

Oversharenting and family life: likes on *Instagram*

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Abstract

This article invites us to reflect on oversharenting and family life that, owing to the proliferation of communications technology and the internet, is intersected by digital cyberculture. The research was carried out on the social network, using the method of searching by hashtag. The results showed that during 2018 in two weeks, 20,781 posts were made using the hashtag “minidiva” and 1,679 with the hashtag “miniblogger”, from which three posts were collected each day. Netnography was used to analyze the images and categorize them: (1) oversharenting and family life, (2) social media and child consumption, (3) child adultization. It was concluded that online social networks (Instagram) are spaces where interpersonal relationships; it was seen that the act of consuming gained relevance in the family and that the child’s exposure occurs without awareness, which can cause a high degree of exposure and consequently have adverse effects for everyone.

Keywords: Oversharenting; children; families; *Instagram*.

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Introduction

Technological development and the advent of the internet are important influencers on human relations today. The use of social media and networks, for example, is a common practice for a large part of the world’s population and influences the way of living and existing in the world. For Bolesina and Gervason,

(2015, p.2), “the intimate link between internet, cyberculture and postmodernity gives rise to a kind of network that involves, without breaches, all contemporary social life.” For these authors, postmodernity is the context of cyberculture and the internet, cyberculture being one of the cultures of postmodernity, and the internet, as cyberspace, one of the spaces of postmodernity.

As such, the way technology has invaded the daily lives of societies has changed the way of understanding the world and, in addition, it has changed the way culture is understood today. Technology has become not just a resource, but a way of life in cyberspace. In this context, we highlight social networks as one of the most expanding and important forms of virtual communication and construction of cyberculture. After all, “these networks are undoubtedly elements not only of social contacts, but, above all, they constitute efficient instruments for the propagation of ideologies, cultures and identities” (Castro & Spinola, 2015, p.171).

When we consider that social, economic, cultural and political transformations have had a profound impact on family life, we emphasize the importance of understanding the family from a comprehensive concept, based on the affectivity and proximity between members and the understanding of the current variety of family constitutions, including single-parent, multigenerational or homo-affective families, among others (Dessen & Braz, 2005). Aspects such as parental hierarchy, forms of communication, dependency relations and the participation of each member in family life are constantly changing; there is increasing participation of women in the labor market and the older age at which they have children, in addition to new lifestyles and consumption patterns that are marked by quick access to information and technologies. Thus, modern family relationships are strongly influenced by media and technologies (Andrade, 2017).

As we address the increasingly marked presence of families and, consequently, their children on virtual social networks, we are struck by the large number of child profiles managed by the children’s families, especially by the mother, with the aim of sharing the family routine. This is in spite of the ban on the participation of minors on most social networking sites and applications, such as *Instagram* and *Facebook*. In this context of greater child participation in social networks, we can cite information provided by the Guide to Virtual On-line Security by AVG 3 (Sanches, Cardelino & Ramos, 2014), which shows that 81% of children under two years of age already have some kind of profile on the internet and about 23% start their digital lives before they are even born, when parents post prenatal exams on the net. In addition, the average age for children to acquire an online presence, through their parents, is 6 months and more than 70% of mothers say that they post, or have posted, images of their child to share with their friends and family. The cited data were obtained in a survey carried out in seven European countries and America, with 2,200 mothers, in 2010, by the virtual security company AVG.

Generally designated as profiles for disseminating the child’s daily life and exchanging information about the roles of motherhood / fatherhood, children’s profiles include images of the child’s routine that are published and shared. The images include their simplest activities, such as going to school and playing, or even more intimate information, such as the objects that they own, the clothes worn, the places frequented, food eaten and things done. Social networks enable thousands of people to access this information simply and rapidly. Another point that deserves attention is the security of the information conveyed. Many families that manage pages with content about their children do not use the privacy resources available on social networks.

Steinberg (2017) discusses the conflict between the parents' right to freedom of expression and the children's right to privacy, pointing out that parents build a digital identity for the child, being narrators of their lives without their consent. This can cause discomfort, either in the present or in the future. Steinberg also points out the need to consider the potential for harm, from the action of dangerous strangers, or the mis-use of a child's data for other purposes, such as advertising or even disclosure of embarrassing information.

According to Borda (2015), in the context of social networks, the category of "mommy blogs" is evident, that is, blogs and pages that focus on the experience of motherhood. We know that there has always been curiosity about the lives of celebrities, after all, famous people are fascinating because of the status achieved through their visibility, as well as by their social and economic position.

However, we emphasize that, with the advent of the internet and the popularization of online social networks, we see more and more famous anonymous people appearing. That is, ordinary people who, initially unknown, become popular on social networks through videos and posts that have an immediacy and authenticity, gaining thousands of followers without requiring the intermediation of other media, such as television, for example (Jerslev, 2016). They are the so-called "do-it-yourself microcelebrities or celebrities" (Evans & Hesmondhalgh, 2005 cited by Jorge, Andrade & Marapô, 2017, p. 144) anonymous people who, through different means, are able to interact with a large public, collecting "likes", comments, shares and thousands of followers willing to frequently follow their private lives and those of their children on social networks.

For Jorge, Andrade and Marapô (2017) this great growth of pages dedicated to the themes of motherhood and parenting, in recent years, needs to be investigated. These authors researched maternity blogs authored by celebrities and mothers who achieved public visibility thanks to the blogosphere, in order to understand the cultural impact of this phenomenon, pointing out that the maternity blogs sector has become an influential public sphere not only for the exchange of experiences between parents, but also as a reference for lifestyles and consumption. Hence, the intimate connection between the internet, social networks, consumption and adultization can be perceived.

Weber and Franciso-Maffezzoli (2016) corroborate this idea by pointing out that the phenomenon of adultization is closely related to media and consumption, as well as to new family organizations. This requires investigation because it involves social and economic issues, in addition to impacting on society as a whole. Silva and Guimarães (2014) also establish this relationship by emphasizing that understanding the adultization of childhood involves understanding how advertising works, both in the minds of children and in the lives of their parents. By making the children behave like adults more and more willing consumers are developed earlier and are more likely to compulsively acquire goods, since they are not mature enough to discern consumption.

In addition to consumption, Postman (2012) comments on the issue of early eroticization of children as one of the alarming aspects that highlight the disappearance of childhood and that the concept is in decline today. It is observed, therefore, that characteristics of childhood no longer resemble those of previous centuries and this can be seen in clothes, eating habits, language, play, emotional behavior, in the field of sexuality and even in the physical appearance of children, which are becoming increasingly like those of adults.

However, due to age, the child is unable to express an opinion on the use of their image and body. Silva and Guimarães (2014, p.10) point out that when we do not yet have a well-formed cognitive structure, it is a complex activity that requires a lot to maintain an image as such. These children do not have full control of what is happening and nor are they able to relate it to other things, or to link what they use with the message being conveyed.

It is possible to perceive that in the sharing of high-visibility parenting, the image of the child is extremely valued in its media function, including to the detriment of their opinions and preferences. We are, after all, inserted in a “consumer society”, where people are encouraged to promote an attractive and desirable commodity, using resources to increase the value of the product they sell or advertise on the market: and that product is themselves. In this consumer society, no person becomes a subject without first being a commodity. One dreams of fame and recognition because no one wants to be forgotten or devalued, but desired, coveted and noticed, as a highly regarded commodity standing out from the others (Bauman, 2008, Caniato & Nascimento, 2010).

All of these publications demonstrate that subjectivities and identities can be built on the relationships established in social networks that favor the gathering of people and communities that have common characteristics and interests, with the aim of exchanging ideas and experiences. This occurs in child and motherhood profiles, where this practice of sharing parental life has become known, in English, as “sharenting”. This is a term derived from the combination of “sharing” and “parenting”.

The practice of “sharenting” happens as parents reveal their life experiences on social networks and disseminate personal information about their children, such as photos, location, place of study, friendship group or health and education issues, among other things. This practice builds a digital footprint that will accompany the child throughout their life (Eberlin, 2017). In addition, the term “Oversharing” is used to designate the excessive sharing of personal and intimate data on a daily basis on social networks. It is from these two concepts that the phenomenon we intend to investigate is termed. Oversharing is characterized by the incessant and exaggerated publication of children’s intimate information, by parents, through photos, texts and videos, which in addition to damaging the privacy of children, can jeopardize the safety of the whole family (Turra, 2016, Machado & Bettencourt, 2018).

Therefore, the aim of this article is to provide critical reflections on oversharing, based on hashtags on *Instagram*. It aims to contribute to the acquisition of knowledge about the practice, as well as providing support to psychologists and other professionals, especially those working with families and children, to offer guidance and information about this very current and under-researched issue.

Methodology

We conducted qualitative research of the descriptive type, based on Virtual Ethnography, that is, Netnography. Netnography is an important research method in the human and social sciences and has the premise of being on the spot to listen and be together with those we intend to study and understand, without the researcher controlling the behaviors being observed (Zanini, 2016). Netnography uses ethnography for online research, it is a specialized form and has computer-mediated communications as its data source, aiming at the understanding and ethnographic representation of a cultural phenomenon on the internet. Its

approach is adapted to study, among other things, forums, newsgroups, blogs, social networks, which constitute examples from the vastness of cyberspace (Kozinets, 2014).

Research environment

The present study considered cyberspace as its research environment, more specifically the application *Instagram*, as a place for data collection. The choice of the *Instagram* social network for this research was also due to its massive popularity among Brazilians, with Brazil having the third largest *Instagram* user base, with 64 million monthly active users, according to information released by the network in October 2019.

When addressing what he calls the “*Instagram* phenomenon”, Piza (2012) points out that this is the result of a dynamic process that originates from the favorable conditions of the information technology era, which offers the possibility of popularizing individuals within the network: the greater the number of followers one has, the more prestige and recognition the user will have within the community.

As a platform that enables the use of multimedia content, *Instagram* allows the sharing of personal narratives, in real-time, with resources for introspection and reflexivity (Jerslev, 2016).

Procedure for data collection

The data collection started with the overview of the social network *Instagram*, where the annotation and archiving of posts, comments and observations of this virtual field were made, observing which hashtags were most used in the posts with the images of children in different situations. The information resulting from the hashtag search was recorded in a field diary for two weeks (from October 16 to November 6, 2018, always between 3pm and 5pm, because this is a peak time for people to access *Instagram*, generating a lot of views).

According to Moura and Mandaji (2014) hashtags are words, phrases or expressions preceded by the symbol #, which make it possible to group posts by topics, that is, groups that express ideas, feelings, preferences and the locations of individuals who operate in cyberspace.

From their recurrence, we selected six hashtags with terms and words related to our research object, which were: #miniblogger; #minidiva; #mummyblogger; #minidigitalinfluencer and #realmotherhood.

It was possible to see that the number of results for the search for hashtags increased considerably over the two week interval. The hastags used the most were “minidiva” (in 20,781 posts) and “miniblogger” (in 1,679 posts). We recorded and collected at least three results per search day, depending on the relevance of the posts found, which were saved in a Word document. We used the Print Screen function to save the images in a computer folder to facilitate the analysis. Subjects’ names, parts of images and other personal information was hidden to protect privacy and identity, and fictitious names were used.

Procedure for data analysis

For the data analysis procedure, the ethnographic method called ethnonursing was used. The ethnonursing research method was developed by Leininger in 1985 and is organized in phases:

First phase - data collection and documentation, making records according to the research objectives.

Second phase - the identification of the descriptors, when the data are organized based on similarities and differences of statements and behaviors, they are classified to facilitate the understanding of certain issues and situations being studied.

Third phase - analysis of contexts, meanings and recurring patterns of behavior and statements, examining categories of data and interpretations in search of recurrences.

Fourth phase - analysis and synthesis of information. This phase requires reflection and creativity to analyze the data, elaborate formulations, theoretical inferences and provide recommendations.

At the end of these phases, in the present study, categories of analysis were elaborated for the discussion of the data, namely: oversharenting and family life, social media and child consumption, and child adultization.

Ethical Care

The project was submitted to the Research Ethics Committee of the Federal University of Amazonas on July 30, 2018 and approved on August 23, 2018, under CAEE number 96190818.2.0000.5020.

Results and discussion

In the search for the term "Miniblogger", we found images of girls and boys in different everyday situations: daily routine, education, health, and consumer lifestyle. The hashtags "realmotherhood" and "mommyblogger" returned the posts from mothers whose content related to motherhood, the childcare routine, domestic life, the responsibilities of the mother, experiences about raising children, among other subjects. The hashtag "Minidiva", in turn, brings more specific images of girls super-produced, dressed-up, made-up, participating in events or fashion shows. Finally, the hashtag "Minidigitalinfluencer" includes posts with images of boys and girls in situations created for publication purposes, with the intention of influencing followers in certain behaviors and styles.

To explain the results found, the findings were organized into categories, namely: (1) oversharenting and family life, (2) media and child consumption, (3) child adultization.

Category 1: oversharenting and family life

The family is the first social system to which the child belongs, having an important influence on his cognitive and affective formation. It is in the family that the child first experiences affectivity and social bonding. As an essential source for the development of the subject and their personality, the family undergoes, throughout its history, countless transformations because it is inserted in a dynamic society, with constant changes that systematically influence its social practice (Khöler & Amaral, 2011).

Regarding the influence of new technologies on the functioning of the family, Tapscott (1999), cited by Leão (2014), shows that contemporary children are already in contact with technologies from an early age, understanding them as part of their environment. The child today is born and grows up with technological innovations. Technology is, therefore, something as natural as breathing itself. Weber and Franciso-Maffezzolli (2016) also elaborated a conceptual scheme based on Postman (2012), and also on the assumptions of Buckingham (2006), where they point out that there is a triad that shapes childhood and is

responsible for the child’s socialization: (1) the family, (2) the school and supervised activities, (3) social media and consumption. In the case of children’s pages on social networks, we highlight the active role of the family and social media as potentially influencing the development of children’s social life.

For now, we can approach the practice of oversharenting here as one of the ways for the family to insert the child in the world of the internet and thereby determine their first virtual experiences. For many, the sharing of family life begins well before birth. Many parents share positive pregnancy tests, making the results public to their followers on social networks, as we can exemplify in Figure 1.

Figure 1 –hashtag “maternidadereal”



Fonte: Instagram

Images and texts about the entire gestation period, finding out the child’s sex, preparation for childbirth, choosing and buying baby clothes, the baby’s birth and details about childbirth are also quite frequent and common, as well as dissemination of the child’s image in the first hours of life, as shown in the post in Figure 2.

Figure 2 –hashtag “maeblogueira”



Fonte: Instagram

Parental life is also shared through the experiences, anxieties, joys and difficulties of the mother or father. Therefore, children’s and parent’s profiles demonstrate the online presence of mothers and fathers in the task of sharing parenting and family life, with a strong influence on the exchange of experiences with other mothers and fathers, in addition to being a lifestyle reference. As an example of this, in Figure 3, the mother shares her difficulties related to tiredness and adapting to the child’s routine.

Figure 3 – hashtag “maternidadereal”



Fonte: Instagram

In looking for insight into oversharenting we refer to Poletto and Koller (2008), who approach the family as the social group whose function and structure have a determining role in the development of the individual, highlighting especially the relationships between parents and children. These are considered complex relationships and indispensable to the promotion of an encouraging, protective and safe environment, providing the right conditions for a person's learning and development.

Correlating to the possible consequences of a child's excessive exposure on social networks practiced by parents, Meirelles (2006) addresses the issue of parenting, pointing out that when it is pathogenic, it ends up potentiating anxious, insecure, overdependent and immature behavior, which can lead an individual to develop neurotic symptoms, depression or phobia, in stressful conditions.

Turra (2016) corroborates this idea by stating that there is a real danger for the child whose parents practice oversharenting. This might include the misuse of images, paedophiles accessing the child's data and the action of people with criminal intentions, in addition to harming the child's development, in view of the prematurity of the construction of their social/digital image by the parents.

Finally, we highlight that Alcântara and Osório (2014), when talking about the place in childhood of the digital world, emphasize that the internet can be used as a space for play, social coexistence and content production, but stress the importance of security and understanding that children need support, affection and guidance from adults, in view of the challenges imposed in such diverse and demanding environments.

Category 2: Social media and child consumption

Contemporary society is characterized by an excess of images, information, objects and the globalization of ways of life and customs. In this context, consumption is a way of sharing codes and symbols, regardless of ethnicity, social class, economic condition or nationality (Alcântara & Osório, 2014). According to Coria (2006 cited by Laurindo & Bruck, 2014) consumption behavior, economic conduct and symbolic exchange values in children's material goods are elaborated through information and influences received from adults and the media. Thus, we are witnessing an intense identification of children and adolescents with the materiality necessary for their role as consumers.

In this context, the child audience acquires a prominent social position, having visibility and becoming the target specific products and services. Buckingham (2007) details his concern about the lack of understanding about the involvement of children and adolescents in commercial and advertising issues. However, he points out that this group no longer play a passive role as recipients or submit to the market, as they are active social actors in the process of building meanings.

We see then that childhood is permeated by several discourses related to consumption. On the one hand, we have a childhood seen as a period of care and protection, deserving of affection and respect in its specificities. And on the other, we have an independent childhood, with children being citizens with consumption and choice rights. In addition, we still have the child as a commodity, an actor in consumer society (Alcântara & Osório, 2014).

In the context of our research of children's or parental profiles on *Instagram*, we can conceptualize and discuss these different roles of children in consumption practices, under the strong influence of adults, especially the family. All of this dynamic refers to the culture, social class and subculture of the developing

person, influencing their consumption patterns and lifestyle, as well as the relationships that they establish in the most immediate environments in which they interact, such as family and school.

Consequently, minibloggers participate in events such as store sales and fashion shows, actively or passively promoting products and clothing brands, shoes, accessories, toys, food and many other products. These are called “partnerships” where in exchange for promotion, bloggers receive payments, exchanges, gratuities and/or products and services.

Such practice has achieved visibility and in most cases it generates financial return for the blogger parent, considering that many posts are paid for, either with money or with products and services. The same goes for brands of baby diapers, shoes, party services, food, hygiene products, etc. According to Salazar (2014) the current order of action is: consume, register and share. This whole discussion can be demonstrated by the post shown in figure 4.

Figure 4 – hashtag “miniblogueira”



Fonte: *Instagram*

This post was one of the results found under the hashtag “miniblogger”. The child was only two years old and had 158,000 followers on *Instagram*. The post had more than 6,000 likes in one day. In the caption, the person who manages the page (the mother of the child) describes each item of the girl’s clothing as a pattern of the child’s consumption: “*introducing my new Gucci belt (...) my great new bow is from Louis Vuitton.*” Also described are the stores that sell or distribute the products, in what is probably a lucrative partnership.

We see that for brands, either big or small, being advertised by a blogging mum who has a considerable amount of followers can be a very profitable business. The level of public awareness that can be generated is unprecedented. In addition, there is the discourse of a person who, at least in public, is using the product on their child and reporting their positive personal experience, stimulating curiosity and arousing interest.

According to Ishida (2016), the popularization of social media brought new types of public figures to the fore: youtubers, bloggers, Instagrammers, snappers, etc. A strategy increasingly adopted by organizations is to sponsor or hire popular profiles to reinforce campaigns, seeking to appropriate the profile's popularity. Resuming the discussion about the presence of children's images in the promotion of products on their *Instagram* profiles, Bauman (2008), and Caniato and Nascimento (2010) point out that we are inserted in a "consumer society", which promises a happy and successful life, by promoting consumption as a lifestyle and as a way of existing. Silva and Guimarães (2014) state that, since the child does not yet have a well-formed cognitive structure, he is not able to relate what he uses with a message to be transmitted.

In relation to the universe of media artifacts produced for girls, Petersen and Schmidt (2014) say that to show that they belong to this voracious consumer society, children themselves become consumer goods, that is, they advertise not only their own media character, but also their bodies, their sexuality, their ways of being, behaving and dressing (p.45).

It is due to the important role in mediating reality and social relations that social media and the consumption patterns it instills in society, strongly affect children and adolescents. The valorization of physical beauty, abilities, social and financial conditions, in addition to consumption power are issues that become part of the child's daily life in their search for personal satisfaction, resulting in a process intrinsically linked to consumption which we will discuss next: child adultization.

Category 3: Child adultization

The process of child adultization is strongly marked by social media and by its consumption to the extent that the child becomes part of the consumer society, with more and more products and services aimed exclusively at them, allowing active participation in the economy. In addition to their remarkable condition as a commodity, we have the child as both a celebrity and a consumer (Alcântara & Osório, 2014).

For Pires (2013) based on the assumption that to achieve appreciation and visibility the child needs to be publicized, social media exploits the image of the child by promoting and encouraging early erotization and sexuality by transforming children into miniature adults, frequently using elements of children's imagination to persuade consumers.

When we searched for the *hashtag* "miniblogger", the image in Figure 5 caught our attention, as one of the most relevant posts. The image is of a young child, the description above the image states that the girl was elected Miss Baby 2018 from a certain city when only three years old. Her task is to be a digital influencer. Thus, we see a small child, hair styled, made up and dressed for a beauty contest. When we visited her profile on *Instagram*, we found that the beauty queen has 11,000 followers and is a "Mini Fashion Blogger, Model and Mini Miss". In other words, at the age of three, she performs numerous activities that are not (or until recently, they were not) characteristics of this age group, being tasks that demand care of the body and appearance, as well as time, discipline and disposition.

According to Pires (2013), the importance of following fashion, from which children's beauty contests emerge, stems from the market need to encourage children to behave like adults and, consequently, to consume products originally intended for adult audiences. The majority of advertisements aimed at children exalt and overvalue adult attributes, especially women, in the case of advertisements aimed at girls, in addition to highlighting the modeling profession.

According to Menezes (2013) children also seek to characterize their bodies within accepted social and cultural precepts in this body cult society. In an attempt to insert themselves into a pattern of beauty that appears to be about well-being and happiness, children invest in their bodies the standards imposed by websites, celebrities, magazines and television in order to obtain recognition and acceptance.

The description in the child's profile also provides information that the profile is managed by "mom" and that partnerships (with stores, brands and companies) can be handled direct (via private messages through the app itself). In the comments of the followers, we can also see messages of praise and admiration and encouragement for the Mini Miss's activities.

Searching under the hashtag "minidiva" we highlight the post in Figure 6. This is a seven-year-old girl. The caption in the photo says: "*Beautiful and wonderful fashion show with the producer ...*" What really caught our attention was the child's serious countenance, as well as the clothes and makeup. Visiting her profile, we found that this pattern of seriousness is repeated in most of her photos.

In her profile the information given is: model at Agência Estrelas, singer, actress, ballerina. It also contains a contact phone number and the information that partnerships can be dealt with 'direct' and that the page is "100% monitored by mom". The profile has 12,600 followers. A relevant observation is that the photo had 521 likes in just five hours.

As we can see in the online profiles, the child's body undergoes several interventions, through makeup, accessories, clothes and behavior, which are influenced by the discourses of beauty and practices around the production of an idealized body. We understand that the child has no control over what is happening, nor over the message transmitted through their clothes (Silva & Guimarães, 2014, p.10).

When researching adults' perceptions about the influence of children's clothing companies' marketing communication on the adultization process, Barros, Barros and Gouveia (2013) pointed out that this influence is encouraged by the use of adult garments that reproduce the patterns and styles of adult clothing in children's clothing. In other words it is the adultization of the child's body.

Final considerations

The search for chosen hashtags allowed us to have access to posts relevant to the study, making it possible to investigate the relationships established between children, their families and cyberspace. It is in this digital context that we are faced with a contemporary contradiction: on the one hand, the greater proximity between people through the use of technologies and means of communication and, on the other, bonds and relationships that are increasingly superficial and transitory. It is what Bauman (2008) calls "liquid modernity", referring to the present time, globalization and ephemerality in the affective relationships that are established.

We believe that, in most cases, online social networks exemplify this space where relationships between people are established more easily and quickly, but with less stability and emotional depth. Although the virtual environment is rich in facilities, in the possibility of sharing, interacting, mobilizing and generating connection, we also find that there are aspects that characterize the impoverishment of this environment: the vulnerability of information, the volatility of relationships, the compromised privacy and security problems.

This is the concern that hangs over our discussion of the insertion of children, their families and their daily lives in the space of social networks. In the bioecological paradigm of Bronfenbrenner, poor environments, ones where relations are superficial and not very affective, impact on proximal processes, and can cause dysfunctions, especially in childhood. We know that the family is the microsystem in which the child will develop and relate initially, through reciprocal and bidirectional relationships, later expanding their involvement in other systems, such as school, and finally to the social macrosystem, with its culture, politics and historical moment.

It is by taking the role of the family as a provider of healthy conditions for the development of children and adolescents and also being responsible for understanding the world and the meaning of situations, that we highlight our concern with the issue of child exposure on social networks. That is, we question the influence of this practice on the relationships and affective bonds between parents and children. It is certain that there is a harm done to face to face interactions, and what we have seen many times, are relationships mediated in constructed realities and almost always forged for publication purposes.

The child, in most cases, has no understanding of how their image and personal information are conveyed, being unable to express an opinion and make decisions about themselves. This raises numerous other issues, highlighted in our study, including security and privacy problems, greater vulnerability to violence, bullying and cyberbullying.

In addition, we also cite posts for marketing purposes using the image of children to make subversive appeals to consumption. Here we refer again to what Bauman postulates (2008), about the consumer society that we have become. The act and the sense of consuming have gained a new level of relevance, making consumption a central element in the formation of people's identity, and it is not only simply a matter of necessity. These are the relationships that we highlight: we consume to identify ourselves with a certain pattern of life and behavior, we consume to be noticed. Ultimately, having becomes more important than being.

We also emphasize the need to deepen the theme of this paper, allowing for diverse intersecting themes, and also the importance of the development of longitudinal studies for example. These can follow the children for a sufficient period of time to enable the development of inferences and even more in-depth and grounded knowledge.

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