disobedience: Fat Black Women's Unruly Political Bodies* (2006) and for the historical origins of the prejudices towards Black fat bodies see Sabrina Strings's *Fearing the Black Body: The Racial Origins of Fat Phobia* (2019).

(Himes and Thompson 2007) leads not only to disregard and ridicule of fat characters in media, but to their demonization and/or villainization.

The most common, yet somewhat contradictory representations depict fat women as deviant, unattractive (Regan 1996, Gailey 2012), "asexual, out of control, or morally repugnant" (Johnston and Taylor 2008, 945). Fat characters tend to be presented as lacking interest in romantic or sexual relationships, and their desire for one is often structured as a source of comedy. Similarly, Marie Harker, who was examining the cultural representation of fat male sexuality, noted that although it "rarely enters mainstream cultural production, when it does, these twinned tropes of fat masculinity as gluttonous child or sexual incompetent conjoin in darkly reflexive images of corpulent sexuality. Such representations (...) are marked with the contours of the horrific Monstrous: a sexuality in which normative masculine sexual agency is transformed into the scandal of Waste, with a concomitant consumption/destruction of the desire object" (2016, 986–987).

This is closely paralleled in the video game context. Although due to the popularity of independent video games created by small studios or individual creators, their content is becoming increasingly inclusive, the mainstream games are still often criticized for portraying characters as overwhelmingly White, cisbodied, heterosexual, able-bodied, and adhering to the idealized, unrealistic body types, including highly sexualized silhouettes for women and overtly muscular frames for male characters (Jansz and Martis 2007). While currently more and more game titles include diverse characters with the focus on non-heterosexual and non-White identities, the vast majority of the characters belong even now to the types described above. Albeit in recent years even the big-budget corporate developer studios began to react to the changes in the industry, and this resulted in the growing number of Black, POC, and non-heterosexual characters, the change is visibly slower than in the games developed by independent creators. However, there is still a severe underrepresentation of characters who do not conform to the Western, White, and heterosexist "normativity," including those who perform queer genders and those who are perceived as fat.

This absence is particularly striking in the titles that allow very detailed and complex customization of the player character with several types of facial features, eye colours, or body types. Often, the selection of the latter is restricted to a few choices ranging from masculine body-builders to skinny frames for women, omitting usually the build, which could be considered fat (Harper 2019). Among the notable examples one can find the life simulator *The Sims* (Maxis

2000–2019) and the action series *The Saints Row*<sup>2</sup> (Volition 2006–2015), which relays parodic exaggerations.

However, as it was already mentioned, the absence of fat characters – either controlled by the player or non-player characters (NPC) – does not mean that fatness is completely missing from video games. In order to provide clear, easy to understand feedback to players, many humanoid monsters and opponents are designed as fat and large to signal their strength and the higher difficulty levels. According to Sarah Stang (2018 and 2019), the excessive fatness of many video game monsters is, in fact, meant to evoke feelings of contempt, grotesque, and, in consequence, terror. Analysing differences in portrayal of male and female monsters, she states that "fat female monsters and antagonists are constructed as grotesque specifically in connection to their gender, sexuality, and fecundity. Male monsters and antagonists, on the other hand, are presented as grotesque not in relation to their gender but due to their wealth, laziness, compulsive eating habits, or infection" (2018, 2).

When presented not as something to be afraid of and disgusted by, fat can be an object of ridicule in the media. One can give as examples the controversial game entitled *Fat Princess* (Fun Bits Interactive 2009) and its sequel, *Fat Princess Adventures* (Fun Bits Interactive 2015), both published by Sony Computer Entertainment, which parody the "rescue the princess" narratives of many platformer games (Adams 2015, 43). Here, the players need to save the captured princess and bring her back to the base. However, to hinder the opposing team in accomplishing the same task, one needs to feed the other team's princess pieces of cake, which cause her to substantially gain weight, becoming too heavy to be carried.

# Strong, Unapologetic and Sexy: Performing Alternative Femininities

Although the practice of introducing characters belonging to various body types observable by many current independent titles needs to be acknowledged, this article concentrates only on games that feature human or humanoid characters (i.e. with human-like body proportions). Regarding these, one must note that the majority of fat characters perform supporting roles and are not playable.

<sup>2</sup> Saints Row 2 (Volition 2008) includes several Build Presets for the larger frame such as Overweight, Athletic, Obese, Bodybuilder, and Burly. However, the absurd and provocative humour for which the series is known codes the non-normative as comedic and laughable.

Examples of fat characters can be found in visual novel dating simulator titles, which often provide a diverse cast of characters for the player character to romance. Fat characters are available as potential love interests in two titles recognized for their queer and diverse content: *Dream Daddy: A Dad Dating Simulator* (Game Grumps 2017), which features a single father, who can engage in romantic relationships with other single fathers living in the same neighbourhood; and *Monster Prom* (Beautiful Glitch 2018) set in a high school for monsters. Whereas the former subverts the stereotype of associating fatness with laziness by introducing Brian Harding as the highly competitive, proud father of a prodigy daughter, the latter presents a fat woman, who is feminine, sexy and smart.

Monster Prom is notable for its self-referential humour and the inclusive design. This game allows a still rare selection in games options: the player characters can choose the neutral gender pronoun (they/them) for themselves; furthermore, there is no constraint on who can be dated regarding this choice. At the moment of writing this article, there is only one fat woman, who can be dated by a protagonist in a sequel game, Monster Prom: Monster Camp (Beautiful Glitch 2020): Joy Johnson-Johjima, one of the three Witches of the Coven introduced in the original game. While Joy is presented as feminine, wearing clothes with synched waist and emphasized cleavage, her dark make-up and clothes that signal identification with both goth subculture and witchcraft, position her within alternative femininities.<sup>3</sup>

Another example of a woman, whose gender expression is considered non-normative, is Ellie from the second part of the mainstream first-person shooter game series, *Borderlands 2* (Gearbox Software 2012). Borderlands, featuring four main games developed by Gearbox Software, several DLCs, and a spin-off point-and-click adventure game by Telltale Games, is a space western, dystopian science fiction series known for its dark humour and recognizable art style with often exaggerated proportions and traits. Each game features a group of Vault Hunters, mercenaries on a Pandora planet searching for one of the legendary alien Vaults in order to find the treasures buried inside.

Ellie is an NPC character encountered in *Borderlands 2* with a recurring role in *Borderlands 3* (Gearbox Software 2019). As a mechanic specializing in bandit vehicles – and like many characters populating the gameworld – she is independent, unapologetic and strong. She is fat, but also tall with

<sup>3</sup> During the production of *Monster Camp*, the lead artist of the sequel, Tsing Tsing Wu changed the design of the character to represent the fat distribution through the body more accurately, changing the thinner waistline of the character to a more realistic one.

disproportionately short legs, long torso and large breasts, as well as short hair and a heart tattoo on her chest, which is explained to be "a Hodunk clan thing. Kinda like brandin' cattle, but way creepier somehow." Although not much information is given about her personal life, she is revealed to be the daughter of Mad Moxxi, a significant NPC present in all three main segments of the game and several DLCs. The two women have opposite personalities. Moxxie, who is a hostess of Colosseum matches and the owner of several bars on the planet, is portrayed as slim, with a heavy circus make-up and red clothes including a top hat, emphasizing her sadistic and seductive behaviour, which often leads to her many sexual relationships. Ellie, on the other hand, is tall and heavy, with disproportionately large breasts, typically dressed in simple shirts and overalls, emphasizing a much more down-to-earth personality. In one of her dialogue options, Ellie admits that the two them "ain't exactly been on speakin' terms fer a while. Don't get me wrong – love her to death, and if it weren't fer her, I'd be dead. But she thinks a woman ain't worth a damn if she can't fit into a corset, and you can only take so much of that crap" (Borderlands 2).

While it is not known whether Ellie had any romantic relationships, she is definitely not presented as adhering to stereotypes of fat persons as asexual, since she can be heard emphasizing her own sexuality or commenting on others. For example, in Commander Lilith & the Fight for Sanctuary DLC (Gearbox Software 2019): "Me an' that bandit boy with the bod are really hittin' it off, if you catch my subtle and erotic drift." Ellie's body positivity is enforced through her comments, which make it clear that she is not only accepting her body, but is satisfied with it, repeatedly emphasizing its sexual appeal and sexiness. This is further reinforced in the fourth DLC to the second game, Tiny Tina's Assault on Dragon Keep (Gearbox Software 2013) in which Ellie gives the player a quest to procure an armour for her. When the first type found by the player is a metal bikini in a parody of what is now considered a trope of many fantasy and science fiction video games, Ellie rejects it as too small for her ("Have you seen me? That little scrap would't even cover half a tit"). If the player chooses to give her the bikini option instead of the proper armour at the end of the quest, she comments how attractive she looks in it, allowing the player no mockery or shaming of her body. As Kaitlin Tremblay remarks "Just like Moxxi doesn't need the player to dictate her romantic and sexual relationships, Ellie doesn't need the player to affirm for her how sexy she is" (2017, 89).

Ellie represents a strong, independent, and both body- and sex-positive woman, but her femininity once again is coded as non-normative. Female masculinity is the

concept developed by Jack Halberstam, who stressed the importance of analysing masculinity outside of the context of the male, middle class, white body with which it is most often associated (1998, 3). Rather than discussing binary genders, he analysed sets of behaviours and traits that can be considered masculine in people identifying as female, encouraging researchers to explore the ideas of alternative masculinities and femininities through the non-normative and non-conforming behaviour. For Halberstam, female masculinity is most interesting in the context of the "excessive masculinity of the dyke" (1998, 28), since it is less socially accepted than the one performed by heterosexual women. Furthermore, the non-normative gender expressions are more acceptable in women than men; still, both female masculinities and what is sometimes referred to as "soft masculinities" in men (Coles 2008) tend to be subjected to prejudice and abuse.

Despite the positive depiction of these characters, one needs to recognize the dangers of homogenous representations within one medium, which equate fat femininity with alternative modes of expression, as these have the potential to further marginalize rather than normalize fatness. Instead of presenting fat bodies as normal and healthy, these games show them as necessarily queer and, thus, maintain their Otherness. The next section of the article examines further how fat men are queered and how fat women continue to be coded through their sexuality.

### **Queering the Dancing Body**

Felix The Reaper (Kong Orange 2019) is a 3D puzzle game featuring the eponymous Felix, an employee of the Ministry of Death, whose job is to cause fatal and, often, gruesome accidents by manipulating objects in the given environment. Since he can only move in the shadows, the main gameplay mechanic requires players to adjust both the position of the sun and the objects, such as barrels and boxes, to lead him to his goals. This restriction of movement is also significant for the narrative. At the very beginning of the game, it is revealed that the sole reason for which Felix became a grim reaper was his desire to meet Betty the Maiden, the object of his affection and desire. However, the two cannot meet since as an employee of the Ministry of Life she can only move in light. While the game lacks any resolution for this story and the two never meet, it becomes additionally obvious that Betty is unaware of his existence. Furthermore, despite the game's presentation of Felix as a charming and likeable character, it is difficult to perceive his behaviour as anything but obsession-driven stalking. Although all characters portrayed in the game are fat, Felix is still othered through his behaviour, and,

specifically, his constant dancing, which seems to be an object of permanent mockery from the other Reapers. Dancing, which is not controlled by the player, is featured both as an idle animation between the player's actions – being inserted during cut-scenes, - and is used as Felix's walking animation. Although it is not uncommon to incorporate a possibility of dance movements for the comedic effect in multiplayer games such as World of Warcraft (Blizzard Entertainment 2004) or Fortnite (Epic Games 2017), it is however rare for single player games to incorporate a character, whose movement is exclusively limited to dance.<sup>4</sup> The game is narrated by Felix's mysterious manager talking him through his first days of work. Although he directs his commentary as if towards Felix himself, Felix never acknowledges or reacts to it. At the very beginning, the voice comments on the dancing: "Ehm, by the way, about your little quirk... As we've discussed, some of the other Reapers find it somewhat... um... unnerving. So, while you're in the field, do try to keep the dancing to a minimum." While the narrator seems to have certain fondness of Felix, the phrasing and the tone seem patronizing, which in turn structure the player's reading. The narrator repeats this sentiment at the end of the game, commenting on Felix's obsession with Betty the Maiden. Although he admits to being fond of Felix and, even, rooting for his happiness, he brings up his habit of dancing, showing disapproval once more: "whatever instalment of this weird saga you will be serving me next, I will play along, I'm hooked! However, Felix, for the sake of decency, do try to keep the dancing to a minimum!" This continuous positioning of the dancing as unnerving or unwelcome is surprising, considering that through the game neither Felix, nor his habit is ridiculed or shown as clumsy to the player – quite the contrary: his movements are smooth and enjoyable to witness. Thus, the game conveys a contradictory message: while Felix is presented to the player as likeable, the narrator's scolding infantilizes him, indicating clearly that his behaviour is not "proper," hence othering him further.

Recognizing that the act of dancing frequently offers freedom of self-expression to members of marginalized groups, game researchers discussed how dance and movements incorporated in the game experience challenge the stereotypes of tough masculinities connected usually with the gamer identity. Although the dance game genre is dominated by only a few very popular titles, including especially *Dance Dance Revolution* (Konami 1998–2019), *Just Dance* 

<sup>4</sup> One example worth noting is *Bound* (Plastic Studios 2016), which features a woman confronting memories of her parents' divorce through her imagined childhood alter-ego, a Princess, whose movements are based on ballet dancing, evoking the therapeutic properties of dancing (Waszkiewicz 2019).

(Ubisoft 2009–2019) and *Dance Central* (Harmonix Music Systems 2010) it has been thoroughly researched (Behrenshausen 2007, Hutton and Sundar 2010, Charbonneau et al. 2011, Miller 2015, Sterczewski 2015). Furthermore, dance and kinaesthetic theories tend to be used in the context of game embodiment and movement, with Graeme Kirkpatrick stating that video game play is literally a form of dance as he compared the interaction with the controller to dancing with one's hands (2011). *Felix the Reaper* differs substantially from these games since it does not rely on the player's movements, nor does it allow them any influence. Somewhat similarly to Ellie's case, this establishes the independence of the character who – while being controlled by the players – is not affected by their perception and potential prejudices concerning their bodies.

As Jane Desmond argues "dance provides a privileged arena for the bodily enactments of sexuality's semiotics and should be positioned at the centre, not the periphery of sexuality studies" (2001, 3). Despite the absence of prejudices against male dancers in Western cultures prior to the 20th century, when the association between gay culture and dance began to emerge, dancing tends to be perceived currently "as primarily a 'female' art form" (Riser 2009, 58). The heterosexist cultures favouring tough masculinities create contexts in which men, in order to avoid the stigma of homosexuality (regardless of their actual sexuality) avoid activities that tend to be perceived as "feminine, homosexual or unmasculine to any degree" (Riser 2009, 62). Thus, as Grant Tyler Peterson and Eric Anderson note, "homophobia does more than just marginalize gay men; it also regulates and limits the behaviour of straight boys and men" (2012, 5). Even if the male dancing body does challenge the image promoted by tough masculinity, it still continues to signify a body that is slim, lean, and flexible. Although Peterson and Anderson aptly observe the emergence of "inclusive masculinity" and the shift in the perception of male beauty standards in the 1990s, allowing for the creation of the "metrosexual," a label which "has given men a long-awaited popular justification for the ability to associate with femininity and to cross previously stigmatized boundaries of homo-sociality" (2012, 10), there still is no space for the fat male dancing body. In her analysis of the portrayal of young, fat Monica Geller in the TV-series Friends, Niall Richardson comments on the scene in which the character is depicted dancing by herself "for the spectator's amusement" (2010, 83). She furthermore notes that "it is funny to watch a fat person dance [...] because, as so many critics have already considered [...] the fat woman is removed from the scheme of attractiveness given that her size violates traditional ideas of feminine iconography" (2010, 83). In that interpretation, dance is considered inherently erotic and it expresses an "insatiable sexual appetite" (2010, 83) of the dancer, which is denied to fat people.

The paradox of eroticism of dance and the perception of a fat person as unable to seduce anyone is reflected in Felix the Reaper. Despite the patronizing tone of the narrator's comments, which suggest that Felix might have been subjected to mockery from other employees of the Ministry of Death, neither his dancing, nor his weight are meant to be laughed at by the player. Quite the contrary: since the movements do not influence the gameplay, they can be enjoyed just for their smooth animation and the way they help construct Felix's personality and subvert some of the previously discussed stereotypes. However, as it is revealed at the beginning of the game, Felix and Betty never met as "he's fallen in love watching her from the train window commuting to work everyday for ages" (Kong Orange 2019). Furthermore, during the game it becomes obvious that Betty does not reciprocate these feelings as she is unaware of his existence. According to the description, "he's taught himself to dance, because he's convinced, that will win Betty over" (Kong Orange 2019). Dancing, which initially was meant to be a tool of winning over Betty's affection, became an inherent trait of this character, touching perhaps on the beliefs discussed by Richardson.

However, the problems arise regarding the way in which his relationship with Betty is presented, in the end problematizing the representation of non-normative gender roles. Even though Felix is pursuing a relationship that could be interpreted as heterosexual; interestingly, it is hardly coded as heteronormative. Felix's performances of soft masculinity are contrasted by Betty the Maiden, who is almost completely absent from the game and appears only in still pictures. She is clearly meant to represent traits that are completely opposite to those of Felix's. Whereas Felix is shy, she is confidently presenting her almost naked body with body hair showing under her armpits, with her breasts and genitalia covered by what appears to be a pink floral bikini, contrasting with leather gloves and tights. While Felix is driven by emotions, she embodies raw, unapologetic sexuality. Whereas the opposition of soft masculinity performed by a male character and the strong and independent femininity of a woman can be a powerful tool of subverting the heteronormative and heterosexist relationships and expressions of desire, here it fails to fulfil its transgressive potential.

Rather, Felix obsesses over Betty, attempting to replicate the heterosexual relationship model, objectifying her in the process due to the way she chooses to present herself. The game ends somewhat abruptly and lacks a resolution: Betty appears after his last task and he is able to see her from a distance, but

she remains oblivious to his presence in the shadows. The voyeuristic, stalking behaviour was signalled earlier, in the illustrations of Felix's life and thoughts. Hence, he represents a form of failed masculinity both through his behaviour and personality, but also because he does not succeed in his pursuit of a woman.

### **Conclusions**

Acknowledging that because of the scarce representation of fat characters in video games so far, there has been little overlap between game studies and fat studies, the article scrutinized the portrayal of two characters featured in two vastly different games, showing that even the positive representation can be used to signal Otherness by, for example, the construction of fatness as inherently non-normative and necessarily connected to alternative gender identities or performances. In order to be able to subvert the stereotype that fat people are undesirable and asexual, Ellie needs to embrace the alternative and masculine femininity, while Betty's body is stripped of agency and subjectivity, positioned there instead solely as an object of Felix's fixation. Felix, however, defies normative masculinity by his frivolous dancing, which is considered charming only if it is simultaneously coded as naive and childish.

One can only hope that with more, consciously diverse content in upcoming video games, fat representation will become less homogenous, and bring about the normalization of various body types. With more attention devoted to fat representation, video games could become a more significant medium in analyses pertaining to the field of fat studies.

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## **List of Figures**

Figure 1. Different outfits worn by Joy in *Monster Camp*.



Figure 2. Screenshot showing Felix's dancing pose.

