The Pursuit of Beauty:

The Perception of Cosmetic Procedures on Instagram in Indonesia

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1. Introduction

Between the year 2019 – 2027, the global cosmetic surgery and procedures market is predicted to grow at a compound annual growth rate (CAGR) of 5.76% (Inkwood Research, n.d.). Overall, in 2018, the total number of cosmetic procedures (both surgical and non-surgical) increased by 5.4% in comparison to 2017. In the Asia-Pacific region, cosmetic surgery and procedure market are predicted to grow even more significantly than the global market by 6.05% between 2019 – 2027. The overall growing cosmetic surgery and procedures market is mainly caused by people's obsession in pursuing physical beauty (Inkwood Research, n.d.). The importance of physical appearance has existed for centuries. Most people generally spend considerable amounts of money, time, and effort to ensure they look beautiful, by means of clothes, cosmetics, hairstyles, exercising, and diets (Tiggemann, 2012). According to several studies (Kaw, 1993; Magee, 2012; Chan, 2011), to pursue the ideal beauty, some people also turn to cosmetic surgery to achieve the 'ideal' beauty. Dated back to the Ancient Rome period, Santoni-Rugiu and Sykes (2007) identified that some women did not hesitate to use poisonous chemicals, such as silver and arsenic, chemicals which were used in the old cosmetic procedures. The women in the Ancient Rome period did not hesitate to undergo dangerous cosmetic procedures to achieve their desired/ideal beauty (Santoni-Rugiu and Sykes, 2007).

Physical beauty ideals are transmitted through sociocultural influences, such as peers, parents, and the media (Thompson, Heinberg, Altabe, & Tantleff-Dunn, 1999). The current importance of physical appearance is possibly more persuasive through the media, especially through social media (Social Networking Sites, such as Instagram, Twitter, Facebook, etc.) (Walker, et al., 2019). Due to the rapid growth of social media usage, social media has become an integral part of many people's lives (Feltman, and Syzmanski, 2017). Social media has allowed users to construct one's online persona by posting carefully selected pictures (e.g., attractive pictures of oneself, pleasing attire, etc.) on their online profile (Feltman, and Syzmanski, 2017). The feature of Instagram, such as commenting and viewing on the pictures posted by others. These features influence people to be more conscious on what to post on their social media, because the comments might influence how the perception of one's physical appearance, and might encourage people to change their appearance (Pempek, Yermolayeva, and Calvert, 2009; Walker, et al., 2019). With this in mind, how does social media influence the concept of ideal physical beauty?

There are several reasons that highlight the importance and relevance of the use of social media and the cosmetic procedures market. First, ideal physical beauty influence is often shaped by two factors, such as internalization of physical appearance, and appearance comparison (Walker, et al., 2019). The internalization of physical appearance happens when someone has accepted societies' ideal physical beauty and takes action to achieve the ideal physical beauty (Walker, et al. 2019). Second, appearance comparison is related to how people evaluate and compare themselves to others

based on their looks (Walker, et al., 2019). Based on these two factors, some people are (un/consciously) internalizing physical appearances from social media, and constantly comparing themselves with peers (and others), which could result in body dissatisfaction (Thompson, et al., 1999). As previously stated, in order to achieve the ideal physical beauty, some people turn to cosmetic procedures. Reilly, and Parsa (2019) stated that a study has found that there were some patients who requested to 'improve' their appearances to have better selfies. In 'improving' people's appearance, different types of editing apps (e.g., photoshop, facetune, social media filters, etc.) are used to edit their face/body to the desired 'looks'. This raises great concern, because the younger generations are also using social media filled with digitally altered images. With the concept of internalization of physical appearance and appearance comparison, there is a higher the pressure for an individual to keep up with their 'looks'; internalizing the digitally altered version of oneself as the ideal physical beauty. The inability to live up to the expectation of ideal beauty could lead to different problems. A study done by Chan (2011) showed that cosmetic procedures have a risk of addiction. People would want to undergo one after another one cosmetic procedure because the solution offered by the beauty clinics is products or services which can improve the body's biological limits (Edmonds, 2012).

Another reason to research the relevance of social media and cosmetic procedures is the increasing interest in cosmetic procedures; Hopkins, et al. (2020) stated that one of the factors in the increasing interest is because of the increasing social media usage. Social media, such as Instagram, has become a perfectly suited platform for the world of plastic surgery (Dorfman, et al., 2018). Although there are plenty of literatures about the increasing interest in cosmetic procedures (e.g., Walker, Krumhuber, Dayan, and Furnham, 2019; Hopkins, Moreno, and Secrest, 2020; Dorfman, Vaca, Mahmood, Fine, and Schierle, 2018; etc.), there is not much article on cosmetic procedures in Indonesia, as well as the Indonesian cosmetic procedures market information. With this in mind, it is highly relevant to research further how cosmetic procedures are normalized in Indonesia, because of the research gaps in the literature about the Indonesian cosmetic procedures market. Most of the articles and market information used in this research are based on other Asian countries (e.g., South Korea, Japan, China, Thailand, etc.) and Western countries (e.g., America, and Europe). All in all, this research will focus on the advertising of cosmetic procedures by Indonesian beauty providers. The objective of this research is to identify how Indonesian beauty clinics (the beauty providers) discuss cosmetic procedures through their online advertising on social media. The research question that is being addressed is constructed as: "How do Indonesian beauty clinics advertise cosmetic procedures on Instagram?"

To help answering the research question, two sub-research questions are also be addressed. The first sub-research question is, "How do Indonesian beauty clinics construct the concept of beauty in promoting cosmetic procedures?" This sub-research question needs to be addressed because these

beauty clinics sell products/services to achieve consumers' ideal physical beauty. In order to do so, most of beauty clinics use a problem-solution format, where the beauty clinics identify certain types of bodies/faces as 'ideal'. This sub-research question was constructed based on literature by Ringrow (2016) about the language of cosmetic advertising, which will be further elaborated in the next chapter. The second sub-research question is, "What type of approaches are used by the Indonesian beauty clinics in their online advertising on Instagram?" This sub-research question is based on the literature of psychology of advertising by Fennis, and Stroebe (2016). The literature discussed different approaches to advertising. These advertising approaches can be found in any type of product/service advertising (including cosmetic procedures), which will be discussed further in the next chapter. The wide usage of social media (such as Instagram) has allowed beauty clinic providers to connect with potential consumers directly, feeding off of the insecurities of the (potential) consumers. Thus, the use of Instagram as a sharing platform will be examined to explore how cosmetic procedures are promoted through Instagram by Indonesian beauty clinics. Through the research question, the researcher will be able to explain how Indonesian beauty clinics promote cosmetic procedures through the construction of 'ideal' beauty as their marketing strategy, as well as the approaches to the online advertising used by the beauty clinics.

To answer the research questions, this research is divided into several chapters. Firstly, a theoretical framework chapter is provided in this research. In this chapter, the researcher provides a theoretical background based on the studies done by the different researchers on the topic of cosmetic procedures. Thereby, different theories and literature on the online advertising of cosmetic products/beauty industry are going to be discussed with the relevance of the cosmetic procedures market. This research is a qualitative research, because this research is focused on exploring the messages of the visual images posted by Indonesian beauty clinics, which cannot be done by quantitative analysis. The data collected for this research is collected from Indonesian beauty clinics' Instagram posts. A thematic analysis is used to analyze the data. Afterwards, in chapter four, an explanation of the results will be discussed in line with the literature used in the theoretical framework. Then lastly, a summary of the results and discussion are provided to provide the answer to the research question in a concise manner. In addition, the conclusion chapter will address the theoretical implications based on the research findings. In this chapter, limitations and suggestions for future research will be provided.

2. Theoretical Framework

This thesis aims to examine the representation of cosmetic procedures on Instagram in Indonesia. This theoretical framework chapter will be divided into three sections. First, an overview to the definition of cosmetic procedures will be discussed. In this section, different terms for cosmetic procedures and the types of cosmetic procedures will be briefly explained. Second, the construction of ideal beauty will be discussed. Lastly, a discussion about different advertising approaches will be explained in the light of cosmetic procedures.

2.1. A definition of cosmetic procedures

In defining cosmetic procedures, it is essential to understand that there are two types of cosmetic procedures: surgical and non-surgical procedures. These procedures include 'improving' or reshaping the structure of the body (American Society of Plastic Surgeons, n.d.). There are various terms used to describe cosmetic surgery, such as cosmetic, aesthetic, plastic, and reconstructive (Hermans, 2018). Generally, the term 'cosmetic' and 'aesthetic' are used to refer to surgical and non-surgical techniques which focus on revising appearance within the areas that are *lacking aesthetic appeal* but can still function (American Academy of Cosmetic Surgery, n.d.). The lack of aesthetic appeal in certain areas of the body differs according to people's beauty ideals. For instance, in Indonesia, one of the most popular cosmetic procedures is rhinoplasty to modify the nasal tip and the nose bridge (Harsono, 2019). The reason for popular demand in rhinoplasty is because most Indonesians have a low nasal bridge (see Figure 1).

On the other hand, the term 'plastic' and 'reconstructive' are used for surgical and non-surgical techniques with reconstruction purposes to correct a dysfunctional area of the body (American Academy of Cosmetic Surgery, n.d.). The reconstruction process can be performed on facial or body defects caused by birth disorders, trauma, burns, or disease (American Board of Cosmetic Surgery, n.d.).



Figure 1. Nasal bridge lift (low nasal bridge to higher nasal bridge).

By J. Latelle, 2018, https://www.quora.com/How-can-I-naturally-have-a-taller-nose.

According to the International Society of Aesthetic Plastic Surgery (ISAPS) (2018), cosmetic surgical procedures are divided into three main categories according to the body parts involved: (1) face and head, (2) breast, and (3) body and extremities. For example, cosmetic procedure on the face and head consist of facelifts, facial bone contouring, rhinoplasty, neck lift, etc. (see Appendix 1). On the other hand, non-surgical cosmetic procedures are also divided into three categories according to the procedures: (1) injectables, (2) facial rejuvenation, and (3) others (e.g., hair removal, non-surgical fat reduction) (ISAPS, 2018). For example, one of the most famous injectables is Botox (Botulinum Toxin), a substance used to give a smooth look to the face by temporarily paralyzing the muscle (Collins Dictionary, n.d.).

2.2. The construction of the Asian ideal beauty

Many scholars have examined the importance of physical attractiveness to an individual's life — including work life, social life, and dating life (Cash, 1981; Elliott, 2008; Chan, & Ip, 2011; Wiederman, 2012). The importance of physical attractiveness has existed for a long time, but how does this relate to ideal beauty? The concept of beauty is different according to different cultures and different time periods. The concept of beauty also changes over time (Frith, Shaw, & Cheng, 2005). To understand how 'ideal' beauty is constructed over time, two topics such as Westernized ideal beauty and ageless beauty will be discussed.

2.2.1. Westernized ideal beauty

A study done by Kramer (2003) stated that the ideal beauty image in Asian culture is heavily influenced by a Western look, which can be traced back to the colonization period. After World War II, the Japanese embraced the white Western/American physical beauty ideals into their culture by blending and adapting the Western/American physical beauty ideals to the Oriental 'looks' (Westernized Oriental) (Isa, and Kramer, 2003). The Caucasian body and facial features (e.g., larger breasts, double eyelids, big and round eyes, light skin, and light hair), were promoted as a *modern* and *desirable* beauty ideal in the Asian culture (Isa, and Kramer, 2003). Soon, Asian countries commercialized Western physical beauty ¹ as physical beauty ideal, especially in promoting Western cosmetics, hairstyles, and clothing. The Westernized physical beauty ideals are difficult to achieve for non-Westerner (because it was not something that can be inherited); the fashion and cosmetic industry illustrated that the physical beauty ideals could be bought through Western style clothing, and cosmetics (Isa, and Kramer, 2003).

However, the Westernized ideal beauty was not only shaped during the colonialization period; it was also enabled by globalization. The internet has made it easier for people to search for information around the world, as well as enabling global growth for media communications. Moreover,

¹ The notion of Western physical beauty can be bought and sold.

technology development also enabled companies to move their products around the world easier, facilitating Western countries to sell their products abroad. Nonetheless, companies need advertising to sell their products, because without advertising, people would not be aware of the products' existence (Fennis, and Stroebe, 2016). Ideally, advertising messages will be remembered by the targeted audience when the ads reflect the social norms and cultural values of a society (Frith, et al., 2005). However, in the older days, the furthest localization step from the global headquarters (mostly based in US/Europe) was changing the language into local language. The fashion and beauty industry ads contents were standardized based on the US and Europe office headquarters, which resulted in a globalized beauty ideal (Frith, et al., 2005).

Bissell, and Chung (2009), studied how the lack of representation of Asians in America's media can influence one's perception towards what is considered to be attractive. This study was done to American and South Korean students in the US. The objective of the study was to examine crosscultural differences in the evaluations of beauty. The research showed that the exposure to US media (e.g., TV, magazine, and internet use) does affect attractiveness evaluation of an individual with the country of origin from South Korea. This resulted in a cultivation effect, where a similar type of 'look' is constantly shown on the media which helped create a type of pattern or themes of ideal beauty. The homogenous representation of ideal beauty formed perceptions and beliefs of what is 'ideal' and what is 'unideal'. The Westernized physical beauty ideals are also seen as a 'symbolic capital' - various resources of to an individual based on honor, prestige or recognition, and serves as value that one holds within a culture (Lebaron, 2014) – a more prestigious 'look' compared to Asian natural features (Kaw, 1993). While on the other hand, the racial stereotypes of Asian phenotype (i.e., mono eyelids, smaller eyes, narrow eyes, and flat nose) is associated with negative impression, such as being seen as docile, passive, and unemotional (Kaw, 1993). Thus, according to a study done by Kaw (1993), in order to avoid being associated with negative marks, many Asians decided to undergo cosmetic procedures to 'improve' their social status.

However, the Indonesian ideal beauty is quite different from South Korean and Japanese. The Indonesian beauty ideal is mainly derived from East Asian countries. Ever since the early 2000s, the Chinese and South Korean entertainment industry have been competing to conquer the Indonesian market (Rakhmat, and Tarahita, 2020). Over time, South Koreans were able to capture the Indonesian market with their TV-shows and music. The growing popularity of South Korean entertainment pushed the Indonesian television to broadcast South Korean contents to increase their ratings. Consequently, South Korean fashion and beauty styles became a big trend in many Indonesians' lives (Jeong, Lee, and Lee, 2017). Besides television, social media is also used by Indonesians to follow South Korean contents from their idols (Jeong, Lee, and Lee, 2017).

2.2.2. Ageless beauty

In discussing the construction of ideal beauty, it is often found that ageing is something that needs to be fought, as it is seen as unideal. The media presented common signs of ageing as a problem that needed to be solved through different beauty products (Lim, and Ting, 2011). Ageing is inevitable, however, in the advertising of beauty products or cosmetic procedures, it is emphasized that signs of ageing can be prevented. The ageing topic discussed in several literatures (e.g., Shilling, 2003; Clarke, and Griffin, 2008; Chan, 2011) did not only discuss physical deterioration of the body and how to fight anti-ageing, but also discussed about the relationship between ageing and psychological health. Chan (2011) stated that ageing has a psychological effect such as dissatisfaction towards the body; the respondents were not satisfied with their body and would like to change their bodies through cosmetic procedures if possible. The ageing topic is very concerning to people who are concerned with self-identity. For people who are concerned with self-identity, the body is seen as a project which needs to be maintained and worked at (Shilling, 2003). Shilling (2003) mentioned that the attempt to invest on the body (maintaining it through diets, plastic surgery, or body building) is a means of self-expression and having control over the body; an attempt to defy the limitation of the body. Other literatures, such as Clarke, and Griffin (2008) and Chan (2011) identified other cause of concern in the loss of youthful appearance (ageing), which is age discrimination.

Age discrimination has more negative impact to women than men (Clarke, and Griffin, 2008). First, ageing is related to one's ability to work, where younger employees are seen as more capable than the older employees. The study done by Chan (2011), found that Hong Kong women would undergo cosmetic surgery to reduce signs of ageing, because younger employees have higher likelihood of being employed than older employees. Additionally, workers who are older than 45 years old are less likely to get job offers, and sometimes lower wages than younger workers (Chan, 2011). Second, women's choice to prevent ageing also come from the influence of significant other (Clarke, and Griffin, 2008). Generally, people have higher expectation for women to maintain their bodies according to the ideal physical beauty than men. These two examples give an indication where women became a subject to 'double standard' of both gender and ageing (Clarke, and Griffin, 2008). For example, men are seen as attractive as they get older, such as 'silver fox' which refers to an attractive older man with grey hair (Urban Dictionary, 2020). While on the other hand, women are associated with 'old' as they age (Clarke, and Griffin, 2008). Thus, in the discourse of ageing, the evaluation of women's competence and appearance is seen in a more negative way compared to men, women are not portrayed as sexually attractive as they get older (Kornadt, Voss, and Rothermund, 2013; Ringrow, 2016).

2.3. Online advertising on Social Media

In relation to the main research question, two literatures about advertising will be discussed this subsection. The first literature is about general advertising approaches used by different companies to advertise their products. The second literature is about problem-solution pattern in the advertising of cosmetic products. This topic is highly relevant, as this problem-solution pattern is not only used in Western countries, but also in advertising of cosmetic products in many Asian countries. Both of the literatures are highly relevant in the advertising of cosmetic procedures products/services, which will be further discussed as follows:

2.3.1. Advertising approaches

Without advertising, people would not be aware of the existing products/services (Fennis, and Stroebe, 2016). Advertising exists for businesses to communicate with their consumers, while at the same time informing and persuading consumers to buy their products. To understand the different approaches to advertising, literature from Fennis and Stroebe (2016) on psychology of advertising will be further elaborated. In the literature, different ads were analyzed to identify the different approaches, which are information-based approach, and emotional or affect-based approach. An informational based-approach is a more straightforward approach to selling the products, where the companies informed the (targeted) consumers directly the products, the price, and the place to buy the products. This approach is also widely known as hard-sell approach. On the other hand, an emotional-based approach — which is known as soft-sell approach — is a more subtle approach by influencing the consumers' feelings and emotions. Over time, the use of emotional-based approach or soft-sell approach is becoming increasingly popular, especially in Asian countries.

Mueller (1987; 1992) conducted a content analysis of Japanese and US print ads, and found that soft-sell approach is most likely to be employed in Japanese ads rather than US ads. However, a further study in 1992 by Muller, the author found that in Japanese ads, a soft-sell approach was mostly implemented in a low-involvement product – products which the consumers do not need to think much before purchasing the products due to the low price. While on the other hand, a hard-sell approach was frequently found in selling high-involvement products – products which are more important to the consumers due to the high price. Another study done by Lin (2001), other Eastern countries such as China, tends to use a soft-sell approach through images, without constantly feeding consumers with facts and proofs, unlike US ads. The US ads studied by Muller (1987, 1992), and Lin (2001) showed that the Western consumers were more attracted to facts and proofs provided in a hard-sell approach. However, this does not mean that both approaches do not go hand-in-hand in advertising. Beard (2005) stated that the increasing use of soft-sell approach is because advertisers became more focused on consumers; advertisers acknowledged that the human nature is governed by instincts, emotions, as well as non-rational process.

2.3.2. The use of influencers

Riva, Wiederhold, and Cipresso (2016) discussed the concept of 'opportunity' offered through social media for the users. The concept of 'opportunity' in the literature differs for each person according to their specific needs; it could be for personal benefits, or business. The personal benefits explained in the literature means that people can use social media for developing digital identity through personal branding, and reputation management. An individual can build their desired self-image through social media by carefully presenting themselves on social media. Social media (such as Instagram) allows an individual to create a virtual body through partial images of the body, while providing context which suits their images the best (Riva, et al., 2016).

Riva, et al. (2016) also elaborated other opportunity of social media, which is providing 'needs to estimate.' This specific need is related to one's self-worth. If an individual has a certain number of 'friends' (or followers), then he/she is worthwhile. With a high number of followers, one can become an 'influencer'² between a vast number of social media users. Social media exploits the power of social validation³ by including a reference group (such as influencers, celebrities, etc.) who acts as agents of social proof by sharing their standards, norms, believes and values (Fennis, and Stroebe, 2016). Through a 'user-generated' content by influencers – which consists of different types information, such as reviews, comments, news report, and so on (Walsh-Childers, 2016) – consumers will be able to get necessary information before purchasing the products/services. With the rise of the influencers, the way in which consumers and advertisers interact are changing, allowing businesses to tap into influencer marketing (Childers, Lemon, & Hoy, 2019; Biron, 2019). Social media is able to provide another opportunity for businesses to advertise through influencers, connecting the right influencers with the right companies. Additionally, social media has also enabled consumers to form communities for companies to connect with; creating crowd culture in the beauty industry which allows companies to produce contents with different influencers (Holt, 2016).

2.3.3. Problem-solution

A literature by Helen Ringrow (2016) shed a light on how cosmetic products often use the problem-solution pattern. This literature use 'Problem-Solution' framework explored by Michael Hoey (1983, 2001). The theory identified that this pattern may involve several layers of 'Solution' instead of the 'Problem'. However, it is also possible that the 'problems' are explicitly stated. For example, one of the studies about the construction of beauty in Malaysia (Lim and Ting, 2011), showed that the media took advantage of women's anxieties and fears of having skin 'problems', such as wrinkles, age spots, dry skin, and so on. In the example within the literature, the ads clearly stated skin conditions

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² Influencer refers to people who are able to influence a group of followers' decision-making process within the influencers' area of expertise (Backaler, 2018; Childers et al., 2019).

³ Social validation principle includes seeking opinions of others to assess objects/issue/offer (Fennis, and Stroebe, 2016).

mentioned before as problems by using the words: "SOLUSI can overcome any of your skin problem". In the study, the ads about beauty products also use the concept of providing great results by showing a before and after picture to show the difference between using the products/services and not using the products/services. These 'before and after' pictures were used as the main selling point, because the beauty products/services were able to 'change' the appearance of the model, to fit into the beauty ideals. The differences between the pictures enabled the viewers to believe that the products/services do work 'like a magic' (Lim, and Ting, 2011). These before and after ads also imply that the skin will look 'better' after using certain types of products, a more implicit pattern of problem and solution; offering the beauty products as a solution (shown in 'after' pictures) to the problems (shown in 'before' pictures).

In identifying how the problems are constructed, Ringrow (2016) identified three types of problems. These three problem types can easily be found in advertising of cosmetic procedures. First, the problems can be identified through an assumption of the (targeted) consumers being unhappy (or wishing to 'solve', improve, or change) about several features of their appearances. For instance, dry skin, fine lines and wrinkles, and so on. Second, the notion of a new and improved products. For instance, an advertising about a new pump applicator for foundation products can dispense the right amount of foundation without waste. The third type of problems often identified in cosmetic advertising is related to one's lifestyle or environment. These two factors (lifestyle and environment) are seen as the main contributor to the changing body/hair/skin/face or other features. For instance, poor diet, busy schedule, stressful life, too much sun exposure, and so on. The problems identified in this type are problems which may not be apparent to the consumers before the problems are pointed out in the ads. After identifying the problems, the ads then proceed to give solution to the (targeted) consumers by offering the products.

3. A detailed research design plus argumentation

This chapter presents a description of the methods adopted for this research. Moreover, this chapter will provide information regarding various stages of the research, such as selection criterion of the sample, and the process of data analysis.

3.1. Research methodology

This research is a qualitative research. A qualitative research method was chosen because this research is interested in addressing 'how' research question than 'how many' (Silverman, 2013; Pratt, 2009). This research elaborates on existing literature on cosmetic procedures and the marketing techniques used by Indonesian beauty clinics. Qualitative research has an interpretive nature, which emphasizes on understanding how reality is constructed and what the reality encompasses (Cooper, & White, 2012). By doing qualitative research, the researcher will be able to understand the underlying context behind the marketing techniques of cosmetic procedures in Indonesia.

The nature of this research is exploratory, by finding out how different concepts are related based on definitions and interpretations. This research explores the marketing of cosmetic procedures in Indonesia by identifying the approaches used by Indonesian beauty clinics in the advertising of cosmetic procedures on Instagram. Exploratory research was chosen because of the little amount of information on cosmetic procedures in Indonesia. By doing exploratory research, the researcher will be able to flexibly explore different sources of information (Neuman, 2014). This research makes use of inductive approach to fill in the gaps about the representation of cosmetic procedures in Indonesia. An inductive approach will allow the researcher to be actively involved in the research and interpreting the data. The inductive process also allows the researcher to establish new concepts simultaneously gathering data (Neuman, 2014), by conducting a thematic analysis which was used in this research, and will be discussed in section *processing and analysis* (3.3). This research also uses a deductive approach. A deductive approach is also used in this research to help develop categories of the analysis. Thus, previous literatures are used to create categories definition and explain the results.

3.2. Data collection and justification

This research is focused on Instagram posts from Indonesian beauty clinics. Instagram was chosen as the main platform to collect the data due to its popularity as a social media platform, especially in online advertising. Moreover, Instagram also provides a rich data, because every picture posted involves the user's conscious decisions about the content of the posts as well as using texts and hashtags to add context to the visual (Laestadius, 2016). For this study, 160 Instagram posts from Indonesian beauty clinics were gathered. The data collected for this research consist of pictures, and captions. In order to gather 160 Instagram posts, four different Indonesian beauty clinics accounts were chosen. On each Instagram account, the researcher collected 40 of the most recent Instagram posts per account by screenshotting both pictures and captions and compiled them in an excel sheet.

Videos and comments from the Instagram posts were excluded from this research. This research does not intend to analyze the social interaction between the beauty clinics with the patients (or other potential consumers). With that being said, analyzing videos and comments will require a different approach than analyzing only pictures and captions, because most of the videos and comments contain social interaction between different parties. Thus, it would be advisable to consider and take into account the social interactions between the parties. Hence, the videos and comments were excluded from this research.

The four Indonesian beauty clinics that were chosen are Ultimo Clinic, The Clinic Beautylosophy, Beauty+ Clinic, and Dermaster Indonesia (see Table 1). These beauty clinics were chosen based on their popularity in a Google search by looking at the ratings. Additionally, the popularity between different public figures (e.g., beauty influencers, actors/actresses, Miss Indonesia contestants, etc.) was also taken into consideration. Next, types of services provided by the clinics (surgical and non-surgical treatments) was considered during the selection of the beauty clinics. The main reason to include both surgical and non-surgical treatments is because this research does not intend to exclude any of the treatments. In addition, the popularity and growing demand for non-surgical treatments (e.g., chemical peeling, Botox injections, etc.) was also taken into consideration in choosing the beauty clinics. Besides that, the number of followers on Instagram was also taken into consideration in order to give a better representation of the cosmetic procedure market in Indonesia by including popular and less popular beauty clinics. However, the differences between the marketing of surgical and non-surgical treatments will not be analyzed, because the research intends to analyze cosmetic procedures in general. Thus, all of the criteria were included to give a full representation of the cosmetic procedures market.

Among ten Indonesian beauty clinics found on Google search, the highest and lowest number of followers from the ten beauty clinics were chosen. The number of Instagram followers was taken into consideration to see whether there are any differences in advertising approach between the smaller and bigger beauty clinics. Afterwards, the researcher checked for the type of the products/services given by the beauty clinics. First, two of the beauty clinics only provide non-surgical cosmetic procedures, namely Beauty+ Clinic and Dermaster Indonesia. The other two beauty clinics provide both surgical and non-surgical procedures, namely Ultimo Clinic, and The Clinic Beautylosophy. Two of the beauty clinics, namely Beautylosophy Clinic and Dermaster Indonesia, were selected because of their high numbers of followers. Another two beauty clinics, namely Ultimo Clinic and Beauty+ Clinic, were selected because of the small number of followers, compared to the other beauty clinics. Below is the detailed information about the beauty clinics (see Table 1).

Clinic Names	No. of Posts	Followers	Followings	Account	Products/
Chine Names	140. 01 1 0515	ronowers	ronowings	Created	Services

Ultimoclinic (@ultimoclinic)	2.210	20,6K	6.610	7 Jan 2014	Surgical and non- surgical
The Clinic Beautylosophy (@theclinicid)	3.925	116K	401	11 Oct 2013	Surgical and non- surgical
Beauty+ Clinic (@beautyplusclinic)	451	20,4K	806	10 Jul 2017	Non- surgical
Dermaster Indonesia (@dermaster_id)	3.576	501K	505	6 Dec 2013	Non- surgical

Table 1. Information Sample Study

3.3. Processing and analysis

To process and analyze the data, the researcher used thematic analysis. This method is used to identify, analyze and interpret patterns and connotations within the data (Braun, & Clarke, 2016). Thematic analysis was chosen because of its profoundly flexible approach, in the sense that the researcher was able to experiment different approaches according to the needs, while providing a rich and detailed analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; King, 2004). Hence, thematic analysis enabled the researcher to adjust the analysis according to the data (Braun & Clarke, 2016), while at the same time the researcher used previously available literature as a reference during the coding process. The flexibility provided by this method will allow the researcher to identify and interpret the data, which can evolve accordingly during the coding process (Braun, & Clarke, 2016). To analyze the data, the six steps to thematic analysis were followed (Braun & Clarke, 2008).

Firstly, I familiarized myself with the data. According to Braun and Clarke (2008), while analyzing the data, it is essential to get familiar with the data by repeatedly viewing the data while exploring the meanings and patterns. To find meanings and patterns, the researcher did a repeated reading through the data set in an active manner. Through repeated viewing of the data, the researcher was able to gain a deeper understanding of the content (Braun, & Clarke, 2008). To begin with, the researcher used software called ATLAS.ti to help with data analysis. ATLAS.ti was mainly used to assist with processing the data. Moreover, the software also functioned as a codebook to store both codes and group codes. Firstly, the researcher screenshotted 160 posts from four different Instagram account, which contained photos and captions. Before the analysis began, the researcher read through the whole posts and took notes for potential codes. Once all of the documents were uploaded to ATLAS.ti, the researcher started to do the coding.

Second, after familiarizing with the data, several interesting initial potential codes ideas from the data – related to the representation of cosmetic procedures in Indonesia – were listed. In this step, the codes data were derived directly from the data in the sense that the codes represented the data as it is, unlike the results on the next step – which depends more on the aim of the research question and what is wished to be coded (Braun, & Clarke, 2008). It is important that during this step, all of the data extracted are coded for as many possible themes as possible, keeping in mind that the potential codes need to be related to the research question. In addition, the data extracted can be coded more than once if relevant to the other themes.

Third, after collecting the data and coding them, the researcher re-focused on the previously analyzed codes. This was done by merging similar codes with the same overarching theme. In this step, it is important to analyze and write down the relationship between the codes, themes, and the level of themes (Braun, & Clarke, 2008). If during this step, there are a set of codes that do not belong in any of the themes, the theme will be categorized as 'miscellaneous' and will be further reviewed on the next step.

Fourth, the researcher needed to refine the themes. Two levels of reviews were done by checking the relation to the extracted codes and the data set. The first level is to review the coded data and to check coherence with a theme. If the initial themes are not related to the existing codes (do not share similar characteristics), then the researcher will have to reconsider the themes to see the fitness of the codes to the themes. For example, during the initial coding, the codes 'ageing' and 'problems with intimate part' were found. However, after re-examining the data, the two codes were overlapping; in most of the posts related to 'ageing', the beauty clinics also explained that 'ageing' causes 'problems with intimate part' (e.g., loose vaginal muscle, sagging breasts, etc.). Accordingly, both of the codes were merged into 'ageing' because of the overlap under the category of 'cause of imperfection'. If the initial themes fit with the existing codes, then the researcher will continue to the next step, which is checking the validity of the themes. To gives validity of the themes, previous literature about cosmetic procedures will be used to define the themes. The goal for this step is to get a better idea of the themes, how the themes are related to another, and what story the themes tell about the data gathered.

Fifth is to write a detailed explanation of each theme (see Appendix B, Table 1 and 2). During this step, the themes are defined further by identifying the aspect captured by each theme (Braun, & Clarke, 2008). It is important to name the themes in a clear and concise manner so that the reader will understand the meaning of the themes directly. To illustrate, in several posts, the researcher found that the beauty clinics discussed unideal body as imperfect, which lead to two different types of problems. For example, one of the categories of 'health problems' is constructed by posts which explain having 'unideal' body (e.g., too fat, and breasts that are too large) can increase one's health risks. Another

problem caused by 'unideal' body is a social risk problem, which is related to the concern of being rejected by the society – which can cause low self-esteem and body dissatisfaction.

Altogether, four cycles of coding were conducted. In total, 79 codes emerged after the first cycle of coding. After analyzing the last Instagram account, no new codes emerged, which has indicated that the research has reached saturation. During the first cycle of the coding, the researcher had a wide range of codes, which also include the use of color in the beauty clinics' posts. One of the examples of the code is 'brand color'. During the analysis of the data, each beauty clinics used different colors in their posts, which represent the color of the brand. However, after reconsidering the relevance to the research question, the researcher decided that the codes were too broad and not completely focused on the research question. Hence, the researcher moved to the second cycle of coding, which includes removing some of the codes unrelated to the research question.

However, while writing a detailed explanation of each theme, the researcher still found several codes overlapped with one another. These overlaps happened mainly due to different level of analysis. Thus, the last cycle of coding were done to remove any overlaps between the codes. After the first four cycles of coding, in total, 43 sub-categories, eleven categories, and four main themes emerged from the empirical data (see Appendix B, Table 1 and 2). The four overarching themes emerged from the analysis are:

- 1. Representation of beauty. The posts that are included in this theme are the posts where the beauty clinics identify which type of body/face is 'ideal' and 'unideal'. Some of the Instagram posts related to 'ideal' beauty consist of pictures explicitly mention and show 'body goals'. There are some posts that do not explicitly state 'body goals', instead, the beauty clinics used models (with partial body/head parts, or face fully shown) with the desired body/facial features to illustrate what is 'ideal'. The implicit posts mostly indicate 'ideal' beauty through cropping technique by matching the focus of the cosmetic procedures with a perfectly shaped body/face. In identifying 'ideal' physical beauty, the beauty clinics use different models with different ethnicities. It is important to note that the models' ethnicity in this theme can be identified only if the face is fully shown. Thus, the models in this research are divided into two racial types, Asian and non-Asian models. The researcher chose to divide it into two based on the previous studies (Isa, and Kramer, 2003) about Westernized beauty. The models in this research were taken into consideration because both models are used as representation of the perfect/ideal body/face. Lastly, one category, namely inner beauty, was found. This category consists of beauty quotes about the importance of inner beauty as the true beauty.
- 2. *Problems and solution*. This theme is related to the first theme. In the first theme, the beauty clinics identify which type of bodies/faces are 'ideal'. Here, the 'unideal' bodies/faces are explained. The posts that are included in this theme are the posts where the beauty clinics identify 'unideal' body/face which were initially identified in the first theme as *problems*.

Two situations were taken into consideration while creating the categories. The first is when the beauty clinics explained body/facial features as a source to psychological (dissatisfaction/unhappy) and physical (health) problems. Second, the beauty clinics explained common body/facial features as undesirable and unattractive. Next, after looking at the two situations, the posts were categorized based on what causes imperfection/unideal body/face, such as unhealthy lifestyle, ageing, and having common features (see Appendix B). Besides that, a category of *solution* was derived from the posts where the beauty clinics offer cosmetic procedures as a solution to the problem indicated in the beginning.

- 3. Marketing techniques used to promote cosmetic procedures. The posts that are included in this theme are the posts which are related to the techniques used in marketing to promote cosmetic procedures. The marketing techniques used by the beauty clinics are divided into three; testimonial marketing, information-based posts, and promotion focus posts. Testimonial marketing was constructed based on the posts which include the results of the cosmetic procedures. Information-based posts include information about the beauty clinics, and the cosmetic procedures. For example, location of the beauty clinics, information over cosmetic procedures, as well as hashtags for easy search on Instagram. Promotion focus posts are posts that are focused on giving promotions to (potential) consumers, such as discounts, free voucher, gifts, and so on.
- 4. *Miscellaneous*. The posts that are included in this theme are the categories that are not related to the research question, which will not be discussed in the fourth chapter. The categories that fall under this theme are various categories, which are recruitment information, and current event of COVID-19.

Finally, the researcher analyzed the data and wrote the report in the next chapter. During the reporting process, it is essential for the analysis to be concise, coherent, logical, and non-repetitive (Braun, & Clarke, 2008). In addition, several coded data from the themes will be presented to support the argument related to the research question.

4. Results

In this chapter, the findings of this study will be discussed in light of existing literature and their relevance to the research question 'How are cosmetic procedures represented by Indonesian beauty clinics on Instagram?'. The findings will be divided into three sections. The sections are as follows: the discourse of beauty by Indonesian beauty clinics (4.1), problems and solutions (4.2), marketing techniques used to promote cosmetic procedures (4.3). Within each section, both categories and subcategories will be discussed according to the relevance of the research questions. Section 4.1 explains how Indonesian beauty clinics construct the idea of a beautiful and ideal body; the category of 'ideal beauty' will be further discussed in this section. Next, section 4.2 explores how the Indonesian beauty clinics identify imperfection through their Instagram posts; the category of 'imperfection as problems and cosmetic procedures as solution', will be discussed. In this section, beauty clinics often offer cosmetic procedures as a solution to problems such as imperfect bodies and body dissatisfaction. Following this, section 4.3 examines the techniques often used for marketing by Indonesian beauty clinics to advertise cosmetic procedures. In this section, several categories such as 'promotions', 'testimonials', and 'information' will be discussed. Each category and sub-category will be discussed in the next sections.

4.1. The discourse of beauty by Indonesian beauty clinics

When promoting cosmetic procedures, the Indonesian beauty clinics construct the idea of what an 'ideal' body/face looks like by using terms and pictures which depict ideal beauty. The constructed ideal physical beauty promoted by the Indonesian beauty clinics is described as desirable physical beauty for every woman. In constructing the 'ideal' physical beauty, Indonesian beauty clinics use different pictures of the body to show the viewers how 'ideal' body looks like. During the analysis of the data, it was evident that the posts consist of pictures of either a full body (e.g., head, limbs, as well as trunk) or cropped parts of the body. In total, out of 160 posts, 8 posts (5%) contained pictures of a full body, and 90 posts (65,81%) posts contained pictures of cropped parts of the body. This implies that beauty clinics mostly separate the body from an individual, using the body parts as a representation of the individual, a work in progress to invest on the body (Alysse, Lamarche, Gammage, & Sullivan, 2016; Bartky, 1990; Shilling, 2003). The results will be further divided into several sub-sections (based on two categories found), namely *representation of ideal beauty* (4.1.1), and *inner beauty* (4.1.2). In the first sub-section, posts which show how 'ideal' beauty is defined, will be discussed. The second sub-section was created from the posts about beauty quotes about inner beauty.

4.1.1. Representation of ideal beauty

Firstly, in order to promote the beauty clinics' products – which function as a tool to 'improve' the body/face according to the consumers' ideal physical beauty – the beauty clinics use different

images (e.g., partial images of the body/face, or full images of the body/face) as benchmarks to what 'beautiful/ideal' means and what it looks like. In 11 posts (6,88%), the researcher found that the beauty clinics used the term 'goals' to signal the consumers 'ideal' beauty. For instance, in Figure 2, the beauty clinics posted a picture of a slim body with a flat belly, with a little note 'BODY GOALS' on the bottom right. This picture was also supported by the caption, which states 'Ultimo Lovers, having a slim body with low fat, feels like every woman's dream.' This shows that the beauty clinics are generalizing every woman (who are exposed to the posts) want to have the same body as depicted in the picture. In the construction of 'ideal' beauty, the beauty clinics used cropping techniques for the pictures posted on their Instagram (see Figure 3).

This cropping technique was done by removing parts of the images of the models, so that the beauty clinics can focus on the topic discussed in the captions. The cropping technique used by the beauty clinics showed that the body can be seen as an object which people can 'work' on or 'improve' (Shilling, 2003). According to the objectification theory, objectification of the body might lead to self-objectification as the viewers can possibly internalize the images of the body parts to their own body; creating a habit of constantly comparing the outer appearance of the viewers (Alysse et al., 2016). This is also supported by a study done by Walker, et al. (2019), in the literature, one of the predictors of cosmetic procedures is messages about beauty ideals shown on the media. The higher the exposure to the constructed beauty ideals from cosmetic procedures advertising, the more it affects how women perceive themselves, creating a higher possibility to undergo cosmetic procedures (Walker, et al. 2019).



Figure 2. Body goals on Instagram by Ultimo Clinic (@ultimoclinic) (2020).



Figure 3. Partial head parts on Instagram by Ultimo Clinic (@ultimoclinic) (2020).

In constructing the 'ideal' body/face, the beauty clinics use models to describe both 'ideal' body/face. First of all, the models were divided into two sub-categories based on their ethnicity, namely Asian and non-Asian models. The main reason to divide the models into different ethnicity is based on a literature by Kramer (2003); to see whether Indonesia shares similar influence of Caucasians facial feature in the depiction of the 'ideal' beauty in other Asian countries. In order. According to Kramer (2003), the ideal Asian beauty is based on a Caucasian body and facial type such as round eyes, light hair, as well as light skin. Kawamura (2012) stated that the concept of Caucasians as universal beauty ideals was mainly influenced by the association of the symbol of wealth, power, and beauty to Caucasians. For this reason, many Asians tried to look more like Caucasians, despite their ethnicity. Despite using more Asian models than non-Asian models, 6,25% of the posts (n=10) showed that the facial features of Caucasians still influenced some of the Asian models in the sense that the Asian models chosen in the pictures have similar features to Caucasian features, such as larger eyes, double eyelids, and a narrower nose (see Figure 4).



Figure 4. Caucasian facial features influenced Asian models vs typical Asian models by Beauty+Clinic (@beautyplusclinic) (2020).

No	Sub-categories	Number of Posts	Percentage (from total posts)
1	Asian Models	17	10,63%
2	Non-Asian Models	13	8,13%
Total posts of Models		29	18,13%
Total of posts		160	

Table 2. The number of posts and percentage of Models category.

Out of 160 posts, 29 posts (18,13%) include pictures of models which can be identified into different ethnicities, such as Asian, Caucasian, and Middle Eastern. 13 posts (8,13%) contained a picture of non-Asian models, 12 posts include Caucasian models, and one include Middle Eastern model. The non-Asian models were coded according to their facial features, skin color, and hair color. For instance, looking at Figure 5, it was evident that the model used in this picture is a non-Asian model, which was indicated by double eyelids, big eyes, a slimmer nose, high nasal bridge, and fair skin. Out of 180 posts, 17 posts (9,4%) contained Asian-looking models. It is also important to note that the models can only be categorized as Asian or non-Asian based on their facial features. The Asian models can be classified into two ethnicities based on their facial features, namely East-Asian, and Indonesian (see Figure 6 & Figure 7). Twelve of the Asian models have similar facial features to the East-Asians (see Figure 6) such as a fair(er) skin tone, a V-shaped face, slightly slender eyes, and a higher nasal bridge. However, only five of the Asian models have facial features similar to Indonesians (see Figure 7), such as dark skin tone, slightly big eyes, squared jaw, and low and flat nasal bridge.

The lack of representation of Indonesian looking model shows that the Indonesian beauty clinics still refer to East Asian models as the 'ideal' beauty. The classification of East Asian models as 'ideal' beauty was done explicitly referring to the pictures as 'goals.' Another way to refer to 'ideal' beauty is through a more implicit way by using models with features which is promoted in the post (see Figure 6). For instance, looking at Figure 6, it is visible that the model has a 'glass skin' on her face. This is one of the biggest beauty trends in South Korea. According to L'Oréal Paris (n.d.), the glass skin trend originally started in South Korea. This trend originated from the idea of having a crystal-clear skin, looking like a piece of glass. The skin is meant to look poreless, dewy, and having skin as soft as a baby (see Figure 6).



Figure 5. Non-Asian Looking model on Instagram by Beauty+ Clinic (@beautyplusclinic) (2020).



Figure 6. Fair-skinned Asian model on Instagram by Beauty+ Clinic (@beautyplusclinic) (2020).



Figure 7. Dark skinned Asian model on Instagram by Beauty+ Clinic (@beautyplusclinic) (2020).

4.1.2. Inner beauty

In the discourse of beauty, the Indonesian beauty clinics discussed several body/facial features as 'ideal', such as slim and toned body, big breasts, round and lifted buttocks, as well as smooth skin. However, in this category, the posts were quite contradictory with the purpose of cosmetic procedures, which is to focus on the outer beauty of an individual. In this category, three out of 160

posts (1,87%) contain posts where the Indonesian beauty clinics encouraged the consumers to love themselves and remind the consumers that beauty comes from the inside (see Figure 8). This implies that one's self-identity is not determined by how the outer body looks like, the inside (characteristics, and personalities) is what matters. Here, the beauty clinics uses a more emotional approach to connect with the consumers. The beauty clinics are trying to make an emotional connection with the consumers by provoking the emotions of being true to oneself. However, there were not much encouragement posts about the importance of inner beauty, which makes the posts (such as this) seem less sincere.



Figure 8. Beauty quotes by Ultimo Clinic (@ultimoclinic) (2020).

4.2. Problems and solutions

The Indonesian beauty clinics describe 'unideal' or imperfect body as a cause of two problems, namely mental problem (body dissatisfaction and low self-esteem) and physical problem (unattractive and possible health problem). The data reveals that in 47 posts (29,38%), Indonesian beauty clinics communicate imperfection as problems (mentally and physically) which can be solved through cosmetic procedures (Haiken, 1999). This 'problem' and 'solution' format is not something new in the beauty industry. The beauty industry discourse tends to point out that the women's body is inadequate in some way, and that women should be proactive to seek for solution to solve any aesthetic concerns (Coupland, 2003; Wykes and Gunter, 2005; Ringrow, 2016). The beauty clinics used the consumer's fear in their advertising, which is known as *fear-arousing communication*.

Fennis, and Stroebe (2016) identified that there are two parts of fear-arousing communications: warning of individual health threats, and actions recommended to protect the individuals from the threats. In this research, the beauty clinics used consumers' physical and mental fears (body dissatisfaction, low self-esteem, risk of getting sick, etc.) to promote their products, while also providing 'solution' (cosmetic procedures) to their fears. The beauty clinics use fear to push

consumers to prevent or reduce their *risks* ('problems') by using the products (Fennis, and Stroebe, 2016). The assumption behind this type of communication is because the more beauty clinics scare consumers about the consequences (resulting from 'unideal' body), the more consumers would be willing to accept the recommended action. For instance, beauty clinics often describe imperfection as problems, both physically (e.g., potential heart disease, stroke, inability to achieve sexual satisfaction, etc.) and mentally (e.g., feeling of unattractiveness, low self-esteem, etc.).

A further discussion will be elaborated in the next sub-section (4.2.1), *explanation of imperfections as problems*. In the first sub-section, several categories such as health problems and self-esteem will be discussed. The posts in these categories are the posts where the beauty clinics explained problems caused by imperfections. Next, the second sub-section, namely *imperfection as problems and cosmetic procedures as a solution* (4.2.2) will discuss several categories according to different causes of imperfections. The categories include posts in which Indonesian beauty clinics identify what causes imperfect bodies, which will be discussed along with the solutions (by undergoing cosmetic procedures). To discuss the imperfections, this section will divide the discussion according to different imperfection discussed by the beauty clinics. As the beauty clinics describe these problems, the beauty clinics come in and act as solution providers, which is done by offering cosmetic procedures as solutions to the problems described previously.

4.2.1. Explanations of imperfections as problems

This category consists of sub-categories where the beauty clinics explain imperfections (or 'unideal' body/face) can lead to problems, such as health problems, and low self-esteem. According to DePelsmacker, Geuens and van den Bergh (2001), several types of risks encountered in fear-arousing communication are physical, social, product performance, financial, and opportunity. In this research, only two types of risks will be discussed, which are physical and social. The physical risk is a risk of bodily harm, which in this case is risk of *health* (section 4.2.1.1) such as stroke, heart attack, diabetes, etc. Next, social risk is a risk where the consumers are concern about being socially rejected. In this research, the posts also indicate that one's fear of being socially rejected (from not fitting into the beauty standard) can cause low self-esteem. This will be discussed further in section 4.2.1.2, *beauty and self-esteem*.

4.2.1.1. Health

One of the most frequent problems discussed by the beauty clinic is a health problem (5,63%; n=9). In this sub-category, the beauty clinics explain that having an 'unideal' body (i.e., having big breasts, too much fat, having dirty teeth, etc.) can lead to different health problems. For instance, Ultimo Clinic stated that having too much belly fat might lead to health complication (see Table 3) such as stroke, heart attack, and diabetes. One of the beauty clinics also discussed problems caused by having big breasts, which can cause pain, irritation and inflammation, etc. Generally, beauty clinics

often offer cosmetic procedures as a solution to the problems. In several of the posts, the beauty clinics often ask the viewers to book an appointment for a consultation. The beauty clinic also put emphasize on considering cosmetic procedure by saying "If someone experiences a condition like that, then they need to consider doing breast reduction surgery, right???" (see Table 4).

Original text (Bahasa Indonesia)	English Translation
Tak hanya itu, berperut buncit berisiko bagi	Not only that, fat belly is a risk to health.
kesehatan. Karena berbagai macam penyakit	Because fat belly can lead to various health
sangat mudah datang nantinya, seperti	problems, such as stroke, heart attack, and so
stroke, jantung, diabetes dan lain sebagainya.	on.

Table 3. The caption of health problems by Ultimo Clinic (@ultimoclinic) (2020).

Original text (Bahasa Indonesia)	English Translation
Sebagian wanita ada yang memiliki payudara dengan ukuran yang terlalu besar. Hal itu kadang dapat mengganggu aktivitas fisik mereka. Bisa juga timbul rasa nyeri di tempat tekanan tali kutang, leher belakang, dan tulang punggung, muncul iritasi dan peradangan kulit lipat dibawah payudara, serta adanya beban psikologis karena orang lain sering memusatkan pandangan hanya pada payudaranya. Hal ini tentunya tidak menyenangkan.	Some women have breasts that are too large. It can sometimes interfere with their physical activity. There can also be pain at the site of pressure on the cords, back of the neck, and backbone, irritation and inflammation of the folded skin under the breast, and psychological burdens because others often focus only on their breasts. This is certainly not fun.
Jika seseorang mengalami kondisi seperti itu, berarti perlu mempertimbangkan untuk melakukan operasi breast reduction bukan??? Ultimo Lovers ada yang berminat untuk melakukan tindakan ini??? Yuk Book Appointment dari sekarang dan Konsultasikan langsung dengan dokter kami. See you dear. ••• Yuk book appointment dan konsultasi segera dengan dokter kami 🔏 😂	If someone experiences a condition like that, then they need to consider doing breast reduction surgery, right ??? Is there any Ultimo Lovers who are interested in doing this ??? Let's book an appointment from now on and consult directly with our doctor. See you dear. ••• Come book an appointment and consultation immediately with our doctor 🏂 😂

Table 4. The caption of the solution to the health problem by Ultimo Clinic (@ultimoclinic) (2020).

4.2.1.2. Beauty and self-esteem

During the analysis process, the researcher found that the beauty clinics link imperfection to low self-esteem. Nine posts (5,63%) pointed out physical imperfection as unattractive, and that it can affect one's self-esteem. When the beauty clinics explain bodily 'imperfections' as problems, they also stated that body parts that do not fit into the ideal standard could cause one to lose confidence. The beauty clinics stress the importance of appearance to self-esteem – if someone fits into the ideal beauty standard, then he/she will feel more confident. Two of the examples stated by the beauty clinics are: 'Is there anyone who does not feel confident due to sagging breasts???', and 'fat belly can be one of the problems to our lack of confidence' (see Table 5). As stated by Edmonds (2012), there

has been a recognition of the importance of appearance to the mental well-being and social success of someone in society. The beauty clinics are normalizing the use of cosmetic procedures to fix a problem of physical abnormalities (or unideal body parts) – constructed by the beauty clinics – and psychological problems (lack of confidence) (Haiken, 1997).

Original text (Bahasa Indonesia)	English Translation
Hallo Ultimo Lovers, ada yang merasa kurang percaya diri dengan Payudara yang kendur atau bergelambir??? Simak pembahasan di bawah ini.	Hallo Ultimo Lovers, is there anyone who does not feel confident due to sagging breasts??? Let us see the discussion below.
Hallo Ultimo Lovers, Perut Buncit menjadi salah satu permasalahan yang membuat kita merasa kurang percaya diri baik kaum pria maupun wanita. Karena sangat mengganggu penampilan kita sehari-hari. Dan tentunya kita semua ga mau kan memiliki perut buncit???	Hallo Ultimo Lovers, the fat belly can be one of the problems to our lack of confidence, both on men and women. Because it ruins our daily appearance. And of course, we do not want to have fat belly???

Table 5. The caption of two posts regarding beauty and self-esteem from Ultimo Clinic (@ultimoclinic) (2020).

4.2.2. Imperfection as problems and cosmetic procedures as solution

This category consists of sub-categories based on what causes the body/face to not fit into the ideal standard of beauty defined by the beauty clinics. This category is related to the previous category, as both are discussing imperfections of the body. However, this category is more focused on what causes the body/face to be imperfect, while the previous category entails the problems caused by imperfections. The imperfections in the posts are not always explicitly mentioned by the beauty clinics, the imperfections are rather implied to be unideal and problematic. For instance, Ultimo Clinic posted "is your breasts size too big?" (see Figure 9). These posts where the beauty clinics identified common body/facial feature as 'problem' may (or may not) have been a problem by the targeted consumers (Ringrow, 2016), which is why this is identified as 'problems'. Through these posts, the beauty clinics assumed that the target consumers wish to 'solve' or improve the 'problem' (Ringrow, 2016). Out of 160 posts, 31 (19,37%) posts include an explanation of imperfection, such as flat breasts, acne, etc. as a problem. Moreover, these 31 Instagram posts of three beauty clinics (Ultimo Clinic, Beauty+ Clinic, and Beautylosophy Clinic) also put an emphasis by drawing lines along the body/facial features to highlight the imperfections on the posts (e.g., see Figure 10). As stated by Haiken (1997), the beauty clinics link the bodies – which usually involve ageing, flat breasts, etc. - as a condition that needs to be solved. This category will be discussed based on the cause of the imperfections, namely ageing, and unhealthy lifestyle (see Appendix B). Additionally, another category of imperfections will also be discussed, namely common body/face features as imperfections.



Figure 9. Implicit 'problem' identification by Ultimo Clinic (@ultimoclinic) (2020).



Figure 10. Emphasis on the facial structure by Beauty+ Clinic (@beautyplusclinic) (2020).

No	Sub-categories		Number of Posts	Percentage (from total posts)
1		Ageing	11	6,88%
1	1 Ageing	Postpartum Body	7	4,38%
	T I 1 141	Fat	5	3,13%
2	Unhealthy Lifestyle	Acne problems	4	2,50%
	Lifestyle	Hair loss	1	0,63%
7	Total posts of		39	24%
	Total of posts		160	

Table 6. The number of posts of category 'Causes of imperfections'.

4.2.2.1. Ageing

The most frequent concern discussed by the beauty clinics is imperfections caused by ageing (6,88%; n=11). In the discourse of ageing, the beauty clinics address that women experience changes in their bodies as they age, which caused the body to become imperfect and unattractive. The beauty clinics discussed sagging breasts, sagging arms, loose muscles, loose vagina, wrinkles, and age spots as imperfection caused by ageing. For instance, in Table 7, Ultimo Clinic stated that the ageing process (causing a loose vagina) could lead to difficulty in achieving sexual satisfaction. The problem indicated by the beauty clinic is a potential sexual problem, which is also emphasized by the statement "loose vagina can have a big impact on the lives of women". The impact of having loose vagina discussed by the beauty clinics usually entail the ability of women to achieve satisfaction during sexual intercourse. This might raise concerns over the body image, as well as provoke negative emotions (e.g., embarrassment, shame, etc.) during sexual intercourse, which prevents individual to enjoy the sexual experience (Wiederman, 2012).

Original text (Bahasa Indonesia)	English Translation
Vagina longgar dapat berdampak besar untuk kehidupan Ladies, serta membuat Ladies sulit mencapai kepuasaan saat berhubungan intim. Selain itu, proses melahirkan secara alamiah maupun proses penuaan juga menjadi penyebabnya dikarenakan terjadinya tarikan berlebihan pada otot vagina dan mengakibatkan hilangnya sensasi saat bercinta	Loose vagina can have a big impact on the lives of women, as well as making it difficult for women to achieve satisfaction when having sex. In addition, the natural childbirth process and the ageing process cause loose vagina, which are due to excessive traction in the vaginal muscles that results in loss of sensation during sex.

Table 7. The caption of problems with intimate part by Ultimo Clinic (@ultimoclinic) (2020).

However, during analysis of the data, the beauty clinics also often associate both ageing and giving birth to a child can cause imperfect body/face, especially on breasts and intimate part (i.e., sagging breasts and loose vaginal muscle). Both ageing and postpartum period are closely related because both results in similar imperfections. The beauty clinics stated that the natural process of

childbirth causes problem such as loose vaginal muscles. Women are expected to fight the changes caused by ageing and childbirth by spending their time and effort to maintain their looks (Haiken, 1997). In the discourse of ageing, the media often refer to ageing as an illness which shows symptoms that can be cured (Elliott, 2008). The beauty clinics put emphasis on the needs to maintain one's appearance in order to achieve sexual satisfaction. Moreover, the post also implies that dissatisfaction towards the body will increase when an individual female failed to attract mates in a relationship (Ferguson et al., 2014).

In order to fight signs of ageing as well as the bodily change in giving birth, the beauty clinics offer cosmetic procedures as a solution to prevent bodily change. Firstly, the beauty clinic explains the problem caused by ageing and childbirth (e.g., loose vagina, difficulty to achieve sexual satisfaction). Later on (see Table 8, last sentence highlighted in yellow), the beauty clinic explicitly refers to the cosmetic procedure as a 'solution' to the imperfection.

Original text (Bahasa Indonesia)	English Translation
Vagina longgar dapat berdampak besar untuk kehidupan Ladies, serta membuat Ladies sulit mencapai kepuasaan saat berhubungan intim. Selain itu, proses melahirkan secara alamiah maupun proses penuaan juga menjadi penyebabnya dikarenakan terjadinya tarikan berlebihan pada otot vagina dan mengakibatkan hilangnya sensasi saat bercinta. Ultimo Clinic punya solusi bagi kalian para Ladies, kalian bisa memilih tindakan ThermiVa TM .	Loose vagina can have a big impact on the lives of Ladies, as well as making it difficult for Ladies to achieve satisfaction when having sex. In addition, the natural childbirth process and the aging process are also the cause due to the occurrence of excessive traction in the vaginal muscles and result in loss of sensation during sex. Ultimo Clinic has a solution for you Ladies, you can choose the ThermiVa TM action.

Table 8. The caption of the solution to imperfection caused by ageing by Ultimo Clinic (@ultimoclinic) (2020).

4.2.2.2. Unhealthy lifestyle

Another cause of imperfections is unhealthy lifestyle. More often, it is related to people's choice of food (choosing not to eat healthy food), or their environment (too much sun exposure, or stress). For instance, an unhealthy lifestyle, as well as hormones, can affect the lips to look dark (see Table 9), which is seen as unattractive. The solution offered by beauty clinics is a cosmetic procedure to solve imperfections caused by unhealthy lifestyle. For examples, looking at the beginning of the caption in Table 9, the beauty clinic elaborates on what caused 'unideal' lips (i.e., the influence of hormones, unhealthy lifestyle, and unsuitable cosmetic products to an individual). Although the beauty clinic does not explicitly say that having dark lips is not attractive, the caption gives an impression of dark lips being unattractive and unideal. Given that the beauty clinics have already talked about the imperfection, at the end of the caption, the beauty clinics suggest "The Clinic Lip

Pink Treatment" as a solution to unattractive dark lips. This cosmetic procedure is referred to as one of the right ways to eliminate dark lips.

Original text (Bahasa Indonesia)	English Translation
Bibir berwarna hitam dan kurang sehat ?	
Banyak sekali hal yang menyebabkan kulit	Dark lips and unhealthy?
bibir menjadi gelap dan kehitaman, seperti	There are so many things that cause the skin of
pengaruh hormon, gaya hidup yang kurang	the lips to become dark and blackish, such as
sehat, hingga pemilihan kosmetik yang	the influence of hormones, unhealthy lifestyles,
kurang tepat	to the selection of cosmetics that are not right
Namun, bukan berarti Beautylovers tidak	However, that does not mean Beautylovers can
dapat mencegah, menguranginya bahkan	not prevent having dark lips, even reducing the
warna bibir yang sudah terlanjur gelap	lips that are already dark, and have done
sekalipun, dan sudah melakukan berbagai	various treatments that do not provide
treatment yang tak berikan hasil maksimal.	maximum results.
Salah satu cara tepat untuk menanganinya	One of the right ways to handle it by routinely
dengan rutin melakukan The Clinic Lip Pink	doing The Clinic Lip Pink Treatment;)
Treatment;)	

Table 9. The solution to dark lips caused by unhealthy lifestyle from Beautylosophy Clinic (@theclinicid) (2020).

4.2.2.2.1. Fat

Five out of 160 posts (3,13%) discuss fat as a problem. The beauty clinics identified that having fat will affect one's appearance negatively, as people can be seen as unattractive. For example, in one of the posts, Ultimo Clinic stated:

'Fat belly can become one of the problems which makes us less confident for both man and woman. Because it will disrupt our daily appearances.' (Ultimo Clinic, 2020).

Beauty clinics also often provide facts about fat. For example, in Table 10 and Figure 11, in both caption and picture, the term fat and unhealthy are closely linked to 'bad' food (in this case 'unhealthy' food). Looking at Figure 11, on the left side, the beauty clinic links fat with harmful food by surrounding the individual with junk food, as well as sweet treats. Meanwhile, on the right side, the slimmer body is linked with fruits (or healthy food), exercising icons (heart rate and smartwatch), as well as a weight scale and measuring tape. The beauty clinic encourages the viewers to be aware of unhealthy food and the effect of unhealthy food on the body. The beauty clinic also associated fat and health problems as a result of the overconsumption of unhealthy food, which is why the viewers are also encouraged to choose healthier food to prevent gaining fat and getting the risk of health problems. When the beauty clinics discuss about fat, they do now only describe how fat body looks like, but it also indicates what the body does or does not do (such as exercising, dieting, etc.) in order to achieve how the body looks (Raisborough, 2016). The beauty clinic implies a specific problem of areas because the beauty clinics relate the term fat with several body parts. For example, in the previous post, the term 'fat' goes with 'belly', and in some other post, the term 'chubby' goes with

'cheeks' as well as 'weight gain'. Thus, the description of fat immediately implies a specific problem of areas (such as abdomen, buttocks, as well as thighs) that need to be solved (Raisborough, 2016).



Figure 11. Harmful and healthy food by Beauty+ Clinic (@beautyplusclinic) (2020).

Original text (Bahasa Indonesia) **English Translation** What's your choice? Harmful Food or Healthy Food?? 🚱 🕾 🕮 Makanan yang enak dan lezat belom tentu sehat loh What's your choice? Harmful Food or Healthy Food?? 🚱 🕿 🕮 Beautylovers. Makanan sehat adalah makanan yang seharusnya mengandung beragam nutrisi yang dibutuhkan Delicious food is not always healthy, Beautylovers. oleh tubuh kita. Syarat makanan yang sehat yaitu bersih, Healthy food is food that should contain a variety of memiliki gizi yang baik dan seimbang. Makanan sehat nutrients which are needed by our body. seharusnya dikonsumsi dengan seimbang dan juga Requirements for healthy food are clean, have good beragam seperti makanan yang mengandung karbohidrat, and balanced nutritions. Healthy food should be protein, lemak, mineral dan vitamin consumed in a balanced manner and also contain **♀**⊖∅**७**७%**◎**. variations such as carbohydrates, proteins, fats, Makanan tidak sehat adalah berbagai jenis atau bahan makanan yang mengandung gizi tidak seimbang Unhealthy food consists of unhealthy ingredients 🖤 🖴 🗟 😂 . Umumnya, makanan tidak sehat hanya which has unhealthy nutrition 🦓 🖴 🖯 🖨 🔘 . In mengandung sedikit zat dan sedikit serat yang dibutuhkan general, unhealthy food only has a little substance and fibre needed for the body. Besides that, if it is untuk perkembangan tubuh. Selain itu, apabila dikonsumsi secara berlebihan maka akan menimbulkan berbagai consumed excessively, it will have a negative impact. dampak negatif. Seperti timbulnya penyakit, kelebihan For instance, onset of diseases, obesity, slowing berat badan, menghambat perkembangan tubuh, down growth, reducing intelligence, reducing motion mengurangi kecerdasan otak, mengurangi fungsi gerak function of the body, and even death (**) anggota badan, bahkan dapat menimbulkan kematian **3 3** .

Table 10. The caption of harmful and healthy food by Ultimo Clinic (@ultimoclinic) (2020).

However, after encouraging the viewers to lose weight as well as stressing the importance of eating healthy food and exercising, the beauty clinics also mentions a problem that might arise from losing weight. Looking at Table 11, the beauty clinic describes that losing weight will cause sagging arms, etc. This type of posts feels confusing, as the viewers were encouraged to lose weight, while at the same time, it could lead to other problems of the imperfect body. This could imply that even with

a natural way of getting the perfect body (e.g., exercising, dieting, etc.), cosmetic procedures are still necessary to make the whole look complete.

Original text (Bahasa Indonesia)	English Translation
Diet yang tepat dan melakukan pola hidup	
yang sehat akan membantu untuk	Proper diet and a healthy lifestyle will help to
menurunkan berat badan, atau ada sebagian	lose weight, or there are some patients who
pasien yang menjalankan prosedur bariatric	undergo bariatric procedures to achieve ideal
untuk menempuh berat badan ideal. Namun	body weight. But a decrease in body weight
penurunan berat badan ada juga yang	might also cause skin to sag in some areas of
menyebabkan kekenduran kulit di beberapa	the body, such as the arms which is often called
area tubuh, seperti di lengan atau yang sering	"bat wings".
disebut "bat wings".	

Table 11. The caption of sagging arms caused by a fat loss by Ultimo Clinic (@ultimoclinic) (2020).

To solve the problems and imperfections caused by fat, the beauty clinics introduce cosmetic procedures as the solution. Out of 160 posts, eight posts (5%) discuss the solution of imperfection caused by fat. Looking at one of the posts by Ultimo Clinic, the beauty clinic emphasizes the imperfect body in Figure 12 by wrapping measuring tape tightly around the belly. In Table 12, the beauty clinic offers two types of solutions to reduce belly fat. The first solution requires a longer period of time to reduce fat belly, by exercising, dieting, consuming slimming herbal and medicines. The second one, on the contrary to the first one, is a quicker solution, which is plastic surgery. The beauty clinic states, 'By doing plastic surgery and removing excess fat, then surely your stomach will shrink instantly, right?'. This type of captions is encouraging the (targeted) consumers to choose cosmetic procedures to get the 'ideal' body, because of the advantage offered by the products (instant results).



Figure 12. Solution to fat belly by Ultimo Clinic (@ultimoclinic) (2020).

Original text (Bahasa Indonesia)	English Translation
Cara yang paling sering dilakukan orang untuk	
mengecilkan perut adalah mengkonsumsi obat	The most common way for people to reduce
atau jamu pelangsing perut, olahraga teratur	fat belly is to consume slimming medicine or
dan mengatur pola makan.	slimming herbal, regular exercise and strict diet.
Namun, cara tersebut tidak memberi efek	However, this method does not give an instant
instan, dan perlu melakukannya berulang kali	effect, and you need to do it repeatedly on a
secara rutin.	regular basis.
Dengan melakukan bedah plastik dan	By doing plastic surgery and removing excess
membuang lemak yang berlebih, maka tentu	fat, then surely your stomach will shrink
perut Anda akan mengecil secara instan	instantly, right? Then what kind of procedure
bukan? Lalu prosedur seperti apa yang harus	should be done? Check out our the next post
dilakukan? Simak di postingan selanjutnya yaaa	

Table 12. The caption of the solution to fat belly by Ultimo Clinic (@ultimoclinic) (2020).

4.2.2.3. Common body/face features as imperfect

In this part, common body/face which generally characterized one's body type and Indonesians' facial features look like are categorized as imperfect. For instance, imperfections in common body/facial features are small breasts, flat buttocks, chubby cheeks, etc. Thus, this part will be divided into two sections, as follows:

4.2.2.3.1. Size

First, in a discussion of 'imperfections', body parts size/volume were often discussed in the data. The beauty clinics explain the lack of size or too much volume in several body parts (e.g., small breasts, breasts that are too big, and flat buttocks) as problems. Out of 160 posts, 6 posts (3,75%) indicate that not having an 'ideal' size of the body parts (such as small breasts, breasts that are too big, and flat buttocks) leads to feeling unattractive. For instance, looking at Table 13, the beauty clinic stated that having flat or saggy buttocks can be seen as unattractive (which makes the consumer look shorter than the reality). The beauty clinic also stated that 'unideal' body parts would not look good in any clothing.

Original text (Bahasa Indonesia)

Ultimo Lovers, buat kalian yang memiliki bokong yang bulat kadang sangat menguntung, karena sebuah pantat kencang dan tebal merupakan sentuhan akhir pada garis pinggul feminim.

Di sisi lain, pantat yang datar atau kendor tidak terlihat menarik dengan pakaian dan dapat membuat kaki terlihat lebih pendek.

Nah buat kalian yang memiliki bokong datar, tidak perlu cemas kok, di Ultimo Clinic menyediakan prosedur bedah yang disebut Brazilian Butt Lift (BBL). Nah BBL di Ultimo Clinic melalui proses transfer lemak. Apa sih perbedaannya dengan BBL melalui implan? Dan hasil seperti apa yang didapatkan?? Yuk simak...

English Translation

Ultimo Lovers, for those of you who have a round buttocks are sometimes very lucky, because tight and thick buttocks is the final touch on a feminine hip line.

On the other hand, flat or saggy bottoms do not look attractive with clothing and can make legs look shorter.

Now for those of you who have flat buttocks, you don't need to worry, Ultimo Clinic provides a surgical procedure called Brazilian Butt Lift (BBL). Well BBL at Ultimo Clinic through the fat transfer process. What is the difference with BBL through implants? And what kind of results are obtained?? Let's see ...

Table 13. The caption of body parts size by Ultimo Clinic (@ultimoclinic) (2020).

In addition, in the caption of Table 14, the beauty clinic made a general assumption that every woman wants to have 'a more formed' buttocks. When the beauty clinics discuss cosmetic procedures as a solution to imperfect body parts, most of the time, the beauty clinics feature the bodies (both full body and partial body parts). The pictures posted by the beauty clinics are mostly used as a reference to the topic being discussed in the caption. For instance, Figure 13 and Table 14 are taken from the same post. Although the caption does not explicitly reference the picture as an ideal body part, the dashed lines on Figure 13 highlight the desired shape of the buttocks discussed in the caption ('more formed buttocks'), and to achieve the desired 'look' ('ideal' body), the beauty clinics offered undergoing cosmetic procedures (i.e., Brazilian Butt Lift treatment).

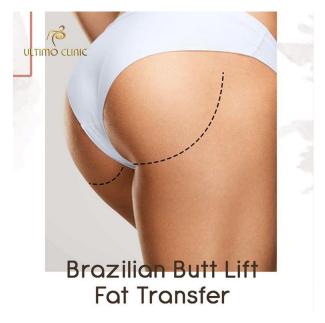


Figure 13. Brazilian Butt Lift Fat Transfer: Solution to flat buttocks by Ultimo Clinic (@ultimoclinic) (2020).

Original text (Bahasa Indonesia)	English Translation
Ultimo Lovers Memiliki bokong yang	Ultimo Lovers Having a beautiful buttocks is
terbentuk indah merupakan dambaan para	a dream of the Ladies. For Ultimo Lovers who
Ladies. Untuk Ultimo Lovers yang	want a more formed buttocks but do not want
menginginkan bokong yang lebih terbentuk	to risk painful surgery, then fat transfer can be
tetapi tidak ingin mengambil resiko operasi	your choice.
yang menyakitkan, maka melalui transfer	
lemak bisa menjadi pilihan kamu .	

Table 14. The caption of the solution to flat buttocks by Ultimo Clinic (@ultimoclinic) (2020).

4.2.2.3.2. Facial features

Another imperfection raised by the beauty clinics is an 'unideal' facial feature (3,13%; n=5). The facial features discussed in this sub-category are nose, cheeks, and jawline. In this sub-category, 'unideal' facial features are common facial features, such as a low nasal bridge, wide nose, squared jaw, chubby cheeks, and double chin. These common facial features are often identified as a problem, as it is seen as unattractive. In one of the posts, 'unideal' nose indicated by the beauty clinics is a low nasal bridge; one of the most common facial features of Indonesians. This post assumed that all viewers want to have a 'beautiful and proporsional [sic]' nose (see Figure 14). The beauty clinic also emphasizes the nose's function as 'an artistic organ' which people pay extra attention to (see Table 15), as it is located at the center of the face. The assumption behind this is that because the nose gets a lot of attention from people, as it is located at the center of the face. As the center of attention of the face, having an 'unideal' nose 'can affect one's appearance' (as stated on Table 15). Thus, the way the beauty clinics framed the caption as if having an unideal nose shape lead to a problem which needs to be solved.



Figure 14. A beautiful and proportional nose by Ultimo Clinic (@ultimoclinic) (2020).

Original text (Bahasa Indonesia)	English Translation
Hi ultimo lovers Selain wajah, hidung juga salah satu bagian yang biasanya mendapat perhatian lebih. kalian pasti ingin memiliki hidung yang cantik dan proporsional. Hidung yang berfungsi sebagai indra penciuman juga merupakan organ yang sangat artistik yang dapat menunjang penampilan seseorang loh. Memang, tidak semua bentuk hidung setiap orang sempurna, sehingga beberapa membutuhkan prosedur operasi.	Hi ultimo lovers Aside from face, nose is also one of the parts that gets a lot of attention. You would want to have a beautiful and proportional nose. Nose that functions as the sense of smell is also an artistic organ that can support one's appearance. Indeed, not all people have the perfect nose shape, so that's why some people require surgical procedure.

Table 15. The caption of the beautiful and proportional nose by Ultimo Clinic (@ultimoclinic) (2020).

However, not all of the solutions offered by the beauty clinics are explicitly mentioned (see Table 16). Five out of 160 posts (3,13%) consist of solution to 'unideal' facial structure. This subcategory emphasizes on beauty clinics offering cosmetic procedures to change an individual's initial facial structure to the desired facial structure. The examples are as follow: reducing fat on the cheeks, getting a v-shaped face, and nasal bridge correction (higher or lower nasal bridge). In this post, the beauty clinic only mentioned that the viewers are able to get the perfectly v-shaped face – a cosmetic procedure face to reduce double chins and chubby cheeks – through a V-shape treatment. In addition, the beauty clinic also assumes that having a V-shaped face is 'the dream'. The beauty clinics are describing having a v-shaped facial feature as an ideal face. Although the beauty clinic does not explicitly mention the cosmetic procedure as a solution to chubby cheeks and double chin, the text 'Perfect your face treatment with V-shape treatment to contour your face' implicitly offers a solution to contour one's face.

Original text (Bahasa Indonesia)	English Translation
Sempurnakan perawatan wajah Anda dengan V-Shape	Perfect your face treatment with V-Shape Treatment
Treatment untuk meniruskan wajah serta mengurangi	to contour your face, as well as reducing double chin
double chin dan pipi chubby. Mendapatkan wajah V-	and chubby cheeks. Getting a V-shaped face is no
Shape bukan lagi impian	longer a dream.

Table 16. The caption of the facial feature implicit solution by Beauty+ Clinic (@beautyplusclinic) (2020).

4.3. Marketing techniques used to promote cosmetic procedures

To attract (potential) consumers, all of the Indonesian beauty clinics engaged in similar marketing techniques. To introduce the products/services, the beauty clinics need to advertise their products/services. The previous sections were also a part of marketing/advertising approaches used by the beauty clinics. However, in this section, marketing techniques based on literature by Fennis and Stroebe (2016) will be discussed further in relation to the results. In this research, the beauty clinics

use three types of advertising, namely *promotion-based approach* (4.3.1), *testimonials* (4.3.2), and *information-based approach* (4.3.3). These types of advertising will be discussed in sections. First, the promotion-based approach is focused on people who are eager to get rewards (Grant, and Higgins, 2013). The beauty clinics realize the opportunity to attract (potential) consumers who are focused on achieving gains, such as discounts, buy one get one, gifts, and so on, by providing promotions which is beneficial for the (potential) consumers. Second, during analysis, it was found that the beauty clinics also use testimonials to attract consumers. These testimonials do not come only from celebrities or influencers, but it also comes from other consumers who do not have large following on their social media account. Lastly, the beauty clinics use one of the most direct advertising techniques, which is information-based approach. This approach counts as a *hard-sell* approach, because the beauty clinics informed their (potential) consumers straightforwardly what they are selling, along with the price and the location where the consumers can get the products/services (Fennis, and Stroebe, 2016). To understand further about each marketing techniques, the discussion will be split as follows:

4.3.1. Promotions

During the analysis of the data, it became apparent that some beauty clinics use promotions quite often; 46% of the data (73 posts) contain a promotional offer in both captions and/or pictures. The promotions category is divided into eight sub-categories, such as time limitation, package bundling, discount, a free voucher to treatment, buy one get one free, free items, procedure plans, and cashback. In most of the promotional offers (40,63%; n=65), a time limitation is included. There are several types of promotions found in the data, such as treatment bundle promotions (package bundling) (26,25%; n=42), discounts on the treatments (20,63%; n=33), free voucher to treatments (3,13%; n=5), buy one get one free (1,88%; n=3), free items (not necessarily related to cosmetic procedures, see Figure 15) (1,88%; n=3), and cashback (see Table 17) (0,63%; n=1). Because of the frequent promotions, one beauty clinic (Beautylosophy) posted illustrations (procedure plans: 1,25%; n=2) where the consumers are encouraged to plan the treatments by giving another additional discount. In the following paragraphs, some of the sub-categories will be further elaborated.

No	Sub-categories	Number of Posts	Percentage (from total posts)
1	Time limitation	65	40,63%
2	Package bundling	42	26,25%
3	Discount	33	20,63%
4	Free voucher to treatment	5	3,13%
5	Buy 1 get 1	3	1,88%
6	Free item	3	1,88%
7	Procedure plans	2	1,25%
8	Cashback	1	0,63%
	Total posts of Promotions	73	46%
	Total of posts	160	

Table 17. The number of posts of category 'Promotions'.



Figure 15. Promotions offer during Valentine (free item) by The Clinic Beautylosophy (@theclinicid) (2020).

First off, the beauty clinics mostly offer promotions (i.e., discounts, free voucher, etc.) related to cosmetic procedures. However, in one of the promotions, the beauty clinic offered free item (such as a necklace or bracelet) to celebrate Valentine's day. This free gift is only available if the consumer purchase cosmetic procedures worth IDR 10.000.000 - (€578). The next sub-category is package bundling. Out of 160 posts, in 42 posts (26,25%) the beauty clinics promote several cosmetic procedures (or the same cosmetic procedures) in a package bundle. Having product bundles can be advantageous for the beauty clinics. Product bundles might attract people who are already interested in the products, enticing consumers to purchase as soon as possible, rather than waiting for other promotions (Gerdeman, 2013). It is also beneficial for the beauty clinics, as mixed bundling generates greater sales compared to no bundling package offers (Gerdeman, 2013). The bundles provided by

these beauty clinics depend on which treatments the beauty clinics are trying to promote during the campaign. Besides that, most of the promotions often come with terms and conditions, such as time limits (see Figure 16).



Figure 16. Package bundling by Beautylosophy Clinic. (@theclinicid) (2020).

One of the examples of a package bundling can be found in Figure 16, which shows different packages by Dermaster Clinic. By bundling different treatments, each treatment will cost less than the original price. Through time limited promotion offers, the beauty clinics are encouraging the viewers to take advantage of the vouchers, discounts, and other types of promotions to stimulate the purchase of the treatments (Spears, 2001). This encouragement is shown in Table 18; the beauty clinics posted "So, let's book your appointment now" while emphasizing the price of the treatment. These offers also allow more viewers to participate in the purchase or bookings of the treatments. One of the ways for the viewers to participate (get discounts/free treatment voucher) is through events organized by beauty clinics, which will be further discussed in section 4.2.1.1. Several studies (Gamaliel, & Herstein, 2012; Aggarwal, & Vaidyanathan, 2002) found that when consumers are presented with limited time offers, the consumers will be more likely to stop searching and waiting for a better offer. The short duration (or time-limited) offers also helped to stimulate the purchase of the treatments, as not a lot of consumers have the willingness to wait for a better promotion deal than non-time limited deal (Gamliel, & Herstein, 2012). Without time limitations of the offers, the viewers will be able to engage in a deeper information search on the products (Aggarwal, & Vaidyanathan, 2002), and search for other offers. The viewers might also lose interest in the promotions offered by the beauty clinics when there is no rush to accept the deal (from the time limits).

Original text (Bahasa Indonesia)	English Translation
Cepat siap-siap cantik menjelang Imlek	Get ready quickly, get beautiful before the
bersama The Clinic Beautylosophy. Treatment-	Chinese New Year with The Clinic
treatment yang ada diatas harganya cuma	Beautylosophy. The treatments above only cost
999.000 aja lho, yuk booking appointment	999,000, so let's book your appointment now
kamu sekarang juga 🛠	**

Table 18. Captions of promotion offers by Beautylosophy Clinic. (@theclinicid) (2020).

Lastly, from the posts, the researcher found that three of the beauty clinics, namely Beauty+ Clinic, Beautylosophy Clinic, and Dermaster Clinic, mostly focus on giving promotions on their posts. The promotions given by these three beauty clinics are always time limited promotions, however, the beauty clinics reposted the same promotion offers with new time limits. The beauty clinics might engage in different type of promotions based on their budget and size of the businesses. Compared to the other three beauty clinics, Ultimo clinic is the smallest beauty clinic with the least number of branches. With this in mind, it is possible that the beauty clinic does not have bigger marketing budget to do plenty of promotional offers. Thus, Ultimo Clinic rarely give out promotional offers to the viewers. This specific beauty clinic more often gives out information regarding the cosmetic procedures, such as the benefits of the procedures, and what the procedures will do to the body.

4.3.1.1. Events

Following the promotions category, beauty clinics also use different events to promote their products and services; 9,38% of the data (15 posts) contain celebrations of holidays and events organized by the beauty clinics. The beauty clinics use events to engage with the viewers to create bonds between the viewers and the beauty clinics (Meire, Hewett, Ballings, Kumar, & Van de Poel, 2019). Two types of events were found in the data sets. First, two of the events were campaigns or actions created by beauty clinics organized by the beauty clinics to celebrate holidays. For example, they were asking consumers to share images from the beauty clinics' website with the captions of consumers' experiences and tag the consumers' friends for a chance to win discounts and such (see Figure 17). The beauty clinics use the events to gain awareness amongst the participants' followers. This campaign is also followed by rewarding the winners with discounts, a voucher, and so on. In Figure 17, for example, the beauty clinics celebrate international women's day by organizing an event to engage with their consumers. In addition, during the holidays, the beauty clinics wished happy holidays to the viewers while also posted promotion offers (see Figure 18).



Figure 17. International women's day event by Beautylosophy Clinic. (@theclinicid) (2020).



Figure 18. Holiday wishes (Chinese New Year) with promotion offers by Beautylosophy Clinic. (@theclinicid) (2020).

4.3.2. Testimonials

This category is closely linked to the discussion of problem and solution. The beauty clinics showed imperfections and the results of cosmetic procedures (which is a solution to the problems). However, this category is discussed under marketing techniques because the posts focus more on the results of each consumers, instead of focusing on explaining what the problems of each posts are. The posts were categorized as testimonials because of the relevance to another video posts on the beauty clinics' Instagram page. Within the video, the consumers (on the pictures used as research data) gave their full testimonials about the products and their satisfaction levels towards the products and the beauty clinics. Even though the data are related to the video – which weren't analyzed – it would be better to acknowledge the relevance to the video. It would be better to indicate and categorized this as testimonials because looking at the consumers' perspective, this can be seen as testimonial marketing.

In this category, the posts are focused on the use of reference groups (influencers, celebrities, friends, and or family) as agents to promote cosmetic procedures. This category is divided into several sub-categories (see Table 20), such as celebrity testimonials, influencer testimonials, and non-

influencers testimonials. In this research, celebrities and influencers are differentiated because the celebrities used in these posts built their influence through TV, radio, magazine, etc. On the other hand, influencers in these posts are people who built their influence through social media, such as YouTube, Instagram, Twitter, and so on. Looking at Table 19, 23 posts (14,38%) are testimonials category. Out of 160 posts, ten posts (6,25%) consist of testimonial from a celebrity, eight posts (5%) consist of testimonial from an influencer, and 5 posts (3,13%) consist of testimonial from non-influencers/celebrities. The explanation of the celebrities and influencers will be discussed further in the next paragraph.

No	Sub-categories	Number of Posts	Percentage (from total posts)
1	Celebrity testimonial	10	6,25%
2	Influencer testimonial	8	5,00%
3	Non celebrity/influencers	5	3,13%
Γ	otal posts of Results	23	14,38%
	Total of posts	160	

Table 19. The number of posts and percentage of 'testimonials' category.

In order to show the quality of the cosmetic procedures, the beauty clinics post results of cosmetic procedures from their consumers. To communicate the beauty clinics' information about the cosmetic procedures, the beauty clinics need to demonstrate their results by showing the results through pictures to convince the viewers (Schweitzer, & Moskowitz, 2009). For example, looking at Figure 19, the beauty clinics provided differences in the facial feature of the clients before and after receiving cosmetic procedures. The difference between the first picture (on the left) and the third picture (on the right) is evident. In the posts, the beauty clinics mostly write down the name of the cosmetic procedures on the caption or pointed it out on the picture. However, not all of the before and after picture includes full testimonials from the clients, as they were mostly filmed in a short video. The testimonials which were also accompanied by photographs of the cosmetic procedures' result functioned as an approach make a connection to the viewers (Schweitzer, & Moskowitz, 2009). Moreover, the caption written for the post (Table 20) focuses on how great and visible the result is, creating the result as the 'wow' factor.



Figure 19. Cosmetic procedures testimonials (non-influencer/celebrity) by Dermaster Clinic (@dermaster_id) (2020).

Original text (Bahasa Indonesia)	English Translation
WOW Bangeetttt Transformasinya (**) No	WOW What a transformation (No edits,
Edit Edit, Bukan Kaleng Kaleng lagi. Hasilnya	great result. The result is VERY VISIBLE.
Terbukti NYATA. Wajah MUDA lagi,	Face gets YOUNGER, scarring is GONE, and
Bopeng HILANG dan Kulit CERAH dari	skin looks BRIGHTER from @Adjiepangestu
@adjiepangestu berkat rutin perawatan di	thanks to routine treatment at @dermaster_id
@dermaster_id 🏵 🥸	

Table 20. The caption of the result by Dermaster Clinic (@dermaster_id) (2020).

Furthermore, the testimonials provided by the beauty clinics consist of testimonials from celebrities and influencers consumers (see Figure 20, and 21). The celebrities are musicians, actors and actresses from various age range (the 20s to 50s), while the influencers are mostly travel and lifestyle influencers. A study by Schweitzer and Moskowitz (2009) showed that the most trusted testimonials came from a respectable public figure, which in this case is testimonials from celebrities and influencers. Even though the consumers (or potential consumers) do not personally know the celebrities/influencers, both celebrities and influencers have reputable opinions. With higher engagement, the post will be able to gain more reach, which will increase the chance of the posts to be seen more often by other Instagram users (Boerman, 2019; Domingues Aguiar & Van Reijmersdal, 2018). Boerman (2019) stated that following a certain social media figure for a long time allows the followers to have the illusion of having an intimate and close personal relationship with the social media personage.



Figure 20. Testimonials by a celebrity (actor) by Dermaster Clinic. (@dermaster_ID) (2020).



Figure 21. Testimonials by the influencer (YouTuber) by Dermaster Clinic. (@dermaster_ID) (2020).

4.3.3. Information

Lastly, 152 posts (95%) contains contact information of the beauty clinics, along with the address information. In most of the posts (63,7%; n=102), the beauty clinics include information about the cosmetic procedures and cosmetic products which are sold by the beauty clinics. The approach to their advertising is a hard-sell approach, where the beauty clinics directly tell the consumers the details of the products/services, the price, and the place of where the consumers can get the products/services (Fennis, and Stroebe, 2016). Unlike the solution posts, here, the beauty clinics shared a more detailed information of what the doctors will do during certain cosmetic procedures, how the procedures are easy and quick alternatives, what the procedures do to the body, as well as the trends in cosmetic procedures (see Table 21). Firstly, the information regarding cosmetic procedures and cosmetic products were provided in the posts to give an understanding of the procedures. Thus, the posts usually include the name of the procedures, the main function of the procedures/products, as

well as the benefit of receiving the procedures/products. The benefit of cosmetic procedures informs the viewers of the changes that the clients will see/experience after undergoing the cosmetic procedure.

No	Sub-categories	Number of Posts	Percentage (from total posts)
1	Procedure information	103	64,38%
2	Easy and quick	15	9,38%
3	Tips	10	6,25%
4	Product information	5	3,13%
5	Reference to other posts	5	3,13%
6	Procedure trends	4	2,50%
7	Safe procedure	4	2,50%
	Total posts of	102	63,75%
	Total of posts	160	

Table 21. The number of posts and the percentage of cosmetic procedures and products information.

As can be seen in Table 21, 103 of the posts (64,38%) contained detailed information about the cosmetic procedures, such as what the procedure entails, and what steps need to be considered to undergo the cosmetic procedures (see Table 22). The beauty clinics first stated the name of the cosmetic procedures – which are aligned with the problems that are discussed in the beginning. Later, the beauty clinics present the cosmetic procedure, while also explaining what the cosmetic procedures entail.

Original text (Bahasa Indonesia)	English Translation
Microdermabrasi adalah tindakan	Microdermabrasion is an exfoliation process
pengelupasan (exfloliation) dengan	using diamond peel to lift dead skin cells
menggunakan diamond peel untuk mengangkat	optimally and stimulate new skin cell growth.
sel kulit mati lebih maksimal dan merangsang	
pertumbuhan sel kulit baru. [5]	

Table 22. The caption of cosmetic procedures trends by Beauty+ Clinic (@beautyplusclinic) (2020).

Before undergoing a cosmetic procedure, the beauty clinics pointed out that the (potential) consumers usually have some concerns about the procedures. Some of the concerns are related to duration to achieve the ideal body/face (e.g., flat belly, muscle, etc.), and another concern is the safety of the cosmetic procedures. Out of 160 posts, 15 posts (9,38%) discussed cosmetic procedures as easy and quick procedures, and four posts (2,5%) discussed the safety of the cosmetic procedure. The first sub-category, easy and quick procedures, discuss the instant results from undergoing cosmetic procedures. One of the examples of an easy and quick solution is from Ultimo Clinic's post (see Table 23). The post suggests that instead of taking the natural methods of losing weight, the beauty

clinic emphasizes the instant result of undergoing a cosmetic procedure. Next, the sub-category of 'safe procedure' adds reassurance to the viewers that the cosmetic procedures are safe (see Table 24). For instance, in Table 24, the beauty clinic refers to the cosmetic procedures as 'less painful' and 'minimal risk' procedures.

Original text (Bahasa Indonesia)	English Translation
Cara yang paling sering dilakukan orang untuk mengecilkan perut adalah mengkonsumsi obat atau jamu pelangsing perut, olahraga teratur dan mengatur pola makan. Namun, cara tersebut tidak memberi efek instan, dan perlu melakukannya berulang kali secara rutin. Dengan melakukan bedah plastik dan membuang lemak yang berlebih, maka tentu perut Anda akan mengecil secara instan bukan? Lalu prosedur seperti apa yang harus	The most common way for people to shrink the stomach is to consume slimming herbals and medicine, regular exercise and regulate diet. However, these methods do not give an instant effect, and you need to do it repeatedly on a regular basis. By doing plastic surgery and removing excess fat, then surely your stomach will shrink instantly right? Then what kind of procedure should be done? Check
dilakukan? Simak di postingan selanjutnya yaaa	it out the next post

Table 23. The caption of easy and quick solution to excess fat by Ultimo Clinic (@ultimoclinic) (2020).

Original text (Bahasa Indonesia)	English Translation
Tenang saja Ultimo Lovers, hasilnya pun akan	No need to worry Ultimo Lovers, the results
terlihat lebih alami karena bentuk dasar datar	will look more natural because the basic shape
atau berbentuk bulat terlihat berisi dan lebih	of the flat or round shape looks fuller and
tegas, namun lebih sedikit rasa sakit dan risiko	firmer, but less pain and minimal risk of
minimal dari jaringan perut.	stomach tissue.

Table 24. The caption of the safe procedure by Ultimo Clinic (@ultimoclinic) (2020).

47 posts (29,38%) contained the benefits of undergoing certain cosmetic procedures. Furthermore, cosmetic products were posted by only one beauty clinic (Dermaster Clinic), as this is

the only Indonesian beauty clinic in the sample that carries cosmetic products. In five of the posts (3,125%), the Indonesian beauty clinics referred to other posts which usually have video explanations or testimonials. However, as this research only analyze pictures and captions, the videos were not analyzed. Lastly, the beauty clinics posted four posts with a list of popular cosmetic procedures (i.e., see Figure 22).



Figure 22. Procedure trends by Beautylosophy Clinic (@theclinicid) (2020).

5. Conclusions

The research attempted to discover the approach of Indonesian beauty clinics to promote cosmetic procedures. In this chapter, the researcher will conclude the results of the analysis while answering the main research question. Moreover, the conclusion drawn in this chapter will be related to the theoretical framework discussed in the second chapter. Lastly, limitations of the research and suggestion for further research will also be discussed at the end of the chapter.

To answer the main research question of "How are cosmetic procedures represented by Indonesian beauty clinics on Instagram?", the answers will be divided based on the two sub-research questions, to help structure the findings as follows.

How do Indonesian beauty clinics construct the concept of beauty in promoting cosmetic procedures?

First of all, to promote cosmetic procedures, the Indonesian beauty clinics needed to establish what is seen as 'ideal' and 'unideal', because the beauty clinics are selling products/services to achieve the ideal physical beauty standards. The beauty clinics posted cropped image of certain body parts, as well as the full body and/or face. Cropping technique was used in the posts to emphasize the 'ideal' and 'unideal' body parts. The cropping technique is also a common technique used in beauty advertising, because the technique offers an easy way to point out body parts/facial features as objects which can be 'work' on or 'improved' through the products/services being sell. In several posts, the beauty clinics mentioned certain type of body/face as 'goals', and that everyone has the same body/face 'goals.' For example, the 'ideal' body/face discussed by the beauty clinics are as follows: (1) flat and toned abdomen, (2) round buttocks, (3) big breasts (but not too big), (4) youthful face and body (e.g., tight arms, tight breasts, tight buttocks, winkle-free, and no freckles), (5) acne-free skin, (6) white skin, (7) pink lips, (8) perfectly white teeth), and (9) v-shaped chin. On the other hand, the 'unideal' body/face discussed by the beauty clinics are as follows: (1) fat abdomen, (2) sagging body parts (e.g., breasts, buttocks, and arms), (3) breasts that are too big or lacking volume (flat), (4) wrinkles, (5) freckles, (6) acne, (7) dark skin, (8) dark lips, (9) chubby cheeks, and (10) round/square face.

To illustrate the 'ideal' physical beauty, the beauty clinics used both non-Asian models (mostly Caucasian) and Asian models. According to previous studies (e.g., Kaw, 1993; Kramer, 2003; Isa, and Kramer, 2003; Bissell, and Chung, 2009), the 'ideal' physical beauty of several Asian countries (e.g., South Korea and Japan) are based on Caucasian features, due to the lack of representation of other models during the colonization period. Besides that, the global media mostly use Caucasian models in their advertising and TV shows, which also shows that the lack of representation. The lack of representation of other ethnicity helped shape 'ideal' beauty. However, for the past few years, there has been an increase in representation of other ethnicities on media, which can also be seen in the data. In this research, the Indonesian beauty clinics use Asian models – who are mostly looking like

East Asians (e.g., fair skin, long nose, slander eyes, etc.) – as the representation of 'ideal' physical beauty. The main reason for this is because of the popularity of South Korean TV shows and music in Indonesia. Thus, because of the recent South Korean trend, plenty of Indonesian beauty companies use East-Asian model as the representation of beauty.

However, it is important to note that the 'ideal' and 'unideal' body parts were not always mentioned explicitly. One of the ways for the beauty clinics to put emphasis on the 'ideal' and 'unideal' body parts, was through the body language of the models. For instance, to show dissatisfaction, the models squeezed the body parts which was seen as unideal (e.g., fat belly, saggy arms, etc.). To illustrate, when the beauty clinics talked about flat breasts, one of the beauty clinics posted a cropped picture of a woman's body on her chest area. In the picture, the woman was holding her 'flat breasts.' This was also emphasized with the words 'Want to have bigger breasts' on the picture. Similarly, to describe the perfect body, beauty clinics also often use pictures matching the 'desired' or 'ideal' looks. When the caption discusses a certain concern/imperfection of the body, most of the pictures include the perfect body which is discussed on the caption. For instance, the beauty clinics discuss the relationship between gaining weight and chubby cheeks, then they offer a V-shaped treatment to get slimmer cheeks. The picture included in the post is a picture of the models with a V-shaped face.

In constructing 'unideal' body/face, the Indonesian beauty clinics tend to use problem-solution pattern. Based on Ringrow (2016) research on the language of cosmetics advertising, many of cosmetic advertisings use problem-solution format in selling the products/services. The results of this research showed that Indonesian beauty clinics describe bodily imperfection ('unideal' body) as problems. The problems caused by having 'unideal' body are physical and social problems. Physical problems referred by the Indonesian beauty clinics are problems resulting from 'unideal' body, such as having fat bodies can cause health problems (e.g., stroke, heart attack, etc.), or having big breasts can cause backpain. Besides that, social problems caused by 'unideal' bodies are usually related to mental health. The mental health problems discussed by the beauty clinics are the feeling of unattractiveness, low self-esteem, as well as body dissatisfaction - which could cause insecurity and creates a feeling of inadequacy of one's appearance (Edmonds, 2012). In several Instagram posts, the beauty clinics often generalize every woman wants to have similar 'ideal' body, and if they do not have the 'ideal' body – represented through the pictures on the posts – they will be dissatisfied towards their bodies. One of the most frequent imperfections discussed by the beauty clinics is signs of ageing. The beauty clinics depicted ageing as one of the problems of body dissatisfaction, which can impact an individual's social life (e.g., relationship with a sexual partner), as well as low selfesteem.

Often, cosmetic procedures providers displayed a Problem-Solution pattern, in which the beauty clinics provide 'solution' to the 'problem' resulted from having an imperfect body. This 'problem' and 'solution' format is often found in the advertising of beauty products (Ringrow, 2016). The problems might not always be stated explicitly, it could have been a problem already acknowledged by the (potential) consumers before the advertising is seen, then the beauty clinics are feeding off of their insecurities. Additionally, Ringrow (2016) stated that the viewers of the advertising might not necessarily recognize the 'flaws' within themselves, instead they became aware of the 'flaws' through purchasing the 'solutions'; pushing themselves to be the main agent of own 'self-improvement program'. These bodily imperfections described by the beauty clinics are usually the natural changes of the body experienced by individuals and common body/facial features, such as ageing body, flat breasts, flat buttocks, and so on.

After stating all of the 'problems' (imperfection of the body), the beauty clinics then proceed to offer a solution to deal with the problems, in line with the Problem-Solution pattern. In some posts, the beauty clinics mentioned several natural ways to deal with imperfection. This is usually followed by statements explaining that the natural ways usually take a longer time to get to the point of the 'ideal' body. For instance, the beauty clinics discussed that regular exercise and diet could help with losing weight. However, the beauty clinics stated that the exercises and diets would take a longer time, which why the beauty clinics present cosmetic procedures as a quick solution to the imperfections.

Another 'imperfections' discussed by the beauty clinics are common body/facial features (e.g., eye, nose, lips, dark skin, etc.). In order to achieve the 'ideal' body/facial features, 'improving' these imperfections requires a different technique – which is cosmetic procedures – which cannot be obtained through exercising and dieting. Thus, beauty clinics offer cosmetic procedures to the viewers as a solution to achieve a 'better' body. In several posts, the beauty clinic explicitly said that cosmetic procedures are 'one of the right ways' to achieve the 'ideal' body. They assume the only way to achieve the 'ideal' body/face is through cosmetic procedures, while going through cosmetic procedures do not always guarantee the perfect/ideal beauty. In relation to the solution, the beauty clinics also stated that the cosmetic procedures are able to solve the imperfection problems quicker than the natural ways (from exercising, as well as dieting). In particular, beauty clinics implied that cosmetic procedures are the best way to get a quick result. Furthermore, to emphasize the solution, the beauty clinics often post pictures of the results of the cosmetic procedures, which includes a before and after results of the treatments. This 'before and after' results will be further explained in the next section. Furthermore, the beauty clinics reassured the viewers by stating that the cosmetic procedures are safe to use and that the best doctors will do the cosmetic procedures. This is done by the beauty clinics to give reassurance to the consumers (or potential consumers) that the beauty clinics are trustworthy, and that the consumers will be in a good hand.

What type of approaches are used by the Indonesian beauty clinics in their online advertising on Instagram?

The second sub-research question was based on the literature by Fennis and Stroebe (2016) about the psychology of advertising. In the literature, several advertisings from different products were discussed, and several advertising approaches were introduced. These advertising approaches can be visibly seen in the advertising of cosmetic procedures in Indonesia. The first advertising approach commonly used by Indonesian beauty clinics is *fear-arousing communication approach*. As previously discussed in the results chapter, this type of approach usually plays on the (targeted) consumers' fears. After analyzing the data, it was found that there are two types of fears used by the beauty clinics: physical and social – which were discussed previously. Often, the beauty clinics try to scare the consumers – by mentioning the physical and social risks of imperfect/unideal body – and push them into buying/booking the products/treatments. Mostly, the beauty clinics scare the consumers by using sentences such as 'of course this does not look attractive, right?', or 'of course you would not want this', and so on. Thus, to drive the sales, the beauty clinics push the consumers to prevent or reduce the physical and mental risks through the products/services.

Second approach to advertising found in this study is a *promotion-focus approach*. In promoting cosmetic procedures, the beauty clinics often use promotions such as discounts, free treatment/consultation vouchers, buy one get one free, and package bundling. These promotions are usually in line with the cosmetic procedures the beauty clinics want to push. The promotions offered by the beauty clinics always include a time limit. The time limitation here functions as encouragement for the viewers to book consultation/treatments as soon as possible (increase purchase), which is usually until before the end date of the promotions. In other countries (e.g., the UK), time-limited offers for cosmetic procedures are not allowed, because the time-limit offers were considered as irresponsible and putting more pressure to the consumer to quickly make a decision of getting cosmetic procedures (Advertising Standard Authority, n.d.). However, in Indonesia, there are no rules and regulations regarding the time limitation offers. The lack of rules and regulation regarding time limitation offers in cosmetic procedures might also result from the Indonesian culture, where it is still taboo to discuss about bodily change through cosmetic procedures among older generations; despite of the recent trend of open discussion about cosmetic procedures by the younger generations through social media.

In this approach, the beauty clinics also organized events as well as gave holiday wishes to the viewers which entails promotion offers. The events were also a part of the beauty clinics' promotional tools. More often, the beauty clinics offer promotions such as discount and/or package bundling to celebrate the holidays. Additionally, by organizing events, the beauty clinics can get more brand

recognition through re-sharing the beauty clinics' posts on the participants' Instagram account. Thus, brand recognition will most likely come through the followers of the viewers/participants of the posts. It is possible for the participants' followers to see the posts and click on the beauty clinics' page and become potential consumers in the future. For example, for international women's day, the beauty clinics organized an event for women to share stories about themselves. This allows the beauty clinics to gain engagement; the viewers can share the posts of the beauty clinics (to win the events), and also comment and like the posts. With higher engagement, the beauty clinics have a higher chance to get recognition from other viewers (non-beauty clinics followers), as the posts will more likely to appear more often (Boerman, 2019; Domingues Aguiar & Van Reijmersdal, 2018). In addition, the participants of the events will also be more motivated to join the events because of the chance of winning discounts/free treatment vouchers.

Third approach used by the beauty clinics in their online marketing is by using testimonials through group references to share the results of the cosmetic procedures. Group reference here includes influencers, celebrities, and other consumers (non-celebrity/influencer). Firstly, the beauty clinics showed a comparison of the body part before the procedure and after the procedure. In the picture, the changes/differences between the two pictures were visible. Secondly, beauty clinics also used celebrities/influencers to provide testimonials. The celebrities used in the pictures are actors/actresses, a TV host, musicians, as well as the spouse of the actors/actresses. The influencers used were mostly travel/lifestyle influencers with more than 200,000 Instagram followers. In addition, the beauty clinics also emphasized the changes of the body resulted from cosmetic procedures by making remarks such as 'WOW!', 'Look at the results!', as well as 'You can see the results right away'.

Lastly, all of the beauty clinics use *information-based approach* on their advertisings. This approach is also known as hard-sell approach, where the advertisers provide information about price/product/place directly on the advertising. Almost all of the posts from the beauty clinics contain information about the name of the products/services, contact information, as well as the place to get the cosmetic procedures. In the research, three of the beauty clinics, namely Ultimo Clinic, Beauty+Clinic, and Beautylosophy Clinic, often provide elaborated information about the cosmetic procedures. For instance, the beauty clinics informed the readers about the benefit of the cosmetic procedure. The beauty clinics also use plenty of hashtags to categorize their posts to the cosmetic procedures industry, making it easier for people to search on Instagram by using simple hashtags, such as #BeautyClinicJakarta, #PlasticSurgery, and so on. Moreover, the beauty clinics also provide detailed information about the cosmetic procedures, such as what the doctors will do to the body during the procedures, as well as which body parts can undergo these cosmetic procedures. On the contrary, Dermaster Clinic almost never provides detailed information about cosmetic procedures.

This beauty clinic focusses more on consumer testimonials (including the name of the cosmetic procedures), and promotion offers.

Limitation of the research and further recommendations

Limitations of research are inevitable. In order to provide insightful research, it is essential for the researcher to acknowledge the limitations of the research. The following paragraphs will explain the limitations of this research.

This research has several limitations. First of all, several of the posts can be categorized as a teaser post which is not included in this research. Teaser posts are used to refer to other posts for further explanation. However, some videos related to the picture posts were taken into consideration in order to give meaning to some of the posts (with only pictures). These related posts were usually reviews/testimonials from celebrity, influencers, and non-celebrity/influencer. The consumers filmed the procedures and commented on the results once the procedures were done. However, there were some videos containing the interactions between the beauty clinics and the consumers. Hence, these types of videos were not analyzed further. Ultimately, several of the video posts were excluded. Thus, in the future, analyzing the interactive testimonial videos would have added more depth into the testimonial marketing section.

Next, due to the limitation of the available data on the Indonesian market, the researcher only used other Asian market (e.g., South Korea, Japan, China, etc.) as a source of the data related to cosmetic procedure market. Moreover, the literature used for this research was also based on Asian culture in general, as well as studies related to plastic surgery which have previously been done in the United States, due to lack of literature on Indonesian culture over beauty and cosmetic procedures. However, several articles from magazines or online articles regarding cosmetic procedures in Indonesia were also used as a reference to the current trend of the Indonesian beauty market. Thus, for further research, it would be useful to research about cosmetic procedure trends in Indonesia and how other cultures influence Indonesian cosmetic procedure market.

Lastly, for further research, another methodology, such as interviews can be used to further explore the topic of cosmetic procedures in Indonesia. Adding another point of view such as the doctors of the beauty clinics, influencers/celebrities, as well as potential consumers would be able to add an in-depth understanding of the Indonesian cosmetic procedures market, as well as the culture of Indonesian beauty. Other studies about cosmetic procedures in other Asian countries (Kaw, 1993; Bissell, and Chung, 2009; Chan, 2011) have included perceptions from the consumers. By doing this, the researcher will be able to understand the motivation of undergoing cosmetic procedures, and whether the Indonesia media participated in shaping the 'ideal' and 'unideal' physical beauty in Indonesia.

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Appendix A

SURGICAL PROCEDURES	FOCUS ON		
Face & Head			
Brow Lift	Sagging eyebrows, forehead creases, frown lines		
Ear Surgery	Protruding or disproportionate ears		
Eyelid Surgery	Excess fat, wrinkled or dropping skin, upper eyelids, bags, puffiness under eyes		
Facelift	Loose skin, deep lines, wrinkles, jowls		
Facial Bone Contouring	Enhance size and facial line (e.g., cheekbone, square jaw, chin)		
Chin Augmentation/Genioplasty	Receding chin		
Fat Grafting (face)	Lack of volume		
Neck Lift	Loose, sagging, excess skin		
Rhinoplasty Large or wide nose, deformity			
Breast			
Breast Augmentation (Fat Grafting Breast)	Small breasts or breast asymmetry		
Breast Lift	Sagging, poorly shaped breasts		
Breast Reduction	Large, heavy, loose, or disproportionate breasts		
Gynecomastia	Male breast reduction		
	Body & Extremities		
Abdominoplasty / Tummy Tuck	Protruding abdomen, excess fat and skin		
Buttock Augmentation	Weight loss or minimal volume buttock		
Buttock Lift	Sagging skin or excess fat, weaken muscles in thigh/buttocks		
Labiaplasty	Enlarged, asymmetric, or protruding labia minora		
Liposuction	Isolated fatty areas		
Lower Body Lift	Loose thighs, buttock, and abdomen		
Thigh Lift	Loose, excess skin		
Upper Arm Lift	Excess skin and fat		

Table 1. Surgical cosmetic procedures and the main focus of the procedures.

NONSURGICAL PROCEDURES	FOCUS ON			
Injectables				
Botulinum Toxin (Botox, Dyport, Xeomin)	Frown lines, crow's feet			
Calcium Hydroxylapatite (Tadiesse)	Frown lines, crow's feet, nasolabial folds, lips			
Hyaluronic Acid (Juvederm Ultra, Ultra Plus, Voluma, Perlane, Restylane, Belotero)	Nasolabial folds, forehead wrinkles, smile lines, and lips			
Ply-L-Lactic Acid (Sculptra)	Cheeks, temple, jawline, volume loss, facial fat			
Facial Rejuvenation				
Chemical Peel	Sun-damaged or unevenly pigmented skin			
Full Field Ablative (laser skin resurfacing)	Fair and non-oily, sun- damaged facial skin, mouth and eye wrinkles, acne scars			
Micro-Ablative Resurfacing (Fractional Resurfacing)	Actinic changes, acne scars, pigment, superficial lines			
Photo Rejuvenation (IPL)	Pigment, superficial lines			
Other	Other			
Hair Removal	Unwanted facial or body hair			
Nonsurgical Fat Reduction (CoolSculpting, VaserShape, Liposonix)	Resistant fat, mild lipodystrophy			

Table 2. Non-surgical cosmetic procedures and the main focus of the procedures.

Appendix B

Main Themes	Category	Sub-Category	Description
The discourse of beauty	Representation of ideal beauty	Body goals	Cropped images of the body/face as the ideal body/face, and the description of the ideal body/face.
	Ethnicity of models	Asian models	Models used in the posts are Asian looking models: East-Asian and Indonesian looking models.
		Non-Asian models	Models used in the posts are non-Asian looking models.
	Inner beauty	Beauty quotes	Posting quotes about loving the body, and that beauty comes from the inside
Imperfections according to Indonesian beauty clinics	Cause of imperfections by ageing	Ageing	Explanation of imperfection caused by ageing, such as: 1. Sagging breasts 2. Sagging arms 3. Loose muscles 4. Loose vagina 5. Wrinkles 6. Freckles
		Postpartum body	Explanation of imperfection caused by bearing child, such as: 1. Loose vagina 2. Sagging breasts
	Cause of imperfections by unhealthy lifestyle	Acne problems	Explanation of imperfection due to acne caused by: 1. Excess oil 2. Unhealthy food consumption
		Fat	Explanation of fat as imperfection, which is related to several body parts such as: 1. Sagging arms (from losing weight) 2. Fat abdomen 3. Chubby cheeks (from gaining weight) 4. Cellulite appearing from losing/gaining weight
		Hair styling	Explanation of what causes hair loss, namely braiding hair

Imperfections by having common features	Facial features	Explanation of common facial features as imperfect, such as: 1. Low nasal bridge 2. Wide nose 3. Squared jaw 4. Chubby cheeks 5. Double chin
	Dark skin	Explanation on dark skin as imperfect
	Size	Explanation of lack of size in several body parts (e.g., breasts, and buttocks) as imperfect
Explanation of imperfection as problems	Health problem	Explanation of health problems caused by imperfections such as: 1. Big breasts 2. Fat 3. Dirty teeth 4. Not taking care of intimate parts
	Beauty and self- esteem	Not having an 'ideal' beauty leads to problems of low self-esteem.
Solution to imperfection caused by ageing	Ageing	Offer cosmetic procedures as solution to imperfection caused by ageing, such as: 1. Sagging breasts 2. Sagging arms 3. Wrinkles 4. Loose Vagina
	Postpartum body	Offer cosmetic procedures as solution to imperfection caused by bearing child, such as: 1. Loose vagina 2. Sagging breasts
Solution to imperfection caused by unhealthy lifestyle	Fat	Offer cosmetic procedures as solution to imperfection caused by fat in certain body parts, such as: 1. Sagging arms (from losing weight) 2. Fat abdomen 3. Chubby cheeks (from gaining weight) 4. Cellulite appearing from losing/gaining weight

		Health	Offer cosmetic procedures as solution to prevent risk of getting health problems as well as imperfection caused by unhealthy lifestyle, such as: 1. Dark lips 2. Tartar on teeth 3. Low immunity 4. Unattractive private parts (e.g., smelly private parts, fungus in private parts, loose vaginal muscle)
	Solution to imperfection caused by having common features	Facial structure	Offer cosmetic procedures as solution to imperfect facial structure, such as: 1. Chubby cheeks 2. Low nasal bridge 3. Squared jawline
		Size	Offer cosmetic procedures as solution to 'unideal' body parts size, such as: 1. Flat breasts 2. Big breasts 3. Sagging buttocks 4. Flat buttocks
	Facts according to beauty clinic	Facts/Fat	Facts about fat according to the beauty clinics.
		Facts/Food	Facts about food according to the beauty clinics.
Marketing techniques used to promote cosmetic procedures	Promotion focus	Promotion offers	Beauty clinics offer promotions to viewers (e.g., discount on products/treatments, free consultancy, etc.)
		Promotion Offers / Package Bundling	Bundling several treatments as one package to offer cheaper treatments than having one of each treatment.
		Time Limitation	Limiting promotion offers time.
	Events	Beauty Clinic Events	Asking customers/potential customers to participate in the beauty clinic's events.
		Holiday Events	Posts related to holidays.

Testimonials	Non-celebrities/influencers	Posts with pictures of before and after treatments from consumers other than celebrity and influencers.
	Celebrities	Using celebrity to provide results to the viewers.
	Influencers	Using influencers to provide results to the viewers.
Cosmetic Procedures and Products Information	Procedure Trends	Popular cosmetic procedures according to beauty clinics.
	Procedures Information	Information over different cosmetic procedures, which entail the name of the procedures, and explanation about the procedures.
	Product Information	Information over products provided by the beauty clinics, which includes the name of the product, and its function.
	Reference to other posts	Chained posts which refers to other posts to further explain about the cosmetic procedures/products.
	Tips	Tips given by the beauty clinics about how to stay healthy and perfect.
	Easy and quick	Referring to cosmetic procedures as easy and quick procedures.
	Safe procedure	Ensure both customers and potential customers that the cosmetic procedures are all safe to conduct.
Information based	Beauty Clinic Information	Information over beauty clinics, such as opening time, location, and contact details (website, phone number).
	Invitation to come	Inviting viewers to contact the beauty clinics for consultancy, appointments, and treatments.
	Hashtags	Hashtags that can be used to find the beauty clinics on Instagram.

		Beauty clinics quality	Posts that showed the beauty clinics have great quality, through awards
Miscellaneous	Operationalization of Beauty Clinic	Recruitment information	The beauty clinics' recruitment notice.
		Current Event of COVID-19	Posts related to the current issue of Covid-19.

Table 1. Final codes.

Category	Sub-Category	Example	Translation
Representation of ideal beauty	Body goals	Ultimo Lovers, memiliki tubuh langsing, minim lemak, rasanya diinginkan semua l	Ultimo Lovers, having a slim body with low fat, feels like every woman's dream.
Ethnicity of models	Asian models	Beauty ²⁷ OZON Jista Lunea t BUYO Gt 50 % Ciscount	
	Non-Asian models	Oz THERAPY O socializar was misses result Out his man and result as social O Section social consusts as social O Section socialization O Associalization O Associalization O Section socialization O Section social Security	
Inner beauty	Beauty quotes	Lave yourself, le us important to stay postative because beausy comac from the incide one Jenn Proske — 66 WWWIIIMOCINICCOM	
Cause of imperfections by ageing	Ageing	Hallo Ultimo Lovers, Ketika sudah menyentuh umur 30 tahun akan terjadi penurunan elastisitas pada otot dan kulit pada tubuh kita. Tidak hanya itu, semakin bertambahnya usia maka kecepatan metabolisme juga akan semakin menurun. Dengan penurunan tersebut, ada beberapa tanda-tanda perubahan di area tubuh seperti pen akan terlihat.	Hallo Ultimo Lovers. When you reach the age of 30, there will be a decrease in elasticity in the muscles and skin of our bodies. Not only that, the more you age, the metabolic rate will decrease. With this decrease, there are some signs of changes in the body area like the pen will be seen.
	Postpartum body	Secara umum, aktivitas hamil, menyusui, turunnya berat badan, gaya gravitasi, serta usia dapat menyebabkan payudara menggelambir. Kekenduran pada payudara in memiliki tingkatan, yaitu ringan, sedang dan berat.	In general, the activity of pregnancy, breastfeeding, weight loss, gravity, and age can cause sagging breasts. Laxity in the breast has several levels, which are mild, moderate and severe.

Cause of imperfections by unhealthy lifestyle	Acne problems	Kalau sudah mulai timbul jerawat dimana-mana, bukan berarti wajah kamu kotor karena debu aja lho!!! Justru masalah jerawat lebih sering timbul karena pola makan kita yang kurang baikseperti sering konsumsi makanan cepat saji, minum gula yang berlebih ataupun makanan dengan lemak yang terlampau banyak	If you are starting to have pimples everywhere, it does not mean your face is just dirty because of the dust!!! It is an acne problem which more often arises because of our poor diet such as frequent consumption of fast food, drinking excess sugar or foods with too much fat
	Fat	Diet yang tepat dan melakukan pola hidup yang sehat akan membantu untuk menurunkan berat badan, atau ada sebagian pasien yang menjalankan prosedur bariatric untuk menempuh berat badan ideal. Namun penurunan berat badan ada juga yang menyebabkan kekenduran kulit di beberapa area tubuh, seperti di lengan atau yang sering disebut "bat wings".	Proper diet and a healthy lifestyle will help to lose weight, or there are some patients who undergo bariatric procedures to achieve ideal body weight. But a decrease in body weight might also cause skin to sag in some areas of the body, such as the arms which is often called "bat wings".
	Hair styling	MENGEPANG RAMBUT STANDARD OF THE PROPERTY OF T	
Imperfections by having common features	Facial features	Hi ultimo lovers Selain wajah, hidung juga salah satu bagian yang biasanya mendapat perhatian lebih. kalian pasti ingin memiliki hidung yang cantik dan proporsional. Hidung yang berfungsi sebagai indra penciuman juga merupakan organ yang sangat artistik yang dapat menunjang penampilan seseorang loh. Memang, tidak semua bentuk hidung setiap orang sempurna, sehingga beberapa membutuhkan prosedur operasi.	Hi ultimo lovers Aside from face, nose is also one of the parts that gets a lot of attention. You would want to have a beautiful and proportional nose. Nose that functions as the sense of smell is also an artistic organ that can support one's appearance. It's true that not all people have the perfect nose shape, so that's why some people require surgical procedure.
	Dark skin	Kulit Gelap dan Kusam Mengganggu? ② Aduh bikin gak pede banget kan ②	Annoying dark and dull skinn? ② Makes us feel less confident ③



Explanation of imperfection as problems	Health problem	Tak hanya itu, berperut buncit berisiko bagi kesehatan. Karena berbagai macam penyakit sangat mudah datang nantinya, seperti stroke, jantung, diabetes dan lain sebagainya.	Not only that, fat belly is a risk to health. Because fat belly can lead to various health problems, such as stroke, heart attack, and so on.
	Beauty and self- esteem	Hallo Ultimo Lovers, ada yang merasa kurang percaya diri dengan Payudara yang kendur atau bergelambir??? Simak pembahasan di bawah ini.	Hallo Ultimo Lovers, is there anyone who does not feel confident due to sagging breasts??? Let us see the discussion below.
Solution to imperfection caused by ageing	Ageing	Dengan penurunan tersebut, ada beberapa tanda-tanda perubahan di area tubuh seperti pen akan terlihat. Namun hal ini dapat diatasi dengan perawatan Body Lift.	With the decreasing of metabolism, a few of sign of body changes will be visible. However, this can be treated with Body Lift.
Solution to imperfection caused by giving birth	Postpartum body	Prosedur bedah ini dilakukan untuk para ladies yang ingin mengembalikan Miss V yang kendur dan meremajakan organ intim kalian. Vaginoplasty merupakan operasi yang dilakukan untuk mengencangkan vagina, biasanya dilakukan karena otot yang kendur akibat persalinan ataupun hubungan seksual.	This surgical procedure is performed for ladies who want to restore loose Miss V and rejuvenate your intimate organs. Vaginoplasty is an operation that is used to tighten the vagina, usually done because of loose muscle due to childbirth or sexual relations.
Solution to imperfection caused by unhealthy lifestyle	Fat	Namun penurunan berat badan ada juga yang menyebabkan kekenduran kulit di beberapa area tubuh, seperti di lengan atau yang sering disebut "bat wings". Arm lift atau "brachioplasty" adalah prosedur yang digunakan untuk memperbaiki lengan atas yang sudah menggelambir, khususnya di bagian belakang.	However, losing body weight can also cause sagging on certain body parts, such as arms or also often called "bat wings". Arm lift or "brachioplasty" is a procedure used to fix sagging upper arms, especially in the back part.

	Health	Bibir berwarna hitam dan kurang sehat ? Banyak sekali hal yang menyebabkan kulit bibir menjadi gelap dan kehitaman, seperti pengaruh hormon, gaya hidup yang kurang sehat, hingga pemilihan kosmetik yang kurang tepat Namun, bukan berarti Beautylovers tidak dapat mencegah, menguranginya bahkan warna bibir yang sudah terlanjur gelap sekalipun, dan sudah melakukan berbagai treatment yang tak berikan hasil maksimal. Salah satu cara tepat untuk menanganinya dengan rutin melakukan The Clinic Lip Pink Treatment;)	Dark lips and unhealthy? There are so many things that cause the skin of the lips to become dark and blackish, such as the influence of hormones, unhealthy lifestyles, to the selection of cosmetics that are not right However, that does not mean Beautylovers can not prevent having dark lips, even reducing the lips that are already dark, and have done various treatments that do not provide maximum results. One of the right ways to handle it by routinely doing The Clinic Lip Pink Treatment;)
Solution to imperfection caused by having common features	Facial structure	Sempurnakan perawatan wajah Anda dengan V-Shape Treatment untuk meniruskan wajah serta mengurangi double chin dan pipi chubby. Mendapatkan wajah V-Shape bukan lagi impian	Perfect your face treatment with V-Shape Treatment to contour your face, as well as reducing double chin and chubby cheeks. Getting a V-shaped face is no longer a dream.
	Size	Untuk Ultimo Lovers yang menginginkan bokong yang lebih terbentuk tetapi tidak ingin mengambil resiko operasi yang menyakitkan, maka melalui transfer lemak bisa menjadi pilihan kamu.	For Ultimo Lovers who wants well-shaped buttocks but do not want to take a painful risk, then fat transfer could be your option.

Facts according to beauty clinic

Facts/Fat

Fakta yang menyebabkan tubuh menimbun lemak di perut?

- 1. Makan terlalu banyak dan aktivitas fisik yang terlalu sedikit, tentu akan membuat perut mu menimbun lemak.
- 2. Mengonsumsi makanan yang tinggi gula dan lemak dapat menyebabkan penumpukan lemak perut berlebihan.
- 3.Tubuh melepaskan hormon stres (hormon kortisol) untuk mengatasi stres. Namun, hormon kortisol ternyata dapat menyebabkan kenaikan berat badan saat diproduksi berlebihan dalam tubuh. Saat kamu makan berlebihan untuk mengatasi stres, tentu kelebihan kalori ini lebih banyak disimpan di daerah sekitar perut.

Facts that cause the body to accumulate fat in the stomach?

- 1. Eating too much and too little physical activity will certainly make your stomach accumulate fat.
- 2. Eating foods that contain high sugar and fat levels can cause excessive accumulation of belly fat.
- 3. The body releases stress hormones (the hormone cortisol) to deal with stress. However, the hormone cortisol can actually cause weight gain when overproduced in the body. When you overeat to deal with stress, these excess calories are more often stored in the area around the abdomen.

Facts/Food

Makanan yang enak dan lezat belom tentu sehat loh Beautylovers. Makanan sehat adalah makanan yang seharusnya mengandung beragam nutrisi yang dibutuhkan oleh tubuh kita. Syarat makanan yang sehat yaitu bersih, memiliki gizi yang baik dan seimbang. Makanan sehat seharusnya dikonsumsi dengan seimbang dan juga beragam seperti makanan yang mengandung karbohidrat, protein, lemak, mineral dan vitamin

Delicious food is not always healthy, Beautylovers. Healthy food is food that should contain a variety of nutrients which are needed by our body. Requirements for healthy food are clean, have good and balanced nutrition. Healthy food should be consumed in a balanced manner and also contain variations such as carbohydrates, proteins, fats, minerals and vitamins

Promotion focus

Promotion offers



	Promotion Offers / Package Bundling	PROMO SPECIAL DISCOUNT 15% 1. Paket 1 Untuk Treatment Infus Whitening + PICO Derma 2. Paket 2 Untuk Treatment Infus Platinum + PICO Derma 3. Paket 3 Untuk Treatment Infus Platinum + PICO Derma + MESOLINE + PLURYAL Booster	PROMO SPECIAL DISCOUNT 15% 1. Package 1 For Treatment Infuse Whitening + PICO Derma 2. Package 2 For Treatment Infuse Platinum + PICO Derma 3. Package 3 For Treatment Infuse Platinum + PICO Derma + MESOLINE + PLURYAL Booster
	Time Limitation	Promo berlaku dari 01 Maret - 30 April 2020	Promo is valid from 01 March - 30 April 2020
Events	Beauty Clinic Events	Security of the security of th	The second of th
	Holiday Events	Control Cont	OHI OHI ROUS
Testimonials	Non- celebrities/influencers	RELIA KHARISMA	
	Celebrities	Si Dermater Hill Onis	
	Influencers	PLA RICIS Biometries delications from the statement in t	

Cosmetic Procedures and Products Information

Procedure Trends



	Aunder eve	
Procedures Information	Liposuction adalah tindakan operasi plastik yang cukup digemari Sedot Lemak (Liposuction) Membuang lemak berlebih pada area pinggul, pinggang, perut, paha serta lengan.	Liposuction is a quite popular plastic surgery procedure Liposuction Removing fat in the hips, waist, abdomen, thighs, as well as arms.
Product Information	WHITE GLOW PERSONN	
Reference to other posts	Video lengkapnya ada di postingan selanjutnya yaa	The full video is on our next post
Tips	2. Polydrian Communication Com	
Easy and quick	Instan, aman dan nyaman hanya 30 menit.	Instant, safe, and comfortable only in 30 minutes.
Safe procedure	Beautylovers, banyak wanita yang menginginkan payudara lebih besar. Namun, tidak sedikit pula yang khawatir pemasangan implan akan mengganggu kelenjar asi. Jangan khawatir, pemasangan implan payudara dengan Breast Augmentation di The Clinic Beautylosophy tidak akan mempengaruhi produksi asi di kemudian hari. Karena prosedurnya aman dan implan diletakan pada posisi yang tepat, dikerjakan oleh Dokter Spesialis Bedah Plastik yang bersertifikasi dan berpengalaman di bidangnya	BeautyLovers, a lot of women want to have a bigger breast. However, there are also some concerns about the implants disturbing the breasts milk Do not worry, planting breasts implants with Breast Augmentation at the Clinic Beautylosophy will not influence breasts milk production in the future. Because the procedure is safe and the implants is located in the right position, done by Specialist Plastic Surgeon with certification and experience in his/her field.

Information based **Beauty Clinic** Information Invitation to come Untuk informasi For information, selengkapnya, Beautylovers Beautylovers can contact us dapat menghubungi kami di , , , LINE: @theclinicid (add LINE: @theclinicid (add with '@') with '@'), , , , **22** 08 1212 00 000 / 081 **22** 08 1212 00 000 / 081 9342 9342 00 000 (24 00 000 (24 Hours), Hours),,, #klinikkecantikanjakarta Hashtags #beautyclinicJakarta #klinikbedahplastik #PlasticSurgeryClinic #BeautyClinicTangerang #klinikkecantikantangerang #klinikkecantikansurabaya #BeautyClinicSurabaya #klinikkecantikanbali #BeautyClinicBali #BeautyClinic #klinikkecantikan #bedahplastik #plasticsurgery #PlasticSurgery #klinikkecantikanalamsutera #PlasticSurgery #klinikbedahplastikjakarta #BeautyClinicAlamSutera #PlasticSurgeryClinicJakarta #nonbedah #bodygoals #body #slim #bodyslim #NonSurgery #BodyGoals #bodycontouring #bodygoal #body #slim #bodyslim #sexy #mybody #bodycontouring #bodygoal #bodyreshaphing #sexy #mybody #breastreductionstory #bodyreshaphing #breastreductionstory #breastaugmentation #breastsurgery #breastaugmentation #breastsurgery Beauty clinics quality Operationalization Recruitment of Beauty Clinic information Current Event of COVID-19

Table 2. Examples of the sub-categories of the codes