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Childhood as Content: Sharenting and the Monetization of Family Life Among Brazilian Tradwives on Instagram

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Research Article

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Childhood as Content: *Sharenting* and the Monetization of Family Life Among Brazilian Tradwives on Instagram

Abstract: This article aims to investigate the use of images of minors by Brazilian digital influencers in the content niche known as tradwives on Instagram. The research focuses on analyzing content monetization and the practices of exposing the private lives of children and adolescents by their mothers, who create family-related and lifestyle-oriented content. The article employs two complementary analytical strategies: first, I conduct a review of the laws and regulatory provisions related to the topic. Next, I present preliminary data from an ongoing online ethnographic study of 15 profiles of Brazilian tradwives on Instagram, that allow us to observe how these dynamics manifest empirically in digital environments. Preliminary results indicate varying degrees of child exposure, classified in this study as low, moderate, and high, based on the frequency of appearance, the centrality of minors in the narrative, and their participation in monetized content. While at lower levels children appear predominantly in occasional family posts, in situations of greater exposure they become a recurring and central part of content production, participating in routine vlogs, advertising, the promotion of infoproducts, and engagement strategies. The results thus highlight the overlap between private life, content creation, and digital work, blurring the lines between sharenting, children's artistic expression, and the economic exploitation of the images of children and adolescents. In this context, the new Brazilian regulations represent a step forward in the protection of minors, but their effects on influencer practices remain to be seen.

Keywords: Tradwives. Social Media. Instagram. Platform Studies. Sharenting.

Introduction: The phenomenon of tradwives

This article examines the use of images of their minor children by Brazilian women who create content on the social media platform Instagram on family-related and lifestyle-oriented topics[1] as part of the "tradwife" phenomenon, a combination of the English words "traditional" and "wife." These are women who gain visibility on social media by sharing their daily routines centered on their dedication to the home, their children, and their husbands [1]. In addition to reproducing traditional gender roles, they present an aesthetic of femininity and extensive religious language, with the majority being Christian women. There is no consensus on the foundation of the term, although it has been circulating intermittently for several decades before seeing a notable increase in search volume in early 2020 [2].

Its current prominence is linked to a 2020 interview conducted by the BBC with the self-proclaimed British tradwife Alena Pettitt [3], founder of the online community *"The Darling Academy"* [4]. In the Brazilian context, the first news reports on the phenomenon appeared during the COVID-19 pandemic, gaining traction starting in 2024 with the public reaction surrounding an interview with the American tradwife Hannah Neeleman, known as *"Ballerina Farm"* [5], which generated one of the highest search peaks for the term to date [2]. It is a phenomenon associated with the ideological spectrum of the right and far-right and is analyzed in the literature primarily within the themes of anti-feminism and conservatism [1, 6-10]. What is considered "traditional" in this context varies but generally involves cisheteronormative marriage characterized by male dominance and female submission, homeschooling[2] their children, and conservative political ideals [11-12].

Research, particularly in the field of Communication, has analyzed the presence of what we now know as influencers in digital environments since the first personal blogs of the 1990s [13-15], static pages with limited interaction, but which already allowed for some forms of monetization through banners and paid advertisements. In the early 2000s, the phenomenon of mommy bloggers emerged, Mormon and Christian women who shared their experiences as mothers, wives, and homemakers on personal blogs [17-19]. In the "Web 2.0" era [20], these narratives evolved in tandem with new social networks

[1] Lifestyle is a niche in digital content, whether written, visual, or audio, that focuses on everyday life, covering topics such as travel, health, beauty, home care and decor, physical activities, cooking, gardening, and motherhood, among others [16].

[2] An educational model in which parents or guardians take charge of their children's formal education outside the school setting.

such as MySpace, X (formerly Twitter), and Facebook. The launch of Instagram in 2010 marked a new era of digital social interactions, and it has been a widely studied platform, particularly as part of interdisciplinary studies of social media and digital sociology [20-22]. The central role of the platform has transformed social interactions, enabling the emergence of a culture of digital content creation by influencers, vloggers, YouTubers, TikTokers, among others [23]. In this context, digital *content creators* are women who create content on social media for educational, informational, entertainment, or monetary purposes. These women are considered digital *influencers* when they have a significant number of followers and established relationships with commercial partners [24].

In line with the evolution of social media, the content produced today by tradwives is primarily found on platforms such as YouTube, Instagram, and TikTok, and they engage in the field of content production and the economy through paid partnerships with brands to promote products and services (sponsored posts), the sale of their own informational products and services (such as online courses and e-books), and the creation of exclusive communities for subscribers, some within Instagram itself, others on personal websites. In a context of content creation focused on everyday, domestic and family life, the presence of children on their profiles is noteworthy, with children and teenagers frequently being filmed in their daily routines and actively participating in advertisements and product promotions. The excessive exposure of minor children has its own term: "sharenting," a combination of the words "sharing" and "parenting," which refers to the practice of parents publicly sharing information about their children in digital environments [25].

Initially, this article explores the literature on sharenting, seeking to situate the debate within the Brazilian context based on sociocultural specificities and national legal frameworks related to the protection of children and youth, privacy, and the digital exposure of children and adolescents, with an emphasis on the recent Law n. 15.211/2025, known as the "Digital ECA[3]", and Federal Decree n. 12.880/2026, which regulates it. Next, I present the ongoing digital ethnography methodology, in which I analyze 15 profiles of Brazilian tradwives on Instagram. Finally, I discuss preliminary findings regarding the digital presence of these influencers' children, with special attention to the dynamics of child exposure, the monetization of family life, and tensions between parental authority, visibility, and children's rights in the context of social media.

[3] Throughout the article, I will use the Portuguese acronym for the statute.

Sharenting and the protection of minors in digital environments

In a systematic literature review conducted by Tosunta and Griffiths [26], it is evident that the exposure of children and adolescents in digital environments has evolved alongside the transformations of social media over the past few decades. The practice of sharenting was initially linked to the emergence of personal blogs in the 1990s, which enabled a more empowered representation of parenthood. The initial motivations that drove parents to create their narratives on personal blogs were diverse, ranging from a simple creative exercise to recording life stories [27], advocating specific parenting philosophies, forming digital support communities, and even seeking financial opportunities [28-30]. The development of new platforms significantly expanded the potential for monetizing this type of content, introducing compensation models based on visibility, engagement, and influence. Tosunta and Griffiths [26] define *"professional sharenting"* as the practice of digital influencers sharing content featuring children, intertwining private life with public representation and commercial interests.

Family vlogging[4] [31-33] has been one of the main manifestations of the relentless pursuit of monetization through the images of children and adolescents. The phenomenon is characterized as a subgenre of videos on YouTube channels centered on a family's daily life, in which domestic experiences, routines, celebrations, conflicts, and moments considered ordinary are recorded and shared. Highly lucrative in the 2010s, the constant pursuit of monetization led parents to expose intimate aspects of their children's lives, and the decline of the subgenre occurred following several controversial cases and concerns about child safety, loss of privacy, and abuse[5] .

Following in the footsteps of celebrities, mommy bloggers, and reality TV families, family influencers on social media constitute a genre of micro-celebrity in which the commercial activity is sustained by a continuous flow of content related to daily routines of domestic life that are shared with followers through an aesthetic that Abidin

[4] *Family vlogging* began in 2008, when Shay Butler, an American content creator, started posting daily videos of his family on *YouTube*. His channel, *Shaytards*, is widely recognized as the platform's first family channel and played a key role in popularizing the sharing of everyday family life with a global audience [31].

[5] After sharing the entire process of adopting a Chinese child on their *YouTube* channel, the American couple Myka and James Stauffer announced in 2020 that they were placing their son with another family after discovering that the boy's autism was more severe than they had imagined. In 2024, American *YouTuber* Ruby Franke pleaded guilty to four counts of aggravated child abuse against her own children, including severe physical abuse and forced labor, and was sentenced to 30 years in prison.

[32] calls “calibrated amateurism”: authenticity is carefully orchestrated, producing the impression of spontaneity and a lack of mediation. The amateur aesthetic is calibrated to foster a sense of identification between influencers and their followers, that is, to convince them to establish a close relationship and to recognize themselves in the experiences shared by content creators. Studies show that parent influencers try to balance privacy with the vast financial benefits provided by social media platforms [34-35]. Although some followers express concern for the children’s well-being, sharing the children’s daily routines tends to generate admiration and support [32], contributing to the success of family profiles on digital platforms [36].

The COVID-19 pandemic represents a milestone both in the production of tradwives’ content [12, 37-38], and in the increasing exposure of children to digital environments [26]. The forced confinement resulting from public health measures has been used by tradwives as an excuse to encourage other women to resume traditional gender roles and return to the home and to devote themselves exclusively to their children. Confined to the domestic sphere, many women began sharing their domestic activities on social media. This type of content combines life stories [27] with mundane routines [39-40], producing a highly relatable and popular aesthetic of everyday life. In this context, narratives of parenting experiences have become even more profitable through the selling of online courses, e-books, and the promotion of third-party products and services [41], a trend in digital entrepreneurship on social media platforms that was further accelerated by the COVID-19 pandemic, particularly on Instagram [42].

The debate over professional sharenting - which exposes children to a significantly broader audience - extends to the realm of children’s rights and the use of their images for commercial purposes. In the United States, the issue began to be debated following controversial cases involving family vloggers, recognizing that the children of YouTubers who participate in their parents’ content creation may be considered child influencers, an unregulated category that did not fit within existing laws governing children’s artistic work. States such as Minnesota, Illinois, California, and Utah have passed laws regarding the involvement of minors in digital content creation, notably California’s Child Content Creator Rights Act, which provides financial protections for minors who appear in monetized digital content [43].

In Brazil, the protection of the image of children and adolescents is based on the Statute of Children and Adolescents (ECA) [44]; the Brazilian Civil Code [45]; and the General Data Protection Law (LGPD) [46]. More recently, Law n. 15.211/2025, known

as the “Digital ECA” [47], and Federal Decree n. 12.880/2026, which regulates it [48], were enacted. The Digital ECA establishes specific rules for digital platforms, social media, games, and apps used by children and adolescents. Among the law’s main innovations are the requirement for effective age verification mechanisms, simplified parental supervision tools, restrictions on advertising targeted at minors under 18 years old, and the obligation to promptly remove content related to child sexual abuse and exploitation [47]. Affonso [49] emphasizes that minors’ rights to privacy and image must be protected in a manner consistent with the principle of the best interests of the child, noting that the commercial intent behind the exploitation of minors’ images is not always clear: “they wear an outfit, smile and, at the request of their mother or father, thank the ‘uncles and aunts’ who sent the gift. In the world of children, they lack the discernment to realize that those gifts are actually forming a partnership” [49, p. 14].

On professional profiles where domestic life is the main content, “personal” and “professional” blur together. Sharing a seemingly private photograph of a child is not necessarily a strictly personal act, since that image also contributes to the construction of a personal brand, audience engagement, and, often, the profile’s monetization strategy. Despite the advances of the Digital ECA, the law primarily addresses the passive exposure of minors in digital environments (as consumers of content and games) and says little about their active involvement in the creation of digital content. The first Brazilian regulation to address this issue is the Federal Decree n. 12.880/2026, which implements the Digital ECA and established the National Policy for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Children and Adolescents in the Digital Environment [48]. In Section II, the decree addresses the artistic activities of children and adolescents in the digital environment, requiring a court order for monetized or promoted content profiles that routinely exploit the image or daily lives of children and adolescents.

This requirement applies to the participation of children or adolescents in content published on their own account, profile, channel, or digital space (child influencers), or on those of their legal guardians or third parties. The legal basis for the court order is Article 149, II of the ECA [44], which provides for judicial authorization for the participation of children and adolescents in artistic activities. Commercial digital content, by analogy, is treated as artistic work and now requires the same judicial protection. The decree also provides that the Ministry of Justice and Public Security will work in coordination with the National Council of Justice (CNJ) and the National Council of

Public Prosecutors to develop rules, procedures, guidelines, and technical solutions aimed at implementing the provision governing the artistic activities of minors.

In March 2026, Meta[6], owner of platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, and WhatsApp, signed an agreement with the Labor Prosecutor's Office to curb artistic work by children that harms the physical, psychological, moral, and social development of children and adolescents. Profiles without a court permit will be blocked by the platform. In June 2026, the National Council of Justice approved Resolution n. 687, which governs permits for minors' artistic activities in digital environments and established the National Bank of Permits for Artistic Activities of Children and Adolescents (BNAC). It stipulates that permit applications must be individualized, always respecting the best interests of the child. Article 9 stipulates that applications must contain information about the activity to be carried out, forms of monetization, any existing contracts, and other elements necessary for judicial review. Parents or guardians must participate in the procedure. The child, when possible, and the adolescent must also be heard, including to express any disagreement regarding the intended performance (National Council of Justice, 2026).

The permit will be valid for 12 months for children and 18 months for adolescents and may be reviewed or suspended at any time. The judge will evaluate aspects such as working hours, frequency of appearances, nature of the content produced, impacts on physical, psychological, and intellectual development, protection of the earnings obtained, and risks of economic exploitation or predatory practices. The resolution emphasizes the exceptional nature of artistic work by minors, and in cases of evidence of exploitation, undue, or irregular child labor, the judge must notify the competent oversight agencies [50].

Despite this exceptional nature, the Labor Prosecutor's Office expressed opposition to the CNJ's proposal, arguing that the regular production of content, the establishment of advertising partnerships, and the monetization of profiles constitute labor-related activities carried out on digital platforms. However, the final text of the resolution appears to allow advertising by stipulating, in Article 9, IV, the requirement for detailed information on "monetization, promotion, advertising, commercial partnerships, and barter arrangements" in license applications. Article 6 prohibits the advertising of products whose sale to children and adolescents is prohibited, as well as advertising directed at children that is characterized as abusive under the terms of the

[6] *Meta,* formerly known as *Facebook*, is an American technology and social media conglomerate founded by Mark Zuckerberg.

Brazilian Consumer Protection Code. Finally, noteworthy are the measures to protect the assets of minors, which may include provisions such as the establishment of an asset reserve in an account or investment in the name of the child or adolescent, mechanisms for monitoring or reporting on the use of earned income, and restrictions on the use of funds when risks of undue economic exploitation or compromise of the child's or adolescent's assets are identified [50].

Given that the legal instruments currently in place to protect the image and rights of children and adolescents in the digital environment are still very recent, it will be particularly important to monitor how these regulations are interpreted and applied in practice. Important questions remain unresolved, such as whether the use of minors' images in daily vlogs[7] constitutes an artistic activity, the legal framework for situations involving homeschooled children, and, above all, the legal definition of advertising and the commercial exploitation of children's images, possibly the most controversial aspect of CNJ's resolution. In the next section, I present the methodology of the ongoing research with Brazilian tradwives and then discuss preliminary results regarding their children's digital presence, in the context of digital content production prior to the new regulations.

Methodology and research operations

This article is an excerpt from a broader, ongoing study that aims to examine the digital phenomenon of tradwives in the Brazilian context. The central research question relates to the political, ethical, and social risks of these influencers' digital work, which is directly aligned with the ideological sphere of the right and far-right, seeking to understand the concrete implications of perpetuating narratives that promote a conservative lifestyle and reinforce traditional gender roles.

To obtain the desired results, a qualitative approach was adopted, aiming to analyze the narratives and digital work of Brazilian tradwives through online ethnography [51-52] using 15 public profiles on the platform Instagram. As an inclusion criterion, Brazilian women who create digital content on Instagram about family-related and lifestyle-oriented topics were selected, all of them considered digital influencers. The

[7] Videos in which a person records and shares events from their daily life, such as waking up, working, studying, cooking, and cleaning the house. These can be specific snippets, such as a morning or evening routine, or "a *day in the life*," which follow various activities throughout the day. As I will show in the analysis of empirical data, these videos are an important part of tradwives' content creation.

profiles selected for analysis in this study were chosen through purposive sampling to include influencers who significantly exemplify the "tradwife" archetype, as well as for their high levels of engagement and the way they represent the ideals of the "ideal virtuous woman" in their content. Data were collected using online observation techniques on public Instagram profiles [53]. Based on the profiles mentioned, I analyzed a total of 13,512 feed posts[8] , as well as an unknown number of stories[9] , and, to complement data, I also analyzed 150 YouTube videos. Data were collected between March 2025 and May 2026.

Grounded theory (GT) was chosen as the appropriate method for analyzing large volumes of empirical data because it offers analytical flexibility [54]. The analysis was conducted using the MAXQDA qualitative data analysis software, with the coding process divided into three stages: open coding, axial coding, and selective coding [55]. Open coding (phase 1) focused on identifying, describing, and categorizing the phenomena encountered in the field research, accompanied by analytical notes (memos) written in chronological order. Data entered into the MAXQDA software included analytical memos produced throughout the research, as well as photographs and videos collected from the platforms analyzed. Based on this empirical material, 4.240 passages were coded, comprising textual excerpts, visual elements, and audiovisual segments deemed relevant to the research objectives.

The second stage consisted of axial coding (phase 2), focused on refining the open-ended codes and articulating categories. In this phase, MAXQDA enabled us to reorganize codes, establish thematic hierarchies, and visualize connections between categories, codes, and subcodes, seeking to understand relationships of causality, recurrence, opposition, and complementarity among the data. After refinement, 13 codes were organized into three distinct categories: digital identity; digital labor; and ideological field. The research is currently in the selective coding stage (phase 3), focused on integrating the central categories with the goal of constructing a broader theoretical interpretation of the phenomenon under investigation. Although the research

[8] The main space for content circulation on Instagram, where posts from followed profiles and algorithmically recommended content are selected and ordered according to different relevance signals for each user.

[9] A format for publishing audiovisual and textual content characterized by its temporary nature, lasting only 24 hours. Unlike permanent feed posts, stories are designed to remain visible for a limited time, fostering more immediate and everyday communication; they are frequently used to document moments from daily life and engage directly with followers.

encompasses the aforementioned analytical categories and codes, this article focuses specifically on the "sharenting" code, which falls under the "digital labor" category due to its central role in understanding the monetization practices associated with the exposure of children on social media. Among the 4.240 coded instances in the study, 435 refer to *the "sharenting"* code.

Preliminary results

Brazilian "tradwives" and their children

The sample consists of 15 Brazilian tradwives, 14 white women and one Asian woman, with an average age of 35 years old. Their profiles were created on *Instagram* between 2011 and 2025, and they have an average of 340.000 followers. The women reside in the North, Central-West, Southeast, and South regions of Brazil. One lives abroad[10]. Considering their digital identities, they constitute a contemporary representation of the traditional wife found in literature since the Victorian era [56], whose main virtues are piety, purity, submission, and domesticity. Their content relates to this image, addressing topics such as motherhood, Christian marriage, feminine virtue, and household management. Among the most controversial topics are openness to life[11], ancestral diet[12], anti-feminism[13] , female submission[14] , and homeschooling. In terms of aesthetics, so-called "modest fashion"[15] [57-58] stands out, with traditional femininity prevailing over a more modern form of femininity.

All women in the sample are married and have, on average, five children. To calculate this number, I considered only live-born children. This methodological choice does not disregard the fact that the influencers themselves count pregnancy losses as part of the number of children they claim to have. However, for the purposes of this research,

[10] The influencer was included in the sample because she produces content exclusively in Portuguese and targets an audience composed of Brazilian women.
[11] A Christian principle, particularly prominent in Catholic doctrine, which guides couples to be open to receiving the children God entrusts to them, asserting that the marital union must always be open to procreation.
[12] The term "ancestral diet" has several meanings, but it is used by tradwives to refer to a diet based on animal products such as meat, fish, offal, eggs, and animal fats, such as lard and butter.
[13] Active opposition to feminism and to political, economic, and social equality between the sexes, seeking to curb or reverse women's advances in society.
[14] In the Bible, women's submission in marriage is addressed primarily in Ephesians 5:22–24: "Wives, submit yourselves to your husbands, as to the Lord, for the husband is the head of the wife, just as Christ is the head of the church, which is his body, and of which he is the Savior."
[15] A generic term that encompasses various religions, generally reflecting a consensus on the wearing of blouses with sleeves and no low necklines, clothing that does not cling to the body, the use of head coverings, and some restrictions on the wearing of long pants.

I chose to count only those born alive, since the goal is to characterize the family composition present in the analyzed content. The adoption of this criterion aims to ensure a closer correspondence between the sample's characterization and the empirical reality observed in the analyzed profiles.

Considering that only one tradwife in the sample does not have living children[16], the analysis includes a total of 73 minors associated with the profiles under investigation. This group consists of infants, children, and adolescents—categories that will be applied in accordance with current legal and medical criteria throughout the analysis[17] . To characterize the sample, the following table provides an overview of the selected profiles, including the pseudonym assigned to each tradwife, the size of her profile on the platform[18] , the predominant type of content published, the number of children, and information about their involvement in creating their mothers' content. To characterize the participation of children and adolescents in the analyzed profiles, a classification of the intensity of their online exposure was developed, divided into three categories: low, moderate, and high. This categorization considers the frequency with which children appear in posts, the nature of the content, and the role the minors play. Finally, the last column of the table addresses image exposure management, analyzing the presence of discussions about privacy, concerns regarding the use of images, or methods for hiding children's faces (blurring facial images, using *emojis*[19] to cover them, or showing children only from behind).

[16] The influencer considers herself the mother of "a child in heaven". Her inclusion in the sample meets the other inclusion criteria established for the study, in addition to framing motherhood as a calling and a life project. However, since this article focuses analytically on the "sharenting" code, this participant is not included in the analyses presented here, as she does not produce content related to sharing images of children on social media.

[17] The term "baby" is used here in a broader sense, including newborns (up to 28 days old), infants (1 month to 1 year old), and toddlers (up to 2 years old). The terms "child" (up to 11 years of age) and "adolescent" (12 to 18 years of age) follow the legal criteria [44].

[18] To characterize the profiles analyzed, I adopt, by analogy, the classification proposed by the DeepLab [42] for Brazilian influencers in the field of digital marketing. This methodological choice is based on the similarities observed between the profiles originally analyzed by the laboratory and the tradwives investigated in this study. In both cases, these are influencers operating within the platform economy, employing strategies for content production, authority-building, audience engagement, and monetization. Furthermore, the analyzed profiles share a placement within an ideological field associated with the right and the far-right, which allows us to use this typology as an analytical framework, with the necessary adaptations to the specificities of the research subject. Influencers are classified based on the number of followers as nano (more than 1,000), micro (between 1,000 and 2,000), small (between 2,000 and 5,000), medium (between 5,000 and 50,000), large (between 50,000 and 200,000), macro (between 200,000 and 500,000), and giant (over 500,000).

[19] A small image or digital icon used to express an idea or emotion and, in some cases, to conceal faces in photographs posted on social media as a way to protect their privacy and/or safety.

Table 1: Tradwives in the research sample and their children's digital presence

[table 1.jpg]

Pseudonym	Size of the profile	Predominant content	Children	Intensity of children's online exposure	image exposure management
Chloé	large	openness to life	6	Moderate	No
Maria	macro	ancestral diet	5	Low	No
Rute	large	ancestral diet and country life	3	Moderate	No
Marta	giant	pregnancy and country life	6	High	No
Débora	large	feminine virtue	5	Moderate	No
Graça	giant	Christian family	6	High	No
Raquel	giant	motherhood	13	High	No
Ana	large	Christian marriage	4	Low	No
Lia	large	household management and motherhood	4	Low	Yes
Esther	large	household management	3	Moderate	No
Isabel	giant	motherhood and openness to life	7	Moderate	Yes
Joana	large	Christian family	6	High	No
Dalila	large	homeschooling	3	High	No
Madalena	medium	femininity, marriage and motherhood	2	Low	No

Source: Compiled by the author.

Low exposure: family celebrations and specific everyday activities

Four tradwives (28%) share images and videos of their children sporadically, with an emphasis on family events and celebrations, the most common type of sharenting in non-professional profiles [59]. Children are documented during moments significant to the family, such as their own birthdays, baptisms and religious ceremonies, vacation trips, and celebrations like Christmas and other holidays. A defining characteristic of this type

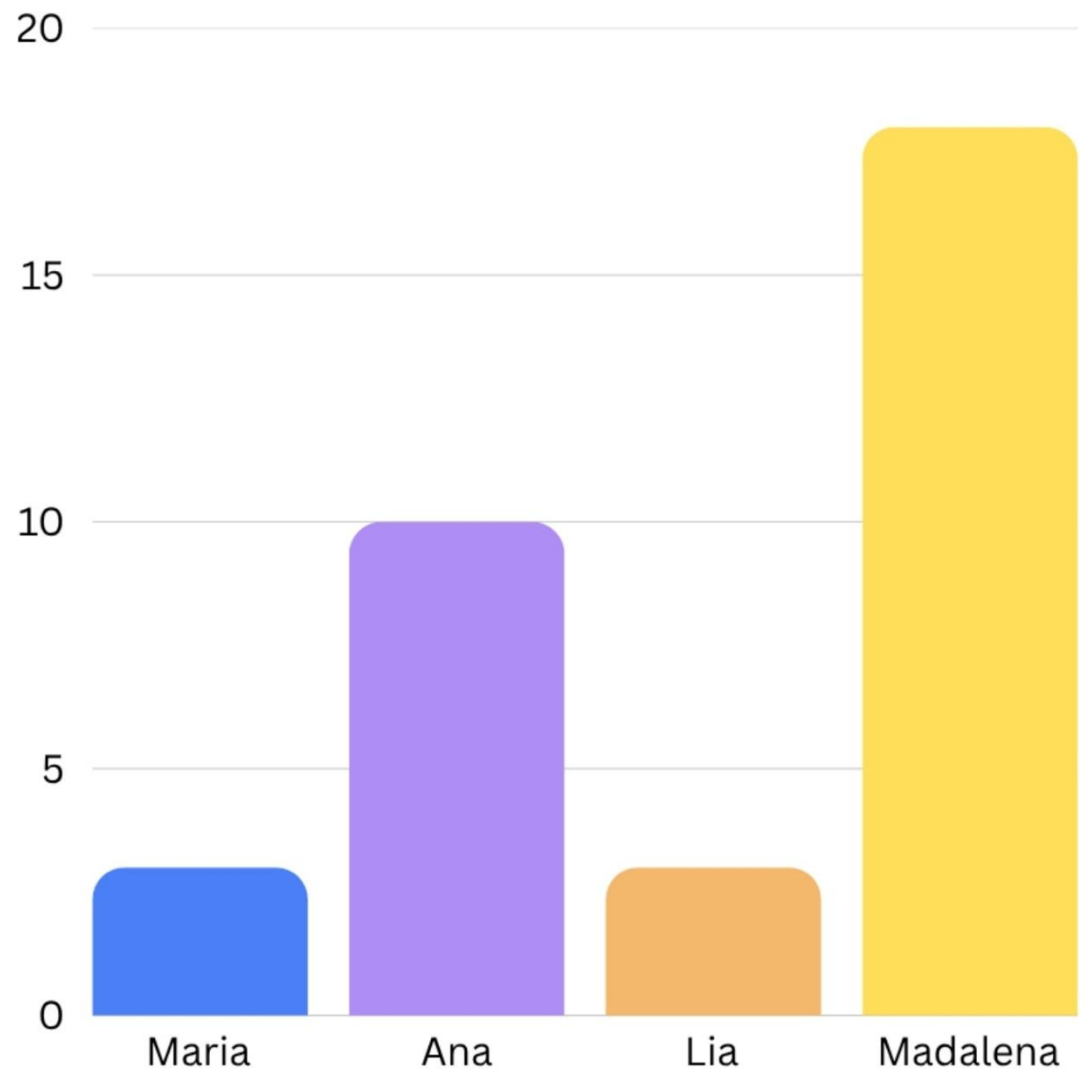
of exposure is that children do not participate in promotional content, even if it occurs during an event.

In this category, the portrayal of children and adolescents in everyday activities is relatively sporadic**.** Rather than taking center stage in the narrative, minors appear occasionally in situations such as playing outdoors, helping their mothers prepare meals, or participating in household chores. Unlike what is observed in content structured as daily vlogs*,* these interactions do not constitute the main focus of the posts but rather they function as episodic records that complement the construction of the family identity presented by the influencers.

During the data coding process, this code occurred most frequently in Madalena's profile (18 occurrences). Next was Ana's profile (10 occurrences), while Lia's and Maria's profiles each recorded three occurrences.

Chart 01: Frequency of the "sharenting" code in profiles with low exposure of minors

[figure 1.png]



Source: Prepared by the author.

Maria and Madalena favor the “talking head” format (speaking directly to the camera), in which the influencers remain seated in a room in their home, facing a microphone, offering comments and opinions on specific topics. In this format, the focus is on the creator’s discourse, rather than on the audiovisual recording of her daily routine or family life. In some recipe videos recorded by Maria, she appears cooking while carrying her youngest son in a sling, held close to her body, so that the baby remains present throughout the recording. Madalena’s daughters, on the other hand, also appear in videos of their mother cooking, playing with kitchen utensils. The children thus become part of the visual composition of the content as part of the portrayal of motherhood in everyday life, without becoming the focus of the narrative or the spotlight.

Ana saw her profile - which had previously been purely personal - gain visibility through her husband’s content creation as an influencer, and later through her own active

participation in courses he taught, steering her professional work toward the same theme. Unlike other content creators in the sample, however, she does not use images of her children to promote her infoproducts. The children appear on her profile only occasionally, mainly in photos of family celebrations, without being incorporated into the promotional strategies for her courses or her personal brand.

Lia is the only influencer who features motherhood as one of her dominant content themes and does not show the faces of any of her children, adopting risk-mitigation strategies such as covering or blurring their faces, sharing images from behind, or showing only parts of their bodies, such as the top of their heads or a hand. A content creator who posts daily on her profile, Lia says she reevaluated her relationship with the internet during her first pregnancy. Now the mother of four children and operating within a context of greater public visibility (due to her husband's professional activities[20]), Lia employs other privacy protection strategies, such as delaying the publication of images [60-61] to prevent real-time tracking and location of the places her family frequents.

Although their exposure is limited, the presence of their children remains a significant part of the four influencers' digital identity construction. The image of the traditional family is constructed not only through physical resemblances among its members but also by coordinating outfits and hairstyles [32], making visual content a central component of their digital narratives.

Moderate exposure: frequency vs. narrative centrality in daily vlogs and advertising

In both moderate and high exposure, children appear in the content on a recurring basis, which may include participation in educational posts[21] , daily vlogs, promotion of their own infoproducts, and advertising. The categories are distinguished primarily based on two criteria: frequency of appearance and narrative centrality. In moderate exposure, the frequency is usually high, but the child does not tend to be the main focus of the content. Cases where children are central to the narrative may occur in this category, but only occasionally.

Five tradwives (36%) regularly share images and videos of their children beyond family celebrations and situational videos of daily life. In addition to appearing in

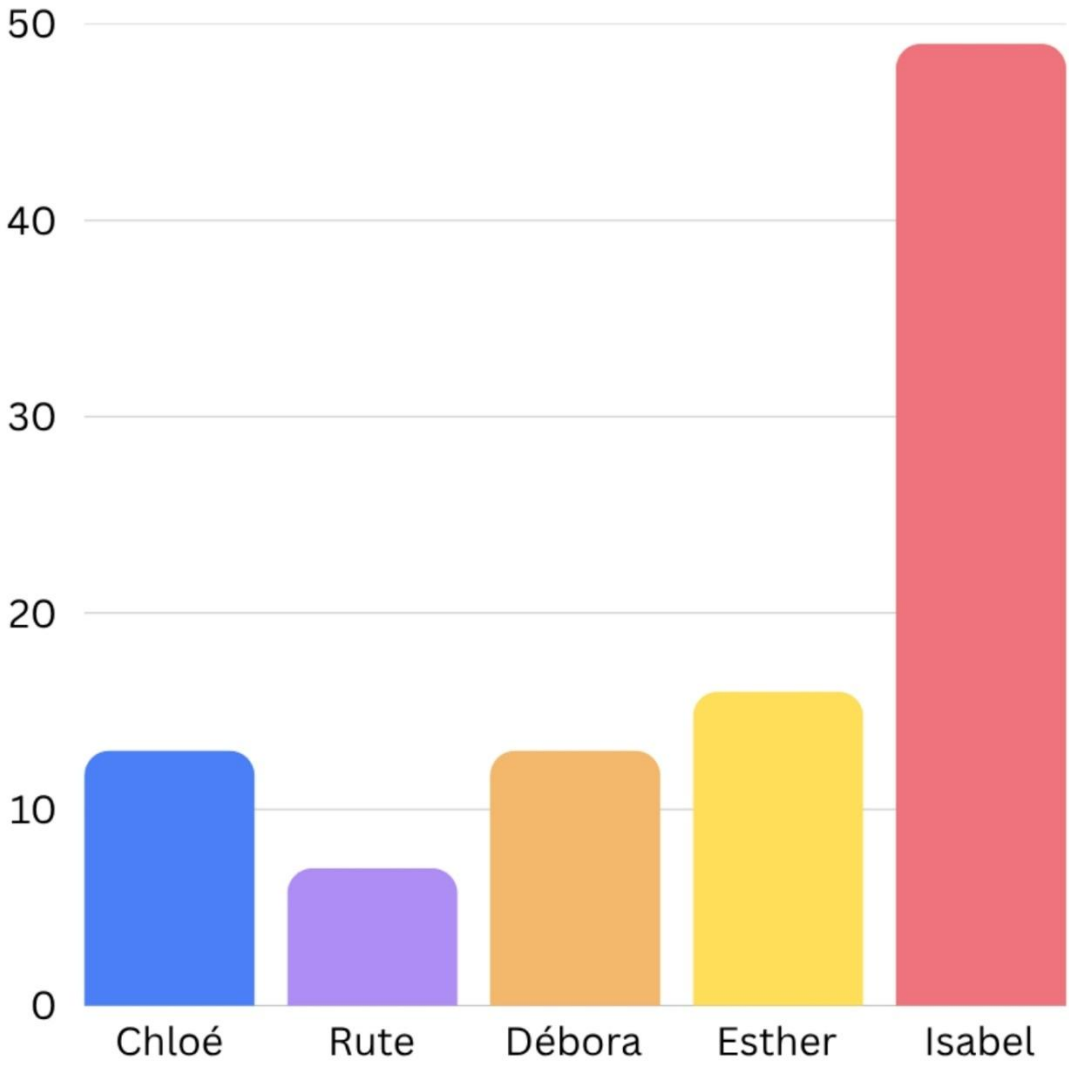
[20] It cannot be definitively stated that the strategy of reduced exposure stems from her husband's professional activities. However, given her increased public visibility in recent years, it is plausible to hypothesize that privacy is a valued aspect in the management of her digital presence.
[21] Written or audiovisual content that may contain tips or lessons for followers.

educational content, promotions for courses, communities and their mothers' infoproducts, they may also sporadically appear in advertisements for brands. Even without playing a central role in the narrative, they also appear in daily vlogs, videos where the focus is not so much on the domestic activity itself, but rather on depicting the family's daily routine and private life, thereby increasing the visibility of its members.

During the data coding process, this code appeared most frequently in Isabel's profile (49 occurrences). Next was Esther's profile (16 occurrences), while Chloé's and Débora's profiles each recorded 13 occurrences. Finally, Rute's profile recorded seven occurrences.

Chart 02: Incidence of the "sharenting" code in profiles with moderate exposure of minors

[figure 2.png]



Source: Prepared by the author.

Rute and Chloé are two influencers who have increased their children's exposure over the past two years, shifting from low to moderate exposure: Rute began sharing vlogs of her life in the countryside, broadening the portrayal of the children's everyday lives. Meanwhile, Chloé created content favoring the aforementioned "talking-head" format and videos where she reacts to third-party content ("reacts"). In 2026, she began sharing images of her children more frequently, and they started appearing in family photos and occasional vlogs documenting their daily routines.

Also favoring the "talking-head" format, Esther's children began to appear frequently in her daily vlogs, playing a contextual role. Débora, on the other hand, explores a variety of ways to communicate with her audience. In addition to videos and live streams, she posts numerous reflective entries and essay-style captions [62], in which the image serves as an illustrative or contextual element, but the main content lies in the extensive caption, reflecting on themes such as feminine virtue, religion, and motherhood. Images of her five children illustrate these posts, and professional photos of the entire family are used to promote her courses and digital community. The four influencers post occasional advertisements, most of which are unlabeled and feature their minor children.

The presence of children is particularly prominent on Isabel's profile, where she maintains a digital community focused on motherhood and early childhood education. With a long-standing profile, she shares educational content and various vlogs documenting her daily routine. Her children's participation is recurring but contextual: the children appear because they are part of the family dynamic, generally with limited visibility. Viewers may only hear their voices or see them in the background. One of the key factors behind this moderate exposure is the minimal commercial exploitation of the images of her minor children: despite a large number of advertisements, her children appear in only one, with their faces covered by *emojis*. As her profile has grown, she has announced to her followers that she will show her children less. Like Maria, Isabel often records videos with her youngest son in a sling, held close to her body, integrating him into the visual composition of the content. In her current content, her older children's images are more heavily hidden.

The final characteristic of moderate exposure is the absence or low frequency of sharing extremely intimate moments involving the child. In general, moments of vulnerability, punishments, illnesses, or detailed information of the child's daily routine - aspects that tend to characterize higher levels of sharenting [26] - are not shared. Rute, Chloé, and Esther did not post content exposing intimate situations involving their

children during the analyzed period, while Débora and Isabel shared records of hospitalizations, posting images of their sick children in hospital beds. Although these episodes are isolated, they involve the disclosure of information and images related to their children's health, thereby increasing the exposure of sensitive aspects of their private lives.

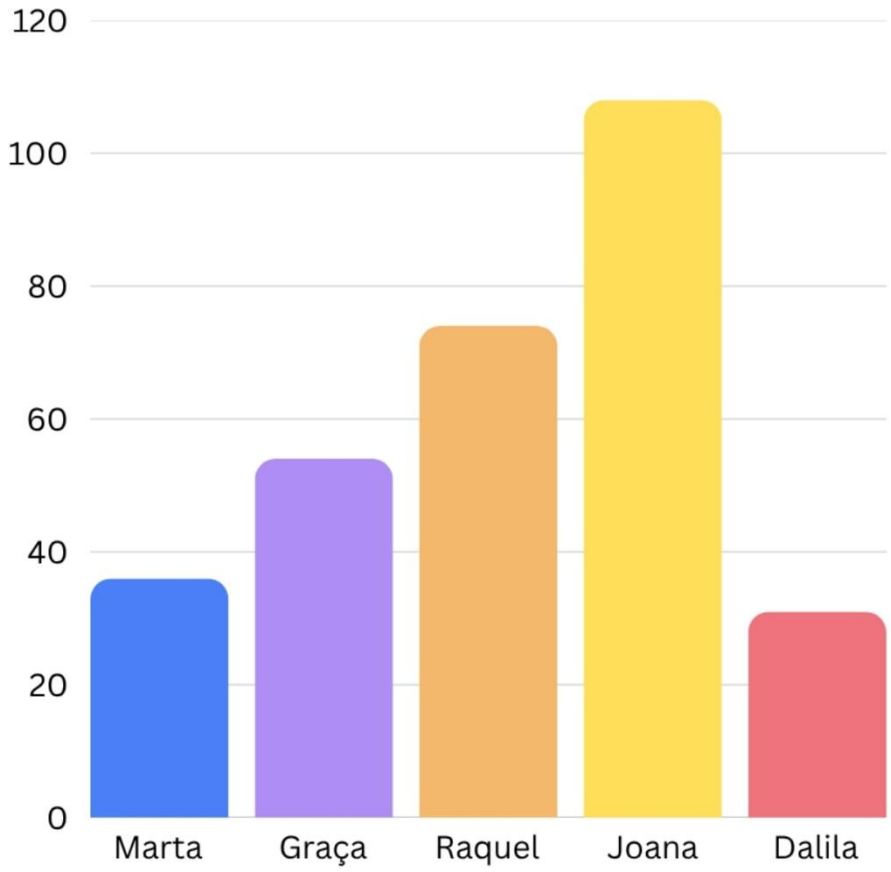
High exposure: narrative centrality and interaction with the audience

In this category, children and adolescents actively participate in the creation of their mothers' content, becoming a central element of the narrative. In addition to the types of content already mentioned, they may also participate in viral content aimed at generating high engagement and following popular trends on social media platforms. This type of content includes comedy videos, challenges, and formats designed to maximize audience interaction. Unlike moderate exposure, the participation of minors is recurrent and largely central, with greater visibility of their images and direct commercial exploitation.

Five tradwives (36%) share images and videos of their children in this category. During the data coding process, this code appeared most frequently in Joana's profile (108 occurrences). Next were the profiles of Raquel (74 occurrences) and Graça (54 occurrences). Finally, Marta's profile recorded 36 occurrences and Dalila's 31 occurrences.

Chart 03: Incidence of the *"sharenting"* code in profiles with high exposure of minors

[figure 3.png]



Source: Prepared by the author.

Although she is the influencer who exposes her children the least among the profiles classified in this category, children occupy a central position in the construction of Dalila's digital narrative. This is because her content production is focused exclusively on homeschooling, so that her children's participation becomes indispensable for demonstrating the practical application of the teaching method she advocates and the courses marketed on her profile. In this context, the children actively participate in daily vlogs documenting school activities carried out at home, in addition to being interviewed by their mother in educational and "react" videos. Their images are also used to promote the courses and infoproducts sold by their mother. Raquel's profile exhibits characteristics that distinguish it from the others analyzed. Although she shares conservative values and frequently draws on a religious discursive repertoire, her content

production is strongly marked by viral *trends* and comedy videos. Her children's participation is among the most active in the sample.

Marta, Graça, and Joana share similarities in their content; they are women who live in rural areas and share their experiences of what they call "living the old-fashioned way." In all three cases, the influencers' digital work is no longer an individual endeavor but is organized around the family as a productive unit. Thus, the family itself is transformed into a business and a brand, with family life as a whole being monetized. At various times, the older children take on specific roles within the dynamics of the digital business: they teach courses geared toward the community created by the family, promote the family brand's products, participate in advertising campaigns, and independently produce content for the platforms, interacting with and answering questions from their mother's audience.

Data also indicates that this activity constitutes, at least in the cases of Marta and Graça, the family's sole source of income. In Joana's case, although her husband claims to work from home in another profession, he systematically participates in content production, promotional activities, and product sales, suggesting that the digital business plays a central role in the household economy. Thus, rather than an individual influencer project, this is a family economic venture in which daily life, family relationships, and work are intertwined. The children are frequently filmed during ordinary daily activities, including household chores, leisure time, family meals, and schoolwork carried out through homeschooling, an approach adopted by all three families.

Across the five profiles in this category, one can observe a process of learning the dynamics of digital influence from childhood onward, in which speaking directly to the camera, following shooting scripts, and participating in advertising campaigns become practices incorporated into daily life. All of the women share, to a greater or lesser degree, intimate aspects of their children's lives, particularly those related to daily routines and moments of vulnerability. In some cases, however, this exposure goes beyond documenting family life and incorporates the children into the influencer's public stances. In a reflective post about abortion, for example, Graça uses an image of her three-year-old son crying to support her argument on the topic. Similarly, Joana records a video with her oldest daughter in which both criticize feminism. To market their conservative lifestyle, the image of the family becomes a commodity and childhood becomes content.

Conclusion: The future of family content by tradwives

The tradwife who creates content on digital platforms offers a reinterpretation of traditional gender roles in a context of modernization, with these roles being significantly amplified in the digital age. The theme of family life is a central aspect of their narratives, which, though featuring individual nuances, converge in promoting a conservative lifestyle that places women at the center of the home, devoted to God and the family, and primarily responsible for raising and educating their children. The portrayal of the tradwife's digital identity reinforces the image of the husband as the provider and the wife as exclusively devoted to the domestic sphere. However, this representation coexists with intense digital entrepreneurship, in which these women transform their routines, their families, and their daily lives into economic assets.

The practice of sharenting has accompanied broader transformations in the creator economy. Various countries began to discuss and implement mechanisms to protect the rights of children and adolescents in digital environments, broadening the legal debate on the protection of the image, privacy, and property rights of minors who participate in the production of digital content. Professional sharenting [26] presented challenges, as the participation of children and adolescents in monetized digital content did not easily fit within existing legislation governing children's artistic work. Just as in the United States, where the creation of specific legislation to protect children involved in family vlogs was driven by cases of exploitation and convictions of influencer parents, the Brazilian context also highlights the importance of high-profile incidents for the consolidation of the regulatory agenda. Although the bill that gave rise to the Digital ECA was already under consideration, the allegations made by Brazilian YouTuber Felca[22] regarding the exploitation and sexualization of children on digital platforms amplified social and political mobilization around the issue, helping to accelerate its approval.

While Digital ECA brought numerous advances in protecting minors from passive exposure in digital environments, Federal Decree n. 12.880/2026, which regulates it, goes further by dedicating an entire section to addressing the artistic activities of children and adolescents in the digital realm. It is within this context that the preliminary results of this ethnography are situated; they highlight how children's exposure takes on different forms among Brazilian tradwives, ranging from occasional appearances in family posts to forms of recurring participation that are economically integrated into content production and

[22] Felca is the stage name of Brazilian *YouTuber* and comedian Felipe Bressanim. The video in question, titled "Adultização," was published on August 6, 2025, and has over 52 million views. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FpsCzFGL1LE&t=543s Accessed on: June 15, 2026.

profile monetization strategies. The ethnography reveals different degrees and forms of child and adolescent participation, considering not only the frequency of appearances but also the centrality of minors in the narrative. Given the recent enactment of these legal provisions, the practical application of these rules will depend on their regulation, the consolidation of case law, and the interpretation provided by the competent authorities.

In this context, the categorization proposed in this study should be understood as an analytical exercise, formulated based on the criteria present in the legislation and the patterns of child exposure identified in the ethnographic study. What can be classified as monetized and promoted content? Digital ECA defines "monetization" as any remuneration, direct or indirect, for the publication, posting, display, making available, transmission, dissemination, or distribution of content, including revenue from views, subscriptions, donations, sponsorships, advertising, or the sale of related products and services. In turn, "promotion" is defined as the artificial expansion of the reach, visibility, or prioritization of content through monetary payment or a value estimable in money [47]. Thus, even a simple image of children or adolescents in a family setting may, under certain circumstances, constitute an artistic activity—for example, when the post is boosted as an advertisement to expand the profile's reach and attract new followers. Similarly, content published on platforms that compensate creators based on the number of views or made available exclusively to subscribers may also be interpreted as part of an economic activity subject to the new legislation.

Content with moderate to high exposure, particularly when featuring recurring participation, a central narrative role for the child, and an economic purpose, reflects the concerns underlying recent regulations. Under National Council of Justice Resolution n. 687, guardians must submit recording scripts and ensure that content production does not interfere with children's education, leisure, rest, or development. This poses a particular challenge for daily vlogs, which document spontaneous everyday activities and often blur the boundaries between private life and content production.

Among the various forms of content production, advertising tends to pose the most complex challenge for the application of the new regulations: the growing professionalization of content production on digital platforms makes the distinction between artistic activity and child labor less clear when children participate in advertising campaigns promoted by influencers. This issue takes on even greater relevance in the present study because some of the advertisements identified in the ethnography already show signs of noncompliance with advertising disclosure rules, since several sponsored

posts are not properly identified as advertising. With the entry into force of the new regulations, however, the requirements become significantly broader. In addition to submitting a script to obtain the permit, those responsible must include the signed contract for the campaign with the application and provide information on all content productions in which the child or adolescent participated during the previous five years [50]. This documentation may make the economic dimension of children's participation in digital content production much more visible.

The requirement to provide proof of educational status and academic performance will demand greater attention from tradwives who practice homeschooling, something that has gained visibility in the country over the past decade, especially among conservative Christian groups[23]. The documentation requirement was designed with formal schooling as a reference point, and its application to homeschooling families remains an open question. Six tradwives in the sample publicly state that they homeschool their children: of these, four belong to the category of high exposure of minors' images and two to the category of moderate. The overlap between homeschooling and children's high level of participation in the influencer economy makes the new documentation requirements particularly relevant. Taken together, these documents may enable the judiciary to assess not only isolated incidents of child exposure but also the child's ongoing involvement in the family's economic activities. Thus, the regulation shifts the focus of analysis from specific content to the very organization of family work on digital platforms.

The preliminary results of the ethnographic study align with the literature on sharenting, highlighting that the systematic exposure of minors on social media raises important issues related to privacy, consent, and their digital rights [26, 32, 63]. In particular, the recurring presence of infants and young children - who, by definition, are unable to consent to the production and ongoing circulation of their images - reinforces the concerns raised by previous studies regarding children's autonomy and digital self-determination. Although two tradwives in the sample adopt risk mitigation measures, this strategy is not consistently applied. In at least one of the profiles, the concealment varies

[23] In 2018, the Federal Supreme Court (STF) ruled that homeschooling is not unconstitutional but established that it cannot be practiced without a specific law to regulate it. Bill n. 1.338/2022 is currently pending in the Federal Senate; it seeks to amend the Law on Educational Guidelines and Foundations (LDB) and the Statute of Children and Adolescents (ECA) to authorize homeschooling. In May 2026, a couple was convicted of intellectual neglect of their two daughters following a complaint filed by the Child Protection Agency.

depending on the type of content posted, with frequent exceptions, especially when it comes to the youngest children.

In the case of professional sharenting, the exposure of family life is not merely an everyday sharing practice but is integrated into business models based on the monetization of intimacy, advertising, and the continuous production of content. Although this artistic activity is defined by the CNJ as an exception that exempts it from the general prohibition on child labor, measures are also in place to protect the financial interests of minors related to compensation or potential earnings from their artistic activities. Although it is not legally recognized as child labor, it requires safeguards typical of employment relationships, precisely because it involves generating income through the child's participation.

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