Speaking Up About Bullying on YouTube: Teenagers' Vlogs as Civic Engagement

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ABSTRACT

Background YouTube is the most popular social networking website among Canadian adolescents, yet little is known about their contribution to the platform's contents. This article examines youth-produced vlogs created to address a social issue. It seeks to explore the relationship between media creation, civic agency, and participatory politics in the context of visual social media.

Analysis This article combines Grounded Theory and Social Semiotics to perform a multimodal content analysis of 55 vlogs posted on YouTube by French-speaking Canadian adolescents on the issue of bullying.

Conclusion and implications The article concludes that vlogging allows for the creation of a social space where civic discussions can foster discursive forms of engagement and online activism. Future research could examine patterns of inclusion/exclusion in the access to this civic practice.

Keywords New Media; Civic engagement; Adolescents; Vlogs; Bullying; YouTube; Content analysis; Social semiotics.

RÉSUMÉ

Contexte YouTube est le média social le plus populaire auprès des adolescents canadiens, mais peu de travaux ont documenté leur contribution à la diffusion de contenus vidéo. Cet article s'intéresse aux vlogues publiés par des adolescents pour attirer l'attention sur des problèmes sociaux. Son but est d'examiner empiriquement les rapports entre création médiatique, engagement civique et cultures participatives dans la communication visuelle.

Analyse Cet article combine la théorie enracinée et la socio-sémiotique dans l'analyse de contenu multimodale d'un échantillon de 55 vlogues d'adolescents franco-québécois qui dénoncent l'intimidation.

Conclusion et implications Cet article conclut que la publication de vlogues permet la création d'un espace social de discussion civique qui favorise l'émergence d'un activisme discursif chez les jeunes. Les inégalités d'accès à cette pratique civique pourraient faire l'objet d'investigations futures.

Mots clés Médias sociaux; Engagement civique; Adolescents; Vlogue; Intimidation; YouTube; Analyse de contenu, Sémiotique

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Introduction

Literature on youth civic engagement, new media[1], and participatory cultures has seriously undermined mainstream discourses and lay theories regarding political apathy among teenagers and young adults[2] (see Milner, 2005; Putnam, 2000). Over the past ten years, research findings have repeatedly shown how young people's disaffection from political parties and traditional politics can neither be equated with indifference nor lack of contribution to their communities of belonging. In close connection with the fast-evolving realm of digital technology and the emergence of online civic cultures, civic engagement and political participation are, indeed, being reshaped and ascribed new meanings, with the resulting effect of complicating inherited notions of citizenship (Dahlgren, 2006; 2007; Dahlgren & Alvares, 2013). According to Brian Loader, Ariadne Vromen, and Michael Xenos (2014), not only do contemporary digitally mediated environments open up new opportunities for young people to massively participate in public arenas of discussion, they also offer new means for participation, namely through multiple channels and patterns of communication, which are horizontal, individualized, and deinstitutionalized. The complexity of this new condition calls for the development of apt conceptual tools, to which these authors are contributing with their concept of the "networked young citizen":

> Networking young citizens are far less likely to become members of political or civic organizations such as parties or trades unions; they are more likely to participate in horizontal or non-hierarchical networks; they are more project orientated; they reflexively engage in lifestyle politics; they are not dutiful but self-actualizing; their historical reference points are less likely to be those of modern welfare capitalism but rather global information networked capitalism and their social relations are increasingly enacted through a social media networked environment. (p. 145)

Loader, Vromen, and Xenos's (2014) analytical concept seems particularly suitable in light of the substantial evidence gathered over the last decade from research conducted in Western countries on contemporary forms of civic engagement among teenagers and young adults (see Banaji & Buckingham, 2013; Dahlgren, 2007; Hirzalla & van Zoonen, 2011; Loader, 2007a; Media Awareness Network, 2011; Vissers & Stolle, 2014). This field of inquiry has mapped out some of the participatory forms of civic and political engagement as they are occurring online, yet leaving researchers with a crucial need for adequate conceptual tools and sophisticated theoretical frameworks. Striving to catch up with fast-evolving digital media practices among young people around the world, researchers face constant technological changes, evolving differentiated uses of information and communications technologies (ICTs), and pressing methodological challenges. Yet, it can be argued that the massive and enthusiastic engagement of young people with new media is not only redefining civic engagement and political participation, but politics and political culture as well. Cathy Cohen and Joseph Kahne (2012) put forward this argument when they surveyed three thousand Americans aged 15 to 25 about their patterns of internet use in relationship to civic engagement and political organizing and participation. They found that this generation is highly connected (96 percent can access the internet through electronic devices)

and that 78 percent of them use social network sites (SNSs) on a weekly basis. Over the few months preceding the survey, 41 percent of the participants had been politically active, either by sharing humorous videos or political caricatures with others (20 percent), by sharing political comments or news (17 percent), or through commenting on a blog or news related to a political campaign, candidate, or issue. These daily interactions not only enable youth participation in public discussions and debates, according to Cohen and Kahne (2012), young people's massive engagement with new media for political talk and civic purposes is indeed reshaping American political landscape into what they term a culture of "participatory politics."

Within the "engagement paradigm" (Loader, 2007b), findings such as Cohen and Kahne's have been taken as ample evidence for the fulfilment of the civic and democratic promises of the Web 2.0, as anticipated by cultural theorists Howard Rheingold (2008) and Henry Jenkins (2009) in their much-cited writings on participatory cultures. Allowing every internet user to participate according to her/his own interests, affinities, and preferred modes of expression, digital media expands and opens up opportunities for "ordinary" citizens to affirm themselves within the public realms of communication, including websites, wikis, discussion forums, social networking sites (SNSs), and self-made videos, to name only a few. Participatory culture is the term these authors use to capture the social, cultural, and technological context that emerges from this reconfigured media system:

> Participatory culture is emerging as the culture absorbs and responds to the explosion of new media technologies that make it possible for average consumers to archive, annotate, appropriate, and recirculate media content in powerful new ways. … [It] is reworking the rules by which school, cultural expression, civic life, and work operate. …We are [thus] moving away from a world in which some produce and many consume media toward one in which everyone has a more active stake in the culture that is produced. (Jenkins, 2009, pp. 8, 10, 12)

Rheingold (2008) states that when young internet users create digital content such as blogs, wikis, and videos, they do more than take up an opportunity to "get involved" and "do something" about a topic or issue they care about; they are exercising and developing their own public voice, a critical feature of citizenship seen as a cornerstone of democracy. Defined as a process of media creation through which self-creativity and expression are tied to civic participation in the form of an online presence written into a text, a public voice is individualized and active, yet it is also collective and generative. According to Rheingold (2008), when a public voice comes forward in a digital media text and meets the voices of others, it becomes the common ground for the creation of a public. As such:

> By writing a blog post about an issue, a blogger brings together people whose only common interest is the issue addressed, bringing about "a relation among strangers" that would probably not otherwise exist. Creating a wiki about a local issue has the potential to precipitate a public that can inform itself, stage debates, even organize collective action. (p. 102)

As illustrated, media creation is key to Jenkins (2009) and Rheingold's (2008) understanding of the civic and democratic potential of digital media in the twenty-first century. Yet, the amount of research conducted to assess the authors' predictive theory has paid little attention to the public voices of young people, as they are enacted through their self-created media texts. Indeed, a significant portion of the literature builds on large-scale research surveys, as in the case of Cohen and Kahne's (2012), to document self-declared uses of digital technology by young people. Although accounting for the frequency, intensity, and types of uses of new media and SNSs among teenagers and young adults, this stream of research says little about the public voices of young people online, their contribution to the production of culture, and how youth-produced digital media might be theoretically linked to civic engagement and methodologically investigated. Another stream of research relies on large-scale surveys for developing a grounded analytical typology of ICT's uses for civic and political purposes, which would allow analytical distinctions between offline and online modes of political participation (see Hirzalla & van Zoonen, 2011; Vissers & Stolle, 2014). Although instructive and crucial to the advancement of suitable analytical tools in the field, these studies do not approach civic engagement and participation as the enactment of a public voice within a digital media text, nor its circulation through digital networks. Therefore it is not surprising that little research has been conducted to investigate the very content of digital media that young people create and distribute online, when researching youth citizenship.[3] To further complicate this situation, it appears that media content analysis, a long-standing research method in media studies, needs both adaptation and innovation in order to be appropriately applied to new media (Altheide & Schneider, 2013; Herring, 2004).

Lumping interaction within the concept of civic engagement, the "engagement paradigm" seems to have lost track of Jenkins (2009) and Rheingold's (2008) focus on the media creator's civic agency, as this creator would assert her/his public voice through self-produced media texts. Arguably, sharing news with Facebook friends and creating a citizen's news website are not equally acknowledgeable as forms of youth civic engagement. It is, however, simplistic and also misleading to simply add up all kinds of self-reported interactive acts through large-scale surveys in order to support the claim of a global renewal of youth civic engagement fuelled by teens' fascination with new media. This article argues that assessing the civic potential of digital media requires not only numbers and typologies of participatory acts in cyberspace, but also, it calls for qualitative small-case investigations of adolescents' public voices, as they are *enacted* in youth-produced digital media texts such as blogs, tweets, posts, and videos posted on social network sites (SNSs). As noted by scholar Patricia Lange (2014), "new forms of civic engagement [among youth] exhibit an 'actualizing citizenship' dynamic [that] is accomplished by using social technologies and media that 'maximize self-expression'. … What is [now] needed are studies that describe and analyze opportunities for achieving actualized citizenship, particularly through video-mediated forms of witnessing, analysis and commentary" (p. 99).

Findings discussed in this article are drawn from a qualitative content analysis of 55 vlogs posted on YouTube by French-speaking adolescents from the province of

Québec between 2011 and 2014 that address the topic of bullying. They show that vloggers' public voices are discursively chained together, thus creating what Paul Gee (2005) terms a "semiotic social space" (SSS). This analysis suggests that vlogs are enacting a form of youth citizenship that is achieved through mediated discursive acts (by contrast to political organizing, for instance), yet political in that it challenges the silencing of teenagers' voices in Québec's social and policy discourse on school bullying. This in-depth examination of youth civic engagement through teenagers' vlogs seeks to contribute to methodological and conceptual developments in the intersecting fields of youth civic engagement, ICT-enabled politics, and participatory media. At this intersection, influential authors such Henry Jenkins (2009), Howard Rheingold (2008), and Peter Dalhgren (2006, 2007) have contributed to the development of a sociocultural approach to online youth civic cultures that is challenging classic notions and understandings of youth politics and activism.

Investigating youth civic engagement online

How does one define online civic engagement, as it undergoes countless transformations and is being updated even as we are trying to capture it? What counts, or should count, as civic engagement? What are the material traces that can account for youth online civic engagement? This set of questions raises conceptual, methodological, and theoretical considerations that are complicated by the lack of consensus among scholars about what constitutes civic engagement and how it should be investigated. In this context, the first step for a researcher is to be aware, and explicit, about his/her *chosen* theoretical perspective.

Defining civic engagement

According to Sara Vissers and Dietlind Stolle (2014), no consensus can be found in the literature on how to define civic engagement and political participation. Indeed, both terms are frequently used interchangeably along with many others, such as participation, civic participation, digital activism, participatory culture, and political participatory culture. This lack of conceptual clarity and boundaries hinders the development of a grounded empirical understanding of new media's potential for youth civic engagement. When every act of participation online is deemed civic in nature, researchers are prevented from investigating and differentiating this social practice from other kinds of online participation, such as entertainment or peer-to-peer interaction and socialization. Yet, Shakuntala Banaji and David Buckingham (2013) caution that narrow definitions can also raise problems as the social uses of new media scholars are trying to account for are in a constant state of reshaping due to the ever-changing nature of digital technology. Meanwhile, loose conceptual boundaries are unhelpful to enmesh civic engagement from online acts of participation and interaction that are neither civic in intent nor in effect (Zuckerman, 2014).

Some scholars suggest that what distinguishes civic engagement from political participation is that the former encompasses the latter. For example, Banaji and Buckingham (2013) build on Dahlgren's (2007) contributions to define civic engagement as non-commercial, altruistic acts produced in the public sphere. This definition includes but is not restricted to political participation, which refers to a more limited

subgroup of activities, encompassing various acts that are illustrative of citizens' work and solidarity in opposing adverse political forces. This is in the spirit of Hirzalla and van Zoonen's (2011) understanding of civic participation as including all electoral and non-electoral activities. At the operational level, this conceptualization of civic participation is enacted through interpersonal discussions regarding social and political issues or any other concern deemed of public concern. This understanding draws this article toward digital media texts produced by teenagers with the purpose of addressing a social issue that teenagers care about.

This chosen perspective parallels what Nico Carpentier (2016) labels the sociological approach in current research trends of participatory media cultures with a focus on the study of participation. According to Carpentier (2016), the sociological approach:

> casts a very wide net [on participation] … [that] includes many (if not all) types of human interaction, in combination with interactions with texts and technologies. … In contrast, the political approach produces a much more restrictive definition of participation, which refers to the equalisation of power inequalities in particular decision-making processes. (pp. 71–72).

Adolescents are excluded from formal politics and decision-making processes. If scholars are to account for the meaningful ways through which they engage in social processes of active citizenship, an expanded definition of participation and civic engagement is required. A sociological approach does not restrict its understanding of civic engagement to collective forms of action aimed at impacting political decision-making. As Patricia Lange (2014) notes, the rise of new media technologies has allowed adolescents to develop new civic styles, often individualized yet directed toward the well-being of a community. As such, it is only "[w]hen civic engagement is broadly defined as forming attachments to others and helping achieve common goals, [that] kids' ability to share information and tackle civic problems through media becomes more visible" (p. 97).

Why vlogs? Why bullying?

Vlogs are a new genre in computer-mediated communication (CMC), with their contents being similar to those of blogs, except they are rendered through videos (Frobenius, 2009; Snelson, 2015). A distinctive feature of vlogs is that their creators, called *vloggers*, appear physically in their media text and express themselves verbally. Usually recorded at home, with a laptop or desktop webcam, vlogs are generally short in length (between two and five-minutes long). They are disseminated by the vlogger through her/his YouTube profile, named *channel*, or through another online video sharing site where other users can watch, comment, and share them with their own networks (Frobenius, 2014). As such, we can understand vlogs as a video genre in itself that coexists with a multitude of video genres on video sharing networking sites (see Burgess & Green, 2009; Strangelove, 2010). To date, little research has investigated the content of youth-produced vlogs. One notable exception is Chareen Snelson's (2015) recent study, which indicated that school-related topics were among the most popular themes dealt with by teenage American vloggers.

In Canada, survey research data shows that young Canadians rate YouTube and Facebook as their preferred websites, with 75 percent and 57 percent popularity

(MediaSmarts, 2015). But this data is devoid of any information regarding Canadian teens' contributions to media content circulation on these platforms, which leads to the assumption that young internet users are only passive consumers of digital media, not contributors. Yet previous exploratory research on YouTube shows that teenage Franco-Québécois vloggers are active contributors to and very vocal about the issue of bullying (Caron, 2014).

Caroline Lepage, Diane Marcotte, and Laurier Fortin (2006) define bullying as a set of "negative physical, verbal or emotional actions, which happen repeatedly, in order to hurt those targeted, aiming to create a power imbalance between the bully and the bullied" (p. 228 [*translation added*]). Over the past five years, bullying has gar-nered increased attention in the province of Québec. For example, the Jasmin Roy Foundation (n. d.) was created in 2010 to "fight discrimination, bullying and violence against primary school children and high school students." Further, in recent years, parents and teenagers from several cities have rallied to expose bullying and request public funding for prevention and professional support within Québec's elementary and high schools. In November 2011, the suicide of Marjorie Raymond, a victim of bul-lying, made headlines in mainstream media, raising the level of public concern regard-ing the issue. The following year, in 2012, the National Assembly of Québec passed an Act to make it mandatory for every elementary and secondary school to implement an action plan aimed at preventing and ending bullying within their premises (Normandin, 2012). Again in 2012, the Québec government provided funding to sup-port the creation of a research chair as part of its Government Strategy Against Bullying and Violence in the Schools (Faculté des sciences de l'éducation, Université Laval, 2017; Gouvernement du Québec, 2017). In 2014, Québec's premier presided over a province-wide forum that aimed to provide the foundation for a new Concerted Action Plan to Prevent and Counter Bullying (Gouvernement du Québec, 2012). Since then, bullying has consistently occupied space in mainstream media discourses.

Bullying has been acknowledged in Québec as a social issue requiring immediate action from institutional stakeholders; little room has been made, however, for stu-dents to voice their own opinions and perspectives on what bullying is and how it should be addressed. In this context, teenagers' vlogs on bullying might provide valu-able first-hand accounts, enabling researchers to explore adolescents' public voices conveyed through digital media making with regards to civic engagement.

A grounded theory approach

This research is informed by the interpretative paradigm, which acknowledges the contingency and socially constructed nature of knowledge. It combines Grounded Theory Method (GTM), founded by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (1967), with emergent qualitative media content analysis (Altheide, Coyle, DeVriese, & Schneider, 2010; Altheide & Scheinder, 2013). GTM is "a systematic, inductive, and comparative approach for conducting inquiry for the purpose of constructing a theory [that] en-courage[s] researchers' persistent interaction with their data, while remaining con-stantly involved with their emerging analysis" (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p. 1). This constructivist approach to knowledge production moves away from the positivist par-adigm under which Bernard Berelson first developed (quantitative) content analysis

(CA), which sought to achieve a systematic, objective, and replicable description of media contents still found in media and communication research methods textbooks (see Krippendorff, 2013). By contrast, a qualitative approach to media content analysis seeks to "understand culture, social discourse, and social change" and includes "an integrated and conceptually informed method, procedure, and technique for locating, identifying, retrieving, and analyzing documents for their relevance, significance, and meaning" (Altheide & Schneider, 2013, p. 5).

Compiling a sample of vlogs on YouTube raised technical challenges and required extensive efforts and patience (see also Caron, Raby, Mitchell, Théwissen-Leblanc, & Prioletta, 2017). For instance, using keywords in the YouTube search engine led to countless results, bringing up a significant amount of units that were irrelevant to the study. The keywords "bullying" (*intimidation,* in French) and "bullying vlog" (*intimidation vlog,* in French) generated 203,000 and 5,630 results respectively, which included dozens and dozens of unrelated videos or videos produced by community organizations, businesses, or adult YouTubers. Using video suggestions provided by the platform (displayed in the "related videos" section) has proven more effective, although generating numerous pages of irrelevant or unrelated results that had to be removed from the collected data. Between May 5 and August 28, 2014, a purposeful sample of 55 vlogs was finally compiled (see Appendix 1). Although not initially intended to be so, it is equally representative of female ($n = 27$) and male adolescents ($n = 28$) vloggers. To be included, a vlog had to meet the following criteria: 1) bullying is the main topic addressed; 2) the media creator is a teen; 3) this teen is Québécois and addresses her/his audience in French; 4) the vlog was created away from any adult supervision and was not a mandatory school assignment; and 5) the vlog was published over the past four years (between the summer of 2010 and summer of 2014). The criteria used to acknowledge that a teen was Québécois were the vloggers' accent—which is very distinct from native speakers from France or from other locations in Canada—and the cues provided by the vloggers, such as self-identification and place-based information such as the name and location of their high school. Also, the focus put on self-motivated forms of youth participation explains why vlogs created in the context of school assignments were excluded from the sample. As the video creators would make explicit mentions of the assignment in the videos, these videos were easy to identify.

What is specific in GTM is that "[d]ata collection and analysis proceed simultaneously and each informs and streamlines the other" (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p. 1). According to François Guillemette and Jason Luckerhoff (2009), three interrelated processes are at play: 1) data exploration through codification or categorization; 2) theoretical statements and sophistication through empirical checks; and 3) theoretical saturation and a proposed grounded theory. Through repeated close-textual readings of vlogs, it was found that vloggers' verbal statements were of particular relevance to the study and were thus chosen as the main unit of analysis. Over time, the stated purpose of a vlog, the themes addressed by the vlogger, his/her demonstrated emotions, and the verbal cues (tone, pitch, and particular uses of language) were chosen as meaningful units to be coded in order to grasp the civic intent as embodied and performed by the vloggers. These procedures were driven by the theoretical sensitivity of Gunther

Kress' (2010) Multimodal Social Semiotics, which centres on the interplay of human agency, language, and meaning-making in processes of communication: "Multimodal Social Semiotics deals with entities in which meaning and form appear as an integrated whole, a sign, [which] are always newly made according to the interests of sign-makers in specific social environments" (p. 61).

Kress (2010) insists that those who produce media texts always fill two roles: designers and rhetors. By making choices, the designer of a message makes several decisions in relation to the semiotic resources available to her/him in a specific situation: the internet user has to decide, for example, whether her/his message will be best conveyed through a blog, a post, a text message, or a video. As a rhetor, s/he also needs to assess the situation of communication in order to create a message successful at catching the attention of others and at being interpreted by a given discursive community. That is to say that sign making is always self-interested in that it is motivated by a desire to give outward expression to one's feelings, thoughts, and opinions. This is not solely for the sake of self-expression but for the message to be interpreted as a prompt by others, therefore triggering social interaction:

> At all times, communication is a response to a 'prompt': a gaze might produce a *spoken comment*; that leads to an *action* [and so on]. ... Communication has happened when a participant's *attention* has focused on some aspect of the communication; she or he has taken that to be a *message* and has *framed* aspects of that message as a *prompt* for her or himself. That *prompt* has been *interpreted*, becoming a new inward sign, and it in turn leading, potentially, to further communicational action. The semiotic sequence *attention* è *framing* è *interpretation* is ceaseless (italics in original, Kress, 2010, p. 32).

According to Kress (2010), a self-produced media text is a response to previous prompts, meant for other participants to interpret and respond to, thus contributing to the creation and sustainability of social relations. This theoretical framework redefines vlogs as *a set of purposefully selected and organized multimodal semiotic signs, by which a digital media creator, namely the vlogger, aims to reach an audience so her/his vlog is interpreted as a prompt, therefore contributing to social interaction and social semiosis.*

Vlogs: A semiotic social space created by and for adolescents
The challenges encountered while compiling the research sample encapsulate the limitations of YouTube's algorithms to sort out YouTube contents according to a researcher's interest on a topic (bullying), video genre (vlog), language (French), and place-based digital media (Québec). We can then question whether, and to what extent, the units gathered in the sample may be related in meaningful ways. In other words, are the sampled vlogs independent media texts? Or are there semiotic relations uniting them in some manner?

Through the examination of affordances, it was found that all vlogs included in the sample were linked in some way, even though YouTube's search engine did not find and chain them all together. The view counts indicated that all vlogs had been watched at least 30 times, with the most viewed having been watched over 100,000

times (see Appendix 1). The buttons "like" (👍), dislike (👎), and share (↗ Share) also provided evidence that the vlogs had been noticed, watched and interpreted by other YouTube users (see Appendix 1). Furthermore, other YouTube users posted nearly 2,700 comments onto vloggers' channels, thus confirming that the sampled vlogs were responded to in some way—that they encountered an audience and even triggered reactions. According to Kress (2010), a media text that has not been interpreted cannot be considered a prompt, which is definitely not the case with the vlogs identified in the sample. The teenagers' vlogs appear to be integrated into a (semiotic) chain of prompts that would remain invisible to a researcher who had only used the YouTube search engine to find them.

Another means of responding to a prompt is to create a vlog. The ensuing question is: are sampled vlogs created in response to each other? If so, can they be understood as constitutive of a community?

Six vlogs cite at least one other vlog from the research sample (see Appendix 1). Moreover, half of the vlogs (28 out of 55) directly refer to a specific event: the suicide of Marjorie Raymond, understood as the result of being a victim of bullying. Vlogs such as "R.I.P. Marjorie Raymond. Dites NON à l'intimidation" [*R.I.P. Marjorie Raymond. Say NO to Bullying*], "R.I.P. Marjorie Raymond et la fin de l'intimidation" [*R.I.P. Marjorie Raymond and the End of Bullying*], and "L'intimidation (Pour Marjorie Raymond)" [*Bullying (In Memory of Marjorie Raymond)*] are all explicit reactions to this event. By looking into the publication dates of these vlogs, it appears that this incident acted as the initial prompt, thus leading to a wider public discussion on this matter. Moreover, 28 vlogs (half of the sample) were produced and shared in the four days following the teen's death, between November 30, 2011, and December 2, 2011 (see Appendix 1). As a matter of fact, a report released by Influence Communication (2011) confirms that this event ranked third in the year's current and legal affairs[4]. Besides, only two vlogs from the sample (numbers 1 and 2, see Appendix 1)[5] were published prior to this event being covered in Québec's mainstream media. See Figure 1 for a sample of screenshots of the vloggers.

Figure 1: Screenshot assemblage of eight vlogs from the sample

Notes: (*n* = 55). First line (from left to right): vlogs number 12, 35, 11, and 25. Second line (from left to right): vlogs number 5, 48, 54, and 18.

It would be inaccurate to simply conclude that adolescents' vlogs are individualized and spontaneous reactions to a mediated event. Looking closely at vlogs' contents, it is obvious that they are in fact perceived as prompts from other vloggers. For exam-

ple, one male vlogger mentioned that prior to producing his own video, he had "spent the evening on YouTube, watching vlogs on bullying" (vlog# 2). In mid-December, 2011, a female vlogger also stated that after "watching many vlogs dealing with bullying," she decided to create a vlog so she, too, could "share her own perspective" (vlog #22). Another male vlogger also mentioned that he wanted to join the discussion regarding "a topic that is on everyone's lips on the YouTube platform" (vlog #11). Finally, a vlogger made the point that she had noticed "many Youtubers had released videos on bullying" (vlog #18).

These examples illustrate the dual role played by internet users, as summarized by Bruns (2008) with the term "produsers" (a mix of "production" and "usage"). Vloggers are both producers and users of video-sharing online services, such as those provided by YouTube. This is made evident when looking at intertextuality as a connective means uniting the sample. Vloggers often mention and cite other vloggers, or make reference to ongoing discussions happening on YouTube about the issues they are addressing. That is to say that vloggers' public voices are not mere individualized voices; rather they are voices coming together as they are responding to prompts and, in the meantime, prompting others to reply to what they say. These public voices are not coming out of nowhere; they insert themselves into a discursive community, which they also contribute to sustain.

Intertextuality also transforms the content of the relationship between signifier and signified, thus underlining the unstable nature of the process of communication at play. In the days following Marjorie Raymond's passing, her name was omnipresent in vloggers' interventions as they were discussing her story, sharing their grief, and honouring her memory. Many spoke directly to her and dedicated their vlogs to her memory. As such, they empathized with her suffering, which was understood as the cause for her suicide. As time progressed, Marjorie Raymond's name became a metonymic sign, moving from representing the person and the event (her suicide), to becoming an explanation of its cause (bullying) and an attempt to raise awareness regarding the larger problem of bullying victims' suicides. In other words, as the public discussion expanded within the Franco-Québécois vlogger community on YouTube, it became apparent that it no longer was Marjorie Raymond's specific experience that was discussed. Rather, young Franco-Québécois vloggers united their voices to expose the wider social problem it represented: "I say we must do something. We must stop bullying," said one male vlogger (vlog #4). Another vlogger stated: "I think it's awful that the government had to wait so long before doing something; that we had to have suicides before the media and newspapers finally talked openly about the bullying that is endured by teens, in schools" (vlog #28).

Despite the fact that several scholars claim the idea of community in online participatory cultures, in this research (Rheingold, 2008; Jenkins, 2009), vloggers' contributions do not point in this direction. Although obviously aware of their vlogs' audiences, these "produsers" (Bruns, 2008) do not associate themselves with a group that could be seen as working toward a common goal or enterprise. Each of the vlogs expresses a personal viewpoint regarding a common theme: bullying. However, collectively, they cannot be understood as taking part in a coordinated form of group action. It thus ap-

pears that Paul Gee's (2005) concept of semiotic social space (SSS), replacing that of a virtual community, provides a more appropriate explanation of vloggers' contributions on this issue. The 55 vlogs constituting the research sample are not a social community, nor are they a goal-oriented organized group. They do, however, encompass some unity: through intertextuality, vlogs create and sustain a youth-friendly space for public discussions where they can adress a social problem that affects them.

Gee's semiotic social space corresponds to a non-physical space, rendered possible through the social uses of language by people concerned with common tasks, interests, and affinities. As opposed to the concept of virtual community, a semiotic social space does not suggest shared identity components, may those be imposed or chosen by participants. The semiotic social space rather draws our attention toward meanings, as produced and exchanged among participants sharing a common vocabulary, as well as common references, social values, interests, or concerns in a given social/cultural context—a discursive community.

The semiotic social space formed by the analyzed vlogs is illustrative of the complexity of online and offline social spaces in adolescents' lives (boyd, 2014; Lange, 2014). Based on the recognition of a shared experience at school, namely bullying, this semiotic social space is created online, via the platform YouTube, precisely because the platform is open to teenagers' contributions, away from any adult supervision. Although they are not members of an organization aimed at erasing bullying from schools, these vloggers have formed an audience to which they belong and identify. This 'us' category is based on age (adolescence) and a shared experience (bullying in school settings). Through vlogs, adolescents speak to other adolescents about a concern they care about: bullying and its devastating effects on the well-being of teenagers. This becomes even more evident when, exceptionally, vloggers address adults directly: "I am talking to teachers and school principals: Wake up!!! Do something to stop bullying!" (vlog #14). Also noteworthy is the fact that, responding to previous prompts, each vlog recaptures and re-signifies bullying in its own manner, by selecting, organizing, and framing the issue in a personal way. This suggests that in order to create and maintain an online semiotic social space, vloggers have to achieve a set of specific tasks, which can be thought of as semiotic work.

Vlogging as semiotic work

To underline the role of human agency in communication, Gunther Kress (2010) uses the concept of semiotic work, drawn from his distinction between communication and representation. According to Kress, *representing* involves a social practice enabling the expression of one's interests by creating a media text to share ideas, opinions, or feelings, whereas *communicating* involves making one's text available to others in order to trigger social interaction. Thus, *communicating* is part of the rhetor's role; *representing* is the role of the designer. Taking part in this social semiotic process entails labour, hence the concept of "semiotic work." Kress (2010) argues that semiotic work implies that effort is made and that various tools (technical, semiotic, social, cultural) must be mobilized to *transform* something. Neither idea nor intent can be communicated without the material and ideational formatting of the message, regardless of whether it is communicated orally, in writing, or via a fixed or animated image. In vlogs, study-

ing the three dimensions that are made up through this work (ideas, affect, and content) enables us to recognize this as semiotic work. As illustrated in Figure 2, these dimensions refer, respectively, to the materiality of the media text (form and textuality), to its ideational dimension (concepts, representations, and discourses), as well as to its affective dimension (expressivity and emotiveness).

Figure 2: The three dimensions of vloggers' semiotic work
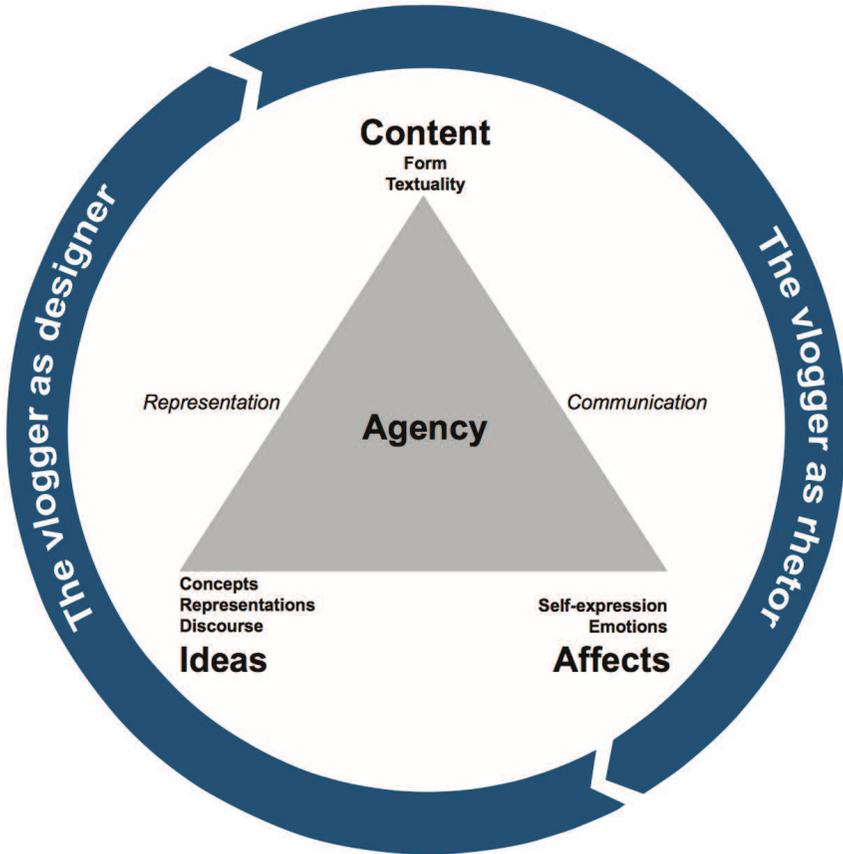
Note: inspired by Kress (2010)

The ideational dimension of vloggers' semiotic work

Media texts circulate ideas and produce both representations and discourses. As such, vloggers mobilize two particularly compelling naming strategies when formulating their own perspective on bullying: the inclusion of their audiences in their vlog, and the use of dichotomies.

Vloggers, by the way they define their intended audiences, create a specific representation of bullying. This audience generally entails Québécois adolescents: "I know that there are parents, grand-parents, adults, teachers who listen to my videos. I am sorry for my coarse language. But listen! I want to share my opinion in a way that

youth will understand me!" (vlog #32). Indeed, this colloquial speech appears to be a convention enabling vloggers to identify other adolescents as their intended audience and generally refers to a casual spoken language that does not follow dominant social conventions. Colloquial speech, popular expressions, and even profanity are used by vloggers who stress how they want to "convince people [adolescents] to stop this *big fucking bullshit* [*sic*]," meaning bullying (vlog #11). These strategies both challenge and connect an adolescent audience. They further produce a representation of bullying as a social problem, characterized as abhorrent. This abhorrent character is connoted through the use of dichotomized categories in representing the issue of bullying. For instance, the adolescent "us," taken up in vloggers' speeches, is presented in opposition to the category of adults—them—which vloggers perceive as inert, useless, and unwilling to stop bullying.

> School administration and teachers do nothing to prevent bullying. (vlog #4)

> Politicians send their condolences [when a suicide occurs], but afterwards, they'll do nothing to stop bullying. (vlog #13)

> The government expresses sadness for the young girl who committed suicide, but deep down, they are not committing to do something in order to end bullying. (vlog #6)

> Adults have no idea how tough bullying is on teenagers. They are not aware that ignoring the behaviours of bullies just does not work. (vlog #10)

As they represent bullying as a social issue associated with youth suicide, vloggers oppose adults while identifying youth as better placed to address the issue successfully. As they construct this binary view, they also create the figures of the teenaged victims (the bullied) and of the perpetrators (the bullies). Vloggers' discourses situate them outside this binary thinking, however, since they present themselves as in-between facilitators and victims' defendants who can address and scold the bullies.

> Tell me, what happens in your mind, when you decide to unrelentingly bully somebody? (vlog #20)

> Stop bullying! It'll get you nowhere to destroy someone's life! (vlog #35)

> What's up in your mind??? You have nothing to gain from bullying others. (vlog #45)

> Does it really bring anything to you, when you attack this person? (vlog #28)

The affective dimension

Vloggers' semiotic work has an affective dimension (see Figure 2), which is mainly expressed through outrage and serves the strategic function of attracting an audience. This public display of resentment is enacted in sentences uttered with intensity accompanied with non-verbal signs of vexation, such as: "It really angers me to see intimidating young ones!" (vlog #50) or "Bullying really pisses me off!!" (vlog #16). Through facial expressions, a direct and sustained gaze to the camera, vloggers express

their anger and as such intensify their request for attention. A sharp tone, a loud voice, a finger aiming at the camera, and an emotional soundtrack are all strategies enhancing the emotional charge, aiming to touch and to move their audiences. In the title of their videos, adolescent vloggers also use capital letters, exclamation points, and emojis. Titles such as *Bullying Is Dumb* may also be used by vloggers to signify a value judgement that negatively connotes bullying.

Contempt is also ubiquitous in vloggers' discourses, obvious in how they characterize bullies. Vloggers characterize them as "disgusting" people, lacking empathy, humanity, and even intelligence, saying: "What fun do you derive from pissing off those who are different from you?" (vlog #11) or even: "Try to put yourself in your victims' shoes! Well, bearing in mind that you would have to be smart enough to do so!" (vlog #12). However, this expression of contempt is also met with resistance from other vloggers who see this mode of expression as the reproduction of bullying behaviours. These vloggers ask their fellow vloggers: "What are you trying to do??! Shaming bullying through bullying??!" (vlog #21). They advise: "Do not hurt bullies, or else it'll become a vicious circle!" (vlog #2). Others react by displaying a broader critique, at times cynical, illustrating how they are pessimistic or have lost faith in the human condition.

> Why is it that we must always wait for a tragedy [a teenager's suicide] for human beings to understand [how they are hurting others]? (vlog #33)

> How many more suicides are needed before we understand that bullying can be the straw that may break the camel's back? (vlog #21)

> Humans are dumb. All of us: We are a society of idiots. (vlog #49).

> Well done for producing videos, but nobody cares about bullying! (vlog #50).

> People will never understand. (vlog #11)

> Sometimes, I look at people and it really astonishes me, because hypocrites, those who bully, will one day teach these values to their own children. (vlog #12)

These emotions, as expressed by vloggers, signify a personal investment in the topic, which is also illustrated by the choice of a vlog as a means of sharing their opinions publicly. Not that we can suppose that vloggers' feelings and sentiments are genuine, but, rather, we may consider how vlogs are a risky modal and stylistic choice. By choosing to expose themselves through sharing outrage, contempt, sadness, and anger via a media genre that literally showcases them (their bodies, their voices, their home environments), vloggers adopt a *chosen* risky self-exposition, meaning one that corresponds to their goals, interests, and communication intent (designers are always choice-makers). Emotiveness and public expression may thus be understood, too, in this context, as deliberate strategies aiming to grant rhetoric effectiveness to the vlogs. Within the economy of attention at play in cyberspace, vloggers are using these rhetorical devices to enhance their vlog's attractiveness to potential audiences so their vlogs are being viewed and responded to.

The dimension of content

From the perspective of social semiotics, producing a media text is never a disinterested activity, but rather a motivated act geared toward others. As such, the dimension of content refers to the idea that a media text is a non-randomly selected assemblage of signs, which implies that content and form are both structured by the goals, interests, and incentives of the media creator. This is captured by Kress' (2010) notion of the "motivated sign":

> The conception of the motivated sign, with the interest and agency of the sign-maker evident in the shape of the sign, has direct implications for assessment. The sign … is the result of its maker's interest and is an apt reflection of that interest. The maker of the sign has made the form of the sign as an apt expression of the meaning she or he wanted to be represented. (p. 179)

Four related categories of incentives have emerged from the vloggers' stated purposes. To better understand the characteristics of vloggers' civic engagement, each of these categories can be linked to three distinct domains of interest: personal, social, and moral (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Vloggers' incentives
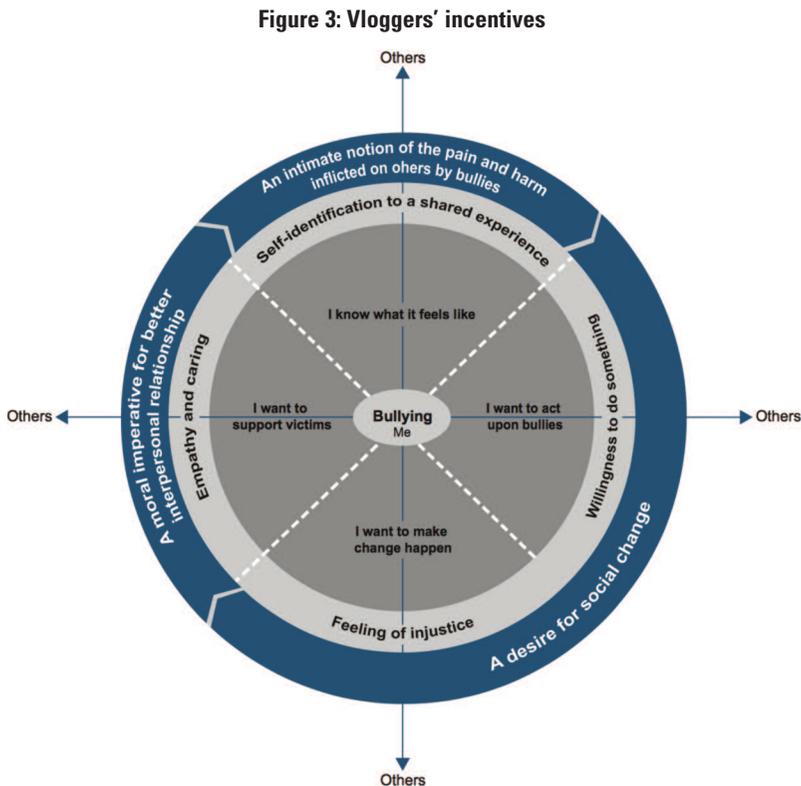
The first category of incentives is personal and can be summarized by the statement, "because I know how it feels like." Related stated purposes illustrate how the

issue moves vloggers: "I want to address bullying because it's a matter close to my heart" (vlog #31); "Bullying is a topic that personally moves me, as I have been a victim" (vlog #28); "It's a deep [profound] topic" (vlog #43); or "I, I have been bullied, but I was too stressed out to act." (vlog #44). In these instances, vloggers convey an intimate notion of the pain and harm inflicted onto others by bullies. This is rooted in their self-identification with the victims' experience of being bullied. This experiential knowledge is stated as the main motive for producing a vlog that addresses this social issue.

The second category of incentives seems to be linked to a desire to help others, which can be captured by the statement "I want to support victims." (vlog #8). Vloggers express empathy toward victims as they intend to comfort and support them: "I want to talk about bullying simply because I want to be able to help [victims]" (vlog #32); "We've had enough suicides. If you are scared to talk about it, come and talk to me [in private]; I want to help" (vlog #50); "I am with you, I'd really want to give you a big hug, right at this moment" (vlog #39); or "I'll be here for you, if you want to talk to someone." (vlog #13). In these instances, vloggers seem to be driven by a moral imperative. They express empathy and care as they provide comforting words and moral support to the victims. In doing so, the vloggers seem to be driven by a desire to contribute to the well-being of those who are suffering from being bullied.

The third category of incentives is "because I want to change bullies." Statements in this category aim to "open the eyes" of bullies, have them "ponder" their actions: "It seems like teens have to wait until someone commits suicide before understanding that bullying has consequences" (vlog #3); "THINK about the consequences, before you bully!!!" (vlog #1); "What will it take before you stop insisting on sabotaging the lives of others???!" (vlog #7); or "I hope I managed to get you to think a little." (vlog #20). In these instances, vloggers express a strong willingness to do something, to act upon the world, which suggests a desire for social change and to be an active contributor to this change. They do so as they attempt to convince the perpetrators that their deeds are wrong and in need of redress.

The fourth and last category of incentives is "because I want to make change happen." Words and phrases such as "overcome," "to end," "stop," "it must end," and "I am tired of it," are used in both verbal discourses and the title of many vlogs. Examples of statements related to this last category include, "We have to do something. We must stop it, stop bullying" (vlog #35); "Bullying leads to suicide. We've had enough!" (vlog #44); and "Let's end bullying." (vlog #6). Here, vloggers' desire for change is heightened by their apparent feelings of injustice, thus fuelling their outrage. In these instances, vloggers frame bullying as a societal concern that is connected to other youth issues, such as suicide. They are vocal about the need for society to respond to this important issue with appropriate resources and interventions. They do so as they underline the suffering of young victims and their families, citing, for example, statistical data on suicide rates in the province of Québec.

Finally, though vloggers who created videos exposing bullying appear to be motivated by a desire to express their individual viewpoints, their actions cannot be qualified as narcissistic, a characteristic that some cultural critics have attributed to (youth) online participatory cultures (see Keen, 2007). What the current analysis suggests is

that despite their personal tone, vloggers' discourses are nonetheless directed toward others and towards society in general. They are aiming for social change and are guided by a continued concern for the moral and physical well-being of other adolescents, a social group to which they identify and express feelings of belonging.

Speaking up about bullying: The discursive civic engagement of teens through vlogging

What do adolescent vlogs on bullying teach us about features of civic engagement, as taking place on YouTube? How do these new insights further shed light on civic engagement as it happens in the context of youth-produced vlogs pertaining to the issue of bullying? Does it confirm Rheingold (2008) and Jenkins' (2009) anticipated civic potential of digital media with regards to citizenship? These questions can be examined through an in-depth analysis of user-generated videos such as vlogs. The performative approach to language informing Kress (2010) and Gee's (2005) works suggests that there are no genuine selves or identities to look for in adolescents' vlogs. We might look, instead, at the motivated interests at play, which are prompting vloggers to watch and produce vlogs on the issues they care about.

Publishing a vlog entails speaking before an audience that may or may not judge and critique the vlogger, notwithstanding the possibility that this audience may be outright rude or hostile. In this article, the main interest was neither to analyze the vloggers' psychological schemas nor their behavioural patterns. The main motive was to examine the public voices of teenage vloggers that are circulating on YouTube as they enact a form of civic engagement that is very specific and particularly relevant given the distinctiveness of vlogs as a video genre. After all, speaking up in a vlog rather than on a blog, a tweet, or anonymous post in an online discussion forum signifies a personal choice to go public in a way that is somewhat "riskier" and therefore also "more engaging," particularly at a time when online incivilities are rampant in computer-mediated communication.

Interestingly, teenagers' vlogs are performing a form of civic engagement that is not aligned with offline patterns of political organization and mobilization. They account for the complex semiotic work—a cognitive, affective, discursive, and technical social process—that is necessary in order to civically engage in online semiotic social spaces, where social civic talk is happening (i.e., social issues are being addressed, debated, and challenged by citizens in a public forum). This work, combined with the circulation of their vlogs, allowed teenage Youtubers to create and sustain a semiotic social space, a non-physical space where their public voices are spoken in hopes that they encounter the voices of others. Although not a community space, the semiotic social space opens up opportunities for a youth-oriented conversation to take place. Adolescents who decided to participate through vlog creation contributed to this social space with their own perspectives and for their own purposes, with the resulting effect of troubling the silencing of students in Québec's mainstream media as well as in adult-oriented discussions on the topic (between school administrators, teachers, parents, public policy makers, politicians). Despite the fact that these voices were not purposely aimed at triggering a concerted collective action, the adolescents who produced the vlogs were nonetheless civically engaged. The specific form this engagement took in

this context is discursive and deserves proper recognition. As one vlogger noted: "Our vlogs might not change much, but at least we share our perspectives. What matters is that we talk about it [among ourselves]" (vlog #35).

Learning to speak out publicly is a very meaningful skill that teenagers acquire when they create a vlog on a social issue. As Stephen Coleman (2014) notes, participation in democracy is communicative in nature; it requires that citizens talk to each other in public arenas of participation, which involves some knowledge about established linguistic codes and conventions. Yet, public speaking is not something all citizens do easily. Yet, vloggers who created the vlogs studied here are doing it independently, through informal learning and peer-to-peer relationships. This indicates that researchers can learn about young people's civic skills, knowledge, and civic competencies by looking at the user-generated digital content they created and circulated online, for civic purposes.

Conclusion

This study aimed to introduce grounded theoretical methods into the analysis of digital media content within the field of youth civic engagement and new media. Conceptually, it aimed to advance a grounded understanding of youth civic engagement that is sensitive to context and careful not to dilute engagement and participation in the concept of interaction. Theoretically, the study showed the relevance of Gunther Kress' (2010) Multimodal Social Semiotics in examining the performative aspect of media production, more precisely in its relation to civic engagement and agency. More generally, this article sought to demonstrate the theoretical relevance of qualitative small-case studies that are focusing on a specific topic (bullying), media format (video), and genre (vlog) with a focus on a distinct social network site (YouTube) and place-based social group (adolescents in the province of Québec). Online platforms' affordances offer differentiated opportunities and limitations to online civic engagement, which are obscured when social media is treated as a generic category (Dahlgren & Alvares, 2013). If Twitter limits the production of written media texts to a specific number of characters, YouTube enables the dissemination of different video genres, and so on and so forth. What difference does it make when defining and empirically researching civic engagement? Answers provided in this article are not offering a final say to the question; rather they are opening up a suitable direction for future research in the field.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1. In this article, the terms "new media," "digital media," and "digital technology" are used interchangeably to encompass digital communication devices, tools, and web-based services that allow internet users to either access news, information, and online networks, or to interact with other users through digital means, such as computers and mobile phones, email services, social media platforms, mobile software programs (apps), and so on and so forth. The terms "social media" and "social network sites" are being used as synonyms in order to narrow the above definition to fit the specific context of the research findings presented. According to boyd and Ellison (2007), social network sites (SNSs), are "web-based services that allow individuals to 1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, 2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and 3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system" (p. 211).

2. In the Youth Studies literature, it is common practice to use "youth" as a broad category encompassing human beings ranging from 12 to 25 years of age (although these borders are neither fixed nor consensual). For convenience, I will use this term when I review or discuss this literature. However, the terms "adolescents" and "teenagers" will be used when I want to focus on individuals aged between 12 and 17, given that this age group was the focus of my research.

3. To date, most of the research aimed at analyzing youth voices in youth-produced media content is dispersed in the fields of education, social work, and cultural studies. It usually involves small samples, qualitative research methods such as textual analysis, and a vocabulary associated with education and literacy (rather than being connected to the literature on youth citizenship and new media).

4. Multimodal texts mix different modes, such as voice, images, movements, soundtrack, camera angle, colours, and image saturation. For feasibility reasons, it has been decided to focus mainly on the speech dimension of vlogs in this research.

5. This research uses covert observation. To avoid over publicizing vlogs and their authors (which could trigger unwanted attention), their traceability has been reduced as much as possible. In this spirit, some of the vloggers' quotes have been slightly modified. Further, the translation of quotes provides an additional layer of anonymity. On the ethical challenges of conducting online youth research, see Caron, Raby, Mitchell, Théwissen-LeBlanc, & Prioletta (2017).

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Appendix 1: Overview of the research sample (*n* = 55)

Vlog number	Publication date (D/M/Y)	Gender (F or M)	View counts	+	-	Number of comments	Vlogger makes explicit reference to M. Raymond	Vlogger makes explicit reference to another vlogger or vlog (with vlog number)
1	*/11/11	M	*	*	*	*	√	
2	30/05/11	F	1,736	26	0	13		
3	30/11/11	M	62,272	2,384	63	632	√	
4	30/11/11	F	20,982	372	26	140	√	
5	30/11/11	M	711	11	0	0	√	
6	30/11/11	F	132,183	2,061	111	819	√	√#2
7	30/11/11	F	421	2	1	2	√	
8	30/11/11	M	652	17	1	17	√	√#5, 2
9	01/12/11	F	31,849	141	16	141	√	
10	01/12/11	F	250	3	1	5	√	√#5
11	01/12/11	M	1,156	30	3	30	√	√#2
12	01/12/11	M	5,762	123	16	66	√	√#5, 2, 55
13	01/12/11	M	7,655	223	8	69	√	
14	01/12/11	M	6,364	50	4	45	√	
15	02/12/11	M	69	2	0	1		
16	02/12/11	M	148	3	0	1	√	
17	02/12/11	M	121	4	0	2	√	
18	02/12/11	M	651	11	11	17	√	
19	02/12/11	F	5,110	13	2	28	√	
20	02/12/11	F	640	16	1	8	√	√#5
21	02/12/11	M	6,995	92	1	31	√	
22	04/12/11	F	1,127	21	2	8	√	
23	08/12/11	F	259	3	0	1	√	
24	22/01/12	M	1,567	56	12	14	√	
25	01/02/12	M	815	8	12	10		
26	03/03/12	M	211	13	11	4		
27	05/03/12	F	645	1	19	24		
28	07/03/12	F	136	3	1	0		
29	21/04/12	M	186	6	1	4	√	
30	15/06/12	F	24,635	248	13	185		
31	30/07/12	M	89	4	1	1		
32	10/10/12	M	3,896	84	82	39		
33	15/10/12	M	29,207	684	19	164		
34	26/10/12	M	1,051	91	13	30	√	
35	07/12/12	M	298	4	0	2		
36	14/12/12	F	334	9	0	4		
37	22/02/13	M	54	2	0	0	√	
38	03/03/13	F	91	3	2	2		
39	02/04/13	F	625	4	1	5	√	

Appendix (continued)

Vlog number	Publication date (D/M/Y)	Gender (F or M)	View counts	+	-	Number of comments	Vlogger makes explicit reference to M. Raymond	Vlogger makes explicit reference to another vlogger or vlog (with vlog number)
40	25/03/13	F	2,937	184	3	41		
41	13/05/13	F	3,762	88	6	43		
42	21/05/13	F	2,023	23	7	6		
43	22/06/13	F	212	2	0	1		
44	08/10/13	F	72	2	0	4		
45	24/10/13	F	207	5	0	2		
46	28/12/13	M	2,167	102	2	14		
47	03/01/14	F	169	20	2	16		
48	09/01/14	M	173	8	1	0		
49	14/01/14	F	51	0	0	1		
50	22/01/14	F	168	4	0	0	√	
51	22/01/14	F	30	0	0	0		
52	28/01/14	M	239	2	1	0		
53	21/02/14	F	90	2	0	0	√	
54	24/03/14	M	38	0	0	1		
55	04/04/14	M	1,511	75	1	6		
TOTAL	$N = 55$	F = 27 M = 28	364,802	7,345	477	2,669	28	6

Legend:

+ = Number of 'likes'

 - = Number of 'dislikes'

 * = unavailable information

Remarks:

The following vlogs were published by the same vlogger:

- #1, 8 and 43
- #14 and 15
- #17 and 24
- #45 and 54

By the time this article was published, a few vlogs and YouTube chains have been deleted by the users.