Child Star or Child Labor?
A Study of Digital Labor of Kidfluencers on Short Video Platforms

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Abstract

With the development of the new media economy, platform performances have gradually become one of the forms of paid labor. In this context, children, as short video actors, are increasingly appearing in the public, gathering fans, Amassing fame and becoming a money-making Internet celebrity, they are excluded from the ranks of workers because of their status as minors and indirect media use. Reflecting on this evolution, this article argues that children, who create economic value for families and business firms through media performances, have become the digital workers，and they should be valued and protected.

Keywords: kidfluencers, short video social platforms, digital labor, child labor

1. Introduction

Since the birth of the Internet, social controversies have been closely associated with young children, from Internet cafes and video games, which are considered modern-day psychiatric opiates, to online chatting, which is a safety hazard, parents and educators have been more "guarded" in their approach to digital media. But the emergence of short videos has shaken this dichotomy between education and entertainment, and more and more children are becoming involved in the use of media in advance through their parents, and they do not have to be literate or even knowledgeable to be "deep users" of media, enjoying the traffic dividends of the Internet economy, and even becoming small celebrities on Internet platforms, that is. Children's Netflix is followed by more questions and controversies focused on children's Netflix, the public always presents a very contradictory attitude towards them: the audience likes the cute children in the short video, but the audience also refuses to let the children become "Netflix", more precisely the audience does not want the children to make money by their popularity. But in the increasingly commercialized video platform, under the logic of flow where attention is gradually equated with financial gain, it is undoubtedly very difficult for children and their families to exercise restraint on fans, fame and flow.

Therefore, it is necessary to re-examine the communication practices of children's performance on short video platforms from the perspective of political economy.By analyzing the digital labor patterns reflected in them and their driving factors, we can get a deep research of the relationship between families, platforms, commercial organizations and children to find how children's digital labor becomes an important part of family reproduction as well as social reproduction.

2. Review of the Literature

Dallas Smith (1977) introduced the concept of labor into the study of audiences. In his article "Communication: The Blind Spot of Western Marxism," he proposed the famous "audience commodity theory" in which he argued that under monopoly capitalism, audiences and readership are the commodity forms that publishers and advertisers fund to support communication. In 1982, his book "On Audience Goods and Their Work" he further summarizes audience and readership as "audience power" and explains that this audience power is "produced, sold, bought, and consumed"(Xiang,2015) . Smith focuses his research on the work content and labor product of leisure time audiences, arguing that for most people, 24 hours a day is actually work time. The introduction of audience commodity theory not only introduced a perspective of communication political economy to audience

research, but also laid the theoretical foundation for later scholars to discuss the exploitation of digital labor by Internet companies.

Audience commodity theory has inspired subsequent scholars to study "labor". In the context of media development, the labor of the communication audience has gradually been focused on and further interpreted by the Liberal Marxism, the traditional Marxist school, and the political economy of communication school. In his book Digital Labor and Karl Marx, Fox(2020) proposes that digital labor is alienated digital work, and all activities involved in the technical production of digital media and content production belong to digital labor. This kind of labor contains both immaterial digital work, such as cultural content-based production labor of social relations and social institutions, and material digital work, such as specialized technical production labor of minerals and components. Fox's definition of digital labor emphasizes the control and alienation of people by digital platforms, especially in the influence of digital ideologies on users of digital technologies.

The introduction of the concept of digital labor has also drawn the attention of more and more scholars to the fact that audiences on Internet platforms are experiencing a shift from consumers to producers and consumers who unite consumption and production. Cao and Zhang (2012)had a rearch of subtitling groups in mainland China found that the underlying motivation for unpaid labor performed by online subtitling groups is the highly insidious exploitation of capital across time, space, borders, and classes. Xiong and Zheng (2021), in their study of consumers in Li Jiaqi's live-streaming studio, point out that consumers' "consent" to the rules of the studio, emotional labor through intimacy games with the anchor, and impulsive transactions are in fact a kind of voluntary coercion, which ultimately exposes them to both capital alliance and self-exploitation. If the audiences in these studies above voluntarily join the labor of digital platforms under the call of self-consciousness and unintentionally create labor value, children, especially those without the ability to use digital technology, join the producers of digital labor in a more unconscious and very covert way. Kojok (2022) argues that is a cultural and political economic transform with the emergence of social media and the social media influencer. And the transform broadens the definition of labor and involves children in the process of income-generating labor. Zhu and Hu (2021) take the WeChat platform as the core, and analyze WeChat's field survey of the child model industry in Zhejiang Weili town to analyze the exception of digital child labor constructed by WeChat through the logic of mediation. Although in this study, the digital platform tends to be more of an intermediary platform than a workplace, and the labor that the study points to is a kind of material labor associated with the digital industry. However, it is noteworthy that in the study, they point out how digital platforms confound three important indicators for the conceptualization of child labor, namely: space, time and social distance, which delineate a clearer dimension of examination for the determination of the concept of digital child labor.

3. Research Methodology

This paper mainly adopts content analysis method to crawl and analyze the video contents, personal homepages and fan comments posted , with the aim of exploring in what forms children perform digital labor on short video platforms, while three guardians of kidfluencers and two content operation staff members are also selected for interviews in this study to gain an in-depth understanding of the process of kidfluencers' participation in the digital industry.

4. The Form of Labor of Kidfluencers on Short Video Platform

4.1 Active Participation: Persona Building and Emotional Performance

In March 2020, Jitterbug blogger @ zhuliangzhia with a father-daughter love rupture video became popular, this video harvested 1.29 million likes, while the video "pit father" mode has become the fixed plot arrangement of this account video, almost every video will provide a new "pit father". Almost every video will provide a new "daddy" strategy. According to the "2021 Jitterbug Mother and Baby Industry Annual Inventory" report, the audience of Jitterbug's munchkin videos is mainly female, so the children-related videos are mostly "spoiled sister", "spoiled mother" and "pit father "This strategy of highlighting the emotional narrative of women's status is very popular with the audience.

By crawling through the profiles of 138 children's tiktok homepages with more than 100,000 followers on the Jitterbug platform, we found that children's videos mainly focus on "recording growth" and "sharing life", with the main part of children's videos focusing on plot and daily content. The real life scenes not only meet the needs of children, but also provide them with the opportunity to share their lives. The real life scenes not only satisfy the viewers' attention to private life, but also ensure that children can shoot in a relaxed state, presenting their real life condition.

In this kind of video, the content that can present the emotional interaction in the family is often easier to meet

the emotional expectations of the audience, causing more positive feedback. In the actual operation process, in order to ensure that the "data looks good", the operation staff will suggest parents to refer to those "exploding" videos, repeat the plot, such as the brother obedient to his sister, the "little warm man "The son cares for his sick mother. Such things that should happen naturally when families get together are often reduced to artificially created "family routines" that serve the needs of filming, with parents accumulating material for filming to induce questions or pretend to be sick to get their children to show care for their family and friends, or to take them on arranged activity routes. Such artificial arrangements will inevitably have an unpredictable impact on the growth of children, on the one hand, while filming to experience a variety of activities, both to enhance the interaction between parents and children and to teach and entertain two birds with one stone, while on the other hand, children will also make more reactions, such as because of the heart of the mother and sad, or because they heard that Ultraman does not exist to feel disillusioned, these look like a joke prank may be able to make the parents These seemingly joking pranks may satisfy the parents and make the audience laugh, but only ignore the children themselves, who originally did not need to prove to others their love for their parents, nor did they need to put themselves to the test about their qualities.

In addition to stimulating children's reactions with external stimuli, it is also necessary to tap into children's innermost emotions that will resonate with the child audience. In order to let children express their emotions to their heart's content in a more natural environment, while parents will choose the right theme according to the scene of the photo shoot and be well prepared, the children perform as if they were in reality. One mother has mentioned in an interview how she instructed her children to take pictures:

> *There are three main categories, some of them are really unintentional, such as the mother who is very angry, that is very natural. Another kind is that I have encountered this incident in daily life, but at that time did not record it, and then I will reproduce the scene, I will ask him again, and then he will retell what happened at that time. There is a third kind is that I now shoot a lot of video inside the editing is more obvious, that is because we now every day soak feet well, the whole process may have 5 minutes, 8 minutes or 10 minutes, divided into many time segments, I will keep the more exciting part of the dialogue.*

According to the interviewees, the "natural state" of the children in the video was not intentional, but it was not entirely natural. Because parents acted as intermediaries between children and the media, children were able to express their emotions to acquaintances in a familiar setting, but this does not mean that the children's "present state" was their natural state. Rather, before children enter media communication, they are first exposed to face-to-face interpersonal interactions with early parents or relatives who encourage children to demonstrate their behaviors and actions through face-to-face interactions. Children enjoy limited freedom in an artificially created experimental environment, i.e., "half-acting and half-truth," with the parents doing the "acting": they identify topics of conversation interest and then post-produce the music, while the " The "real" part is filled by the child: answering the parents' questions truthfully and responding naturally. In this way, the near-truthful expression is the result of a joint effort by parents and children.

The American sociologist Cooley argues that the earliest and most active primary groups in early childhood, such as family, neighborhood, and children's playmates, play a critical role in the formation of children's cognition and the establishment of primary social relationships. Parents, as the people with whom children are closest, have an important influence on children's behavior. Support, rewarding guidance, and appropriate responses from parents have the potential to influence and change children's cognition and behavior, especially when certain parental guidance and demands and emotional and material support are combined with specific responses from children. Parents expect their children's behavior to better meet expectations, not through mechanical, coercive fiddling, but through emotional support and feedback such as encouragement and praise:

> Perhaps because I liked to take videos of him when he was very young, he basically did not resist or act unnaturally when facing the camera. ...I will tell him that mommy is trying to record his growth and take a picture of him as a child so that we can reminisce together later.

However, such guidance is often confused with education, and even parents are not sure whether they are learning to communicate out of a duty of supervision and care, or whether they are treating children as their private property to direct them to carry out their instructions. For most children, forwarding capacity, comments, and likes are of little practical significance because they have no idea what these statistics really mean. One interviewee talked about how her son would look overwhelmed when he was suddenly greeted by passersby after going viral, "He would blush and get really shy". This is another way of saying that children's perceptions of behavior in the home space come more from their parents than from thousands of fans in the digital space. This is the biggest difference between kidfluencers and traditional child stars; children in short videos do not

directly face the audience, it is the reaction of their parents holding the camera that is more immediate to them. Children gain relational satisfaction in the primary group through behavioral change, while positive emotional motivation leads to behavioral change and behavior that is consistent with parental expectations, indirectly participating in the emotional performance in the digital space.

4.2 Passive Joining: Selling and Bringing Goods

Appearance has always occupied an important position in visual media, and in the era of short videos, the importance of appearance is even comparable to the productive labor represented by the body. On the one hand, face and flesh are the prerequisite and basis for the possible realization of digital labor, and on the other hand, appearance directly constitutes the way and means of digital labor.

Unlike other adult influencers, the life cycle of kidfluencers is shorter, so MCN agencies need a higher speed of commercial transformation and incubation of kidfluencers of the same type. On the one hand, MCN agencies will use the influence of head children's web stars to hold various activities to expand the company's influence, for example, Frog Cool Media cooperates with MANGO TV for the micro variety show "Let's Go", inviting artists to participate with the company's contracted children, which not only can use the children's attention in the short video platform to "attract" for the program, but also can become the material proof of the company's operation service. This not only can use the children's attention in the short video platform to "attract" for the program, but also can become the material proof of the company's operation service.

> *Some people will be concerned about what our company can offer in addition to the business list, such as micro-variety, fashion week and other offline activities will be able to take out a very attractive place.*

On the other hand, the operators of children's Netflix accounts are generally parents or other family members, not professional enough for short video account operation to meet the needs of business transformation and professional operation, and also pay more attention to the head of the contracting company of the master in the process of seeking cooperation with professional institutions.

> *The reason for signing up with this company is that there are no restrictions, no termination fees, and more freedom if you don't fit in. On the other hand, I think other agencies may do less munchkin, most of them are beauty and so on, this company is specialized in this, and has hatched two or three million bloggers, so it is more (trust).*

Signing up with MCN agencies to seek more specialized content and business operation support has become the choice of most kidfluencers. As of January 24, 2022, 145 of the top 500 bloggers in the mother and baby section of the Jitterbug platform showed affiliated MCN companies, with a signing ratio of 29%. And in fact, signing up with an operating agency or forming their own operating team has been a common occurrence in the head Netflix group. On the one hand, in order to meet the professional demand for content production on short video platforms, children's Netflix accounts need to rely on professional resource advantages to enhance their competitiveness, and on the other hand, to enhance their commercial value, increase advertisers' single rates and obtain income from multiple channels. In the actual process of commercializing children's digital labor, the data of kidfluencers held by MCN is the main capital for their transactions with advertisers.

In reality, MCN agencies have professional staff to organize and update the information of their talent, mainly related to the number of followers, interaction (the sum of likes, favorites and comments), regions, categories, homepage links, children's ages and video quotes, etc., and publish them in the advertising community to attract advertisers to place orders. Another way of transaction is that advertisers or outsourcing agents choose the potential partners according to the characteristics of the product and budget. In this kind of transaction, advertisers put forward specific requirements to the business counterparts, such as the age of children should be within 8 years old for a certain milk powder, the mother can appear in the video, and the price of a single video should be within 8,000 RMB. After the cooperation is reached, the MCN agency will participate in the advertising share of the kidfluencers.
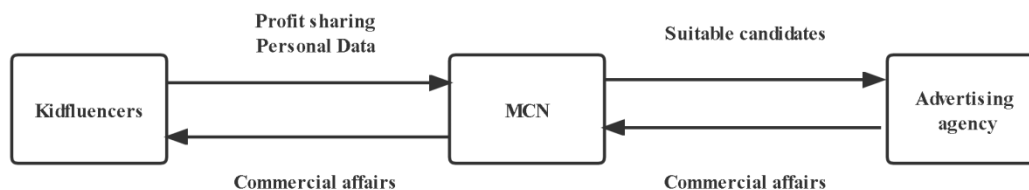

Figure 1. Flow process of children's personal data between business organizations

In the process, MCN organizations spend a lot of time and effort categorizing this data and evaluating it for better results. The children's Netflix community became a data-driven presence and consequently provided transaction capital for MCN and advertisers, and MCN organizations reaped financial rewards from the reproduction of children's data.

5. Capitalization Process and Problems of Children's Netflix Digital Labor

5.1 Parental Consent in Lieu of Employment in the Netflix Economy

Tiktok allows everyone to see and connect to the larger world, encourages expression and recording, inspires creation, enriches people's spiritual world, and makes real life better", Jitterbug expresses such a vision of "seeing" and "connecting" to users, and mobilizes them to enter the platform to "express, record and create". By expressing such a vision of "seeing" and "connecting" to users,tiktok mobilizes them to enter the platform to "express, record and create", and while these creative contents are shared by users within the platform, the commercial returns and advertising revenue created by the platform itself are also pocketed by the platform, becoming the core of its capital accumulation. This is the core of its capital accumulation. This production method is considered by political economists as the derivation and development of the outsourcing production model in the digital era. Crowdsourcing, as a new way of labor organization in the Internet era, provides what they see and think to the Internet by absorbing scattered, idle and inexpensive labor around the world with the mediation of technology. The rise of short-form video platforms has also benefited from the popularity of this crowdsourcing production model. Content producers, driven by the meager financial rewards and the thrill of participation, have spontaneously committed themselves to online production, dedicating their private lives, leisure time and entertainment to short-form video platforms. This is the biggest difference between digital labor and traditional labor in the Internet era. If the users of the platform are actively productive under the slogan of "sharing" and "participation", then for those children who do not understand the meaning of participation properly, let alone directly enjoy the pleasure of sharing, this kind of "voluntary" activity is not a good idea. The existence of "voluntariness" is open to question.

It is undeniable that children are developing individuals who can not only show their talents in participating in the creation of short videos, but can also achieve their self-identity and public participation through digital labor. However, because children are not fully mature physically and cognitively, parents often act as surrogate brokers in certain economic activities, assisting their children in making decisions that are more appropriate for their growth and development. In traditional child labor, children are sent to factories at a very young age to do heavy work in harsh conditions, and even ordinary workers do not want their children to be exploited in this way. However, when the material civilization of the society has developed like never before, most of the families are free from the poverty of relying on children to earn money to support their families, and children do not have to endure strenuous physical labor to get monetary compensation, the problem of child labor looks like it is gradually moving away from us. However, the emergence and development of digital media has brought about another transformation of labor in human society. Just as the application of machines after the invention of the steam engine has greatly simplified the labor process, along with the less stringent physical and technical requirements for laborers, child labor has also become possible. The intelligent evolution of digital media has not only changed the labor process, but also the organization of labor and the shape of labor products. Crowdsourced production allows users of digital products to produce valuable digital goods in their leisure time at home, and commercialized digital platforms transform people's daily lives into consumable images.

In this social context of drastic changes, those immature laborers who were freed from factories returned home to engage in digital labor, dedicate their leisure time to digital media, and expose their private lives to strangers in digital space, and they try to act out what their fans like under the guidance of their parents. But unlike child laborers in the early industrial era, most of them can still receive normal schooling and enjoy a happy childhood. They do not have to be scolded or physically punished by factory owners, nor do they have to work long and intense hours, just smile and be cute to help their parents complete their winning creations and even get some financial rewards. The parents also claim that they do not need to rely on their children to earn money, nor do they force their children to do things they do not like to do, so they insist that they are not "child nibblers". But for children and their parents, making popular videos, accepting submissions to platforms and creating ads for brands can all be part of the digital workforce. When children become an integral part of a video account, they are no longer simply on-camera characters, but are actually participating in the digital labor process with their parents' permission.

Marx, referring to parents forcing their children to work outside the home during early industrialization, points out that it is not the abuse of power by parents that gives capital the opportunity to exploit immature labor

directly or indirectly; rather, it is the capitalist mode of exploitation that eliminates the economic base compatible with parental power, thus causing the abuse of parental power(Yin&Liu,2000). Digital capital attempts to include more people in the ranks of content production, while parents, who should have served as an important separation between children and digital labor, unconsciously consent to children's entry into the digital labor field, using parental power to turn children into digital workers who are hired without pay, and children cannot reasonably appropriate and use the fruits of their labor, and the proceeds of their labor can only be given to parents to manage and administer, so that parents become accomplices in the economic exploitation of children by digital capital.

5.2 The Access of Digital Technology Has Turned the Home into a Factory

Space is not only a concept that indicates the scope of a location, but also implies the binding of rules, and it is a product constructed by various social actions, so different spaces hide different social relations and structures. Family space as a geographical field composed of various real objects involved in the activities of family members with emotional interaction as well as imaginary space, including family physical space, family psychological space and family action space. Generally speaking, family space belongs to private domain, and people's cognition, emotion and behavior in family space are often different from public space, especially for children, family space means familiar physical environment, safe psychological perception and comfortable action area, so children are more relaxed and free in the family. Digitally mediated family access has changed the relatively closed state of the family, and behaviors such as parent-child education, emotional communication, and production and consumption that originally occurred in the family space begin to expand into the digital space, thus creating a middle ground between the private family space and the public space. The deeper the digital space penetrates into the family space, the more influence the public space exerts on the family space, and the stronger the constructive power of the public on family members.

The panoramic view of society brought by short videos is a mimetic presentation of the public space, and with the help of images, children can glimpse the pluralistic culture and values in the public space, which can easily cause children to imitate the behavior of adults, but since the mediated digital space does not present the full picture of the real social space, children are easily influenced by the opinions in the media in this half-understood situation. In a report released by Xinhua in 2018, 54% of respondents chose anchor and netizen in a survey on the most desirable emerging professions for the post-95s. 2020, a market research agency in the United States conducted a survey test via the Internet, showing that 34% of teenage respondents said they would like to become a social network blogger. The high visibility afforded by short videos triggers children's imagination of fame, and the values it constructs shape the formative state of childhood.

Foucault believes that space is the foundation of any form of public life and the basis of any operation of power, and that space is subject to power and is shaped and disciplined by it. He argues that power in space is non-coercive and that people are in a "spontaneous, conscious and continuous" self-monitoring in space (Zhang, 2004). As long as the viewer perceives that he or she is in the position of being watched, the individual becomes an effective self-monitor under such pressure, eventually achieving self-imprisonment. In the digital space, children's bodies and private lives are exposed to the position of being watched, and digital platforms take advantage of the scarcity of childhood culture to achieve commercial capital transformation, in which children's needs are ignored. Once in the digital space, children's short videos are no longer child-centered, and the viewer becomes the subject of power. Children in the digital space are constantly subjected to the uncertain gaze from the viewers, and under the pressure of this gaze they are spontaneously or guided to perform behavioral adjustments.

In addition to the pressures of viewing in digital spaces, children are confronted with the intrusion of media into secret spaces.The formation of children's self-perceptions has an important relationship with secrets, "not only those things that are hidden deep inside, but also those things that we are only willing to share with certain people" (Van Manen & Levering, 1996). In children's development, there is a need for spaces that are not known to others to accommodate the invisible information, and this information plays an important role in the formation of children's self-identity. The pervasive digital media invade children's living space, and the more hidden things in the digital space, the more attention they attract. The pursuit of visual digital space encourages children to actively express themselves with actions and words, and reduces the opacity of the childhood world through the exposure of children's selves. Children's images as advertising symbols can construct a symbolic order between the order of cultural meaning that children identify with and commodity consumption through children's identity of their own images, and find a consistent connection point within this order. Children in the short video also deepen their understanding of the order of the real world in the process of constructing their self-identity in digital space.

The individualized secrets of children in families are dissolved, and the consumer culture of short video platforms becomes the core discursive feature of children's identity meaning, and under this influence, children acquire similar or similar childhood memories and experiences. Children's private space is occupied by consumerism, and their independent individuality gradually degenerates into homogenization, banality and homogenization, and shows a high tendency of commercialization, while children's private space becomes the core of commercial power.

5.3 Platform Capital Boosts the Commoditization of Home Education

Karl Polanyi defines "commodification" as the transformation of non-commodity elements into commodities, and he believes that "real commodities" are produced for the purpose of being bought and sold in the market. In other words, a "real commodity" must have two conditions: first, it is a product produced by human beings; second, it is produced for the purpose of being bought and sold in the market (Su, 2015). The content, data and commercial influence produced by kidfluencers on short video platforms will realize the flow of value in the capital market through the process of commercialization. The process of commercialization of labor is also the process of gradual laborization of kidfluencers in the digital space, and the commercialization of children's labor is mainly composed of the commercialization of family education and the commercialization of children's data.

Education, as an important component of the human intellect and mind, is not only related to the moral, value and intellectual development of human beings, but is also closely linked to the socialization process that transforms children into qualified citizens of society. The commercialization of education is the investment of education as a commodity to be exchanged in the market by public organizations, private organizations and individuals. In the past, much of the discourse on the commercialization of education has revolved around schools and the market, but in fact schools are not the only providers of education, as the pedagogue Sukhomlinsky argued that the effectiveness of education depends on the consistency of the educational influence of schools and families. Especially for younger children, family occupies the main position in education, and the parenting experience presented in short videos is gradually removed from child-centered family education, and replaced by "dry goods" oriented to the audience's needs, family education is reduced to a kind of video product for consumption, whose main characteristics are The main characteristics are the intellectualization of parents' parenting experience and the materialization of children's growth experience. According to a study, for post-95 mothers, the main way to get information is through social media. The emergence of short videos has brought more scenario-based and diversified information access for mother and baby groups, and bloggers will share their own experience or parenting tips, and even let children appear on camera to provide a more realistic experience to the audience.

Sharing parenting experiences on short video platforms reflects the fact that the original cognitive surplus, which was limited to the interpersonal level, is conveyed to the mother and child community in a more systematic and visual form, and that content creators have more time and a more scientific approach to collect quality information than the average user. In this context, children's netizens and their parents have combined to become one of the important sources to promote the commercialization of parenting knowledge. According to the "2021 Jitterbug Mother and Baby Industry Annual Inventory" released by Giant Calculus, the audience group of mother and baby videos is mainly female, and the new generation of parents aged 24-30 accounts for one-third, becoming the core group of the online mother and baby industry. In order to market products to children's groups or parents of children, advertisers will prefer parent-child munchkin bloggers.

In addition, daily video content that records children's growth dominates children's short videos. In these videos, the "meaning" of education is highlighted through children's behavioral actions and habits, and parents arrange activities for children to participate in, with children showing their real selves in a limited range of activities, in a way that is like a reality show, which both educates children and attracts viewers' attention.

Whether it is systematic dry sharing or elaborate educational video production, parents on short video platforms are trying to transmit their experiences and insights to niche audiences through the Internet. The originally family-oriented and private parenting behaviors are put on a broader and more transparent platform for exhibition and competition, and children and parents are also receiving evaluations from viewers. In short, children are involved in building knowledge-based parenting experiences on the short video platform, and parents become opinion leaders who can effectively influence mother and baby groups with the help of the short video platform, which subverts the discourse of traditional professional parenting institutions and professional media, and breaks the monopoly of traditional parenting and professional media.

With the rapid development of the instrumental rationality of the Internet platform, the computing means of technology has transformed the rich and diverse quality of social life into "things", and Marx's "commodity

fetishism" has been transformed into The "fetishism of flow" (Cao & Zhang, 2022). Driven by commercial ideology, the short video platform transforms the life of childhood from a child's growing experience into a figurative, huge accumulation of material things. As an ideal image of children, everything displayed by children's Netflix, such as elegant tastes, good habits and special hobbies, can be transformed into commodities, and this materialized growth experience is precisely the physical manifestation of a kind of family cultural capital of the online children's network. For children's netizens, they can turn their influence into a commodity related to all children, such as clothing, toys, picture books, etc. And in these videos, children are both a spokesperson and a billboard.

> *Our company also has its own children's clothing brand, sometimes we invite bloggers to events, wear our clothes, take a picture, and someone will ask for the same model.*

> *Our family has a Taekwondo Hall, so I want to show more in the video she wears the Taekwondo Uniform. See the vidio the audiences will get a valiant feeling, and the people who want their children act like my child will ask the location of the aekwondo Hall.The audiences will be our customers，two birds with one stone.*

The "child-identity" also means that everything about children can be commercialized and monetized, with advertisers packaging goods as a replicable and purchasable aesthetic and using children to sell them to fans. The service that children provide to advertisers is a kind of "ideal labor," and based on the close relationship with children, parents of children are able to establish partnerships with brands and advertising agencies to create an idealized life or image through children that is expressed through images. At the same time, in order to stimulate viewers to participate in the brand's consumption, advertisers use economic strategies such as designating bloggers with special prices for their followers, entering a password to receive a free gift or offer, etc. to increase viewers' desire to buy. The viewers' consumption is based on the expectation of the "same" ideal life, they want their children to be like the children in the video.

All in all, the commodification of education is reflected in the fact that parenting experience has become a commodity knowledge that can be copied and exchanged on short video platforms. But in this process, children become part of it, de-faking the experience. On the other hand, the children in the videos are objectified as a renewable and consumable instrumental resource, and everything in the children's lives can be monetized as a "homogeneous commodity". This commodification of education brings about a situation in which family education is no longer an end but a tool for gaining profit, and the subjectivity of children in education is replaced by the instrumental nature of production. By contributing as "dependents" and participating in the production of content, children are no longer mere objects in the reproduction of the family, but subjects in the reproduction of the family, contributing in a tangible way to the growth of the family's income. Family education is transformed into commodified knowledge and goods for consumption by the audience, which in turn contributes to the value-added and accumulation of capital in the cultural industry.

6. Conclusion

As a highly visible group on the short video platform, the communication practices carried out by children are far from free children's games, while in the process of children becoming kidfluencers, their appearance, behavioral representations and emotions are incorporated into digital labor. As digital child laborers, children's Netflix groups use digital media as a production tool and belong to family-based labor organizations, whose labor fields are embedded in various spaces that can be used as exhibition venues due to the virtual nature of digital space. Children and their families depend on the sale of digital products for their livelihoods, but the economic returns they receive are only a small part of the value they create, and the rest is appropriated by commercial media organizations without compensation. The digital media industry, with its discourse of "sharing" and "freedom" and parental consent, has gained a legitimacy by subtly transforming children from producers to part of the product of their parents' labor, thus hiding children's child labor status from the public. under the cloak of play and education. Although all aspects of society are currently taking appropriate protective measures against kidfluencers, there are clearly institutional loopholes and sociocultural biases that prevent the laborization dilemma of children from being resolved and should attract more attention and thought.

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