HOW TO BE A MILLENNIAL PARENT:
A TEXTUAL ANALYSIS ON MICRO-MICROCELEBRITIES AND SHARENTING
PRACTICES ONLINE

ANGELA DENISE R. GONSALVES

COLLEGE OF MASS COMMUNICATION
UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES DILIMAN

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ANGELA DENISE R. GONSALVES

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Thesis Adviser:

Professor Daphne Tatiana Tolentino-Canlas, Ph.D.

College of Mass Communication

University of the Philippines

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ANGELA DENISE R. GONSALVES
College of Mass Communication
University of the Philippines

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by

ANGELA DENISE R. GONSALVES

has been approved by
the Department of Broadcast Communication
and the University of the Philippines College of Mass Communication
by

Professor Daphne Tatiana Tolentino-Canlas, Ph.D.

Professor Elena E. Pernia, Ph.D.
Dean, College of Mass Communication

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

PERSONAL DATA

Name	Angela Denise R. Gonsalves
Permanent Address	Lot 12 Block 3 Phase 3B Tamarind St, Greenwoods Executive Village, San Miguel Pasig City
Telephone Number	(+63) 917 849 7729
Date & Place of Birth	01 September 1997, Quezon City

EDUCATION

Secondary Level	Achiever's Circle, GCF – International Christian School, Ortigas Center, Pasig City, NCR
Primary Level	Achiever's Circle, GCF – International Christian School, Ortigas Center, Pasig City, NCR
	St. Paul College Pasig, Brgy. Ugong Pasig City, NCR

ORGANIZATIONS	Local Committee Vice President for Marketing Communications and Strategic Initiatives, AIESEC in UP Diliman (2017)
	Member, UP Broadcasting Association (2015-2018)
	Elected Member, Pi Gamma Mu International Honors Society (U.P Chapter) (2018)
WORK EXPERIENCE	Intern, DZUP 1602, July-August 2018 Copywriter Intern, Sunday Elephant Creatives, June-July 2017
ACHIEVEMENTS	Exhibitor, All-In Young Filmmakers Screening, Singapore, 2017
	Team Philippines - Delegate, Asian Students' Venture Forum, South Korea, 2018
	University Scholar: 1st and 2nd Semester AY2014-2015, 1st Semester AY2017

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To my niece, Lily, and to all the children of Instagram:
You were too cute not to share online. Forgive your parents
for being millennial.

ABSTRACT

GONSALVES, A.D.R. (2018). *How to be a Millennial Parent: A Textual Analysis on Micro-microcelebrities and Sharenting Practices Online.* Unpublished Undergraduate Thesis. University of the Philippines College of Mass Communication.

This study aims to explore how sharenting is becoming an increasingly normal practice among young, Filipino parents by examining the sharenting practices of their contemporary celebrity sharents as displayed on the image-sharing platform, Instagram. In 2014, Blum-Ross and Livingstone introduced the term "sharenting," or the act of sharing information about their children by parents on blogs and social networking sites which, through their posting, has allowed the launch of these children into stardom.

In this study, I will analyze the photos and videos of children posted on Instagram accounts by their very own celebrity parents. By posting these photos and videos on Instagram, these micro-celebrity parents are able to accumulate symbolic capital, which transforms them into cultural producers that legitimize the practice of sharenting in Filipino families today. Drawing from Bourdieu's Theory of Practice and Symbolic Violence, this study will specifically look at the different sharenting practices of Filipino celebrity sharents with children ages 0-5 years old. I will conduct interviews with non-celebrity sharents in order to come up with a side by side analysis that reveals which practices between the two are similar with each other, and how Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence plays a role in legitimizing the practice.

Keywords: sharenting, micro-celebrity, theory of practice, symbolic violence

ABSTRAKT

GONSALVES, A.D.R. (2018). *How to be a Millennial Parent: A Textual Analysis on Micro-microcelebrities and Sharenting Practices Online.* Unpublished Undergraduate Thesis. University of the Philippines College of Mass Communication.

Nais tuklasin ng pag-aaral na ito kung paano nagiging normal na praktis ang *sharenting* sa mga Pilipinong magulang ngayon sa pamamagitan ng pagsuri ng praktis base sa ginagawa ng mga sikat na magulang sa social media, partikular na sa social media site na Instagram. Noong 2014, ipinakilala ni Blum-Ross at Livingstone ang terminong "*sharenting*," o ang pagbabahagi ng labis na impormasyon tungkol sa kanilang mga anak ng mga magulang sa mga blogs at social networking sites na, sa pamamagitan ng kanilang pag-post, ay isang dahilan ng pag-angat ng mga batang ito sa kasikatan. Kilala bilang *micro-microcelebrities*, ang mga batang ito ay madalas may wala o kakaunting ahensya, at nagtitipon ng malawak na pagsunod habang ang kanilang presensya sa social media ay unti-unting nadaragdagan.

Sa pag-aaral na ito, susuriin ko ang mga bidyo at larawan ng mga batang ito na naka-post sa mga Instagram accounts ng kanilang mga magulang. Sa pamamagitan ng pag-post ng mga larawan at bidyo na ito sa Instagram, ang mga sikat na magulang ay nagkakaroon ng symbolic capital, na bumabago sa kanila bilang mga tagalikha ng kultura na katulong sa pagka-lehitimo ng praktis ng *sharenting* sa mga pamilyang Pilipino ngayon. Gamit ang Theory of Practice at Symbolic Violence ni Bourdieu, titignan ng pag-aaral na ito ang iba't ibang praktis ng *sharenting* na ginagawa ng mga sikat na magulang na may mga anak na edad 0-5 taong gulang. Makikipanayam ako sa mga di-

sikat na magulang upang masuri kung aling mga praktis ang pareho sa pagitan ng mga sikat at di-sikat na magulang, at kung paano pumapapel sa pagpapatibay ng *sharenting* ang symbolic violence ni Bourdieu.

Keywords: sharenting, micro-celebrity, theory of practice, symbolic violence

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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

From baby albums to baby networks

Becoming a parent is a privilege not everyone is fortunate enough to experience. To take part in the miracle of life brings about insurmountable joy – a milestone worth recording and celebrating in every man and woman's life. In the early days, we captured these remarkable moments through manual film and home video cameras, which were then preserved respectively inside photo albums and video tapes for one's private viewing. Since then, newer and faster technologies such as digital and built-in smartphone cameras have enhanced the way we capture and preserve our memories, boosting in particular our ability to share these images to a wider audience. Through today's technology and social media, we can now share these milestones and memories to people across time and space, with face-to-face interactions no longer a pre-requisite for sharing to occur.

However, while there are plenty of personal benefits to sharing on social media, there are also negative implications when it comes to privacy. With the network's ability to reach wider audiences comes also the risk of sharing personal life stories with strangers who may suddenly find access to one's materials online. The more we share about our life through these social networks, the more susceptible we are to the scrutiny of unfamiliar people, and while these implications are openly welcomed by most social media users, this becomes problematic when young children are involved. These young children, especially those with little to no agency to decide on their privacy, are not fully aware of the positive and negative implications posed by social media, yet their presence in the digital world is slowly increasing. Why are there more and more pictures and videos of young children online? What could be an underlying reason behind

this phenomena? Do the benefits of posting about young children on social media outweigh the possible risks and dangers? This study is a result of my observations on the matter.

A. Background of the Study

Shar(enting) about the parent life

My preliminary explorations on the presence of young children online brought me to several Instagram feeds and profiles of celebrity and non-celebrity parents who are experiencing the joys of parenthood for the first time. Western celebrities like Chrissy Teigen and Kim Kardashian for example, have shared numerous pictures of their children on their personal Instagram accounts, while those like the Olympian swimmer Michael Phelps and DJ Khaled have created Instagram accounts specifically with the identities of their own children. These children are originally made famous on account of their parents' celebrity status, but over time these children themselves have also gained some form of stardom within Instagram and the entertainment world. Apart from these children of celebrities, there are also young children who became famous not on account of their parents' celebrity status, but on account of increased social media exposure, like Laura Izumikawa and her daughter, Joey, who became famous for posting photos of her sleeping daughter on Instagram dressed in cute costumes (Siebert, 2016).

In 2017, a study was conducted by the University of Florida revealing that 92% of two-year olds in the U.S have an online presence (Steinberg, 2017). When children appear in Facebook photos, 45.2% of the posts also mention the child's first name, and 6.2% reference the child's date of birth, allowing all viewers to establish the exact age of the child. On Instagram, 63% of parents reference their child's first name in at least one photo in their stream, 27% of parents reference their child's date of birth, and 19% share both pieces of information (Steinberg,

2017, p. 849). Some of these children also have an online presence even before birth, through ultrasound pictures uploaded by their parents. This phenomenon is what Blum-Ross and Livingstone (2017) calls "sharenting," which is a play between the words "parenting" and "sharing" to describe the act of sharing about one's children and parenting experiences on online blogs or social networking sites.

In the Philippines, there is also a growing trend of sharenting on Instagram, particularly among young Filipino celebrity parents. Entertainment news websites like Cosmopolitan PH (2017) and Spot PH (2017) have published several articles listing the top 10 cutest celebrity babies to follow on Instagram. Among these babies include the children of celebrity couples like Hayden Kho and Vicki Belo, Toni Gonzaga and Paul Soriano, Andi Manzano and GP Reyes, Marian Rivera and Dingdong Dantes, and many more. Apart from these celebrity babies, my own personal observation among family and friends have revealed that non-celebrity parents also perform sharenting on Instagram – a cousin, for example, frequently posts pictures and Instagram stories (videos that last only for one day) about her newborn baby girl.

While a lot of parents who perform sharenting may argue that it is a way for them to show how proud they are to be parents (Ridley, 2012), a way to look after their children (Leaver, 2017) or simply a way for them to connect family members and friends into their journey as new parents (Steinberg, 2017), it is important to note that when parents share information on their social feeds, they are often sharing with more than just the individuals they would consider "friends" in face-to-face relationships (Steinberg, 2017, pp. 848-849). This then poses some form of danger to the child, especially when those who would wish to inflict harm upon them have access to available information (Minkus et. al, 2015).

B. Statement of the Problem

Sharenting: the newest parenting trend?

Given this new phenomenon and the increasing presence of these young children online, a lot of questions have been raised regarding the ethical considerations, motivations, and long-term effects of sharenting on both the parents who perform the act, and the children who are receivers of the act. This study however, aims to take a step back and ask how sharenting has become a practice that young parents conform to in the first place. With social media permeating nearly all aspects of our everyday life, from personal to public, it is inevitable that cherished life events such as becoming new parents will eventually find its way to social media. Furthermore, with the influence of celebrity culture and the Internet magnifying the human impulse towards being admired (Choi & Berger, 2010), performances such as sharenting pose strong implications on how parenting in the 21st century is slowly evolving in response to a highly tech-savvy society.

This study thus situates the sharenting phenomenon within the Philippine context, and aims to explore whether or not this exists among Filipino parents today. Specifically, this study asks whether or not the sudden influx of celebrity babies and "sharents" on Instagram has an effect on the way young Filipino parents do parenting now, such that it persuades them to do the same thing. With my preliminary research and observations, my assumption is that these celebrity parents accumulate symbolic capital through sustained posts of their children on Instagram, which transforms them into cultural producers that legitimize the practice of sharenting and affect the parenting styles of young non-celebrity, Filipino parents today.

C. Research Objectives

On examining picture-perfect parenting

To help me arrive at the answers to my questions, I outline the following steps I will be undertaking in this research:

(1) Identify the common practices and visual categories of sharenting through the Instagram accounts of certain celebrity parents;

(2) Identify the influences and practices of non-celebrity parents who practice sharenting;

(3) Compare and contrast the sharenting activities of celebrity versus non-celebrity parents;

(4) Examine how the practice of sharenting is created on Instagram by analyzing the field, habitus, and capital using Bourdieu's Theory of Practice; and

(5) Evaluate the normality of sharenting as a practice in the 21st century through the lens of Bourdieu's Symbolic Violence.

This study in short, aims to achieve two main things – first, to describe the practice of sharenting and outline its telltale signs, and second, to analyze how and why it has become or is slowly becoming a practice done by young parents in the Philippines today.

D. Significance of the Study

Social media and the picturesque norm

Studying the sharenting phenomenon serves as an exercise in excavating how habits, values, and practices are slowly being normalized through the media. Although this study focuses on digital rather than traditional media, the same hegemonic power still stands, particularly in light of how the internet and social media has penetrated deep into our lives (Beer,

2009). With global digital media consumption steadily increasing over the years, it is evident that our society has grown highly dependent on what the internet and social media can offer us, affecting the way we act and make life decisions. This pervasiveness makes digital media worth studying, especially when it becomes a standard of living that people find themselves attracted to.

By examining how sharenting has become a practice in social media through Bourdieu's study of practice and culture, this study hopes to provide a more solid insight on the hegemonic powers of social media, particularly Instagram, and its influence on taste and culture. Moreover, the digital age has also blurred the lines between consumer and producer, thus there is a need to study how we as text producers, without explicit knowledge, contribute to this hegemony, and how we can be more responsible as we continuously partake in the rules and activities under these dominant social structures.

This study also has implications for parents raising young children in a digitally-sound environment. Previous studies on the effects of early television viewing on young children have noted that background television, or television that is not comprehensible to very young children, may have a negative impact on their learning development, and robs them off high-quality interactions with their distracted parents (Anderson & Hanson, 2013). While parents these days are no longer primarily hooked on television, the existence of multi-screens in computers and smartphones may continue to contribute to parents' distraction, especially when these parents lead cultivated digital lifestyles. This study is also an early exploration of the practice of sharenting here in the Philippines, which can be used in further studies that examine the ethical implications of these pervasive digital practices.

E. Scope and Limitations

Frames of mind

Since sharenting is a relatively new phenomenon, this study aims to be an introduction to the practice of sharenting in the Philippine context. The study seeks to provide an overall concept of the practice and how it occurs in the first place by analyzing the interplay between structure and agency, thus notions such as user-motivation and ethical implications will not be dwelt on as much. Furthermore, because this study is an exploration of this phenomenon, the results should not be generalized as applicable to the entire population of young Filipino parents today.

This study will also be limited to celebrity and non-celebrity parents with children ages 0-5 years old, who frequently post pictures and videos of their children on Instagram. The site of research occurs only on Instagram because of the technological affordances of the application (e.g., it is a mobile application specifically created for photo and video sharing), and among children ages 0-5 years old because these children often exhibit less agency compared to those 6 years old and above (Blum-Ross & Livingstone, 2017).

Previous studies on sharenting have also been done mostly in the U.S, the U.K, and Singapore, thus the foundations of this study are mostly rooted in Western influences. These existing literature will suffice, although as researcher I also understand that there is still much to be done in order to provide a bigger and more accurate picture of sharenting in the Philippines. This study is my small contribution to what we already have.

CHAPTER II. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The millennial parenting overview

The foundations of my study are outlined under four main sections: the connective culture of photo sharing websites, the social medium Instagram, the practice of sharenting, and the influence and creation of micro-celebrities. In this chapter, I review the ingredients essential to the creation of sharenting, and how these will be used in the study.

A. The photo-sharing hook;

Connective culture and the power of the algorithm

Sharing pictures and status updates online, or the simple act of checking one's social media has become almost second nature to us. In other words, it has mostly become an unconscious technological pursuit, which means that instead of information technologies acting as intermediaries to our social life, social life is now becoming increasingly constituted by it (Beer, 2009; van Dijck, 2010). In a study done by van Dijck analyzing the photo-sharing platform Flickr, he discovered that Flickr enables the construction of infinite connections that, in turn, affect the formation of "collective" user perspectives, experiences, and memory. Sociologically, the term "collective" or "collectivity" in relation to human memory is the result of people experiencing a connection between what happens in general and how they are involved as individuals (van Dijck, 2010); however, with the emergence of Web 2.0, van Dijck argues that photo-sharing websites nowadays create "collective memory" through the culture of connectivity. The culture of connectivity refers to a culture where the powerful structures of social networking sites are gradually penetrating the core of our daily routines and practices

through socio-technical relations, where the digital practices in a networked environment continuously define and redefine the nature of memory and the formation of our perspectives and experiences. Connective culture mixes "not only the individual and the collective, the private and the public, but also past and future past into a permanent stream of visual 'present'" (van Dijck, 2010, p. 402).

van Dijck's (2010) analysis of Flickr reveals that photo sharing websites have become spaces where "communal perspectives and experiences evolve as a result of picture exchange, or as visual archives where the exchange of pictures, experiences and interpretations in the present naturally lead to a communal sense of the past" (p. 412). However, this is largely the result of data linked up by means of computer code and institutional protocols. Lash (2007) and Beer (2009) attribute this to the power of the algorithm, which is at the core of the technological unconscious and an important condition of new memory-making. The power of the algorithm refers to the metadata that institutions gather from a user's behavioral patterns which they then use to adjust the user's interface. It is the "powerful steering agency" that constitutes human activity because it creates compressed and hidden "generative" rules that, due to their stealth, are becoming more and more pervasive in our social, cultural life (Beer, 2009). Most users have little to no knowledge of how the digital environments they operate in truly work, and the effects of these environments beyond face value will often simply go unnoticed.

The connective culture and the power of the algorithm were used by van Dijck to prove that photo sharing websites, like Flickr, have the ability to mold the way we form memories, experiences, and perspectives in life, particularly in relation to the collective community around us. While some people still use Flickr, the photo sharing application and social website,

Instagram is more prevalently used by people today. The next section is then dedicated to an overview of Instagram, and a discussion on its user motivations and affordances.

B. Image-first, text-second:

The motivations and affordances of Instagram as a social networking site

Instagram is a social networking site that grants its users unlimited space to freely express themselves primarily through photo and video sharing. It enables its users to capture, edit, and upload high quality pictures instantly, and to gain followers for their content. Instagram was originally launched as a mobile photo-sharing application in 2010 and since then, has expanded its reach to include the world wide web. It has also since then developed features such as stories, photo map, direct messaging, and archiving. It markets itself as a medium that allows users to transform an image into a memory to keep around forever, and is one of the social media platforms to date that puts premium on images over texts (Lee et. al, 2015).

Many of the studies that have been conducted about Instagram mostly revolve around the different motivations for its usage. Through a survey study of 23 Instagram users, McCune (2011) narrowed down six main motivations for using the application, which were namely for sharing, documentation, seeing, community, creativity, and therapy purposes. His findings reveal that these motivations overlap with one another, and that users of Instagram and other social media networks are not drawn by a single preeminent motivation, but rather by different reasons (McCune, 2011). These motivations, however, highlight a personal/social tension, in which "the negotiation of identity in a social space is what makes the network so compelling" (p. 75). Through social networks like Instagram, users are able to see from the position of others as well

as allow others to see them from their respective positons, which becomes instrumental in the formation of one's identity in relation to a community.

McCune's findings are supported in research done by Lee et. al (2015) also examining the different motivations for using Instagram. Their survey research, which sampled 212 active Instagram users in Korea, suggest that there are five primary social and psychological motives for using Instagram, namely social interaction, archiving, self-expression, escapism, and peeking. However, their findings reveal that only the archiving motive and peeking were significantly strong predictors of attitude towards and intention to use Instagram, which indicates that users are increasingly utilizing Instagram as a platform to record their daily life events, creating a personal cyber documentary through fancy photos (Lee et. al, 2015). At the same time, peeking indicates that Instagram is valued as a magic mirror through which people are able to see the daily lives of other people while they, in turn, escape from their real lives.

One of the salient features of Instagram that caters particularly to these motivations is the search and explore button, which allows a user to view photos and videos of other users that he/she may not necessarily follow. These posts are tailored specifically for the user, based on the photos and videos they normally watch or like, and based on the people they follow (Instagram, 2018). Another particular feature of Instagram that satisfies the peeking motivation is the hashtag system, where a user can follow specific hashtags and have the top or most recent posts of this hashtag appear on their feed. According to Instagram, the hashtags allow a user to stay connected with interests, hobbies, and communities that he/she cares about, and as long as the profile of the owner of these images is set on public, anyone can access these photos and videos via the hashtag pages. The Instagram feed and archive also contribute to these common user motivations. The feed contains an endless stream of photos and videos where the images take up

most of the space on the user timeline. The archive allows users to keep their old posts and hide them from his/her followers without necessarily deleting them from the application's memory.

Surveillance and documentation are two concepts that have consistently surfaced from this existing body of research on Instagram user motivations. Because of Instagram's highly visual culture, it becomes the perfect platform for users to exercise a performance of their life, portraying themselves in the manner they wish to be read and interpreted by their audiences. The act of uploading photos and videos on Instagram to document one's life becomes a way through which individuals can negotiate and articulate their identity especially in relation to the community around them. This, in return, also shapes the way they see the world and how they want to be perceived by it (McCune, 2011; van Dijck, 2010).

The different affordances of Instagram and the way these affordances cater to user experience and motivation prove that there is work being done behind the scenes of Instagram's picturesque world. On their help center, Instagram explains how users are able to view certain types of content based on their interests, although the website does not explicitly mention *how* they track the user's interests and behavioral patterns. Furthermore, the research conducted by McCune and others regarding the motivations behind using Instagram affirm van Dijck's postulations on photo-sharing websites, and how they have become communal spaces that, through the culture of connectivity, influence the way we make memories, evaluate experiences, use perspectives, and create our identity in relation the virtual community around us.

C. Superstar baby and the creation of micro-micocelebrities

Increased exposure and interactions in these severely networked social spaces sometimes launch ordinary people into stardom. On Instagram, they become what is known as "insta-

famous," a term used to describe users who gain hoards of followers and are now considered a celebrity in the media platform. In general, these famed nobodies are called micro-celebrities, a term originally coined by Theresa Senft in her book, *Camgirls: celebrity and community in the age of social networks* (2008). The term micro-celebrity is used to describe people who have become famous on the World Wide Web, and whose stardom was created through a careful cultivation of image and branding in social networking sites. According to Senft, these micro-celebrities employ theatrical authenticity, self-branding, and celebrity as forms of publicity, enabling them to gain enough capital in the new attention economy (2013). The need to curate oneself is largely due to the fact that the internet has become a marketplace where users can buy and sell themselves as a cultural commodity, and with social media designed to encourage users to monitor the activities of others, users are now tied to creating a constant performance of themselves (Senft, 2013).

Since 2008, research on micro-celebrities has grown to accommodate new findings. The works of Crystal Abidin in particular, have contributed significantly to the nomenclature and genesis of micro-celebrities. According to her works, micro-celebrities can be created in two ways, systemic and diffuse. Systemic micro-celebrification is a "firm indication of one's crossover into micro-celebrity," where the usual metrics are becoming brand ambassadors, owning or modelling for blogshops, or being covered by the mainstream media (Abidin, 2015a). Diffuse micro-celebrification, on the other hand, has no formal structure, and depends on "a more organic accumulation of attention before attaining micro-celebrity." People who undergo diffuse micro-celebrification are users who originally have no commercial intent but were made famous through their "organic readers" or the people who have begun to invest in their personal life and lifestyles. Under diffuse micro-celebrification is also the concept of "proximate

celebrity," where the micro-celebrity develops from contact with mainstream stars (Abidin, 2015a).

Abidin draws most of her work from interviews, participant observation, and case studies of Singaporean micro-celebrities who eventually become social media influencers. An influencer is a type of micro-celebrity that can be further defined as somebody who shares extensively about his/her personal life and lifestyle through blogs and social media, and accumulates a relatively large following. They are also known to engage with their followers in "digital" and "physical" spaces, and monetize their following by integrating "advertorials" into their blog or social media posts and making physical appearances at events (Abidin, 2015b). These micro-celebrities can be found in a variety of social networking sites, and other studies on micro-celebrities from platforms such as Twitter, YouTube, and Tumblr have likewise examined different practices of micro-celebrities and how they have come to garner fame (see: Marwick & boyd 2011; Marwick, 2015).

Apart from influencers, there also exists another type of micro-celebrity, which Abidin calls the micro-microcelebrity. While studying Singaporean micro-celebrities and influencers on Instagram, she observed that more and more babies and toddlers in East Asia were amassing huge followings on social media, which drew her to study this phenomenon. She defines micro-microcelebrities as the children of social media influencers who have become micro-celebrities themselves, deriving exposure and fame from their prominent Influencer mothers (Abidin, 2015b). These micro-microcelebrities are created through "proximate microcelebrification," where the child becomes a celebrity solely by relationship to one who is already a celebrity. Abidin discovers that as early as the gestation stage, some prominent influencer parents in Singapore would post pictures of their sonogram on Instagram to signal the addition to their

family, and as the pregnancy progressed, so did the stories and images that were shared. The microcelebrification of these children would then begin as early as the pregnancy stage, and before these children even saw the world, the world already saw them.

By sharing images of their young children on social media, these influencer parents are actually doing a more prolific, deliberate, and commercial form of what Blum-Ross and Livingstone (2017) define as "sharenting," which is the act of sharing information about their children by parents on social networking sites or blogs.

D. Love in excess:

The phenomenon of the sharent

Signs of sharenting can be traced back to as early as the days when blogs were the more popular medium to disclose about one's personal life. In corresponding with 66 U.K blogger parents, Blum-Ross and Livingstone (2014) found that some of these parents often blog as a form of coping with the experience of becoming a new parent. One parent shares that writing about her experience as a new mother was "cathartic," and that it was a way of writing through her problems and allowing her to process her thoughts (p. 115). For most parents on the other hand, the purpose was "the curation of memories, a modern photo album built to share snapshots and stories of the child(ren) not only for far-flung family and friends in the present but also for the child(ren) as imagined into the future" (p. 116). Thus, sharenting can also be seen not only as a way to represent the self as a parent but also as an extension of the care work of parenting, or what Tamar Leaver (2015) calls "intimate surveillance."

Leaver (2015) defines intimate surveillance as the "purposeful and routinely well-intentioned surveillance of young people by parents, guardians, friends, and so forth," where "the surveyed have little or no agency to resist" (Leaver, 2015, p. 153). As more and more parents continue to bring their parenting styles online, intimate surveillance is slowly becoming a normal thing, seen as a "necessary culture of care," and where parents who choose to not survey their infants can be seen as a "failure of parenting" (Leaver, 2017, p. 2). In her study, she cited parental mediation (which she defines as public sharing by micro-celebrities, otherwise also known as sharenting) and wearable technologies as examples of intimate surveillance, and that these acts become normalized through "invisible disciplinary power of changes," a concept Leaver lifts from Michael Foucault's work on the Panopticon. She isolates the concept of affect in particular, and argues that through affect, acts of digital surveillance of infants become equated with good care and parenting because of the ability of sentiment and emotion to overpower other factors that may entice users into investing in tools for online sharenting (Leaver, 2017). She also notes that micro-celebrities in particular, have also been influential in promoting and normalizing certain shifts in parenting practices because they are often seen as authentic online voices, as supported by other studies done on micro-celebrities (Leaver, 2017; Marwick, 2015; Senft, 2013; Abidin, 2015a). Though not all parents have equal access when it comes to the tools necessary to perform their parenting, followers of these parental micro-celebrities and their offspring may be strongly influenced to replicate the mediation and sharing of information of their own children through other ways.

Some parents perform the act of sharenting so well that they and their children end up becoming micro-celebrities. They become influencers, whose family lives are now subject to bigger followings that go beyond their usual family and friends. Examining the practice of

sharenting by micro-celebrities, Abidin (2017) proposes a technique called "calibrated amateurism," which micro-celebrities employ in order to sustain their appeal with followers. Calibrated amateurism is defined as:

> "the practice and aesthetic in which actors in an attention economy ***labor specifically over crafting contrived authenticity*** that portrays the raw aesthetic of an amateur, whether or not they really are amateurs by status or practice, by relying on the performance ecology of appropriate platforms, affordances, tools, cultural vernacular, and social capital" (Abidin, 2017, 1) (emphasis mine).

With calibrated amateurism, micro-celebrities take care in order to maintain their appearance as "ordinary celebrities" from which they initially began, in order to remain credible at what they do (Abidin, 2017). As iterated by Senft (2008; 2013), Marwick (2011; 2015), and other scholars, micro-celebrities are attractive because they appear as real people to their audiences, and if this authenticity is destabilized, these micro-celebrities can experience backlash from their followers. This notion is similar to what Graeme Turner (2014), and Marwick and boyd (2011) note about celebrity practice: the ability to seamlessly weave together performance and the real self in an authentic, intimate image that simultaneously meets fan expectation and maintains important relationships.

E. Bridging online practices and the rise of celebrity sharents in the Philippines

Having laid down the main concepts that will be tackled in this study; specifically, the affordances of Instagram as enabled by the culture of connectivity and the power of the

algorithm, the micro-celebrity, and sharenting, I intend to use these concepts in examining whether sharenting exists here in the Philippines. Given the nature of social media, particularly of Instagram as both the new photo album and a repository of taste and culture, it isn't surprising to find more images of babies shared on this media platform compared to others. As more and more celebrity parents take to sharing photos and videos of their young children online, the more young parents who are their contemporaries are enticed to do the same thing, fueling the practice of sharenting in these platforms. Choi & Berger (2009) argue that the Internet has significantly enhanced the influence of celebrities, to the point that mission creep occurs, a term used to describe "the expansion of an enterprise beyond its original goals" (p. 313). With this view in mind, celebrity influence in the 21st century has admittedly leaked onto different social fields, and this study focuses on family and parenthood as enhanced through the affordances of Instagram.

Additionally, Basil (1996) writes that identification with the celebrity usually mediates message effects. Audiences are able to relate better to celebrities with whom they can identify with; thus, a young mother seeing a fellow celebrity parent excessively doting on her child online may be persuaded to do the same thing. However, the effectiveness of a celebrity is only determined by how much an individual identifies his/herself with the celebrity – in other words, how much cultural meaning is given to the relationship with the celebrity by the viewer. The greater the identification, the more likely the viewer will see important attributes (worth imitating) in the celebrity (Basil, 1996, p. 481).

When a viewer accepts the celebrity's influence and identifies with certain attitudes or behaviors, this can also be seen as a way of entering into a parasocial relationship with them, another way through which the influence of the celebrity is extended. Parasocial relationships

commonly occur among fans and celebrities because of mass media, which mediates and transfers information about the celebrity for the audience's consumption. With today's social media blurring the line between one's private and public life, this parasocial relationship is further enhanced as the digital environment fosters virtual communities.

The influence of the celebrity, however, is only but one aspect of how the sharenting practice is formed and maintained online. The site of interaction – in this case, Instagram – is also important in examining how sharenting is created. The field through which the practice is occurring must be conducive for the practice to occur in the first place, thus the need to examine the technological affordance of Instagram as a social networking site. Likewise, it is partly because of the affordances of Instagram that ordinary people become insta-famous in the first place, something that will be taken into account when the study examines how micro-microcelebrity babies are created.

CHAPTER III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

On structure, agency, and practice

The foundation of my study on sharenting by micro-celebrities and its influence on modern day Filipino parenting uses Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice and symbolic violence (1977) as its main framework. Using this theory, I fill in the variables that configure practice; namely the field, habitus, and capital by studying the character of the micro-celebrity, and the different strategies and techniques commonly used in the practice of sharenting by these micro-celebrity parents. Likewise, I ground my research on the experience of non-celebrity sharents as a point of comparison. Finally, I use Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence as a means of analyzing how sharenting becomes an embedded act in modern society.

Pierre Bourdieu is a French sociologist well-known for his extensive research on people, culture, and society. Particularly relevant to this study is his work on structure and agency, two concepts that often contradict one another and which he eventually reconciles in his theory of practice. Briefly, social structures can be interpreted as rules that "determine and condition individuals' thoughts and behaviors" (Walther, 2014, p. 8). They are patterns of social life that cannot simply be changed on an individual whim, and have an underlying logic of their own that can be reproduced over time (Hays, 1994). Meanwhile, agency describes the ability of individuals to exercise their free will and choose among an array of alternatives (Hays, 1994). Bourdieu proposes that through strategy or practice, individuals are able to manipulate an interplay between structure and agency, and he explains this more thoroughly through his main concepts of field, habitus, and capital.

A. Field, Habitus, and Capital:

Laying down the basic theoretical elements

Human interactions occur in specific social spaces, and within these social spaces, fields of power relations occur where social agents negotiate with each other. A social field is essentially a universe or microcosm where agents and institutions interact with each other according to field-specific rules, and where these rules are born out of a "historically generated system of shared meaning" that gives the field some form of structure (Iellatchitch et al., 2003, p. 732). Although it provides the field a semblance of form, it is important to note that these fields have specific rules which are never implicitly stated, but are tacit in nature. However, they need to be internalized by social agents in order to demonstrate appropriate practices and strategies (Walther, 2014).

Social agents occupy different positions in the field, and to determine one's position within the field, individual strategies like investing different kinds of capital are done. Through these positions, the field defines the dominant and dominated positions, which in turn determines what social agents can or cannot do – what practices are possible and which are not (Walther, 2014). To help the social agent maneuver around the field, Bourdieu introduces a second concept found in his theory of practice, called the habitus. Habitus is defined as "a system of unconscious schemes of thought and perception or dispositions which act as mediation between structures and practice" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72). In other words, it is a socially constructed system of cognitive and motivating structures, which can be seen as the individual's guiding hand for norms of behavior and thinking (Walther, 2014). The habitus is originally developed by the family during childhood, but it is ultimately the educational system which consciously transmits this system of

unconscious schemes (Mander, 1987). It is a dynamic internal structure, but while it is durable it may not always change when adapted to modified field conditions (Walther, 2014).

The habitus is best understood as a "strategy generating principle that enables agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72). It helps social agents determine the appropriate types and amounts of capitals to be invested on a social field, and this knowledge of what is taken for granted on a field is known as the doxa (Walther, 2014). The doxa is also rooted to one's position on the social fields, therefore setting limits to the amount of field knowledge one knows, and ensuring that one indeed acts "intentionally without intention" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 12).

The interplay between habitus and field shows how Bourdieu reconciles structure and agency with one another (see Fig. 1). He describes the habitus as a "'structured structure' predisposed to act as 'structuring structures'" (Walther, 2014, p. 14) because of how one's doxa is influenced by his/her relative position in the field. In other words, field and habitus belong in a dialectical relationship that is influenced by both modes of practices *(modus operandi)* and resulting practices *(opus operantum)*; thus active involvement in the field is important in shaping perceptions and actions that can lead to a reproduction of the rules of the field.
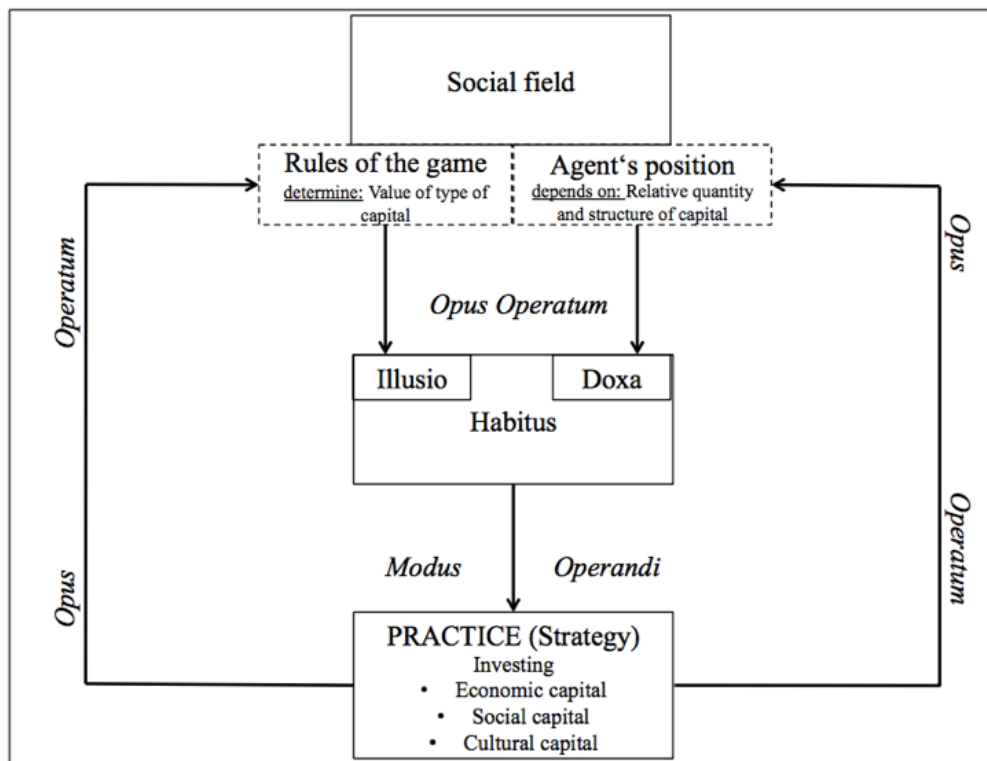
Figure 1. The interplay of field, habitus, and capital (figure taken from Walther, 2014).

Integral to determining the position of the social agent within a field is the amount of

capital he/she has. According to Bourdieu (1986), capital determines the right of an individual to

enter a social field, and also determines an agent's position on the field or social space in

general. There are many types of capital, with some of them being field-specific such as literary

or scientific capital, but in general Bourdieu distinguishes two main kinds of capital: symbolic

and economic. Economic capital simply refers to a person's fortune, and is directly convertible

into money. Its origins lie in mercantile exchange, where the objective and subjective goal is to

maximize one's profit. Symbolic capital however, is oriented towards honor and recognition. It is

the sum of the other types of capital combined, and "the acknowledgment of capital by the

entirety of the peer competitors on a specific field" (Bourdieu, 1997 as cited in Walther, 2014, p.

10). Symbolic capital is reflective of the values accorded by the system regarding the usefulness

of different types of capital needed within a field. The field of arts, for example, would value economic, social, and cultural capital; these three combined creates symbolic capital that is "worthy of being pursued and preserved" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 182 as cited in Walther, 2014, p. 10).

Bourdieu develops this view of capital that is intentionally drawn away from mercantilist definitions yet operates in a similar manner because he wanted to highlight a process he calls misrecognition (Moore, 2008). According to him, the only difference between economic and symbolic capital is that economic capital recognizes its self-interested nature, whereas forms of symbolic capital, in their distinctive ways, "deny and suppress their instrumentalism by proclaiming themselves to be disinterested and of intrinsic worth" (Moore, 2008, p. 104). Economic capital, unlike symbolic capital, recognizes that it pursues advancement or elevation of individual status in society. However, for symbolic capital, these pursuits are not easily recognized to be selfish, as symbolic capital is often disguised behind activities like hobbies, interests, and tastes which are often mistaken to be innate and intuitive. The misconception that Bourdieu would like to point out is the idea that these forms of symbolic capital are a priori when in fact they are all arbitrary. Human preferences are shaped by what is observable in society, and like economic capital, it can help advance individuals up the cultural ladder if the right choices are made. But depending on how "in the norm" one's preferences are, Bourdieu wishes to destroy the idea that there is a universal and essential standard that everyone must adhere to – all actions and movements for him in the field are ultimately based on human interest. It is when people continue to misrecognize symbolic capital as inherent and not in pursuit of self-interest that hierarchies of discrimination are established, and symbolic violence occurs.

B. Upholding the Structure

Symbolic violence through symbolic labor

Symbolic violence occurs when "a power imposes meanings and imposes them as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its ability to impose those meanings" (Mander, 1987, p. 432). For symbolic violence to occur, there must be an accumulation of symbolic capital, which is produced through symbolic labor – or labor that effectively hides the interested social relations (Swartz, 1997). According to Bourdieu, cultural producers are key players in producing symbolic labor because they mediate the relationship between culture and class (Swartz, 1997) and by doing so, accumulate symbolic power which reinforces the overall economic and political power that creates ideology. Through misrecognition, the power relations in creating practice is made to appear disinterested, lending it a form of authority and legitimacy that soon characterizes the dominant culture. What makes this authority even more powerful is the fact that it isn't openly acknowledged as authority, since it is supposed to be an unconscious act. In truth, any pedagogic action is accompanied by authority, giving it persuasive powers that convince less dominant cultures to follow the structural norm.

Given these three important concepts, Bourdieu then outlines the relationship between field, capital, and habitus in creating practice, or "the unconscious behavior that is in conformity with our interests and aims at achieving our objectives by investing capital" (Walther, 2014, p. 15). The concept of interested action is central to Bourdieu's theory of practice; in a given society, social agents – whether the individual or the institution – will always act in a way that serves their interest, and in accordance with the rules of the "game" and their relative "positions" in the field. Interest, in this context, cannot be reduced to just conscious end-gaining; interest is formed out of one's phenomenological experiences which exist in an environment saturated with

values (Grenfell, 2008). What our interests are depend on what values we have imbibed from observing the world around us, and the social practice that is born out of it, while not necessarily always deliberate to the agent, will always result in the fulfillment of a specific interest. Moreover, practice is the result of social structures created on a particular field which, once combined with the habitus and symbolic capital, allows a user to successfully navigate through the field. When the social agent happens to have greater symbolic capital, his/her actions are further evaluated as legitimate.

C. Sharenting on Instagram:
Configuring the elements of practice

In internet studies, Bourdieu's field-specific rules are akin to the concept of technological affordances. In simple terms, affordances can be described as the relationship between a person and his/her perception of the environment, particularly of the possibilities for action it may provide (Butcher & Helmond, 2017). Using this working definition of affordances, technological affordances are then used to describe "the properties of the (technological) world defined with respect to people's interaction with it" (Gaver, 1991, p. 80) – in other words, it is the way we interact with the technology surrounding us. According to Gaver (1991), affordances can be both perceptible and hidden, a concept especially useful in studying the affordances of technology and social network sites. Perceptible affordances are information obvious to the naked eye, while hidden affordances are those "that must be inferred from other evidence, possibly through experimentation and other actions that make the affordances visible" (Butcher & Helmond, 2017, p. 7). Gaver's concept of hidden affordances is similar to what Nagy and Neff (2015) call "imagined affordances," which apply better in studying the social network as it emphasizes the

affordances that "emerge between users' perceptions, attitudes, and expectations" (p. 5). Here, the users' cognitive and emotional processes are taken into account when determining the affordances of one social media platform versus another; simply locating a platform's set of features is not enough because the way platforms are used in reality is also shaped by how people approach them, and what actions they think are suggested (Nagy & Neff, 2015).

For the purpose of this study, I will only be focusing on the social medium Instagram in evaluating Bourdieu's concept of the field. Instagram's technological affordances, both the perceptible and hidden, provide insight as to why when it comes to photo-sharing, some social media users prefer to use this media platform over others. While both Instagram and Facebook allow people to post photos and videos for example, the kind of content that is posted on one platform is different from the other. The kind of photos posted on Instagram are more curated to achieve an aesthetically pleasing feed, whereas Facebook photos do not necessarily need to be edited well since the Facebook timeline is not arranged to show just images. Instagram's search and explore button, as well as the hashtag pages, also offer unique affordances that cannot be found in other social media websites. The search and explore button allows a user to discover images and videos that are currently trending on Instagram based on a user's behavioral patterns, and sometimes a user can even find more people to follow based on their connections. The hashtag pages, on the other hand, essentially pool together all posts on Instagram that use the particular hashtag, which makes it easier for a person to follow and keep track of posts that are related to the hashtag. The hashtag pages are also divided into two categories: Top and Recent posts, which provides the user the option to segregate images based on popularity and time (Instagram, 2018).

These two affordances are constitutive of Instagram's ability to launch people into stardom, especially since its algorithm works by pooling posts with the highest likes and featuring them in an endless photo stream available for anyone to view. On Instagram, a user can become "insta-famous," which happens when he/she cultivates 1,000 or more followers. The hashtags also make it easier for users to discover new images related to their interests, which is how some people grow their base and eventually launch themselves into stardom. As long as the user's profile is on public and he continues to use the hashtags in each of his posts, the hashtags can increase the likelihood of his discovery.

Instagram's branding on the other hand, as an aesthetic and artistic photo application is considered a hidden affordance, which lends it some form of superiority over other social media applications that likewise offer photo and video services. Because Instagram is tagged as an artsy application, images that adhere to this visual style are given more reactions than those that look ordinary. As such, Instagram requires its users to cultivate certain styles of editing images that, in a way, guarantee it attention.

The habitus, which is the strategy generating principle, will be evaluated based on the different techniques that are employed by the different kinds of sharents. These techniques are found from the pre-production to the post-production of a video or an image; from the way an image is framed and taken, to the moment it is edited, and finally when it is uploaded in the feed. The habitus also includes other strategies that the sharents may use in order to widen the reach of their images, such as cross-posting to other social media platforms or using hashtags. These techniques are, in part, an accumulation of the capital they already possess together with the influence of the affordances and rules of the field, thus allowing these users to maneuver around Instagram in a way that maximizes both their material and symbolic profit. Table 1 outlines some

operationalized terms of the habitus, which will be used in conjunction with evaluating the Instagram user's capital.

With Instagram as the site of human interaction, the social agents are those who use the platform, particularly the sharents who maintain a personal account, an account for their child, or both accounts on Instagram. The sharents will be evaluated based on their overall symbolic capital, which, for the purpose of this study comprises their social and cultural capital. These two types of capital were isolated in particular because of the nature of Instagram as a social network and a photo-sharing website. As a social network, Instagram is considered to be a "networked public" – a simultaneously constructed space and imagined collective that is a result of the intersection of people, technology, and practice (boyd, 2011). It shapes user engagement and participation by means of photo sharing, which helps in the formation of memories, experiences, perspectives (van Dijck, 2010), and can also be considered a space for one to negotiate and articulate his/her identity (McCune, 2011). As a one stop shop for capturing, editing, and uploading images, it is also an avenue for users to get in touch with their creative side (McCune, 2011). Thus, having both social and cultural capital are necessary in order for the user to successfully move around Instagram and to make the most out of it as an application.

In addition, I will also be lifting from Driessen's (2013a) concept of "celebrity capital," which can be defined as "accumulated media visibility through recurrent media representations." (p. 553). Celebrity capital can also be understood as attention capital that requires renewal and repetition of visibility in order to remain valuable within a field. Driessen argues that while celebrity capital is not directly equal to symbolic capital, it can result in varying extents of symbolic capital due to its high convertibility rate, or its ability to penetrate other social fields without necessarily having prior knowledge (Driessens, 2013a). Similar to Hyde's (2009)

mission creep, this concept proves useful in mapping out the history of my chosen micro-celebrity sharents who all originally gained symbolic capital from their respective social fields, before they and their children transferred to Instagram.

Capital, according to Bourdieu, has three forms: objectified, embodied, and habitus (Moore, 2008). The objectified form of capital is materially represented and manifests itself through the ownership of artefacts – books, CDs, paintings, etc. The embodied form of capital, refers to "principles of consciousness in predispositions" and manifests itself in a person's body language, stances, intonation, and lifestyle choices (p. 105). The habitus is known "only through their realizations in practice" (p. 105); it does not exist materially in the world but includes a person's attitudes and dispositions. Using these forms of capital, I operationalized the concepts needed in this study to help me measure the social and cultural capital of my select celebrity and non-celebrity sharents (Table 1). At the same time, I also included Driessen's celebrity capital in evaluating my select celebrity sharents because of its high convertibility rate, which may have some implications on the successes of these sharents as they play with the rules of Instagram.

Table 1. *Instagram-specific types of user capital*

SYMBOLIC CAPITAL			
Types of capital	*Objectified form (material things)*	*Habitus (dispositions and attitudes)*	*Embodied form (physical predispositions)*
Social	Instagram followers, likes and comments	Interactions with followers (comments, meet-ups), frequency of posting, cross-	Occupation

		posting to other social media platforms	
Cultural	Categories/narrative of posts, access to/ownership of tools	Photography techniques, framing, poses	Lifestyle, tastes, editing styles
Celebrity	Sponsored posts, presence in advertisements, total number of posts	Interactions with followers (comments, meet-ups); cross-media posting	Occupation, lifestyle

Lastly, the concept of symbolic labor, which precedes symbolic violence, comes into my research as an equivalent of today's free labor in the post-Web internet. Free labor is an advanced form of labor as it undermines the Marxist distinction of work as servitude, misery, and subordination; instead it coincides with artistic self-expression that is necessary in the culture production of the Internet (Terranova, 2011). Lazzarato (1996) is much more specific when he calls this free labor a form of "immaterial labor," which is defined by two different aspects: 1) labor that influences workers' labor processes, such as the increasing involvement of cybernetics and computer control and, 2) labor that produces the cultural content of the commodity – labor that involves activities normally not considered as 'work,' such as defining and fixing cultural and artistic standards, fashions, tastes, consumer norms, and public opinion (p. 133). These concepts are essential in studying the sharenting practice and how symbolic violence occurs through it because of the Internet's nature as a "society factory," where labor in

the production of culture is now voluntarily given, enjoyed, and sometimes exploited as users

partake in the activity of building websites and building virtual spaces (Terranova, 2011, p. 351).

      Using these concepts and Bourdieu's Theory of Practice as a guide, I intend to put the

practice of sharenting under the knife by identifying the specific requirements of field, habitus,

and capital, and analyzing their interconnectedness in order to create the sharenting practice. At

the same time, I will also analyze how symbolic violence in sharenting is created through

symbolic labor, and what their implications are on young families today.

CHAPTER IV. METHODOLOGY

Laying down the groundwork

This study employs a thematic analysis with a mixed-method approach. To accurately apply Bourdieu's theory of practice in outlining the markers of sharenting, I had to determine the three main elements that make up practice: the habitus, capital, and field. Since sharenting is a relatively new phenomenon and not much studies have been conducted about it yet, I initially approached my research by conducting frequent visits to the profiles of celebrity parents on Instagram. From there, I was able to observe patterns in the way they posted about their children, prompting me to conduct a content analysis of their posts. Furthermore, I began to conduct face-to-face and phone call interviews with parents who practice sharenting to supplement my initial data, and to gain perspective on what they normally do behind the scenes. These data sets were then interpreted based on the common themes and categories I discovered, and were analyzed from a constructionist perspective.

This study is qualitative in nature as it seeks to identify the *whats*, *whys*, and *hows* of sharenting as a new phenomenon. A thematic analysis, in particular, was applied to this study because unlike other kinds of qualitative analyses, this design allowed me to be flexible in approaching the world of sharenting on Instagram. Furthermore, it was also the most well fit with Bourdieu's theory of practice, which is commonly used in sociology. Since my study mostly takes place within the virtual world of the Internet, using thematic analysis as a research design allowed me to study the users and interpret their profiles using Bourdieu's theory as a framework without being bound to the technological knowledge of other approaches.

Approaching the research with this kind of analysis was also done deductively and was

analyzed from a constructionist perspective, where I recognize that the socio-cultural context and the structural condition of Instagram enables sharenting within the platform to appear in a certain way (Braun & Clarke, 2006). More than just describing the semantic themes, I also examined the underlying ideas, assumptions, and ideologies that were behind the semantic content of the data. These ideas, assumptions, and ideologies were not just interpreted from the semantic descriptions, but were extracted from the concepts proposed in Bourdieu's theory.

For this study, I came up with an operational definition of sharenting, one that is based on Blum-Ross and Livingstone's (2017) original definition. In this study, a parent is considered to be a sharent when he/she shares information about his/her children online, particularly on Instagram, and where the child's identity is identifiable either through name, facial recognition, age, birthday, or the parents' names. The age of the child has also been limited to between 0-5 years old, as children at this age often have little or no agency to resist, and are wholly dependent on their parents for rearing.

A. Sampling techniques and samples

Using snowball sampling, I was able to gather and interview six (6) informants who all share their children's lives on Instagram. Of these six, four (4) informants created specific and separate accounts for their children, while the other two (2) simply shared using their own accounts. One of my informants also introduced me to a community of moms on Instagram who were all interested in fashion, and whose accounts all revolved around creating the best outfits for their kids. Apart from discovering this hidden community, I was also able to interview a mom who was an influencer, which lent me some first-hand insight on the demands that come with fame and what these influencers do behind the scenes of their picture perfect world.

These interviews were meant to gain insight on the habitus, or the strategies, of these parents when it comes to sharenting. Aside from these however, what the interviews revealed to me was that there were different kinds of sharents, which I grouped into two main opposites: microcelebrity and non-celebrity. The microcelebrity sharents are those who are famous within and outside the Instagram world and have accumulated followings of 10,000 and above, whereas the non-celebrity sharents are those who identify themselves as simply documenters of their child's early stages of development. The non-celebrity category can be further divided based on the way these parents curate their images, which is defined as the way posts are captured, selected, and organized in a certain way that communicates a specific image of oneself. Under the non-celebrities, I grouped them into the curators, semi-curators, and non-curators, which I will further expound on in the next chapter.

After determining these themes from the interviews I conducted, I also used maximum variation sampling in further choosing Instagram profiles that deliberately included characteristics that were specific to the sharent groups. Table 1 below shows the sampled families and profiles that were analyzed in the study:

Table 2. *Sampled parents who practice sharenting on Instagram*

	Parent	Age of Child (at time of research)	Instagram Handle	# of Followers (at time of research)	With Interview
Microcelebrity	Andi Manzano	3 years old	@andimanzano	555k	
			@oliviamreyes	320k	
	Jan Lizardo	1 year old	@jan_lizardo	46.6k	✔
			@jace_lizardo	42.3k	

Kay Mangahas	3 years old	@kayevmangahas	890	✔
		@hisandheirs	2,776	
Clar Valdecantos	1 year old	@clarvaldecantos	1,804	✔
		@iamolivianatalia	267	
Trina Valle	4 months	@lily_of_the_valleys	43	✔
		@iamtrinnies	1,106	
Jophen Legaspi	9 months	@pinkjophen	763	✔
Nini Fortuno-Sana	5 months	@nini0106	627	✔

(Non-celebrity)

These informants fulfill the different kinds of sharents that I was able to identify based on information from the interview and observations from their individual profiles as well. The accounts that were analyzed per parent are those that they all run, which are often their own personal accounts and the accounts that were created with their child's identity. I also listed the number of followers each account had to give a preview of each parent's sphere of influence which contributes, in part, to their social capital as agents within the field of Instagram.

B. Units of analysis and observation

In conducting this study, there were five specific variables I had to look out for: 1) the look, which describes the final output posted on Instagram; 2) the narrative, which describes the themes underlying the posts; 3) the practice, which describes the techniques and strategies employed by the user and includes the amount of effort they exert in doing sharenting; 4) the motivations or the reasons behind their sharenting, and; 5) user-follower interactions, which describes the feedback the users get from their audience, whether friends, family, or strangers. The first three variables correspond to my concepts of cultural capital; habitus; and free labor

respectively, which are needed to provide a complete description of sharenting. The fourth

variable, motivation, corresponds to the concept of interest, although as argued by Bourdieu

(1977), it is entirely possible for one's interests to be realized without necessarily being

motivated by that specific interest. The last variable, feedback, which will be gathered from the

interviews, corresponds to the concept of social as well as celebrity capital, which is necessary in

evaluating a user's overall symbolic capital. These variables were then analyzed through two

main units: through the Instagram profiles of the users, and through interviews with the

individual parents.

On the Instagram profiles, I specifically watched out for the themes that ran similarly

across accounts, which was done by closely examining both the primary visual material (photo

or video) and the captions that aided these images. I focused on the frequency of these posts, and

formed categories based on those that recur the most. For the interviews with the individuals, I

focused more on the process that goes behind their creative work – what motivates them to post

on Instagram and how they execute their work. I also sought to find out what, if any, influenced

parents with separate accounts for their children to create a child's account in the first place.

These specific units, as listed extensively in Table 3, are designed to help me arrive at the data

needed to input in Bourdieu's formula for practice.

Table 3. *Units of analysis and observation and indicators*

Units of Analysis	Units of Observation
(a) text – celebrity Instagram profiles	(1) # of followers (2) # of likes and comments (3) total # of Instagram posts

	(4) narratives/categories of the posts (pre-birth, post-birth)
	(5) sponsored posts / accompanying brands
	(6) interactions with followers online
	(7) editing styles
	(8) framing of images
	(9) lifestyle
	(10) frequency of posting
	(11) usage of hashtags
	(12) profile description
(b) interviews with individuals with separate child accounts	(1) why they started posting photos of their children online
	(2) how and when they created the child's account
	(3) who has access to the child's account
	(4) how often do they post on the child's account
	(5) how do they choose which content to post on the child's account versus their personal account
	(6) what technical equipment do they use
	(7) perceived benefits of sharenting
	(8) what they enjoy about sharenting
	(9) what were the influences for sharenting
(c) interviews with individuals without separate child accounts	(1) why they started posting photos of their children online
	(2) when did they start posting about their child online
	(3) how often do they post about their child online
	(4) how do they choose which content to post online
	(5) what technical equipment do they use
	(6) perceived benefits of sharenting

	(7) what they enjoy about sharenting
	(8) would they consider making a separate account

C. Methods of gathering and data instruments

Data gathering for this study was conducted from January-March 2018. At the beginning of my research, I started with one informant, who then referred me to her friends who also had separate Instagram accounts for their children. From there, I was able to discover bigger groups of people who practiced sharenting on Instagram in their own different ways.

The interviews were mostly conducted either face-to-face or via phone call. I decided to conduct interviews in order to get a first-hand account of the experiences of these parents as they perform sharenting, from preparation and execution, to uploading and receiving feedback. With their consent, the interviews were audio recorded, and were then transcribed based on the original questions and any follow-up questions that were asked. The interviews were also listened to repeatedly and the transcriptions were read continuously in order to identify similar themes.

The insights from the interviews, in a way, served as a guide during my analysis of their individual profiles, which were done several times. Initially, these profiles were analyzed individually by counting the number of posts that showed themes related to parenthood, and this was done on both the parent's personal account, and the child's account. I had to locate the exact moment when the parent started posting on their child's account, and also examine (based on answers from the interviews) what the differences were on the kinds of content they produce in the other account. After analyzing the accounts individually, I then identified the themes that were common across all sharents, and came up with the following general categories that a

sharent normally posts (see Table 4). However, given the different kinds of sharents, there are some practices that are only done by a specific group.

These categories are very reminiscent of one's own childhood, particularly those baby albums kept by one's parents at a time when technologies like Instagram and the smartphone were not yet created. Thus these categories are not exactly anomalies – these people are simply being typical parents who are over the moon to have their newborn baby. However, while these practices have been adopted to the technology of this century, they have also been changed by it, and this additional baggage is what we want to unpack as we go along.

Table 4. *General categories of sharenting*

Categories			Family						
Code		Description	Valle	Mangahas	Valdecantos	Lizardo	Manzano	Legaspi	Fortuno-Sana
1. Pre-birth	1.1	Ultrasound	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	–	✔
	1.2	Baby bump	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
	1.3	Pre-baby preparations	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	-	✔
2. Post-birth	2.1	Developmental Milestones	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
	2.2	Monthsaries / Weeksaries	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
	2.3	With Family	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
	2.4	Baby Faces	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
	2.5	Acts of Child Rearing	✔	-	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
	2.6	Advertisements	-	-	-	✔	✔	-	-

2.7	Hospital birth day	✔	-	✔	✔	✔	-	✔

By analyzing each parent's narrative, practice, look, motivations, and user-follower interactions, I was able to infer that there were two different kinds of sharents – the microcelebrity and non-celebrity. In the next chapter, I will be discussing how each sharent group performs sharenting by describing the narrative, practice, look, motivations, and user-follower interactions of their groups. The next chapter will also tackle how the presentations of a particular kind of sharent can produce certain kinds of children, making it entirely possible for a non-celebrity sharent to create a microcelebrity kid.

CHAPTER V. SHARENTING 101

Over the course of my data gathering, I discovered that sharenting may manifest itself differently in different groups of people. While they all involve parents who willingly divulge information about their children online, one parent's way of doing it can be very different from the way another one does it. Different motivations and interests dictate the way these parents approach their way of sharenting, whether they are conscious of these or not.

During the interview, all 6 parents mentioned that their primary motivation for sharing their child's life online was for the benefit of their friends and family. Sharing on social media made it easier to reach relatives who lived far away. For Jophen, it was the "easiest way to keep them updated," and this was affirmed by another mom, Trina, who specifically cited her experience after giving birth:

> A lot of people are (sic) asking us especially when she was born, (that) they want (sic) to see Lily, but given the constraints that we just gave birth… *yun yung pinakaeffective* [social media was the most effective] way of sharing to the people that we know… considering we can't have everyone here at home or that we can't go out especially (during) the first few weeks… (Valle, February 5, 2018).

While sharing for the benefit of friends and family was a primary motivation for engaging in sharenting, those who created separate accounts for their child had different reasons for doing so. Kay shared that the reason she made a separate account on Instagram, despite already sharing photos and videos of her children on her own account, was because she wanted to use it as an avenue to sell her children's pre-loved outfits:

I was browsing my Instagram (when) I encountered a page *na parang nagssell siya*

ng clothes *ng* kids *niya, so sabi ko, 'uy okay to ah' tapos nung chineck ko* those

people who buy were also selling their (clothes) *so sabi ko,* 'why not try (mine)'? [I

encountered a page where they seemed to be selling their kids' clothes, so I thought

it was interesting. When I checked the people who bought, I found out they were

selling their clothes as well, and so I thought, why not try it out?] (Mangahas,

February 15, 2018).

From initially posting just the outfits of her kids, she eventually started to have them model

these. Although the account is no longer primarily used for selling items because of the

prevalence of selling groups on Facebook, she still continues to update her feed with images of

her children in specific "OOTDs" or Outfits of the Day because she personally enjoys it and sees

it as a way for her to express her "version of being a mom."

    For Clar, having a separate account for her child enables her to be more organized with

the way she documents her child's life. She mentions that having a separate account is "sort of

like having a digital photo album," where she can easily share photos and videos of her daughter

with her friends and family without having to compromise her own account. Having a separate

account made it easier for her to document her child's life and at the same time makes her feel

secure about never losing her memories – "I feel like it could be there perpetually… at least I

have a collection there even if I lose my phone or something" (Valdecantos, February 23, 2018).

    The motivations behind engaging in sharenting generally revolve around documentation

and the easiness of sharing with friends and family all over the world. Even for parents whom we

have identified to be influencers, their motivation for starting an account was to simply create a

space where they can openly share about their children; "it seemed only natural" to them, (Lizardo, February 5, 2018) as active users of social media themselves. Jan, our social media influencer mom says she "(just) wanted to share our baby" and that she never expected it to have so many followers immediately. Likewise, Trina says that in setting up her child's account, "there was no deep thought behind it." Except for Kay who wanted to sell her children's old clothes, they all viewed sharenting on Instagram as a means of documenting their child's formative years.

However, despite this all-encompassing reason, each parent manifests different ways of sharing their child's life online. Some have admitted to curating their posts more than others, while others have stated that they post whatever they can, as long as they don't violate self-imposed rules like showing their kids full-on nude. These differences have led me to create two umbrella kinds of sharents – the microcelebrities and the non-celebrities, which will be discussed further in their respective sections.

A. Micro-celebrity Sharents

Jan Lizardo and her husband Japoy Lizardo are both household names in the world of Philippine taekwondo. Both are world-class Taekwondo champions, rendering them celebrity statuses within their respective field. Nowadays along with being Taekwondo coaches, they are also new parents to a year-old baby boy, whose life they document on Instagram. Baby Jace, as he has come to be known, has more than 40,000 followers on Instagram and has almost 100 posts on his account, which are all photos and videos of him and his young life. Just like other moms, Jan shares that she created an account for her baby boy because she wanted a place where she can easily document and share about his life: "…we didn't expect *na wow maraming*

magffollow sa kanya [we didn't expect a lot of people would follow him] … I just wanted to share *lang naman* our baby and his milestones" (Lizardo, February 21, 2018). She created the account before her son was even born, and the very first image that was posted was an ultrasound photo of him (see Table 5). After giving birth, Jan continued to post images of Jace on both her account and his personal account. There were pictures of Jace reaching specific milestones, celebrating monthsaries, being with his family, and of course making typical baby faces (see Appendix A). Jan would also post about how she was a breastfeeding mom (Fig. 2) and because of her status as an influencer, she's often tapped by brands to advertise products for babies, like diapers and strollers.
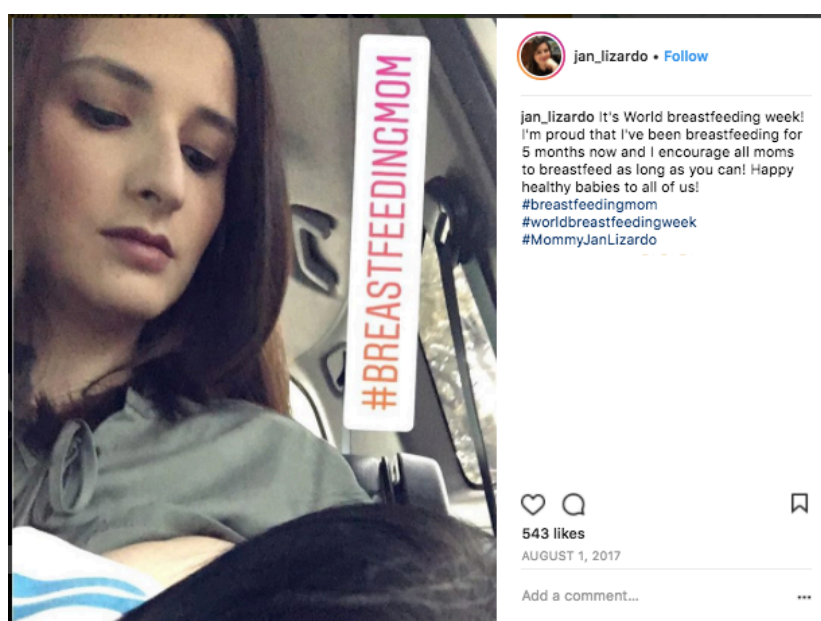
Fig. 2 – Breastfeeding
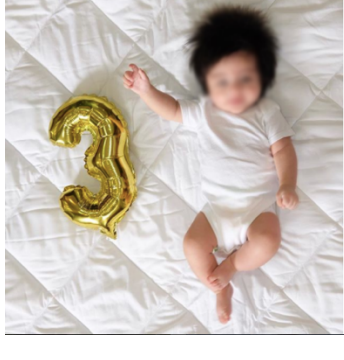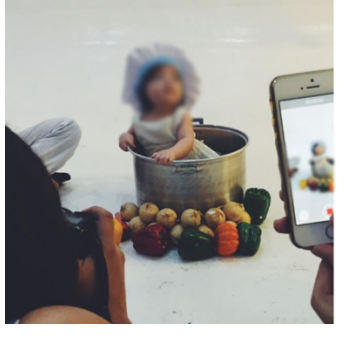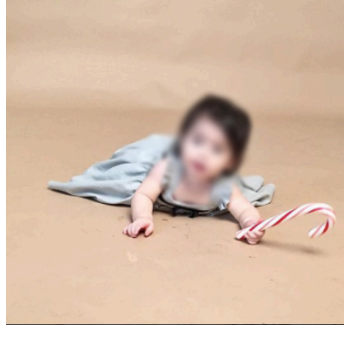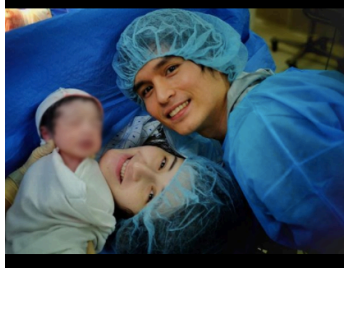
Another influencer who is similar to Jan is Andi Manzano, a radio jock for Magic 89.9 and TV host. According to Jan, she was actually inspired to create Jace's account by Andi, who is also her friend. Andi has over 500,000 followers, and has become particularly famous for being the mom of Olivia Reyes. She keeps an Instagram account for her daughter and updates it

almost regularly, and also has a YouTube account where she posts vlogs about her experiences as a mom to Olivia.

The table below shows a comparison of some of Jan's and Andi's posts based on the general categories that were outlined in Chapter 4. At first glance, the similarities between the posts are striking, particularly with the look of the images. Both accounts have ultrasound pictures of their babies, captioned with a personal hashtag (#babyjacelizardo and #littlegpandi, respectively) that recurs in their subsequent posts regarding their baby. They also both have a belly bump photo, which were captured and edited in a way that makes the bump the star of the photo; for Jan, it is in the way her hand rests at the bottom of her belly, together with the edited texts of "coming soon," whereas for Andi, the bump is central to the image and further enlarged by the fish eye effect of a GoPro camera. In addition to these, the images under monthsaries (2.2) also bear much resemblance with each other, especially with the way the images were shot and the way the numbers are laid out prettily beside the child. Both accounts also feature advertisements with Pampers, featuring the babies lying on the bed surrounded by the products. Under developmental milestones (2.1), the captions of the babies are also written in a way as if they are the ones speaking, a practice that has become common in most baby accounts. Lastly, they also both have a photo of the actual birth day, which were shared to their followers within or a day after giving birth to their children (2.7). The same hashtag in the ultrasound pictures is used, making the pre-birth to actual birth narrative come full circle.

Table 5. *Comparison of Jan and Andi's posts*

	Code	Jan Lizardo	Andi Manzano
1. Pre-birth	1.1		
	1.2		
2. Post-birth	2.1		

2.2		
2.4		
2.6		
2.7		

These photos were isolated from the rest of their data pool because these works compliment Jan's answers regarding the creative process that goes behind the camera. She explains:

(Before posting), we check *din talaga yung buong picture* [the whole picture]*,* even

the background *kasi baka mamaya may* something *na hindi okay* [because there

might be something not okay]. Sometimes we edit (the photo). The picture itself

kasi it attracts followers *pag maganda* [when it looks pretty] … so we use a [good]

camera… When you're an influencer you have to post pictures *na maayos, hindi*

malabo yung picture [that are clear and not blurry]. It's better if it's a nice photo

(Lizardo, February 21, 2018).

According to Jan, the photos she uploads online must always be clear, because blurry

images throw people off especially when one is an influencer. Most of the time they use an

actual camera to take these pictures, but she mentioned that sometimes she also uses her iPhone

since Apple's new camera setting is clear enough to make the image look as though it was taken

by an actual DSLR (Lizardo, February 21, 2018). Before uploading, she and her husband also

make sure to check that the whole photo looks good, even the background, and they edit

accordingly; for example, when they need to blur important security details.

When I examine Jan's feeds, I see how what she says translates into her work, and I see

the same thing when I look at the kinds of photos that her friend and co-influencer, Andi

Manzano, uploads. I also noticed that some of the photos they have of their babies are actually

studio-shot images, a practice that I also noticed with other sharents and not just the influencers.

Since Jan maintains two accounts – her personal account and Jace's account – she noticed that

more people like the photo when Jace is in it:

Napansin namin na mas maraming nagllike pag picture *ni Jace or pag* family

picture and it helps (that) we help each other gain more followers … Important *kasi*

talaga pag influencer *ka na* you gain followers, and *yung* factor *na nakita namin* is

mas dumadami followers pag si Jace *yung mukha (nung)* picture. [We noticed that

a lot more people like the picture if Jace is in it, and it helps that we help each other

gain more followers. It's important as an influencer to gain followers, and a factor

we saw is that more people follow us when we post images of Jace].

As such, having Jace's account is also a way for them to increase their following, which she mentions is an important factor as an influencer. She is required to keep her base growing, and one way they do that is by capitalizing on the appeal of their baby. Jan would cross-post images from Jace's account to her account and vice versa, but she always makes sure to not repeat photos. She says, "we only do that *pag* monthly photo… *lahat kami nagppost.* (But) not really same picture, same concept (only)… there's really no criteria that this photo should go on my account or his account, we just pick different photos." At the same time, they also make sure to post as often as they can. She explains:

> (We post) *siguro* like every other 2 days… but not religiously, we (only) try to do
>
> that. Nowadays sponsors get from (Instagram), so we get sponsors from posting
>
> and sometimes sponsors ask us to post, like for example *yung sa* diaper sponsor...
>
> they say like on this date you have to post it on Jace's account (or) sometimes on
>
> my account… (Lizardo, February 21, 2018).

As an influencer, she is often tapped by brands to release sponsored content, which is why she is required to post as often as she can. When there are no sponsored deadlines to meet however, she normally posts at her own pace, which from my observations on her Instagram are

usually when there are special occasions like travel, monthsaries/birthdays, and milestones. There are also photos that just feature Jace looking cute or having interactions with family members, which are things parents normally document about their children (see Appendix A).

Jan shares that although she never expected her baby's account to blow up, what she enjoys most about it is receiving feedback from friends, family, and even strangers who compliment her kid and say how Jace has lit up their day. Some moms even reach out to her and ask about tips on how to properly breastfeed their baby. She recounts, "(when I post on Instagram stories) *na kunwari* I'm breastfeeding like that, many are gonna ask 'how long do you breastfeed your baby, is he still drinking milk…they message sa (Instagram) story so *yun yung* okay *sa akin* because I am able to share how I parent and how I take care of Jace…" Jan also narrates how sometimes, fans from other countries give Jace gifts, which makes her feel both happy and proud of her baby.

> "Touched *kami kasi* they appreciate Jace so much sometimes they give gifts… he has fans in Indonesia. Overwhelmed *din kami* with the comments of the people saying that he's so handsome… he's my favorite baby on Instagram… as a parent, proud *ka*" (Lizardo, February 21, 2018).

As of now, Jan intends to continue sharing about Jace's life online, and is also open to the idea of doing the same thing for her future children.

Like other parents, micro-celebrities like Jan and Andi are motivated by a personal desire to share about their babies to family and friends online. However, because of their status as celebrities their children, by virtue of relationship, also garner attention for themselves. Their performance of sharenting is then affected by their recognizability: they are more meticulous

with the final look of their images, they use better equipment, try to post more frequently, and interact with more people online. They also keep separate accounts for their children, which according to Jan, helps her and her husband increase their number of followers.

In the next section, I will be describing the sharenting performance of the non-celebrities by also examining the look, practice, narrative, motivations, and user-follower interactions, followed by a section on a comparative analysis of sharenting done by the two groups.

B. Non-celebrity Sharents

The second and lesser known kind of sharents are of course, those who do not have any form of celebrity status. These are regular people like you and me, whose sphere of influence on Instagram extends to mostly friends and family. Like the microcelebrities, they also engage in sharenting for their own entertainment; however, where microcelebrities do not have to try to be famous, these people may require a little bit more effort. The non-celebrity sharents are an enormous group, but based on the data I have gathered from both interviews and spending my time on Instagram, I was able to come up with three main categories: the curator, semi-curator, and non-curator. The curator is similar to the micro-celebrity in that they keep a separate account for their child and actively capture, select, and upload pictures on Instagram that communicate a specific image or brand. The semi-curator belongs to the middle ground – she also keeps a separate Instagram account for her child but only curates some of them and is also open to posting ordinary details about her everyday life. Lastly, the non-curator is the parent who doesn't keep a separate Instagram account of her child but also participates in sharenting through their own personal accounts. Each category will be further explained below, outlining each group's motivations, narrative, look, practice, and user-follower interaction.

1. Curator

Kay Mangahas manages both her personal Instagram account and a public Instagram account for her children. On her personal account, she posts a wide array of images that mostly revolve around her as a mother, wife, and career woman. On her public account, she shows only images of her children, but unlike other moms, the theme of her posts on her public account are all related to fashion (Fig 3). As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, Kay started a separate account for her children despite already sharing images of them on her own feed because she wanted an avenue to share her kids' pre-loved items. After seeing some moms do it on Instagram, she decided to try it out, at first only posting the items themselves (Fig 4). She then upgraded to having her kids model the outfits for her, which until now, is how the account is managed. Although she no longer uses the account as a primary medium for her to sell her items, she still keeps it fashion-themed for her own personal enjoyment.
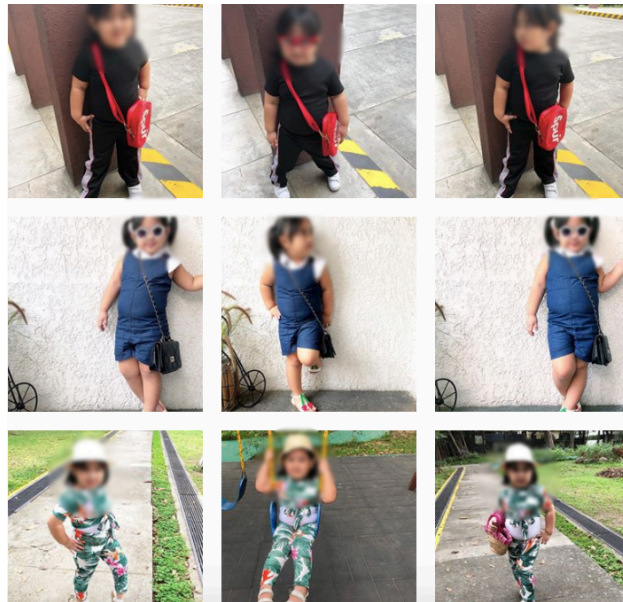

Fig. 3 - @hisandheirs feed

Fig. 4 – Shoes for sale with strangers inquiring on the caption

Kay's motivations for sharing about her children online are more personal compared to the moms that were previously discussed. According to Kay, she did not see her sharenting as a means for family and friends to get to know her children more; instead, she saw it as a space for her to express herself. She says:

> I did not see it as a concept of I want to share my kids with them, it's more of, it's
> my space, I can post it here (so I) might as well post it. I don't see it as 'share *ko nga*
> *to kasi ang ganda ng anak ko*' [because my children are pretty], it's more of, 'this is
> my area, I find this beautiful, I want to put it here as a reminder of what happened
> this day and where we were… (Mangahas, February 15, 2018).

In addition, Kay also believes that the account is an outlet for her to express her "version of being a mom." Comparing herself with her peers, she says that they've come to a point in their lives where they are "no longer single and are starting (their) own families. Having a kid is

overwhelming… you always want to put your best foot forward, at least where you're good at"

(Mangahas, February 15, 2018). As a working mom in the fashion industry who only gets to

spend time with her children during weekends, Kay believes that by dressing them up nicely

she's giving her best effort as a mom – "*yun na yung naging* outlet *ko… minsan* I cry *pa nga*

when I don't get a good picture of them and I know they had a good outfit for that day [posting

on Instagram became my outlet… sometimes I even cry when I don't get a good picture of them

and I know they had a good outfit for that day]." Apart from dressing them up and taking stylish

photos, she also uses the account to showcase some of the clothes she personally made for her

kids (Fig. 5).

Fig. 5 – First garment #sewingproject

Everything Kay posts in the public account are related only to her children's outfits. "I'm

very cautious when it comes to the personal space and the danger of oversharing," she says,

which is why she tries to avoid posting private information about her kids such as where they

study or when their birthdays are. She is also wary of the people who like her children's photos

on the public account, admitting that sometimes she "browse(s)" the users to make sure that the

person who liked the photo is not suspicious, or else she would block them. She only shares

personal items in her private account, where I was able to locate typical sharenting posts like developmental milestones, monthsaries, and ultrasound pictures (see Appendix B).

Just like the microcelebrities, Kay also makes sure that the images of her children on the public account are those where they look their best. In her case as a fashion mom, she really asks her children to pose for her (see Fig. 3, middle row):

Sometimes (I take) candid, but most of the time I tell them to pose, like 'Harper smile for mommy,' *pero* [but] there are times *talaga na* they're not in the mood, cranky, and if that's the case then no picture (Mangahas, February 15, 2018).

This contrasts with the kinds of images that can be found of her children in her private account, where the poses and images are not as contrived (see Appendix B). In addition, to keep her public profile neat, she sometimes posts 3 photos of 1 outfit all at once, whereas in her private account, only 1 photo of the same outfit would exist (see Appendix B). Kay also shared about how sustaining the practice can sometimes be really stressful, especially since her public profile mostly revolves around fashion. "Before to be honest, it was (really) taking a toll on our budget… you have to keep up with the OOTD, and kids clothes are [super] expensive. I don't want to go that far *naman* so I settle with what's in Harper's closet…. I do the mix and match" (Mangahas, February 15, 2018). She also shared about how lately, it's becoming more difficult to convince Harper to pose for her, which makes her feel bad.

Pag ganon nagigising na ako na parang, ano ba yan I'm so overboard… (now) as long as I get a good photo of my kids I (will) post it, *kahit di na siya maging* regular *na* every week. [When that happens I wake up and realize that I'm getting

overboard, so now as long as I get a good photo of my kids I will post it even if I no longer post every week].

For sharents who are curators, maintaining high visibility on Instagram is an important key in launching one's child into stardom. Because Kay would often post once or twice a week and made sure that her posts were intentional and well-captured, her account inevitably attracted more followers and garnered more attention from friends, family, and even strangers. One of her friends who was starting a business eventually tapped her daughter and used Harper to model their items:

> *Dahil nakikita niya na may followings sa fashion for kids,* she used Harper as a model for her items… she'd give Harper new bags, *so parang* (we receive) little things like freebies. [Because she saw that there are followings on Instagram for fashion kids, she used Harper as a model for her items… she'd give Harper new bags so it's like we receive little things like freebies] (Mangahas, February 15, 2018).

Kay would also receive praises about her daughter, with friends and family saying how "Harper is so fashionista," and how charming she is, especially now that she has in some way become "*medjo sikat*" [slightly famous]. "For me it's nothing *naman,* people are just noticing (my) kid *kasi nga* she's always online or *parang* every week *may* new look siya [For me it's nothing. People are just noticing my kid because she's always online or because every week we post about her new look]."

Kay is not the only mom on Instagram who participates in this particular type of activity. During our interview, she mentioned that there are other moms like her on Instagram, and these

moms have actually succeeded in making their kids famous that they sometimes get tapped by brands to model children's outfits for them. She explains:

> There's this community of moms in Instagram where I am in (where) they really know each other [and they meet-up] for group OOTDs with their kids… I don't know them personally but *parang na find out lang namin* yung isa't isa [we just found out about each other]. *Yung iba medjo kinacareer talaga* [The others make a career out of it] that the big brands are noticing them, SM store is noticing them, so they get more privileges like for example [there's a] kiddie event and their daughters and sons will be invited... (Mangahas, February 15, 2018).

A key to unlocking high visibility on Instagram is capitalizing on the hashtag system, which I noticed accompanied Kay's posts. She uses hashtags like #celebritymommyph and #kidsootdph among others, which explains how she was able to grow her base to more than 2,000 followers. Using these hashtags and armed with Kay's insights, I retreated back into the world of Instagram and eventually found similar accounts like Kay's whose feeds all primarily feature little girls dressed glamorously in different kinds of outfits. These children have followings of 6,000 or more, and just like Kay, have become brand representatives of certain clothing stores. Like Kay, the content of their feeds all primarily focus on cultivating the image of a young fashion icon, and when I attempted to pinpoint the moment they rose to fame, I also saw that the use of the hashtags was an important aspect that enabled them to garner attention. Figures 6-8 below compares images from Kay's account, along with images from two others that I was able to find online.

Fig. 6 – Sample post from Kay Mangahas

Fig. 7 – Sample post from Influencer # 1

Fig. 8 – Sample post from Influencer # 2

Heavy curation of the images they release online have led these moms to, in a way, achieve celebrity status through their children. Like those influencers who were already microcelebrities to begin with, they then get to enjoy certain privileges while also having to meet certain demands that come from advertisers. They sometimes also participate in meet-ups with other kids like them, signifying that this kind of fashion community of moms exists hugely within Instagram (Fig. 9).

Fig. 9 – Fashion moms and their babies

Kay argues that she is but a milder version of these moms – "low key *lang naman kami* [we're low key]" – but because of the different techniques she employed in her sharenting, her children have also achieved some form of recognizability that friends tap them as models for their business ventures. Through effort and hard work, these curator moms were able to achieve fame that can be comparable to those of the micro-celebrities, and as a result they enormously reap both tangible and intangible benefits.

2. Semi-curator

While there may be moms like Kay who actively curate the images they upload of their children online, there are others who prefer to meet the middle ground. Trina and Clar are not as exclusive when it comes to choosing which photos to upload online. Since they both view their child's Instagram accounts as primarily a vehicle to document their child's growing years, they willingly upload anything that is related to it, be it developmental milestones, monthsaries, "first" experiences, or simply cute baby pictures. However, they do not just simply capture and upload; they both mentioned during their interviews that there are still some factors they consider before uploading an image.

For Clar, having a separate Instagram account for her daughter, Olivia, is "like having a digital photo album" that makes it easier for her to share her daughter with her friends and family. The account keeps Clar organized so if she wanted to look back at the memories of her daughter, she could just look at Olivia's account without having to go through her own photos. "I don't really like posting a lot on my account," she adds. "I don't like posting multiple photos; at least I could post a lot on hers, because it's all about her" (Valdecantos, February 23, 2018).

Only pictures of Olivia are posted on her account while pictures that include other family members can be found in Clar's personal Instagram profile. Because they basically both have the same followers, Clar says she makes sure to not repeat photos, although I noticed that some images were repeated in the early days of her daughter's account since this was only set-up when Olivia was three months old. Clar is also the only one who runs her daughter's account, saying the dad "isn't really into it."

When it comes to the look of her images, Clar admits that she tries to to make it artsy; "I try not to post low quality photos… like you know how people curate Instagram feeds… Sometimes I use an SLR too, but mostly my phone." She admits that she tried to make them thematic at first, but after realizing that she did not have time to keep it up, she now mostly posts the highlights and milestones of her daughter's life. Like other moms before her, she would often post monthsary pictures of her daughter, which I noticed were similarly styled with what micro-celebrities Jan and Andi would do (Table 5). I also noticed that some of her daughter's poses look deliberately arranged (Figs. 10 & 11), and that she also posts a lot about Olivia's outfits (Fig. 12).

Fig. 10 – Arm-raised pose

Fig. 11 – Wacky afterparty pose

Fig. 12 – Olivia's outfits

For Trina and her husband on the other hand, they created an Instagram account for their

daughter even before she was born. Whereas Clar is the only manager of her child's account and

has full control, their daughter's account is handled by three managers: Trina, her husband Jek, and her older sister, Maris. Trina's husband admits that he was the one who set the account up. He shares:

> Before she was born, I have (sic) two social media accounts for my kid. At that time, I didn't know if it was going to be a boy or girl. Then we found out it's a girl, so mainly the reason behind it is that when she's older, she can look back and I'll endorse the social media account to her (Valle, February 5, 2018).

To the Valle couple, the account was more for their daughter than it was for them. "Social media *kasi* is your external hard drive," Jek says, "(and) Instagram is more of pictures, less *chismis* [gossip], less noise." Driven by this kind of motivation, it is no wonder that the message or theme of their posts mattered more than the look. Along with her sister, she mentions that they try to make each row visually communicate a certain milestone that her daughter has achieved in her life. "I wanted to tell her story, not her parents' story, that's why I wanted a theme," Maris explains. "I wanted to post her 'turning' photos… something memorable that happened, something relevant…" (Santos, February 23, 2018).

This is evidently seen in their child's account, where each row visually communicates a story. For example, in Figure 13, the first row at the bottom aimed to showcase her daughter's first hospital visitors, which were taken the day after Trina had given birth. The middle row showed her daughter sleeping in her new home, and the third row on top showed images of the photo shoot they had arranged for their child. I also noticed that these posts often come in monthly, with the caption mentioning the previous month's highlights (Fig. 14).

Fig. 13 – Thematic Rows

Fig. 14 – March Milestones (all posted in April 9)

For semi-curators, the feedback they mostly receive online are from friends and family who compliment their children. "It's fun when people respond because at least I feel like a lot of people appreciate her too," says Clar, "Friends tell me it makes their day when they see the photos, so at least I could share that joy that I feel with other people" (Valdecantos, February 23, 2018). Likewise, Trina and her husband also receive positive feedback about their baby, especially helpful comments and tips.

> Jek: Any comments, any suggestions are really welcome and I ask a lot… and whatever I share (in return) they are my best practices so far…. (We share insights) with co-parents and especially new parents like us, people who gave birth Q4 of last year (2017) and this year… (Valle, February 4, 2018).

Sharing about their baby and their parenting experiences online has allowed Trina and her husband to foster a small community where they get to share and receive insights and tips from fellow new parents like them. Although this exchange does not necessarily happen on their child's account, seeing the photos and videos of their daughter reaching milestones may spark curiosity among their peers, leading them to reach out and message one another.

From what I have observed from these semi-curators, they view their child's account as primarily a repository for memories, whether for their own benefit (an organizing tool) or for the future benefit of their children (their personal digital album). While they may not be as strict in choosing which images should be uploaded unlike the curators, I noticed that some of the looks of their images were similar to those of the micro-celebrities, particularly the studio photo shoots (2.4), the monthsaries (2.2), and also the baby bump (2.1) which are outlined in Table 6. Both Trina and Clar never cited specific inspirations or influences for performing their sharenting yet

their posts seem to match with those of Jan's and Andi's. As such, these may be more related to the influence of Instagram as a field and its affordances.

Table 6. *Comparison of Clar and Trina's Posts.*

	Code	Clar Valdecantos	Trina Valle
1. Pre-birth	1.2		
2. Post-birth	2.2		
	2.4		

3. Non-curator

The last kind of non-celebrity sharents are the non-curators, and under this category are the sharents who did not necessarily create a separate account for their children. Like the first four moms, Jophen and Nini adhere to the general categories that I outlined earlier (see Table 1 Appendix C), although they only share these in their own accounts. Both do not find the need to create a separate account for their children; "I just find it weird," says Nini in particular, "If you're a celebrity then maybe (you'd make an account) but if you're not then it's kinda weird" (Fortuno-Sana, February 21, 2018).

Both moms share images and videos of their children mostly for the benefit of friends and family abroad. However, while other moms would pour in a lot of effort on the aesthetics of their pictures, to the point of arranging photo shoots and directing the poses of their kids, these moms do not pour in as much effort in making their feeds look nice. They use their phone cameras to take images of their children, and do not bother with using plenty of hashtags that could possibly expose their kids to bigger audiences.

Although non-curators seem to give less effort in the curation of their posts when compared to the other groups of sharents, they are not completely without attempt. For example, I observed that even though Jophen and Nini do not flood their captions with multiple hashtags as Kay, the curator does, they use their own personal hashtags which are often stylized with the names of their babies. Similar to Jan and Andi's hashtags from earlier on, these are used to keep track of their posts and to collate everything, such that when one clicks on the hashtag, it pools all images that have the same hashtag into one photo stream. At the same time, I noticed that Nini also participates in posting monthsary images of her son, although unlike the other sharents

who deliberately style the background to show the number of months before taking the photo, hers is simply edited in (Fig. 15).

Fig. 15 – #SkyGabrielLegacy at 3 months

Jophen on the other hand, adds that a factor she considers whenever she uploads content on her account are those that would "inspire other moms, like preparing healthy food for (my daughter), breastfeeding or (showing) my stash of milk…" (Legaspi, February 21, 2018). She says that by sharing the things she does for her daughter, especially preparing her healthy food, she is inspiring other moms to make their own as well.

> Nowadays moms prefer buying ready to eat food, so *parang nainspire sila na gumawa din ng mga* home food for their babies [so they're inspired to make their own home food for their babies.] Sometimes other moms send me messages like 'how (did you) prepare that food,' 'what are the things to do,' 'what are the things needed for that meal…'

Figure 16 shows an example of one of Jophen's followers messaging her on Instagram, asking how she made the snack for her daughter. Jophen's account is reminiscent of what Trina said earlier about fostering a small community of moms like her. In a way because of these several recounts, Instagram has somewhat become a bridge that connects parents with one other.

Fig. 16 – Jophen's Camote/Purple Yam donut

C. Transforming to celebrity

Instagram's ability to make someone famous is in part due to its highly visual culture. By capitalizing on this medium and at the same time doing the different practices that are done by each sharent group, it is entirely possible for a non-celebrity parent to create a microcelebrity baby, and for a microcelebrity parent to produce a micro-microcelebrity kid. For microcelebrities like Jan and Andi, their children are more susceptible to becoming famous because of the fame they derive from their already famous mothers. However, to sustain this parents actively engage in sharenting practices – like creating separate accounts for their kids and religiously posting in it

– which allow the children to somehow become famous in their own way. For non-celebrities on the other hand, they are able to elevate their status to microcelebrities by capitalizing on Instagram's hashtags, which allow for a wider audience reach, thus helping them grow their base. At the same time, by carefully curating the images that they upload, their children's feeds become easily identifiable and attractive to advertisers and other fans.

In summary, this chapter laid down the specific data sets I was able to collect over the course of my research, which were then categorized based on my observations. By analyzing the motivations and practices of the six respondents and how these translate into the final look and narrative of their posts, I was able to group them into four kinds of sharents: the micro-celebrity, curator, semi-curator, and non-curator, with the last three falling under the umbrella category of non-celebrity. These respondents are generally motivated by their parental instincts to document their children's lives, but the reason why they do it on social media is because of the ease of sharing these pictures and videos with friends and family all over the world. Their differences, however, lie in their approach towards sharenting, with some parents exerting more effort such as creating separate accounts compared to others. For micro-celebrities, they are expected to keep posting good content online in order to continuously grow their base and satisfy the sponsors who tap them. As such, they post as often as they can and make sure that their photos always look good. Likewise, curators continuously have to employ strategies such as using hashtags and maintaining their feed aesthetic in order to achieve high visibility on Instagram. Through these, some of them have actually achieved micro-celebrity status, and also enjoy material benefits like being tapped to model by brands and companies. Semi-curators on the other hand, do not put as much pressure on themselves, although they still make sure that their posts always look good and are thematic. The non-curators, unlike the first three, do not have

separate accounts for their children on Instagram, and do not exert as much effort in capturing and editing their photos, although their posts may have specific narratives that they want to share.

While each of the four kinds have their own nuances, I noticed that the two things that bind them together are, 1) their desire to document their children's lives, and 2) the idea of a virtual community where similar moms get to interact with and help each other out. The second one was something I only discovered as I was examining my data, where each kind of sharent shared about how they were able receive feedback about parenting tips on Instagram, or discovered niche communities that they eventually became a part of. As such, through technology and social media, these parents and children are not only more susceptible to receiving fame, but are also becoming connected to each other more than ever.

Given these findings, the next chapter will be an analysis and a discussion of the latent themes present in these practices, particularly in relation to Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus, and capital in order to create sharenting. My argument is that the complex interactions of these three elements have created a dominant form of sharenting that is simultaneously created and reinforced by the field of Instagram. Because of the prevalence of technology in our everyday lives, even the seemingly innocent act of documenting a child's life online has been pervaded by symbolic violence, and these ideologies are what I aim to uncover.

CHAPTER VI. RECOGNIZING THE MISRECOGNIZED

In the previous chapter, we discussed how the primary motivation of these sharents based on their interviews, was geared towards using Instagram as a vehicle to document the lives of their children. However, we can also see that despite having the same general motivations, the way each sharent performs sharenting is different, and the effects of their sharenting on them are also quite diverse. We have micro-celebrities who successfully create micro-microcelebrities out of their children, and we have non-celebrities whose kids eventually find their way into the limelight. While consciously, their motivations for sharenting are noble – simply that of a normal parent's – unconsciously, their practices are affecting their different interests, all in a way that allows them to improve their position within the field. To better explain the mechanism, I reinterpret Walther's (2014) framework (previously stated in Chapter 3) based on the results of my data:
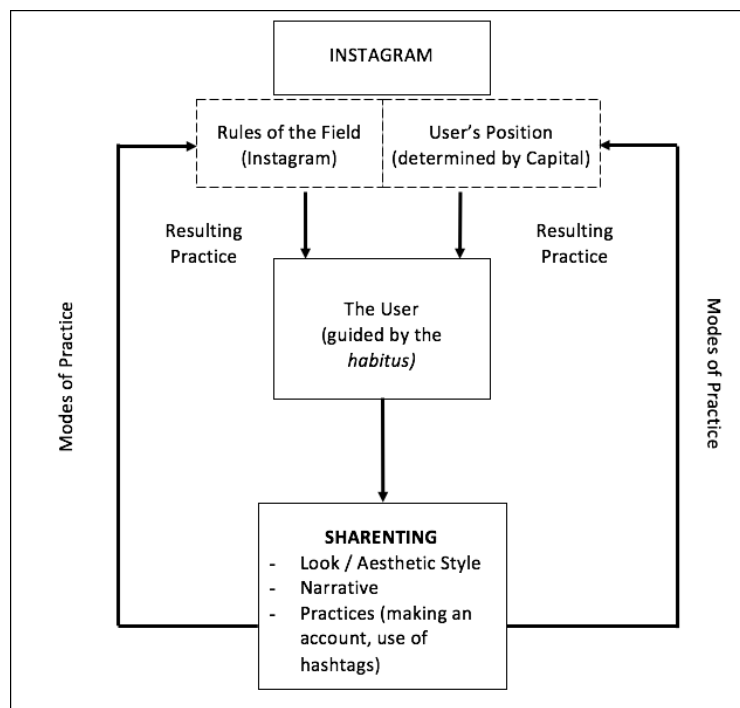

Fig. 17 – Instagram Sharenting Framework

This reinterpretation of Walther's framework shows the mechanism that explains Bourdieu's concept of structuring structures and structured structures. In other words, this shows how the manifestations of sharenting are created by the "structure" (the rules of Instagram + user's capital), while simultaneously creating the structure that holds it in place. The manifestations are, in part, influenced by both the spoken and unspoken rules within Instagram, and also by the agents themselves whose overall accumulation of capital guides their behavior or approach towards performing sharenting.

Beginning with micro-celebrities, we can see that at the onset they have high social capital (as measured by their number of followers), as well as high celebrity capital (as measured by their number of sponsored posts). Even before penetrating the world of Instagram, these micro-celebrities were already recognized within their respective fields – Jan within the field of Philippine Taekwondo and Andi within the field of broadcast media. Their penetration into the field of Instagram is what Driessens describes as "celebrity migration," a process through which celebrities are able to penetrate other social fields due to their celebrity status and public personality (2013b, p. 15). From Taekwondo Poomsae world champion and coach, Jan quickly joined the ranks of influencer moms on Instagram, joining her friend and fellow mom Andi whose celebrity status became even more prominent on social media as the mom of Olivia Reyes. This migration, according to Driessens (2013a), is only possible with enough celebrity capital or media visibility, and needs to be constantly renewed or repeated in order to take hold. This goes in line with what Jan had mentioned earlier about the need to frequently post content on Instagram in order to continuously grow her base; otherwise if she fails to keep at it, her popularity may easily fade away. At the same time, this also explains why some micro-celebrities do cross-platform sharing, like setting up their own YouTube accounts to supplement

their content on Instagram with longer video blogs or vlogs. As a matter of fact, both Jan and Andi have actually done this (see Figs. 1-2 in Appendix A), and they usually share the links of their latest videos on the description box of their Instagram profiles. This need for attention renewal used to only be characteristic of celebrity culture especially in traditional media (Driessens, 2013a) but with today's internet society designed to be an attention economy, even ordinary people are propelled to create a constant performance of themselves as they are constantly placed under the scrutiny of strangers online (Senft, 2013).

Social theorist Andrea Brighenti (2007) makes a salient point about visibility by saying that mass media, as a place with high visibility, has "the capacity to confer visibility to its visitors" (Driessen, 2013a, p. 552). Part and parcel of why people become famous is because the media enables them to gain widespread attention, and this rings true especially with social media. Instagram, in particular, is a place of high visibility as proven by its highly visual culture and the different affordances that cater to photo and video making, which is why users who know how to manipulate the rules well are able to launch themselves into stardom. With the micro-celebrities, their celebrity capital along with Instagram's high visibility has enabled them to penetrate the field and become influencers, and in order to maintain that status they have the responsibility of frequently releasing curated content.

The curated content of the micro-celebrities as detailed in Chapter 5 shows that apart from high social and celebrity capital, they also have high cultural capital. In contrast with the posts of other sharents for example, their images are always held to a certain standard: the images, including their respective backgrounds must always look pretty, no blurry images must be found, and the people in it must always look their best, whether taken candidly or posed for. Because these micro-celebrities have huge followings which include brands and sponsors on the

lookout for ambassadors, this influences the way they do their sharenting practices online. As more invisible eyes are on the lookout for one's actions, the more pressure there is to perform the best version of oneself – a concept eerily similar with the Focauldian disciplinary control of one's behavior. This, again, goes hand in hand with what it means to be a micro-celebrity, which demands the constant curation of one's self-image.

For non-celebrity curators, they start off with a moderate amount of social capital and high cultural capital. The latter is particularly essential to these curators, because this, together with the interaction of their habitus and the rules of Instagram, is what helps them to achieve micro-celebrity status. These curators work rigorously to maintain the brand of their accounts, and they also know how to capitalize on the affordances of Instagram. In the case of the moms within the fashion community, they really invest in their children's outfits for their OOTD posts, and they also try their best to get their children to do good poses for them. Their use of multiple hashtags in every post also indicates that these people are aware of the role of the hashtag system in increasing visibility; in fact, I have observed this to be one of the tools that initially helped them gain recognition from their humble origins to the glamorous personalities they are today. By keeping up this performance, they were able to increase their social capital and gain celebrity capital, translating into benefits such as getting more followers, being tapped for endorsements, receiving freebies, and in general, becoming micro-celebrities in their own way.

Non-celebrity semi-curators are truly found in the middle ground of the sharents, for their strategies do not strongly indicate that they want to achieve a micro-celebrity status. They possess both moderate amounts of social and cultural capital but unlike the non-celebrity curators, they do not exactly capitalize on the affordances of Instagram for the benefit of increasing their visibility on the platform. While they do curate their posts, this may be largely

due to the fact that Instagram culture compels them to do so, as evidenced by the similarities of their posts with that of micro-celebrities. The same can also be said of the non-curators who, while displaying even less effort than the semi-curators, also employ practices that indicate the slight curation of their posts, as discussed in Chapter 5. The practices of these last non-celebrity sharents show that they unconsciously adapt to certain cultural styles that are prevalent within the field of Instagram – styles that are most commonly associated with those of micro-celebrities'.

This illustrates Bourdieu's whole point when he argued for a bidirectional movement of social life between structure and agency. As illustrated in Figure 16, the perceived and hidden affordances of Instagram is both a result of and resulting from its interactions with its users, who are also simultaneously creations by and the creators of the structure. However, because of accumulation of capital, it is inevitable that some users will have more say than others on what practices ought to be the "standard" or not, and in this case, the practices of the micro-celebrities are those recognized to be the norm. Thus, the combinations of their different capitals (social, cultural, celebrity) gives the micro-celebrities an overall symbolic capital, or the recognition of legitimacy within the field of Instagram.

At the onset, these meanings are not easily identifiable as they have become misrecognized through immaterial labor on the internet. The amount of effort that these sharents put into their work, particularly the micro-celebrities and non-celebrity curators can get intense, although they do not necessarily consider the labor that they do as "work." Despite their occupation as influencers, these micro-celebrities would not exactly be doing the dreary and miserable kind of work that Marxist ideas espouse because these sharents do enjoy sharing about their children online and even find it as a means to express themselves as moms. At the same

time, to argue that their labor is necessarily exploited by the Internet is also untrue, because as we have found in Chapter 5, their labor was exchanged for pleasures of communication and information exchange with fellow new parents – a characteristic of early virtual-community building (Terranova, 2011).

However, it is precisely through immaterial labor that symbolic violence occurs and their tastes and lifestyles are upheld as the dominant culture within Instagram. Their labor is most particularly concealed by the fact that they are mothers, and that in this sense their actions are interpreted as always selfless rather than selfish. These moms post about the things that they do for their children online – making them healthy food, dressing them in beautiful clothes, showering them with attention, etc. – thus effectively concealing, using affect, the creative process of labor that they had to go through to get to that final image. The nobility of these actions are not what I necessarily question – what I'd like to point out instead is that the audience isn't privy to what goes on behind the scenes of these images: the frustrations of these moms whenever their children won't cooperate, or how time-consuming it can be to continuously shoot, edit, and upload pictures and videos for the sake of consumers online. All we see is the final product, and interpret the status of their lives based on what we see. Despite that however, it is arguable to say that labor, which used to disappear once the commodity is up for sale, is now at the forefront of the Internet's digital economy – what matters now is how often a work is updated in order to entice consumers to keep coming back. The users, compelled to continuously work on their images online are now, in effect, the commodity, and they become only as good as the labor that goes into it (Terranova, 2011, p. 362) (Senft, 2013).

By effectively misrecognizing the labor that goes into the works of these micro-celebrities, as well as by virtue of their symbolic capital within Instagram, the practices of these

micro-celebrities are considered to be the dominant culture of sharenting that should a newcomer enter the field, they would observe these practices – documenting monthsaries, using hashtags, setting up photo shoots for their children, OOTDs – to be part of the norm. Even though these sharents may not necessarily acknowledge that they are following the trends set by these micro-celebrities, because these aesthetic styles are what are perpetuated by Instagram, these strategies are what they will, in the end, most likely adopt.

Through the culture of connectivity on Instagram, the way parenting is done in the 21st century has been redefined to become dependent on technology and social media; as a result, this situates sharenting as a necessary culture of care. Yet despite living in an age where people are revolting against stereotypes, I noticed that almost all of the moms I interviewed were the sole handlers or managers of their child's account. Except for Trina whose husband and sister help out, and Jan whose husband sometimes participates in the labor, all the moms have full control of their child's account, and are the only ones participating in this kind of performance. In a way, this continues to reinforce the dominant ideology that taking care of children is a feminine act, and Instagram adds to this by way of glamorizing the whole thing similar, to how traditional media used to frame and romanticize motherhood through magazines or television. Motherhood is impossible to perform perfectly, and our perspectives on how it should be performed is always just a mere social construct (Lopez, 2009). With sharenting on Instagram primarily dominated by women figures, particularly women who are celebrity figures, symbolic violence may also occur that continues to perpetuate the ideology of women as the best caretakers of children.

For Bourdieu, the most effective kind of violence is that which enables the dominating group to give the least amount of effort. They need only, "*let the system they dominate take its own course* in order to exercise their domination*" (Bourdieu 1977, p. 190). In our case, symbolic

violence occurs through Instagram, the tool that allows for the perpetuation of certain kinds of lifestyles that are "better" than the other, which are more often than not the lifestyles of those who have accumulated the highest symbolic capital. These lifestyles are what we see wound up on Instagram's discover feed, as they are based on the most popular posts across Instagram with respect to the user's metadata. In a way, the kinds of images that are found in the discover feed are images that embody what is worth being seen on Instagram (or "insta-worthy"), and the average user who views these images assumes these image styles to be the rules with which he/she has to operate if she ever wants to garner enough likes and views. This example shows us what Schubert (2008) means when, on explaining symbolic violence, he wrote: "Hierarchies and systems of domination are then reproduced, and the dominant and dominated begin to think and act in their own best interests within the context of the system itself (p.184)." By observing how these images are constructed, shot, and edited, and what particular lifestyles they convey, the average novice may assume these styles and practices to be canon, and would be compelled to duplicate the same actions, thus upholding the system and reinforcing the dominance of celebrity culture. In our case, the sharenting performances of these micro-celebrities communicate an ideal image of motherhood that is all smiles and very hands-on towards their children which pit against other types of motherhood and, in a way, alienates those who do not and can not necessarily keep up with that lifestyle.

CHAPTER VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

When I originally undertook this study, I operated under the assumption that the motivations of a young parent for sharing his/her child's life online was largely due to a desire to emulate the lifestyles of celebrities who, like them, were new parents. However, as I went along my research, I discovered that sharents on Instagram are not necessarily and consciously motivated by the image of celebrity parents, and that their primary reasons for sharing photos and videos of their children online are simply for documentation purposes and for friends and family, thus disproving my original assumption. What I discovered instead was that these sharents actually had other motivations for sharing their baby's life online, and that these motivations shaped the way they performed sharenting. By observing these motivations and how they translate into the narrative, look, practice, and user-follower interactions of these sharents, I was able to come up with four categories of sharents: the micro-celebrity, non-celebrity curator, semi-curator, and non-curator.

The micro-celebrity sharents are those who have already garnered recognition in other fields and were able to penetrate the field of Instagram. They keep a separate account for their child not for anything else, but to simply document the formative years of their baby. However, because of their status as celebrities, their children eventually also become exposed to the attention. Micro-celebrity sharents are often tapped by brands and companies to create sponsored content for them, and as a result they are expected to continuously grow their base. Their posts are also expected to always look their best, thus they employ strategies like using real camera equipment and styling their backgrounds to make their pictures stand out.

The non-celebrity curators are sharents who actively and consciously cultivate a certain image or brand for their Instagram profiles. They also keep a separate account for their child, but they see this more as an avenue to express their identity as a mom. Curators are very strict with the look of their images as these always have to be in line with their branding. These sharents also capitalize on Instagram's hashtag system, using it as a means to reach to other people with similar interests as them, as well as to increase their visibility on Instagram. As a result some of them have actually been successful in promoting themselves to micro-celebrity status.

The semi-curators are also sharents who keep a separate account for their child; however, they don't hold themselves to as strict standards as the micro-celebrities and non-celebrity curators. They are motivated to keep a separate child's account in order to organize their child's memories, which they have thought of endorsing to them in the future. Semi-curators employ some strategies that are similar to those of the micro-celebrities, such as using camera equipment and styling the backgrounds, and they also care about the themes of their posts.

The last kind are the non-curators who put minimal effort with the way they perform sharenting on Instagram. They don't keep a separate account, and aren't as meticulous with the look of their images as the other sharents are. However they also adhere to some techniques like keeping a personalized hashtag, and editing their photos. The way they choose the narrative of their images are also aimed to highlight something salient about themselves as moms and the way they do parenting.

Despite having ruled out celebrity-idol worship as a main motivation for sharenting, I still could not help but notice that the look of some images of non-celebrities were similar to those of the micro-celebrities. Even though there was no direct admission of having these micro-celebrities as their inspiration, I was able to discover that Instagram through its affordances –

particularly the discover feed, the hashtag system – upholds the culture of those who are mostly recognized within the field, thus it is their practices that characterize the dominant culture of Instagram. Users of Instagram are then influenced to act in a similar fashion by manner of observation, which continues to feed the system in a never-ending relationship. Micro-celebrities, in particular are those who dominate the culture of Instagram, and this power has been brought about by the fact that they have plenty of followers, are recognizable in other fields, and cultivate certain looks that go hand-in-hand with the brand of Instagram. In addition, the labor behind these images goes unrecognized, and for sharents this is hugely brought about by the fact that they are mothers. Hiding their advantages to material and symbolic profits behind the façade of a loving parent (though not necessarily a bad thing) is what enables sharenting to continue on the Internet today.

CHAPTER VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS

While the concept of sharenting is not a fairly new phenomenon, not much studies have been done about it that focus on mediums that are not just online blogs. Now that technology and social media are deeply penetrated into our lives, I recommend that more studies about this phenomenon be done that focus on other mediums where sharenting can prosper, like on Facebook and YouTube. Moreover, studies about sharenting within the Philippine context is almost unheard of, while in other countries there have been efforts to truly determine its prevalence among young parents. This is also another potential avenue for study, and one that may accurately determine whether this is indeed becoming a part of the norm in our society.

In outlining the markers of sharenting, I was able to discover that these sharents actually have virtual communities, either niched to a particular interest (such as fashion), or simply among peers of newly promoted parents. While there have been studies on virtual parenting communities – such as mommy bloggers in the U.K, these can be widened in scope to include parents who use social media to share about their parental experiences more so than blogs. Studies can be conducted that seek to know more about how these virtual communities work especially on social media, and how they help shape the parenting practices of today.

Lastly and perhaps the most importantly, longitudinal studies must be undertaken in order to make parents aware of the possible implications of sharenting to young children as they grow up. While a parent's intentions may be noble in documenting the life of their children, there are inescapable repercussions that come with documenting their childhood on the Internet and with the use of technologies of today. As such, parents must be made aware of what these ethical issues and implications are, and how they could possibly affect their children in the future.

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APPENDIX INDEX

APPENDIX A

INSTAGRAM POSTS OF MICROCELEBRITIES

Table 1. Instagram Posts of Jace Lizardo (c/o Mommy Jan Lizardo)

	Code	Jan Lizardo
2. Post-birth	2.3	
	2.4	
	2.5	

Fig. 1 – Jan's YouTube Account

Fig. 2 – Andi's YouTube Account

APPENDIX B

INSTAGRAM POSTS OF NON-CELEBRITY CURATORS

Table 2. Instagram Posts of Kay Mangahas in Private Account

	Code	Jan Lizardo
1. Pre-birth	1.1	
	1.2	
2. Post-birth	2.1	

	2.2	**kayevmangahas • Following** **kayevmangahas** When I found out I was pregnant with you, I got scared. I was just learning my ways, kuya was just 4-months then and I don't know if it was the right time to have our 2nd baby. I was so defensive to everybody about having you, but when the time came and the doctor said we're having a baby girl, I knew right there and then that you are God's fulfillment of His promise to me. Happy 1st Birthday to you my baby girl, Harper! Thank you for bringing so much color to our world. You (and Kuya) thought me a lot about reality, helped me discover things about myself, made me give up what I like over what I love, you took me out of my comfort zone and still made me enjoy life, and you made me realize that every pain is worth it. Always remember that daddy, mommy and 18 likes OCTOBER 27, 2015 Add a comment...
	2.3	**kayevmangahas • Following** **kayevmangahas** Our first field trip 🚌 #milestone 39 likes FEBRUARY 27 Add a comment...

Fig. 1 – Fashion outfit on Kay's private account

APPENDIX C
INSTAGRAM POSTS OF NON-CELEBRITY NON-CURATORS

	Code	Jophen Legaspi	Nini Fortuno-Sana
1. Pre-birth	1.1		
	1.2		
2. Post-birth	2.1		
	2.2		

APPENDIX D
INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

1.   Valle, T. (2018, February 5). Personal Interview. Interview Duration: 16:41

D: Which social media are you currently active in and do you frequently post on social media?

T: We're active in Facebook, Instagram, Twitter. We actively post in all but for Instagram most of the time we cross-post it to Facebook.

D: What made you decide to share Lily's life online?

T: A lot of people are asking us kasi, especially when she was born, na they want to see Lily, but given the constraints that we just gave birth, parang we wanted to share lang din to the world yung blessing na si Lily… yun.

J: Our healthy baby girl…

T: We wanted to share the blessing tas yun yung pinakaeffective way of sharing to the people na we know about Lily considering na we can't have everyone here at home or that we can't go out pa especially the first few weeks.

D: What was the idea behind setting up a social media account for your child? Why there specifically?

J: Ako nagset up! Ako nagset up. For her to well, before she was born, I have two social media accounts for my kid. At that time I don't know if boy or girl… if it's gonna be boy or girl

D: So you set up two na?

J: Two. Then we found out it's a girl, so Lily, so mainly the reason behind it is that when she's older, she can look back then I'll endorse the social media account to her, the Instagram account to her... parang "look at youuu," something like that

D: What happened to the other social media account?

J: (on) Hold. We don't know what's gonna happen next

D: Pero why did you choose IG, why not FB?

J: IG is more of pictures, less chismis and plus she can… IG is more photo photo, less noise kasi sa FB kung ano ano nakapost…

D: At what age was Lily when you set up the account… pero in your case you set up the account before she was born…

T: Mga 20 weeks in palang…yeah.

D: So who manages (or has access to) your child's social media account? Among the managers, who would you say posts more frequently?

J: Trina, me, Ate Maris

D: Among you three who posts more frequently?

T: Ate Maris. She gets photos from us.

J: She's our social media manager. Tas pinopolice pa niya kami, "wala pa tayo nappost"

D: How frequently do you post?

J: Once a week or once every two weeks

T: Sa Instagram ni Lily?

J: Yeah but kami siguro mga every other day, especially sa stories.

D: How do you decide which photos/videos of your children end up online?

T: We post everything except yung exposed body

J: Like her private parts, chest… so she'll not be ashamed din paglaki niya…Pag tinurn over na namin yung social media sa kanya

D: Pero wala kayong, you don't filter out na oh this is "Instagram worthy?" You just post?

J: Di naman, wala.

D: What factors (if any) determine whether or not a particular photo or video should end up on your or your child's account?

T: On her account, milestones probably.

J: Like my first ganto, my first visitors…

T: Yung passport.

J: Yeah her passport…. On my account per se I post if… she's so cute so most of the time, de all of the time naman… usually pic niya (Trina) and Lily or video ni Lily na nag-ffuss or naglalaro…

T: Pag IG story kahit ano, pero pag picture talaga, for me milestones like 3rd month, 2nd month…

D: That goes to Lily's account?

T: That goes to my account but to Lily's account, almost the same din

J: Parang on her perspective naman, the caption… yun! The caption is her speaking…. "hi everyone it's Lily I love my tatay… something like that."

D: So nagrrepeat ba yung posts? Like you post the same pictures on your accounts?

T: Yeah same posts, different captions.

D: What would you say are the benefits (if any) of documenting your child's life and sharing it online?

J: Well well well, social media kasi is your external hard drive and it has a reminder… on this day… on this day… so that's one benefit….

T: Aside from keeping memories yung showing to other people din especially those who are close to you, for example um family natin, abroad

J: Parang they don't get to talk to you from time to time

T: It's really personal for us, kaya if you see Lily's account talaga parang it's sharing yung insights niya at the time… like these are my first visitors in the hospital…

J: There's an air quote there

T: So that she will be able to look back

D: So for you it's really documenting the experience?

T: Yes it's for Lily's future self

D: In relation to that, what do you enjoy most about sharing your parental experience on social media?

J: Me more of not parenting 101, more of "let's learn together," parang any comments any suggestions are really welcome and I ask a lot... And whatever I share they are my best practice so far. Something like that, what works for us. Kasi there really is no structured

parenting diba na straight line na parenting…. Whatever works for you diba. People are telling us to do baby wise or …. (incoherent) … it's a method of sleep training for the kids…but whatever works for you as a couple or as a parent and then whatever works for the baby so ganun din.

T: No further comment.

D: So it's like, the way you said it, it's kind of like fostering a community where you get to learn with other parents…

J: Yeah, parang let's connect, ganito yung nangyayari sa amin, buhay naman yung bata… that's the goal for the first month diba… keep the Lily alive! So yun, any suggestions comments, you're free to comment especially if it's gonna help.

D: And you also share your insights to co-parents?

J: Yes co-parents and especially new parents like us, people who gave birth Q4 of last year or this year lang… maraming kabatch si Lily.

D: How do you feel when people take notice or comment about your children?

T: Happy.

J: Saya na parang ahh hindi lang pala ikaw nakakappreciate na cute yung baby mo… na parang ah cute pala siya in general baka kasi biased kami. Ganun, masaya naman.

T: Generally positive comments eh wala namang negative. It's more of constructive feedback na, trying to help, kunwari dapat ganito… nagbibigay ng advice.

D: Did you have any inspirations in setting up your account like how did the idea come into your head in the first place?

T: We're very active kasi in social media, both of us, so parang it was just natural to make an account for her, wala naman masyadong deep thought behind it.

J: Yun lang talaga.

D: So no influences? Just cause you were active in social media, let's do it?

J: Yup, let's do it.

D: For you personally what is the value of your child's social media account?

J: Memories, one, the value of it… so she can look back and she can… basically milestones niya parang her firsts ganito… I think the value of it is setting her up rin siguro, I think honestly ha for success na in the future it's gonna be hip… like, look my parents did this for me how about you?

D: So it's kinda like… in your opinion, a trend that's going to happen?

J: Yeah looking forward, na parang when they talk about it pag nasa school na sila… (incoherent) it's gonna be in.

D: How long do you plan to operate Lily's account or share photos or videos of her online?

T: Forever.

J: All the days of my life.

T: Unless she says na ayaw niya.

J: Yeah kunwari mega introvert pala siya.

T: We'll respect her decision.

J: Siguro we'll let her take control 12… ganun.
D: You'll show it to her when she's maybe 5?
J: Yeah ganun.

D: Would you do the same thing for your future children?
T: Yes.
J: Para they'll support each other.
T   And yung principle kasi niya is para siyang keepsake for the baby when they grow up
D: So you see na it's for them?
T: Yeah it's for them talaga.
J: Pagod kaya magpost [laughs].

D: Do you give Ate Maris the pictures?
T: Yeah or kasi we post a lot of the time so she picks…. we approve lang what she picks
D: So most of the time siya nagppick?
T: Yeah kami nagppicture, siya nagppost.
J: Yeah tas she'll flood everyone with her post. Tatatlo siya magpost tapos hindi yung nakacompile…

J: Pero kami we post lang her OOTD, her good mood, may bagong kumalong sa kanya ngayon, visitor…. Those things…
D: Okay, yun lang... thank you!

2.   **Mangahas, K. (2018, February 15). Personal Interview. Interview Duration: 30:26**

K: It all started kasi parang, the baby, I want to dress them up lagi ganyan so parang sabi ko, "they grow up so fast" so sabi ko "ano gagawin ko dito sa clothes?" Parang siyempre at first you'd give it away sa family members mo na magkakababy ganyan pero as I was browsing my Instagram, I encountered a page na parang nagsseell siya ng clothes ng kids niya so sabi ko, "uy okay to ah" tapos nung chineck ko those people who buy were also selling theirs so sabi ko, "why not try yung akin?" That was, 2013 when I started… so stinart ko lang, pinopost ko lang yung pre-loved clothes nila tas dun ko nakita na parang yung moms dun sa Instagram nakikita ko na yung kids nila they're just wearing... Parang nag-OOTD lang sila tapos they'll sell the clothes na so dun ko nakuha yung idea na ah pwede pala sila picturan… Pero before that pa I found out, gusto ko na yung ganon kasi parang I wanted to record their milestones, ganyan, tsaka I'm into garments kasi I'm working for garments so parang medjo I have the inclination towards that yung fashion so sabi ko sige nga I want to dress up my kids tapos I found out na pwede mo pala i-sell yung clothes. Yung ibang moms nga as in in-OOTD… Bibilhin lang nila for 500 tapos OOTD lang tapos they'll sell it for 450 as in… parang dun nagstart yung you can sell the clothes naman pala easily. Ako di naman ako ganun ka grabe, as in pinapasuot ko naman sa kanila ulit yung clothes nila pero parang if I let them wear something new I take their pictures ganyan, so that's where it started talaga.

       [showing me the account] This is their Instagram account, hisandheirs - his kasi boy tas heirs, girl…

D: But in your own Instagram po do you share pa rin?
K: I share pero ayoko kasi na ma-fed up yung friends ko, na parang ano ba yan nakakasawa na puro nalang ganyan. I only post their photos sa Facebook once a week ganyan. Sa Instagram very limited, very personal….
D: So mostly if you want to post photos of them, dun po sa account?
K: Yes.

D: Which social media are you currently active in and do you frequently post on social media?
K: Facebook and Instagram. Yes, frequent, parang at least once or twice a week.

D: Reasons po why you share your child's life online?
K: Well that's how it started. Pero yung why I wanted to share…. It's not really, I did not see it as a concept of I want to share my kids with them, it's more of it's my space I can post it here, might as well post it. I don't see it as share ko nga to kasi ang ganda ng anak ko, it's more of, this is my area, I find this beautiful I want to put it here as a reminder of what happened this day, where we were this day, yung mga ganon pero not really the idea because I want to... Parang expose my kids or ganon it's more of I just want to post it on my timeline ganon…

D: What was the idea behind setting up a social media account for your child? Why there specifically?

K: Because that time, I chose IG because I could sell items there so when I saw na parang it's also my selling account it turned out na parang... kasi moms before they buy parang they ask, "oh do you have when worn photo," ibig sabihin meron ka bang photo nung parang suot yung item na to so might as well post the pictures there for their reference so when I sell something at least makikita nila doon kaya minsan pag nagpost ako ng picture walang pang anything parang they'll comment "oh next na ako sa pants ah, next ako sa top ah," as in talagang ganun sila kaadik sa pag-OOTD ng anak nila… medj mild pa ako…

D: So at what age was your child when you first set-up the account?

K: I started… Harper was months old, mga 10 months, ganon kasi as early as… Actually mostly siya kasi dati pinipicturan ko na si Hunter pero I don't have to post, pero when si Harper na… dahil girl siya mas masarap bihisan, mas naencourage ako na magpicture sa kanya. Before nung madali pa silang kausap I'd take a picture of them dalawa, pero the boy medj mahirap siya picturan unlike si Harper very cooperative so it turns out more on kay Harper ako nagppicture…

D: So months old, pero before then were you posting pics of Hunter na rin online?
K: Not really I don't have the hisandheirs before Hunter, it was just on my personal account.
D: You were also posting there?
K: Yes.
D: So sino pong may access sa account na to?
K: Just me. My husband knows about it pero yung what to post, it's all my decision.

D: How often po do you post on that account?
K: Every week, unless parang… Kasi ako I dress them up for an occasion for example we go to church or a party I dress them up nicely pero if yung OOTD lang na parang, "tara anak bibihisan kita tas picture tayo," no I don't do that kasi parang for me medj OA na siya na parang wala naman tayong pupuntuhan I have to dress you up para lang may pic tayo… parang medj reasonable pa kung… yung iba kasi OOTD lang talaga as in they'd buy the newest collection of Zara na thousands talaga yung worth niya only for an OOTD na five minutes tas gone na they'll sell it na… di naman ako ganon…..

D: Pero on that account po puro clothes lang, you're selling their clothes?
K: No recently, since marami nang selling accounts / groups sa Facebook, I don't post their items anymore sa Instagram so picture nalang talaga nila kasi parang there's another option na mas maraming nakakaaccess…

D: So if you're gonna sell the clothes…
K: Dun sa Facebook na, parang nagshift na ako when it comes to the selling part dun. Instagram originally is my selling platform pero now it's for pictures nalang talaga nila.

D: How do you decide which photos/videos of your children end up online?
K: I don't do stories on the public account, just the personal account and my account is private…

D: How do you decide which photos should end up on your or your child's account?
K: Parang gusto ko yung when they're smiling or when they look nice siyempre I choose the nicest photo diba… parang I don't… kasi yung iba, parang kahit ano nalang na itsura ng anak nila kumakain pinipicturan… I don't do that I just post pictures na talagang naka-arte sila or nakapose sila I don't do yung every minute ng action ng anak ko I just post yung more on the fashion look nila but not yung every angle…. I just post more on fashion talaga and yun yung reason ko for posting

D: Do you ask your children to pose po ba?
K: Sometimes candid pero most of the time I tell them to pose, like, "uy Harper smile for mommy…" she obliged naman pero there are times talaga na they're not in the mood, cranky, if that's the case no picture.

D: So parang aware din sila…?
K: Oo na parang ano ba yan pose nanaman…. Yung ganon…. Pero minsan I'd go, "I'll give you surprise later just smile for mommy…" [laughs]

D: Do you also share milestones?
K: Yes pero mostly yung details sa caption, when you caption it on the moment... so when I post it on my personal Instagram account that's where I write really the importance of this day, where we were… what we were doing why I had to post it… pero dun sa public one parang caption lang, smile happy day pero not really yung… today is Harper's first day in school… etc.

K: Cause for me I'm very cautious din when it comes to the personal space and the danger of oversharing, parang aware din naman ako na parang yung social media it's really being used ngayon in all ways and means diba parang whether good or bad minsan naooveruse siya so I'm aware of the bad side of it like for example I don't post where my kids are studying, kung kelan birthday nila, full name nila, apeliydo namin, no I don't use that. Kaya parang there's this community of moms in IG where I am in na parang they really know each other as in they're friends nagmeet sila for a group of OOTDs with their kids so parang it has become a community pero ako parang ako lang yung sole person na as far as I know I don't know any of them personally because I'd rather keep my group small, yung parang I don't know you, I don't want to be friends with you just because mag-OOTD yung anak ko, parang ganon. If you guys do it that's fine and I respect you, we probably have the same idea of sharing fashion using our kids pero I have my own reasons/boundaries/limits as well so I'm not going beyond that na parang you know my child's full name, I'm just fine with this. And since nakapublic yung account na yun when somebody likes my kid's photo, I browse them, kasi for example moms would usually like other kid's photos diba pero kung for example old man parang suspicious na parang why are you liking my child's picture… pag ganon block na agad yun kasi parang I don't want my … careful ako with pedophiles like they're everywhere if medj

suspicious sa akin yung look mo I don't understand why you're liking my kid's picture bye… [laughs]

Tsaka di rin ako nagppost ng photo ng kid ko na nakabathing suit yung anak ko na two piece, mga ganon, even if they're still a baby I believe na how you expose them matters to me so hindi ako… yung iba kasi diba naka two-piece na yung anak nila parang kita na yung ano… I mean its not really how you look at an adult's photo wearing a two piece pero parang for me I'd rather post my kid's photo na charming siya, as bata talaga siya not as a young adult.

D: Do the same rules apply naman po when you post in your own private account?

K: Yeah, I mean parang kung ano naman yung photos na shinshare ko sa public that's almost the same photo I share in my personal pero kasi parang I want to keep my profile nice so minsan pag 1 outfit, may 3 pictures … sunod-sunod pero siyempre sa personal ko, one photo is enough, so ganun lang ako

So you see the difference for example…. [showing Instagram account]... when it comes to my kids' account parang it's curated talaga kasi may following siya…

D: What would you say are the benefits (if any) of documenting your child's life and sharing it online?

K: Well di ko alam kung benefit talaga siya pero parang little things lang, for example my friend's starting a business. Dahil nakikita niya na may followings sa fashion for kids, she used Harper's photo as a model niya for her items tas she'd give Harper new bags parang papamodel niya kay Harper, so parang little things like freebies… Parang people would know na "oh your kid is so charming, medjo sikat ka," pero parang for me it's nothing naman people are just noticing your kid more kasi nga she's always online or parang every week may new look siya but on the positive naman if negative ewan ko wala pa naman…. Pero they'd always say to me na, "oh Harper is so fashionista, so cute, oh why don't you bring Harper to a fashion agency" … at tsaka for me personally, diba si FB parang they have the reminder na, "on this day," it's nice to remember kasi na oh they've grown so big na before they were just this tiny… it's a good reminder kasi sometimes only when you look back at old photos that's when you realize how big they've grown…. But it's these little things that social media would remind of you from time to time ……. little things that remind us of where we were and how God has been faithful, where we are now how the kids are doing yung ganon, so for me I take this as a benefit kasi it makes you count your blessings and makes you realize where you were years ago and now, so parang yun for me that would be the biggest benefit if there's any…

D: How do the comments make you feel?

K: To be honest… sobrang yung ibang kids na nasa Instagram they have like 10k followers they're like supermodel levels so parang if you look at them parang I'd feel na… oh bakit ganun di naman siya cute ah mas cute pa si Harper… sometimes I have that feeling to be honest pero parang for me ako naman yung pumipili na I'd rather have my group small so I'm good enough with people I know who comment on how cute Harper is, how nice she

carries her dress ganyan, so happy na ako dun it's a compliment din kasi siguro sabi ko nga I was thinking kanina… bakit ko nga ba gustong bihisan ng bihisan si Harper… pero aside from because having a girl is like having a barbie/doll, parang growing up I don't really feel confident about myself, tas nung time na single pa ako I was slimmer pero that time I was always tagged as big girl….. I would always shy away from dressing up nice I'd wear comfy nalang cos people would think I'm trying hard … now that Harper is here I want to train her na parang, it doesn't matter how chubby you are I can still dress you nice…. I want her to feel confident na my mom is dressing me up nicely para when she looks back… She'll see my mom put an effort pala to dress me up nice. For me I probably haven't seen the biggest benefit of it yet pero I'm hoping na when Harper grows a little older pa she'll see na I put an effort in documenting every milestone or at least every outfit she wears.

D: Apart from documenting, what else do you enjoy about sharing?
K: Siguro kasi parang this is also kasi the time and age namin na we're no longer single we're starting our own families and having a kid is overwhelming for us na parang ganto pala yung feeling to be a mom you always want to put your best foot forward at least where your good at… if I'm good at baking I'd probably bake something for my kids everyday and record it… ako my hands are tied…. I only get to spend time with them on Sundays so that's when I dress them up as in nicely talaga or at least effort ako… minsan I cry pa nga when I don't get a good picture of them and I know they have a good outfit for that day. It's also showing your potential as a person and as a mom eh na parang I want to give them the best so parang siguro kung saan ka magaling as a mom or as a person, then that's when you put your effort sa kid mo but since I'm good at this one, parang ito na yung naging outlet ko.

D: So it's a way for you to express ur way of being a mom?
K: Yes.

D: Did you have any inspirations or influences for setting up your child's account?
K: Yung community of moms lang… I'll show you my feed here… [shows Instagram feed] all of them here, they're selling outfits of their kids…. Iba nga nagppreorder pa sa ibang country…. Parang if na follow mo na yung trend nung group, ng mga tao na oh this mom is also posting about her kid, so if you follow that you'll find another mom doing the same thing…. Tas all of you are selling your kids' clothes… parang na find out lang namin yung isa't isa...We just found out each other…. I don't know them personally… Selling lang and posting their kid's outfit, yun lang talaga…. Literally nag-OOTD lang ng anak nila everyday …. Pero yung iba medjo cinacareer talaga na the big brands are noticing them, SM store is noticing them so they get more privileges like for example may kiddie event, their daughters and sons will be invited, so parang ganun naging celebrity-ish na sila pero kami low key lang kami

D: How long do you plan to operate your child's account/share photos and videos of your child online?
K: That's a good question lately kasi si Harper parang nahihirapan na ako to convince so I was thinking should I stop na ba…. Before to be honest it was taking a toll in our budget

kasi siyempre you have to keep up with the OOTD… and kids clothes are sobrang expensive…. I don't want to go that far naman so I settle with what's in Harper's closet…. I mix and match, I do the mix and match.

There's this brand, lailaandlyra… when you see her release something it's sold as soon as nag open yung line niya, sold in 30 mins. Unahan yung mga moms tapos papasuot lang nila sa mga anak nila tapos sell agad and they're really expensive…

She makes the clothes, it's a Filipino brand. Tapos company na sila… they only sell online they don't have a shop.

So parang ako inisip ko hanggang kelan ko nga ba 'to gagawin medjo stressful na rin kasi siya for me kasi I just want to take a good picture of them especially when they're wearing nice clothes pero sila wala sa mood, minsan pag umuuwi ako sa bahay sobrang nagttantrum ako… tas yung husband ko sasabihin "wife ko ano ba" ……. "Kasi si harper hindi siya nag smile today!!!"

So pag ganon naggising na ako na parang ano ba yan I'm so overboard na, pero parang ako as long as I get a good photo of my kids I post it, kahit di na siya maging regular na every week or every twice a week/ a month, I'd still do it as long as I get a good picture of them I'd probably still post it

D: Pero meron po bang parang age when you would stop?

K: I hope there's none, especially for Harper kasi I want to see nga how she grows, how she develops from this cute girl to this lady parang gusto ko makita na… for me if my mom did that to me I'd be feeling giddy right now…. Like ang cute ko dito…. So ngayon hangga't okay siya, unless she talks to me na mom I don't want my picture online, then I'll respect it pero ako as long as ako nagddecide for her, go lang tsaka hopefully nothing bad happens……. So far we're okay kasi lowkey lang naman kami we're not the super sikat.

D: Would you do the same thing for your future children (if planning?)

K: YES, definitely! Pero if ever sana boy na kasi easier sila damitan.

3. Lizardo, J. (2018, February 21). Personal Interview. Interview Duration: 20:54

D: Which social media are you currently active in and do you post frequently on social media?

J: Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter, I post like mga… how many times a week… as much as I can na kasi it's better if you post regularly to gain more followers and to engage with followers kasi pag palagi ka nagppost parang they'll see na mas active ka so they'll feel na you interact with them… na mas malapit sila sa iyo…

D: What made you decide to share your child's life online?

J: At first I didn't expect… we made an account before he was born actually. We just posted the… the first post that we did was the scan lang, the 3D scan, so there was a face na but not really clear face. We wanted to see lang naman parang siguro pag laki niya marami nang followers pero not really we didn't expect na wow marami magffollow sa kanya… and then I wanted to share lang naman our baby na … di ko alam. Parang it seemed only natural lang na we wanted to share about the baby.

D: How old is your son?

J: Turning one on Saturday.

D: What was the idea behind setting up an account?

J: It's on Instagram cause before we wanted to share lang him pero not really totally all out…basta parang sharing siguro about him lang and milestones… we wanted to keep it lang like that… then ayun parang we wanted to see lang kung ano magiging effect lang yung ganon….

D: Mahilig po ba kayo sa Instagram?

J: Yeah Instagram ngayon pero before sakto lang.

D: Who manages or has access to your child's social media account? Among the managers, who would you say posts more frequently?

J: Me and his father…. He asks me to post for him lagi pero he takes the picture and then I'll post, he'll put the caption… actually together naman when we post we're together so it's actually the both of us naman. Sometimes I'll say ikaw naman mag post pero both of us naman parang share the… kung ano ccaption and the picture we wanted to share.

D: How often do you post?

J: Siguro like every other 2 days… but not religiously, we try to do that. Kasi nowadays sponsors get from there na, so we get sponsors from posting like that and sometimes sponsors ask us to post like for example yung sa diaper niya sa sponsor niya like this date you have to post it on Jace's account… sometimes on my account…. They really tap… from your post the sponsors tap you. Yun yung… that's why many influencers post products…. That's how they do it. They tap those na maraming followers tapos from there doon nila kinukuha yung spreading of words nila about their product.

D: How do you decide naman po which photos and videos end up online?

J: Um syempre we don't want… yung privacy we keep it pa rin. We don't post yung kita private parts, we make sure na tinatakpan namin kunwari sa Instagram stories we make sure we cover it... With the caption naman na parang he's the one talking…. Parang siya yung nagsasalita. Simple posts lang, more on his face lang, minsan milestones nga parang just to make people happy, smiling faces niya like that. Now we're posting yung countdown birthday niya pero not really every day….

D: Do you curate po what photos come out?

J: Depende eh. Pag cute naman and then…. Ano ba… ? Siyempre we check din talaga yung buong picture, like even the background kasi baka mamaya may something na not okay so we make sure na okay talaga yung photo

D: Do you edit it?

J: Sometimes we edit it. Edit na… if there's ano lang… And then the picture itself sometimes we edit it kasi it attracts followers pag maganda yung picture talaga so we use magandang camera…. That's one thing pa, when you're an influencer you have to post pictures na maayos hindi yung malabo yung picture…. It's better if it's a nice photo.

D: What equipment do you use, like camera or phone?

J: My phone camera… kasi sa iPhone plus there's this setting sa camera na portrait and its really nice when you take pictures like it's clear talaga like people are asking parang, is this a cameraphone? And I say it's a camera phone and they're like wow kasi sobrang linaw. Most of the time we use the camera talaga.

D: What factors (if any) determine whether or not a particular photo or video should end up on your or your child's account?

J: Sometimes when we go out of town, we don't post exactly where kami kasi it's for security lang rin, cause people might know where we are and something can happen… number 1 security, and yung mga privacy…. We don't post on social media naman lahat ng ginagawa namin. We're careful din sa mga ganon. Yung mga identity din namin… kunwari yung passport ni Jace, we hide the details, yung mga ganon, pero other than that we're okay naman. More on views ng pictures or faces ni Jace…

Napansin din namin na mas maraming nagllike pag picture ni Jace or pag family picture and it helps din na we help each other… parang mag gain ng follower. Important kasi talaga pag influencer ka na you gain followers and then yung factor na nakita namin is mas dumadami followers pag si Jace yung mukha, yung picture, pag kami lang mas mababa yung likes pag si Jace mas marami or pag family picture…. Basta ganun. Malaking factor yung baby namin [laughs].

D: Pero sa account niyo po, you also post photos of Jace?

J: Yeah I post photos of Jace din in my account…

D: Does it happen po ba na kunwari you post a photo of Jace in your account and then it's the same photo on his account rin?

J: No, we don't do that. We only do that pag monthly photo like one month, two months, lahat kami nagppost ng picture ni Jace. Not really same picture but same concept lang, almost same picture pero a different photo talaga.

D: Meron po bang criteria sa pagpili ng photos?

J: Ako unang pinapipili ng dad. Wala naman, there's no criteria talaga… we just don't repeat the photos…

D: What would you say are the benefits (if any) of documenting your child's life and sharing it online?

J: I think the benefit is you gain more followers and people message us na parang…. Stress reliever yung baby na parang when they see a picture of the baby it helps them relax... Good vibes for them. It touches us na parang ang laking impact ni Jace for other people like pag galing silang work pag nakita daw nila picture ni Jace parang they feel … nawawala yung stress nila so we're happy about that tapos we get sponsors also from different companies… so yun we like sharing our pictures with others… yung mga words na makukuha namin from other people parang it touches our hearts and nakakatuwa.

D: Personally the value (of the account) is?

J: Personally… we just wanted to share as parents naman… I wanted to share din cos sometimes people ask me kung paano mo naging ganito si Jace…. Nasshare ko sa ibang parents sa ibang mothers yung experience ko with Jace…. So yun yung magandang benefit na parang how I raise…. How I as a parent …. I share how we raise Jace… like tips… Maraming ganon sa social media like if mag story lang ako I'm breastfeeding like that many are gonna ask oh how do you … how long do you breastfeed your baby, is he still drinking milk from you or formula na ba… they message sa story so yun yung ok sa akin cos I am able to share how I parent and how I take care of Jace how I am as a parent, ganun…

D: What do you enjoy most about sharing your parental experience on social media?

J: Feedback ng mga tao. We keep the memories also. And it's fun doing it naman

D: It's not tiring?

J: Di naman kasi you just post lang naman eh, but I turned my notifications off, once I open it lang dun ko lang makikita. You have to post talaga as an influencer but we're used to it na…. Sometimes pinapagawa din kami ng vlog we have YouTube accounts pero ok lang, enjoy din siya we just share… when you vlog kasi you don't capture everything or every single second, just glimpses lang, what we do in a day

D: Ano po laman ng vlogs?

J: Usually trips namin, we went to Baguio, Bohol, or what happens sa day namin… mga giveaways, Christmas opening gifts ni Jace… bago palang kami mga September palang kami nagstart…May sponsors na… pag nakakuha ng sponsor minsan rinerequire nila yung vlog with the product…

D: How do you feel when people take notice or comment about your children?

J: Touched kami kasi they appreciate Jace so much, sometimes they give gifts pa kay Jace… he has fans in Indonesia, binigyan siya ng gifts… we really appreciate, overwhelmed din kami with the comments of the people na he's so handsome, he's so cute, he's my favorite baby on Instagram… nakakatuwa, parang you'll see pa parang they're comparing you to other babies na kasing cute ng mga celebrity, mga anak ng artista na parang wow as a parent proud ka… grabe sabi ko nga eh this baby maabutan pa yung followers ko wala pa siyang 1 year old marami na siyang followers. We didn't expect din this naman kasi we opened his account lang naman for the sake of sharing his pictures, and maybe later on bibigay namin sa kanya so parang makita niya na marami siyang followers, we didn't expect naman na ganyan yung mangyayari… puro positive comments naman, wala pang negative comments.

D: Did you have any inspirations or influences for setting up your child's account?

J: Do you know Andi Manzano? She's my friend and I follow her and her daughter din, tas I ask her sometimes din about vlogs cos she vlogs din… friend ko naman siya so medjo naging inspiration ko siya kasi di din niya inexpect na magiging ganon yung sa baby niya, so ganun siya.

J: Jace met Baby O nga kasi same sponsors sila in an event so nagmeet kami sa sponsor nila… first time nag meet sila and he met another influencer baby din.

D: How long do you plan to operate your child's account/share photos and videos of your child online?

J: For now, continuous lang. Siguro when he can manage his account na I can give it to him na and I'll turn it over to him… for now I'll just keep on posting for him, as long as there's still Instagram, I'll still post and post.

D: Would you do the same thing for your future children (if planning?)

J: Yes siguro kasi unfair naman [laughs] pero we'll see if meron na at that time… Pero yeah we'll also make an account for them on Instagram for now kasi wala naman pang iba…. Facebook page we're planning to put up pero for the whole family lang, kasi our YouTube account is TheLizardoSquad so maybe we'll put the Lizardo Squad on our Facebook page….

4.   Legaspi, J. (2018, February 21). Skype Call Interview. Interview Duration: 11:00

D: Which social media are you currently active in? Do you post frequently on social media?
J: I have two social media accounts, Facebook and Instagram and yes I post frequently, recently kasi I celebrated my 30th so…

D: What made you decide to share your child's life online?
J: Mostly for my family and friends all over the world for them to see what's happening with my family, particularly with Juliette kasi you know social media I think is the easiest way to keep them updated nowadays.

D: So mostly for family and friends po?
J: Yes.
D: Among your social media accounts, where do you share about Juliette more?
J: Between Instagram and Facebook, I share more on the latter since most of my family and friends use Facebook more often than Instagram.

D: At what age was your child when you started posting about them?
J: Since I gave birth. Also the time I conceived, yung ultrasound.

D: How often do you post about your child online?
J: About Juliette… four times a month, I think.
D: Both on Facebook and Instagram?
J: Only on Facebook.

D: How do you decide which photos/videos of Juliette end up online?
J: Mostly if it's a milestone, something really cute, something that will inspire other moms like me… I usually share it online.

D: Are there any factors that determine whether or not a particular photo or video should end up on your feed or not?
J: Yes, particularly dun sa what will inspire other moms. Like preparing healthy food for Juliette like breastfeeding or my stash of milk… pero not to brag ha but to inspire other moms.
D: So mostly po it's the things that you do for Juliette.
J: Yes.

D: How about naman po yung si Juliette mismo like her physical appearance, what she's doing? May factors po ba if it'll end up online?

J: Meron din naman, usually milestones lang pag advanced siya. I post it online for my family abroad so they can see that Juliette can do that development na at an early age.

D: So most of the posts po involve lang yung milestones ni Juliette?
J: Yes.

D: So you don't post po ba nung kunwari out of habit pag cute siya?

J: Ay meron naman, minsan kasi di mo na mapigilan sarili mo bigla mo nalang ippost lalo na kung cute siya… [laughs]. Pero meron din kasing nagmmessage sa akin na magpost pa ng marami, para mawala stress nila ganun.

D: Pero yun nga po so nagrerevolve lang siya around if milestones or cute siya?

J: Yes.

D: What would you say are the benefits of documenting Juliette's life and sharing it online?

J: Aside from updating my family and friends abroad, I also document Juliette's life para sa akin din, kasi sometimes it's not easy to remember things about them growing up eh so you know may throwback throwback yung Facebook so documenting it online is an easy way to do it for me.

D: So mostly you see it po for you as a way to look back and document the experience?

J: Yes.

D: You mentioned po kanina na you post other activities that you do, like making food or breastfeeding for other moms… do other moms comment? May parang tip-sharing po ba na nangyayari?

J: Yeah parang ganon, kasi nowadays diba moms prefer buying ready to eat food, so parang nainspire sila na gumawa din ng mga home food for their babies.

D: Pero kayo rin po, do you also refer to other moms who do the same thing?

J: Oo, so sometimes other moms send me messages like how I prepared that food, what are the things to do, what are the things needed for that meal.

D: What do you enjoy most about sharing your experience as a mom on social media?

J: I enjoy seeing and knowing that other parents share and experience the same things, so we kind of relate to each other's parenting experience, and we learn from each other's experiences, ganun.

D: So relating to other people who are experiencing the same thing

J: Oo so parang di ka nagiisa.

D: How do you feel when people take notice or comment about your child?

J: I feel a sense of accomplishment sa mga ginagawa ko and appreciation for what I do for Juliette. Minsan kasi… we need a regular dose of that as a parent parang pagtanggal stress…. Things like that.

D: So it's a personal thing for you talaga.

J: Yes.

D: How long do you plan to share photos and videos of Juliette online?

J: For me as long as Facebook or other social media accounts are safe to use or as long as I want.

D: Would you ever consider setting up an account for your child?

J: No not really I think, hindi nalang. Okay na ako sa personal account ko mammix yung kanya.

D: Would you do the same thing for your future children if planning, like sharing about them online?

J: Yeah of course, I will.

5. **Fortuno-Sana, N. (2018, February 21). Skype Call Interview. Interview Duration: 9:34**

D: Which social media are you currently active in and how frequently do you post on social media?

N: Currently active in Facebook and Instagram. I usually post about three times a week.

D: What made you decide to share your child's life online?

N: Mainly because we have families abroad so that they're updated with what's happening, also other friends who are abroad.

D: Among your social media accounts, so between Facebook and Instagram, where do you share more about your child, and why there specifically?

N: Because most of them use the same social media accounts. They're active both in Facebook and Instagram, but I post more on Facebook.

D: So sa Facebook po kayo nagppost madalas kasi most of your family and friends are active there?

N: Yes yes.

D: Sa Instagram po, do you post there separately or do you "cross-post"?

N: I just choose whether to share it on Facebook pero not all. So there are some posts in Instagram that I don't share on Facebook or vice versa.

D: Meron po bang factors that determine whether saan niyo po ippost yung image, like if sa Instagram or Facebook po?

N: Actually depends on the mood lang siguro or the photo.

D: Based on observation po meron bang difference or parang wala?

N: Like on Facebook kasi it's easier to tag people, and there's like a feature na like an activity, that's the difference between Instagram and Facebook. On Instagram it's much limited…

D: Limited to puro photos or videos lang po?

N: Yes.

D: How old was your kid when you first started posting about them?

N: Since birth. Before din, since I got pregnant.

D: Yung ultrasound po?

N: Yes.

D: How do you decide which photos or videos of your child end up online?

N: Ah siguro yung update, like milestones or what he's able to do, or how big he is already, yun.

D: Usually po milestones yung pinopost niyo?

N: Yes.

D: Wala na pong other factors?

N: Or when he goes to new places….

D: What factors would determine whether or not the photo would end up on your feed?

N: Siguro primarily aesthetic, if the photo was taken nicely, that's when it'll end up on Facebook or Instagram.

D: Do you take photos using other equipment, like a camera?

N: Just phone camera.

D: What do you enjoy most about sharing your experience as a mom on social media?

N: Mostly the people's comments especially the family, they're happy to see me, how Sky is growing up… yeah.

D: How do you feel po when people take notice or comment about Sky online?

N: Of course I feel happy and proud.

D: Puro family and friends lang po ba nakakakita?

N: Um di naman, like friends of friends pero most of the time yung close family lang and friends.

D: Meron po bang may instances na kunwari when you share about Sky, parents your age also comment like, "oh you should try this tip…?"

N: Oh yes a lot of those happen, especially since I have a lot of friends na kasabay age niya, so may mga tips like to buy certain stuff for the babies, yung mga ganun, and I also share the same thing.

D: So nag-eexchange po kayo ng information?

N: Yes.

D: This is both on Instagram or Facebook?

N: Mostly sa Facebook lang kasi sa Instagram mostly like like lang eh.

D: How long do you plan to share photos and videos of Sky online?

N: For as long as I can or as long as the app exists.

D: Mostly po, it's more of to document the experience of Sky? So you see the social media as a tool for documenting in a way?

N: Yes in a way, cause sometimes you'd see the older posts and like look at it, and you'll see how fast he's growing up….

D: Would you ever consider setting up a social media account for your child, pero it's handled by you?

N: Maybe not. I just find it weird if you're a celebrity then maybe yeah but if you're not it's kinda weird.

D: So parang okay na po kayo sa account niyo nalang.

N: Yes.

D: Would you do the same thing for your future children (if planning)?

N: Yes but I don't plan to have future children [laughs].

6. **Valdecantos, C. (2018, February 23). Skype Call Interview. Interview Duration: 15:40**

D: Which social media are you currently active in?
C: I'm currently active on Facebook and Instagram.

D: How often do you post?
C: I post every weekend, when I'm always online.

D: What made you decide to share your child's life online?
C: I started with my personal account, I'd post photos of her, but then I realized I wanted to keep posting about her so I decided to set up an account just for her photos and videos.

D: So was it a way for you to kind of like organize your posts?
C: Yeah! It's sort of like having a digital photo album and at the same time it's easier to share with friends and family and at the same time I don't, like I could just look at her and not my stuff.

D: It's on Instagram right? So why Instagram?
C: Well on Facebook kasi you can post a lot of photos in one album and then I just thought Instagram would be better because I could post selected photos, so we highlight…

D: But you also post on Facebook?
C: Yes I do, on my personal account.

D: Parang cross-post? Or they're totally different images?
C: Totally different images, I don't really post real time so it's random.

D: What age was your child when you started posting about her online?
C: She was around 3 months old? 2-3 months old but then I posted photos of her when she was still a baby, as in newborn talaga.

D: Did you also post photos of her before she was born?
C: Like when I was pregnant? Yeah I did actually, I posted photos of me pregnant… also the ultrasound on my first account.

D: So when she was three months old, that's when you set up the whole Instagram account na?
C: Yes.

D: Who manages (or has access to) your child's social media account?
C: Only me, the dad's not really into that…[laughs] It's okay at least I could control it.

D: How often do you post on your child's Instagram account?
C: I try to post every week but sometimes it's every 2 weeks… it just really depends on when I'm free.

D: Wala namang sched?

C: No sched naman.

D: What factors (if any) determine whether or not a particular photo or video should end up on your or your child's account?

C: At first, I tried to make it artsy… like you know how people curate their Instagram feeds… but I realized I didn't really have time for that so I just posted highlights… um I didn't really think about … yung may theme or anything, so I just post highlights, milestones of her.

D: The milestones are on her account?

C: Yes on her account. Both on her account and my account, and I try to post different photos as much as possible cos we basically have the same followers, it's just our family and friends. Since I don't really like posting a lot on my own account, I don't like posting multiple photos, at least I could post a lot on hers -- cos it's all about her.

D: On her account ba like for example when you make the captions….

C: It's her speaking.

D: Do you repeat photos? Like when you post a photo on your account, do you repeat the same photo on hers?

C: No, I try not to repeat. Cause we have the same followers lang so I really try to make it different.

D: In general naman though, how do you decide which photos end up online?

C: There was a time that I was posting per month, so it's really more of milestones talaga or kunwari she does something cute or something new, something different, and I just feel like sharing it to everyone else… Usually when she's dressed up or when she's somewhere nice, nice background.

C: I try not to post low quality photos… I have a lot of them but they're mostly for documentation purposes. I don't post photos where the background is not really nice, or parang we're just at home doing mundane things…

D: So the posts are special?

C: Yeah.

D: Do you use equipment like camera or phone?

C: Yeah, sometimes I use an SLR too, but mostly my phone.

D: What would you say are the benefits (if any) of documenting your child's life and sharing it online?

C: I guess it's like having a digital photo album online, its more organized for me, I feel like it could be there lang perpetually, like at least I have a collection there even if I lose my

phone or something at least I have something online. It's also easier to share with friends and family especially those we don't see a lot…

D: What do you enjoy most about sharing your experience as a new mom on social media?

C: Well it's fun when people respond cause at least parang I feel like a lot of people appreciate her too. Like friends tell me it makes their day when they see the photos, so at least I could share that joy that I feel with other people…

D: Did you ever experience friends and family commenting tips?

C: Like mga advice? Yeah! I get that sometimes.

D: How do you feel when people take notice or comment about your children?

C: It feels nice. I feel flattered. But it's really more for me, like its easier to share photos with people who are also interested in her, not really for the sake of anyone or trying to buy any followers or whatever.

D: It's really a personal decision and a personal thing?

C: Yeah.

D: Did you have any inspirations for setting up the account?

C: No, just me lang. And parang I notice nga na people make accounts of their babies or their dogs so I was thinking why not? It's easy lang naman, and no one has to follow it if they don't want to.

D: For you personally what is the value of your child's account

C: I think it's one of the ways that I can document her life, her growing up. It's easier to have like a page where I can just go to it and look at it and all the memorable moments are there.

D: Do you also see it more as something for her like to look back on the future?

C: Yeah, both.

D: How long do you plan to operate your child's account?

C: I actually want to give it to her when she can finally use it but I'm not sure if she'll like it.

C: My friends suggested it nga na "oh u should give it to her when she's like a teenager or something." Maybe I will.

D: Would you do the same thing for your future children (if planning)?

C: I think not. If ever, I would use the same account. Cause I dunno… I'll just change the name maybe. I think it's really more for me than for them. It's just something to document their lives lang. I can do that in other ways too but this is just one of the ways and it's easier to share photos and have them organized all in one ways.

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

I.   **For parents who manage a social media account for their child**

1. Which social media are you currently active in? Do you post frequently on social media?
2. What made you decide to share your child's life online?
3. What was the idea behind setting up a social media account for your child? Why there specifically?
4. At what age was your child when you first set-up the account?
5. Who manages (or has access to) your child's social media account? Among the managers, who would you say posts more frequently?
6. How often do you post on your child's social media account?
7. How do you decide which photos/videos of your children end up online?
8. What factors (if any) determine whether or not a particular photo or video should end up on your or your child's account?
9. What would you say are the benefits (if any) of documenting your child's life and sharing it online?
10. What do you enjoy most about sharing your parental experience on social media?
11. How do you feel when people take notice or comment about your children?
12. Did you have any inspirations or influences for setting up your child's account?
13. For you personally, what is the value of your child's social media account?
14. How long do you plan to operate your child's account/share photos and videos of your child online?
15. Would you do the same thing for your future children (if planning?)

II.   **For parents who frequently post about their child**

1. Which social media are you currently active in? Do you post frequently on social media?
2. What made you decide to share your child's life online?
3. Among your social media accounts, where do you share more about your child? Why there specifically?
4. At what age was your child when you started posting about them?
5. How often do you post about your child online?
6. How do you decide which photos/videos of your children end up online? What factors (if any) determine whether or not a particular photo or video should end up on your feed?
7. What would you say are the benefits (if any) of documenting your child's life and sharing it online?
8. What do you enjoy most about sharing your parental experience on social media?
9. How do you feel when people take notice or comment about your children?
10. How long do you plan to share photos and videos of your child online?
11. Would you do the same thing for your future children (if planning?)

APPENDIX F

INTERVIEW ANALYSIS TABLE

Which social media are you currently active in?	Facebook + Instagram	FB + IG + Twitter			
Do you post (on social media) frequently?	AT LEAST once a week				
What made you decide to share your child's life online?	Simply wanted to share my baby	For family and friends around the world			On FB, mostly family and friends use On IG, less noise / clutter
What was the idea behind setting up an account? Why there specifically?	Simply wanted to share my baby	For family and friends around the world / distance	Endorse the account to baby when older	Originally to sell pre-loved items	FB - mostly family and friends use IG - less noise / clutter IG - fashion community
At what age was your child when	Created an account before birth	Posted before childbirth (ultrasound)			

you first set up the account?	Months old				
Who manages or has access to the account? Who posts more frequently?	Father and mother	Father, mother, tita	Mother only		
How often do you post on your child's social media account?	Every other 2 days	4x a month	Every week	Once a week or every 2 weeks	3x a week
How do you decide which photos and videos of your child will end up online?	"We don't post kita private parts, but everything else we post."	"Caption is created like he/she is the one talking"	Milestones

Updates | What's inspirational for other moms | "Pictures where they look nice, like naka-porma, naka-pose"

"Aesthetic"

"Not low quality"

"Not just mundane events" |
| **What factors (if any) determine whether or not a particular photo/video will end up on your or your child's feed?** | "On her account, mostly milestones. Sometimes same pictures (or same theme) but told from her perspective." | "On my account, that's where the caption is more specific, detailing why that event is particularly memorable… On | "We don't post private details."

"More people like the photo when it's just Jace compared to a photo of the family…" | | |

		their account, normal quotes lang" "When it comes to my kid's account u can see it's curated talaga (I post 3 photos at once para sabay maganda yung feed)"	"We don't post the same picture / repeat photos. Same concept but different image always."		
What would you say are the benefits (if any) of documenting your child's life and sharing it online?	"You gain more followers and people reach out to message us." "We also get sponsors from other companies." "The feedback of people is warming to our hearts." "We get freebies sometimes"	"Easier for me to reminisce about the past, since there's a throwback feature" "Nice to remember about how blessed we are"	"Easier to share with friends and family"	"Having a digital photo album online, it's more organized, social media will perpetually be there" "Social media is like your external hard drive"	"For the baby's future self"
What do you enjoy most about sharing your parental	"Fostering communities, like let's learn together"	"Receiving feedback" "It makes me feel happy when they	Expressing oneself as a mother "We're starting our own families and		

experience online?	"I get to share about how I raise my baby…" "Relating and learning from each other's experiences"	say seeing my child's face makes their day…"	having a kid is overwhelming… Being a mom, you always want to put your best foot forward and show where you're good at" "Showing your potential as a mom"		
How do you feel when people take notice or comment about your children?	HAPPY "Because I feel like I'm helping Harper with body positivity"	TOUCHED	PROUD "Sometimes fans from another country give Jace gifts pa nga…"	FLATTERED "But it's really for me, I see it as not a scheme for me to buy followers"	SENISE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT / APPRECIATION FOR WHAT I DO
Did you have any inspiration or influences for setting up your child's account?	"Andi Manzano"	"I noticed some people doing it, like making accounts for their children, their dogs, and I thought why not? It seems fun and easy to do lang naman."	"Fashion community of moms. We don't know each other personally, I just found them online"	"We're very active kasi talaga so we thought it was just the natural thing to do."	
For you personally, what is the value of	"One of the ways I can document her life"				

your child's social media account?	"Memories to look back to"				
How long do you plan to operate your child's account / share photos or videos of your child online?	"Continuous lang, maybe I'll hand it over to them when they're older."				
Would you do the same thing for your future children (if planning?)	"Yes definitely"	"Maybe not, I'll just reuse the same account and rename it to something else for both of them."			
Would you ever consider setting up an account for your child, handled by you?	"Parang no"	"No"			