'When you realise your dad is Cristiano Ronaldo': celebrity sharenting and children's digital identities

Ana Jorge, Lidia Marôpo & Filipa Neto

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

'When you realise your dad is Cristiano Ronaldo': celebrity sharenting and children's digital identities

Ana Jorge [a], Lidia Marôpo [b] and Filipa Neto[c]

aECATI, Lusófona University/CICANT, Lisbon, Portugal; bHigher School of Education, Department of Communication and Language Sciences, Polytechnic Institute of Setúbal, Setúbal, Portugal & CICS.NOVA, Lisbon, Portugal; cSociology, ISCTE-IUL, Lisbon, Portugal

ABSTRACT

Sharenting, or the practice of sharing one's parenting or information about one's children on social media, occurs in an increasingly platformized digital culture, where visual formats are central across participatory and commercial repositories. This paper investigates the articulation between sharenting as performed by celebrities and the wider construction of children's digital identities. Through qualitative content analysis, this research looks at how Cristiano Ronaldo, the most-followed individual on Instagram since 2018, his partner, and his mother shared information about his children on that social media platform between 2018 and 2020. Through manual exploration, we searched for Ronaldo's children across a variety of digital spaces. Our analysis reveals that sharenting on Instagram engages audiences through the portrayal of children as the parents' extended self. Content from Instagram and news media is appropriated in vernacular and commercial digital spaces for conflicting affects: the cute father-son dyad, and the son as extension of the uber-famous, vain father. This extreme case shows how the digital identities of children of celebrities are widely public, formed by the everyday, intimate content of the family's life, which is persistent and collectively recreated by news media, vernacular culture, and commercial platforms.

Introduction

On 4 July 2010, Cristiano Ronaldo announced the following on his Facebook page:

> It is with great joy and emotion that I inform [you] I have recently become father to a baby boy. (2010).

Since then, he has engaged in sharenting – 'the act of sharing representations about one's parenting or children online' (Blum-Ross & Livingstone, 2017, p. 110) – about this boy, Cristiano Junior, from undisclosed mother; Eva and Mateo, born in June 2017 through surrogacy; and Alana Martina, born in November 2017 from Georgina Rodríguez, his partner. Ronaldo has been the most-followed individual on Instagram since 2018; at the end of 2020 his profile had over 275 million followers, exceeded

---

only by Instagram's account itself (Most Followed Accounts on Instagram 2021, n.d.); the year before, *Forbes* reported that he was the highest earner on Instagram, as 'he makes an estimated $47.8 million per year from paid-Instagram posts' (McCarthy, 2019), which surpassed his reported earnings from football (Sweney, 2021).

Concerns about children's privacy on celebrity media, probably due to celebrity activism (Jorge & Marôpo, (2017), have led some celebrity sites, such as JustJared, to omit all celebrity children from their photographs. However, despite some famous parents' decision to hide their offspring from the public eye, sharenting is a common activity among celebrities (Yasharoff, 2021). Cristiano Ronaldo's display of his children on social media is far from an isolated case, and the same phenomenon is seen with top athletes, musicians, and actors.

This paper proposes to advance the growing research on sharenting by discussing sharenting performed by celebrities, while critically examining the digital identities of children in an increasingly visual, highly fluid digital ecosystem. Moreover, it approaches celebrity sharenting through the extreme case of a global football mega-celebrity; and by focusing on the representation of children by a clan (rather than solely the famous parent). We ask the following questions: how does celebrity sharenting contribute to the construction of children's digital identities? How are children's digital identities constructed and spread amid the flows and architectures that characterize the current ecosystem, particularly its visual components? We draw on Children, Youth and Media; Celebrity Studies; and Digital Culture, to conduct qualitative research on Ronaldo's children's identity construction. The findings reclaim attention to the substantial differences in celebrity sharenting in relation to influencer or ordinary parents and the implications for children's digital identities.

Football celebrity in the social media age

The value ascribed to football celebrities is created *intertextually* through the seamless circulating discourses from different types of media and is 'contingent on the dialogic relation linking the celebrity narrative and the 'historical, cultural and socio-economic contexts to which celebrity is attached (Rojek, 2001: 44)' (Andrews & Clift, 2017, p. 207). At the interplay between different discourses, Ronaldo's narrative is classed, racialized and gendered: he has a peripheral and socially disadvantaged origin (Jorge, (2015); his bodily identity has been predicated on his super-athletic figure, but also on his 'dark-skin white', which subjects him to intra-racial discrimination (Hylton & Lawrence, 2015). His sexuality has for some time been seen as ambiguous as he is 'a heterosexual man whose performance of masculinity was often read as emasculine' (p. 776). He is known for being a very disciplined and overly competitive football player; for engaging in conspicuous consumption but also supportive of his family, and involved in charity (Jorge, 2015). All these aspects resonate with the contexts where his celebrity is enacted and received – audiences read his narrative in different ways depending on their cultural proximity or distance (Jorge, 2015; Wagg, 2010), as well as on football identification or rivalry (Jorge et al., 2021a).

Social media has allowed celebrities to cultivate relationships with their audiences more directly (Jerslev & Mortensen, 2018) by giving further visibility to their 'public selves', i.e., 'directing the audience to the 'industrial model' of the football star' as well

as expanding their 'public private self' mode of presentation, which 'relies on more personal forms of address and levels of insight', or even 'transgressive intimate self-mode' as emotional reactions (Andrews & Clift, 2017, p. 206, drawing on Marshall). Social media allows personalities to present themselves as ordinary and ascribes them a 'moral authenticity' (Mortensen & Jerslev, 2014, p. 628), including by showing intimate family moments (Jorge & Marôpo, 2017), while being fully inserted in an industry that sustains celebrity as 'influencer' and capitalizes on their digital visibility (Hearn & Schoenhoff, 2016).

The extension of celebrity to, and their scrutiny on, social media interacts with news media – celebrity, sports/other fields, and current affairs. Thus, social media accentuate the provisionality of celebrity, for their professional performances as well as personal presentation. This is especially the case for sports celebrities, first because they are exposed to continuous pressure over their on-field performances since their merit is less easily fabricated, and thus face special pressures on the integrity of their moral behavior (Whannel, 2005). Second, they are exposed to rivalry, hostility, and mockery under the façade of democratized communication (Andrews & Clift, 2017; Kassing, 2020). Sharenting is an additional element to the scrutiny, as we will see.

Sharenting and children's digital identities

Since sharenting has become a widespread activity, academic debate has raised concerns over its effects on children's identity formation (Autenrieth, 2018; Damkjaer, 2018; Holiday et al., 2020; Verswijvel et al., 2019), calling attention to the blurring boundaries between the parent and the child's self (Blum-Ross & Livingstone, 2017). This is a central question to the growing scholarship around the multiple tensions between the right of parents to share online their parenting experiences and their children's right to privacy and participation, taking into consideration the children's digital identities.

Parents' identities have an intrinsic connection to their children, encompassing 'a relational identity where the child and parent mutually exist in an imbricated visual, social media narrative' (Holiday et al., 2020, p. 1). In this sense, children could be seen as part of parents' extended selves – this notion points to objects, experiences and ideas that one possesses, which may include children to some extent (Beck in Holiday et al., 2020). However, although children commonly appear in sharenting as a supplementary contribution to the representation of the parents' selves, their identities '[are] also defined and inscribed into social media' (p. 10). Thus, the disclosure of information and visual materials (static or animated pictures, videos) may preclude children from building their digital footprints and online identities, bringing risks such as digital kidnaping, and bullying due to embarrassing pictures and stories shared by parents (Steinberg, 2017). In sharenting without children's informed consent, children are in a passive position in what concerns the management of their online identities. The parents become the gatekeepers and are responsible for managing risks, safeguarding children's privacy online and managing their online self (Cino & Dalledonne Vandini, 2020a; 2020b). This debate points to different aspects of children's protection and participation rights, including information disclosure, identities, voices, and agency. Some parents are choosing to 'anti-sharent' or they sharent reluctantly (Autenrieth, 2018); some celebrities post pictures of children much later, for instance of a newborn when the child is already three or four years old. Furthermore, parents face digital

dilemmas, concerning other agents' online disclosure of their children, especially teachers and grandparents (Cino & Dalledonne Vandini, 2020a; 2020b).

There are several reasons why ordinary parents engage in sharenting: to receive affirmation, support, and advice about parenting challenges; to keep friends and family informed about their children; to collect memories; to show pride in their children; to self-present themselves as good parents; and to advocate for children (Borda, 2015; Lopez, 2009; Tiidenberg & Baym, 2017; Verswijvel et al., 2019). These motivations could be combined in different ways to make money for some parents engaging in sharenting labor – the sharing of parenting experiences for monetary gain (Jorge et al., 2021b; Campana et al., 2020). Several strategies are used to connect with commercial brands and develop a successful professional activity as influencers in the attention economy. One of these is the deployment of micro-celebrity, 'the commitment to deploying and maintaining one's online identity as if it were a branded good, with the expectation that others do the same' (Senft, 2013, p. 346). The academic concept of micro-celebrity is used both to refer to the technique and to the status. When the children of these influencers become a focus of attention by sizable audiences, they themselves become micro-microcelebrities (Abidin, 2017). These children inherit fame, and their appearance and behavior could be subject to public surveillance (Cino & Formenti, 2021), besides the 'intimate surveillance' by close social circles (Leaver, 2020). Any user can store, republish, and recirculate information in fan networks (Abidin, 2015) and thus there can be an appropriation of their identities in different forms (written posts, photos, videos, memes, gifs, etc.). This increases concerns about bullying and trolling not only among peers but also more 'messy' forms among networked and affective publics, formed by 'heterogeneous assemblages of private emotions, which seem incapable to coalesce into any kind of coherent and collective cultural meaning' (Caliandro & Anselmi, 2021, p. 4).

When the gender dimension of influencer sharenting labor is considered in relation to conciliation of the marketplace and the family, mommy influencers articulate parenting and an essentially consumerist agenda Jorge et al., (2021b), whereas Instadads are starting a new discursive territory of involved fatherhood and are only beginning to find space on the marketplace (Campana et al., 2020). This leads them to choose contents that evoke strong emotions – such as sharing the happiness and challenges of parenthood – which usually generate more engagement for monetization purposes. But this could also involve reframing hegemonic stereotypes – i.e., intensive mothering, the good mother that ignores personal and professional needs in the name of child rearing; or the distant breadwinner father (Campana et al., 2020).

Full-time or aspiring influencers – whether mom and dad bloggers or lifestyle influencers who come to share their parenting as part of their blogging – need to conciliate profit goals and the protection of their children; thus they must curate what is or is not appropriate to share on social media, avoiding the accusation of child exploitation (Jorge et al., 2021b; Campana et al., 2020) or other forms of aggression as a result of their parenting decisions (Lehto, 2021; Mäkinen, 2021). Children are often shown as co-creators with parents or as central in family moments, and Campana et al. (2020) found that Instadads see their children as economic agents with a right to benefit from their labor and to act as decision-makers as they grow older – which should be the norm.

When growing up, teenagers 'start exercising their voice and opinion about what should, and should not, be shared online' (Leaver, 2020, p. 238), whether they are

children of influencers or of ordinary parents (Lipu & Siibak, 2019; Ouvrein & Verswij-vel, 2019; Verswijvel et al., 2019). But Leaver notes that 'in an era of digital communication and datafied childhoods', erasing posts and images from social media at the request of teenagers does not guarantee that 'commercial platforms and networks' will '"forget"' them (2020, p. 240) or not use them to profile children in later life (for instance, if the child has been ill this may impact insurance contracts). Furthermore, children's digital identities as created through sharenting are not just based on images and videos but also personal information. Children's rights to privacy and to be forgotten are, thus, complicated in the contemporary digital environment – and the extent of the visibility of children of celebrities further complicates this.

Visual social media ecosystem

In a platformized environment, where the increasing integration of web applications with each other and the wider web is motivated by technical and economic factors (Nieborg & Helmond, 2019), visual elements are central (Highfield & Leaver, 2016). They result from both participatory digital culture and commercial visual repositories – encompassing memes, stickers, gifs, filters, emoticons and emojis (Highfield, 2018) that circulate across social media platforms, as well as the increasingly popular social networking site Instagram and the popularization of selfies and filters. Besides being polysemic forms of communication, visual elements are most often combined with language, so they act multimodally. Memes and gifs (as animated, usually short-looped videos – Ash, 2015) are increasingly popular formats that play with intertextuality, appropriation and remix (Miltner, 2018; Miltner & Highfield, 2017), which can take the form of 'satire, parody, critique, or other discursive activity' especially in the case of memes (Wiggins, 2019, p. 11). Thus, these rich, multimodal formats of communication are often associated with humor that works through de-contextualization and 're-entextualization' (Wiggins, 2019 drawing on Varis & Blommaert), in which they are taken out of context and assigned new contexts of meaning. They can also be charged with or prime different forms of affect (Ash, 2015; Dale et al., 2016; Mercer & Sarson, 2020; Miltner & Highfield, 2017) or resonance as 'the manifestation of strong personal affinity' (Philips & Milner, 2017, p. 31).

As artifacts of participatory digital culture, the significance of internet memes derives from their '*collectivism* (social creation and transformation) and *spread* (circulation through mass networks)' (Philips & Milner, 2017, p. 31). While the first wave of memes was more confined to subcultures and manipulated by technically savvy users (Miltner, 2018), the format is increasingly popular and accessible, through sites such as Meme Generator or ImgFlip. Furthermore, visual formats are increasingly commodified and integrated into platforms as available modes of communication. For example, Twitter allowed gifs in 2014; Facebook, in 2015; and Messenger, in 2017 (Mercer & Sarson, 2020); in 2020, Facebook acquired (allegedly for $400 million) Giphy, a web-based gif search engine, offering a library for its users to affectively express themselves in their social media interactions, void of expressive cues (Ahmed, 2020). This tendency expands the scale and access of replication and circulation to unprecedented levels (Miltner, 2018) – which are fundamental to the affective capability of visual formats such as gifs (Ash, 2015, p. 122).

On the one hand, celebrities provide fruitful and easily accessible visual material for all sorts of appropriations for different discursive purposes online; some celebrities even ascend to or sustain such status through memeability (Mercer & Sarson, 2020), inviting an 'affective relationship with them through repetition and imitation' (p. 488). Such an affect can range from fascination to derogation – in fact, sports celebrities find themselves particularly involved in vernacular content ranging from humor to hostility (Kassing, 2020). On the other hand, children can hold cuteness (as something that does not exist in them but that 'we *do* to them' – Harris in Dale et al., 2016, p. 37) in the way they elicit affective responses. They also bear 'memetic cuteness' (Dale et al., 2016) in the way they lend themselves to having a layer of meaning or intention added that was not in the image (e.g., a mean attitude or a complex thought), often resulting in atemporal and universal creations. Cuteness has a strong potential for engagement and creativity.

Methods

This paper seeks to problematize celebrity sharenting through an A-list international celebrity, Cristiano Ronaldo. Ronaldo has faced certain scandals over the last several years as he has entered the later part of his career. In December 2016, Football Leaks revealed that he had evaded taxes in Spain, which led to a sentence of two years of suspended jail time and an €18.8 million fine (Jorge et al., 2021a); in April 2017, Ronaldo was investigated for a rape allegation by the Las Vegas Police Department that originated in 2009 (Silveirinha et al., 2020), which resulted in no charges in July 2019.

Celebrity being a cross-media, global and intertextual object, our goal is to investigate the articulation between celebrity sharenting and the wider construction of children's digital identities in an eminently visual, networked culture. Specifically, for the children of a football celebrity, what are the tensions born in their networked representations, amid concurring and fluctuating feelings toward the parent? Our instrumental goal is to explore an alternative and critical approach to studying digital identity amid the flows of the current digital ecosystem, seeking to 'engage in devising new and alternative methods to keep social media research alive' 'in an era of APIs curtailing' (Bainotti et al., 2020, p. 6).

First, we performed a qualitative content analysis (Neuendorf & Kumar, 2016) of Instagram posts depicting or mentioning Cristiano Ronaldo's children from @cristiano (over 275 million followers at the end of 2020), his partner @georginagio (24.1 million followers in April 2021), and his mother @doloresaveirooficial (2.2 million followers in April 2021). Georgina Rodríguez is a Spanish model who worked as a shop assistant until she attained fame after she was publicly presented as Ronaldo's partner in 2016. Dolores Aveiro is one of the most followed Portuguese women on Instagram, and she is mostly popular among Portuguese audiences (Oliveira, 2019), who see her as tacky rich. The three monetize their high visibility on this platform and in advertising. This approach to the extended family seeks to advance research on sharenting by looking beyond parents and more into the family network of significant adults. We collected 24 months of data from the period between May 2018 and May 2020 – in the Summer of 2018 Ronaldo represented Portugal in the World Cup holding the trophy as the European champion, and he moved from Spanish Real Madrid to Italian Juventus. The corpus

was formed of 213 posts in total (73 posts by Ronaldo, 81 by Georgina, and 59 by Dolores). We did not include Stories, as that would require archiving prospectively; also, from our knowledge of the father's profile, this format is not used regularly.

We used the Instagram Scraper of the Digital Methods Tool Database (https://wiki. digitalmethods.net/Dmi/ToolDatabase) to retrieve information on date, caption, and type of content (photo/video); as it generated incomplete databases, we filled in the remainder of the data manually in Excel. One author produced a short description of the posts and additional notes when relevant. The three authors discussed relevant emergent codes, namely the language used in the caption, advertising (sponsored, explicit or implicit), posed or spontaneous photos (the latter including selfies)/videos, scene (home, football, business, social, leisure and everyday life), extended self (affection and dedication, pride, challenging parenthood, gratitude and happiness, companionship, parent–child(ren) similarities), and cuteness elements (small babies, twins, siblings, children and animals, funny and messy moments, mini-adults behavior, caresses). One of the authors conducted the coding, which was cross-checked by the other two, at the end of which process we created pivot tables to explore patterns.

Next, we searched for Ronaldo's children (with the terms *son*, *child*, *Junior*, *Cristia-ninho*) across different digital spaces and cultures – image search engine (Google), social media platforms (Reddit, Tumblr), sites (BuzzFeed, Bored Panda, Upworthy, ViralNova – the last three yielded no results), and repositories (Giphy, Gifer, Imgur, Pinterest, Stick-erMaker, Stickerly, Imgflip – the last three yielded no results) – using hashtags and text. Except for Pinterest, every search on sites was conducted using a new, blank account. To counterbalance the linguistic bias of this type of search, and to further excavate in material, we used reverse image searches (Google Reverse Image search, Google API Vision, TinEye) for the identified memes. Using Padlet, we thematically grouped the images in a virtual bulletin board to capture the association between formats, platforms, and the resulting children's identities.

This study followed the Association of Internet Researchers' ethical guidelines (franzke et al., 2020). We searched for publicly available content, vastly accessible to wide audiences as a result of the celebrity of Ronaldo. We include exemplary portions of content, pictures, and memes, but not their URLs so as not to direct readers to the original content.

Findings

In our searches we found several news pieces in mainstream and sports media from different locations around the world, as well as Portuguese celebrity media, about Cristiano Junior having, at the age of 9, created an Instagram account in February 2020. News highlighted that his account reached '880k followers in less than 24 hours', after Cristiano and Georgina tagged his account; and that the first post was made in four different languages (Couzens, 2020). Celebrity media in Portugal reported that the boy's account was not following his aunts or other relatives. The account was soon closed, but the reasons remain unclear. Some unofficial websites attribute the decision to Ronaldo's intention to prevent pressure on his son from such extensive exposure (Promise, 2020). There was also evident public surveillance over a video of the boy riding a jet

ski shared by one of his aunts on Instagram, which led the police to investigate the occurrence (Menon, 2020). This attests that Junior's visibility is generated by a celebrity clan more than solely by his father and how it is under public scrutiny.

i. Young, cute children and a natural successor

To the first of our research questions, namely how does celebrity sharenting contribute to the construction of the digital identities of children, we identified the main themes of happy and grateful parenthood and the representation of children as the extended self of the father, stepmother and grandmother. This is enacted through emotional labor from the adults that ultimately positions children as emotional capital, which engages audiences toward the celebrity self.

On his family's Instagram accounts, Ronaldo's children are represented mostly in domestic, playful and funny moments, in non-staged esthetics and selfies, sometimes amid conspicuous luxury. Home and family appear as the refuge for the global celebrity, away from the pressure of the spotlight, and Cristiano displays a *pleasant fatherhood*. This is evident in captions, particularly through emojis: 'How great it is to arrive at home after a day of hard work and be with my lovely family 🙏 ❤️ 😋' (15/07/2019), 'Best way to start my weekend ❤️ 🙏' (05/10/2019), or 'Funny moment with my babies 😃 ❤️' (24/02/2020). Not only are emojis an easy and nearly universal way to convey feelings and moods of gratefulness, love, and laughter, but such feelings are also relatable to any member of the audience. Georgina extends this by expressing that 'We are the luckiest parents in the world' (05/06/2018, in Spanish) and iterations of happiness with her role as mother, not differentiating between her biological child and Cristiano's other children. The representation of the twins and Alana assists Georgina in positioning herself as a legitimate partner to Cristiano and mother to his children. This is foregrounded in posts with cute moments of the babies kissing the father or the mother, or even more of kissing siblings: 'Mummy and daddy teach them that the most important thing in this life is love. That's why they kiss each other so much @cristiano ❤️ #Lospapásmásafortunados [#theluckiestparents]' (24/06/2018, in Spanish). Georgina not only plays with emojis but also with contextualizing hashtags that serve to express emotions (Highfield, 2018). Caresses between children and, at times, their father, mother, grandmother, or between siblings bear great potential for cuteness.

In these representations with parents or with the siblings, the youngest children's – Mateo, Eva and Alana – identities are not individualized nor do they display strong personality traits. They are shown playing or in family leisure moments – something which seems pleasurable for the parents, as Georgina says, 'You can't tell who enjoys it more – the mother or the children 🤳 ❤️ 🎉 ❄️ 🌐 #buenasnoches [goodnight] #love' (9/04/2019, in Spanish). Images of play, however, bear a markedly conservative gendered association: whereas girls are more associated with princesses and roleplaying, Matteo and Junior (as we will see) are associated with football. Cuteness appears in the form of girls being miniatures of the mother, and boys being miniatures of the father. One video shows Cristiano playing with Matteo who, not even two years old, passes the football to his father and scores: 'like father, like son ⚽ 🏃 👍 ❤️' (02/05/2019, in Portuguese). This post is built on the cuteness of a baby boy doing something

extraordinary, and it accentuates the idea of inherited talent. Football occupies, unsurprisingly, an important part of the narrative constructed through Instagram by this celebrity clan. Family forms the basis for Ronaldo's sports performance, and Georgina mobilizes support, speaking 'for' the younger children: 'Come on beautiful daddy! ❤️ Blessed 🙏 Mummy is in love ☆ 🌙 #dulcessueños [#sweetdreams] … #FINOAL-LAFINE @cristiano' (23/09/2018); making associations between football and family: 'We love you @cristiano We are proud of you 👨‍👧‍👦 ⌷4⌷ goals one for each baby 🙏 🏵 ♡ #sweetdreams #portugal #love #my #family' (10/09/2019); or holding the fort while Cristiano is away for work: 'We couldn't have enjoyed this second birthday more … All that was missing was daddy ❤️ 👨‍👩‍👧 💫 👶 👑 #happybirthday #family' (5/06/2019 – in Spanish, hashtags kept in original).

Gratefulness for and devotion to everyday family life is enhanced as affection on special family days. As with many users on Instagram, Ronaldo, Georgina and Dolores use birthdays to express their feelings. Ronaldo oscillates between English and Portuguese: 'My babies Eva and Mateo celebrate today their first birthday! Happy birthday my dear children! 👏 🎂 😘 😘'[1] (05/06/2018, in Portuguese), 'Happy birthday, dear princess! One year of bliss! Love you! 👏 🎂 ❤️' (12/11/2018), 'Happy birthday my dear son! You're turning into a man! 👏 ⌷8⌷ 🎂 ❤️' (17/06/2018, in Portuguese). In posts on holidays – 'Happy Halloween to everyone!!👻 👹' (31/10/2018), 'We wish a Happy Easter to everyone 🌍 ❤️ 🙏 #stayhome' (12/04/2020) – he emphasizes his family's happiness. For Dolores, as part of a migrant family, family reunions appear as moments of immense joy (e.g., 2/01/2020). These posts, always captioned in Portuguese, do not reveal particularities of any of her grandchildren's identities; they mostly help to build the image of the 'good mother' and matriarch that is dear to her home culture.

On the contrary, the oldest son, Cristiano Junior, has a more clearly defined identity. At home, he is shown as a companion to his parents, many times working out with his father – 'Working hard on my recovery with a special training partner!!😁 🤙' (17/08/2019) – or his stepmother – 'Good morning ⚙️ Training with my prince 🤍 👑 @aloyoga 🌍' (3/06/2019, in Spanish). Furthermore, he is presented as an extension of the father, dressing in similar styles or posing in the same way: 'Like father like son:) Happiness [sic] above all ❤️ ⚽ 🤙' (12/05/2020). In a selfie of Ronaldo with Junior studying in the back, a quote (in Portuguese, ending with two initials) praises 'patience and persistence', and reminds that 'what is big today started out as small' (23/09/2019). While valuing education, it also sets ambitious goals for Junior's future. There is even a lack of leniency for the boy in a run in the desert, when Ronaldo runs with some (adult) friends and Junior lags behind, doing his best to keep up (02/01/2019). In particular, Junior is depicted as a 'natural successor' to Ronaldo's talent for football. The boy's football performance is very present in the father's profile: videos of him playing (e.g., 17/08/2019), scoring (14/10/2018), with a trophy (10/12/2018). The grandmother greatly contributes to this identity as a future football player, and a continuation of his father: in a post in which Junior is wearing his sporting uniform, Dolores writes, 'I'm here to watch *my little man*'s training session ❤️ ⚽' (27/09/2018, our italics), a phrase she repeats in other posts. She also singles him out often: 'The joy of my life is already by my side' (01/07/2019) or 'unique love' (09/06/2019).

Junior appears in his parents' posts about social or business events, i.e., outside the home, unlike the younger siblings – e.g., Juventus events, dinner at Zela London in Ibiza, the inauguration of Insparya (an investment of Ronaldo's), and awards' ceremonies. For example, when Junior accompanied his father to receive the Dubai Global Soccer award, Cristiano wrote: 'Always with me 👪 ❤️' (30/12/2019). While Cristiano often posts pictures on the days following events, which is a good practice to protect children's integrity, Dolores is less cautious: she posted a picture of picking him up from school in which the school can be identified (26/09/2018). We did not find instances in which children were portrayed in constraining situations, nor in messy moments.

ii. A memeable child

To answer our second research question, we found that folk visual formats amplify, mold, or subvert children's digital identities as generated by Instagram sharenting – as well as by broadcast media. Again, we found Junior to be the focus of this participatory creativity: as a cute young boy and as an inexpressive child overshadowed by his egotistical, vain, uber-rich father.

Through searches in Gifer and Google, we found various gifs of Cristiano and his oldest son, producing an image of cute father-son moments.[2] Cuteness and adorability refer to the time when Junior was a small – and still a single – child; they seem to derive from the fact that the boy is depicted as a miniature of his father, as well as from moments of tenderness between the two, mostly when they were each other's only family. A Buzzfeed post from 2015 (Eewshah, 2015), 'Let's Talk About How Adorable Cristiano Ronaldo and His Son Are', draws on Instagram posts shared by the footballer. Gifs, in particular, are generated from small clips of documentaries or TV interviews conducted in the home of the family or at awards ceremonies. Figures 1 and 2 are examples of affectionate moments between father and son: the first shows Cristiano giving a caress to Junior when he is at his side studying. It may be that gifs are dated because they grew more around the time Ronaldo was a single father; or they may be indexed with emotions in commercial repositories. As we will explore below, similar images of Ronaldo sitting by the child studying can also be subverted via memes reinforcing the father's megalomania.

Figure 1. CR studying with Junior and kissing him (gif).

Figure 2. CR and Junior kissing (gif).

The second, much larger stream of circulation of Junior's image is populated with memes that appropriate pictures, mostly Instagram selfies, subverting them to mock the father's narcissism, ridiculing the fact that the child does not know how to pose for selfies – an expected norm for people being represented on Instagram. The series of memes '–Dad, I'm hungry /–I'm so handsome' (in Portuguese) generated in Brazil in 2018 consisted of several 'possible dialogs between father and son at the time of the photograph', re-entextualizing the pictures in which the boy's expression is 'not always very lively' (Viegas, 2018, p. 62). These 'possible', yet unlikely dialogs, create humor

- pai preciso dormir
- filho veja minha sobrancelha
- pai sao 4 da manhã
- meu sorriso é radiante
- tenho afazeres pela manhã pai
- uma selfie com o craque
- pai pelo amor de deus
- eu sou o melhor jogador do mundo

Figure 3. '–dad I need to sleep /–look at my eyebrows' (in Portuguese) (meme).

Figure 4. '–Dad, I'm tired of taking care … ' (meme).

around the idea that Cristiano is so egotistical and vain that he ignores his child's basic needs ('–dad, I need to sleep / –just look at my eyebrows' – Figure 3), which would be bad parenting.[3] Using TinEye, we found that the dialogs were translated into a variety of languages, deploying a limited number of photographs Cristiano Ronaldo had posted on his Instagram account (Figures 4, 5 and 6): Junior approaching Cristiano while he is working out ('–Dad, I'm tired of taking care of my brother /–Look son, 230 kg in leg extension. I'm a god … ', original in English); and selfies of Cristiano and Junior,

Figure 5. '–son come take a picture in the sun/–but it's hot dad' (meme).

- pai chega já é a 28ª foto
- olha meu sorriso que lindo vamo mais uma
- acho que meu irmão cagou aqui
- os filhos do messi são horríveis
- pai tenho fome
- ja viu cabelo mais sedoso que o meu?

Figure 6. '–dad it's enough, it's the 28th photo already/–look at my beautiful smile, c'mon one more' (meme).

in which the former is smiling, and the latter is inexpressive and looks unenthusiastic. Using Google API Vision for some of the pictures originally shared on Instagram indicated that the facial expressions indicate smiles and happiness from Ronaldo, whereas the boy's expression cannot be determined – it is thus memeable, re-entextualizable.

A considerable amount of the humor revolves around the material aspects of being the child of a global celebrity and the sheer fame status of Ronaldo. One meme takes another Instagram post of Cristiano accompanying his son's study and its variations play with the idea of 'why study if we're rich?', 'dad doesn't know the subject' (he doesn't need to), 'your father is bigger than Alexander the Great', or the father just telling the son to pose as if he is studying purely for the purposes of an Instagram post. Similar situations we found conveying the value of education and as a moment of affection, here, are subverted. In the same group, we included the meme generated from Ronaldo and Georgina' announcement of the birth of Junior's sister Alana: 'when your multimillion inheritance goes from 100% to 25% in one year' (Figure 7), which creates a second image, on the right, isolating and zooming in on the boy's face (as does Figure 9). The material implications of being a child of a super-rich football celebrity are at the core of this humor. In the same popular 'when you' structure, where an added caption works to re-entextualize the original meaning, the meme 'When you realize your dad is Cristiano Ronaldo' (Figure 8), from a photo where one can only see the boy's eyes, creates the idea of him being unbelieving of his reality. This meme uses a font that is typically used in

Figure 7. 'When your multi million heritage … ' (meme).

memes and can be easily produced via templates. Figure 9 shows yet another 'when you' meme with an image composition of several instances of photos as those used (on the left) and zoom in on Junior's facial (in)expression, to which simpler text is added at the top: 'When your dad starts forcing his healthy lifestyle on you'. While this group of memes is more centered on the child, Junior is still not taken as an autonomous subject but rather in his relational identity as the son of an unparalleled celebrity (Holiday et al., 2020).

Figure 9. 'When your dad starts … ' (meme).

Figure 8. 'When you realize your dad … ' (meme).

Memes using curation, edition and composition are less common. Image manipulation also appeared in memes inciting the rivalry between Cristiano Ronaldo and Lionel Messi, either by placing Junior as Messi's son (a 2017 fake Instagram account simulated that Junior was Messi's biggest fan – 'Conta falsa do filho de Cristiano Ronaldo atraiu dezenas de milhares em 24 horas & Instagram, 2017) or juxtaposing Junior with one of Messi's sons. It was only through Google Image Reverse search that we found image manipulation using gore (e.g., Ronaldo would cut the boy's leg just to make a social media post), indicating that these posts are scarce and do not circulate with the same propulsion.

Discussion and conclusions

Sharenting on Instagram by celebrities cannot be isolated from the wider reputation context in which celebrities exist. It became apparent that the portrayal of children on the family clan's Instagram accounts legitimates, for Ronaldo, the identity of a good parent, happy and grateful for his family, through the affect they infuse in the moments they choose to share, deploying cute elements as siblings interacting, family's tender and fun moments, children as (gendered) miniature adults, and enhanced with emojis and hashtags for a global audience. Sharenting seems to respond to the moral scrutiny of Ronaldo's choices to have children through an unknown mother, surrogacy, and ultimately of Georgina as a stepmother; and also to recuperate Ronaldo's reputation after scandals. Children are represented as the extended self of celebrities, and thus they are ultimately positioned as emotional capital that engages audiences toward the celebrity self. Very young children bear more cuteness appeal; this is evident in the representation of the youngest children and proved by the archived gifs of Junior when young. Generally, children engage audiences more, and such increased engagement is crucial to capitalization in sponsored and commercial content in the celebrity clan's accounts.

The breadth, visibility, persistence, and replicability of content, particularly visual content, generated by celebrity sharenting make it substantially different from sharenting by influencers or ordinary parents. While our analysis is of an extreme case, it allows us to demonstrate how representations of children produced by celebrity parents on social media can be combined with, and amplified by news media (e.g., for public surveillance), as well as molded via networked culture and disseminated by commercial repositories that embed social media platforms. Celebrity sharenting lends a constantly growing catalogue that is remixed and/or circulated in the platform ecosystem. This means also that children's images circulate and are highly persistent (some of the images were available at repository sites such as Pinterest but not in the original posts), and that they are subject to their own moderation policies (e.g., gore images were not easily found, but more discretionary policies can occur).

Our search for images of Cristiano's children shows how the children's digital identities are formed by contradictory affective publics (Caliandro & Anselmi, 2021), motivated by audiences' relationships with the celebrity parent. On the one hand, appreciative audiences of the cute father-son dyad, the young children, the stepmother and stepchildren engage with gifs, emojis, photos, and videos; on the other, one section of the public, oscillating from humorous to hostile, jokes about the celebrity as vain and egotistical. Here, child's feelings appear to be the focus but they are re-entextualized into different frames of meaning. From the different digital identities created for the children, we call attention to the image created for the oldest son, Cristiano Junior, by the family as a continuity of his father, as if inheriting celebrity from an achieved celebrity. This image alone adds incommensurable pressure to the child's identity development, especially when entering teenagehood.

More generally, the digital identities of children of celebrities are widely public, formed by the everyday, intimate content of the family's life, that is persistent and collectively recreated. Differently to children who have had one video or photo turned into popular digital phenomena – e.g., 'David after dentist' or 'Side-eyeing Chloe' (Mendez, 2021) –, the identities of children of celebrities are generated by their cumulative exposition as they grow up and as it is transformed and circulated in news media and online. Celebrities' children's rights to privacy and to be forgotten are unattained in the current digital ecosystem (Leaver, 2020), and, most often, their digital existence reverts to the private gains of their parent(s), the social media where they are shared, and multiple platforms where they circulate.

Notes

1. The brown skin tone of the emoji affirms the 'dark-white' he is identified with (Hylton & Lawrence, 2015).
2. There is an immense catalogue of Ronaldo in gifs and stickers, mostly isolating facial expressions or moves on the pitch or with added text from his speech.
3. The author also notes that the meme series was remixed for other pairs of father and son, such as Neymar and his son Davi Lucca.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Notes on contributors

Ana Jorge, PhD, is a Senior Researcher at CICANT and Associate Professor at Lusófona University. Ana researches children, youth and media, audiences, celebrity culture, digital culture, and her scholarship appears in journals such as *Celebrity Studies*, *CyberPsychology* and *Social Media + Society*, and collections such as *Childhood and Celebrity* and *Celebrity and Youth*. She has co-edited *Digital Parenting* (Nordicom, 2018) and *Reckoning with Social Media* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2021). Twitter: @anajorge_

Lidia Marôpo, PhD, is an Associate Professor at the Polytechnic Institute of Setúbal and a researcher at Interdisciplinary Center of Social Sciences/Nova University (CICS.NOVA). She has taken part in international projects and networks such as COST Actions Transforming Audiences and ySKILLS. She has published on different aspects of the relationship between children and media: the representation of children in the news, children as media audience and also as digital content producers, with a special focus on comparative research between Brazil and Portugal, in journals such as *Journal of Children and Media* and *Communication & Society*, and in books by publishers such as Palgrave and Routledge.

Filipa Neto is a MA student of Sociology at the ISCTE-IUL, and holds a BA in Social and Cultural Communication from the Catholic University of Portugal.

ORCID

Ana Jorge 🔵 http://orcid.org/0000-0002-4069-6212
Lidia Marôpo 🔵 http://orcid.org/0000-0003-4687-7628

References

Abidin, C. (2015). Micromicrocelebrity: Branding babies on the internet. *M/C Journal*, *18*(5). http://www.journal.media-culture.org.au/index.php/mcjournal/article/view/1022 https://doi.org/10.5204/mcj.1022

Abidin, C. (2017). #Familygoals: Family influencers, calibrated amateurism, and justifying young digital labor. *Social Media + Society*, *3*(2), 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305117707191

Ahmed, A. (2020, May 16). Facebook acquires Giphy For $400 Million, and plans to integrate its GIF library into Instagram. *Digital Information World*. https://www.digitalinformationworld.com/2020/05/facebook-acquires-giphy-for-400-million-and-plans-to-integrate-its-gif-library-into-instagram.html

Andrews, D. L., & Clift, B. C. (2017). Football and stardom: On context, intertextuality and reflexivity. In J. Hughson, K. Moore, R. Spaaij, & J. Maguire (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of football studies* (pp. 200–211). Routledge.

Ash, J. (2015). Sensation, networks, and the GIF: Toward an allotropic account of affect. In K. Hillis, S. Paasonen, & M. Petit (Eds.), *Networked affect* (pp. 119–133). The MIT Press.

Autenrieth, U. (2018). Family photography in a network age. Anti-sharenting as a reaction to risk assessment and behaviour adaptation. In G. Mascheroni, C. Ponte, & A. Jorge (Eds.), *Digital Parenting - The Challenges for Families in the Digital Age* (pp. 219–231). The International Clearinghouse on Children, Youth & Media at Nordicom.

Bainotti, L., Caliandro, A., & Gandini, A. (2020). From archive cultures to ephemeral content, and back: Studying Instagram stories with digital methods. *New Media & Society*, *23*(12), 3656–3676. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444820960071

Blum-Ross, A., & Livingstone, S. (2017). Sharenting," parent blogging, and the boundaries of the digital self. *Popular Communication*, *15*(2), 110–125. https://doi.org/10.1080/15405702.2016.1223300

Borda, J. L. (2015). Cultivating community within the commercial marketplace: Blurred boundaries in the 'mommy' blogosphere. In A. T. Demo, J. L. Borda, & C. H. Krolokke (Eds.), *The*

motherhood business: Consumption, communication, and privilege (pp. 121–150). University of Alabama Press.

Caliandro, A., & Anselmi, G. (2021). Affordances-based brand relations: An inquire on memetic brands on Instagram. *Social Media + Society*, *7*(2), 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051211021367

Campana, M., Bossche, A. V. d., & Miller, B. (2020). #Dadtribe: Performing sharenting labour to commercialise involved fatherhood. *Journal of Macromarketing*, *40*(4), 475–491. https://doi.org/10.1177/0276146720933334.

Cino, D., & Dalledonne Vandini, C. (2020a). Why does a teacher feel the need to post My Kid?": parents and teachers constructing morally acceptable boundaries of children's social media presence. *International Journal of Communication*, *14*, 1153–1172.

Cino, D., & Dalledonne Vandini, C. (2020b). My kid, my rule": governing children's digital footprints as a source of dialectical tensions between mothers and daughters-in-law. *Studies in Communication Sciences*, *20*(2), 181–202. https://doi.org/10.24434/j.scoms.2020.02.003.

Cino, D., & Formenti, L. (2021). To share or not to share? That is the (social media) dilemma. Expectant mothers questioning and making sense of performing pregnancy on social media. *Convergence*, *27*(2), 491–507. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856521990299

Conta falsa do filho de Cristiano Ronaldo atraiu dezenas de milhares em 24 horas | Instagram. (2017, December 6). *Público*. https://www.publico.pt/2017/12/06/impar/noticia/conta-falsa-do-filho-de-cristiano-no-instagram-atraiu-milhares-de-seguidores-e-gerou-logo-polemica-1795048

Couzens, G. (2020, February 25). Cristiano Ronaldo Jr, 9, opens Instagram account with message in FOUR languages … And already has almost 900k followers. *The Sun*. https://www.thesun.co.uk/sport/football/11041117/cristiano-ronaldo-jr-instagram/

Dale, J. P., Goggin, J., Leyda, J., McIntyre, A. P., & Negra, D. (2016). *The aesthetics and affects of cuteness*. Routledge.

Damkjaer, M. S. (2018). Sharenting = good parenting?: Four parental approaches to sharenting on Facebook. In G. Mascheroni, C. Ponte, & A. Jorge (Eds.), *Digital Parenting - The Challenges for Families in the Digital Age* (pp. 209–218). The International Clearinghouse on Children, Youth & Media at Nordicom.

Eewshah, R. (2015, August 14). Let's talk about how adorable Cristiano Ronaldo and his son are. *BuzzFeed*. Retrieved 21 June 2021 from https://www.buzzfeed.com/rawaneewshah/lets-talk-about-how-adorable-cristiano-ronaldo-and-his-son-a

franzke, a. s., Bechmann, A., Zimmer, M., Ess, C., & the AoIR (2020). Internet research: Ethical guidelines 3.0. *Association of Internet Researchers*. https://aoir.org/reports/ethics3.pdf

Hearn, A., & Schoenhoff, S. (2016). From celebrity to influencer. In P. D. Marshall, & S. Redmond (Eds.), *A Companion to celebrity* (pp. 194–212). Wiley.

Highfield, T. (2018). Emoji hashtags//hashtag emoji: Of platforms, visual affect, and discursive flexibility. *First Monday*, *23*(9). https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v23i9.9398

Highfield, T., & Leaver, T. (2016). Instagrammatics and digital methods: Studying visual social media, from selfies and GIFs to memes and emoji. *Communication Research and Practice*, *2*(1), 47–62. https://doi.org/10.1080/22041451.2016.1155332

Holiday, S., Norman, M. S., & Densley, R. L. (2020). Sharenting and the extended self: Self-representation in parents' Instagram presentations of their children. *Popular Communication*, 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1080/15405702.2020.1744610

Hylton, K., & Lawrence, S. (2015). Reading ronaldo: Contingent whiteness in the football media. *Soccer & Society*, *16*(5–6), 765–782. https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2014.963310

Jerslev, A., & Mortensen, M. (2018). Celebrity in the social media age: Renegotiating the public and the private. In A. Elliott (Ed.), *Routledge Handbook of celebrity studies* (pp. 157–174). Routledge.

Jorge, A., Marôpo, L., Coelho, A. M., & Novello, L. 2021b).Mummy influencers and professional sharenting. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*. 1–17 https://doi.org/10.1177/13675494211004593

Jorge, A., & Marôpo, L. (2017). Born to be famous? Children of celebrities and their rights in the media. In J. O'Connor & J. Mercer (Eds.), *Childhood & Celebrity* (pp. 28–40). Routledge.

Jorge, A., Oliva, M., & Aguiar, L.M. (2021a).Offshoring & Leaking: Cristiano Ronaldo's tax evasion, and Celebrity in Neoliberal Times. *Popular Communication, 19*(3), 178–192. https://doi.org/10.1080/15405702.2021.1913491

Jorge, A. (2015.'Cristiano Ronaldo is cheap chic, Twilight actors are special': Young audiences of celebrities, class and locality. *Celebrity Studies, 6*(1), 39–53. https://doi.org/10.1080/19392397.2015.995467

Kassing, J. W. (2020). Messi hanging laundry at the bernabéu: The production and consumption of internet sports memes as trash talk. *Discourse, Context & Media*, *34,* 100320. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dcm.2019.100320

Leaver, T. (2020). Balancing privacy: Sharenting, intimate surveillance and the right to be forgotten. In L. Green, D. Holloway, K. Stevenson, T. Leaver, & L. Haddon (Eds.), *The Routledge Companion to digital media and children* (pp. 235–244). Routledge.

Lehto, M. (2021). Ambivalent influencers: Feeling rules and the affective practice of anxiety in social media influencer work. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 1–16https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549421988958.

Lipu, M., & Siibak, A. (2019). 'Take it down!': Estonian parents' and pre-teens' opinions and experiences with sharentingTake it down!': Estonian parents' and pre-teens' opinions and experiences with sharenting. *Media International Australia*, *170*(1), 57–67. https://doi.org/10.1177/1329878X19828366

Lopez, L. K. (2009). The radical act of "mommy blogging": redefining motherhood through the blogosphere. *New Media & Society*, *11*(5), 729–747. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444809105349

Mäkinen, K. (2021). Resilience and vulnerability: Emotional and affective labour in mom blogging. *New Media & Society*, *23*(10), 2964–2978. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444820941196

McCarthy, N. (2019, October 28). The highest earners on Instagram [Infographic]. *Forbes.* https://www.forbes.com/sites/niallmccarthy/2019/10/28/the-highest-earners-on-instagram-infographic/

Mendez IIM. (2021, May 10). The 2009 viral video 'David After Dentist' sold for over $10,000 as an NFT. *Business Insider.* https://www.businessinsider.com/nft-david-after-dentist-viral-youtube-video-sold-2021-5

Menon, S. (2020, July 13). Cristiano Ronaldo's son filmed riding jet ski alone, police launch probe: Reports. *Republic World.* https://www.republicworld.com/sports-news/football-news/cristiano-ronaldo-son-filmed-riding-jet-ski-alone-police-launch-probe.html

Mercer, J., & Sarson, C. (2020). Fifteen seconds of fame: Rupaul's drag race, camp and 'memeability'. *Celebrity Studies*, *11*(4), 479–492. https://doi.org/10.1080/19392397.2020.1765102

Miltner, K. M. (2018). Internet memes. In J. Burgess, A. E. Marwick, & T. Poell (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of social media* (pp. 412–428). SAGE.

Miltner, K. M., & Highfield, T. (2017). Never gonna GIF You Up: Analyzing the cultural significance of the animated GIF. *Social Media + Society*, *3*(3), 1–11. https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305117725223

Most followed accounts on Instagram 2021. (n.d.). Statista. Retrieved 30 April 2021, from https://www.statista.com/statistics/421169/most-followers-instagram/

Mortensen, M., & Jerslev, A. (2014). Taking the extra out of the extraordinary: Paparazzi photography as an online celebrity news genre. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, *17*(6), 619–636. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367877913503425

Neuendorf, K. A., & Kumar, A. (2016). Content Analysis. In *The International encyclopedia of Political Communication* (pp. 1–10). Wiley. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118541555.wbiepc065.

Nieborg, D. B., & Helmond, A. (2019). The political economy of Facebook's platformization in the mobile ecosystem: Facebook messenger as a platform instance. *Media, Culture & Society*, *41*(2), 196–218. https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443718818384

Oliveira, S. (2019, January 23). Dolores Aveiro sobe no Instagram onde Sara Sampaio é a portuguesa mais influente. *Jornal de Notícias.* https://www.jn.pt/pessoas/dolores-aveiro-sobe-no-instagram-onde-sara-sampaio-e-a-mais-influente-10478550.html

Ouvrein, G., & Verswijvel, K. (2019). Sharenting: Parental adoration or public humiliation? A focus group study on adolescents' experiences with sharenting against the background of

their own impression management. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *99*, 319–327. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2019.02.011

Philips, W., & Milner, R. M. (2017). *The Ambivalent internet: Mischief, oddity, and antagonism online*. Wiley.

Promise, O. (2020, July 24). *The Reason why Christiano Ronaldo delete his Instagram account.* Pop9ja TV. https://popnaija.net/the-reason-why-christiano-ronaldo-delete-his-instagram-account/

Ronaldo, C. (2010, July 4). It is with great joy and emotion that I inform I have recently become father to a baby boy … [Facebook post]. *Facebook*. https://www.facebook.com/Cristiano/posts/it-is-with-great-joy-and-emotion-that-i-inform-i-have-recently-become-father-to-/107331182653175/

Senft, T. M. (2013). Microcelebrity and the branded self. In J. Hartley, J. Burgess, & A. Bruns (Eds.), *A Companion to New Media dynamics* (pp. 346–354). Wiley.

Silveirinha, M. J., Simões, R. B., & Santos, T. (2020). Him Too? Cristiano Ronaldo and the news coverage of a rape case allegation. *Journalism Practice*, *14*(2), 208–224. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2019.1693279

Steinberg, S. B. (2017). Sharenting: Children's privacy in the age of social media. *Emory L.J*, *66* (839), 839–884.

Sweney, M. (2021, June 30). Cristiano Ronaldo shoots to top of Instagram rich list. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2021/jun/30/cristiano-ronaldo-shoots-to-top-of-instagram-rich-list

Tiidenberg, K., & Baym, N. K. (2017). Learn It, Buy It, work It: Intensive pregnancy on Instagram. *Social Media + Society*, *3*(1), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305116685108

Verswijvel, K., Walrave, M., Hardies, K., & Heirman, W. (2019). Sharenting, is it a good or a bad thing? Understanding how adolescents think and feel about sharenting on social network sites. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *104*, 104401. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2019.104401

Viegas, G. S. (2018). Agora só existe na minha memória: O ciclo de vida dos memes [Library Science - Undergraduate degree, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul]. https://lume.ufrgs.br/handle/10183/189718

Wagg, S. (2010). Cristiano meets Mr spleen: Global football celebrity, mythic manchester and the Portuguese diaspora. *Sport in Society*, *13*(6), 919–934. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2010.491263

Whannel, G. (2005). *Media sport stars: Masculinities and moralities*. Routledge.

Wiggins, B. E. (2019). *The discursive power of memes in digital culture: Ideology, semiotics, and intertextuality*. Routledge.

Yasharoff, H. (2021, July 8). Gigi Hadid hides her daughter's face online. Should other parents follow her lead? *USA TODAY*. https://eu.usatoday.com/in-depth/entertainment/celebrities/2021/07/08/celebrity-parents-kids-social-media-digital-sharenting-online/7885247002/