

Discipline Body and Digital Panopticism to Woman Instagram Influencer through Hijab Discourse

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Abstract. *In contemporary society, the migration of interactions among millennials, particularly Muslim women serving as influencers, to digital platforms has spurred an intriguing shift. However, this transition is fraught with complexities as these women encounter digital media panopticism, constraining their liberty of expression. This study delves into the propagation of hijab discourse within millennial influencer circles via digital channels, aiming to unveil the established truths propagated by authoritative figures. Employing Foucault's notion of panopticism, discursive practices, and Howe-Strauss' Millennial generation, this research employs critical constructionism, qualitative methodologies, and in-depth interviews to unravel the pervasive digital panopticism shaping the disciplined digital personas of these influencers. The investigation uncovers how authorities utilize digital panopticism to regulate influencers, aligning with Foucault's theories. This discreet strategy amplifies influence while perpetuating continuous surveillance through participatory transparency. By penalizing deviations from the hijab discourse, authorities instill fear, prompting self-discipline on social media platforms. Despite influencers' vigilance, the opaque nature of control fosters ambiguity, highlighting the subtle yet profound impact of power dynamics in digital spaces. This observation echoes Foucault's discourse on subtle regulatory mechanisms in contemporary society, underscoring the pervasive influence of power dynamics in digital spheres.*

Keywords: *digital panopticism; hijab; millennial generation; social media, panopticon*

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INTRODUCTION

During the past decade, the pervasive integration of the internet has heralded transformative changes in societal interactions, redefining how individuals fulfill their daily needs. This shift, highlighted by Derks and Bakker (2013), encompasses alterations in both physical and psychological patterns of social interaction and communication (Derks & Bakker, 2013). Indonesia exemplifies this era of digital connectivity, where a survey conducted by the Indonesian Internet Service Provider Association (APJII) in 2018 revealed that 54.68% of the population—143.26 million individuals out of a total of 262 million—utilized the internet, with 49.52% of these users falling within the 19-34 age bracket (APJII, 2018).

Of the myriad applications available, social media emerged as the second most utilized category after chat applications, encompassing 87.32% of Indonesia's internet user base in 2017 (APJII, 2018). Notably, Instagram and Facebook dominated the realm, comprising a substantial 78.6% share of global social media application downloads (Bary, 2018). Instagram, in particular, experienced exceptional growth from 22 million users at the onset of 2016 to a staggering 56 million users by April 2018 (Statista, 2018). This surge can be attributed to its unique feature enabling users to share photos and videos, fostering avenues for fame and influence. The individuals who gain such prominence, often referred to as opinion leaders or 'influencers' (de Veirman et

al., 2017), wield considerable power in shaping perceptions within the digital realm.

Foucault's notions of power and discourse find resonance in the dynamics of photo and video-based social media platforms like Instagram. Beyond the positive attributes associated with these platforms, the frequency and manner in which users engage with Instagram's features play a pivotal role in driving their ascent to popularity (Cheung, 2014; Joinson, 2008). The online milieu possesses a remarkable ability to craft impressions through the captivating facets of an individual's digital persona (Scott, 2014). Such popularity within the realm of social media bestows upon individuals the status of opinion leaders capable of exerting substantial influence over their followers.

Georgie Cavanagh, Head of Creator and Brand Collaboration at TRIBE, delineates an 'Instagram influencer' as an individual amassing 3,000 followers on their account (Folia, 2017). This concept underlines the ongoing proliferation of influencers across diverse fields, epitomizing their passion and expertise. Notably, Indonesia boasts a cadre of influencers across varied domains who have garnered substantial followings on Instagram. These influencers, exemplified by figures such as Ria Yunita (@riaricis1795) with 34.7 million followers, Erlinda Yuliana (@Joyagh) in fashion with 645 thousand followers, Gita Savitri Devi (@gitasav) spanning education, politics, and fashion with 909 thousand followers, Retno Hening Palupi in parenting with 1.3 million followers, and Rachel Vennya Roland (@rachelvenya) specializing in family and travel content with 7.3 million followers, contribute diverse content through visual mediums.

Aligned with the preceding data indicating the preponderance of millennials among Instagram users,

Indonesian influencers predominantly belong to this demographic cohort, mirroring Foucault's assertions regarding power dynamics within specific social groups and technologies. This implies that female millennial Instagram influencers warrant further academic investigation, as they have proven to be captivating study subjects. Previous research on female influencers includes "The Influence of Influencer Credibility on Brand Attitudes" (Sugiharto & Ramadhana, 2018). This research shows a significant influence on the credibility of influencer Tasya Farasya on attitudes towards Maybelline products. Apart from this research, Stevani and Junaidi (2021) also researched "The Influence of Influencers on Interest in Buying Women's Fashion Products on Instagram". This research again found a significant influence from influencer Elika Natania on purchasing interest (Stevani & Junaidi, 2021). These two studies show that they used a quantitative approach in their research, and the research respondents were followers, not exploring qualitative data on the influencers. This is the novelty of this research.

Indonesia is a nation that upholds the belief in One Almighty God as one of its ideological tenets. Consequently, the Indonesian populace adheres to belief systems in the form of religions and incorporates religious values as the cornerstone of social interactions across various sectors. As per the Law No. 1/PNPS of 1965, the Ministry of Religious Affairs recognizes six religions in Indonesia: Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Khong Cu (Confucianism) (RI, 1965). Among these recognized religions, Islam boasts the largest number of adherents in Indonesia.

The results of the 2010 population census indicated that 207,176,162 individuals, or 87% of the entire Indonesian

population, adhere to the Islamic faith (BPS, 2010). With such a substantial number, Indonesia stands as the country with the largest Muslim population in the world (Frederick & Worden, 2011). Indonesia is now regarded as a reference point for the global Muslim community, as stated by Moazzam Malik, the British Ambassador to Indonesia (Augusti, 2018). This remarkable prevalence of Islam did not happen overnight. Throughout Indonesia's history, spanning from the colonial era to the struggle for independence and into the present day, Islam has remained a dominant religion and has contributed significantly to each chapter of that history. This condition has made Islam a prominent religion and a powerful social group in Indonesia, influencing various aspects of Indonesian life, including personal life, organization, and politics.

It is worth noting that Indonesia is not a purely Islamic state that enforces Sharia law, as it is not officially designated as an Islamic state in its constitution. However, substantially, Indonesia endeavors to align with Islamic values in its legal framework, culture, and societal norms (Hosen, 2005). The case of regulations concerning the wearing of the hijab in Indonesia can serve as a pertinent example. During the period of 1982-1990, under the New Order regime, there was an attempt to enforce a ban on the hijab in state schools. However, this ban faced strong opposition from the Islamic community, particularly its youth (Jo, 2018). Almost throughout the 1990s, mass demonstrations persisted, demanding the right to wear the hijab in public institutions. Eventually, a decision was issued by the Directorate General of the Ministry of Education that legalized the wearing of the hijab in schools and public spaces (Matanas, 2017).

In their daily lives, Indonesian society endeavors to align their behavior

with the values taught in Islam, encompassing aspects such as attire, speech, interactions with the opposite gender, ritual worship, and gender roles. The issue of gender within Islam is frequently raised and holds a distinct focus, particularly concerning the roles, status, and expected behavior of Muslim women. Aside from the hijab issue during the New Order era, cases such as international regulations in Judo competitions at the Asian Para Games that banned the wearing of the hijab garnered significant criticism from the Indonesian population. It was seen as denying Muslim women their rightful place and participation in the world of sports (M Iqbal Ichsana, 2018), underlining the high degree of attention to Muslim women's issues in Indonesia.

Since the era of social media, Indonesian society has actively embraced changes in lifestyle by using social media as a means of communication and interaction. Pew Research further elaborates that 91% of social media downloads globally are made by individuals aged 18-29 (Pew, 2013). In Indonesia, the Millennial Generation holds particular significance, constituting 33% of the entire population. When considering the working-age population, Millennials make up 60% of Indonesia's productive population and are categorized as a demographic bonus (Moerdijat, 2023). The Millennial Generation plays a pivotal role in the digital world, born during the first introduction of internet technology to Indonesia. Millennial students can access the internet through internet cafes and engage in digital interactions using social media, which has continued to evolve to the point where internet access is now primarily through smartphones (Sebastian et al., 2016).

Currently, access to social media is effortless, and some individuals have become digital stars, with Instagram being

a prime example. Instagram's strength in sharing photos and videos has made it particularly popular among women, as women make up 63% of Instagram users (Jeko, 2016). Indonesian Muslim women are no exception. They use Instagram as a platform to voice their opinions on religion and social issues through their personal accounts, which are followed by hundreds, thousands, or even millions of users (Kavakci & Kraeplin, 2017). With the presence of social media, issues related to Islam have become a series of images, practices, commodities, and knowledge marketed specifically to Muslim women (Kavakci & Kraeplin, 2017).

Muslim women representing their Islamic identity on social media encounter distinct repercussions compared to others. This is especially prominent for influential figures with vast followers, as their posts provoke varied responses—from praise to criticism and bullying. For instance, influencers like Annisa Rahma, Sivia, and Ayana Moon received acclaim for embracing the hijab. At the same time, those perceived as not adhering to Islamic values, such as Marshanda or Vitalia Sesha, faced severe backlash for posting without a hijab. Even seemingly modest actions, like Ria Yunita's poses or Gita Savitri's travel posts with her partner, triggered criticism. These reactions reflect a form of social control, causing Muslim women to carefully assess their content before sharing, fearing misalignment with Islamic values and potential criticism. This scrutiny influences their choices in engaging with followers through uploaded content.

In the concept introduced by Foucault (1980), the phenomenon of individual caution in behavior that arises due to a sense of being observed by one's surroundings and the fear of facing sanctions is referred to as panopticism (Foucault, 1995). However, the concept of panopticism emerged in the 1980s,

when the internet and social media did not dominate human communication and interaction. *Ipsa facto*, it is necessary to analyze how the concept of panopticism prevailed among millennial Muslim women in the era of digital communication. Therefore, this study attempts to answer the research question: "How is the Form of Digital Panopticism through Hijab Discourse on Millennial Hijaber Influencers?". This research is expected to enrich the studies related to social surveillance and discipline and deepen the concept of discourse and panopticism originally formulated by Foucault within the context of digital media and the Millennial generation. Additionally, this study aims to identify the symbols and processes of panopticism within specific digital media discourses. This research is centered on the scrutiny of discourses related to religiosity among digital media users, particularly focusing on Millennial generation female influencers who wear the hijab. By employing Foucault's concept of panopticism, the study aims to contextualize it within the realm of digital media, particularly on social media platforms, within the currently dominant generation, namely the Millennial generation.

To address the research question effectively, it is essential to establish connections between the key theories that form the foundational framework for the analysis in this research.

Power and Game of Truth in Discourse

Foucault, in his book entitled *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, proposed the concept of power as interrelated links forming a system that results from the transformation process, reinforcement, sustainable change, confrontation as to find steady forms that complement, support, and constitute power. The interrelated link is then institutionally crystallized in state

institutions, policy-making and social hegemony. Thus, power is produced continuously through family, production machinery, small groups and state official institutions, and the power relations are ubiquitous. The power could be perpetuated into laws that affirm right or wrong. In this case, power would defend the right. These laws are then put on the institutions for the truth to spread within the community member and continuously to be assembled. Foucault explained that the institutions, which refer to hospitals, prisons, mental hospitals, schools, factories, etc, are defined in scientific knowledge and imprinted into the memory in which humans could be a place for the truth and power to emerge and discourse to be accepted. (O'Farrell, 2005).

Panopticism

Foucault (1975) stated that panopticism is the concept of strategy, methods, tactics and means to construct a disciplined society (Foucault, 1995). The concepts rest on the model of the Panopticon prison building initiated by J. Bentham in 1791 and then used as a

metaphor in the institutional context in disciplined societies (Gehring, 2017). The concept of panopticism came into view when there was a change of individual conquest patterns in society by the authorities. Initially, to preserve power, the authority used vicious and sadistic laws for community members, violating the rules, which were dangerous and opposed the power (Foucault, 1995). To work out panopticism, the authorities created transparent prisons in the form of social institutions like hospitals, schools, families, etc and placed the prisoners under surveillance. The prisoners would be aware that they were being watched consistently by watchmen in that institution. However, they could not see the watchmen because the tower placed them in a “dark spot” area (Bozovic, 2010). In such situation, prisoners would try to discipline themselves according with the existing discourse to be productive for the sake of the authority (Galič et al., 2017).

Institutions, akin to prisons, serve as agents of discourse socialization by enforcing rules and penalties. Macionis (2007) highlights that societal values and

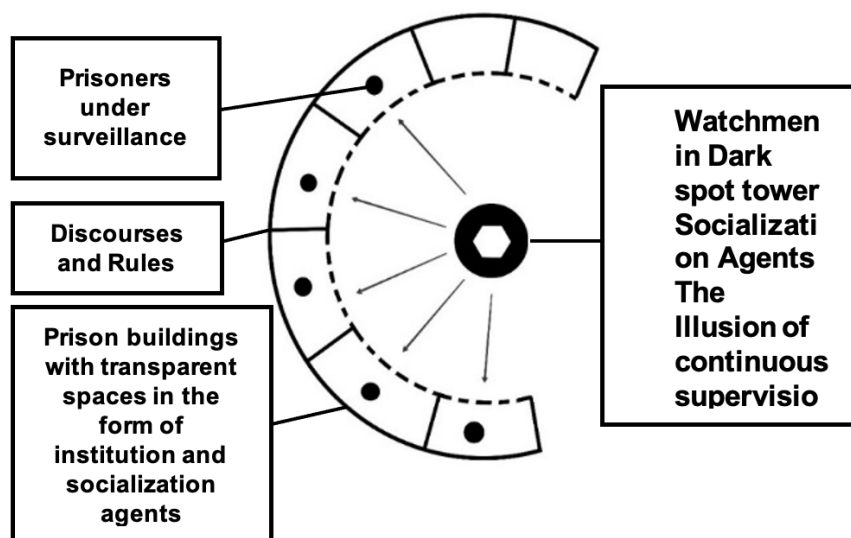


FIGURE 1. Illustration of Panopticism (Source: Researcher)

norms are instilled through socialization, commencing with the family's pivotal role in shaping attitudes and behavior, often influenced by the family's societal standing (Macionis, 2007). Peer groups, sharing interests and age, also contribute, fostering short-term interests and offering respite from adult supervision. The generational gap prompts youngsters to establish relationships and discuss interests within their peer circles. Schools impart knowledge and skills crucial for the subsequent phases of life, exposing children to social diversity, including aspects like social status and race. Mass media, crucial in modern society, disseminates broad-scale information, exposing diverse issues and cultures. The concept of panopticism has evolved with social media, subtly integrating into entertainment and marketing via platforms like YouTube and other social media, enabling supervision and surveillance (Lyon, 2007).

Religiosity, Hijab and Hijabers

Societal collective consciousness often link the hijab to specific attire worn by women, defining an identity intertwined with value systems like ethics or decorum (Nuronyah, 2017). Additionally, the hijab is a religious directive present in the Quran, referenced in various verses such as al-A'raf (7): 46, al-Isra' (17): 45, Maryam (19): 17, Al-Ahzab (33): 53, Sad (38):32, Fussilat (41): 5, Al-Syura(42): 51, Al-Mutaffifin (83): 15, Al-Hadid (57):13. These verses offer diverse interpretations, depicting the hijab as a material barrier (wall, line, fence), a faith-based demarcation, a relational distance, a veil, women's attire, symbolic dust, a divine separator between God and His servants, among others. Hijab could also be one of the religious practices that regulate how a Muslim woman wears their clothes in everyday life as well as their behavior

towards the opposite sex. These practices aim to maintain the balance of social and sexual life in society. The rule of clothing in the religion also involves the rules of covering genitals as well as social action to the opposite sex. However, there has been a debate regarding covering genitals between males' and females's. Thus various interpretations have arisen (Shihab, 2004).

The term 'hijaber' is derived from the combination of 'hijab' and the suffix '-er,' signifying 'one who wears a hijab.' This concept aligns with analogous terminologies such as 'hijabistas' (a blend of 'hijab' and 'fashionista') or 'hijabsters' (merging 'hijab' and 'hipster'), observed in various regions including Malaysia, Singapore, the Middle East, North America and the UK (Lewis, 2015; Moors & Tarlo, 2013; Tarlo, 2010). The term 'hijaber' gained popularity in Indonesia following its introduction by influential figures like Dian Pelangi, Jenahara, Ria Miranda, and Ghaida Tsuraya in 2011(Baulch & Pramiyanti, 2018). Hijabers were originally identified as a dressing style worn by Muslim women in western countries. Then, it has gradually become a fashion trend for Muslim women in Indonesia. This new hijab trend was considered the surrogate for the old hijab style, which was outdated. Hijab is now a new term to show the fashion trends of Muslim women in modern countries. The term hijab is then commonly used, replacing the old one, although the meaning is similar. It is a headscarf that means a barrier. Thus it could apply to the context of genitals barrier as well (Bi, 2018).

New Digital Media, Social Media and Instagram

New digital media is interactive media or "computer-mediated communication" (CMC) that refers to a series of phenomena. New digital media

is a drastic change in a technological experience consisting of interactions between new technologies and pre-existing media. Lister, et al (2003) further explained five main characteristics in the discourse on new digital media: digital, hypertextual, separation and virtual (Lister et al., 2003). One of the new digital media consumed by people is social media. It is a collection of 2.0 network-based platforms, including services and supporting practices for collaboration, community development, interactivity, participation and sharing among users (Owusu-Acheaw & Larson, 2015). Instagram is the most downloaded social media application is Instagram: an easy and fast photo and video uploading application (Kennedy, 2015). The features on Instagram allow someone to be influencer, someone who has high values as an “opinion leader” in social media (de Veirman et al., 2017).

Millennial Generation

Berkup(2014)describedtheconcept of the generation as a group of people who were born, grew and lived in a period of time (Berkup, 2014). According to Howe and Strauss (2000), millennials are the generation born in 1982-1998 (Howe & Strauss, 2000). The characteristics of the millennial generation are: special, protected and close to parents, confident and courageous in expressing opinions, group-oriented and social-minded and connected.

METHOD

In this study, the researchers used the critical constructionist paradigm. This paradigm is between the critical and constructive paradigms, meaning that the critical constructionist paradigm uses the goodness criteria belonged to the critical paradigm. The spirit is to understand but also empower, although not to the point of dismantling reality. However,

one more criterion is not included in this study, which is empowerment of action. A qualitative approach is used for the research approach. This study conducted an in-depth interview and recorded it. Creswell J., (2007) called this methods oral history or recorded in-depth interviews (Creswell, 2007).

Three participants were chosen using purposive sampling (Yow, 2005). The criteria of the selections were the participants must wear modern hijab fashion, be influencers on Instagram, and have a minimum number of followers of 3000 (Folia, 2017), have a high total number of likes above 1000 (de Veirman et al., 2017), and a fair number of following (Cresci et al., 2015), actively use the features provided by Instagram to communicate with the followers. The participants also have experiences of being bullied or having seen other hijaber influencers being bullied for their clothes or behaviors related to their religion identity. The age range of informants was around 20-36 years, and they were born in 1982-1998 (Howe & Strauss, 2000). The analysis method for this research used data reduction and thematic analysis (Creswell, 2007).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

To analyze the digital propagation of hijab discourse among millennial influencers involves revealing manipulated truths by authorities and identifying digital panopticism within social media’s hijab discourse and its role in shaping disciplined digital, researchers obtain the data for this studyby conducting in-depth interviews with three key informants. Based on the agreement with the informants, name information would be anonymous. Thus, the name would be written using pseudonyms.

Socialization Agents in real life

The discourse of hijab that

TABLE 1. General Description of The Informant (Source: Researcher)

Description	Informant 1	Informant 2	Informant 3
Age	25 years old Only child	31 years old Oldest child of three	24 years old Second child of three; Jakarta
Family	Parents; Majalengka-Tasik	Parents; Lampung	
Academic	State School	State school <i>Endorser</i>	State school <i>Endorser</i>
Occupation	<i>Endorser, Digital marketing online shop agency</i>	R e p o r t e r / Broadcaster <i>Junior Producer</i>	<i>Campaign produk</i> <i>Co-Host</i>
Instagram Profile	<i>Followers +/- 10.700, Likes 100-1500, Comments 10-60</i>	<i>Followers +/- 88.800, Likes 1000-8000, Comments 100-300</i>	<i>Followers +/- 10.300, Likes 100-850, Comments 10-2500</i>
Appearance	Not so tight, a bit loose, wearing pants, hijab covered all hair, not covering the chest part.	Not so tight, a bit loose, loose pants, hijab covered all hair, not covering the chest part.	Not so tight, a bit loose, loose pants, hijab covered all hair, not covering the chest part.
Religiosity shown on Instagram	Consistently wearing hijab, no public display of affection, loose clothes, polite, and kind.	Consistently wearing hijab, no public display of affection, loose clothes, polite, kind.	Consistently wearing hijab, no public display of affection, loose clothes, polite, kind, sharing religious knowledge.

socialized in family institutions consisted of the obligation to practice prayer, read the Koran and wear hijab. However, the obligation of wearing hijab was suggested by the informants' mother. The mother said that wearing a hijab could be done gradually while convincing themselves to wear it consistently. Hijab discourse that socialized by educational institutions and peer groups, consisting of schoolmates, religious friends, religious teachers and office friends, was the obligation to wear a syar'i hijab, a long veil to cover the chest area and the entire female genitalia with loose clothes. But they were not obliged to wear a veil, socks or gloves.

The purpose of wearing a hijab is to protect oneself. Wearing a hijab could be done gradually or could be referred to as "processing". The three informants also received a discourse that wearing a hijab in a good manner in accordance with the religion that must be obeyed. The dominant parties socializing such discourse were religious teachers. The discourse was delivered through two discursive practices: explanation and bullying. From those two practices, there were three results, namely rejecting and not behaving religiously, rejecting yet still practicing religious behavior, and accepting it fully.

Power and Games of Truth in Discourse on Hijab in Social Media

The game of truth that was found in the life of a hijab influencer was no different from the discourse that they had delivered to themselves so far. Some things could be found in the game of truth; every game and discourse are delivered through social media, and there are no scientifically basic details or cause and effect for the discourse. The discourse did not mention the gradual process of wearing hijab and religious behaviour to the informants. The discourse on digital media regarding the hijab is obligatory. It must cover the genitals and the whole body, followed by religious behavior, such as not celebrating other religion days. Discursive practices shown are explanations through images, writing and video.

Social Media as a Panopticism Prison Room

Informants as Influencers did not put restriction access on their accounts so the followers or random accounts could freely click on the profile and see their posts. There were two reasons as to why informants upload their content on Instagram: personal and business. The informants were aware of the surveillance for whatever they uploaded on their accounts, whether through follower feature, viewer, like or comment section. This kind of surveillance is different from surveillance. Surveillance like this does not imply that someone is monitoring it but instead constitutes subconscious social control. The negative comments made these informants uncomfortable and afraid of getting any of those negative comments. This feeling of fear caused the informants to be cautious before uploading content on their social media accounts. Negative comments showed up when the informants uploaded content indicating they were not disciplined

or were not in the state of proper hijab discourse. The form of those negative comments is usually verbal abuses, strong rebukes and criticisms. This kind of comments become considerations as the form of self-discipline.

Regarding the Body Discipline of the Millennial Hijaber Influencer

There is normalization in the digital panopticism of millennial hijaber influencers. Due to their role as influencers, they know they will forever be watched and criticized. This is the risk that the influencers must take as part of the job. Nevertheless, these informants are part of the millennial generation that could be against the given discourse. These informants rebel by limiting the communication between accounts that left negative comments, thus preventing them from commenting or limiting access to watch the content of influencers or arguing with those accounts.

In this study, hijaber influencers are a member of the community bound to any kind of institution regulating their daily lives. These institutions provide discourse socialization through social agents, as well as provide disciplinary strategies for themselves to become useful and productive members of society. One of the discourses given to Hijaber Influencers is the discourse of the hijab. It is delivered to the hijaber influencers related to the boundaries of genital, how to dress according to the religion, religious behaviour and its laws. The discourse on boundaries of the genitals discussed whether or not a female's face and hands must be covered. On the other hand, the discourse on religious behavior consists of one must behave around the opposite sex and not celebrating other religious days. The discourse on how to dress includes wearing a loose-clothes, not-so-tight clothes, having to wear a skirt, and not showing certain body parts

of Muslim women. These discourses are not legally written. Some Muslim women choose to follow the discourse, but some do not. The hijab discourse on the boundaries of this genitalia is indeed a hot topic among Muslim adherents. Genital/aurat is a body part that must be covered so as not to cause embarrassment and disappointment (Kementarian Agama RI, 2012). The body parts that must be covered are still in debate. The difference is that which boundaries must be covered and not (Roald, 2011). The informants also learned the discourse on the boundaries of genital, and it became a separate contestation of discourse. Also, the discourse on celebrating other religious days was perceived as a form of discourse contestation they needed to handle. These discourses were delivered by social agents such as family, educational institutions, the media and the peer group. The discourse is delivered through diverse discursive practices that include explanation, behaviour, blasphemy or bullying, images, writing and videos.

In the discourse on hijab, influencers in the digital age shape recognized truths through social media, influencing followers' behavior. Indonesian millennials, deeply entrenched in the digital realm, view influencers as trendsetters, emulating their lifestyles meticulously. This strategic role of influencers in propagating hijab discourse embodies authoritative truths enforced through digital panopticism. This constant surveillance subtly molds behaviors, aligning individuals with societal norms as outlined by Foucault's concept of power (Foucault, 2002). Galič, Timan, & Koops (2017) explain this meticulous control, emphasizing the transparent 'prison' of the human body as a means to instill disciplined behavior (Galič et al., 2017).

Participatory transparent space

Active influencers could increase their followers and the content value. This could be profitable for them as they have the highest opinion. The hijab influencers for this study did not use the Close Friend feature or restrictions on the audience. This means the influencers gave people the freedom to look and see their accounts and posts daily. They may also actively upload popular and interesting content in the community that will be consumed by their followers. At the same time, they provide data about themselves to the public massively. There is no impulse, compulsion or threat to their transparency against other Instagram users. The influencers, however could restrict themselves regarding their privacy, although the transparent character would still be present.

Control Tower and Comments as Punishment

After the prisoners are put in a transparent space that holds back their bodies, in this discipline, a supervisor is placed in the tower to watch every move of the prisoner and s/he provides punishment if the prisoner violated the rules. On Instagram, influencers' followers actively conduct this surveillance. Instagram accounts following Influencers would be viewed through the number of followers, viewers, likes and comments displayed by Instagram. In terms of punishment, negative comments such as blasphemy and a strong rebuke sent to the influencers could hurt even without touching their body. This awareness, feeling of anxiety, and fear of punishment caused the hijaber influencers to be careful and to think before uploading the posts. Hijab Influencers would always look at the discourses they had received through the digital supervisor and recheck whether they violated the rules when they had negative comments. Even if they violate

some rules in a conscious state, they know the consequences of the bitter punishment they would receive as blasphemy and reprimand. Therefore, the influencers who want to upload content with their husbands would think twice. This is because, if the content involves intimacy, it would lead them to reconsider their desire to upload the photo and change it to decent, normal photo, as they were taught on hijab discourse. Hijab influencers wearing tight clothes would try to loosen their clothes to suit the hijab discourse on digital media so that they are not labelled as “JILBOOB” hijabers.

The efforts of discipline and constant surveillance would give the influencers an awareness of themselves. The individual awareness of being watched would make them more responsible for themselves and enable them to internalize and adjust themselves to the existing rules and norms without being forced. Power automatically runs in subjugated individuals (Gehring, 2017).

Normalization and Digital Rebellion

The normalization of digital panopticism within the realm of millennial hijab-wearing influencers signifies a compelling phenomenon. This normalization is a consequence of their influencer status, entailing an inescapable gaze and potential critique—a nuanced risk inherent in the social media landscape for contemporary public personas. The omnipresent surveillance serves as a form of oversight and cultivates a sense of circumspection among these individuals. This normalization, crucially, enables them to sustain their social media presence by acknowledging surveillance while consciously aligning their conduct with the discourse surrounding the hijab.

Nevertheless, despite the normalization process, it is evident that informants do not strictly conform to the entirety of the discourse. This

divergence emerges from occasional acts of defiance against imposed surveillance and sanctions. This particular millennial cohort demonstrates a predisposition towards challenging the discursive frameworks they encounter. Such dissent manifests itself through both subtle and explicit means: covertly, by limiting interactions with accounts generating negative commentary, thereby nullifying their surveillance capability, and overtly, by engaging in direct argumentation with accounts expressing dissent toward their content.

This behavioral pattern resonates with the distinctive traits of the millennial generation, characterized by their confidence in pursuing their perceived moral compass and their willingness to express opinions that might challenge established norms boldly. When contextualizing these behaviors within the familial socialization framework, this rebellion finds its roots in the discourse surrounding the hijab within the informant’s family sphere. This underscores the perception that the hijab represents a journey aligning with deeply held personal convictions.

The nexus between these behaviors and the familial socialization dynamics accentuates how this rebellion emanates from the discourse surrounding the hijab, emphasizing its resonance with individual moral convictions.

Disciplined Digital Body of Female Millennial Generation

In the realm of social media -Instagram, contemporary hijab-wearing millennial influencers exhibit disciplined conduct by blending normalization and rebellious acts. These influencers showcase a discernible pattern of behavior marked by strict adherence to certain norms. Firstly, they meticulously curate their posts, ensuring that images and videos of attire refrain from revealing

tight clothing, keeping modesty intact, and avoiding accentuating specific body features, such as hair. Secondly, these influencers maintain disciplined behavioral standards on social platforms, abstaining from intimate interactions with individuals of the opposite sex, irrespective of marital status, and steering clear of hate speech or conflicts. Lastly, their disciplined presentation of various hijab-related discourses inadvertently positions them as unintentional monitors for followers who may not fully comply with prevailing discussions on hijab etiquette in the digital space.

CONCLUSION

In examining the research findings, it is evident that digital media's supervisory mechanisms resemble panopticism, observed notably through social media accounts vigilantly monitoring incarcerated individuals' content. These accounts swiftly mete out punitive measures, manifesting as negative commentary when uploaded content deviates from prevailing truths. Within this digital panopticon, hijab-wearing influencers meticulously curate their social media presence, showcasing attire and daily conduct with meticulous care, effectively embodying body discipline. Through their disciplined online personas, these influencers assume quasi-authoritative roles, extending their supervision to others within the digital 'prison'. The discourse surrounding the hijab encompasses discussions on aura boundaries, Sharia-compliant clothing, and religious conduct conveyed through diverse media formats on social platforms. Acts of normalization and occasional rebellion against digital panopticism by these influencers have evolved into a consolidating force, perpetuating power dynamics over extended periods. Ultimately, the sum of these panoptic processes and resulting disciplined

behaviors contribute to a corpus of knowledge elucidating the subjugation experienced by Muslim women on social media, fortifying prevailing power structures entrenched within hijab discourse.

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