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CHILD OF THE DIGITAL AGE: THE NARRATIVES OF CHILD YOUTUBERS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE EDUCATION AND IDENTITY OF CONTEMPORARY CHILDHOOD

Camila Blessa
Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie

Débora da Silva Cardoso
Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie

Abstract: The present research sought to investigate the construction of identity of contemporary childhood from children's experiences that occur through the narratives of child youtubers. 78 videos from 2019 were selected to compose the corpus, from two YouTube channels, with a total of 211 references, including texts and images. With the Content Analysis strategy, four major categories were identified that permeate contemporary children's identity. In the light of Cultural Studies, it was found that content creators, due to the high visibility of their channels, go from online to offline screens, producing new experiences for the audience. They also use transmedia storytelling to intensify the relationship with children. As a result, it was found that propagated child identities circulate mainly in the categories of consumption (34%), followed by stereotype (24%), adultization (22%) and celebrity (20%). These results project needs in terms of media education support for effective citizen education for childhood.

Keywords: Contemporary childhood, child identity, child youtuber.

INTRODUCTION

Education in contemporary society seeks a "cultural revolution" (BAUMAN, 2013) and for its realization it is necessary to stimulate reflective thinking from childhood, through a "critical pedagogy" (GIROUX, 1995), which instructs education. through the relationship of knowledge, authority and power, clearly illustrating the ways in which subjectivity and knowledge are constructed within social relationships (GIROUX, 1995), seeking learning that is committed to the formation of "[...] critical, questioning, unadjusting to the inertia in which people live [...]" (MARTÍN-BARBERO, 2000, p. 60) and, also, that can question the systems of representation, cultural consumption and provide understanding about the forms that identities and differences are evidenced (SILVA, 2014).

According to Bauman (2013) education has a single purpose, that of preparing people to live in the society they inhabit. In view of this action, education must propagate a stimulus of reflective thinking, teaching students to think for themselves (CESCON; NODARI, 2019). Therefore, it is essential to educate children so that they build the necessary knowledge to enjoy the social network YouTube, a success among children, in a healthy way.

In 2016, ESPM Media Lab, a laboratory that investigates transformations in contemporary communication and digital culture, from the Escola Superior de Propaganda e Marketing (ESPM), carried out a survey within the YouTube platform and identified that, among the 100 channels with the highest audience, on YouTube Brazil, 48 channels addressed content directed or consumed by children aged 0 to 12 years. The child youtuber category grew by 564%, compared to 2015.

The ICT Kids Online Brazil survey (2019), by the Regional Center for Studies on the Development of the Information Society (CETIC.br), carried out with children and adolescents aged 9 to 17 years, reports that 28% of children aged 9 to 10 years, and 51% of children between 11 and 12 years old declare that they use social networks; children aged 9 to 10 years and 11 to 12 years, report that they use the internet to watch videos, programs, movies or series online, being 82% and 79%, respectively.

In this scenario, child youtubers have an expressive field of action. Children sing, dance, launch clothes and dolls, win and buy toys through unboxing videos, tutorials of different types, vlogs and challenges. They became true negotiators of contemporary children's identity and "childhood cultures" (SARMENTO, 2003, 2004, 2005). These are children who become celebrities through

exposure and promotion of their ordinary daily activities. It is a growing movement in our society that, as Sibilia (2015) points out, is a need to reach the path of happiness, however, it needs and must be exposed, and, according to the author, this is a symptom of change of subjectivity, an indication of transformation in the ways of relating nowadays.

The purpose of this article is to reflect on the phenomenon of child youtubers, considering that the media has an influence on daily social relationships, perpetuating and negotiating identities and, this way, they are ways of thinking about childhood cultures permeated by power relations and negotiated through narratives on the social network. This way, a reflection is proposed on the issue of childhood conceptions proposed by the narratives of child youtubers, and how media-education can be a tool to think about the critical formation of the child.

In this sense, the present research seeks to understand the significant dimensions of the videos that reverberate in children's social relationships, impacting the identity of the contemporary child and, also, to understand how child youtubers build a solid relationship with the children's audience and, finally, through the media-education, to reflect on how we can help children in the initial construction of a media education, because as Bévort and Belloni (2009) inform us, it must be an essential part in the formation of the new generation, requiring a critical and creative appropriation of the media for the exercise of citizenship, considering an education for the media, about the media and by the media.

From an exploratory research on YouTube, in September 2020, in the category of child youtubers, thus considered children between 7 and 12 years of age and who have their own YouTube channel, 15 channels were cataloged with a significant number of subscribers. From this initial exploration, it was decided

to consider for this analysis the two channels with the highest number of subscribers in the period, they were Maria Clara and JP - 8 and 11 years old, respectively - (22.6 million subscribers) and Valentina Pontes. - 7 years - (20.7 million subscribers). Together, these channels have an impressive 43.3 million people subscribed and 280 videos posted. The year selected for analysis is 2019, so posts that took place between January 1st and December 31st, 2019 will be considered.

The names presented here are the ones that have the highest numbers of subscribers, in addition to a close bond with the children's public that exceeds the contact on the platform, being expanded with the realization of "meetings", physical and online clothing stores, clothing brands, dolls with their names and published books, called "super books", in addition to the integration of contact on the YouTube channel with other social networks, such as Instagram and Tik Tok.

In the following chapters, the theoretical path that based this research will be outlined.

THEORETICAL REFERENCE

Indispensable is the reflection, on the part of educators, about the power relations that constitute the daily social relations. It is up to the school to form a curriculum that allows students, from childhood, to know how to question the contents offered, the teachers and the school project itself, taking into account the diversity of knowledge that circulates through other means (MARTÍN-BARBERO, 2000).

In this sense, the study of the channels of young youtubers aims to value the recognition of a popular culture, which is part of the interest of children today. It is known that children's and youth culture is an absent voice in the selection of school culture (SANTOMÉ, 1998) therefore, for us to have a society

formed by citizens who know how to reflect, question, build and debate it is necessary, according to Santomé (1998), that the school offers significant learning opportunities from an early age, based on the recognition of what is important as cultural forms of childhood and youth.

For this, this session reflects, first, on the child, childhood and children's cultures, seeking to understand the different ways that childhood was conceived through the ages. In a second moment, the theory of Cultural Studies is approached to understand the subjectivities that mediate the identity formation of contemporary childhood, through social media, more specifically, YouTube as a pedagogical artifact. In a third step, we enter into the understanding of YouTube and its participatory culture and, at the last moment, we discuss the possibilities of media-education to think about the education of children within the digital culture.

CHILDREN AND CHILDHOOD: FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE CONTEMPORARY AGE

The study of the historical construction of children and childhood helps to understand how childhood is understood in contemporary times. After all, it is a concept that is fluid and that moves in time and space.

According to historian Ariès (1986), in his analysis of European childhood, the discovery of childhood took place in the 13th century with evolutions in the 15th and 16th centuries, however, there was a really significant development in the late 16th century and during the 17th century. In the Middle Ages, the child was a miniature adult, there was no feeling towards the child, childhood was considered a transitional phase. Around the period from the Renaissance to the transition to the Modern Age, a new feeling of childhood emerges, especially in the family environment,

"paparication" (ARIÈS, 1986). A second childhood feeling arises among moralists and educators of the period; children were considered fragile and it was necessary to "preserve and discipline" (ARIÈS, 1986). According to Ariès (1986), this moralistic feeling later entered the family.

The Brazilian paths were different, according to Del Priore (2010) the history of European childhood can be an inspiration, but not a guide to guide Brazilian childhoods. The study by Del Priore (2010) reports that child labor began with slave children who, at the age of 12, were already considered trained and with market value. In the Republic, they worked in the fields, child labor was the "best school" (DEL PRIORE, 2010). According to the author, institutions such as schools and the Church helped "[...] thousands of children to become grown-ups" (DEL PRIORE, 2010, p. 14).

In all times there have always been children, however, as biological beings. What is born in modernity is childhood (SARMENTO, 2004). According to Sarmento (2003, 2004) childhood cultures are socially and historically constructed, taking into account the social conditions in which childhood is established and also the cultural contents that are generated in relationships with peers and in the relationship with peers. adults. For the author, childhood cultures are the forms of meaning of the child in the world, which differs from adults and these are crossed by power relations, such as class, gender and ethnicity, leading to multiple childhoods (SARMENTO, 2003).

The place of childhood in today's society is questioned, for Sarmento (2004, p. 18) this place is that of childhood cultures that "[...] is continually restructured by the structural conditions that define generations in each concrete historical moment. ". It is conceived, therefore, that childhood is a feeling that

emerged in modernity and childhood cultures are historically and socially constructed between diverse convergences that are part of the child's world, such as the exchange between peers, the world of adults and the cultural industry. (SARMENTO, 2003) in which YouTube belongs, making its analysis fundamental to investigate and interpret contemporary childhood.

In order to understand childhood cultures, an uninterrupted study is necessary, as they are "continuously updated" (SARMENTO, 2005), and, in contemporary times, based on the assiduous presence of YouTube narratives in everyone's lives, it is necessary to consider the following clarification by Sarmento (2003, p. 7, emphasis added) "[...] the understanding of childhood cultures can only be done by combining the analysis of the production of cultural forms for childhood with the effective reception of these forms by children ".

SUBJECTIVITIES IN IDENTITY FORMATION – THE CHILD, THE MEDIA AND CULTURAL STUDIES

The theory of Cultural Studies comprises the processes of meaning that impact subjectively on the formation of people's identity, considering, for this, the daily practices of cultural production. In this perspective, Johnson (2014) reiterates that the main characteristics of Cultural Studies are the reflective spirit and the critical importance allowed from this approach.

This way, it is relevant and significant to observe all the vectors that participate in the identity formation of the contemporary child within the perspective of the narratives proposed by the child youtubers, since any social practice can be evaluated from a cultural perspective, as the questions of practices of media consumption (JOHNSON, 2014). Culture is not something natural, but socially constructed, validated and grounded by the structures and institutions that have the power to represent it, and thus, according to Buckingham (2012), it is necessary to understand the ways in which power relations are negotiated through her.

Youtube is taken in this work as a cultural artifact, as Silva (2014, p. 133) tells us "[...] in Cultural Studies, we seek, fundamentally, to characterize the object under analysis as a cultural artifact, that is, as the result of a process of social construction", that is, it will be considered, within a critical process of reflective analysis in the entire context of the historical and social structures that led the child to the place of protagonism within the platform.

The discussion around the proposal of reflective analysis and cultural criticism leads us to the concepts of identity and subjectivity, both important to consider the complexities in the binomial child and media.

In the words of Kathryn Woodward (2014, p. 20) "the discussion about identities suggests the emergence of new positions and new identities [...]" that is, recent discussions about childhood identities indicate that new identities are emerging, implying that identity is not something fixed and immutable, on the contrary, it is fluid and changeable and moves in time and space.

For the reflections presented here, it is important to consider that the definitions of identity in a society are fully characterized by difference, it is not possible to understand one without understanding the other, they are social and cultural creations, socially imposed in a field of disputes (SILVA, 2014). According to Woodward (2014, p. 55) the terms identity and subjectivity can be used interchangeably with some frequency. It is noteworthy, still according to the author, that this subjectivity is lived in a social context where "language and culture give meaning to the experience we have of ourselves and in

which we adopt an identity" (WOODWARD, 2014, p. 52).

Considering children as the social actors and protagonists in a field of contemporary social struggles is to consider the historical-social context where, initially, childhood was a minority in relation to a dominant group, being apart from society (QVORTRUP, 2011) and has been assuming new ways of being seen by other groups, whether social institutions or adults. Age, therefore, is a significant factor of social power (BUCKINGHAM, 2012).

Child and media studies are relatively recent within Cultural Studies (BUCKINGHAM, 2012). Considering Buckingham's (2012) notes, with the guidance of Cultural Studies, we seek to understand not the effects of the media on childhood behavior, but the ways in which meanings are negotiated in the child's identity, considering the plurality of childhoods. where "[...] being a child is not something fixed or given, but something that is socially constructed and negotiated" (BUCKINGHAM, 2012, p. 98).

Cultural Studies, therefore, as a theoretical basis to analyze the subjectivities that influence the child's identity, allow a reflection that is beyond the intention of seeking answers that can simply fit into the polarity of what is "right" or "wrong". ", respecting, therefore, the complexity that is intertwined in this process, but, mainly, it allows a reflection on how and why these subjectivities are processed and what productions of meanings are generated from the social relations established through the narratives of youtubers children, reinforcing normalized representations, thus allowing us to question the generated identities and the entire system that supports them (SILVA, 2014).

Thus, it corroborates with Kellner (1995) and Silva (2014) when dealing with the importance of a critical pedagogy, which seeks, above all, to contribute to the formation of citizens capable of understanding that identities are historically and socially produced and are involved in power relations that are always unequal. It is understood, this way, that experiences and behaviors are constructed and that is why educators are asked to teach "[...] skills of deconstruction, of understanding how cultural texts work, how they signify and produce meaning [...]" (KELLNER, 1995, p. 126).

CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL TRANSFORMATIONS AND YOUTUBE

Youtube is a platform created in 2005 by former Pay Pal employees Chad Hurley, Steve Chen and Jawed Karim. In 2006, it was purchased by Google for $1.65 billion. In 2008, YouTube was already among the 10 most visited sites in the world and already had about 85 million videos hosted.

The platform's great success, it can be said, lies in its competencies of a participatory culture. According to Jenkins (2009) it is a concept that portrays the active participation of users, previously only spectators of the media, making them actors in the processes of meaning and reception of information. In this scenario, the value of the platform is generated through the circulation of its contents (JENKINS, 2009).

Sibilia (2015) points out that there is a stimulus to performance in the media, a need to transpose happiness to the screens where "[...] ordinary life is summoned for it to perform on stage" (SIBILIA, 2015, p. 354). Burgess and Green (2009) point out that the opportunity to share amateur content on the platform can turn youtubers into celebrities, the authors mention that this is an ability to transpose old media.

YouTube is currently a cultural socializing environment, and as Santaella (2003) tells us, we cannot judge that cultural transformations

6

are the result only of new technologies, but rather, and mainly, of the communication processes and signs that occur through them. The interaction possibilities provided by the platform, allowing the user opportunities to be consumers as well as content producers, places them in a context of "cultural and economic disruption" (BURGESS; GREEN, 2009). According to Burgess and Green (2009), YouTube is both a symptom of digital technologies and an agent of cultural transition, being considered an evolution of existing media models and practices.

For the author Santaella (2013) the popularization of social networks occurred due to the increase of mobile devices that allow easy access by users. The 2019 National Household Sample Survey (PNAD) points out how to access the internet in Brazil, 99.5% of Brazilian households declare that they use their cell phone to access the internet while 45.1% declare that they use a computer, followed by by television (45.1%) and by tablet (12%). These data are not exclusive, there may be more than one way to access the internet.

With this information, we can agree with Santaella (2013) because the main means of accessing the internet, according to the 2019 PNAD survey, is through the cell phone. The 2019 PNAD also points out that 88.4% of the people surveyed declare that they use their cell phone for the purpose of watching videos, programs, series and movies.

Children, in contemporary times, are increasingly intertwined with YouTube, if not as an audience as content creators, however, it is worth mentioning that YouTube notifies that the minimum age to have a Google account, in Brazil, is 13 years old, and to activate other services, such as AdSense, to monetize the channel, only from 18 years of age.

A dialogue with Buckingham (2007) is established here, which brings discussions and reflections about this media childhood of experiences "[...] p. 7) because, according to Burgess and Green (2009), the services created on the platform by users can be assimilated and exploited by the traditional media industry.

This article is not focused on extremist discussions that consider that the internet or social networks caused the "death of childhood" or that they brought them some kind of freedom, making them "digital natives". Childhood is a social and historical construction and what we can notice with the entry of new technologies in contemporary times is a "pluralization of ways of being a child" (SARMENTO, 2004).

Thus, Gilka Girardello (2013) brings us a reflection on the importance of adult mediation for the quality use of the internet in children's receptions, helping them in the contextualization and understanding of languages and the formation of critical thinking.

MEDIA EDUCATION FOR CREATIVE AND CRITICAL TEACHING

Digital media have modified the communication processes between people. In the networks, there is the presence of multisemiotic texts, which characterize the use of several languages simultaneously, with important attributes that resemble this contemporary society, which according to Bauman (2013), is the spectrum of super-fluidity, where nothing lasts, a preference for the now and high consumption practices.

For Martín-Barbero (2000) any change that does not act, initially, in the communicative-pedagogical educational model and that relies only on technological support, tends to be flawed. The emergence of new communication formats, of the ubiquitous reader, a reader that "[...] attention responds at the same time to different focuses without lingering reflexively on any

of them" (SANTAELLA, 2013, p. 22), brings to the fore light the need for a new way of educating, which enters the field of critical and reflective thinking.

With the growth of technologies in the educational sector, a "cyber-utopianism" appeared (BUCKINGHAM, 2020, our translation) leading to believe in the possibility of an educational transformation and greater freedom for teachers, and with greater encouragement of student creativity.

According to Buckingham (2020, p. 231, our translation), this same utopianism applies to digital media, with their uses in the school environment, it is verified that they are used "[...] in reductive ways – to test instead of teaching, to collect information, for better management. They are rarely used as creative, student-centered support." For Bévort and Belloni (2009) this misuse of technologies occurs due to the little importance offered to media education in the initial training and continuing education of education professionals.

In contemporary society, the media play a very important role and as Santaella (2003) has already warned us, they are inseparable from the forms of socialization and culture they create. The YouTube platform, as a cultural artifact, is part of people's habits and causes changes in identity processes, it is, therefore, part of a process of social construction. For Buckingham (2007, p. 275) "[...] the media have a central role, not only reflecting broader social and cultural changes, but also producing them".

Through the strong presence of these technologies in digital culture, the school is responsible for the formation of citizens who are able to act creatively and critically in favor of the good uses of these social constructions. According to Bévort and Belloni (2009) there is no citizenship without creative and critical education, running the risk, by not doing so,

of offering an incomplete education to the new generations.

Thus, in agreement with Buckingham (2007), it is up to the school to prepare children to act positively, with responsibility and critical sense, through social networks such as YouTube, enabling them, in a democratic way, in all cultural forms that are part of childhood cultures today, as explained by Bévort and Belloni (2009) with an education for the media, about the media and by the media.

METHODOLOGY

The work proposed in this article has a qualitative and exploratory approach. Through an initial search on YouTube, in September 2020, in the category of child youtubers, 15 channels were cataloged with a significant number of subscribers. From this initial exploration, it was decided to consider for this research the two channels with the highest number of subscribers, which in the period were Maria Clara and JP (22.6 million subscribers) and Valentina Pontes (20.7 million subscribers). Together, these channels have an impressive number of 43.3 million people subscribed and 280 videos posted. The year selected for analysis was 2019, so posts that took place between January 1st and December 31st of the year 2019 will be considered.

To choose the videos, the 280 videos published in 2019 were watched and 78 were selected for the corpus. For the selection of the corpus, two rules of Content Analysis (BARDIN, 2016) were preferably applied, which are: the exhaustiveness rule, which informs the need to watch all videos published during the analysis period for a later selection and the rule of pertinence, which informs the need to exclude videos that do not represent a relationship with the objective of the research.

For the evaluation of the corpus, Content Analysis was chosen, which is "a set of

8

communication analysis techniques aimed at obtaining, through systematic and objective procedures for describing the content of messages, indicators [...] that allow the inference [...] of these messages" (BARDIN, 2016, p. 48). The videos were transcribed and included in the ATLAS.ti software. In addition to the transcripts, images taken from the videos were also considered, relevant to the understanding of contemporary children's identity. Data investigation was non-a priori, that is, the labels and categories emerged from the narratives of child youtubers.

Eighteen labels were listed, which are grouped into four major categories, namely: (1) Adultization, (2) Celebrity, (3) Consumption and (4) Stereotype.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

From the analysis of the results obtained with the coding of images and text of the videos of the selected child youtubers, referring to the period from January to December 2019, it was possible to identify four major categories that present themselves with greater intensity in children's narratives.

To compose the codes, phrases and/or images that best fit each field were selected. Similar codes were grouped within a large thematic category.

According to Table 1, the categories were ordered in order of representativeness in the group, with their Relative Frequency and absolute. The most prominent category was "consumption", with a Relative Frequency of 34%. It is notable that the categories listed are similar in their Relative Frequency, there is no great disparity between them.

Category	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
Consumption	72	34%
Stereotype	50	24%
Adultization	46	22%
Celebrity	43	20%
Total	211	100%

Table 1 – Relative Frequency and Absolute of Categories.

The approach of each category will be presented in greater depth in the next sessions.

CATEGORY: CONSUMPTION

Through the analysis of text and images, four codes were cataloged, which together form the consumption category, presented in Table 2. The consumption category is composed of four labels, and the most representative label was "child advertising: advertising of brands / show of specific toys" with 46% of expression in the group.

Category: Consumption		
Lables	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
Children's Advertising: dissemination / advertising of experience	8	11%
Encouraging excessive consumption of toys and/or clothes	12	17%
Video titles that highlight some toy brand	19	26%
Children's Advertising: advertising of brands / show of specific toys	33	46%
Total	**72**	**100%**

Table 2 – Relative and absolute frequency of the consumption category.

Among the references cataloged in the code "child advertising: advertising of brands / show of specific toys" we find: *"Look mom, it's the new Baby Alive Mermaid! And it was*

what I wanted [...]"; "Look here, look what I found, look how beautiful. She is the new Baby Alive Festa das Pasta. She is very beautiful. I'm going to open it, [...] she has food, people, I can't believe it! She is very cool! [...], look how beautiful this doll is!"; "Oh, you are so beautiful. You are the new Baby Alive Take Care of Me. So I'll take care of you with your accessories".

There were several references to dolls found in the narratives, especially from the brands: Baby *Reborn* and *Baby Alive*, both expensive. Videos where the channel receives some funding for advertising/disclosure contain a notice to notify the audience that the channel has received money or free toys for advertising, however this notification becomes irrelevant as it makes no difference whether or not the channel received money when it generated the desire to buy the item advertised, especially when dealing with an audience composed mostly of children.

It is also noteworthy that the advertising/dissemination of the toys is done in a subtle way, where the child youtuber appears playing with the doll and continues commenting on all the attributes that the item has, followed by a strategic statement to provide connection and identification with the doll. audience, in order to generate the need for consumption, as*: "Look mom, it's the new Baby Alive Mermaid!* **And it was what I wanted [...]".**

Sarmento (2004) addresses the issue of using children, strategically, in marketing to promote products and generate identification with other children. In the same vein, Buckingham (2012) states that institutions of power in society use the media to restrict and impose pre-established definitions of childhood, such as children who influence other children to buy products and instigate excessive consumption. It is noted that this strategy was clearly used, since the consumption category was the most relevant in this research, with a special note for

children's advertising, especially for dolls for girls, such as the brand Baby Reborn and Baby Alive.

Silva (2014) points out the important reflection of the identities generated, especially through media, and the need to question why they are being generated and who they serve. In the consumption category, the identity generated is that of a consumerist child, especially due to the high impact of this label (46%) in relation to others in the same category.

CATEGORY: STEREOTYPE

The stereotype category followed the same process as the others, but this category is predominantly composed of images, such as the color of youtubers' clothes, the color of toys, the preference for certain items socially considered as girl's items. Table 3 presents the labels considered within this category. More relevantly, the gender stereotype related to the color pink received 68% of the representation in the group.

Category: Stereotype		
Lables	**Absolute Frequency**	**Relative Frequency**
Gender: woman/girls consumerist stereotype	1	2%
Stereotype: regional	1	2%
Genre: Princess Factory	14	28%
Gender: Pink is a girl's color	34	68%
Total	**50**	**100%**

Table 3 – Relative and absolute frequency of the stereotype category.

Unlike the other categories where the labels do not have a marked difference, the stereotype category has a considerable distance between the most representative label and the others.

Among the 50 occurrences cataloged in this category, 68% represent the label "gender:

pink is the color of a girl". Some references that support the label are the images below.

Picture 1 – Representation of the label "gender: pink is the color of a girl".

The number of times that young girl youtubers appear dressed in pink, playing with pink items, or simply make a video and show an all-pink scenery, is excessive.

The children's representations that are transmitted through the videos segment an identity of what it is to be a girl, both for girls and for boys. According to Woodward (2014) the representations that are experienced through symbolic systems bring meaning to what we understand about ourselves, forming identities through a movement that is cultural. For the author, the residence is precisely a place where one can watch representations that the media makes use of to produce identities. For Silva (2014) representations are closely linked to power relations, because "whoever has the power to represent has the power to determine identity" (2014, p. 91).

Finally, it is up to us the reflection instigated by Silva (2014) that deals with the questioning of power and to carry out such an action it is necessary to question how groups are being represented and reproduced, as in this case that children are consuming, from an early age, a stereotype standardized and reaffirmed by the frequency they appear in the videos, in different places, such as clothes, accessories, toys and scenery.

CATEGORY: ADULTIZATION

The adultization category is composed of six codes, as shown in Table 4. There was no great disparity between the labels, but there was a tie between "Amateur Adult: use of makeup, nail polish and lipsticks" and "dissemination or sale of books and other products". produced in the channel". For this category, texts and images of narratives that represent activities that are not common or appropriate for healthy child development were considered.

Category: Adultization		
Lables	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
Creation and/or promotion of own brands of clothes and/or shoes	4	9%
Daily life presentation / follow my life	6	13%
Conversations and/ or expression of need and/or desire to buy or have more clothes, shoes and jewelry	6	13%
It directs questions/ suggestions to the audience by reporting something personal that generates connection	6	13%
Amateur Adult: use of makeup, nail polishes and lipsticks	12	26%
Dissemination or sale of books or other products produced in the channel	12	26%
Total	46	100%

Table 4 – Relative and absolute frequency of the adultization category.

The labels of greater magnitude in this category are equivalent to 26% representation, each one. Among the references found for the codes, we have: **amateur adult** *"Look, I'm going to do the outlined, so you can take this little mirror here so I can do it well. I learned a tactic that goes like this, where I put it here [the*

eyeliner] will do the thing [the line]", "Now let's start the makeup [...] look what I have before you!" and **advertising or selling products on the channel:** *"And check out Valentina's super book is already on pre-order, have you secured yours yet? The link is here in the description of the video that goes straight to Saraiva. If you pre-order you will get an exclusive gift", "mommy, mommy! Tell them the book is running out".*

As already mentioned in this article, the influence of videos goes beyond words, as there is a lot of value in what is shown, as in the images below:

Image 2 – Representation of the label "Mirim adult: use of makeup, nail polishes and lipsticks".

It is notable that child adultization is on the rise, they are children who argue about famous brands, use of makeup, perfumes, among others. The media favors this growth, YouTube helps in the construction of the representation of a child's identity in the adult world, which has been normalized in society. For Silva (2014, p. 83) the normalization of identity "[...] is one of the most subtle processes through which power manifests itself in the field of identity and difference".

The issue of adultization, where children are working assiduously to promote their channel, to sell products that bear their name, to produce videos in competition with life offline, directly affects child development.

As Tomaz (2017) points out, understanding the role of child youtubers does not bring

light to childhood identities that circulate in contemporary society. In this sense, it is worth remembering Bauman's (2013, p. 34) guidelines on the media, after all, "[...] what they do is bring to the surface, reveal and expose what is 'inside' us, already pre-processed by the way of life that was – not by choice – destined for us".

CELEBRITY CATEGORY

The celebrity category is composed of 5 codes, as shown in Table 5. The most representative label is "Amateur idols: meetings, parties, autograph sessions". This label has a representation of 42% within the category, totaling 18 notes.

Category Celebrity		
Codes	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
Production of clips and songs	3	7%
Amateur idols: fans	4	9%
Amateur idols: introduces participants and/or invites children to record videos	5	12%
They ask to comment on the videos, give likes and follow on other social networks	13	30%
Amateur idols: meetings, parties with millions of followers, autograph session	18	42%
Total	**43**	**100%**

Table 5 – Relative and absolute frequency of the celebrity category.

This category is represented by moments when young youtubers act like celebrities. Within this theme, there are attributions that refer to the great success achieved by children, moving fans around Brazil, producing successful clips and inviting children, their followers, to participate in their videos or challenges proposed on the channel.

Phrases like: ""*and you? Want to come to our 20 millionth party? We are going to invite 10 fans to the party [...]"; "I think you are already aware of the great cultural contest that we are doing, right people? If you want to spend an afternoon here with us, in our new house [...] just buy a look from Valentina"; "and our first autograph afternoon is already booked"; "and guys from Rio de Janeiro, I want to give you a message! [...] next Saturday, we will be there at Barra Shopping, [...], having a meeting with our book, which is very cool".*

The author Jenkins (2009) is present when we read these sentences, as they teach his fans, other children, what it is necessary to be and do for them to participate in the culture of convergence. Convergence, despite the many technological gadgets that are available, actually takes place "within the brains of individual consumers and in their social interactions with others" (JENKINS, 2009, p. 31). There is no predictability in the audience's movements, as Jenkins (2009, p. 46) points out "if the old consumers were isolated individuals, the new consumers are more socially connected".

YouTube, being an accessible platform, generates the possibility for content producers to become celebrities (BURGESS; GRENN, 2009), which was the case of the channels mentioned in this research. For Sibilia (2015) the culture we are experiencing stimulates visibility, the performance of day-to-day actions, because being someone is no longer enough is "[...] it is necessary to perform: to show oneself doing whatever [...] of course, it is also necessary to be seen in this exhibition" (SIBILIA, 2015, p. 358).

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Understanding the scope of contemporary childhood, in the light of Cultural Studies, was an important and challenging theme for us to understand the identities that are being proposed through the narratives of child youtubers. Far from exhausting a complex and still recent theme such as child and media studies, from the perspective of digital media, this study proposed to answer the question "what conceptions of childhood are being proposed by the narratives of child youtubers?" identifying within the channels, stimuli that suggested a new childhood under construction.

Based on the research objectives, it was identified that child youtubers build a solid relationship with the audience that crosses the matrix platform, using transmedia narrative, that is, the YouTube narrative is integrated into several other media, such as Instagram and TikTok. This action was noticed in the two analyzed channels. This way, new experiences are offered to the audience and the possibilities of approaching the public that each tool provides are used.

Still, it was possible to verify that content creators, due to the high visibility of their channels, go beyond online screens, creating products and books with their names, and holding real meetings with their fans. They are new forms of relationship and socialization that have emerged with the new media, in contemporary times.

It was found that propagated children's identities circulate, especially around the consumption of products and advertising. It was also possible to reflect on the issues of female gender stereotypes, creating patterns of identification of what it means to be a child today and especially to be a girl. Not by chance, although both channels have the participation of siblings and parents, the strongest presence was of two female children.

YouTube has transformed social relations, it is the construction of society. The habits, the types of communication that occur through this cultural artifact are constantly

13

changing. In this sense, it was noted with this study that children's identities constructed in contemporary times are mainly guided by the bias of consumption and gender stereotypes.

After listing the subjectivities that are influencing the construction of new identities for childhood, it became necessary to understand why there is an interest in propagating them this way, because, after all, there are power relations that strengthen the ways in which identities are normalized in society. platform.

This way, media-education is necessary for these identity issues to be worked critically, within the classroom, through a revolutionary pedagogy. It is up to the school to teach children to reflect, question and understand how all facets of new media work, preparing them to act actively in the society in which they are inserted.

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