HYPERREALITY IN SHARENTING: CHALLENGES OF BEING AN INDONESIAN PARENT TODAY

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HYPERREALITY IN SHARENTING: CHALLENGES OF BEING AN INDONESIAN PARENT TODAY

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ABSTRACT
The phenomenon of sharenting refers to the practice of parents, particularly mothers, sharing personal information in the form of text, photos, or videos about their child-rearing experiences and journey to parenthood on social media platforms. Social media, as a space of simulation, is considered to present an idealized version of parenting, showcasing perfect moments and achievements. This paper critically explores how the phenomenon of sharenting, especially by millennial mothers in Indonesia, contributes to the construction of family life representations that underlie parents' adaptation to idealized parenting standards on social media platforms. The paper samples sharenting content from several Instagram accounts considered as Indonesian “momfluencers”. Baudrillard's concept of hyperreality is employed to highlight the blurring of boundaries between reality and simulation in parenting practices, which can create unrealistic expectations for parents. By analyzing the intersection of sharenting and hyperreality as observed on the Instagram accounts of the sampled momfluencers, this paper discusses the implications for parents who may feel incapable or pressured to meet such parenting standards.

KEYWORDS: hyperreality, momfluencer, mothering, parenting, sharenting, social media

INTRODUCTION
In the digitally entrenched era marked by the proliferation of social media, the phenomenon of sharenting has emerged as a globally widespread practice. This refers to individuals who possess the status and identity as parents consciously sharing information, photos, and personal experiences related to parenting and their children on social media platforms (Hays in Lazard et al., 2019; Holiday et al., 2022). Millennial parents (loosely defined as those born between 1985 and 1995 who grew up with technological advancements)—particularly mothers—find it natural to post photos, videos, and short texts as status celebrating their children’s lives and developments.
This activity includes sharing milestones, achievements, moments, and practical tips and advice related to pregnancy, birth, and child-rearing. This shift reflects a change in parenting perspectives and methods of socializing with other parents, differing significantly from their own parents and or previous generations (Hasanah & Ermawati, 2022). Before the advent of social media and smartphones, rapid childhood developments that became fleeting memories were often confined to personal photo albums, discussed within limited circles such as family and relatives. Today, these moments are no longer considered private and are widely shared across various social classes.

In today's context, the phenomenon of sharenting is closely linked with the urgency felt by millennial parents to align themselves with the prevailing internet standards deemed relevant in the digital world. These parents view their online sharing efforts as a way to build their own identity and relevance in the digital realm (Lazard et al., 2019). For mothers in particular, sharenting enables them to share up-to-date information about their children's development, making it more accessible to acquaintances and family (Hasanah & Ermawati, 2022). Sharenting also serves as a platform for mothers to access educational and critical information about their children, fostering communication and self-expression, and providing social support as these mothers strive to combat loneliness and low self-efficacy (Wardhani & Sekarasih, 2021; Lee, 2022). Notably, sharenting on social media tends to selectively upload special moments perceived to display happiness and success (Lazard, 2022). This kind of curation often emphasizes positive aspects, presenting an image of perfect parenting within a happy family portrait, thus marginalizing or even eliminating the visibility of challenges and difficulties accompanying parenting, without considering the long-term impact of such content on the children (Brosch, 2016). By "showcasing" their parenting experiences on social media, parents actively participate in constructing a representation of an ideally imagined family life.

Sharenting is inseparable from societal habits of using social media, including how millennial parents also function as both producers and consumers of the contents they upload (Barnes & Potter, 2021). They have the agency to choose, follow, and view social media accounts of key opinion leaders, social media influencers, and digital celebrities whom they deem as role models and who can provide positive influences on parenting. These digital celebrities are able to exert influence because, particularly on social media, they engage in communication that is perceived as more intensive, intimate, and personal with their followers, compared to their appearances in mainstream media (Mardhiyah, 2020). Additionally, social media allows them to publicly open up their private spaces, thus making the portrayal of themselves feel more authentic and close than what is displayed in mainstream media like television, magazines, and radio (Ghaffari, 2022). When these influencers and digital celebrities engage in sharenting, the parenting life they portray becomes a benchmark for the ideal condition imagined by society, irrespective of the varying abilities and capacities of parents within the community.

The phenomenon of sharenting, including in Indonesia, can be viewed as an expression of hyperreality in the context of parenting that refers to the actions of digital celebrities. Hyperreality, as conceptualized by Baudrillard, refers to a condition where the boundary between reality and simulation becomes blurred—visuals replace reality (Huang, 2019). Symbols and reality drift apart as simulations replace reality and become hyperreality. In the hyperreal situation referred to by Baudrillard, representations of reality—such as media, advertising, and social media in today's context—shape perceptions and experiences of a world that is more than reality itself (Maulina in Damayanti & Hidayat, 2019). The presence of hyperreality is characterized by the
dominance of signs and symbols that construct an understanding of reality, but often lead to a separation from each individual's authentic experiences—the simulacra. Therefore, it is possible that social media serves as a space of simulacra for parents in a generation that has grown up with technology and the development of social media. They are not only compelled to present an ideal version of their lives and their children's lives to match the standards set by the world on social media, but are also urged to see, at least aspire to be there (Holiday et al., 2022). The drive towards this relevance is also triggered by the need for social approval, affirmation, and validation from peers, friends, and even strangers on the internet. At a certain point, children's development becomes a form of contestation (Brosch, 2016).

Sharenting itself contributes to the creation of online identities for children from their early age, particularly when represented through Instagram (and now also TikTok) whose main features are photos and videos (Dobson & Jay, 2020). As the personal information and images of these children are exposed to a broad audience, children have the potential to grow up with a digital footprint that they cannot control themselves. The mediated identities of children through the online presence conducted by their parents can potentially affect their self-perception and privacy as they age. Although the topic of sharenting is often closely tied to the exploitation of children's privacy, this paper does not discuss that aspect. Instead, it will focus on exploring how sharenting on Instagram can create a condition of hyperreality, and how sharenting conducted by digital celebrities impacts the construction of the representation of an ideal family life within the framework of hyperreality. By sampling Instagram accounts of several momfluencers, this study compares those who were already famous as celebrities and those who are influencers on Instagram. The research findings in this paper aim to discuss the implications of hyperreality on social media in relation to parenting patterns, with the hypothesis that sharenting on Instagram plays a role in the construction of an ideal middle-class family, impacting expectations and social competition for Indonesian parents, especially for mothers.

**RESEARCH METHODS**

For this study, four Instagram momfluencer accounts from Indonesia were selected as the research sample. Two accounts represent Indonesian artists or celebrities, namely Jennifer Bachdim (@jenniferbachdim, hereafter referred to as JB) and Nikita Willy (@nikitawillyofficial94, hereafter referred to as NW); the other two are Indonesian momfluencer accounts from non-celebrity circles, namely Vionna Austine (@eommagram, hereafter referred to as VA) and Nadia Juliana (@julianadya, hereafter referred to as NJ). Celebrity accounts tend to have a large number of followers (over 1 million followers), while non-celebrities tend to have fewer (under 100,000 followers). Nonetheless, all four accounts share common topics in the content they upload, focusing on the daily life experiences of mothering toddlers who still require significant supervision and care. As momfluencers, these four accounts have other part-time roles and engagements aside from being mothers—as they engage in collaborations with products or brands that endorse them as content creators, and they are allowed to run

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1 Momfluencer, or mommy influencer, refers to mothers who actively share their stories and experiences on the internet using social networking sites as their blogging platforms. Their stories serve as references for other mothers and expectant mothers, thereby exerting a certain influence. Currently, mommy influencers are predominantly active on YouTube, Instagram, and TikTok (Hudders et al. 2020, Moujaes & Verrier 2021).
businesses with flexible working hours. Additionally, all four choose to care for their children without the help of a nanny. Even more, as shown through various uploaded content, they also opt to do their own household chores without the assistance of full-time domestic helpers. This condition is particularly interesting, especially in the cases of JB and NW, considering that celebrities, who belong to the middle to upper-class in Indonesia, are typically associated with having assistants to help manage their household and childcare tasks, yet they choose not to have them.

Among the four accounts selected as samples, none of the account owners in this sample are personally known to the researcher, and their selection was based on a manual search related to keywords like parenting, sharenting, momdaily, etc., aided by algorithms formed due to related searches. The Instagram platform was chosen because it provides comprehensive features for displaying photos, videos, and captions, which, at the time of writing this article, is still more widely used in Indonesia by millennial parents to display their photos and videos in an organized and curated gallery format—compared to Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, or even TikTok.

This study utilizes a qualitative approach to critically examine the relationship between the sharenting activities on Instagram carried out by momfluencers and the interactions and sentiments occurring within the uploaded content. Primary data collection was conducted using netnography, which modifies ethnographic research methods to investigate cultures and communities that develop through digital communication platforms. Screenshots of the content (both photos and videos) and interactions with the content serve as data, particularly interactions in the form of comments that respond to the related content to strengthen the context. Textual analysis is used to uncover markers and narratives that could give rise to expressions of hyperreality. In this process, content is selectively chosen, highlighting both positive nuances and situations that illustrate negative aspects for empowerment purposes. This study also employs a literature review from sources relevant to the discussion on the use of social media, specifically focusing on Instagram as a medium that can facilitate the creation of hyperreal conditions. Instagram features that allow users to select, edit, and present specific aspects of their lives are critically viewed as potentially causing certain impacts within the hyperreal framework conceptualized by Baudrillard, as discussed in the introduction.

FINDINGS & ANALYSIS

Raising children is a complex and individual journey for each family and parent, and what works for one family may not work for another (Turiel, 2005; Heath, 2006). The conditions and support of each individual involved in a family, social environment, economic capacity, the working hours of each parent, mental and physical capacities, the needs and developmental conditions of each child, as well as other highly individual factors, create a unique reality for each family—especially the reality of mothers who often bear the primary responsibility for child-rearing in environments that are still predominantly patriarchal (Tach, 2012). Online platforms and social media typically offer information and advice with certain representations, which may not consider the unique circumstances and needs of each child and family. However, it cannot be ignored that every child is an individual with various temperaments, personalities, and developmental stages.

One significant study investigating momfluencers was conducted by Gibson (2019), who found that this situation is not really new, at least in the context of society in the United States. Expectations related to being a mother have been deeply ingrained since the heyday of print media and are known as motherhood memoirs, a genre rooted
in print culture where women write their identities as mothers. These memoirs try to capture the journey of being a mother, offer insights into the day-to-day realities of mothering, often highlighting the emotional, physical, and psychological challenges mothers face. By sharing their stories, mothers contribute to a collective voice that can resonate with other mothers and this shared experience helps build a sense of community and solidarity among mothers. However, in the narrative of motherhood memoirs, sometimes women narrow their role as caregivers who practice intensive mothering (Hays, 1998), where a mother focuses her role on always being in a non-selfish nurturing mode—where this selfishness can be interpreted and constructed as a condition when women can claim identity and function outside the domestic sphere besides being a “mother”. This ideology of intensive mothering also emphasizes that mothers are expected to prioritize their children above all else, requiring significant time, effort, and financial investment (Womby, 2021). Hays also outlined four key components of intensive mothering, highlighting the expectation for mothers to be primary caregivers by (1) prioritize their children, (2) acquire specific parenting skills, and (3) engage in labor-intensive and (4) emotionally fulfilling parenting (Tugwell, 2022). As media development shifted to digital, motherhood memoirs continued to exist in a space known as the mamasphere or momosphere (Orton-Johnson, 2017; Gibson, 2019). The development of social media, particularly Instagram, with its interactive and real-time features, allows the dissemination of information and construction of narratives to occur much faster and more continuously (Orton-Johnson, 2017).

The motherhood memoirs that have developed in American media culture refer to how Western culture, particularly white, is used as a reference and the ideal depiction of a mother (Douglas & Michael in Gibson, 2019). It can be observed that the ideology of "whiteness" then revolves not only around skin color but also class position, as the white are identified with those from the middle to upper social classes with better monetary resources—who thereby can access education, jobs that are open to technological advancement, and have leisure time—which enables them to practice intensive mothering, that may be unrealistic or unattainable for mothers from other racial or socioeconomic backgrounds. In relation to representations on social media, the presence of momfluencers, according to Orton-Johnson (2017), inevitably becomes something highly contradictory, yet serves as a bridge between structural and cultural elements, between interpersonal relationships and individual choices. Momfluencers often present an idealized version of motherhood that aligns with intensive mothering principles. This can create pressure on other mothers to conform to these high standards, even when they may not have the resources or desire to do so. Not to mention that the representation of motherhood in the momfluencer space is often lacking in diversity, with a predominance of white, middle-to-upper-class voices. This can marginalize mothers from different racial, cultural, and socioeconomic backgrounds, whose experiences and challenges may not be adequately represented. Moreover, while momfluencers can provide valuable advice and support, their content is often curated and influenced by commercial interests. This can lead to a commodification of motherhood, where the realities of parenting are overshadowed by polished, marketable images.
The four accounts @jenniferbachdim, @nikitawillyofficial94, @eommagram, and @julianadya each at least display fragments of the following characteristics: middle class and "white," although in the Indonesian context, "white" may refer to the concept of cosmopolitan whiteness\(^2\). As shown in Figure 1, each of these momfluencer accounts has posted at least one collection of family photos while on vacation together. Three of them indicate through location tags that they were vacationing abroad. Vacationing abroad itself can be interpreted as a lifestyle accessible to those from urban middle to upper social classes. In these photos, there is no indication of who took the pictures, but all four photos show a level of performativity as they present a happy family persona in

\(^2\) Saraswati (2010) mentions that cosmopolitan whiteness can be expanded as a transnationally nuanced critique, which in the context of Indonesia is evident in the dominance of advertisements that portray a white skin image in the media. This image is not just an issue of ethnicity alone but is also marked by biological, social, and visual signifiers that interlink within virtuality. Virtuality becomes an important element in understanding cosmopolitan whiteness because it highlights the lack of “traditional physical substance” that fills the space between the real and the unreal (Laurel in Saraswati 2010). This concept aligns with Baudrillard’s hyperreality where modern consumer culture, especially through media and advertising, creates a space of simulacra that blurs the boundaries between what is real and what is artificially created to stimulate consumption.
The interactions on social media show that the hyperreal expression of the sharenting phenomenon becomes apparent when there is a blurring between real-life experiences in child-rearing and the online representation of the parents, especially mothers who are indirectly expected to practice intensive mothering. On social media, parents, particularly mothers, are able to compose and share aesthetically curated moments, as seen in the above vacation photos—where facial expressions appear happy, and the children being photographed seem cooperative. This online representation creates an image of parenting that seems real, yet it does not accurately reflect the complexity and daily challenges because it is fragmented and framed according to the creator's selective presentation of those moments. The happiness experienced during vacations becomes the main focus, obscuring the challenges of traveling with children, such as the need for extra preparations, moments when a child is too tired to cooperate, and other specific needs.

In the context of everyday activities, hyperreal expressions can also be evident in the child-rearing process. For example, when a celebrity shares information about items prepared for a baby's room that is separate from the parents' room when implementing sleep training to get the child accustomed to sleeping independently without their parents' help. When displaying a photo that is not journalistic in nature, it is very possible that someone stages it to prepare the subject of the photo as beautifully and attractively as possible. This creates a simulation because the reality presented is separated from the authentic experience related to the everyday conditions of the space shown.

The display in Figure 2 is a screenshot from one of NW's contents that shows her child's room because many netizens were curious about how her child, who was then under a year old, could already sleep alone. The room is neatly arranged and appears symmetrical. Besides Nikita, quite a few other digital celebrities demonstrate that an ideal baby room should have a crib with a fence that can secure the baby, a bedding set made of bamboo fibers, a sleepsack as a substitute for blankets and swaddles which is considered safer for babies, a white noise machine to help babies fall asleep easily, a surveillance camera so parents can monitor the child from the next room, and other equipment from specific brands that are said to provide maximum security for the baby.
and comfort for parents so they do not have to stay up all night. This neatly arranged child's room is imagined as something ideal, although the reality for each family may not necessarily be the same.

Another case that can be observed is content on social media that highlights issues of child development, especially feeding and eating issues. In Indonesia, child growth and development have their own complexities, considering that the rate of stunting is quite high and has become a national concern. Many families are constrained by access and means, not only to consume nutritious food but also to consult regularly about their child's growth and development with doctors or other professional health workers, making social media a means to seek information. Additionally, children's responses in the process of learning to eat are one of the major challenges for parents, leading many parents to feel the need to prepare well and equip themselves with various knowledge and adequate tools. Nevertheless, many contents uploaded by momfluencers on social media show how their children have ideal eating abilities and tastes, and how their children's growth can even surpass the recommendations suggested by experts and health workers. The overlapping information on social media about the best menu for children, tips and guidelines to make children interested in eating, equipment to help children learn to eat independently, techniques for introducing food to children, and so forth creates an expression of hyperreality when compared to the everyday household of each family. The interactions that occur in such content become a validation that continuously portrays parents within hyperreality and creates a particular contest when the child is not ready or indeed has other difficulties in the process of learning to eat. What then happens is that parents do not have an authentic experience with their child because they do not directly observe the child's needs, and instead potentially alter the way parents and children interact and understand their own lives.

In Hays' concept of intensive mothering, issues related to eating and feeding intersect significantly with the phenomenon of motherhood memoirs and social media content, particularly in how these mediums shape and reflect societal expectations of motherhood. This dynamic is particularly evident in child development issues, such as eating habits and nutrition, which are crucial aspects of parenting. The cultural ideal of intensive mothering is perpetuated and sometimes distorted, creating a hyperreal portrayal of motherhood that can influence parents' real-life interactions with their children. In Indonesia and similar contexts, many middle-class and lower-class families may struggle with access to nutritious food and professional health consultations (Roshita et al., 2012). While social media offers valuable information and support, it also sets high standards that may be unattainable for many families. The portrayal of children with advanced eating abilities and superior growth can create pressure on parents to meet these standards. This pressure is intensified by the competitive nature of social media, where parents may feel judged by their peers based on the content they consume and share.
Figure 3 (a-b). VA and NW’s respective processes in accompanying their first child to learn to eat solid foods

Figure 3 shows screenshots of content from VA and NW, each accompanying their child learning to eat. Several contents from VA and NW often demonstrate how their children can go through the eating process and stages "smoothly," leading followers interacting on their Instagram to frequently inquire about various eating-related issues. To balance this, both VA and NW express that their children also face common challenges that infants generally encounter while learning to eat, such as difficulty accepting new textures and flavors, eating trauma due to incorrect feeding practices in previous weeks, and so forth. They both show that a messy table is normal as it allows children to learn to eat independently and explore their food. Although it is not a pleasant moment and indeed shows that VA and NW are going through a difficult process while accompanying their children to eat, it becomes a hyperreality for other parents because this experience is presented on social media where the moments are fragmented. Parents interacting with momfluencer content on eating generally discuss the "extra work" they need to handle after the child eats, namely cleaning up, which is often solely burdened on mothers—who are normatively considered responsible for the child and the household. These additional tasks not visible in the content create a hyperreality that impacts the confidence of household managers.

Furthermore, another point to note from the two example contents from VA and NW above is that the idealized process of children eating should occur at the dining table. This is evident in how children are accustomed to using a high chair considered safe and comfortable to enable children to be independent in learning to eat. Such details indicate that despite the educational efforts made, there are certain factors considered more ideal than the common habits still practiced by many families in Indonesia.
Another depiction of hyperreality in momfluencer content is their role as mothers who also manage the household. Figure 4 consists of several screenshots from videos of JB depicting her daily life as a mother. JB herself is the wife of soccer player Irfan Bachdim and is known for her image as a woman who regularly exercises and appears energetic. JB realistically tries to show that, as a celebrity well-known to the public, she is a mother of four children with responsibilities for household management. In the process of managing the household, she does not receive help from domestic assistants. Under such conditions, she presents herself on social media as still capable of keeping her house neat, while also finding time to exercise amid her busy schedule accommodating various collaborations. This situation also captures how intensive mothering has internalized as the dominant cultural model of parenting in contemporary society and somehow become the portrayal of hyperreality. It involves a highly demanding and child-centered approach to parenting, where mothers are expected to devote extensive time, energy, and resources to their children. Although JB provides very detailed depictions of her daily activities, which are mostly typical for mothers in general and aims to promote empowerment and strengthening, JB’s experiences instead spark fear in other working mothers because they feel unable to meet the ideal conditions displayed by JB. It is very possible that these mothers feel pressured to conform to the lifestyle standards shown by JB, but these realities are "copied" and considered applicable to all families. While society idealizes intensive mothering, it simultaneously expects women to be productive and successful in their careers. Most mothers face pressure to excel both as nurturing mothers and as independent, accomplished individuals, leading to internal conflicts and stress. Constant exposure to parents and families who appear perfect can create feelings of inadequacy and anxiety about their own parenting abilities. The pressure to meet these unattainable standards can contribute to the blurring of real experiences and representations on social media. This is evident in the comments in the following Figure 5.
A number of audience responses to JB's post in comments section

At least in four comment screenshots in Figure 5, it is shown that JB's persona on Instagram as a mother and household manager is considered an "impossible" ideal, which in turn contributes to feelings of incompetence and isolation among mothers. While modern economies often require dual-income households, meaning that many mothers must balance paid work with the intensive demands of mothering. On the other hand, traditional gender roles often place the primary responsibility of child-rearing on mothers, even as societal norms shift towards more equitable sharing of domestic duties between partners. Those who interact through the comments express their economic inability and the class disparities they face, which revolve around work hours for working mothers, demands from others, and the purchasing power for supportive facilities. Additionally, the presence of JB's other children, who are already teenagers and appear to be a support system, also contributes to the image of an idealized family. This indicates that exposure to ideal parenting representations constructed through sharenting can cause emotional consequences, not just for parents but also for children. The focus on achieving these standards can lead parents to adopt practices that may not be appropriate or beneficial for their child's unique needs, undermining authentic parenting. Parents may experience feelings of guilt or doubt their abilities when their experiences do not align with online narratives. On the other hand, children can also be affected because they face continuous demands to meet the hyperreal expectations displayed for sharenting content, potentially causing them distress or pressure to perform.

The influence of momfluencers on Instagram is not only limited to the role of the
mother itself but also affects standards of beauty and perceptions built upon the body of a mother who has given birth, especially at a time when women's bodies have evolved as part of visual culture (Tsaliki in Capdevila et al., 2022). The depiction of the mother’s body on social media according to certain standards significantly contributes to the commodification of the role as a mother and the idealization of certain body types (Capdevila et al., 2022). This idealization, combined with the pressure to display a perfect maternal image, can contribute to feelings of inadequacy and anxiety among mothers, especially those with high levels of perfectionism (Padoa et al., 2018).

Figure 6. NW shows herself without make-up and tells about her struggles in the first month postpartum

The post by NW shown in Figure 6 depicts her adapting to her new condition one month after giving birth. She presents herself carrying her baby while not wearing makeup, with unkempt hair and eyes that look tired and darkened. The content posted by NW is significant because it shows something about herself that previously would not have been deliberately shared with the public, given that as a public figure she is always expected to look flawless. Indirectly, NW conveys the message that no matter who they are or what profession each woman has, when becoming a mother, they will experience the same conditions, including significant body changes that can make a woman start to dislike herself. Nevertheless, this content contrasts with her position when she shows herself able to exercise again a few weeks later and appears to have an ideal body as before giving birth as shown in Figure 7a.
Several comments in Figure 8 show that some followers interacting with NW's post express a certain jealousy when comparing NW's body condition with their own. Some even compare other public figures by projecting NW as an ideal effort. The comment section on NW's content where she is exercising and showing her regained ideal body then becomes an arena where femininity and the role as a mother are displayed and validated through interaction features to reinforce the "good standards" that have previously been long established by media and advertising.

The portrayal of various ideal conditions has the potential to trigger
commodification and commercialization, both directly and indirectly. The strategic use
of social media, including momfluencers as their personas, acts as figures that are easily
accessible and relevant to a wider audience (Hudders et al., 2020). With a formula
somewhat similar to television, the popularity of celebrities (and influencers) is leveraged
to influence consumer behavior and shape lifestyle choices, which in this context is the
lifestyle within the role of a mother. Momfluencers, compared to traditional advertising
in general, are considered to have a more subtle yet more effective influence in building
trust that can impact loyalty to a product. These influences contribute to the
commodification of motherhood by promoting products and lifestyles that align with the
intensive mothering ideology. This process shapes parental expectations and practices in
significant ways, as illustrated in the example of VA, a momfluencer who shares tips for
toddler independence while inevitably promoting commercial products.

![Figure 9 (a-c). VA displays a number of products that he uses for toilet training, independent sleep training, and special food for children](image)

In the screenshot shown in Figure 9, VA shares tips for training her toddler to be
independent, such as using a toilet with a support seat and sleeping alone with CCTV
monitoring. She also shares information on foods and snacks that are specially prepared
and processed for children. Although VA's main goal is to share tips, the promotion of a
product is inevitable because VA's followers are exposed to commercial information
about the products she uses. Information related to health, safety, and comfort becomes
crucial in shaping the ideal perception. By emphasizing the specificity of products for
children, or a lifestyle that holds these ideal values, there is an opportunity for economic
transactions that accelerate the commodification process. The specificity of products and
lifestyles promoted by momfluencers shapes the perception of what constitutes ideal
parenting. Followers may feel compelled to emulate these practices and purchase the
endorsed products to meet the perceived standards of good motherhood. Momfluencers
are undeniably involved in this commodification process by endorsing and distributing
the lifestyles and products they consume, thus transforming personal identity and social
life into commodities. The role of momfluencers extends beyond sharing tips; it involves
creating a marketable identity that resonates with followers. This transformation of
personal and social life into commodities can alter the authenticity of the parenting
experience, as mothers may prioritize commercial interests over genuine interactions with their children.

An interesting aspect compared to other momfluencer content is the content by NJ, which has a comedic and satirical tone as shown in Figure 10. Generally, the topics of her content are the same as other sampled momfluencers, which is about everyday experiences as a mother. Through parody, she tries to present a different perspective that is relevant to the daily lives of mothers but often not displayed on social media. As part of the upper-middle class, NJ's content critically shows that the pressure to conform to certain maternal ideologies, especially among the middle class, can contribute to feelings of inadequacy as a mother.

By promoting the narrative that following standards on social media can create a dichotomy between expectations and reality, NJ's content has elicited similar reactions, namely that these mothers are not alone—they share common thoughts. Despite that, this sort of memoirs often challenge societal stereotypes and expectations about motherhood. They provide a more nuanced and realistic portrayal of what it means to be a mother, countering idealized images and highlighting the complexities of the role. This is illustrated, for example, in several screenshots in Figure 11.

Figure 10 (a-c). NJ uses parody to capture the fragments of reality of motherhood.
By sharing their stories, mothers contribute to a collective voice that can resonate with other mothers. This shared experience helps build a sense of community and solidarity among mothers. The feeling of sharing a common fate or burden, especially in the context of the role as a mother, can significantly encourage women to continue in their role as mothers. This sense of belonging and support is crucial for their emotional well-being and resilience as they navigate the child-rearing process (Gazit & Amichai-Hamburger, 2020). This feeling of shared fate makes mothers feel less judged and criticized, and gives them a sense that others are listening to them and that they are receiving the representation they need (Afiyanti & Solberg, 2014; Gazit & Amichai-Hamburger, 2020).

CONCLUSION
The phenomenon of sharenting on Instagram can lead to a distortion in the development of societal perceptions regarding their roles as parents within a framework of hyperreality. Hyperreal perceptions are often influenced by the ideology of intensive mothering—which involves a highly demanding and child-centered approach to parenting, where mothers are expected to devote extensive time, energy, and resources to their children, dominated by individuals from the middle to upper social classes, who in this case are represented by momfluencers who have access to resources that enable them to create and maintain an image of an ideal life. In the sample of sharenting conducted by momfluencers in this study, the selective choice of content creates a positive impression and attracts followers' interest. This is reinforced by the followers' interactions with these contents, which influence the followers' perceptions. Followers tend to compare their everyday real lives with the standards they see online, and over time, the repetition of this pattern shapes expectations and influences perceptions of reality on a broader scale. This perception distortion can give rise to a number of expressions, such as the pressure to conform to constructed representations thus establishing certain norms considered socially applicable, performative parenting to gain online validation, and emotional consequences that can blur the boundary between real parental involvement and the hyperreal representations found on social media. This blurring can significantly impact perceptions, expectations, and individual parental experiences of good child-rearing. The formation of certain lifestyles and the commodification and commercialization within sharenting are also other impacts of hyperreality.

Although the momfluencers sampled in this paper have made efforts to portray their child-rearing journey as realistically as possible—especially by showing fragments of parenting that pose challenges for parents in general, class bias remains evident. The lack of representation of momfluencers from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds can make parents feel isolated or unrepresented. On one hand, there is an awareness among...
the sampled momfluencers that the role of mothers represented online is still very homogeneous and the content they create may sideline daily challenges, so they show unaesthetic conditions from their daily lives that are considered relevant to the majority of mothers in the Indonesian context. On the other hand, supports that are still considered trivial such as the presence of devices to clean the house, even the presence of husbands or fathers willing to share roles in the parenting process, indicate class bias and create certain expectations among other mothers, particularly those who do not have flexibility in terms of employment and household income. This shows that sharenting can contribute to a form of alienation, in addition to the formation of unrealistic expectations about how parents raise children with ideal parenting patterns and facilities according to their class structure. Parents who consume these representations, especially from socioeconomic classes more vulnerable than these momfluencers, can experience perceptual bias regarding the definition of parenting, which in the long term is very likely to cause dissatisfaction with their own experiences in raising children—whether by blaming themselves, their children, or their environment.

REFERENCES


