

Senior female celebrity's body and ageing well discourse on Instagram

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Abstract Society expects women always to maintain their physical appearance throughout the ages. We can see this condition from the public's view of senior female celebrities, an example of successful ageing or ageing well. This study explores the visual discourse of femininity over the age of 50, which emerges from the Instagram accounts of senior female celebrities. Multimodal critical discourse analysis was conducted on images and texts to reveal dominant themes and rhetorical elements inherent in the femininity of senior female celebrities. The concepts of representation, body and femininity, ageism, and social media analyse alternative discourse related to ageing femininity. This study denotes that the ageing discourse of senior female celebrities reflects the dialectic of realising or revising sexist and ageist ideas about how women look after they reach old age.

Keywords: senior female celebrity; ageing body; discourse; ageing well; Instagram

INTRODUCTION

Ageing is an unavoidable process, but most of us are afraid of getting old (Bosco, 2019). Fear of ageing is not just worrying about the body's condition, which is increasingly at risk of contracting disease or anxiety because life is approaching its end. We also fear others' views who tend to label older people as unattractive, boring, conservative, and dependent. This condition shows that ageing is seen as a crucial biological process. It is equally important that ageing is also interpreted as a social process in which perceptions are shaped and implanted by factors outside the individual (Ayalon & Tesch-Römer, 2018).

Growing old in contemporary society presents challenges for individuals, especially women. Research results published in the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* in 2019 suggest that changes in facial shape caused by ageing are similar for men and women, but women's faces age three times faster than men's after turning 50 or after entering the menopausal period (Windhager et al., 2019). Therefore, women's ageing looks more conspicuous than men's, so labels appear to judge women's bodies as shabby, rickety, saggy, and obsolete. Embedding to those labels makes women insecure about their

appearance, especially since women are always expected to look attractive and present the best version of themselves anytime and anywhere, including in their old age (Kenalemang, 2021).

Amid the usual negative stigma on older women's bodies, we can see a different response to women who do not show any signs of ageing. We can observe this through the figures of senior female celebrities in Indonesia, such as Sophia Latjuba, Ira Wibowo, and Donna Harun. They age more than 50 years old, but the signs of ageing do not apply to them. Posts on their official Instagram accounts show the figure of a woman who is young, healthy, fit, have a dynamic lifestyle and seems happy. Comments such as "rejecting old age", "looking like a teenager", "beautiful vampires", "eternal beauty", and various compliments were given to them who were considered able to age 'well'. Besides that, the ageing image of the three senior female celebrities also becomes public consumption: they are invited by media to talk about their youthfulness in various programs, appointed as brand ambassadors of anti-ageing products by advertisers, adored as role models of ageing well by the community.

In several media interviews which invited senior female celebrities as sources, it was seen that they desire to oppose the negative stigma against older women. They clearly show that ageing does not mean the end of everything. They celebrate their older age by looking different, more independent, and more confident (Trans TV Official, 2017; iNews, 2019; RCTI Entertainment, 2019). However, some argue that what they do, such as what they post on Instagram, perpetuates the myth of ageing and youth standards, legitimising sexist and ageist behaviour in society. Therefore, this study explores how senior female celebrities present their bodies on Instagram and what kind of ageing well discourse emerges from these depictions? The findings of this study are expected to identify the dominant text, visual, and rhetorical elements surrounding older women's bodies which lead to the construction of ageing well discourse towards senior female celebrities. Furthermore, the discussion of the findings will explore the paradox of ageing well discourse as legitimacy and a subversion of the ageing myth and the role of Instagram in the struggle for older women's sexual agency.

Previous studies on the representation of older people in the media portray old age as a period of decline and dependence (Kenalemang, 2021). The appearance of older people in media texts, such as advertisements, is generally related to products that combat ageing, such as diet food and drinks, anti-ageing cosmetics, cosmetic surgeries, and other health products (Loos et al., 2017). Older people's representation quantitatively occurs (Ylänne, 2015), but those advertisements also emphasise overcoming convalescence in old age, where consumers are encouraged to control age-related problems (Kenalemang, 2021). By constantly addressing the issue of ageing, media texts position ageing as a 'disease' that can be cured through the purchase of anti-ageing products (Coupland, 2007). As a result, the old

appearance becomes unwanted, avoided, and needs to be 'treated' in possible ways.

Older women face the dialectic of being invisible or overly visible (Tiidenberg, 2017). On the one hand, the ideal image of being forever young without showing signs of ageing, which bombards women, makes them hide their ageing bodies or feel more 'comfortable' by not showing themselves in front of many eyes. On the other hand, older women who present themselves in public are considered inappropriate or outrageously imposing their 'youthfulness' (Twigg, 2007). Moreover, shaming towards ageing women is still the norm online (Gorton & Garde-Hansen, 2013). The representation of older women on social media proves this dilemma.

Older women who post selfies on social media are generally considered narcissistic or humiliated (Burns, 2015). Feminists criticise the appearance of older women as a form of objectification and exploitation of women's sexuality rather than as an effort to represent their communities. Furthermore, the representation of older women on social media is always accompanied by makeover discourses requiring older women to improve themselves constantly. The discourse is reinforced by narratives around freedom of choice, fulfilment of happiness, and strengthening the position of women as influential subjects (Dobson, 2015). Deborah Jermyn (2016) admits that the trend of celebrating ageing femininity does not always mark a shift in views or standards that older women are truly attractive, but rather as a postfeminist pressure that has a lingering concern about representation.

The dilemma of visibility that contradicts the female body's objectification or resistance is widely explored in progressive studies. A study conducted by Adrienne Evans and Sarah Riley (2015) on sex toys among women in everyday life shows an attempt to destroy the passive mode of femininity by rejecting the dominant discourses of neoliberalism, post-feminism, and consumerism over femininity itself. This indicates that women create new sexual subject positions that defy normative expectations by reproducing dominant discourses relevant to their struggles.

In social media, discussions about whether socially mediated self-representation can be used as a form of resistance are also widely explored in research. Research conducted by Katrin Tiidenberg (2015) on the Not Safe For Work (NSFW) community on Tumblr.com shows that selfie sharing activities are a practice of rejecting normative body discourse and heteronormativity. This practice is also considered to expand the community's understanding of what is photographable and unphotographable regarding women's bodies. Taking pictures, editing, uploading, and commenting on selfies helped female participants disconnect from discourses that normalised the absence of an ageing female body in the photograph. Other research also shows that there are conscious efforts by women who upload their images on social media to fight dominant discourses which harm, subordinate, and show power

inequalities in social structures (Olszanowski, 2014; Lingel & Boyd, 2013; Renninger, 2014).

So far, research related to body representation, especially celebrities, on social media is still minimally explored even though the bodies of senior female celebrities have become the main topic of conversation in society. Some admire it as an example of perfect ageing, others see it as the courage to experience ageing, and some interpret it as pressure on women to look good regardless of their social status. In the midst of this debate, this research intends to discuss whether the discourse constructed from senior female celebrities' Instagram posts can be interpreted as an effort to reject the normative old body discourse or it is a normalisation of youth as the main parameter of female existence.

METHODOLOGY

This study used a multimodal critical discourse analysis (MCDA) method to determine how linguistic and visual semiotic resources represent what people do (Machin & Mayr, *How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis*, 2012). MCDA looks at semiotics resources, such as poses, gazes, and quoting verbs, representing the attitudes of speakers. Some people might be individualised or collectivised through language and image, made specific, generic, personalised, or impersonalised, objectivated, anonymised, aggregated and suppressed (Machin & Mayr, *How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis*, 2012). Inspecting media texts through MCDA would show how meaning is built up, made, used, and reused so that it is possible to reveal ideology in the society and challenge it.

The units of analysis were photos and captions from Indonesian senior female celebrities, which were posted on their official Instagram accounts: Sophia Latjuba (@sophia_latjuba88), Ira Wibowo (@irawbw), and Donna Harun (@donnaaharunofficial). Furthermore, observations were made from January to July 2021. The researcher selected posts that clearly showed the appearance of senior female celebrities, and ten posts were obtained from each account for further analysis (30 posts in total).

In doing MCDA, the researcher analysed the data contextually in which The researcher treated visual material (photos or pictures) and textual material (captions and comments) as intertextually rational entities. The researcher went through each post, looked for key themes from each account, and identified patterns. Then, the researcher looked at visual and textual elements which keep repeating and become the key to constructing a discourse on ageing senior female celebrities. The following analysis highlights the emerging discourses in the posts of the three celebrities and places them in the wider social context to understand the ideas, values, and meanings constructed by those posts.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Visual, Textual and Rhetorical Elements

Based on observations of those accounts, senior female celebrities regularly upload photos and videos which show their daily lives. The researcher saw the diversity of the posts' themes ranging from sports, fashion, hobbies, travel, family, friends to selfies. Of these themes, there are two themes uploaded regularly and repeatedly, namely sport and fashion.

Sport is one of the prominent themes in the three accounts because they have their preferences for sporting activities and do it regularly. For example, Sophia Latjuba pursues yoga, and Donna Harun chooses golf, while Ira Wibowo enjoys walking, cycling, and hiking. Self-representation as a sports lover can be seen from the description or account profile, then continues to the photos, captions, and hashtags used in the posts. Sophia Latjuba, for example, wrote "*Mom-Creator-Yogini-RYT200*" in her account description (@sophia_latjuba88, 2021). The word "Yogini" itself is a special term for women who are yoga practitioners or yoga adherents. This shows a close relationship between Sophia Latjuba and yoga, where it can be said that yoga has become the identity of her life. Here are some posts showing each celebrity's choice of sports activities (Figure 1):



Figure 1. Senior female celebrities and their choice of sport

Source: (@sophia_latjuba88, 2021; @donnaharunofficial, 2021; @irawbw, 2021)

The description of the sport is usually shown through activities or exercises on the field with certain equipment such as poses on the yoga mat, the position of swinging a golf stick, and riding a bicycle. Some of the characteristics of sports images that are also found in the accounts of senior female celebrities are their poses before exercising (e.g., mirror selfie) and the appearance of sweaty bodies after exercising.

Exercise is often considered a way to achieve the ideal body. For example, men do weightlift in the gym to build muscles and a muscular body image, while women exercise to achieve a 'bikini body.' Through

the posts of the three senior female celebrities, sports activities are more related to health and lifestyle rather than an effort to pursue a slim, toned, and sexy body. The sports poses are equipped with captions about happiness, enthusiasm, gratitude, and health, as in Ira Wibowo's upload, which shows himself lifting a bicycle with a happy face and a caption which tells his enthusiasm and happiness after cycling ("*Riding again. Don't be bored. After all, I'm really happy*") (@irawbw, 2021).

Their sports-themed posts' visual and textual elements construct the rhetoric of hard work and commitment. Sport is seen as a continuous activity, and to ensure its sustainability requires commitment from within. For senior female celebrities, hard work and commitment to exercise are key to a better, healthier and happier life. Thus, sport also means self-transformation (e.g., changing an aspect that feels not yet or less good to be better). Although they also admit that maintaining health in old age also requires extra attention: extra effort is needed to move the body, be more sensitive in choosing sports activities that are suitable for them, and be more careful when exercising, especially when doing high impact activities.

Furthermore, the visual appearance of sweaty selfies, field exercises, and reliable yoga pose in the uploads of the three celebrities also serve as visual truth claims. Image as a visual element communicates reality or what counts as 'truth' (Machin & Van Leeuwen, 2007). Through uploading photos about sports activities, celebrities show evidence of their commitment to an active lifestyle. At the same time, the caption contains expressions of happiness and self-transformation, photos of sports activities showing satisfying results from their hard work. Because the evidence of 'truth' has been shown, they have the right to present themselves, speak up, and inspire others (e.g., followers, fans) to follow the same lifestyle. These senior celebrities do like Tincknell's (2011) findings, who researched reality show makeover programs on television, where participants were willing to suffer physically because they had to undergo plastic surgery procedures for spiritual redemption. In the case of senior female celebrities, regular exercise is the cause of physical suffering and feelings of satisfaction and happiness with the transformation are their version of spiritual redemption.

The second dominant theme is fashion, in which senior female celebrities document their appearance. What they wear from head to toe becomes the focus of taking pictures like Outfit of The Day (#OOTD) photos scattered on social media, especially Instagram. From the outfits they wear, we can find out the context of taking pictures: whether the picture is for work needs (e.g., when she is a model or brand ambassador for a product), while exercising, on vacation or relaxing.

Same with sports-themed photos, there are no certain body parts that are trying to be highlighted or sentences that explicitly lead to body sexiness. Senior female celebrities wearing fashionable clothes, accessories, and make-up are documented to show feelings of

happiness. For example, in Ira Wibowo, the feeling of being happy to be able to visit a new place is shown through her photo sitting in a blue dress accompanied by a caption that tells her experience of travelling to Flores (@irawbw, 2021). Also, Sophia Latjuba is in a casual white dress, wearing high heels and a big smile accompanied by a caption that shows her love for shoes ("It's okay to be a little obsessed with shoes") (@sophia_latjuba88, 2021). Thus, senior female celebrities describe fashion uploads through self-pleasing rhetoric and a love of fashion (Figure 2).

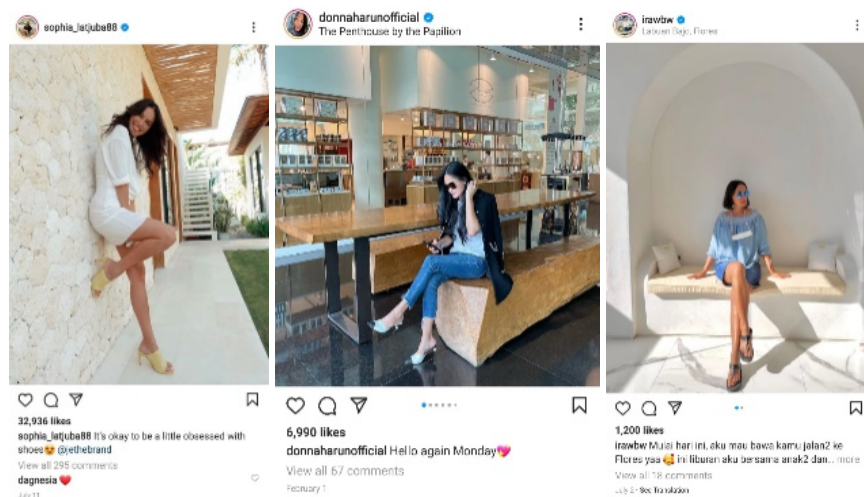


Figure 2. Senior female celebrities' choice of fashion

Source: (@sophia_latjuba88, 2021; @donnaharunofficial, 2021; @irawbw, 2021)

In addition to the sports and fashion-themed posts, the researcher also saw the rhetoric repeated by the three senior female celebrities, namely independence. In this case, independence is shown through posts nuanced in self-love, self-confidence, and a focus on the happiness that comes from within. The rhetoric of confidence, for example, can be seen from the caption on Donna Harun's upload, which reads, "*Don't want to be perfect. We just need to be who you are*" (@donnaharunofficial, 2021). While the self-love rhetoric can be found in Ira Wibowo's post, which tells how his hair was difficult to manage on that day "*Just follow what your hair wants, the important thing is to be happy*" (@irawbw, 2021) and Sophia Latjuba's post with the caption "*Start with self-love; you are so worth it*" (@sophia_latjuba88, 2021). Uniquely, the independence rhetoric is accompanied by selfie photos that show smiling or laughing faces, giving the impression of happiness that is pursued by oneself and does not rely on others to create fun.

Seeking one's happiness is a consistently reproduced rhetoric. This independence rhetoric is always present in every post of the three celebrities, including sports and fashion themes. Gorton and Garde-Hansen (2013) reveal that positive rhetoric such as independence can serve as a defence for middle-aged celebrities who have been bullied online for accusations of being arrogant, narcissistic, and inappropriate

(e.g., because they look too young for their age). When the three celebrities upload photos of certain body parts that risk inviting online bullying (e.g., in selfies), the rhetoric of independence neutralises the tendency of narcissism or arrogance in the public's perception. Therefore, certain visual elements can communicate different messages because of different aesthetic and rhetorical elements.

The strategy of combining visual elements with positive rhetoric eventually constructs the 'formula' of self-presentation on Instagram. For the sports theme, the visual elements used are training activities in the field and complemented by positive rhetoric such as self-transformation, including making oneself healthier and happier. This 'formula' is in line with Bent Fausing's (2014) states that an image showing a workout pose and a sweaty body represents a serious, committed, and goal-oriented self.

As for the fashion, the theme is charming poses that highlight the full-body outfit with positive rhetoric that leads to confidence and readiness for activities. As for the sports theme, the visual elements of a sweaty body combined with the textual rhetoric frames bodies as matters of health, happiness, and lifestyle rather than self-objectification. Katrin Tiidenberg (2017) highlights that both sports and fashion themes are success-oriented: no images of falling during exercise, imperfect yoga poses, and less stunning outfits. Senior female celebrities will upload images that serve as visual truth claims, so images that show failure will be disallowed because they do not support the construction of positive rhetoric.

Ageing Well Discourse

When Sophia Latjuba uploaded a photo of herself sitting and smiling with the caption "*Found my happy place right here*", many comments highlighted her appearance that looked much younger than her actual age, such as the response from @naziracnoer account "*Sorry, are you still in junior high school?*" (@sophia_latjuba88, 2021). In Ira Wibowo's post about cycling, similar comments were also found. The @bimoharyono account praised Ira Wibowo's physical performance through the sentence "*Great, superwoman*" (@irawbw, 2021). From these responses, older women's body praises when their appearance and performance differ from an older in general. Even when the pictures and texts they upload do not talk about ageing, netizens still cannot separate the ageing factor from the senior female celebrities' bodies.

The researcher also highlighted Donna Harun's post with her granddaughter with a caption that tried to answer the netizen's question, "*How come Ms. Donna Harun is so young and always beautiful? What are the tips?*" Donna clearly explained that her appearance was an effort to care for and prepare herself "*All women created by Allah are beautiful with their characteristics. It is just how we take care of ourselves to get the look*" In more detail, Donna Harun also explained what kind of facial treatment she does, namely by routinely using face wash, cream to

remove wrinkles, facial freckle removal cream, serum, acne medication, supplements, and skin vitamins (@donnaharunofficial, 2021).

From that post, we can see that Donna Harun's youthful and 'eternal' beauty has become a role model for the community. From the questions posed, it can also be seen that there is a dichotomous perception of ageing experienced by Donna Harun with society in general, where the ageing of senior female celebrities is considered 'good' while the natural ageing process is considered 'bad'. There are efforts to change the 'bad' ageing into 'good' by imitating the lifestyle of senior female celebrities. They hope that the 'unfavourable' ageing can be prevented, the visible signs are minimised, or even eliminated from an ageing woman's body.

Through Donna Harun's interactions with her followers, it can also be concluded that ageing skin (body) is a treatable problem (Ringrow, 2016). We can observe it from the word 'tips' when netizens ask about how Donna Harun maintains her youth and beauty. The word 'care' and the use of various products to remove wrinkles, facial spots, maintaining moisture and skin colour also shows the same logic, that ageing has a cure, and if we want to put extra effort into preparing, caring for, and consuming various beauty products, we will surely avoid ageing.

The problem-solution pattern in the context of ageing is commonly seen in advertisements for anti-ageing products. Anti-ageing product advertising narrative evaluates the face of older women with negative terminology such as brittle, dry, and dull so that the natural appearance of old age becomes problematic, and ageing is filled with unwanted risks. This creates fear among women, the real fear is not because of the fear of looking old, but more complex is the fear of looking unattractive. Therefore, maintaining an attractive physical appearance is the recommended 'prescription' (Richards, Warren, & Gott, 2012). Donna Harun's response can be seen as a process of transfer of understanding that has been utilising the relationships that already exist in the minds of readers, namely between markers (celebrities) and signs (the appearance of young-looking skin) (Williamson, 2007). In addition, senior female celebrities, as a symbol of ageing, can normalise the construction of ideal ageing in society, namely looking young, having a proportional body and being able to carry out various activities (LaWare & Moutsatsos, 2013).

Although the ageing well discourse, on the one hand, agrees with sexist and ageist attitudes in society, on the other hand, the same discourse is also used as an attempt to reject the normalisation of the overall invisibility of older women. So far, older women avoid the spotlight because they feel they are no longer attractive or because of domestication, which causes them to be marginalised. However, ageing is not just about outward appearances, and the ageing well discourse opens up opportunities to show empowered ageing such as living a dynamic lifestyle, actively socialising, working through hobbies or other interests, and contributing socially. Therefore, ageing well may also

come from within the individual so that ageing becomes a process of both outer and inner wellness.

Through the self-representation of senior female celebrities on Instagram, we can see the representation of groups of older women. In addition, the ageing well discourse, which prioritises an old body that is capable and active, also shows an effort to reject the marginalisation of the role of older women. The posts of the three senior female celebrities show their enthusiasm for working outside the home (besides being a mother and taking care of the household): Sophia Latjuba is pursuing ceramics, Donna Harun enjoys golf, and Ira Wibowo is on an adventure exploring nature. Through the same representation, it can also be seen that there are efforts to fight the stigma of an older woman's body (a body that is sagging, dull, and unattractive) by bringing up the rhetoric of hard work and self-love. Posts with sports themes show that middle-aged women are not only concerned with appearance but also ways to find happiness and satisfaction from within themselves without requiring the legitimacy of others (in the traditional context, it is men). Meanwhile, uploads with the fashion theme show that older women are also economically empowered and do not hesitate to celebrate the culture of consumerism as an expression of self-love and fulfilment of pleasure.

The posts of the three senior female celebrity accounts show that older women can greet ageing in their entirety. Through sports and fashion, the three show that beauty does not only come from the face but the whole self. This is in line with Ylänne et al. (2009), who argue that older women are responsible for their welfare and try to avoid social exclusion. Good health in old age is entirely an individual choice and responsibility, so older women with poor health are considered to fail to prevent ageing and embody an ageless lifestyle (Richards, Warren, & Gott, 2012). Efforts made by senior female celebrities to maintain their appearance and physical performance are visible management of ageing, which reinforces the assumption that to be visible and attractive, women need to work hard.

Subversion or Legitimacy?

The ageing well discourse emphasises that women do not want to look old and unattractive. Therefore, they bind themselves to the ideal of beauty and youthfulness and must disguise their ageing to achieve the ideal 'perfect' face. Women are also faced with the ageist stigma that views ageing as powerless. Older women also face a dilemma: accept the reality and be invisible or work hard to meet the ageing well standards and be visible?

From the posts of senior female celebrities, the researcher sees extra efforts that older women must make if they want to present themselves in public. Regular exercise and paying attention to the body (e.g., caring for managing stress) is a 'prescription' that could not be missed. So, does this prove that women can not present their ageing selves as it is?

Julia Twigg (2004) states that the most basic thing is not to deny old age. Older women, including senior female celebrities, resist the devaluation of getting old, not rejecting ageing itself. The posts of the three senior female celebrities do not show any rejection of ageing events, and they welcome ageing by trying their best for themselves. The effort is not only related to beauty, toned skin, or a proportional body but also happiness from within. As can be seen from Donna Harun's no-makeup selfie post with the caption "*True change is within, leave the outside as it is*" (@donnaaharunofficial, 2021) or Sophia Latjuba's casual post caption which reads "*Same old me. But man, have the researcher grown*" (@sophia_latjuba88, 2021). Ageing is a biological process that cannot be avoided, but it can be lived without always referring to the standard of youthfulness as a social process.

The three senior female celebrities represent older women as active individuals and sexual subjects who can choose to present themselves in an objectified way because this is following their 'liberation' (Gill, 2008). Being physically attractive and sexually active is a major component of achieving successful ageing (Wada, Clarke, & Rozanova, 2015). With this frame, they break free from the standards of old age and appreciate the impossible condition of growing old without signs of ageing. This condition also shows a shift in the position of women from being represented as passive objects, and now they are often represented as active, independent, and sexually influential figures (Gill, 2008).

The independence rhetoric in the posts of senior female celebrities confirms that older women have a playful side, are full of freedom, and can make choices about themselves, just like younger women are shown in media texts (Machin & Thornborrow, 2006). The difference is if in several studies it is found that younger women take care of themselves to get attention from the opposite sex (Guéguen, 2012; Baumeister, Reynolds, Winegard & Vohs, 2017; Mafra et al., 2020), efforts to 'improve' themselves by older women are not aimed at seeking acceptance from others (although the possibility of being the centre of attention still exists) (Kenalemang, 2021). In line with the posts of the three senior female celebrities who did not show any clear intention to impress the audience with the appearance of their old bodies. The main orientation of ageing for senior female celebrities is authentic self-satisfaction, liberation and happiness, which is sourced and pursued from within oneself (Gill, 2008; Tiidenberg, 2017).

The post of senior female celebrities seeks to empower older women to be responsible for their sexuality through "fun, fearless female" discourse. The typical discourse, which is usually intended for younger women, has now become a more assertive sexual construct towards older women. Fun and fearlessness are the way for older women to achieve independence and maintain their power. Although the discourse of "fun, fearless female" can make older women visible in the public eye, they are still expected not to over-present themselves. They

must disguise the signs of ageing without appearing too young, and at the same time, they must maintain a youthful appearance and remain physically attractive without looking too sensual (Kenalemang, 2021).

Even though the positive representation of older women, such as what is done by senior female celebrities, is now more accepted by society, the existence of older women is still reduced through a perspective that prioritises how they look rather than how they behave in society (Machin & Mayr, 2012). In the end, the subversion of the older women's body will always intersect with the discourse of beauty, youth, and health as a form of legitimacy over social norms, and therefore the struggle is never-ending.

CONCLUSION

The ageing discourse on the Instagram accounts of senior female celebrities reflects the dialectic of realising or revising sexist and ageist ideas about how women look after they reach old age. Senior female celebrities reject the absence of an ageing body, desexualisation, and the reduced role of older women (Lewis, Medvedev, & Seponski, 2011). At the same time, rhetoric that frames the appearance of older women through sports, fashion, and independence reinforces ageing makeover efforts (Jermyn, 2016).

Another dilemma is the role of Instagram as a space and the realm of subversion of senior female celebrities. New media researchers view Instagram as more suitable for hegemonic self-expression (Tiidenberg, 2015). However, in the case of the representation of senior female celebrities, Instagram has characteristics as a sphere of resistance. If the representation of an ageing body is the main focus, Instagram creates a space with fewer visible norms than conventional mass media. This condition opens up opportunities for individuals or groups who have been invisible or neglected to express and show their aspirations for being seen. If Instagram can facilitate senior female celebrities, microcelebrities, and influencers, then the same role can also be utilised by other minority groups. Without realising it, on the one hand, Instagram may function as a space that normalises striking youthfulness, but on the other hand, it also opens a space that was previously unavailable for older women to present themselves with their unique and authentic ageing process.

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