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NETNOGRAPHIC STEREOTYPES OF MUSLIM WOMEN ON INSTAGRAM: A GENDER DYNAMICS IN COMEDY CONTENT

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Abstrak

Kata Kunci:

Gender, Stereotip, Representasi, Media sosial

Studi ini mencoba untuk menganalisis stereotip gender yang disematkan kepada perempuan Muslimah sebagai subjek lelucon dan ejekan di Instagram. Stereotip tersebut umumnya mengarah pada citra diri Muslimah yang sombong, egois, pembuat masalah dan tampak bodoh. Studi ini menggunakan pendekatan netnografis, di mana data diperoleh melalui observasi pada konten komedi pada media Instagram, lalu dianalisis menggunakan model data interaktif analisis Miles, Hubermann, dan Saldana. Hasil studi ini menemukan, bahwa stereotip wanita Muslimah di ruang virtual terbentuk dari konstruksi sosial yang bias gender di ranah faktual. Konstruksi ini digunakan oleh para content creator sebagai bahan untuk merancang konten Instagram penuh lelucon dan ejekan pada kaum perempuan. Bahkan tidak sedikit munculnya stereotip tersebut didorong oleh motif ekonomi dari sang "pemilik" akun. Dari sinilah diperlukan adanya penguatan kesadaran diri para content creator dalam mencitrakan diri dan merepresentasikan kaum perempuan. Sebuah kesadaran diri yang egaliter dan tidak bias gender, baik dalam ranah factual maupun virtual.

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Abstract

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media

This study attempts to analyze the gender stereotypes embedded in Muslim women as the subject of jokes and blasphemy on Instagram. These stereotypes generally lead to the image of Muslims as arrogant, selfish, troublemakers, and stupid. The study uses a netnographic approach, in which data is obtained through observations of comedy content on Instagram, then analyzed using interactive data models analyzed by Miles, Huberman, and Saldana. The results of this study found that the stereotype of Muslim women in the virtual space is formed by a gender-biased social construction in the field of fact. This construction was used by content creators as a material to design Instagram content full of jokes and gossip about women. Even the emergence of such stereotypes is driven by the economic motives of the “owners” of the account. It is from here that there is a need to strengthen the self-awareness of content creators in self-imagining and representing women. An egalitarian and non-gender consciousness, both factual and virtual.

Introduction

This study attempts to analyze gender stereotypes that represent Muslim women as the subject of jokes and ridicule on social media, especially on Instagram. Let alone now that social media has become the main menu of people's social lives. A study by Pokhriyal *et al.* shows that social media have become a link for every social actor,¹ and according to the findings of a study by Touloupis *et al.*, this has the potential for indiscriminate use of social media.² Therefore, the patriarchal mentality is clearly visible in every comment that is continuously reproduced on social media.³ Moreover, there is still an opinion that women are creatures who

¹ Neeti Pokhriyal, Benjamin A. Valentino, and Soroush Vosoughi, “Quantifying Participation Biases on Social Media,” *EPJ Data Science* 12, no. 1 (2023): 1–20, <https://epjdatascience.springeropen.com/articles/10.1140/epids/s13688-023-00405-6>.

² Thanos Touloupis, Maria Sofologi, and Dimitrios Tachmatzidis, “Pattern of Facebook Use by University Students During the COVID-19 Pandemic Relations with Loneliness and Resilience,” *Social Network Analysis and Mining* 13, no. 1 (2023): 1–16, <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s13278-023-01073-0>.

³ Kubra Kucuksen, “Perception of Gender Equality in New Media,” *International Journal of Human Sciences* 13, no. 1 (2016): 1285–1292, <https://www.ij-humansciences.com/ojs/index.php/IJHS/article/view/3565>.

lack the ability of reasoning and religion⁴ and are attached to crime.⁵ Thus, it is reasonable that the characters of men and women on social media are perceived in stereotypical ways.⁶

Social media "seems to be" a place to create negative and discriminatory stereotypes of women. This is in line with the findings of a study by Munoz & Salido-Fernandez that Twitter as a public channel still has room for imbalance in gender representation⁷ or even for demonstrating sex stereotypes, like the findings of a study by King & Carley.⁸ However, a study by Nunez-Roman *et al.* shows that Twitter is used as a medium to spread gender activism through inclusive language.⁹ However, the findings of a study by Bonet-Marti show that anti-feminism discourse also appears on Twitter as a counter-movement to the

⁴ Fatma Khattab, "Gender and Sexuality in Islamic Teachings vs. Human Rights 2017: A Literature Review," *Portuguese Journal of Political Science* 9 (2018): 73–88, <http://rpcp.pt/index.php/rpcp/article/view/18>; Mazni Abdullah and Noor Sharoja Sapiei, "Do Religiosity Gender, and Educational Background Influence Zakat Compliance? The Case of Malaysia," *International Journal of Social Economics* 45, no. 8 (2018): 1250–1264, <https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/IJSE-03-2017-0091/full/html>; Ariana Suryorini, "Menelaah Feminisme dalam Islam," *Sawwa: Jurnal Studi Gender* 7, no. 2 (2012): 21–36, <https://journal.walisongo.ac.id/index.php/sawwa/article/view/647>; Elisabeth Kirtsoglou, *For The Love of Women: Gender, Identity and Same-Sex Relation in a Greek Provincial Town* (London: Routledge, 2004), <https://www.routledge.com/For-the-Love-of-Women-Gender-Identity-and-Same-Sex-Relations-in-a-Greek/Kirtsoglou/p/book/9780415310314>.

⁵ Adrienne L. Eastwood, "A Tribe of Roaring Girl: Crime and Gender in Early Modern England," *Exploration in Renaissance Culture* 44, no. 2 (2018): 202–219, https://brill.com/view/journals/erc/44/2/article-p202_202.xml.

⁶ Yijing Guo, "The Impact of Media on Adolescents' Perceptions of Gender Roles," *6th International Seminar on Education, Management and Social Sciences (ISEMSS)* (2022): 2874–2882, <https://www.atlantis-press.com/proceedings/iseemss-22/125982174>.

⁷ Ana Maria Munoz Munoz and Juana Salido-Fernandez, "Gender Biases in the Social Networks of Regional Public Media: The Case of @CsurNoticias' Twitter," *Revista Latina de Comunicacion Social* 2024, no. 82 (2024): 46–61, <https://nuevaepoca.revistalatinacs.org/index.php/revista/article/view/2061>.

⁸ Catherine King and Kathleen M. Carley, "Gender Dynamics on Twitter During the 2020 U.S. Democratic Presidential Primary," *Social Network Analysis and Mining* 13, no. 1 (2023): 1–15, <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s13278-023-01045-4>.

⁹ Francisco Nunez-Roman, Alejandro Gómez-Camacho, and Coral I. Hunt-Gómez, "Gender-Inclusive Textisms: How Spanish-Speaking Educational Communities Promote Linguistic Innovations on Twitter," *Linguistics and Education* 76 (2023): 101191, <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0898589823000463>.

mainstreaming of gender rhetoric.¹⁰ Today, the stereotypes of women, especially those related to education, are constantly changing, so the culture and gender system are also changing.¹¹

However, factually, there are still Instagram accounts that contain negative stereotypes against women, so they are detected as not representing egalitarian stereotypes between genders. There are even Instagram accounts that show the figures of men acting as women who have despicable, stupid, and weak attitudes and characters. On the contrary, the findings of a study by Loncar *et al.* show that women actually want to leave a positive impression on Instagram by editing their photos.¹² Thus, it is reasonable that the findings of a study by Abrante & Carballeire show that positive body image influences their image on Instagram¹³—and thus that action is a reasonable action, as shown in the findings of a study by Papageorgiou *et al.*¹⁴ Therefore, the emergence of these stereotypes cannot be separated from the culture and gender system that develop in society, so it affects the mindset and behavior of the owners of Instagram accounts. These dynamics were recognized by Geertz, who found that the constructions of gender in Indonesian society do not show justice based on egalitarian principles.¹⁵

The strong influence of the culture and gender system has given rise

¹⁰ Jordi Bonet-Marti, “Analysis of Discursive Strategies Used in the Construction of the Anti-Feminist Discourse Networks,” *Psicoperspectivas* 19, no. 3 (2020), <https://www.psicoperspectivas.cl/index.php/psicoperspectivas/article/view/2040>.

¹¹ Andrei Boutyline, Alina Arseniev-Koehler, and Devin J Cornell, “School, Studying, and Smarts: Gender Stereotypes and Education Across 80 Years of American Print,” *Social Forces* 102, no. 1 (2023): 263–286, <https://academic.oup.com/sf/article-abstract/102/1/263/7008118>.

¹² Marija Lončar, Zorana Šuljug Vučica, and Larisa Hržić, “Instagram: A Contribution to Sociological Research of Youth Activities on Social Networks,” *Medijska Istrazivanja* 29, no. 1 (2023): 83–105, <https://hrcak.srce.hr/clanak/439511>.

¹³ Desire Abrante and Monica Carballeire, “Self-Exposure on Instagram and BMI: Relations with Body Image among Both Genders,” *Europe's Journal of Psychology* 19, no. 2 (2023): 180–191, <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/37731893/>.

¹⁴ Alana Papageorgiou, Colleen Fisher, and Donna Crossa, “It Just Sends the Message That You're Nothing But Your Body” a Qualitative Exploration of Adolescent Girls' Perceptions of Sexualized Image on Social Media,” *Sexuality Culture* 27, no. 2 (2023): 462–481, <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12119-022-10022-6>.

¹⁵ Hildred Geertz, *Keluarga Jawa*, Peterj.: Hersri, (Jakarta: Grafiti Press, 1983), 23.

to discriminatory expressions and actions that corner women's positions through jokes or ridicule. On Instagram, there are posts of jokes or ridicule that are negatively stereotyped against women. However, these jokes and ridicule represent the nature and characters of Muslim women, who are considered part of the social life of Indonesian society. Thus, it is reasonable that the findings of a study by Rosyidah and Nurwati show that gender is a demographic variable that has the influence of forming a new identity for Instagram users (read: social media users).¹⁶ Because hegemony over culture and gender systems in social society is transmitted into the construction of values and norms in cyberspace. This pattern is almost similar to the findings of a study by Romo-Aviles *et al.* that describe the spread of the ideal model of "alcohol consumption" via Instagram while hiding the harmful effects of the substance.¹⁷

These inherent stereotypes create an image of women as arrogant, selfish, troublemakers, and stupid. However, this negative image is considered valid, natural, and suitable for classifying content material that has the nuances of jokes or ridicule on Instagram. As a result, this content can attract the attention of netizens and is trending as entertainment content. However, this pattern is very different from the performance of feminists on Instagram, who tend to use graphic designs that have become popular culture imaginary.¹⁸ Therefore, gender stereotypes that are considered entertainment content need to be analyzed so that the meaning behind the dynamics of Instagram accounts can be understood. These gender stereotypes cannot be separated from the culture and gender system that exist in social society, so the nuances of egalitarian relations in

¹⁶ Feryna Nur Rosyidah and Nunung Nurwati, "Gender dan Stereotipe: Konstruksi Realitas dalam Media Sosial Instagram," *Share Social Work Journal* 9, no. 1 (2019): 10–19, <https://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/share/article/view/19691>.

¹⁷ Nuria Romo-Aviles, Laura Pavón-Benítez, and Pilar Tarancón Gómez, "Keeping Your Composure": A Digital Ethnography of Gendered Alcohol Norms on Instagram," *International Journal of Drug Policy* 112 (2023): 103936, <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0955395922003528?via%3Dihub>.

¹⁸ Sofia P. Caldeira, "Instagrammable Feminisms: Aesthetics and Attention-Seeking Strategies on Portuguese Feminist Instagram," *Convergence* 0, no. 0 (2023), <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/13548565231171048>.

factual and virtual worlds are difficult to realize. Even based on the pretext of "for the sake of entertainment," Instagram content that contains jokes and ridicule is far from the principle of gender justice, so the dignity of Muslim women falls.

This study focuses on comedy content that has discriminatory tendencies against women by using a gender approach. Specifically, this study analyzes the development of comedy content activities through uploading photos and short videos on Instagram. The selection of Instagram accounts is based on considerations, including, *first*, whether those accounts have original photo and video content from their creativity; *second*, whether those accounts have a larger number of followers compared to other Instagram accounts; *third*, whether those accounts have a larger number of likes compared to other Instagram accounts; and *fourth*, whether those accounts upload videos and photos actively and regularly. The number of Instagram accounts that fit these considerations needs to be filtered and specified in line with the research theme, so the researchers carried out filtering, namely, *first*, filtering the content of interest by selecting content that contains comedy—especially content that contains roles using women attributes by men; *second*, selecting comedy content that contains parodies related to Muslim women such as women who wear headscarves, veils, robes, and others; and *third*, focusing on comedy content that makes Muslim women the subject of jokes and ridicule. Based on these considerations and filtering, several Instagram accounts were obtained, as listed in the table (1):

No.	Name of Instagram Accounts	Status	Number of Upload	Number of Followers
1.	Mimi Peri Rapunchelle ID @mimi.peri (Object of Research)	Blue tick	2.812	1.900.000
2.	Mak Beti ID @mamakbeti	Blue tick	1.238	893.000
3.	Warintil Official ID @warintilofficial	Blue tick	464	487.000

Table (1): Instagram Accounts Identity.

This identity indicates that the blue check mark is a marker of the authenticity and uniqueness of an Instagram user. At the same time, the number of followers shows the high popularity of the account. Thus, the blue tick indicator and many followers are the main reasons for observing the correct Instagram account. This research uses paradigmatic gender as a perspective and an approach by demonstrating stereotypes originating from culture and patriarchal systems attached to women. The paradigmatic assumption in this research is that gender is a socially constructed entity that is standardized and attached to a particular sexual group, namely women. However, this entity opens the hegemonic space for men over women and causes losses and oppression of women.

Therefore, this study used a qualitative approach with a netnographic type to understand and interpret the dynamics of gender stereotypes that represent Muslim women as the subject of jokes and ridicule on social media, especially on Instagram. Of course, the results of this research are not intended or oriented to generalize conclusions. Research data were collected through observation techniques on Instagram content and literature searches from previous studies. After the data were collected, data analysis was carried out using the principle of ongoing analysis, which is carried out through a repetitive pattern of simultaneous data collection and analysis. The analysis model used was the Miles, Huberman, and Saldana interactive model, which consists of four stages, namely, data collection, data condensation, data display, and conclusions, as shown in the diagram (1):

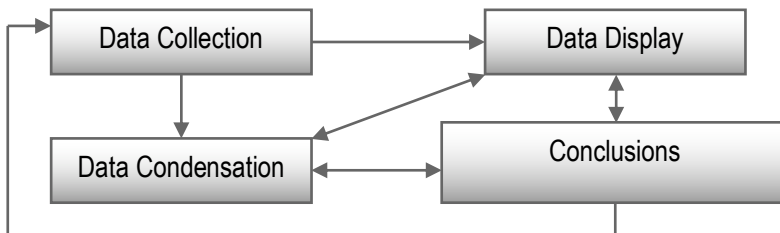


diagram (1): Interactive Model of Data Analysis.

Women and Stereotypes on Instagram

Discrimination against women occurs due to a wrong understanding of gender, which still continues to this day.¹⁹ Thus, these social constructions need special attention to realize an egalitarian pattern of relations between men and women. So, the construction of negative stereotypes can be eliminated to create a better life in accordance with prophetic values. Even though gender equality, as shown in the findings of a study by Wandu and Reflianto, still results in a decrease in women's emotional maturity.²⁰ However, a critical analysis of negative stereotypes needs to find the root causes of gender inequality, including the position of women who are subordinated, marginalized, or even experience psychological and physiological violence. Therefore, the analysis of gender stereotypes is very important as a reference in viewing the unequal relationship between men and women.

The problem of gender stereotypes arises in society due to confusion in understanding the conceptuality of sex and gender. Often, there is an exchange and overlap in meaning between the two concepts. Gender is a social construction that is non-biological, such as psychological, social, or cultural, and is attached to a certain gender (sex), while sex is a natural entity that is biological, such as men having different means of reproduction than women. The division of the nature and personalities that are typically associated with sexual personal or communal figures demonstrates the difficulty in understanding the conceptuality of sex and gender. Unfortunately, negative stereotypes about women often result from the way that society has constructed their personalities and natures. Therefore, feminists on their social media

¹⁹ Novia Puspa Ayu Lestari, "Gender Inequality in Indonesia: Facts and Legal Analysis," *Law Research Review Quarterly* 7, no. 4 (2021): 445–458, <https://journal.unnes.ac.id/sju/index.php/snh/article/view/48170>.

²⁰ Joni Indra Wandu and Reflianto, "Gender Equality Issues, Perception and Divorce," *Justicia Islamica: Jurnal Kajian Hukum dan Sosial* 15, no. 2 (2018): 225–237, <https://jurnal.iainponorogo.ac.id/index.php/justicia/article/view/1461>.

continue to deconstruct a wrong understanding of women by society.²¹

This dynamic arises because social construction passed down from generation to generation is believed to be a cultural creation or an understanding of religious arguments (*dalil*), even though this legacy may not follow the prophetic human spirit. Stereotypes attached to women as arrogant, selfish, troublemakers, and stupid are deemed reasonable and appropriate for Instagram content. Even content mixed in the form of comedy is considered capable of attracting the attention of netizens. The Instagram account containing comedy content has many followers and is verified with a blue tick. Research by Caldeira *et al.* found that Instagram can play a role in reproducing and strengthening certain cultural norms, including gender.²²

However, the attitude and character of Muslim women exhibited by several users of Instagram accounts are detached from the principle of justice. They tend to expose women's bodies and attributes to be used as content to attract netizens' attention and laughter. Accounts such as @mimi.peri, @mamakbeti, and @warintilofficial, through male actors, vulgarly demonstrate the behavior and attitudes of Muslim women. They argue that the show is only entertainment and comedy content that does not need to be taken seriously. What is more, the actor who plays the Muslim woman and also the owner of the Instagram account is a personal or communal member of the general public who is viral, so the content is considered unique or even funny.

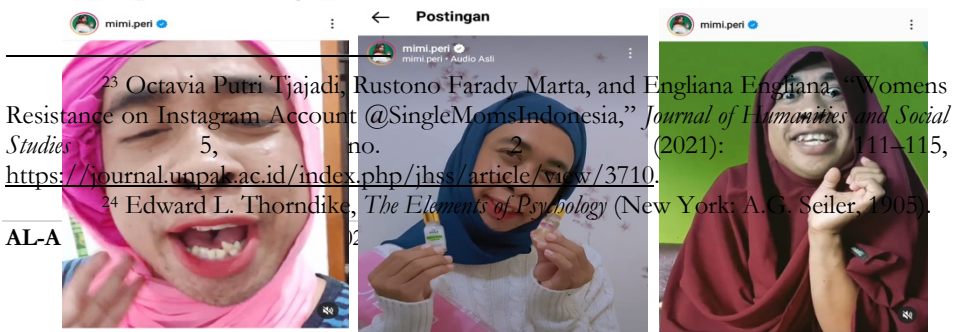
However, people's selectivity when responding to comedy content is so that it can have a change impact—read: educational value—on netizens, so that they can be more critical in accepting various forms of content on Instagram. Tragically, again, the struggle of women to raise

²¹ Mashita Phitaloka Fandia Purwaningtyas, "Indonesia Women's Activism in Instagram," *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi* 18, no. 2 (2021): 141–162, <https://ojs.uajy.ac.id/index.php/jik/article/view/3343>.

²² Sofia P. Caldeira, Sander De Ridder, and Sofie Van Bauwel, "Exploring the Politics of Gender Representation on Instagram: Self-Representation of Femininity," *DiGeSt: Journal of Diversity and Gender Studies* 5, no. 1 (2018): 23–42, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.11116/digest.5.1.2>.

their self-esteem and dignity is used as material for jokes and ridicule. However, the construction of gender attached to women is often exchanged with the social conceptualization of men. The implication is that the male and female sexes firmly attach and own the attitude and character of feminine and masculine conceptualizations in a dominative-differentiated frame. Because of this, Tjajadi *et al.*'s research found that some Instagram accounts try to fight for women's rights, namely @SingleMomsIndonesia.²³

The content posted by the @mimi.peri account on Instagram significantly undermines the reputation of women. . The account represents women as talkative, seductive, and selfish. The roles played tend to use seductive language and perfunctory attributes with a makeshift mix-and-match, as shown in picture (1). As if it has become the hallmark of the @mimi.peri account, these contents get the attention of netizens and can increase the rating. It is common for similar content to be continuously posted to achieve goals and achieve the orientation of the Instagram account manager. This dynamic is "as if" in harmony with the theory of reinforcement and punishment developed by Edward L. Thorndike. This theory states that activities with a positive impact tend to be repeated; conversely, activities with a negative impact are unlikely to be repeated.²⁴ Thus, as long as the content can get the attention of many netizens, it will continue to appear.



²³ Octavia Putri Tjajadi, Rustono Farady Marta, and Engliana Engliana, "Womens Resistance on Instagram Account @SingleMomsIndonesia," *Journal of Humanities and Social Studies* 5, no. 2 (2021): 111-115, <https://journal.unpal.ac.id/index.php/jhss/article/view/3710>.

²⁴ Edward L. Thorndike, *The Elements of Psychology* (New York: A.G. Seiler, 1905).

Picture (1): Gender Representation on Instagram (Source: Account of @mimi.peri)

Apart from content that depicts women as talkative, seductive, and selfish figures, there is also content that depicts women doing domestic activities, such as in Figure 3. However, this content is packaged in a style and setting for entertainment only, so it gets an advantage in the form of an increasing number of netizens' attention. Another advantage is that the owners of the Instagram accounts can influence netizens, such as by promoting or endorsing certain products. In this context, women are perceived as commercial media whose entire biological capital and potential are manipulated and capitalized on. Moreover, if people enjoy the content, it creates opportunities for the owners of the Instagram accounts to design content that can be capitalized on.

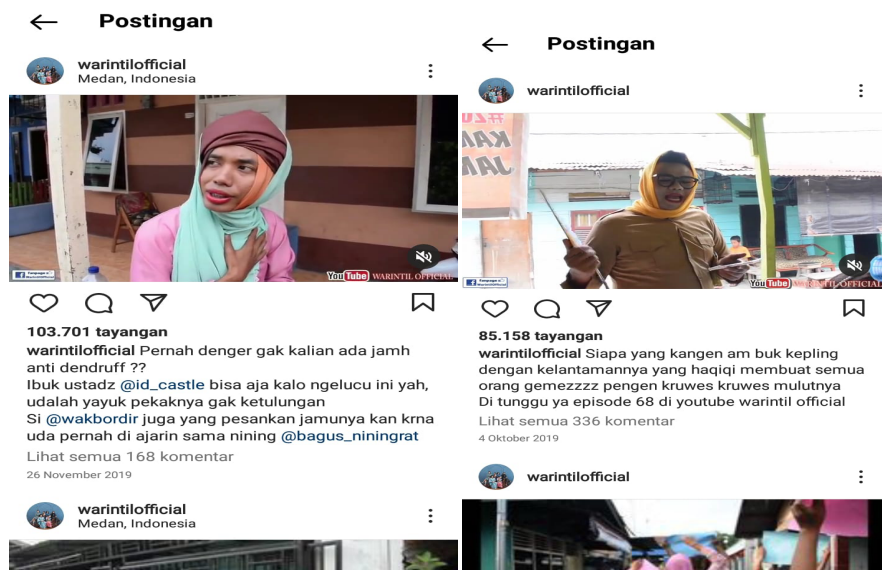


Picture (2): Gender Representation on Instagram (Source: Account of @mimi.peri)

Content that represents gender stereotypes with comedic overtones exists not only on the @mimi.peri account. However, similar nuanced content also appears on the @mamakbeti and @warintilofficial accounts, as shown in picture (3 & 4).



Picture (3): Gender Representation on Instagram (Source: Account of @mamakbeti)



Picture (5): Gender Representation on Instagram (Source: Account of @warintilofficial)

The three Instagram accounts have something in common: using male actors to play women. The @mimi.peri account depicts a female figure with ridiculous behavior by improvising female gender traits and characters to invite laughter. Some uploads expose women's sexuality in sexy ways using rudimentary equipment. On the one hand, research findings by Garcia and Solona show that there are also Instagram feminists who try to present real women as demanding gender equality;²⁵ alternatively, it presents a proportional interpretation of the Qur'an—read: egalitarian.²⁶

The dynamics of gender stereotypes apparently are influenced by certain motives; Ahmad Jaelani, as an actor playing a woman, stated that his portrayal of a sexy woman aims to accumulate the attention of netizens,

²⁵ María Teresa Martín García and María Yolanda Martínez Solana, “Women Illustrators on Instagram: Digital Influencers More Committed to Gender Equality in Social Networks,” *Revista Internacional de Cultura Visual* 6, no. 2 (2019): 59–68, <https://journals.cagora.org/revVISUAL/article/view/1889>.

²⁶ Yuliana Jamaluddin and Siti Aisa, “Paradigma Tafsir Adil Gender pada Akun Instagram @mubadalah.id,” *Aqlam: Journal of Islam and Plurality* 8, no. 1 (2023): 1–18, <https://journal.iain-manado.ac.id/index.php/AJIP/article/view/2277>.

which eventually boils down to economic capitalization. Additionally, because Instagram has verified his @mimi.peri account, it is very simple for him to attract the attention of internet users with a growing number of followers. Likewise, the @mamakbeti account, which is owned by Arif Muhammad. The difference is that this account tends to highlight the locality of women in Minang, Java, and other areas. A distinctive accent, a variety of location settings, and his ability to play many characters in one video or photo have made Arif Muhammad get many followers and go viral. Meanwhile, the @warintilofficial account tends to "play drama" in groups and does not shy away from showing the public that all of its members are men. They routinely upload videos and photos that represent gender constructions with various improvisations as joke material. The implication appears to be that gender is a social construction that cannot be exchanged between women and men, as if it only exists or is inherent in women and tends to cause a lot of problems. In actuality, society does not fully understand these gender components because they are interchangeable and apply to both men and women. However, tragically, the social constructions that shape the attitudes and characters of men who are strong, brave, rational, and leaders and women who are weak, timid, emotional, and only active in the domestic realm are standardized and becoming the norm in life. This is also the cause of the emergence of comedy content that has a pejorative tone by objectifying women as a source of jokes and ridicule. It seems that it has become ingrained in cyber society, so women are still perceived as passive subjects who only do domestic work. Therefore, all domestic activities are considered useless—read trivial—and are even considered activities that are not contributive and have no economic value. Even though women have public jobs, bad gender stereotypes of women, such as being annoying, talkative, and emotional, are still strongly attached.

The Dilemma of Gender-Stolen Comedy Content

Instagram should be designed to bridge the inequality and subordinate position of women compared to men. Thus, Instagram uploads in the form of photos or videos should be used to represent the users themselves as a form of reaction and criticism of fellow users. Unfortunately, Instagram has the problem of toxic masculinity and overfemininity, which actually perpetuate gender stereotypes and subordinates from factual to virtual spaces.²⁷ Moreover, the various comedies tend to represent activities that discriminate against gender and highlight negative stereotypes against women. According to Heilbrun's analysis, these dynamics are inseparable from the bipolar paradigmatic pattern of sex, so there needs to be a paradigmatic transformation of sex to a quadripolar typology.²⁸ This paradigm will have implications for Instagram posts, which can be used to seek attention from and attract netizens with an egalitarian paradigm.

It is clear that the account owners @mimi.peri, @mamakbeti, and @warintilofficial often produce comedy content with the theme of women's issues and can increase the number of followers. However, in this context, the construction of gender attached to women is in the middle of two dilemmatic choices, namely, between continuing to uphold women's self-esteem or, conversely, choosing the path of getting the attention of netizens by demeaning women. This dilemmatic position for Instagram users is like being in a new village that can merge the boundaries of decency so that it can get negative or positive functions from the presence of Instagram.

However, the theme of the content that netizens find appealing can be one of the indicators of Instagram content, which is exciting or funny.

²⁷ Achmad Tijani, "Media Sosial dan Perdebatan Baru Wacana Gender serta Penyelesaiannya dalam Perspektif Islam," *Equalita* 1, no. 2 (2019): 14–29, <https://www.syekh Nurjati.ac.id/jurnal/index.php/equalita/article/view/5455>.

²⁸ A. B. Heilbrun, "Measurement of Masculine and Feminine Sex Role Identities as Independent Dimensions," *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 2, no. 44 (1976): 183–190, <https://psycnet.apa.org/record/1976-29914-001>.

Because of this, social dynamics that emerge often become the theme of Instagram content, including women, who are still considered a source of social problems, which are considered very appropriate to be parodied. This condition indicates that factual society still places women's position at a subordinate point, so women's position is often parodied in negative nuances. It is usual for the parody to show harmful activities such as working, talking, and walking like a man, or even vice versa. The dynamics of this parody show that the construction of gender attached to men tends to be superior, which is considered final and expected, so it is relatively less funny to be parodied.

What is worse, this comedy content has become a trend—read: viral—so that many other Instagram account users follow it. It could be due to the mindset that emerges in society. If someone plays the role of a woman with damaging gender stereotypes, that person can capitalize on the economy. The @mimi.peri account stated that if he parodied women's self-activities or performed a woman's role, it aimed to increase the family's economic level. Even now, the account can accumulate capital; he has even received offers to endorse products of high economic value. Interestingly, it turns out that the @mimi.peri, @mamakbeti, and @warintilofficial accounts also have a YouTube channel, and the account name is the same as the Instagram account—except for the @mamak.beti account itself, which uses the name Arif Muhammad. This space opens up the spread of comedic content that parodies Muslim women, which is massive in virtual space.

Tragically, the reactions shown by netizens to the comedy content are in the form of ridiculing responses by laughing at them in a pejorative tone. This can be seen in the comment's column, as presented in the following description:

A video uploaded by @mimi.peri on September 30, 2021, highlights the activity of scrubbing the toilet by showing Scarlett soap. @mimi.peri account says, "*A woman should not only be good at dressing up but also be good at cleaning toilets; otherwise, you will be useless and abandoned by your man.*" @ayusalma_31 account commented, "*@mimi.peri Are you a fairy disguised as a maid, or a maid disguised as a fairy??? Spill the tea, come on...*" Then @airin_chen account commented, "*Hey... @apai_kim, listen to what mimiperi said, hababa*". Then @apai_kim responded, "*@airin_chen To clean up is also a man's job; it should not be all burdened on a woman; the division of duties should be fair...lol.*"

A video was uploaded by @mimi.peri on July 11, 2021, highlighting the activity of @mimi.peri dancing while being accompanied by music. Comments from netizens are varied; for example, @michella_dewi_joeung account commented, "*@mimi.peri That is my mother's hijab; give it back; she looked for it everywhere.*" Then the @mjanass account commented, "*Suddenly, I remembered my late grandmother, who used to like qasidah songs.*" @islaforlove account also commented, "*Hababa, this is how the angel whom Muslim Jihadists will meet in heaven.*" The music in the video uploaded is a qasidah song with different lyrics. @plantsdelight_botany account commented, "*This song is good Sis...feels like hearing a hilarious version of Qasidah Ria from the 80s*", and @rscakarim account commented, "*Mih, be careful, or you will get banned (blocked).*"

A video was uploaded by @mamakbeti on November 15, 2020, highlighting the activity of a woman named Juminem. She met a female friend and told her that she had just gotten back from her friend's house, Ana, to ask her to return her dress. Even though the dress Ana borrowed had not been returned, she wanted to borrow Juminem's jewelry for a wedding invitation. Responding to this, a female friend whom she met also wanted to borrow money from Juminem. A conversation where Juminem and her friend mocked one another took place. @wahyunia94 account commented, "*It is unusual to see that your hijab is perfectly worn; usually your hijab looks untidy.*" Then @muncaryati_ambarbawono commented, "*Wkwk... waiting for Ms. Narti's next story,*" and the @vitavhie account responded, "*Ana really has no morals @kristianjani_888.*"

A video was uploaded by @warintilofficial on July 13, 2020, highlighting the story of a Muslim female employee who stopped at a shop owned by a female neighbor. On that occasion, there was a conversation about them making fun of and insinuating each other. @kimoralee04 account commented, "*I really like Bukep... every time she appears, I can't stop laughing.*" Then the @noya_anipar account commented, "*@cuthanifahfarabulan, @aryana_juntak, @verapebrina widow of pesugihan tengkorak (a practice of black magic that is believed to turn the doers to be rich)*". Meanwhile, the @ay.ayu161 account commented, "*Look at them, they really look like middle-aged women! I am so engrossed in their acting that I forget that they're all men; they're really passionate about their acting.*"

On the other side, if looking at netizens' comments on the uploads of the @mimi.peri, @mamakbeti, and @warintilofficial accounts, there are still netizens trying to filter out the content. They tend to invite other netizens to think critically and develop a gender justice perspective through comments on posts to domesticate female roles. This condition indicates that the nuances of flexibility, justice, and egalitarianism colour gender roles when they influence the pattern of relationships between men and women. Thus, the relationship between men and women is realized with nuances of gender equality and justice, without hegemonic stereotypes in factual or virtual spaces. Although these stereotypes arise, they are not value-free but formed from an aspect of interest. For example, Smith's research revealed stereotypes in the aviation industry, where gender normative assumptions on Instagram are formed based on interests.²⁹

In this context, virtual society is in a dilemma about capturing the normative messages of those Instagram accounts' parody content. This parody content is created from economic motives, which actually override gender awareness, so it is not based on gender awareness. It seems this phenomenon is commonplace; social media often becomes an instrument of patriarchy whose influencers transmit sexual stereotypes using non-inclusive language.³⁰ The pragmatic interests that serve as the foundation and driving force for those Instagram accounts eliminate gender awareness. Therefore, the dilemmatic position is not based on gender awareness that underlies the upload of content by those Instagram accounts.

²⁹ Whitney E. Smith et al., "Gendered Instagram Representations in the Aviation Industry," *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 31, no. 3 (2023): 639–663, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09669582.2021.1932933>.

³⁰ Alicia Arias-Rodriguez and Ana Sanchez-Bello, "Informal Learning with a Gender Perspective Transmitted by Influencers Through Content on YouTube and Instagram in Spain," *Social Sciences* 11, no. 8 (2022): 341, <https://www.mdpi.com/2076-0760/11/8/341>.

This condition would not have been formed if, in the factual space, the social constructions of gender were very dynamic and did not refer to only certain genders. Comedy content does deny the potential for both types of feminine and masculine traits and characteristics that can be attached to men and women. Therefore, comedy content that has stereotypical nuances only discredits women and causes inequality in relations between men and women. Even though egalitarian relationship patterns create balance in social life. On the one hand, freedom will be created when men and women are positioned equally without a superior attitude that hegemonizes certain sexualities.

It seems this ideal is utopian because the number of Instagram accounts that upload comedy content with stereotypical nuances is increasing by the day. Apart from the three accounts in this study, namely @mimiperi, @mamakbeti, and @warintilofficial accounts, there are other accounts with the same characteristics. This situation seems to confirm the findings of a study by Yuliani *et al.* that social media competes with other means of satisfying needs.³¹ Therefore, the existence of social media is very close to factual space, and it can even create a new reality, namely virtual space. A study by Ma'rufah *et al.* explains that virtual space is what often creates destructive actions and attitudes, namely cybercrime.³² It could be said that factual and virtual spaces influence each other, so Instagram accounts need to pay great attention to issues of gender bias in factual and virtual spaces. Moreover, celebrity and influencer figures will easily get public attention when spreading normative messages in their content.

³¹ Sri Yuliani and et al., "Sociolinguistics Perspectives on Gender Patterns in Instagram," *Journal of Education and Learning* 14, no. 1 (2020): 103–113, <https://edulearn.intelektual.org/index.php/EduLearn/article/view/14090>.

³² Nurbaiti Marufah, Hayatul Khairul Rahmat, and I Dewa Ketut Kerta Widana, "Degradasi Moral sebagai Dampak Kejahatan Siber pada Generasi Millennial di Indonesia," *Nusantara: Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial* 7, no. 1 (2020): 191–201, <http://jurnal.um-tapsel.ac.id/index.php/nusantara/article/view/1509>.

Gender Equity on Instagram Based on Theological Values

Indonesia is one of the top five countries with the most social media users, but this potential has both positive and negative impacts, such as cybercrimes.³³ One of the positive impacts of social media is that it can be used as a medium to make communication easier. Unfortunately, the rapid growth of social media and technological advances has actually emphasized the standardization of work based on biological aspects. The discriminatory factual space tends to differentiate not based on ability but based on biological factors. It is in this position that there is an intersection between technology—read social media—and gender, which creates inequality and harms women. In fact, the useful value of technology—read social media—is not tied to biological aspects, but the findings of a study by Rosyidah and Nurwati show that gender aspects are a demographic variable that has a significant influence on the use of social media.³⁴

Gender relations and technology are dynamic following social transformations that are moving forward. Therefore, Instagram does not correlate with certain biological aspects and develops a quality of life that is not based on gender stereotypes. Precisely, social media depends on the users who use it, just as the design of Instagram content depends on the account owner. Of course, the design of the content is created based on the principle of awareness of the account owner, especially the desire to attract public attention. In this context, unique or even strange content is needed so that the content is exciting and viral. On the contrary, if it contains discriminatory values and stereotypes against specific sexualities.

The implication is that if these gender stereotypes grow, they will give rise to prejudice and discriminatory attitudes toward women. Finally, acts of sexism against women seem to be constructed naturally socially. In

³³ Ineu Rahmawati, “Analisis Manajemen Risiko Ancaman Kejahatan Siber (Cyber Crime) dalam Peningkatan Cyber Defense,” *Jurnal Pertahanan dan Bela Negara* 7, no. 2 (2017): 57, <https://jurnal.idu.ac.id/index.php/JPBH/article/view/179>.

³⁴ Feryna Nur Rosyidah and Nunung Nurwati, “Gender dan Stereotipe: Konstruksi Realitas dalam Media Sosial Instagram,” *SHARE Jurnal Social Work* 9, no. 1 (2019): 2, <https://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/share/article/view/19691/11094>.

virtual space, it is often visualized as jokes and ridicule, which are very easy to find in various Instagram content, such as on the accounts @mimi.peri, @mamakbeti, and @warintilofficial. Instagram can remove barriers to socialization, including when transmitting egalitarianism or gender stereotypes. While the netizens themselves also do not have any obstacles in order to access Instagram content. The convenience of Instagram also raises sensitive issues about gender bias in technological developments. However, this does not mean that technology is positioned as distant and unfriendly to women; on the contrary, according to research findings by Sciberras and Tanner, Instagram is currently used to make women subjects rather than objects.³⁵

Therefore, creating gender-equitable Instagram solves comedy content with gender stereotypes. The process of transmitting gender egalitarianism or non-discriminatory humanist values to women through content production can be realized, even if it is just designing comedy content for the sake of ratings and personal or group gains. The Instagram account can influence society's mindset and social construction in factual and virtual spaces. Because, as Roberti's research admits, if the female figure is in an ambivalent position in the virtual space.³⁶ In this context, the Instagram account seeks to preserve existing social constructions or try to transform social constructions.

Ideally, gender-just social transformation efforts need to be the main focus of virtual space. Especially when the virtual space is in an ambivalent position because the Instagram account turns out to contain content that intersects with commercialization practices. If Instagram does frequently become commercialized, Fondevilla-Gascon et al. recognize this condition;³⁷ So, comedy content is not designed merely to propagate a

³⁵ Ruby Sciberras and Claire Tanner, "Feminist Sex-Positive Art on Instagram: Reorienting the Sexualizing Gaze," *Feminist Media Studies* (2022): 1–16, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14680777.2022.2080752>.

³⁶ Geraldina Roberti, "Female Influencers: Analyzing the Social Media Representation of Female Subjectivity in Italy," *Frontiers in Sociology* 7 (2022): 1–11, <https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fsoc.2022.1024043/full>.

³⁷ Joan-Francesc Fondevila-Gascón et al., "Influence of Instagram Stories in

particular ideology. Even though the paradigm and logical basis are immature and the information conveyed is partial, this condition significantly affects the content of influencers or celebrities. The implication is that this content, merely a means of entertainment, pushes women to the brink of humanistic discrimination. This condition did not receive any attention from influencers, celebrities, or the public, as if they had a priori with those outside their interests.

Although other Instagram accounts have educational and scientific content, they are only popular with a minority of society, namely observers on issues of gender equality. Meanwhile, most people act a priori towards the marginal position of women and tend to follow the narratives built by influencers and celebrities. In the end, factual and virtual spaces become spaces for marginalizing women in subordinate positions. Therefore, virtual space—read: Instagram accounts—needs to be constructed with paradigmatic gender justice based on theological values—read: Islamic values.

This theological value is a paradigmatic basis for gender justice, which sees the egalitarian status of men and women as Abdullah and the caliph on earth. It becomes an egalitarian spirit to cover up the hegemonic actions, and the marginalization of women arises from a patriarchal mindset. This paradigm is built on theological values: *First*, human values that equalize the creation function of men and women are reflected in QS. al-Dzariyat verse 56; *second*, the value of justice and kindness is reflected in QS. An-Nahl verse 90; the value of security and tranquility is reflected in QS. An-Nisa verse 58; and the value of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* is reflected in QS. Ali Imran verse 104; *third*, egalitarian value, where men and women occupy an egalitarian position within the social construction framework as reflected in QS. al-Hujurat verse 13; and *fourth*, the value of equality, where

men and women are equally domiciled caliph on earth, is reflected in QS. al-An'am verse 165.

These theological values will fortify the paradigm and actions of society to position women as weak objects so that they are positioned as subordinate beings after men. Moreover, the attitude and character attached to women are continuously made the subject of ridicule. Even though the human potential of men and women is the same in leadership, they tend to have the same leadership competencies in educational institutions³⁸ or other sectors.³⁹ This potential indicates that women naturally have the same position as men and are systematically marginalized in context.

In fact, theological values (Islam) as a normative reference for social constructions do not position men and women as unequal. Therefore, virtual society–Instagram netizens–really needs to have knowledge and awareness of gender constructs based on theological values. Critically, Islam has developed the conceptuality between sex and gender, so it becomes the basis of public knowledge and awareness in factual or virtual spaces. The word *an-nisa'*, which means woman in the context of gender–a social construct–is different from the word *al-untsa*, which means female in a sexual context—a natural context. The word *an-nisa'* is written 59 times with the construction of meaning emphasized on social or cultural factors, not based on natural gender. Likewise, the word *ar-rajul* in QS. an-Nisa verse 1 and QS. an-Naml verse 55 means men in the context of gender–a social construct (socio-cultural)—and it is different from the word *adz-dzakar*, which means male in a sexual context—a natural context.

Based on the construction of theological knowledge, the signs are very clear in measuring the "rules of the game" in the relationship between

³⁸ Riska Dwi Agustin, "Women's Leadership Agency: Entrepreneurship Umi Waheeda at Pesantren Al Ashriyyah Nurul Iman, Parung, Bogor," *Musawa Journal of Gender and Islamic Studies* 19, no. 2 (2021): 235–247, <https://ejournal.uin-suka.ac.id/pusat/MUSAWA/article/view/192-235-247->.

³⁹ Nannerl O. Keohane, "Women, Power & Leadership," *Daedalus* 149, no. 1 (2020): 236–250, <https://direct.mit.edu/daed/article/149/1/236/27304/Women-Power-and-Leadership>.

men and women. Gender stereotypes that appear in virtual spaces actually need to receive critical treatment from netizens so they can be more proportional in designing comedy content. Sometimes, this condition is detrimental to women not only in the domestic sphere but also in the public sphere.⁴⁰ The findings of a study by Aspinall *et al.* show that there are obstacles for women when participating in public spaces. Therefore, from a theological perspective, the proportionality of gender stereotypes is a reality that can be exchanged between men and women. Meanwhile, biological factors cannot be exchanged because they are permanent and inherent in natural characteristics.

Thus, the sex factor is permanent (designed by God) and is a biological characteristic of men and women framed by the concept of gender as social constructions (values designed by society). If, in a social order, there is a hierarchical division of labor between men and women culturally, then this reality is not a normative value or culture that originates from natural reality. Therefore, the subordination of women in the political, economic, social, or cultural sectors that are constructed in the content of Instagram accounts is a reality that has violated God's nature. In this context, it is possible to say that gender stereotypes are beliefs or presumptions associated with particular sexes that have received support from the community. Moreover, the powerlessness of women as a result of stereotypes actually puts women in a subordinate, inferior, and underappreciated position. Negative perceptions of women, such as those of them as being conceited, egotistical, troublemakers, and stupid, exacerbate this condition.

These submissive views are basically designed to be able to control women's subversive potential, which endangers men's authority. A foreign researcher, Florida, has essentially realized this and claims that the increasing number of strong, independent women has weakened the

⁴⁰ Edward Aspinall, Sally White, and Amalinda Savirani, "Women's Political Representation in Indonesia: Who Wins and How?," *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 40, no. 1 (2021): 3-27.2, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1868103421989720>.

position of men politically, which in turn encourages men to control women through oppressive gender stereotypes.⁴¹ In factual or virtual spaces such as Instagram, it could be said that there is still a struggle for positions between men and women in order to be able to dominate certain sexes. Egocentric men, who consider themselves capable of having a better level of authority than women, exercise control through various means.

Conclusion

According to this description, it is clear that traditional patriarchal mindsets continue to have a significant influence on gender constructions on Instagram, especially in comedy content. Negative stereotypes that men have created and then portrayed as true represent the subordination of women. The owners (users) of Instagram accounts do not hesitate to act as Muslim women with several variations in order to get responses from other users. They openly behave "oddly" based on gender constructions in women. Thus, the nature and characters of women are increasingly underestimated compared to gender constructions in men, such as being assertive, responsible, dignified, and honorable.

The representation of the nature and characters of women shown in the Instagram content of @mimi.peri, @mamakbeti, and @officialwarintil will indirectly perpetuate the opinion that the attitude and character of women are something that is undesirable and therefore worthy of being joked about. Netizens who, in this context, are dealing directly with Instagram should be more selective in following and liking content that is not gender-friendly. Even if necessary, netizens (especially women) can use the Report service on Instagram for spam content that lowers their dignity as women. This is necessary so the struggle and enthusiasm of gender justice fighters are supported to eradicate women

⁴¹ Nancy K. Florida, *Sex Wars: Writing Gender Relations in Nineteenth Century Java Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia*, ed. Laurie J. Sears (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), <https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9780822396710-011/html>.

from all forms of oppression. This task does not only apply to a few people or groups but also needs to be understood as a collective movement. Along with the rise of irresponsible accounts, educational content should also become more intense in order to provide understanding to the public and prevent them from falling prey to the euphoria of viral content that masquerades as comedy but is actually unfair to women and demeaning to women.

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