



Free or Monitored ??: The Panopticon System in Indonesian Media Reporting

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ABSTRAK

Pesatnya perkembangan media pemberitaan akibat teknologi di Indonesia menunjukkan adanya praktik panoptikon didalamnya. Untuk itu, penelitian ini ditujukan untuk menggali lebih dalam bagaimana praktik panoptik dan post-panoptik yang ada di pemberitaan media-media dan mencari tahu apakah sebenarnya setiap individu di masyarakat diawasi atau bebas di kehidupannya dengan adanya praktik tersebut. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif deskriptif dengan studi literatur dan observasi digital sebagai metode pengumpulan datanya. Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa dari tiga berita yang digunakan sebagai contoh praktik panoptikon di media, dua diantaranya menjelaskan bahwa setiap perilaku dan tindakan individu dalam masyarakat akan selalu diawasi bahkan dalam ranah privasi yang remeh sekalipun. Sementara itu, satu sisanya menjelaskan bahwa media melakukan praktik panoptik dengan cara menanamkan kedisiplinan melalui pemberitaan ke masyarakat luas terkait perilaku sang individu yang melawan atau tidak sesuai dengan sistem. Penulis berkesimpulan, bahwa praktik panoptikon dalam media ini menunjukkan adanya pengawasan yang konstan kepada individu dalam masyarakat sehingga individu sebenarnya tidak bebas dan akan selalu diawasi oleh media-media pemberitaan.

Kata Kunci: Media; Panoptikon; Pemberitaan

ABSTRACT

The rapid development of news media due to technology in Indonesia indicates the presence of panopticon practices within it. Therefore, this research aims to delve deeper into how the panopticon and post-panoptic practice exists in media reporting and to find out whether every individual in society is actually monitored or free in their life due to this practice. This research is a descriptive qualitative study with literature review and digital observation as data collection methods. This research shows that out of the three news articles used as examples of panopticon practices in the media, two of them explain that every behavior and action of individuals in society will always be monitored, even in trivial private matters. Meanwhile, the remaining one explains that the media practices the panoptic method by instilling discipline through widespread reporting to the public regarding the behavior of individuals who oppose or do not conform to the system. The author concludes that the panoptic practice in the media shows constant surveillance of individuals in society, so individuals are actually not free and will always be monitored by news media.

Keyword: Media; Panopticon; News Report

1. Introduction

Currently, mass media in various parts of the world are experiencing rapid development in providing news or information they possess to the wider public. The rapid development of technology has contributed to the



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success of the advancements experienced by various mass media (Nurwahyu Azizah, Ar et al., 2025). This development also brings changes to the usual patterns found in mass media. Conventional mass media, which previously provided information mediated in written or printed media to the public, is now being displaced by mass media that have started using new technologies to present the information they obtain to the public. In the current era, conventional mass media such as newspapers or other printed media have begun to be abandoned by the public due to their lack of efficiency and being considered entirely impractical (Setiowati et al., 2021). The public has started to follow and enjoy news presented in digital media, such as social media or mass media that base their reporting on the internet, like websites and digital applications. This is what necessitates people who use mass media to transform into digital mass media, no longer use the conventional form as before (Hasan et al., 2023).

Mass media itself can be referred to as a tool used by humans to convey and share news or information to the wider community (Habibie, 2018). Mass media in society functions as a conduit for information and will always have a close relationship with human daily life (Khatimah, 2018). In fact, mass media itself can be used as a tool by politicians to convey their political communication to the wider public (Ritonga, 2023). In Indonesia, the existing mass media are beginning to keep up with the times by utilizing technology so that they can continue to exist in today's digital era (Setiowati et al., 2021).

The shift of mass media to the digital realm has resulted in a flood of information reaching its readers. In Indonesia, mass media such as Kompas, for example, have entered the realm of social media by creating accounts and becoming one of the most followed mass media outlets by the public. In fact, they created their own website to provide news online in the internet world, so they can be referred to as new media (New Media) (Tasruddin, 2020). This makes it easy for the public to access the information presented by those mass media outlets. Of course, other factors such as the very high intensity of social media use in Indonesia itself, become one of the factors that cause the mobility of information in the media to be rapid until it reaches social media users (Hermawansyah, 2022).

Social media is actually an online medium in the form of an application that provides users with the freedom to communicate with each other (Yusuf et al., 2023). Social media has various features within it, such as video sharing, photo sharing, communication and interaction with others through various features like comment sections and chat rooms, and much more (Liedfray et al., 2022). There are many social media platforms that can be used by the public. Instagram, for example, is one of the social media platforms that is popular among the general public (Prayoga & Damaiyanti, 2023). Social media indeed provides account creation access for anyone who wants to get involved in it. In addition, social media is also a form of new media that can share information from one individual to another quickly and efficiently (Damayanti et al., 2023). This is what existing mass media take advantage of, where they create accounts on various social media platforms to maintain their existence in providing news or information to the wider public (Setiowati et al., 2021). From this, it can be understood that social media is one form of the development of mass media itself (Rohmiyati, 2018).

The shift of news-based media to the digital realm, such as social media, has indeed created a phenomenon where events or occurrences happening in the world today can easily go viral or trend among the public (Agustina, 2020). News such as celebrity scandal gossip or coverage of the personal lives of these celebrities, for example, fill the news on social media in public and become one of the news items that attract widespread public interest, given that celebrities can influence their fans and shape public opinion (Hardyanti, 2019; Quan et al., 2021). The freedom of every individual to provide or receive information on social media has led to the emergence of various accounts focused on providing information or news, which also contribute to the current dissemination of news and information (Juditha, 2018). Such freedom has led to a phenomenon where news or information can easily go viral. However, the ease of information dissemination has led to a proliferation of fake news and the need for deconstruction of the news presented by these news provider accounts (Kinasih, 2019).

From here, we can understand how viral news on social media, especially gossip or matters concerning someone's personal life, can occur because every behavior or interaction of social media users seems to be monitored by other users through the media. This is in line with the concept of the panopticon explained by the famous philosopher Michel Foucault. Foucault essentially drew inspiration from the prison concept introduced by Bentham (Ramadhan, 2017). Foucault emphasized his panopticon concept on the power

relations between prison guards and the inmates being observed, or the relationship between the observer and the observed (Hikami, 2022). According to him, the panoptic prison system will instill a sense of surveillance among the prisoners, even though the prisoners are not actually being watched by the prison guards at all (Eldija & Mastutie, 2016). This panoptic prison system also forces the inmates to always be disciplined and vigilant about their own behavior (Aulia & BR Perangin-angin, 2019). A system like this, according to Foucault, will discipline every prisoner in the prison because the prison conducts overall surveillance on the prisoners (Yusya Azhari & Kristiyadi, 2022). However, Foucault emphasized that the entire concept of the panoptic prison is merely a metaphor, as he only wanted to explain how surveillance occurs in society by those in power in the real world. Thus, in this case, the panopticon can also serve as an agent of surveillance that seeks to maintain the discipline of the prisoners and create a form of social control as popularized by the famous philosopher, Gilles Deleuze (Ainun et al., 2023).

Furthermore, surveillance of society in the modern era is indeed carried out using tools that are the result of advances in science and technology. The surveillance of society, whether carried out by the state or the mass media, is not what it used to be. As Bauman & Lyon discuss in "Liquid Surveillance", society is now subject to subtle surveillance, meaning that advanced technology, coupled with mobile internet networks, can monitor people unconsciously, anywhere and at any time (Sutrisno, 2017). Given that the mass media has now shifted from the conventional world to the digital one, the surveillance conducted has become more flexible and free from the constraints of space and time. Cases such as pornography and hate speech on social media, whether in the form of videos or text, are the "delicious food" for the mass media in the digital world and for state authorities overseeing digital affairs. Anyone can become a suspect and face disciplinary action simply for asserting their presence in the digital space. Bauman and Lyon went on to popularize the term "post-panopticism," in which panoptic practices can occur in a more flexible manner and are not limited by space or time. In this process, every segment of society is no longer driven by coercion but by temptation and persuasion (Sutrisno, 2017). Given the rapid advancement of technology today, which has led to the creation of digital media platforms such as social media, people have become "volunteers" by signing up for these digital platforms.

Of course, several studies related to media and the panopticon have been conducted by various previous researchers. Research aimed at examining how the panopticon exists in a certain media was previously conducted by Muhammad Ravi Ramadhan (2017) under the title "Panopticonism in Mass Media (Discourse Analysis of the Yn Rape Case News aired on the AIMAN program Kompas TV May 2016)." This research attempts to explain how mass media can be used as a tool to monitor every behavior exhibited by society. This research concludes that mass media plays a role in disseminating information that contains elements of surveillance and discipline of societal behavior through discourse, discussion, or reporting on crime and its punishments, thereby creating a form of surveillance for society itself (Ramadhan, 2017). Although this study has discussed the media and the panopticon, it focuses on only one case and one media platform, the Kompas TV. Furthermore, this study has not yet addressed the concept of "post-panopticism" as proposed by Bauman and Lyon. Therefore, the author's future research will aim to address this gap. This distinction creates a gap between the author's research and the study conducted by Ramadhan (2017).

Research with a similar intent was also conducted by Syafawi Ahmad Qadzafi (2022) titled "Panopticon Practices in Liputan Narasi TV Coverage of the Kanjuruhan Tragedy." This research seeks to explain a fact, that Liputan Narasi TV received thousands of photos from eyewitnesses of the Kanjuruhan tragedy that had occurred. The results of this study indicate that netizens who uploaded and disseminated the photos, which eventually reached Liputan Narasi TV, conducted a panopticon on the security personnel who were carrying out their duties. With such a panopticon, the nature of the panopticon, which was previously top-down, can also occur bottom-up (Qadzafi, 2022). Although this study, like previous ones, has addressed the topics of media and the panopticon, it has not yet explored post-panopticism as a theoretical analytical tool and continues to focus on only one media platform, the Narasi TV.

Both studies highlight how mass media can become a panopticon for the wider society. This phenomenon has made the author interested in discussing and delving deeper into how the panopticon, especially the post-panopticism works in the realm of mass media or social media. From here, a question arises in the author's mind: How does Indonesian media reporting reflect panoptic or post-panoptic surveillance practices? Have we been monitored all this time?

To answer that, this research aims to describe how the panopticon works in the realm of mass media or social media by presenting case examples of news coverage that seemingly demonstrate panoptic practices in those media. Then, the author will analyze these examples using the panopticon concept until finally concluding what kind of panoptic practice that happen in our media reporting and whether each individual in society is actually monitored by the media or is free. The author believes that conducting this research and presenting the findings in a written form is important and necessary. This is because previous studies have not yet addressed the issues that will be discussed in this paper. The author hopes that this writing can broaden the readers' horizons and also contribute to the development of knowledge within the social sciences, especially the mass or social media studies that linked with communication studies and sociology.

1.1. Methods

This study was a descriptive-qualitative study that used content analysis as its approach. The content analysis approach is used to fulfill the author's objective of describing how news reporting on social media today has a panopticon in the practice of their news reporting. This is because content analysis is an approach specifically used to examine the content of mass media, both digital and non-digital. This study uses literature study and digital observation as its data collection methods. The literature study itself is an activity related to the author's method of collecting data from various sources, as well as reading, taking notes, analysing the research materials, and then write it on the paper (Snyder, 2019). Basically, Literature Study is an activity conducted by researchers to obtain and collect information that may be useful for their research materials from various literatures or libraries that align with the topic they wish to study (Putri et al., 2020). The literature or sources that can be used include scientific journals, books, news, or results from previous studies that are deemed relevant to the topic the author wishes to research as a basis for analysis (Munib & Wulandari, 2021). In this research, the author used the news from digital platforms like X, Tribunnews, or Kompas as its data.

The observation used in this research is digital non-participant observation. Digital non-participant observation is a data collection technique conducted by the author by observing what happens in the online world without direct intervention by the author (Djunaedi, 2021). Observation in this manner is commonly conducted to collect data available on social media, which is widely used nowadays (Djunaedi, 2021). In this research, the author focuses the literature study on existing concepts to explain the raised topic, while observation will focus on data collection in the form of phenomena or news descriptions that are expected to fill the discussion section and support the author's analysis results. The data collection process itself was carried out in several steps. Initially, the author reviewed and conducted non-participant observation of various news articles that appeared to meet the predetermined criteria. There were three criteria for selecting news articles: first, that the news article addressed the subject's personal life; second, that the article was published within the last few months before the research conducted; and third, that the topic was a hot issue at the time of writing. The "hotness" of a topic covered by an article is assessed by the volume of insights and news coverage across different news platforms. This necessitated the author to cross-check the news articles intended for the study against similar topics on different media platforms. In addition, criteria such as the requirement that news reports reveal the private life of the subject being discussed in the media represent one form of the panoptic surveillance carried out by the media. In this case, three news stories were selected because they met the author's criteria. Data collection through this observation took place over two weeks using devices such as the author's phone and laptop. After collecting the data in the form of the news, the author searched for literature, such as previous research journals, that discussed the panopticon and media surveillance. After collecting all the data, the author finally analyzed the data itself using Miles & Huberman's model.

This research, like the author mention earlier, use the data analysis techniques described by Miles & Huberman in Saleh's book, where the author will carry out 3 data analysis procedures, namely data reduction, data presentation, and finally drawing conclusions (Saleh, 2017). These three stages were carried out through the following process: The first step was data reduction, in which the author reduced the data obtained from observations and literature reviews. This data reduction stage involved selecting both important and unimportant data obtained during the data collection process. In this case, the author identifies and uses news articles that meet the author's criteria for research data while discarding those irrelevant to the research's direction and objectives. After data reduction, the author proceeds to data presentation (display). This involves crafting a narrative from the previously collected news articles. The narrative presented consists of descriptive text regarding the topics explained in the news articles that serve as research data. After elaborating on the research data in the form of descriptive text regarding these news articles, the author then proceeds to the final stage: drawing conclusions. In drawing conclusions, the author reviews and verifies the data that has been presented and compares it with research findings from other sources. This is done by cross-checking between

news media, so that the validity of the data can be guaranteed. Next, the author analyzed these findings using Foucault's concept of the panopticon and related them to the research data. Finally, the author drew conclusions from the research findings in the form of a descriptive narrative. This text contains conclusions that address the research questions outlined in the introduction.

1.2. Results and Discussion

Here, the author will describe examples of news that demonstrate panopticon practices in mass media or social media and then analyze why these news articles fall into the category of panopticon practices, in accordance with the author's objectives in conducting this research. This section will be divided into two parts: the first part will contain the author's findings in the form of news examples that demonstrate the panopticon, and the second part will include the author's analysis of the previously described news examples.

Panoptic News in Mass Media and Social Media

Previously in the introduction, the author has explained that technology plays a role in the development of mass media and social media. The media that have developed due to the integration of technology within them have caused the massive spread of information from individual to individual. The massive spread of news makes everything easy to go viral. Even news like celebrity gossip can go viral because it is consumed by the general public.

There are several news articles that demonstrate panoptic practices in their reporting through mass media or social media. The author will provide three news examples in this section, two of which come from digital-based mass media (web) and the rest from social media.

The first example we can see is the news about one of the famous influencers and artists from our homeland, Mr. Tarno the magician. In a news media outlet, he was reported to have a young wife and to have been married 10 times.



Picture 1, News Report Regarding Mr. Tarno
Source: Kompas, 2024.

In the news, it was narrated that Mr. Tarno has been married 10 times and has a young wife named Dewi. His young wife, Dewi, in the news report confirmed that Pak Tarno had 9 wives before marrying her. Dewi also stated that although he has other wives, he always compensates them all fairly and is responsible for their families (Lova & Maharani, 2024).

The second news item that we can understand as panoptic news is the news about Agus Buntung, which has recently gone viral among the Indonesian public. According to the narrative of one news media, Agus is reported to often check-in with many women in certain rooms. In the media, it was explained that he often rented certain rooms and different women during the room rentals.

Agus Buntung Ternyata Sering Check-In dengan Perempuan Berbeda di Satu Kamar Tertentu

Tayang: Kamis, 12 Desember 2024
08:44 WIB

[Baca tanpa iklan](#)

Penulis: **Muhammad Renald Shiftanto**
Editor: **Sri Julianti**



Picture 2, News About Agus Buntung
Source: Tribunnews, 2024.

The media also provided information that Agus is currently under house arrest, as the police believe he is a person with disabilities whose rights need to be fulfilled. Agus is also mentioned to be reconstructing each of his criminal behaviors, which so far have resulted in 15 victims of sexual harassment. In fact, the police stated in the media that three of his victims were still categorized as minors (Shiftanto, 2024).

The third piece of news comes from the social media platform known as X (formerly called Twitter), where in this case, an account named "Kegoblokan.Unfaedah" frequently shares news or information that is likely to go viral on social media and among the general public. The account highlighted and observed how Shin Taeyong, the national team coach who had been dismissed and replaced by a new coach, played golf leisurely in Indonesia despite his dismissal being filled with controversies.



Picture 3, News Report of Kegoblokan.Unfaedah on X
Source: X on account of Kegoblokan.Unfaedah, 2024.

The news contained a video showing Shin Taeyong still smiling and playing golf casually, even though he had just been dismissed as the coach of the Indonesian national football team recently and had sparked controversy among local football fans.

Seeing the Panopticon and Post-Panopticon Practice in News Coverage Across Various Media

Nanang Martono, one of the renowned sociologists from within the country, stated in his book titled "Sociology of Social Change," that the rapid development of technology causes every human movement to seem as if it is being monitored or observed by the technology itself (Martono, 2021). He also explained that every aspect of human life seems to be observable by others, causing the original boundaries of privacy to become blurred (Martono, 2021). In this regard, it can be seen that there is a harmony between his comments and the concept of the panopticon as explained by Foucault. If Nanang Martono focuses on the concept of technology as the embodiment of the panopticon, then Foucault's concept of the panopticon lies in the nature of technology itself. In this case, technology means having a panoptic nature, where technology seems to oversee every activity carried out by humans.

It should be noted that mass media and social media are currently developing thanks to technology, as explained in the previous introduction section. The media that have already integrated with technology, as previously explained, make news or information easily spread and accessible to users of these media. This is also what causes everything to become viral among the public. In this case, the media plays the role of the overseer, while the general public or users of the media are the prisoners of that very prison. In other words, the media actually monitors every move we make, every activity we engage in, and every event we participate in.

Of course, the results of this analysis are based on what the author found from the data obtained in the coverage of various media, both mass media and social media. Now, let's analyze the news articles that have been outlined by the author in the previous section. Let's start with the first news article that explains about Mr. Tarno, who is reported in the media to have been married 10 times and whose young wife is named Dewi. The panopticon practice can be seen in how the media highlights someone's private life. The media seems to monitor people even into their personal lives. This media panopticism gives rise to a phenomenon where even the private sphere cannot escape from media surveillance itself. Just as the prison system seems to continuously monitor the inmates, the media will continuously observe the movements of every individual in society. In this case, the media becomes the authoritative party, as they are the ones who monitor every individual in society, which, if we assume, is akin to actual prison inmates. In this case, the media acts as an agent that monitors

every move of individuals in society, thereby creating a certain social control over society itself. This is what causes some experts in social sciences to advise caution in playing and behaving on social media. This can happen because the media will continue to monitor every individual, even in their personal matters or domains.

Then, we can also see the panopticon practice in the second news, which contains information about the Agus Buntung case that is currently viral and widely discussed by the public. The panoptic practice can be seen in how the media attempts to expose and delve into the information available about the suspect in great detail. This can be seen from how the media even knows where the room rented by the suspect (Agus) was for his sexual acts all this time. The repetition of such information by the media, if read critically by the public, will appear very horrifying.

Imagine if the suspect's position were your own, then if such embarrassing information were read by the wider public, you would be considered a failed individual in society. From here, we can understand that the panopticon practice occurring is how the media narrates a case and tries to delve into it to its roots, as an effort of "disciplining" prison inmates (in this case, a metaphor for every individual in society) who oppose the law or the system present in the prison itself. Discipline, such as the exposure and dissemination of personal information or crimes committed by the suspect, is carried out by the media as a form of social control for the entire society. The media seems to warn that behaviors or actions that go against the system, laws, values, or even norms within society will lead to discipline through the dissemination of news about what we do, so that the perpetrator will eventually face social sanctions. Such practices demonstrate that the media indeed possess a panoptic nature, which, in this case, creates social control (as explained by Deleuze in the introduction) and acts as a disciplinary agent for the broader society.

Lastly, the third news item comes from social media and reports on the former coach of the Indonesian national football team, Shin Taeyong, who was seen in a video enjoying a game of golf despite being embroiled in controversy surrounding his dismissal. This news is nothing but a support for the author's previous analysis, that the media will always monitor every move of humans, even into someone's private realm. This can be seen from how Shin Taeyong in the news was actually enjoying his personal time playing golf, still being monitored by the media to instill the idea that the media will always watch our every behavior. Ordinary activities like playing golf are also not free from the media's scrutiny. The tendency of social media users to document every activity someone does and then upload it to social media increases the chances of that person being highlighted by the media itself, as illustrated by the case brought up by the social media account mentioned in this paragraph.

The three news articles actually show how the media practice panoptic surveillance in their reporting. This panoptic practice is seen in how the media will always monitor the behavior of individuals in society, so that if there is something "unique" or different from the existing system, the behavior of the individual who does it will be disseminated through the available news channels. We are indeed unaware that we are actually being monitored by the media. This is because most of us still feel that we are free to explore or act in real life and on social media, even though this assumption is obviously wrong. If Foucault's panopticon concept states that the prison system seemingly monitors every inmate, thereby forming discipline and obedience among the inmates and creating social control (as explained by Deleuze), then the media can also create such a panopticon system in the real world. The panoptic nature of the media like this causes many individuals to try to remain anonymous and not stand out too much on platforms like social media because they fear being exposed to the media and going viral among the wider public (Setiawati & Dwi Agustini, 2022).

It is important to understand that digital news cannot go viral without readers and other digital media users. The virality of a piece of content can occur because that content is currently the topic of widespread discussion. Often, the virality of a piece of content occurs because of the public's interest in matters that hold emotional appeal (Agustina, 2020). Given that gossip or the personal lives of individuals or groups featured in such news reports are covered by existing media outlets, this naturally sparks public discussion on the media platforms themselves. In this case, the authorities who own these media platforms play only a partial role in controlling society. The rest of the control lies with the individuals who have accounts on these digital media platforms and who also comment, whether positively or negatively, on the content. This is what enables digital media platforms, such as social media, for example, to function as post-panoptic surveillance platforms, as described by Bauman and Lyon. Given that access to media, such as social media, is so widespread, it can be used anywhere and at any time. Thus, the public accessing these platforms becomes subjects or volunteers who

willingly participate in the flexible process of public surveillance. In this context, media serves not only as a space for freedom of expression but also as a tool for public control and surveillance.

1.3. Conclusion

From the explanation above, we can understand that the media has a panopticon-like nature, where the media will always monitor the behavior of individuals in society. Essentially, every individual in society is never free, as the media haunts every individual and their behaviors both in the real world and in the virtual world, such as on social media. This can be seen from the three news articles previously mentioned by the author, where the media attempts to impose discipline and social control by exposing and scrutinizing all available information about the suspect who defies the existing system in great detail. The media seems to warn that behaviors or actions that go against the system, laws, values, or even norms within society will lead to discipline through the dissemination of news about our actions, so that the perpetrator will eventually face social sanctions. This can happen due to the tendency of social media users to document every activity by uploading it on social media, allowing it to be highlighted by the panoptic media themselves. It is important to understand that we are never free, and the reality is that we will always be monitored by the media outlets.

Theoretically, the three news above also demonstrate that media outlets operating on digital platforms have adopted a post-panoptic approach to surveillance, where it no longer relies on physical space as in the classical panopticon, just like what Bauman & Lyon said. Surveillance that occurs anywhere and at any time (a process that effectively eliminates personal privacy) is oneway post-panopticism operates in the digital media sphere. Nevertheless, to conclude that all Indonesian digital media practice post-panopticism is an oversimplification that should be avoided. This study provides only three news examples that seem to illustrate this phenomenon and has not yet explored the existing post-panopticism practices on other platforms in greater depth. Nevertheless, the author is confident that this study has contributed to the development of media studies and sociology, given the clear gap between this research and previous studies, as outlined in the results and discussion sections above. In media studies, this research demonstrates that media can no longer be viewed merely as conventional news outlets but also as post-panoptic surveillance tools, operating anywhere and at any time, as described by Bauman regarding contemporary modernity. In the field of sociology, the results of this study indicate that surveillance is not only carried out by those in power over those under their control, but also among those under control themselves (horizontal). The rise in media coverage of subjects featured in news discourse is inseparable from reposts and discussions by other users on these platforms. This indicates that, horizontally, the public also participates in the surveillance occurring within the digital media sphere.

The author also acknowledges that this study has various limitations in several aspects, such as the number of case examples selected, the analytical framework that relies solely on two theories, and the data collection scope being limited to just three digital media platforms. Therefore, future research should address these issues more comprehensively. This can be achieved by using analytical tools based on different theories rather than classic panopticism or the post one, expanding the scope of data collection beyond the three digital media platforms, and conducting an in-depth analysis of the impact of the surveillance conducted by these media on daily life. Furthermore, future research must also provide robust analytical insights to advance the field of knowledge, namely sociology and communication studies. In this way, academic disciplines related to mass media and digital surveillance, such as Sociology and Communication Studies, can continue to occur over time.

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