

NORTHWEST UNIVERSITY

Kirkland, Washington

**The Age of Digital Child Labor and Monetary Exploitation on YouTube: A Case Study
Analysis**

An undergraduate thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for completing the
Northwest University Honors Program

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April 2024

Abstract

In the age of digital media, and the ever-present desire people have to consume content, whether that be in the form of social media, movies, television, or even music, several questions have yet to be considered. Across platforms, there are rules and regulations, which when broken can cause a person to be displaced from that platform. YouTube is not different. However, they are severely lacking in regulations protecting children from being used by their families for monetary purposes. YouTube family channels have been part of YouTube since its conception and have only grown in popularity over the years. However, a closer look needs to be made into the concept of the YouTube family channel. Because YouTubers rely on viewers and engagement to stay relevant, many family channels begin to rely on their children to supply that engagement. Being cute and entertaining causes the children to be the stars of the show, oftentimes being more important to the channel than the parents. This can be qualified as an exploitative relationship. The aim of this paper is to look into one YouTube channel (The Mighty McClures) and analyze based on objective criteria if they are also exploiting their children on YouTube.

1. Theoretical Framework

Ever since its conception, the internet has been a place for people to express themselves in various ways. What started as an information hub, has quickly become a place for people to lose themselves in a different world apart from their own. The usage of the internet as an escape tool can have both positive and negative consequences. When used appropriately, the internet can be an outlet for sharing ideas and learning new information. However, the potential for misuse of the internet is vast and multifaceted. In this paper, one such method, the exploitation of children via YouTube by their parents, will be discussed. This paper aims to answer the following question: Are the parents behind YouTube family vlogging-style videos exploiting their children to increase their audience and make more money?

Because this paper will be focusing on the media outlet of YouTube, it is important to get a general background of the resource and what it is often used for. For the unaware reader, YouTube is a platform that allows individuals to create, upload, and watch videos. People can also like or dislike, comment on, and subscribe to various creators. YouTube began in 2005 and was bought by Google in 2006 (Eagles, 2023). Due to the vastness of the platform, and the sheer amount of users this platform boasts, there can be found any type of content under the sun (within the purview of the YouTube guidelines). It is this versatility that makes YouTube popular among all demographics of people (Eagles, 2023). The organization of YouTube has been under fire and criticism for various operational aspects. This paper will focus on how YouTube has failed to protect the children being posted to the platform.

1.1 Making Money on YouTube

YouTube is often used as a place for people to generate income. Channels, or a person's individual YouTube platform from which they post personal videos to be seen by the public, with a certain number of subscribers, can monetize their content in various ways. The least of these is to claim a share of the Google ads being inserted into YouTube videos. To qualify for this, creators must have at least 1,000 subscribers and a certain amount of accumulated watch time on their videos (Hall, 2022). All told, the “creator fund” is not hard to join and can create substantial income for the most dedicated YouTube creators. Brand sponsorship is another important way Youtubers can make money on the app (Hall, 2022). Many brands would love to attach their name to a prominent YouTuber to assist in advertising. Especially if that YouTuber has millions of followers. A third way for YouTubers to make money would be through the use of fan funding. This can mean creating a special membership program for a channel that fans pay a monthly fee to enjoy. The membership can include things such as additional videos, live chats with the creator, to other special content. A fourth popular method of generating income through YouTube is via merchandise sales. Channels with large followings can sell merchandise online for their fans to enjoy. This is both a money-generating venture and a way to create a loyal fan base (Hall, 2022).

Because many people combine all the methods of generating income via YouTube, many channels can generate quite a salary for themselves through this platform. When people decide to make a career on YouTube, it usually involves uploading on a regular schedule, at least once a week or a few times a week. This quickly turns into a full-time job when considering the time it takes to edit the videos for the platform

1.2 Understanding Exploitation

The main question this paper is going to address is, are the children of YouTube family channels being exploited and taken advantage of by their parents and used primarily to drive engagement and increase profit? Before this question can be answered, one needs to understand what is meant by exploitation. The definition of exploitation is the use and utilization of a person or group of people to profit, or otherwise benefit oneself (Exploitation noun, n.d.). The use of children in family YouTube channels constitutes exploitation because, according to the Missouri Law Review “minors working as influencers in the United States have no legal right to the money, they earn by appearing in content posted by themselves or their parents (McGinnis., 2022)”. In the case of family channels, this means that the parents are the sole recipients of the money the children play a large part in generating. Because it is unclear if the parents are choosing to use the money for themselves or if they are setting aside some of the money for their children, the issue of monetary exploitation can arise in these circumstances.

There is a long history of exploiting children in the entertainment industry in the United States. Exploitation can come in all forms, but for this paper, labor exploitation will be discussed. What can be observed happening on YouTube can easily be compared to past examples of child actors being exploited and used. Before 1939 there were no protections for children in Hollywood. This meant that parents of child actors and actresses were the sole beneficiaries of the money the children earned. As one can probably imagine, this inevitably led to the children not getting the money they deserved and had earned. Now, there are laws in place to protect the money the children earn and to make sure they can receive that money when they turn 18. Because YouTube is such a large industry, and becoming more and more like the movie industry, similar laws should be in place to protect the children of this platform from labor exploitation.

Many of the children in the world of YouTube family channels are not old enough to give their consent or to understand the implications of a.) being filmed and b.) having those videos put out into the world, never to be retracted. Without legal protection, children are being made to put on a show for the cameras with no guarantee of compensation. The parents running these family channels have posted their children on the internet with the hopes of attracting millions of people to view their kids. Without the added dynamic of money, the act of posting the daily lives of children on the internet for the eyes of millions without their consent is ethically questionable. When the children become older, will they regret having their image on social media? Will they appreciate having had their childhood documented for the world to see or will this cause resentment towards their parents? These are questions that will be answered in time as this current wave of YouTube family channel stars begin to grow up.

Although the concept of childhood acting in Hollywood can be a difficult concept to compare to the situation of children of YouTuber parents, there are many similarities. The protections offered to children in the entertainment industry are not federally realized like the laws to protect children in other spheres of labor. Due to this fact, it is up to individual states to create their own child entertainment laws (McGarth, 2023). While some states such as California and New York have done this, others have not taken the steps to create laws protecting children in the entertainment arena. Most notably, California has Coogan laws put into place. Jackie Coogan was a prominent child actor in California in the 1930s and starred in many popular movies. When he turned 18, he began wanting the money he had earned throughout his time as a child actor. Unfortunately, he found that none of his money was available as his parents had spent all of it on themselves. He then sued them, which resulted in the creation of the Coogan laws (Lambert, 2019). The Coogan laws state that 15% of the income of a child star must be put

into a protected account for when the child comes of age. That money is not available to anyone, including the parents of the child (Lambert, 2019).

Despite the differences between being a YouTube child star and being a Hollywood child actor, the need for a similar protection structure to be put into place for the children of YouTube is evident. YouTube is a much more personal platform than other forms of entertainment. Often the content these families are producing centers around the day-to-day life of the family. This can include intimate information about the lives of the children. Because the internet is forever, once a video is uploaded to YouTube, it can never truly be gone. This is something that children and in some cases, adults, are unable to fully understand. Children are unable to consent to something as huge as their childhood stories, including their hopes, dreams, and embarrassments, being in the cloud for the whole world to see. If they did understand the magnitude of living their lives out on YouTube, many of them would likely not be as willing to participate in “the family business”.

Many children have been in a family that (either through YouTube or other outlets) have lived their lives online. Many of these children have since spoken out against their parents about the way they were brought up in the internet age. The complaints many of these children have simply come down to their parents’ oversharing information about their lives. It is through this oversharing that children begin to feel taken advantage of.

YouTube is a new frontier of sorts. Because there is nothing like the Coogan laws to monitor and mitigate the exploitation of children on the platform, people tend to believe they can get away with doing whatever they want, even if it is not best for their children in the long run. Attention, money, and popularity can cloud the best judgment and twist good intentions into

something ugly. What starts as a fun hobby for the family to do together, can quickly turn into a difficult job with demanding hours.

2. Preliminary Literature Review

Due to the increased prevalence and popularity of family channels on YouTube, the topic of child exploitation on the platform has become a topic of consideration in recent years. The consensus of the literature findings is that enhanced childhood protection laws need to be put into place to protect children from exploitation on YouTube. Although there is a myriad of reasons to protect children from being the face and main money makers of their parents' YouTube channels, the issue this paper will focus on is the monetary exploitation of these children. One article written by Ana Sargoza mentions the long history of performer children being exploited by their parents, which is what necessitated the Coogan Laws from 1939. Today, these same problems are being repeated through YouTube. Sargoza points out the need for “child labor laws to evolve to enhance protection for the earnings that children generate (Sargoza, 202).”

2.1 Current Day Example

One current example of this exploitation can be found in the lives of popular YouTube channel The Bucket List Family. This family of five travels around the world, filming and posting their videos on YouTube along the way. Carolina Carrelo wrote an in-depth review of this channel, outlining the different ways the three children were being used. To do this, Carrelo analyzed five videos posted from the channel qualitatively based on two variables: situations the children were being exposed to, and the parents' interactions with the children. She also did a quantitative evaluation with a sample size of 100 of the family's most popular videos (Carrelo,

2020). This portion of her research focused on the titles and thumbnails of the videos. These are what are generally used to draw in viewers. The use of the children's names and faces to entice people to view the video and become subscribers to the channel is direct evidence of exploitation of the children for monetary gain.

The results of the qualitative portion of this experiment were evidence of an excessive degree of pressure and coaxing happening to the children to encourage them to do intense actions that bring viewers to the channel. The general idea the parents want to put out to their viewers is that the children are fearless, brave, and up for anything. The children, presumably not wanting to upset their parents, participate every time, even if they are afraid. The quantitative results demonstrated that almost 50% of the video titles on the channel involved mention of the children, either by name or by age. Carrelo writes, "It is apparent that the children's image is used to capitalize the family's brand... by being responsible for capturing viewers; attention with their fearlessness." Based on these writings, Carrelo would likely agree with the claim that many more children in family YouTube channels are being exploited, not just the children of The Buckey List Family.

2.2 Digital Labor

The Bucket List family can be seen as a special type of YouTube channel that capitalizes on the supposed daring and courage of their kids. Other, more widely used methods of online exploitation, are to gain followership. The term "calibrated amateurism" is used by Vanessa Cordeiro in her article "Influencers and Social Media: The Evolution of Child Exploitation in the Era of Digital Labor", to describe the way many influencers portray themselves and their families to seem relatable to their viewers. This strategy is used by many influencers to help their audience feel closer to them, giving them a reason to continue viewing their channel (Cordiero,

2021). Some of these strategies include oversharing personal details, asking for advice in the comment section, and otherwise engaging with fans. Overall, there is nothing wrong with these tactics to draw in viewers. However, when children are added to the context, a second look into these methods should be taken to ensure no exploitation is happening. This idea of calibrated amateurism does not make, even the most skeptical of viewers suspicious of exploitation. These videos oftentimes seem so real and raw, that viewers are sure they are watching a simple documentation of a family's life. However, due to behind-the-scenes footage, or even admissions from parents, we know that parents are playing a huge role in coaching the children in what to say and how to act on camera.

Because parents often claim their children are having a blast and enjoy making family videos, people turn a blind eye to what might be happening behind the scenes. Parents also use the addition of domestic life content, such as the children fighting on camera or performing mundane tasks, to help with "setting the stage" for their videos. Viewers generally are not aware that what they see are the children "working". Even though the word "work" has a very broad definition because money is involved in the world of YouTube, it is fair to use the word in describing what these families are doing. The reality of the situation is that even if the children are having the time of their lives (which evidence suggests they are not), parents are still using them to make a profit.

Along these lines, parents of "kidfluencers" (kid influencers), justify their actions by saying the children are simply playing. They claim that it is them (the parents) doing the work of negotiating contracts, planning and creating the content, and editing and uploading the videos. The children are simply "having fun". It is easy in most cases to watch a video featuring a family with children and not feel a sense of injustice due to the child's role in the video being

undemanding. However, because the industry of children influencers across social media networks such as TikTok and Instagram (as they are often interconnected) has become such a big money maker, the line between work and play becomes blurred very quickly. Production of the videos is often on a timeline, putting pressure on the children to perform at just the right times. The children are also often used to promote products in front of cameras for sponsorships or other similar concepts. The conclusion is that “the children are being contracted to provide a service on a compensation schedule. Under these circumstances, play, has become work (Masterson, 202).” When a child's play becomes their work, there should be a discussion of protection and compensation to make sure the children are not being taken advantage of.

When looking at this issue from the view of parents attempting to make money off the labor of their children without their consent or knowledge, viewers may change their opinions about family YouTube channels. For the people who state that what goes on inside a family's house, or the ways parents treat their children (within the confines of the law), is not the business of the public, it can be argued that when exploitation is taking place, it becomes the job of the public to protect children from the ones causing them harm. Also, when the family decides to post their children on social media platforms, the well-being of the children then becomes a matter of public interest. In some of the more obvious cases of exploitation of children on YouTube, (for example, the parents whose children are the only ones being viewed on the channel, who flaunt a new house or a new car every year), the public should be concerned for the wellbeing of the children. Are they being used simply to make money for the parents, or do they want to be part of the YouTube channel? These are very important considerations to make before jumping to the conclusion that parents have the right to do what they want with their children.

3. Methodology

To evaluate if the children are indeed suffering, some criteria need to be agreed upon for which to judge the parents. The variables used to decide which channel is going to be analyzed will be discussed later in the paper. The choice as to what to look for as far as the criteria to judge the channel has to do with the specific question needing to be answered. Qualitative data will be used to answer the question as fully as possible. This research method should be able to determine the exploitation how the exploitation is taking place and to what extent. To accomplish this, the search will be narrowed to include one family YouTube channel for which to thoroughly investigate their content.

Although these metrics will not definitively say if the children are being exploited on YouTube, they will give us an idea of how involved the children are in channels and the creation of the videos. If we find that the children are heavily involved, it will be very likely that the children are playing a huge part in the success of the channel. Below is a table that lays out the variable being measured.

4. Expected Research Outcomes

The expected outcome of this research is not to provide absolute truth beyond a shadow of a doubt that there exists exploitation in the industry of family YouTubers however positive evidence is expected. Without access to the family's YouTube financial situation and how much money the family is making for each video created, it is nearly impossible to determine if financial exploitation is taking place as well as digital exploitation.

I expect to see the children's faces on the thumbnails of most of the videos posted, as well as the children's names mentioned in the titles of the videos. Another expected finding would be the children being the sole focus of each video. The planning of each video will most likely revolve around the children's actions and reactions. It is also expected that the children

will be the main focus of the cameras as well. They will likely spend the majority of the screen time with the parents either off-screen the entire time, or on-screen for very minimal short periods.

5. Conducting the Research

Because many YouTube channels fit into the category of family channels, it is very hard to narrow the choices of which channels to analyze for this research. There are hundreds of channels ranging in popularity that have the family blog/ vlog style. Therefore, the channel that is going to be analyzed is a channel that fits in the middle of the popularity spectrum. This channel involves a family of five, with twin ten-year-old girls, and a six-year-old boy. This channel had its first major video 9 years ago when the twin girls were only a few months old. Their first video was only a few minutes long and captured a sweet moment between the father and the daughters. Although the channel had posted other videos before the first with the twins blew up, none had gotten quite as many views. Soon after their first popular video, more cute and innocent videos of the girls were posted in succession. The channel was very popular back in 2015 and 2016.

The family grew in popularity as the twins grew older. They would begin babbling to each other and captivate their viewers with their cuteness. Some examples of titles of the early videos being posted to the channel were Baby Twins Imitate Dinosaurs, Adorable Twins Babies Sing Nursery Rhymes, and Hilarious Twins Having Their Own Language. It is clear that from the early stages of the channel, the videos all focused on the girls. However, due to the nature of the videos early on such as the video content, the length of the videos, and the lack of direction many of the videos have, it is clear that the family was not trying to become famous or monetize

the success of the girls' cute videos. From a cursory glance at the family's channels, however, this soon changes.

As mentioned before, the criteria we will be judging this family channel on are as follows. The percentage of screen time the children have in the videos compared to the parents, the thumbnails of the videos, as well as the titles of the videos. When analyzing the children's involvement in the videos, I will be looking for a few different variables listed below

Factor 1- Are the children on screen by themselves?

Reasoning- If the children are seen on screen without their parents for the majority of a video, it is clear that they are the focal point of the video which may or may not be exploitative of the child.

Factor 2- Are the parents giving off-screen cues to direct the behavior of the child?

Reasoning- If the parents are giving the children multiple off-screen cues of what to say and how to act, it is a sign that the child may not be a willing participant in the videos. If the child is not given autonomy in the video-making process, makes it is more likely that the child is not enjoying the activity and did not choose or want to be a participant in the video.

When analyzing the Mclure family titles and thumbnails of their videos, there are a few factors to look for.

Factor 1- Thumbnails including one or more of the children.

Reasoning- A video thumbnail is what drives engagement and prompts people to click on the video to watch it. If the thumbnails include the children, it is clear that the parents are using their children's faces to increase engagement with their channel.

Factor 2- Referring to one or more of the children in the video title.

Examples - “ Alexis” “Ava” “Jersey” “daughter” “son” “ or the childrens ages

Reasoning- Similar to a thumbnail, the title of a video is a major factor that drives engagement and brings viewers to YouTube videos. If the titles of the videos are filled with mentions of the children, the casual observer can deduce that the children are the major components of the channel and not the parents.

Although these metrics will not definitively say if the children are being exploited on YouTube, they will give us an idea of how involved the children are in channels and the creation of the videos. If we find that the children are heavily involved, it will be very likely that the children are playing a huge part in the success of the channel.

After reviewing the channel for these variables, the following results were observed.

The following table provides a brief description of each video that will be discussed in the results of the research.

Video #	Year and # of Views	Title of Video	Description of Video
1	2015 1.3 M	Dad Tells Baby to get a job	Father talks to twin baby girls like they are adults and carries on a fake conversation with the girls in which they “respond” back to him in baby talk.
2	2016 5.2 M	Twins Give Adorable Goodbye Kisses	Father of the family says goodbye to twin daughters who are about 10 months old. They babble goodbyes, wave, and blow kisses.
3	2017	Twins Realize they	Mother if the family is off camera while the twins sit

	8.9 M	look alike	in an interview style. The mother asks the twins questions along the lines of “Who is older”, and “Do you know what it means to be identical”.
4	2018 8.6 M	Twins Style each other's hair by themselves	Twins are captured on camera doing each other's hair in a simple hairstyle.
5	2019 8.6 M	Is she into him?	The baby boy (seven months old) of the family is having a playdate with another baby. Their playtime is captured on camera.
6	2020 11 M	Giant Bear Comes Alive in Our House	Parents set up a prank for the children. The mother of the family dresses up like a giant teddy bear and pranks all three children by “coming alive” in their living room.
7	2021 11 M	Hidden Camera caught them in the act	There are hidden cameras in the twin girls' room meant to see what they are up to in their room when playing. The camera catches them practicing gymnastics, putting on makeup, and jumping from the top bunk into a beanbag.
8	2022 8.3 M	Can identical Twins tell each other apart?	Another set of identical twin girls is part of this video. The mother of the family is testing if one set of identical twins can differentiate between the other set of twins.
9	2023 3.2 M	We Lost Our Dog	The family is out in the front yard playing soccer and their small puppy dog escapes its enclosure. The family then splits up to search for the dog.

6. Results

To fully analyze the results of this case study and to determine the outcome of the study, we will view each of the factors discussed above from the lens of the Mclure family videos listed above. The first area of focus is the thumbnails and titles of the videos.

Factor 1- Do the Thumbnails include the children.

Of the ten videos being analyzed, every one of the thumbnails contained the children. There was not one thumbnail that included one of the parents. Even after taking a cursory glance at all the videos on the channel, it is clear that the children are the center focus, as they are the only ones being pictured. These thumbnails are a small taste of what the viewer can expect to see in the video, and it holds that the children are the main attraction for the channel both in the thumbnail, as well as in the content of the video.

Factor 2- Do the titles of the videos include the children?

This category is complementary to the thumbnail question because the titles tell the viewer what to expect when the video is clicked on. Of the nine videos being analyzed, six of them either directly mention or refer to the children. From a cursory glance at the families channel, none of the video titles directly mention the names of the children, instead using descriptors like “our daughters”, “our kids”, “ the twins”, “our brother”, or “ my sister”. These descriptors accompanied by the thumbnails make it very clear that the channel is all about the children and not really about the parents behind the channel. If the children realize that they are the main attraction of the channel, they may feel the pressure to perform for the sake of the channel.

The next area of analysis is the content of the videos and the involvement of the amount of involvement the children have in the videos when compared to the parents.

Factor 1- Are the children on screen by themselves?

In the ten videos above, nearly all the videos comprise 100% of the children. Because the children are the main “actors” of the channel, and the major driving force behind the number of followers the channel has, they can be viewed as the reason behind the channel's vast success. This means that without the children, the channel would not have the success it does. In other words, the family's financial status is directly correlated with the involvement of their children in their work. It is unclear to the viewer if the children are happy with their role in the “family business” or if they are simply put on a happy face for the sake of the videos. Based solely on assumption from the thumbnails and titles of the other videos on the family's YouTube channel, the children also make up nearly all the screen time in all the family’s videos.

Factor 2- Are the parents giving off screen cues?

This category can be slightly harder to nail down. Many of the videos posted to the channel, and the first few videos on the list above, feature the twins at a very young age, making it impossible to film them without giving cues of some kind. Before the twins could talk, as evidenced in the first two videos on the table, the father or mother were interacting with the twins, eliciting a filmable reaction from them. Another example is video 3 in which the twins are answering questions from the mother (who is off-screen) and discussing amongst themselves, there are off-screen cues being given.

As for other off-screen cues, there were not many to be mentioned within the nine videos that were analyzed. Video four in which the twins were doing each other's hair did not seem as natural as other videos. It was clear that the twins had memorized some sort of script and were reciting to begin the interaction of doing each other's hair. Another video that was filled with cues and redirecting of the twins, was video #8. Many times, the mother of the family was guiding the children on where and how to stand in the video as well as when to talk and what to

say. Although the video was still lighthearted, the twins were not given much autonomy in this video.

6.1 Additional Information

It is also important to remember that in the case of YouTube, Monetary exploitation may be hard to see because, from an outside perspective, it is very hard to determine where and how the family is spending the money they are making. It is also important to note that the use of these children for entertainment purposes goes beyond this channel, and even beyond YouTube for this family. The twin girls have an Instagram account that boasts 2.4 million followers. The younger brother of the family also has “his own” Instagram with 228 thousand followers. Instagram can also be used as a form of revenue, compounding the potential for monetary exploitation of these children. Along with the Instagram accounts these children have, they each also have their own YouTube channels apart from the family's channel. The twins have their own YouTube channel called the McClure Twins, and the younger brother has his own YouTube channel as well. ,

When a step back is taken, it is more and more clear that a form of exploitation is occurring within this family dynamic, no matter how innocent and fun the videos being posted seem. When put together, between the separate YouTube channels and the Instagram accounts, the three children share between them over 8 million followers. It is also important to note that each channel is posting regular videos at least once a week. This makes thousands of videos available featuring these children on the internet. There is much work that is put into planning, creating, and editing these videos, making this more than a full-time job.

7. Conclusion/ Discussion

As far as YouTube family channels go, it can be assumed that this particular family is one of the more tame family channels. The parents are never purposefully provoking the children to get a film-worthy reaction out of them, the children do not appear to be in any dangerous or harmful situations, and the parents appear to be loving and kind to the children. However, based on the number of videos being put out every week across the multiple YouTube channels as well as other social media platforms, it begs the question of how much “work” the children are putting in daily. Are the children truly old enough to understand the magnitude of millions of people being aware of them and watching what they are doing each week? Because the twins are only ten years old, and the brother of the family about six years old, they are most likely not old enough to fully understand the magnitude of what it means to be on social media.

So what can be done to ensure that the children are not being exploited on YouTube in any way by their parents? As of right now, there are no such laws protecting against the monetary exploitation of children who are part of YouTube families. The question to be asked is what new practices or laws can be put into place to protect the children who find themselves in similar situations. As children, they may not recognize the harm being done to them or the exploitation they are suffering, but as the children grow into adults and realize that their whole childhood has been filmed and uploaded to social media for the sake of monetary gain, they may no longer have a positive view of their parents or their childhoods.

Because this simple research only scratched the surface of this much blogger issue and only focused on one family channel, further research should be done to understand the topic more. Future studies should include a broader and more varied sample of channels. Perhaps channels that are less popular (fewer than one million followers) and more popular (greater than five million followers) than the Mclure family should be analyzed to assess if there are

differences in the family structure and the structure of the videos being posted. It would also add much value to this discussion if children who have been affected by being part of a family YouTube channel could be interviewed about their feelings toward their involvement, their relationship with their parents, and how they remember their childhood in front of the camera.

To conclude, it is important for readers of this paper, and viewers of family YouTube channels to understand that the children being posted to YouTube as part of family channels are likely being taken advantage of by their parents to gain YouTube channels, gain popularity, and ultimately make money.

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