

Revisiting Mothers' Identity in Sharenting in Digital Era: Indonesian Mothers' Neoliberal Performativity and Media Engagement

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ABSTRACT

This study revisits the notion of sharenting by providing a study within the Indonesian context. Scholarship discusses sharenting and concludes that as a practice, sharenting does not resemble what constitutes the identity of a 'good mother' and risks children's safety online. This study reframes Employing argument on identity and performativity; this study demonstrates that neoliberal mothers have established a new image of 'a good mother', especially within their engagement with digital media. Employing the digital ethnography approach, this study collects data from both online observations as well as in-depth interviews with mothers who are engaged in sharenting practices. Focusing on sharenting practices on 8 Indonesian mothers, this study agrees that the identity of a good mother is not fixed, yet it is very conflictual and progressive. Mothers not only show agency in claiming performativity, but they are also aware of the consequence of the claim. Following the neoliberal narrative of intensive motherhood, this study shows that mothers re-narrate the identity of a good mother as disciplined, happy, grateful, competitive, resilient, hardworking, and adept at risk management, including managing children's safety risks online. At the same time, mothers preserve the dominant identity of a good mother, who entirely devotes themselves to childrearing activities. This study concludes that mothers' agency in claiming new forms of identity in the neoliberal regime portrays the notion of the subject-in-process, that mothers' performativity in the neoliberal regime is both subversive yet preserving the dominant identity of the mother and beyond.

Keywords: *Social media, Sharenting, Identity, Performativity, Mother, Digital ethnography*

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INTRODUCTION

The Covid 19The Indonesian women's effort to resignify the identity began with a critique of disciplining women's roles as mothers who were destined to devote the life only within the domestic sphere (Suryakusuma, 1988; Wieringa, 2002). The 1974/1 Marriage Law illustrates how the state legally disciplines mothers' identity as wives, whose main task is to take care of the household and, especially the children. Through this law, the state defines the identity of a 'good mother', a mother with a profound commitment and a passionate adoration for her children and family. In another words, by employing the marriage laws the state negates mothers's engagement with the public sphere, including economic affairs. Although some previous studies have highlighted Indonesian women's participation in the public sphere including economy, these study decentre discussions around women's domestic roles (Brenner, 1998; Sen, 2002). In such manner, within the Indonesia context, mothers' identity is disciplined and deprived of expressing but women's traditional roles covering mostly domestic activities and childrearing (Chin, 2018; Liestyasari, 2019).

This study highlights two important contexts: the social media boom and the era of market neoliberalization in Indonesia. This study argues that these two contexts outline how the identity of an 'ideal mother' in the Indonesia context has colossaly shifted. Technological developments have modified women's roles, expanding their routines from the restricted domestic arena to the advanced public sphere (Dhamayanti, 2022; Rimawati, Bullah and Ervanto, 2022), encourages mothers to resignify various identities by expanding their domestic roles. A great number of previous studies present how the internet, in particular social media, helps women to claim a wide range of forms of public spaces through abundant activities, including health (Stanton, Jerald, Ward et al., 2017), safety and support from domestic violence (Krisvianti and Triastuti, 2020; Levendosky, Bogat, Theran et al., 2004), economy (Wyche and Olson, 2018), politics (Duffy and Hund, 2015), political movement (Newsom and Lengel, 2012) and sharing knowledge (Newsom and Lengel, 2012). Women's vibrant activities in public sphere enormously shift the dominant discourse of women traditional revolving around women (Somolu, 2007), which significantly become a reason why women embody and enact non-traditional identities performances (Abaday, 2015; Wang and Feng, 2022).

The shift on women's identity consistently go hand in hand with the market neoliberalization that encourage the emergence of new forms of female subjectivity (LeBaron, 2010). Neoliberalism negates gender order in various fields (Fraser, 2017; Fodor and Horn, 2015) thus encourages the expansion of mothers' roles, including in the economy (Vandenbeld, 2014; Braedley and Luxton, 2010a). This research argues that the expanding maternal roles presents a paradox that places women in the space of contestation (Corboz, 2013) as it has significant consequences for mothers, given that the neoliberalization era tends to undervalue women's labor in the contemporary settings (Aria, 2021). In addition, within the context of the neoliberal era, this research looks at sharenting, as a devotional practice, aims to shape and to strengthen the ideal mother identity that is also entangled in the process of identity (re-)signification. Against the backdrop of the shifting role of motherhood in the era of free market capitalism, this study aims to explore the performativity of identity (Butler, 2002, 2009) and argues that in this shifting role, women re-narrate their identity as mothers through the display of the 'ideal mother' expression on social media, specially by dint of sharenting practice. As follows, this study suggests that the women's performativity as mothers is related to their daily media practices that is highly publicised and monetised. This study acknowledges that sharenting negates the closed,

private, personal and sacred images of mothering (Brosch, 2016; Verswijvel, Walrave, Hardies et al., 2019). Instead, sharenting describes the wide range of activity of mothers in publicly showcasing their achievements in parenting and brandishing their domestic affairs through media practices (Lazard, Capdevila, Dann et al., 2019).

The major scholarship consider sharenting problematic for its nature in posing safety and privacy risks to children (Steinberg, 2016; Potter and Barnes, 2021). It contradicts the dominant narrative of what constitutes the identity a 'good mother'. Existing research specifically addresses sharenting as a negation of a good mother's identity through various explanations. Cino and Formenti's research explains sharenting as showing mothers' desire for external validation (2021). Other studies describe sharenting as digital narcissism (Capdevila and Lazard, 2020) or even as digital vanity (Baştemur and Kurşuncu, 2022). Yet other studies also offer the argument that through sharenting mothers may unlock the traditional restriction of dominant governmentality focusing on the domestic sphere and thus gain the opportunity to expand their social networks and acquire information to enhance their role in public spaces by taking advantage of media practices (Briazu, Floccia and Hanoch, 2021; Marasli, Suhendan, Yilmazturk et al., 2016).

This study proposes that digital media offers women a space to practice performativity. Women embrace social media by making the most of their knowledge and experience in mothering to create the 'ideal mother' identity (Lupton and Pedersen, 2016; Madge and O'connor, 2006; Madianou and Miller, 2013; Goldie, 2022). Madianou and Miller's (2013) study, for example, examines how Filipino migrant worker mothers in America continue to carry out their mothering role by using cellular phones. Drawing on Blum-Ross and Livingstone's argument (2017), this study proposes that the role of mothers in the era of neoliberalism portrays the ambivalence of online and offline dynamic, which ultimately affecting the performativity. In addition, this research asserts that women mothers' media practices plays a significant role in renarrativising identity of the ideal mother (Lupton and Pedersen, 2016). The research aims to answer how sharenting illustrates women's performativity, especially in re-articulating their identity as mothers. Providing that, it is also important to examine how women's digital media practices illustrate the negotiation of mothering identity.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The dominant scholarship on identity acknowledges that identity is complex in nature (Hecht, Warren, Jung et al., 2005). The notion of identity essentially describes a contesting area between external influences (social interaction) and internal influences (individual agency) (Hecht, 1993). Referring to Jung and Hecht's (2004) argument, this study proposes that women's identity as mothers may change over time following the dynamic of social changes. As follows, it suggests that women's identity as mothers represents a contesting space involving rejection, negotiation, and creation.

It is in line with Butler's argument (2020) that identity is a social formation, that is flexible and dynamic. The genealogy of scholarship on identity agrees societal order produces a dominant construction of maternal identity, which associates motherhood with women's traditional burdens (O'Reilly, Porter and Short, 2005; Hallstein, O'Reilly and Giles, 2019; Lawler, 2002). Butler states that gender identity is essentially a social construction rooted in the production of cultural meanings. Thus gender identity is society's interpretation of culture, media displays, myths, concepts, personas, or other social realities far from women's subjective experiences.

To conclude, Butler states that the dominant order mainstreams gender identity, including mothers, through everyday practices and norms that mute women's agency (Butler, 2002). Drawing on Butler's argument, this study pays attention to contemporary identity revolving around motherhood within the Indonesian context and argues that neoliberalism shifts the dominant structure that imposes what a mother can and cannot do (Reddy and Butler, 2004; Ahmed, 2016). According to Butler, every form of performativity is naturally subversive as it is non-conformist against the dominant little pocket of signification in articulating identity (Butler, 2020). In many cases, performativity leads to a contesting discourse of 'appropriate' and 'inappropriate', the 'normal' and the 'deviant', the 'moral' and the 'immoral' (Nayak and Kehily, 2006), which to a great extent potentially receive stigmas and social sanctions for not following the dominant governance. Although the re-articulation of gender identity online is complex and complicated, digital media is a space that allows for performativity and identity curation (Cover, 2018; Wong, 2005). Individuals may claim agency through their performative actions to participate in controlling and negotiating social discourse. Ultimately, subversive performativity will lead individuals to take a different path from the dominant ideology.

However, Munoz (1999) argues that performative practices do not always resemble confrontative resistance. Contrariwise, performativity is a highly feasible embodied form of negotiation that contains a wide spectrum of dominant identity formation. This argument is in line with Butler's view, which underlines that performativity will not make individuals detached from their social historicity, which has placed individuals as objects of reality construction. Accordingly, Butler suggests that the dominant structure is ultimately fused but intertwined with the products of individual agency through performativity. That is to say, performativity reflects agency, emerging from modifying pre-existing norms, values, beliefs, and perceptions.

This study argues that Butler's notion of performativity aligns with scholarly arguments about motherhood in the neoliberal era (Orgad and De Benedictis, 2015; Gill and Scharff, 2013; Hallstein et al., 2019). The vantage point of neoliberal governance in economic and social development enormously affects the expectations and ideals of people, especially women. Major studies even show how completing domestic labor such as childcare no longer meets the needs of accomplishing the image of "a good mother" (Tyler, 2013). The neoliberal era creates an unfair burden on mothers, including economy and human welfare (Kerrane, Banister, and Wijaya, 2022; Hays, 1996; Ennis, 2014). Correspondingly, Sharon Hays coined the notion of 'intensive motherhood', to describe the manifold disciplining demands for women to achieve the perfect ideal image of a mother (1993), addressing superpower mothering ideals identities, driving mothers to create selfhood that is competitive (Steiner and Bronstein, 2017), resilient, hardworking (LaMarre, Smoliak, Cool et al., 2019) and adept at risk management (Saar and Aavik, 2022).

Neoliberalism has advanced a traditional model of motherhood into intensive motherhood, which focuses on more than a child and home care duties. McRobbie acknowledges that the free market dynamics prioritize consumption activities and permeate every aspect as well as social order. Consequently, it significantly affects women, especially as neoliberal governmentality delegitimises the state from responsibility to ensure economic, social, and physical well-being, and thus, women are rendered responsible for providing social welfare (2013). this emboldens women to rebrand their identity. As the negative image of working mothers fades, and the re-orienting view that the traditional roles are now women's free will, women urge the need to claim that they are also sexually

attractive, economically productive, and relentlessly involved in childcare (Steiner and Bronstein, 2017). This means that the standard of the ideal maternal identity in society is not only expanded (intensive) (Hays, 1993; Ennis, 2014), but instead depicts contradictions that mutually negate the traditional maternal identity but still work together as one (Mora, 2006; Keough, 2006): "to be competitive and rational, yet nurturing and selfless" (Meyer and Milestone, 2016, p. 177).

Scholars assert that the internet plays a vital role in preserving mothering identity in a new light (Archer, 2019; Tyler, 2011). Social media serve users with unlimited showcase, wherein individuals claim the agency to creatively rework their selfhood. Engaging with the platform, individuals carefully maintain their subjectivity to enhance the investment of their human capital and rationally calculate the costs and benefits of each choice they make. Toffoletti and Thrope (2018) employ the notion of the entrepreneurial subject to describe how market capitalization opens up as many opportunities as possible for someone to connect selfhood with the market. through various commercial practices (Thorpe, Toffoletti and Bruce, 2017; Khamis, Ang and Welling, 2017; Duffy and Hund, 2015) as they prefer (Cockayne, 2016).

Taking account of the argument revolving around the entrepreneurial subject, this study suggests that sharenting is a practice that illustrates how women as mothers entail the ambivalence of mothering identity in the era of intensive motherhood (Welsh, 2020). Further, this study asserts that social media has become an outlet for mothers to negotiate and articulate mothering practice, where mothers not only enact their preponderance of mothering experiences but also turn them into commodified normative models of parenting. At the same time, in their engagement with media, women mothers also orchestrate identity into artifacts of an ideal mother through a complex process of scripting, choreographing, staging, and digital manipulation involving extensive digital labor. In other words, social media provides mothers as media users with immense opportunities for self-promotion as a central feature of their engagement with digital spaces (Flisfeder, 2015). Thus, it suggests that the performativity of identity in digital practices essentially involves extensive digital labor, ranging from voluntary to digital monetary labor. Through the performance of parenting roles, sharenting becomes the realm of women's agency to narrate their chosen mother identity through digital labor (compared with Triastuti, 2013).

METHODOLOGY

This research employs a digital ethnography approach. Taking advantage of the approach, this study aims to examine how mothering practices in the era of market neoliberalisation are closely intertwined with digital media engagement. Digital media provide a colossal space, not only to access flexible mobility between private and public spaces. It also provides space for women's performativity through practices in expressing their experience in mothering on their Instagram accounts. The digital ethnography approach provides a tool to examine how digital media play an important role in mothers' contemporary identity construction in their media practices (Pink, Horst, Postill et al., 2015).

This research focuses on how women express their mothering practices on social media (Reckwitz, 2002; Schatzki, 2005). It explores various forms of performativity mothers share on their Instagram accounts. Data collections in this study involve in-depth interviews with 8 mothers and online observations on their Instagram accounts from January 2019 to December 2020. It pays attention to content in mothers' Instagram accounts, including images, videos, hashtags, captions, and comments. This study will focus on women's

reflective process as mothers and identify women's agency in negotiating identity as mothers, especially through their engagement with digital media.

This study invites seven mothers as research subjects. The subject selection draws on the previous studies on sharenting within Indonesia contexts (Putri, Harkan, Khairunnisa et al., 2021; Latipah, Kistoro, Hasanah et al., 2020; Suminar, Hadisiwi and Zubair, 2019; Adawiah and Rachmawati, 2021), which show the emerging phenomenon of parenting experiences by women in the digital era. In the next step, this study delivers online observations of several Instagram accounts belonging to women to recognize women's digital practices by participating in digital practices and starting to build networks with these accounts. As soon as the rapport developed, the researchers started interpersonal interactions through digital activities such as commenting and giving 'likes' to some content. It takes a while before the researchers decide to narrow down observations on accounts with more than 1k followers only, including monetised accounts.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Confusing Motherhood: The Speaking Subject

The context of neoliberalism begets the rise of ambivalence over motherhood. The market capitalism disciplines mothers to set the best choice model between motherhood and remaining childfree, or both. As result, rich expressions of motherhood identity emerge, as women mothers desire to claim the ideal mother image. It includes both a devotion mother, who abundantly look after home and children as well as a independent, hard working business woman, who earn good money and market recognition.

Instagram helps us promoting myself as a brand. Now I believe that social media is the first gate of my branding in this day and age.... I also have opportunities on the 'parenting' side, even though I'm not really into 'parenting', right?" (interview with Jo, December 10, 2020).

The expressions of motherhood identity that are represented by mother in sharenting in Instagram accounts resemble images of the ambiguity of motherhood. At the same time they also shows that sharenting is closely related to the concept of intensive motherhood (Ennis, 2014; Damaske, 2013; Lee, Bristow, Faircloth et al., 2014), indicating the expansive of the traditional nature of mother identity. The research not only find market-driven motherhood practices in women mothers' engagement with their Instagram accounts, but also the expansion of different expression of of conventional motherhood (Giroux, 2014):

I don't have intention to perform perfectly. I do not present the ugly face of my parenting, yet I do not fabricate things on my Instagram account. Anyone says I am a perfect mother, I am not. I employ a nanny to look after my children. I am aware there are mothers who independently run the business, and yet still ask no help to look after her children. Not to mention that she is pretty, and claims that she does not hire a nanny. I do not trust it. I see with my own eyes, she has two nannies" (interview with Fe, August 23, 2019)

Apparently, women mothers are aware that identity not 'fixed', including motherhood identity. Contrariwise, through their enagement with the media, women mothers in this study acknowledge that identity creation is a dynamic process and uncertain. As follows, dispite of the market driven contexts, their expressions of motherhood identity on the social

media accounts illustrate the notion of "intrepreneurial authors of their own chosen biographies" (Koffman and Gill, 2013, p. 87).

Drawin on Kristeva's argument about the speaking subject (Kristeva, 1987), this research shows women's media engagement by producing social meddia content under sharenting themes signpost them as the speaking subjects who renarrate the identity they wish. Mothers' expression of motherhood identity remain nurturing forms of dominant identity modification. According to Kristeva, this process requires sacrifice when the new identity conflicts with the old one. Kristeva also emphasizes that women mothers will never eliminate the 'old' identity; instead, women mothers embrace the performativity and take advantage of it.

It gives me opportunity to promote it to other people too. You can be all kinds of things and my tools are also to see like mommy bloggers, uh mommy influencers who have businesses too, take care of children too. What I see, oh this is good too. She can do it, why can't I do it? Since I got to know this, I've learned about photography too, I've also learned about cameras, well, I've learned a lot, photo editing, video editing... if you want to be followed by people, be something useful. Sharing, so, sharing. Share with people, don't be stingy, what, just tell stories, there's no need to be a celebrity or anything. Just sharing, later people will be happy with us." (interview with Fe, August 23, 2019)

These findings on one haand illustrate what Christina Scharff (2016) calls as the subject of capacity. Women mothers consistently present their identities as hard-working mothers, with autonomy of a sentient being to exercise its will taking after women's experiences of subjecthood (Gill, 2008) i.e. lucrative individual mothers who organize themselves with self-conduct, discipline, and calculative act to accomplish the neoliberal subjectivity. Yet on the other hand, findings in this study strongly suggest the emerging neoconservatism as women mothers highly prioritise domestic responsibilities.

In asmuch as mothers sense the liberation from the neoliberal subjectiviyy, in a contrary manner, the articulation of 'the ideal mother' identity in this study indicate mothers grown the burden of the intensive mothering into a greater and more complex sense of anxiety. The fear of unable to accomplish the ideal mother identity is more intense and deep, covering sense of heavy cling with both domestic and public participations, especially the consciousness on . They are aware that a mother are also responsible for the wellbeing of other populations, especially mothers:

It gives me opportunities to show others that we can do anything we want. We can be a role model for others, be significantly good for others. Only share positive stuffs." (interview with Fe, August 23, 2019)

This finding shows that maternal identity is not fixed and universal. At the same time, the performativity of identity is sustainable and dynamic, which will always acquire new meanings through the whole and each performative practice in various contexts. As Kristeva in her argument suggests, the dynamics of performative acts arise from paradoxes and subjectivities involving desire, fear, anxiety, insecurity, hopes, critiques and appreciation, showing a contesting area between the dominant identity and the subversive identity.

He (husband) said 'I can pay for your needs!' He said that. But I, in my opinion, I told him, "My only interest is this. While I only stay at home, I make friends online. I can function

because I have this relationship that I engage with my Instagram account. Without it, I would go crazy." (interview with CJ, June 14, 2019).

The data in this study showed two important findings. First, women in this study show what so called intensive mothering, identified through personal responsibility, including childcare and economic responsibilities. Second, at the same time, the women in this study are highly competitive in constructing a contemporary maternal identity and ended up always comparing their identity with the traditional mothers' identity. In building a contemporary motherhood, in the end, the women in this study struggle in performing 'an ideal mother' by practicing the intensive mothering. Providing that, this study suggests that in as much women wish to accomplish the ideal contemporary motherhood, the neoliberal mothers cannot avoid but to remain practicing traditional roles focusing on childcare and household affairs. It is in line with Kristeva argument that women's contemporary identity in neoliberal era is not subsumable by the free market, yet sustains the dominant structure.

Despite being raised in a traditional parenting that nurtures the dominant power structures, women in this study significantly develop the contemporary identity through parenting practices by working hard in accomplishing economic responsibilities (Hays, 1996). Data from this study clearly shows that women's desire of the quality of motherhood rest on the contesting desire between women's subjectivity and agency in the demands of the contemporary maternal ideal.

being a Mom, like this, I think it's complicated, right, but it turns out that being a mother is a choice. I desire to be a full-time housewife, but I am torn between wanting to resign and continuing my job. To be honest, I prefer working because I am nothing when do not work. At the same time I want to spent significant time with my children." (interview with Fe, August 23, 2019).

It is evident in this study how market neoliberalisation encourages mothers to constantly feel they can become failed individuals without adopting a contemporary maternal identity. Through the depictions of identity that they share on Instagram (Figure 1), it is clear that the construction of 'a good mother' identity does not only focus on childcare but range of many different activities and responsibilities (Hallstein, 2006). Women mothers in this study continuously express the mother self that does not only responsible to the family and children but also they have responsibility to themselves as women. It includes to be responsible to look after emotional wellbeing, health and spritual wellbeing.

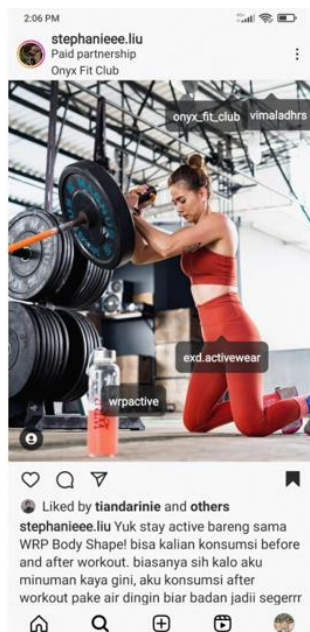


Figure 1. A mother yet self present of a childfree woman

The findings in this study illustrate how the neoliberalization of the market encourages mothers to have an identity that always experiences a struggle between love and agency. Referring to Hays, Douglas and Michaels, the struggle of maternal identity is the most important component of contemporary motherhood. In other words, contemporary maternal identity in neoliberalization is significantly related to the tug-of-war around women's desire to fulfil economic and childcare functions (Hays, 1996). It is not uncommon for women's struggles over their identity as mothers to eventually create a polarization of mother identity (Johnston and Swanson, 2004). In their struggles, women who claim contemporary mother identity produce narratives that marginalize traditional mother identity.

...It turns out that what I do can also produce income, not just waking up to take care of the children, going to the market, cooking, and washing clothes..." (interview with Ti, December, 22 2020)

But still, my mother's, she still says yes, you girls can at least master the household, either cooking, washing dishes, scrubbing" (interview with St, August 28, 2020)

This research argues that millennial mothers' guilt in the neoliberalism era results from identity struggles. In other words, it can be said that their guilt is a legacy of traditional maternal identity. So it can be concluded that the shifting narratives of maternal identity in Indonesia in the neoliberal era illustrate the contradictions that mutually negate traditional maternal identity. But at the same time, the contemporary maternal identity cannot break away from the traditional one.

... When I knew I wanted to get married, I asked my husband, can I work while working or what... if he says he can't let me work in an office, I work at home means right. I also have to think about what I want to do at home, open a business, and what can I sell. But apparently, he said I could still work. (interview with Ste, August 28, 2020)

The interview above shows how contemporary mothers in the neoliberal era still cede agency to the dominant structure (the husband), just like the standard image of a good mother in the traditional context. Ultimately, however, to claim the identity of a perfect mother, a neoliberal mother must still possess the image of a mother who does not relinquish domestic roles, which the institution of patriarchy initiated - the institution in which these contemporary mothers were raised. So it can be said that only by adapting these two opposing identities can modern mothers claim the identity of contemporary motherhood (Mora, 2006; Keough, 2006; Meyer and Milestone, 2016).

Neoliberal Mother's Identity: The Entrepreneur Subject

Including to the notion of the ambivalence motherhood is mothers' claim in economy as well as other forms of public participations. This study shows women mothers' media practices promotes forms of digital economy and more sustainable practices in entrepreneurship. Burchell (2013) stated that neoliberalism is a fertile ground for various business arrangements, which are high-risk because they exist outside state regulation and operate through maximizing competition and competition (Yoong and Yoong, 2020). Various parties have created programs to encourage women's entrepreneurial potential through various economic participation. The emerging new forms of subjectivity produced by the neoliberal governmentality, invite women to embrace "freedoms" and allowing them to chart their own course rationally, with respect to the incentives that are provided. It includes, as evident in this study, the risk women mothers take to commodify the orchestrated ideal mother identity in their media practices. The massive explosion of the digital platform industry has further encouraged women to claim autonomy through neoliberal markets by engaging in various forms of entrepreneurship.

At first it was like blind As I said earlier, because I'm just here to share, I feel satisfied by being able to share...suddenly someone said, Mom I want to 'endorse' honey. I remember that first time... 'Endorse'? What?"... I asked my friends... they explained, you can give a 'fee' or something like that... it seems pretty good, right. Honey is also useful. So I accepted..." (interview with Fe, August 23, 2019)

Although many scholars have argued that neoliberal principles tend to open up opportunities for women's resources, including women mothers to compete with men in the labor market (Braedley and Luxton, 2010b; Fodor and Horn, 2015), furthermore, this study shows that women mothers develop identities that are very different from the identities that the existing dominant structures have determined. These contemporary identities release the constraints and demands placed on women by the dominant structure.

According to Judi Foster Davis (2021), the highly competitive, dynamic and diverse world of entrepreneurship encourages women mothers to manage their lives using various strategies, sometimes contradicting the dominant rules. According to Burchell, this management gave birth to a new form of permative 'liberated self-made identity' born from a sense of 'responsibility' and 'self-discipline' reflected in practices of rational freedom (2013), especially in calculating the benefits and disadvantages of every choice they make (Foucault, Davidson and Burchell, 2008) to maximize profits in this materialistic, profitable self-actualizing project (Chen, 2013).

...It also turns out that from what I do (digital activities, e.g. blogging) from what was just a 'passion' or just an escape, it turns out that it can also produce income, not only about

money but I feel inner satisfaction, then I feel like I can exist again, I feel like I have to learn again. I am passionate about learning again, not just waking up to take care of children, go to the market, cook, and wash clothes... so I can think creatively... Yes, so there are challenges, even though being a mother also has many challenges." (interview with Ti, December 22, 2020)

Women as mother in this study portray identity focusing on their roles as mothers and/or economic subjects, subjects performing various strategies to accept the consequences of and/or respond to the demands of intensive motherhood in the era of market neoliberalisation. One of the strategies mothers employ throughout their media practices is to decorate mother identity, devote it to achieve the affordable idealized mother identity. Data in this study is in line with scholarly argument emphasising that as women practice sharenting, they create performativity revolving around entrepreneurial self, which is different compared with the previous traditional motherhood identity. Digital media play an extremely important role in the performativity by showcasing maternal identity according to the expectations of neoliberal society. In another words, sharenting has monetised the motherhood identity, whether it is as a mother or a childfree mother. It is also evident in practicing sharenting, women exploit 'traditional' mother identity as a requirement in creating identity of contemporary mother: mothers who take care of children and domestic affairs well, yet at the same time perfectly fit in the image of independent, smart, and modern mothers, who earn income, and are financially independent from their husbands. An image of mothers who are modern and control public spaces.

This research identifies how digital media practices bring authenticity to the experience of motherhood. Through storytelling in digital platform, both in the form of captions (text) and images and videos, women mothers not only validate performativity as contemporary mothers who are no longer husbands' subordinat, always need to lower their head and wait for the man to tell them what to do.

Then I found it difficult to have children... The process was complicated, and I promised him (my husband) at that time... I will share, I promise, I promise to God, if for example, my IVF is successful, I will share and I will help other women ... I will write on the internet... because at that time I was helped, my IVF was successful because I also read someone's blog" (interview with Fe, August 23, 2019).

Furthermore, through identity narration in social media, women mothers demonstrate the agency in overthrowing the hegemonic motherhood identity and break down the irreconcilable contradictions of professional work and domestic affairs. Mothers' digital practices eventually encourage the emerging of various businesses rooted in frivolous parenting experiences on Instagram, such as giveaways, product reviews, and endorsing products.

I was diligent in entering 'giveaways' and winning. After that, I started getting requests for product reviews. Then, I started learning to make money from reviewing products through my Instagram account." (interview with St, August 28, 2019)

At first I was like blind, I didn't know anything...suddenly someone asked me to 'endorse' honey. Because I had no knowledge, I sought information from my friends, who taught me how to endorse and advised me to give a 'fee'" (interview with Fe, August 23, 2019)

Result in this study demonstrates that mothers in the era of neoliberalism still see themselves as active subjects and generate the value of productivity even when they choose to become stay-at-home mothers. Furthermore, it is evident in this study that neoliberalism encourages women to subjectively articulate themselves as 'businesspeople/entrepreneurs' who work with partners.

I work with big companies... that's why I limit it now... I don't want to accept the ones that are, I mean the ones that are small but 'nosy' chasing after me, I'd rather accept... the ones that already have a brand. That's better cooperation..." (interview with Fe, August 23, 2019)

In other words, through sharenting, mothers claim the identity of entrepreneurial subjects, which focus on maximizing their agency as mothers – not only through the process of monetisation, but also through developing selfhood employing branding strategies. In addition, the monetization of mother identity in sharenting practice reflects a strong sense of individuality as it heavily relies on mothers' ability as individuals to self-organize, free from the the dominant projection of 'mother' and economy achievement. Providing that, this study suggests monetised sharenting portrays mothers' autonomous calculative decision, taking into account the performativity and subjective risk within their work productivity.

...It turns out that what I do can produce results too, it's not all about money, but I feel inner satisfaction, and I feel like I can return to existence" (interview with Ti, December 22, 2020)

Mother's Performative Identity, Sharenting and Child's Safety in Neoliberal Era

Sharenting practice is emerged around 2014-2015 along with the growing popularity of a social media platform Instagram. Initially, scholarship believes sharenting is a form of commodification of parenting, manifested by identity performance. This study shows women mothers' media practices promotes forms of digital economy and more sustainable practices in entrepreneurship.

However, there are major criticisms against sharenting, highlighting the involvement of children in this practice. Available discussion on sharenting acknowledge it promote the representation of motherhood identity that at the same time exposes children's safety (Green and Rogers, 2022). According to scholars, while mothers as parents are the ones who are supposed to protect their children, sharenting contradicts the duties and obligations of mothers.

Women mothers in this study reject the dominant scholarship arguing mothers' performativity practices are exploitative and thus risk children's safety. For mothers, the performative identity of mothers in digital practices is inseparable from their economic responsibilities towards family and children. Performative practice embedded in their media practices are not a compulsive and irresponsible activity. On the contrary, every identity performance involves strategies to lessen the effects of threats against children.

It's just that sometimes it's also annoying when people say what's the impression that the child is working. What parents exploit children of all kinds... You get a job, will you refuse?... The endorsement is like a bit much right. I don't think it's okay to take photos carelessly ... I have to spare time, oh weekend photos have been planned in my brain, I'll wear this shirt, what pants ... everything is thought out ..." (interview with CJ, June 14, 2019)

Although neoliberalism shows “a mixture of of capitalist and emancipatory claims”(Vintges, 2020, p. 2), the principles of neoliberalization ultimately shape system of precarity, dominated by uncertainty, which mothers are particularly vulnerable to be unable locating job security in the entrepreneurial activities (xxx). It is in line with a view in the neoliberal regime that highly values individual responsibility for almost every life aspect (Shaw and Byler, 2016). It creates a culture of subjective survival, which decentre what so called the objectivity of knowledge (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). Instead, women mothers embrace what Beck calls the intentionality of knowledge (2014) – the emerging knowledge, which is more resistant to various problematic contexts with unintended consequences.

Mothers’ performativity renarrates the contemporary identity, epitomising the image of agents who are compliant to uncertain conditions. This agility on various precarious situation includes protecting their children from digital safety risks. The free market politics, which invites mothers to participate while remains attached to the traditional roles gradually forming mothers’ intentionality of knowledge to mitigate safety risk against their children. In another words, mothers’ effort in renarrating the performativity involves knowledge they gain through lived experience, both in mothers’ personal life and professional development within the context of precarious circumstances.

One of the women mothers in this study, Jo, manages the risk of involving her child in one of Instagram posts. She present a story of the daily activity with the child as part of it to show the intersubjective relationship between the child and the mother (Figure 2.). This image implicitly refers to the notion of intensive mothering, where mother remain committed in child-rearing amid her professional life. Engaging with the media, Jo declares an identity of ‘responsible working mothers who will never leave the child alone’. Both visual image and caption articulate mother's role in accompanying the child's activities. As the mother also presents in the image, it evokes mother’s identity as responsible individu, granting the child’s online safety. The post’s captions stateing mothers' opinions about parents’ competence in child-rearing especially in accompanying children reinforce the performativity of ‘a responsible mother’.

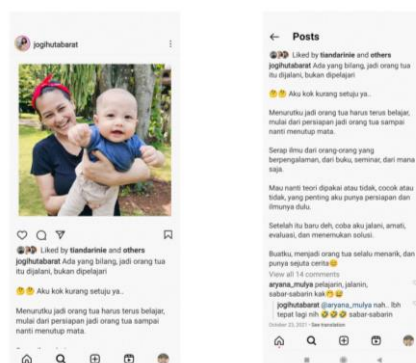


Figure 2. Mother’s intensive role from domestic to economic

Other data shows that women mothers can also mitigate child safety by utilizing content production skills in digital media practices. In producing her performativity, Ti present her children in a post to narrate a responsible mother who assure the proper dietary intake for her family. Ensuring her children’s online safety, Ti deliberately arrange her children’s posture that only part of her face presents in the post. She also keeps her children’s name hidden in the caption (Picture 3). The identity of protective mother is also fortified through the hashtag #keamanandigital (digital safety). In another words, mothers seriously work on their contemporary identity in their engagement with digital media that

on one hand they create the identity of a professional digital worker, yet on the other hand they also maintain the identity of a mother with full moral responsibility for child safety in the digital sphere.



Figure 3. Act on Children’s Online Protection

This study also identifies intensive motherhood as instinctive response in protecting children during mothers’ performativity in sharenting practice. In another words, women mothers’ confirm the fact that the traditional mother identity is well preserved, even amid the performativity, referring to the ambivalent neoliberal motherhood identity (Wall, 2013). As mothers’ media practices consistently present the contemporary mother’s identity, which is strongly anchored in free market regime, yet mothers’ performativity is strongly woven with the traditional motherhood identity: preventing children from risk and danger, taking parenting responsibility and assuring responsibility, and devoting life for children’s well being.

Without abandoning children as an inherent part of the 'mother' identity, mothers who practicing sharenting ensure that children in digital media content remain modestly dressed and covered. Moslems mothers are found ensuring their children to wear head cover as well as blurring their face. Other mothers are found ensuring their children to wear long sleeve dress or tops, with hats that prevent public to obviously see the face. Providing this, it is evident that mothers are protecting children from the public gaze. In this case, women's strategies in renarrating the performativity illustrate well organised strategies, involving responsibility and risk management. They devote all efforts in making the 'right' choices based on the intentionality of knowledge to grant children's digital safety and security throughout their sharenting practices.

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CONCLUSION

There are an outstanding scholarship tossing around identity. It agrees that despite of the notion of identity is not fixed, yet identity is something to claim, which process is conflictual and involves power discourse. Although Butler (Butler, 2009), for example, argues identity is mere a social construction through the stylized repetition of some ritual acts, however the ritual acts are highly fabricated. Butler acknowledges that women's identity is embodied within series of disciplining, regulatory practices women hardly can escape. This study shows that to a great extend, within the neoliberal governmentality women attempt to denaturalise and resignify women mothers' dominant categories by renarrating the self resembles is a strive. It means that after long dominant signification, women, particularly, can hardly outdistance the dominant identity of mothers.

Even what so called the neoliberal governmental that encourage mothers to participate in public sphere through economy, cannot impose women as mothers to turn away from but to adhere nonetheless to child-rearing and domestic roles. The neoliberal regime, contrariwise, set mothers to fit in well with the intensive motherhood (Hays, 1996; Verniers, Bonnot and Assilaméhou-Kunz, 2022), by creating economy opportunities that maintain mothers' investments in their children. Not only women utilize tons of resources to educate themselves ways to protecting children from the corrupt world, yet the regime endorses the various emerging business and labor for women to participate in the neoliberal governmentality. Women, including mothers, are highly valued as economic agents, whose participation upsurge a nation's economic development. Stakeholders from different sectors and levels for economic development encourage women, including mothers, to contribute to business innovation while tolerating the flux and uncertainties in neoliberal era. It includes the best of new forms of flexible, precarious, casual, or irregular work that mothers can afford within the domestic domain (Lorey, 2015; Mole', 2010; Vosko, 2000), including sharenting.

However, studies also unveil facts that women, especially mothers, severely disadvantaged by the free market system. Although women soon found their feet and kept up with male in economy, they are profoundly exposed to exploitation, crimes, violence, and oppression. These dangers does not only comes from the precarious conditions rooted in the neoliberalism. Additionally, the peril also arises from women's agency in resignifying their identity as women's focuses does not limitedly linger around domestic responsibility. Women mothers who do not preserve the dominant image of motherhood are highly criticised. Sharenting, as a new form of both parenting as well as business, invites both public and scholarly discussion, which eventually advise women to maintain the role as the

main caretaker for children's safety. It minimises other discussion that encourages government and society to develop the excellent online safety system for children.

Inspired by the growing research on sharenting and the emerging scholarly responses against it, this study examines mothers' struggles as well as agencies in appropriating the intensive motherhood, especially through renarrating the given dominant identity by practicing forms of performativities. As women mothers desire to claim the ideal mother, women in this study extend their responsibilities, both as mothers as well as childfree women, pursuing career and earning money. Through various economy arrangements women mothers become speaking subjects, who embrace "freedoms" to perform new identities using various strategies, that sometimes disrupt the dominant rules.

As a practice, sharenting shows the subversiveness of women's performativity. Sharenting as women mothers' effort to achieve the intensive motherhood is reviewed risking children's safety and privacy. Beyond scholarly arguments pointing that sharenting signpost parents' irresponsible behaviour against child safety and well being. Contrariwise, it is evident in this study that mothers make the most of sharenting to renarrate identity of contemporary mother. Without abandoning children as an inherent part of the 'mother' identity, mothers who practicing sharenting demonstrate responsibility by managing the risk against their children within the online sphere.

Bringing children to join them in public sphere does not confirm the dominant image of a good mother. Dominant structure, in general, wishes women and their children to reside within the domestic sphere, regardless the neoliberal regime has encouraged women to establish new skills and knowledge, including managing risks. Thus claims framing sharenting as deviant and mothers who practice it are labelled as exploitative and reckless, on one side are in line with Buttler's argument of the subversiveness of performativity. On the other side, these claim tend to preserve mother within the domestic sphere. Contrariwise, this study suggests those previous study ignore the fact that sharenting signifies that mothers are the subject in process, that they become who they are as a result of taking part in signifying process. The fact that through their engagement with digital media, mothers adopt the free market by creating strategies to deliver the best protection for their children, including when they invite children to join the public sphere through sharenting.

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