

Conference Paper

Distinguishing Maternity Shoots on Instagram: Capital, Class, Field

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Abstract

This study is aimed at analyzing maternity shoots as a lifestyle habit and its relation with social class. Lifestyle is manifested in tastes, philosophical and morality beliefs, aesthetic tastes, clothes and cultures which become characteristics of a class. Meanwhile, cultural consumption expenditure signifies social classes. This study found that there are efforts to distinguish one's status from other classes through maternity shoot practice, as part of power strategy. There are two classes studied in this research, namely petite-bourgeoisie and popular class, both of which seek to embrace the dominant class' culture. By dispensing economic and cultural capital in Instagram as its field, the petite-bourgeoisie show how they are able to reap profits in form of positive appreciation and symbolic capital. Meanwhile, the popular class fails to achieve the same success in the Instagram field, marked by minimum appreciation toward their pictures. Nevertheless, bodies of pregnant women within the two classes have been subdued by Instagram convention as a game arena. The study also tested specific practices of pregnant women to represent their self-identity. Using consumer culture theory, it can be seen how pregnant women spend capital to establish their self-identity as a perfect woman, perfected by their pregnancy.

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1. Introduction

A 'pregnant beauty', a term that conducted by Imogen Tyler, a sociologist from Lancaster University, developed in response to the celebrity lifestyle nowadays. A naked and heavily pregnant Demi Moore appeared on the cover of *Vanity Fair* magazine in August 1991. The cover marked the breakdown of a cultural taboo surrounding the representation of pregnancy. Tyler (2011, p. 24) states that the maternity portraits have renewed the image of pregnant women as sexy physical performance where the body is an object that needs to be coveted and enjoyed. From this point, there has been a steadily increasing wave of celebrity maternity photo shoots, followed by the creation of specialist newborn baby photographers as a medium to fill the market of non-celebrity maternity shoots.

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Previously, photographs of pregnancy projected the body as a passive, abject, and considerably ordinary physical state for a woman.

The same phenomena is also happening in Indonesia. After searching the internet, I discovered that the first Indonesian celebrity to have a maternity photo shoot in mass media was Tiara Lestari. Her six-month pregnancy shot was on the cover of March 2007's *Majalah Tempo*. This gave birth to the trend of Indonesian expectant celebrities filling social media with their expectant bumps. For example, during the year 2012, Sheila Marcia, who was 7 months into her pregnancy uploaded her photos with her husband on her Facebook account. The photo duplicated Demi Moore's *Vanity Fair* and Jessica Simpson's 2012 cover of *Elle* maternity shot where they covered their breast with their hand. Nikita Mirzani, on August 14, replicated the same photo of her while seven months wearing a bikini on Instagram.

Now, alongside celebrities, ordinary people are using Instagram as a platform to post their maternity photos. This can be seen from their hashtags that are sprouting across the network. For instance, the hashtags *#fotohamil* has 45.351 photos, *#fotobumil* has 3.767 photos, and *#fotomaternity* has 25.970 photos on Instagram. With this large a number, I used Instagram as my primary source for data collection since Instagram is an application that focuses on images and leaves limited space for further details.

The *corpus* of this research consisted of five female Instagram accounts that displayed a series of maternity shots including hashtags related to pregnancy. To see how this phenomenon is widespread, I took the five accounts from different locations – Klaten, Jakarta, Jambi, Semarang, and Bekasi. I interviewed the women and observed their photos, the description of the photos, and comments to the photos for analysis.

2. Results and Discussion

2.1. Capital: A spell to take a position

In a social space, positioning for an agent is constructed on the basis of the principles of differentiation and distribution. This means that how much and what kind of one capital, take economy and culture as example, an agent has is the basis of sorting through different dimensions (Thompson, 1991, p. 6-7). These two dimensions, in this example economy and culture, are a source of disposition in positioning. According to Pierre Bourdieu, there are four general forms of capital, namely economic capital, social capital (relationships that can be valued, measured), cultural capital (a legitimate knowledge), and symbolic capital (prestige and social respect) (Jenkins, 1992, p. 53).

In this pregnancy photo shoot case, I found that economic capital and cultural capital played part in expectant mothers' presentations that could place them in different class on Instagram. Here are the collective data I have gathered for this study.

TABLE 1: Informant Data

Informant	Ozzy francesca_ozzy, 26y.o., lives in Klaten, Central Java	Henry Hencrut 32 y.o., Jakarta	Maya Mayea_spp 26 y.o., Jambi	Linda Lindanaxel, Desa Ujung-ujung, Kabupaten Semarang, Central Java	Fitri fitri_geri, 23 y.o., Bekasi, West Java
Hired photographer & MUA	3 million rupiahs (for photographer and MUA)	4 million rupiahs (photographer only)	300.000 rupiahs (photographer and MUA)	Linda's brother/sister help	Fitri's own camera
Photo shoot costume	150.000 rupiahs	free	150.000 rupiahs	Free	Free
Rent for photo shoot location	25.000 rupiahs per person (5 people) Umbul Manten, Klaten	3,2 million rupiahs. Glamping Lakeside Rancabali, Bandung	Public garden	Linda cousin/nephew's yard on their. engangemant day	Fitri's house
Occupation	A notary staff in Prambanan, Klaten	A staff at the Central Bank of Indonesia	A teacher at SMAN Titian Teras, Jambi	A house wife	Staff of a Gantea drink kiosk
Informant's husband occupation	Bank staff	Photographer	A civil servant at BPBD Jambi	A driver for a pension fund office	An Alfamart (convenience store) supervisor
Followers	3.882	434 (private)	8.049	288	2.855
Theme of the photo shoot	Underwater	Glamour camping	Outdoor		
Last education	S1	S1	S1	SMA	SMK

Three out of five women spent a fortune just for the maternity shot while the other two did not. Ozzy, a 26 year old woman living in Klaten, Java, was willing to pay a total of three million rupiahs to hire a photographer and an MUA, plus an expense of a hundred and fifty thousand rupiahs for clothing. The services hired were previously used for her *pre-wedding*. Ozzy expended that much money to memorialize her 36th week of pregnancy. For her, pregnancy is a significant event in life. With three million rupiahs spent, Ozzy was able to shoot her maternity session in Manten, Klaten, with 'underwater' as the theme. The expenses did not include the entry tickets that cost around twenty-five thousand rupiahs and lunch for five, including the photographer and the makeup artist.

Meanwhile, Henry, a 32 year old woman residing in Jakarta, dared to spend four million rupiahs to hire a photographer as well as the cost for a night in Glamping Lakeside

Rancabali, West Java. Heny and her husband spent three point two million rupiahs for a luxury tent located in Lakeside Rancabali. Their total expenses cost an amount of seven point two million rupiahs. Maya, the third expectant mother, also allocated money for her maternity session; the high school teacher in Jambi spent three hundred rupiahs for a photographer and an artist. She also paid a hundred and fifty thousand rupiahs for maternity clothing, but to stop further expenses she used the garden in her housing estate as the background. While three women were happy to pay a vast sum for their their 'once in a lifetime' moment, the other two women did the opposite. Linda, who lived at Ujung-Ujung village in Semarang, chose to seize her opportunity at her nephew's engagement ceremony. She wore her best dress and asked her sibling to take a photograph of her 26 week pregnant stomach. For her, saving money was better than spending it.

This was also the reason for Fitri, a 23 year old expectant mother living in Jatiasih, Bekasi, West Java. The administrative staff of an automotive company in Bekasi chose to take her maternity shot on her own. She did it in her house using the camera from her cellphone that has been timed and placed not far from her position. Wearing only her comfortable casual dress, she posted her photos on Instagram. In her mind, she prioritized the needs of her future child before herself. Both Linda and Fitri decided to save their money for their children's expense and dismissed the option to hire maternity shot services. They realized that most photos on Instagram were targeted for the industry. This, however, was not the opinion of the other three. They argued that maternity shots, along with the expenses, were a vital part of the pregnancy process. Ozzy stated that she would capture every moment that cannot be repeated again. She also said that she had arranged special expenses for infant-related equipment.

Heny and Maya also agreed with the opinion that pregnancy should be commemorated through photos – and they also have budgeted special expenses for their future born. Heny, whom spent 7,2 million rupiahs for her shoot admitted that she did not mind the expenditure for her maternity session since both she and her husband loved traveling as a hobby. Her theme for the shoot was also based on her other hobby – swimming.

Depending on the initial budget/ types of capital, Ozzy, Heny, and Maya had the financial capacity to afford maternity shots, which highlights the distinction between them and Linda and Fitri. The different classes of economical conditions can be seen from their occupation. Ozzy is a staff at a Notary office in Prambanan, Klaten, and her husband works as a bank staff; Heny works as a researcher at the central bank of Indonesia (BI) and her husband works as a professional photographer; Maya works as

a teacher in SMAN Titian teras, Jambi, and her husband works as a civil servant in the Disaster Mitigation Agency (BPBD) Jambi. Meanwhile, Linda is a housewife that earns money online and her husband works as a driver in Dana Pensiun; Fitri works as a staff of a Gantea kiosk sells drink and her husband works as a convenience store supervisor.

From those distinctions, the two related social classes can be seen from a socio-professional (Haryatmoko, 2016, p. 46) perspective. The actual function of these social classes is to see each classes' distinct features. Through studying the informants' capital, ownership power and their occupations, I can conclude that the expectant mothers whom categorized as petite bourgeois are Ozzy, Heny, and Maya, while Linda and Fitri are categorized as popular class. Petite bourgeoisie is considered as a bourgeoisie class because they also desire to climb the social ladder. They can be categorized as middle class in society. Their ways of presenting social practices and their overall presentation is highly coordinated and can be explained by the social ladder.

First, the dominant class is primarily marked according to the amount of an owner's capital/equity. They themselves present distinction in order to affirm their identity and to force others to legitimize their vision through social media. This dominant group has existed for long time, while the new bourgeoisie established right after the new bourgeoisie consists of private sector executives from prestigious schools. The second group, the petite bourgeoisie, desires to elevate their social position. They respect social order and moral rigorism that shapes their expectations of culture, though they imitate some practices of dominant class' culture (Haryatmoko, 2016, p. 47). The third is the popular class, which is marked by the absence of owner's equity. The practice of finding meaning in physical excellence and accepting domination are values that unite them.

The petite bourgeois group (Ozzy, Heny, Maya) are eager and agree to pay their respects for dominant culture. To join the maternity photo session, they agreed that they needed to hire a photographer, makeup artist, maternity photo session target location, and some planned poses for the maternity shot. The photos that are predominantly produced by Indonesian celebrities conform to the style of the US celebrity maternity shoots. Thus, celebrity bodies became the medium for the central distribution of contemporary social values, consumption, identification, and social mimicry in daily life. Tyler mentioned that a new visual culture about maternity is a pleasant place for identification and consumption, also a new pseudo-freedom state.

The practice of mimicry is seen from Ozzy's confession before she booked her maternity shoot session. She looks at Ashanty's post on Instagram. Fitri also confessed that she looked at Chelsea Olivia's maternity shoot before she took her maternity shot.

Heny also answered this. She looked at her friends' and celebrities' maternity shoots. Andien is one of the celebrities who posted their maternity shoot. Heny likes some of Andien's photos which were taken outdoor such as on a beach and a savanna. Heny mimiced this by doing her maternity shoot at a glamping site in Lakeside Rancabali. One of the pictures which has nature as the background is her picture with her husband on a boat in the lake. The other picture is taken sat on a swing looking at the dusk sky.

The culture of maternity shoots done by celebrities shows the practice of domination from celebrity class to non-celebrity class. According to the social class classification, celebrities are classified into the dominant class because they have huge economic capital and cultural capital. Through the practice of maternity shoots, celebrities show their distinction by affirming their special identity and imposing that to all people by legitimising a vision about their social world. The vision is of a beautiful pregnancy. Celebrity class also defines a legitimated culture. As Bourdieu explained, the "dominant class attributes themselves with the spiritual and intellectual strength, that disposes them to control other people and allows them to dominate – the masses, women, the young – as the connector of body and soul, understanding to sensibility, and culture to nature (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 479)."

In the model of lifestyle and cultural taste, the aesthetic of working class is the dominated aesthetic that is always obliged to define itself by referring to dominant aesthetics (arbitrary culture) (Jenkins, 1992, p. 89). The bourgeois and popular class have been subdued by the aesthetic value that is dominated by celebrities. This condition can be seen not only from indirect confession from the informants but also from the poses of their maternity shoot. The poses of the five informants are following the celebrities: showing their big stomach while wearing tight costumes, then the husband kisses the wife's stomach, the wife shows a picture of a fetus, or a photo showing a pregnant mother's bulging belly (only covering the breasts).

Not only body pose, the location is also influenced by the dominant aesthetic value. Ozzy and Heny's maternity shoots are taken in popular tourist sites. Ozzy chooses Umbul Manten, a popular tourist location for people from Klaten and around Central Java. Meanwhile, Heny chooses glamping at Lakeside Rancabali, which is a location for a camping with luxury facilities (glamour camping/glamping) such as resort and restaurant alongside the lake. According to John Fiske, choosing the location for a photo shoot is a form of control from a culture (human act) toward nature.

Choosing the special location, as mentioned above, is not applicable to Linda and Fitri. Linda takes her maternity shoot at the backyard of her nephew during his engagement ceremony. Wearing tight clothes, Linda takes her maternity shoot. This is similar to Fitri

who wears a house dress when she takes her maternity shoot. Thus, choosing a location is not so important for them because there is no economic capital that moves them to do the maternity shoot like the others. It needs to be underlined that Linda and Fitri's poses – without paying a photographer as the producer of the dominant aesthetic style agent – show how they are subdued by the dominant culture's maternity shoots. Fitri's maternity shoot shows she puts maximum effort to follow the dominant. She wears long house dress (above the knee), while raising up the bottom part of the dress to show her thigh. In the other picture, Fitri is also raising up her house dress to show her thigh while sitting on a bed.

So, it can be concluded that when the economic capital is not there, the popular class also participates in practices and representation, found through the celebration of physical excellence and acceptance of the dominant culture. Domination is also seen in the way the location and account of the photographer and makeup artist is mentioned under the petite bourgeois class' picture in Instagram. Maya wrote: "maciw dan lagi makeup nya kk syantik @ayu_hrdyntii @perawatan_jambi." Ozzy's caption said "Big thanks [ikon kamera] taken by: @agik_bendol featuring @setiyaaji_nemo MUA by: @wulaluvana. Best featuring". Meanwhile, in each of Heny's maternity shoot pictures, she mentioned the photographer: @parolanharahap. Heny and Ozzy mentioned the name of the location where their pictures were taken. Like the pose, mentioning the location, photographer and make up artist is also subdued by the dominant class. As examples, in both Chelsea Olivia and Ashanty's maternity shoots, the photographer, style guide, makeup artist and location were mentioned. Many of the maternity shoot pictures are done as a form of promotion for some products. Tyler (2011, p. 28) terms this phenomenon 'pregnant beauty' which is interpreted as a form of capitalized body discipline in a neoliberal context.

2.2. Instagram: The arena for betting capital and body discipline

From the forms of capital that have already been mentioned in this sub-chapter, I will explain how the betting capital in the field of Instagram could define the position of its users. According to Bourdieu, capital is a form of power that defines its benefits and opportunities and emphasizes its position in the social sphere. Capital, in the form of material possession or cultural capital, portrays power over the field, precisely seen through product accumulation from the efforts in the past (especially as the instrument of production.) That is why since it is above the mechanism, the guarantee of producing goods goes hand in hand with the income and profits.

Meanwhile, according to Bourdieu, the field is a social arena where the struggle or the maneuver is going above the resources or certain betting, and the access of betting. The field is defined by the best stake in various forms, such as cultural goods (lifestyle), home, education, work, land, power (politics), social class, and prestige. It can also have different degrees of specificity and concreteness. Field is a structured system formed from social position – occupied by an individual or an institution – that defines the occupant's position. This is also a system of power between the positions; an internally structured field in accordance to power (Jenkins, 1992, p. 52-53).

From the definitions above, I will explain that Instagram is a maternal-shot field. It is a realm of struggle where the agent forms strategies to improve or maintain their position in accordance with the capital at stake. Instagram is a free application for uploading pictures that allow the user to apply filters and to share their pictures with a large number. Instagram was launched in 2010 before it was acquired by Facebook on April 2012. It combines popular Polaroid photo styles with a like feature and hashtags to provide phrases suitable for short trends and instant followers from Facebook and Twitter (Dijck, 2015, p. 101). Everything on Instagram belongs to the public. The very public nature of Instagram not only normalizes celebrity culture, but also encourages it.

The 'Like' button ('heart' icon) is a feature which can show how many people like the picture displayed. Instagram also has a comments section on each post. Meanwhile, hashtags can be a room for many photos. In this research, when I searched the hashtag #fotohamil to find maternity shots, there were 45.308 pictures. On Instagram, many photos are shown without excluding its authenticity, which is showing the stomach. Because the stomach position is in the center, many photographs display the woman's full-body. Other maternity shots on Instagram also show the husband or wife and their children. Since the stomach is the main feature, it is impossible for the woman to be blocked from the camera. A certain body pose, or an individual practice can be a crucial term in Instagram as a field.

Because the full-body pose becomes the important term, therefore, body accessories become the important mark, such as, clothes, jewelries and make up. Instagram allows the user the possibility to display pictures based on certain techniques of shooting, such as pictures which show half-body or whole body and certain backgrounds such as nature or soft furnishings. Using or wearing certain materials can be crucial in the Instagram field to express the true-self. Poses, clothes, make up, other materials and location are also used to symbolize life-projects and sense of style.

Borrowing the theory of economic culture from Mike Featherstone, symbolization and using materials as 'communicators' are not just for utility. Consumer culture makes the

life-style a project of life. It also shows the individuality and taste of style, especially when considering a group of goods, clothes, practice, experience, appearance and body disposition that they have designed together to be a lifestyle (Featherstone, 1993, p. 84). The trend of consumer culture to 'distinguish' is based on observation that differences should be admitted and legitimated socially. In the Instagram field, pictures of the maternity shoots from the five informants show similar body poses, there is a pose that shows the stomach (touching the stomach, the husband kisses wife's stomach); half body poses and full body poses; wearing clothes that cling and envelope the stomach; make up; and the photo shoot location with either nature or the house as a background.

In the end, the Instagram field has already organized and structured the way pregnant woman plan and shoot maternity photod that are legitimated and admitted socially. Thus, it can be concluded that the Instagram field has already subdued the pregnant woman's body through such field terms. Meanwhile, pregnant women and their bodies who participate in maternity shoots are voluntarily controlled by Instagram. They all want to be recognized and included as a pregnant women who are aesthetic.

According to Bourdieu, as an arena of struggle of valuable betting, the field is absolutely controlled by the relation between supply and demand. This makes the mobilization of ideas such as 'price' and 'fee' related to strategy or agent path, which is involved when competition in the field becomes possible. This bet can be seen from the capital they are risking with the aim to make a profit. In maternity shoots on Instagram, - with a convention from the Instagram field - benefits that can be received from the capital betting include the number of likes and comments.

The first picture of Ozzy reached 299 likes with two comments: "this is great!"; "Kak udah berapa bulan @francesca_ozzy, bagus seksii bumil hhhh". Meanwhile, the second picture reached 285 likes with a comment: "Gorgeous!! Can we feature this" which Ozzy replied: "@underwaterkids yes, of course." The second picture can get an offer from @underwaterkids, a community of maternity shoot and children pictures which are taken when they are in the water, to be displayed in their Instagram feeds. Ozzy's strategy to take the underwater theme with the help of photographer and make up artist can make her maternity shoot looks interesting for @underwaterkids. The theme of underwater rarely appears in a group of pictures that uses #fotohamil, #fotoibuhamil and #ibuhamil, making it unique and interesting.

The first picture of Heny standing under an umbrella received 45 likes with some comments such as "lih cute bgt ka:D"; "iya euy keren bgt ka, ky di gmbr animasi hp sy dulu gt:D." Meanwhile the second picture reached 39 likes with nine comments, such as: "Mbaaa belly painting cem andien gituuu dongsss"; "pornoook." The third

picture received 36 likes with comments such as: “Debay nya pengen camping, Aunti @wulan_andadari.” Looking at the comments, most of them are regarding the location of picture related to Heny’s hobby as a traveler. Here Heny, who has spent 7,2 million rupiahs to rent the place and the photographer, can get the positive appreciation from several accounts.

Maya’s first picture gained 37 likes with nine comments, many of them from account selling baby products and maternity shoots, one of them is from @pregnant-beautiful: “Bunda boleh direpost fotonya.” Maya’s second photo (Maya and her husband holding the fetus picture) received 365 likes with comments such as: “Mami pipi.. paling kekinian.” Maya replied, “ahhhhh kk cantikkk bisa aj.” The number of likes of Maya’s picture is higher than the other informants. Aside from that, Linda’s first maternity shot picture gained 59 likes. All of the comments were from accounts selling pregnancy products. Meanwhile, the second maternity shoot picture received 32 likes without any comments. There is also Fitri’s maternity shoot picture. The first received 158 likes with some comments, such as: “Dah berapa minggu kamu hamil ye..kok perutnya belum kelihatan”; “sexy”; “bukak dikit joss.” On the second photo, she gained 139 likes with comments about Fitri’s skinny pregnancy. Of the five photos of Fitri’s pregnancy, most accounts commented on her small pregnant belly.

Based on the comments and the number of likes, it can be concluded that the maternity shoots of Ozzy, Heny and Maya received more appreciation than Linda and Fitri. Ozzy, Heny and Maya who are betting their economy capital, received some positive reactions. Many of the comments are linked to the beauty of the picture and the sensory value (sentiment and taste). Their maternity shoots are certified. It is shown in the case of Ozzy and Henny’s who received positive comments. This is shown by them both when they are being interviewed. Ozzy said “I thought, even though there are some people who have already done that (underwater maternity shoot), rarely is the maternity shoot underwater, so it can be anti-mainstream as people say nowadays.”

Meanwhile, Heny said, “The comments are nice. The picture is fun. The concept is also fun. I didn’t have any concept for my maternity shoot, the point was I just didn’t want a maternity shoot with many poses and make up.” That condition is not applied to Linda’s and Fitri’s maternity shoot. In Fitri’s maternity shot, there are comments that refer to her body, especially her thigh that looks intentionally shown. The likes under Fitri’s post is most likely an assessment of her body, not toward the material appearance such as the clothes and the photo shoot location. There are also Linda’s maternity shots that have no comments.

The petite bourgeois has benefited from the capital they have bet, while also obtaining symbolic capital, namely prestige. Ozzy also gains symbolic capital in the form of fame because her maternity shoot is recognized by a community of underwater photo shoot for kids and pregnancy. But, this does not happen to the popular class who do not have economic capital. Therefore, the Instagram field already acts as an arena for the battle of power. Those who have the capital to make aesthetic photos. will be the winners.

2.3. Form of identity through consumption

The social construction and identity classification of a group - class - is one of the aspects of struggle which define field. According to Bourdieu, the struggle for identity is basically present through recognition by others. Based on the dominant classes' point of view, adopting dominant features is regarded as a denial of social and sexual identity (Thompson, 1991, p. 224).

Recognition from others is represented by comments addressed in pregnancy photos. "Sexy", "beautiful" and "gorgeous" are the expression of recognition that the pregnant informants received under their maternity shoot posts on Instagram.

In this sub-chapter, I discover how the pregnant woman performs certain practices to show their identity. Here, I use consumer culture theory by Mike Featherstone. He believed that consumer culture is using pictures, signs and symbolic things which gains dream, passion and fantasies, showing genuine romanticism and emotional satisfaction in someone who is narcissistically pleasing herself/himself rather than someone else. Magazines, advertisements and television present many ideals which are unlimited to the transformation of life style, living space, relation, identity and of course, body. Body is presented as the main tool for a good consumer-culture life. It is a source of fun sensation which should be paid attention to (it should be taken care of, fixed and improved) (Featherstone, 2007: xxi). But, body is also understood in terms of its image, as an indicator of the quality of the owner. Thus, the attention is given toward the 'appearance' (presentation, treatment and style). Celebrities, *nouveau riche* and middle-class society are presented as having access to enjoy the whole personal body service line. In the context of media as an active agent to construct the lifestyle of the maternity shoot, the five informants admitted that they were looking at their friends' and celebrities maternity shoot before they did their own. They consumed the maternity shots in social media and mass media long before they were pregnant themselves. Image of pregnant

woman are captured, before becoming the fantasy of their own maternity shoot when the time comes.

Based on the results of the interviews and the search for information about the informants' maternity shoot pictures, there are three results that can draw together the self-identity of the pregnant woman through some practices. First, becoming a pregnant woman is symbolically one of the most important rituals in a woman's life. Pregnancy is a sign that can be understood as a perfect complement of a woman. This excludes women who are not pregnant because she is perceived as an imperfect woman.

Ozzy thinks that her pregnancy is really special: "It is very special. It is a chance and trust that is given by God to me. It is possible that this pregnancy is only a once in a lifetime but I hope it is not. Amen. Also, the goal of marriage is having a child, just like what we received from the church." Since it is a special event, every moment that potentially won't happen again is memorized in the maternity picture on Instagram. One of the captions under the picture also shows that pregnancy is a perfect complement for a woman. Ozzy writes "Truthfully, being pregnant is changing me as a person. Each day is part of this amazing journey that has completely shifted the focus of my life and made me reevaluate my personal and professional goals." Another photo caption is "Sooooo nice!!!! I'm not a perfect woman, but I feel that my life is so perfect with your presence, baby "C". I never knew how much love my heart could hold until someone called me mommy. To the world, you are a Mother... To your family, you are the world."

Henny also saw her pregnancy in this way, "Being pregnant is a great experience, even it is more important than pre-wedding. Pre-wedding is just like a display in the wedding day." Maya also gives similar reaction, "Being a mom is a woman's destiny. Naturally, women are destined to become mothers. It is my time to be a mother. If you asked me whether I am happy, yes, of course, I am happy. I am very happy more than anything else in this world. I would even die for my child." Linda, who has been waiting for four years to have a child. She explained that pregnancy is a phase to go to the next level to become a mother. When a woman has become a mother, her life is complete as a woman. "At the beginning, I was not a woman with a motherly side. But, if I am having a child, willing or not, I should learn about how to be a mother." Meanwhile, Fitri thinks that pregnancy is the biggest gift in life. "Because, not all women can feel it!". This statement represents a distinguishing character, even feeling superior, compared to women who cannot get pregnant.

Second, pregnancy is the most of beautiful moment in life so pregnant women should be captured in photos and shared through Instagram with more unique or stand out pictures than others. One of Ozzy's photo captions shows this: "Because underwater

kissing is anti-mainstream, this action should be done by those ones who are already married. Those who are pregnant but not yet married may show photos of pregnancy, as long as they are not published.” Heny, who likes traveling, chose the concept of glamping because glamping is connects with her hobby. She commented, “I am a person who doesn’t like to take pictures in a photo studio, which is too unnatural. I am not model. So I prefer to be photographed with natural style.” For Maya, every moment of the special occasion is should be captured. Maya stated, “Besides enjoying it, it can be memories to be shared to my child when my child is older, so my child will believe that I am the mother. Haha.” Linda and Fitri also agreed that the most beautiful moment should be captured in photos. Even though the pictures are taken in her house, Fitri thought that the most important thing is to capture her pregnancy. She wore her favorite house dress when she took pictures of herself.

Third, there is the practice of consumption to show identity as a pregnant woman. This consumption practice is shown by the fee that has been spent to rent the photographer, makeup artist and special clothes for the photo shoot. Consumption practice happens in in the small bourgeois class which has economic capital as mentioned above. Ozzy for example, spent 3 million rupiah to rent a photographer and makeup artist; the fee for the photo crew was not included. The consumption practice also can be seen from Heny who spent 7,2 million rupiahs to pay the photographer and rent the space to take photos. Meanwhile, Maya has purposely spent 150.000 rupiahs to buy a special outfit for the maternity shoot and spent 300.000 rupiah to pay the photographer.

3. Conclusion

In this research, theory from Pierre Bourdieu was used to expose the lifestyle and consumer culture of maternity shots on Instagram by using a principle of class distribution. The differences seen in this study are developed from capital, which is able to show that social classes with economic capital and cultural capital are able to take positions in the Instagram arena. The result is that those who win the fight will get the profit, which is positive praise, positive assessment and pride as symbolic capital. Meanwhile, the ones from the popular class who do not have capitals, should be satisfied without any praise and positive assessment. They only follow the dominant culture without any question. But, those two classes are successfully subdued by the dominant culture of celebrity who has massive cultural capital in maintaining the dominant ideology of the maternity shoot. That domination spreads until it becomes a lifestyle that reaches into various classes.

On the side of the field, Instagram has played its role as a realm full of conventions that unintentionally control the users' body. Instagram, with its structure and features, can dominate the user. While operating the convention, Instagram has already become a betting arena for economic and cultural capital for pregnant woman. In this convention, only pregnant woman who follow the conventions and have a big volume and wide distribution of capital will win.

Pregnant women voluntarily participate in the maternity shoot practice because they think that pregnancy is an important ritual and a perfect complement for a woman's life. Thus, it has to be captured through picture and published on Instagram. The practice is carried out as uniquely as possible, attempting to be different from others, to show their personal identity as a beautiful pregnant woman. To show this identity, the pregnant woman does the consumption practice in form of paying a photographer and make-up artist, renting a shoot location and buying special clothes for shooting. In the end, lifestyle in maternity shoots has remained well maintained for almost three decades. It continues to grow in every class.

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