

DE SACCONEPHONYS: YOUTUBE- VLOGGERS EN ANTI-FANDOM

Een onderzoek naar de rol van zelfpresentatie van YouTube-vloggers in de vorming van negatieve parasociale relaties van anti-fans met deze vloggers

ABSTRACT

In het populaire video-genre 'vlogs' filmen mensen hun dagelijks leven. In dit soort vlogs is sprake van strategieën van zelfpresentatie, omdat er keuzes worden gemaakt in wat er wel en niet getoond wordt. Vloggers kunnen omschreven worden als micro-celebrities. De band die kijkers met mediafiguren vormen wordt omschreven als een parasociale relatie. Deze relatie kan met dit soort micro-beroemdheden sterker voelen dan met reguliere mediafiguren zoals artiesten en acteurs en dit is niet altijd een positieve relatie. Zo bestaan er roddelfora waar leden samenkomen om vloggers te bekritisieren. Eerder onderzoek richt zich voornamelijk op positieve en empathische parasociale relaties met mediafiguren. Het huidige onderzoek probeert erachter te komen wat de rol van de zelfpresentatie van vloggers is in de vorming van negatieve parasociale relaties. Om dit te onderzoeken zijn er vijf semigestructureerde diepte-interviews afgenomen met leden van een roddelforum waar zij praten over de SacconeJoly-vloggerfamilie. Deze interviews zijn ad verbatim getranscribeerd, gecodeerd en geanalyseerd vanuit de Grounded Theory benadering. Na deze analyse werd duidelijk dat de respondenten waarde hechten aan authenticiteit van zelfpresentatie van vloggers. Omdat vloggen het filmen van het dagelijkse leven zou moeten zijn, wordt het negatief ontvangen als blijkt dat dit beeld onecht is.

INHOUDSOPGAVE

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INLEIDING

AANLEIDING

Het populaire platform YouTube is een verzamelaarsplaats voor video's van een groot aantal verschillende genres. De slogan van het platform, "Broadcast Yourself" wordt door een aantal gebruikers wel erg letterlijk genomen. Een van de populairste genres op het platform is *vloggen*, video's waarin mensen hun dagelijkse leven vastleggen (Jones, 2016). Vooral familie-vlogs tellen grote en trouwe groepen volgers die elke dag inschakelen om een stukje van het leven van zo'n familie mee te maken. De SacconeJolys zijn een voorbeeld van zo'n vlogger-familie, een lers gezin met twee kinderen en een derde op komst. Deze kinderen zijn geboren en opgegroeid onder het toezien oog van bijna 2 miljoen volgers.

Maar waarom vinden kijkers het interessant om te zien wat er aan de hand is in het leven van onbekenden? Uit interviews van Peacock (2014) met kijkers blijkt dat jonge moeders de vlogs vaak informatief vinden, omdat ze er zo achter kunnen komen hoe andere vrouwen met het moederschap omgaan. Anderen vinden het fascinerend om te zien hoe andere mensen, met wie ze niets gemeen hebben, leven. Kijkers kunnen het gevoel krijgen alsof ze een deel uitmaken van de familie, waardoor vloggers vaak grote *fanbases* vergaren. Zoe Simpson beschrijft vloggers als micro-celebrities. De band die fans met deze micro-beroemdheden voelen lijkt sterker dan die met 'reguliere' mediafiguren zoals artiesten en acteurs (2016). Deze band hoeft echter niet altijd positief te zijn.

Op de website GuruGossip verzamelen kijkers om, zoals de naam al beschrijft, te roddelen over vloggers en andere YouTube-persoonlijkheden. Een van de boards in dit forum is gewijd aan de SacconeJoly familie. Omdat er zo veel mensen waren die over deze familie roddelden, ontgroeiden zij GuruGossip al snel. Een nieuw forum¹ is ontstaan, waar sinds augustus 2016 al 30 *threads* zijn aangemaakt. Threads zijn forumonderwerpen waarin de gebruikers berichten kunnen plaatsen. Elke thread bestaat uit ongeveer 600 berichten, en het forum telt bijna 2000 leden. In de threads wordt niet alleen gepraat over de dagelijkse vlogs van de SacconeJolys, maar ook de content die zij op sociale media plaatsen wordt besproken. De meeste van de berichten op dit forum zijn sterk negatief tegenover de familie. Onder meer omdat familie-vloggen volgens veel leden uitbuiting van de kinderen is. In de wet- en regelgeving met betrekking tot *child performance* bestaan richtlijnen die aangeven dat kinderen van 5 tot 9 niet langer dan 6 dagen achter elkaar op mogen treden en dat dit niet langer dan 2,5 uur per dag mag. Deze regels gelden echter niet voor *user-generated content*

¹ In het contact dat heeft plaatsgevonden met de administrator van dit forum gaf zij aan dat zij de naam van de website anoniem wilde houden. In het verleden zijn er problemen geweest met fora die zijn gesloten en de naam van het forum is niet van belang voor het huidige onderzoek.

zoals familievlogs op YouTube (Tait, 2015). Kinderen in dit soort vlogs worden veelal 7 dagen in de week gehele dagen gefilmd door hun ouders.

DE SACCONEJOLYS

Het YouTube-kanaal van de SacconeJolys bestaat sinds december 2009, en begon ooit als 'LeFloofTV'. Jonathan Joly en Anna Saccone trouwden in 2011 en besloten hun achternamen te combineren. Zij woonden tot 2014 in Cork, Ierland, met hun 6 honden en twee kinderen. Emilia SacconeJoly werd geboren in 2012 en Eduardo SacconeJoly in 2014. Nadat Eduardo was geboren, besloot de familie naar Surrey, Engeland, te verhuizen. Begin 2016 kondigde het koppel aan in verwachting te zijn van hun derde kindje. In mei lieten zij via een YouTube video aan hun fans weten dat Anna echter een miskraam had geleden. In deze video waren beelden te zien van het koppel in het ziekenhuis waar zij te horen kregen dat de ongeboren baby niet meer groeide. Na de zomer van 2016 maakten zij bekend weer zwanger te zijn van een dochtertje die begin april geboren zal worden. De SacconeJolys refereren naar hun volgers als 'Friendliest Friends'. Jonathan en Anna hebben beide ook een persoonlijk YouTube-kanaal, maar die tellen allebei niet zo veel volgers als het vlogkanaal van de familie.

Sinds 2013 horen de SacconeJolys bij het Gleam-Team. Gleam is een managementbedrijf voor social influencers via veel verschillende kanalen. Hun bekendste YouTube-talenten zijn namen als Zoella, Alfie Deyes, Joe Sugg en Caspar Lee. Naast de SacconeJolys beheren zij nog een ander familie-vlog kanaal, die van the Michalaks. Het in London gebaseerde bedrijf regelt onder andere de sponsordeals voor de vloggers.

THEORETISCH KADER

Jonathan Gray beschrijft mensen die samen komen in dit soort haat-communities als *anti-fans*: zij die een sterke afkeer hebben voor een tekst, genre of persoon omdat zij het/hem/haar zinloos, stom of immoreel vinden (2003). Een community wordt volgens Wiatrowski gecreëerd aan de hand van aspecten als kennis en gemeenschap, waarin onderling sprake is van een gezamenlijke ideologische basis van gemeenschappelijke identiteit (z.j.). Kennis over de community is vereist voor leden om zowel de groep als geheel als de individuele plek binnen de groep te begrijpen. Deze kennis bepaalt wie insiders zijn en wie buiten de groep vallen. Om over de content van de vlogs te kunnen discussiëren, kijken veel van de anti-fans op het forum dagelijks de video's van de SacconeJolys. Zimmer & Carson definieerden een term om deze activiteit te beschrijven, namelijk *hate-watching*: "watching an actor, performer, television show, or movie one actively dislikes" (2013). De kennis van de gebeurtenissen in de vlogs gecombineerd met het gemeenschappelijke geloof dat de SacconeJolys stom, zinloos of immoreel zijn, creëert dynamiek en interactie op het forum.

Er is tot dusver weinig onderzoek gedaan naar negatieve *parasociale interactie* met mediafiguren. "The interaction between users of mass media and representations of humans appearing in the media can produce a form of parasocial relationship, to which the user responds as though in a typical social relationship" (Giles, 2003, pp. 188-189). Wat de SacconeJolys filmen en uploaden zijn dan ook *snippets* uit hun dagelijkse leven, waardoor kijkers misschien een sterkere parasociale relatie op kunnen bouwen met de vloggers. Dit lijken meestal zeer positieve en empathische relaties te zijn, omdat er in de reactiesecties onder de vlogs met veel lof en bewondering over vloggers geschreven wordt. Zo ook bij de SacconeJolys. Er wordt op het roddelforum gespeculeerd over de reactiesecties en een aantal leden geven aan dat hun negatieve reacties niet eens verschijnen onder de vlogs of dat zij binnen een paar uur verwijderd zijn. YouTubers hebben de mogelijkheid om verschillende reactiefilters in te stellen. Zo kunnen zij bepaalde gebruikers selecteren voor een automatische goedkeuring van comments, reacties van specifieke (vaak negatieve) gebruikers blokkeren en ook bepaalde woorden blokkeren door middel van een woordenfilter waardoor de reactie eerst goedgekeurd moet worden voordat deze gepubliceerd wordt (YouTube Help, 2017).

De SacconeJolys hebben de keuze om zich op een bepaalde manier te presenteren in de vlogs. Goffman (2007) beschrijft zelfpresentatie als een performance. Hij stelt dat elk *social establishment* bestudeerd kan worden vanuit het perspectief van *impression management*. Het sociale front dat de vloggers presenteren in hun dagelijkse video's wordt bepaald aan de hand van *setting* (omgeving), *appearance* (uiterlijk) en *manner* (gedrag en gewoontes). In het geval van de familievlogs van de SacconeJolys is er sprake van een *performance team*. Zij werken samen en moeten soms gebeurtenissen verbergen voor hun collectieve performance. In de keuze die vloggers maken met betrekking tot welk beeldmateriaal er in de video te zien zal zijn, is sprake van negatieve idealisatie. Dit houdt in dat er activiteiten, feiten en motieven worden verborgen omdat zij niet overeenkomen met het geïdealiseerde beeld van de performers. Goffman gebruikt de term *backstage* om situaties te beschrijven waar performers ervan uit gaan dat hun publiek niet aanwezig is. Maar als micro-celebrities is dit voor vloggers een lastige situatie. Er wordt op het roddelforum niet alleen de vlog-performances van de vloggers besproken, ook backstage momenten worden bekritiseerd.

Cheng (2014) schrijft in haar onderzoek met betrekking tot de zelfpresentatie van YouTubers dat het platform als een soort bemiddelaar werkt, die de mogelijkheid biedt om onwenselijke aspecten van de 'zelf' te verbergen. Zij beschrijft YouTube als de ideale setting voor digitale zelfpresentatie en zelfperformances omdat zelfs amateurs hun levensstijl kunnen vertonen. Het concept van zelfpresentatie wordt door Cheng omschreven als de mate waarin mensen zichzelf

kwetsbaar opstellen door een sociale performance van identiteit, waarbij het van belang is dat men persoonlijke informatie deelt met anderen. Hierbij is echter vaak sprake van het verbergen of aanpassen van persoonlijke informatie waardoor er een gewenst beeld ontstaat in plaats van een authentiek beeld. Dit is makkelijker in digitale omgevingen zoals YouTube, omdat er geen sprake is van sociale druk van fysieke personen. Voor het onderzoek van Cheng is zij in gesprek gegaan met Taiwanese YouTubers over hun zelfpresentatie en hun parasociale interactie met volgers. Volgens Cheng is het opbouwen van parasociale relaties het gevolg van digitale zelfpresentatie en impression management. Zij geeft aan dat het mogelijk is dat kijkers een negatieve parasociale relatie opbouwen met YouTubers, maar gaat hier verder niet op in. Het is een interessante tegenstelling; vloggers schetsen een zo wenselijk mogelijk beeld van zichzelf in video's, maar toch vormen de leden van het roddelforum een sterk negatieve parasociale band met de YouTubers. In het onderzoek van Cheng zijn de resultaten met betrekking tot YouTubers en parasociale relaties allemaal positief, voornamelijk omdat zij enkel in gesprek is gegaan met de YouTubers over deze relaties. Hierdoor schetsen zij een gewenst beeld van parasociale interactie vanuit het standpunt van de YouTubers, in plaats van het daadwerkelijke beeld van dit soort relaties vanuit het standpunt van de volgers van dit soort video's.

Ander bestaand onderzoek naar parasociale interactie richt zich voornamelijk op de positieve, empathische interactie van publiek met mediafiguren (e.g. Bond, 2016; Cohen, 2004; Knowles, 2007; Sood & Rogers, 2000). Zo vond Cohen (2004) gelijkenissen tussen de manieren waarop mensen emotioneel en mentaal reageren op parasociale *break-ups* van karakters en *break-ups* in het echte leven. Tsay-Vogel & Schwartz (2014) stellen in hun artikel een classificatieschema van mediafiguren op basis van echtheid voor. Ook bespreken zij het feit dat veel tv-programma's inmiddels een chatroom, forum of andere vorm van community hebben. Deze communities bevorderen de vorming van parasociale relaties en zij stellen dat deze relaties ook positief beïnvloed kunnen worden door de echtheid van mediafiguren. Wanneer media als authentiek wordt beschouwd door publiek, vindt er sterkere positieve parasociale interactie plaats. Ook geven zij aan dat het van belang is om te onderzoeken in welke mate dit gebeurt, met name in het nieuwe medialandschap.

Jonathan Gray publiceerde in 2003 een artikel waarin hij pleit voor meer onderzoek naar anti-fans. Hij geeft aan dat in het veld van publieksonderzoek de anti-fan tot dusver genegeerd is. Dit gebeurt volgens hem omdat veel wetenschappers aannemen dat anti-fans door hun afkeer voor een bepaalde tekst of persoon hier ook weinig over weten waardoor zij geen nuttige informanten zullen zijn voor het onderzoek. Dit is een onjuiste aanname, gezien het feit dat anti-fans een reden moeten hebben om iets of iemand te bekritisieren. Veel anti-fans weten juist uitzonderlijk veel over

de tekst of persoon die zij hekelen. Het forum dat zal fungeren als onderzoeksobject staat vol met discussies over de content van de SacconeJoly-vlogs. Het is relevant om meer onderzoek te doen naar deze negatieve kijk-praktijken omdat er op een andere wijze betekenis wordt gegeven aan een tekst. Sinds het artikel van Gray (2003) is er slechts één artikel gepubliceerd met betrekking tot haat-lezen en anti-fandom. Het onderzoek van Harman & Jones (2013) naar anti-fans van de boekenreeks *Fifty Shades of Grey* heeft echter enkel online geplaatste content als case study gebruikt. Zij zijn niet persoonlijk in gesprek gegaan met de anti-fans, waardoor het niet mogelijk is om inzicht te krijgen in de denkwijze en motivaties van deze personen.

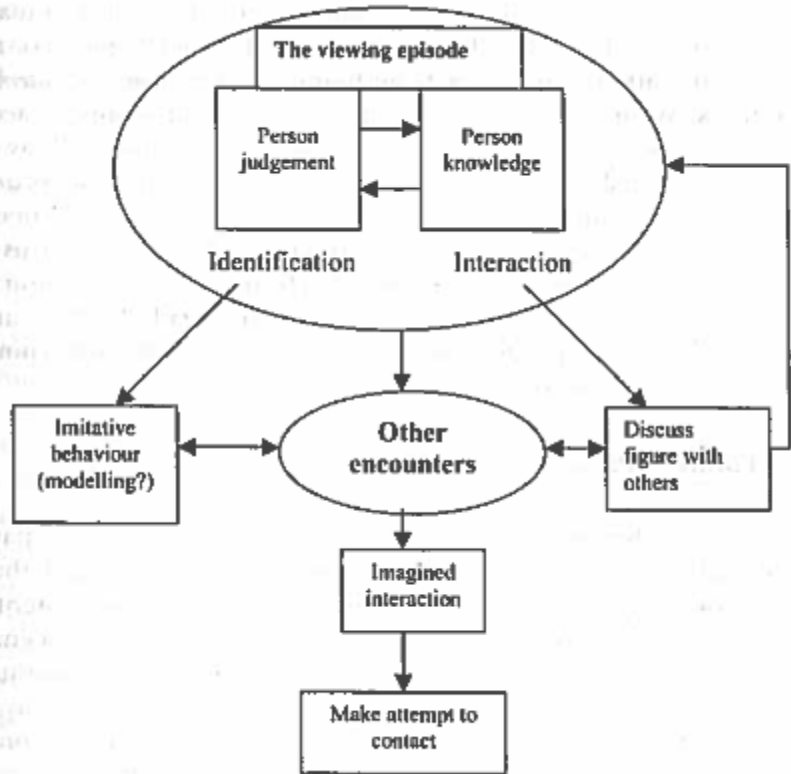
VRAAGSTELLING

Het is voor het uitbreiden van de kennis in het wetenschappelijke veld met betrekking tot anti-fans en parasociale relaties van belang om ook de negatieve parasociale interactie van publiek met mediafiguren te exploreren. Daarnaast is het interessant om te onderzoeken op welke manier de keuzes in de zelfpresentatie van vloggers een rol speelt in deze negatieve parasociale relatie, omdat YouTubers keuzes maken in de manier waarop zij zichzelf presenteren om zo een wenselijk beeld van zichzelf te schetsen. De volgende onderzoeksvraag is opgesteld:

Op welke manier speelt de zelfpresentatie van YouTube-vloggers een rol in de negatieve parasociale relatie die leden van een roddelforum vormen met deze vloggers?

Om dit te onderzoeken zullen de SacconeJoly vlogs en het roddelforum over deze YouTubers als case study fungeren. Er worden gesprekken aangegaan met leden van het roddelforum aan de hand van een topic list en deze interviews worden gecodeerd en geanalyseerd aan de hand van de Grounded Theory benadering. Door sociale processen *bottom-up* te bestuderen, ontstaan er theorieën vanuit de uitspraken van de respondenten (De Bruin, 2008). Strauss en Corbin (1994) omschrijven theorie als een verzameling van relaties die een plausibele uitleg bieden voor het onderzochte fenomeen. Door het analyseren van de uitspraken van de respondenten kunnen er patronen worden herkend die van belang zijn voor het formuleren van een theorie. De keuze voor deze Grounded Theory benadering is genomen vanuit het belang om anti-fans een stem te geven en een theorie te ontwikkelen over wat mensen drijft om iets actief te hekelen. Het fenomeen parasociale interactie zal in een ander perspectief worden geplaatst, doordat het huidige onderzoek niet alleen de positieve empathische maar ook de negatieve zijde exploreert en in kaart brengt. Het doel van dit onderzoek is het formuleren van een theorie met betrekking tot de denkwijze en motivaties van deze anti-fans.

Giles beschrijft in zijn introductie over parasociale interactie de verschillende fases in het ontwikkelen van een parasociale relatie. De belangrijkste fase met betrekking tot de negatieve parasociale relatie die de leden van het roddelforum ontwikkelen met de SacconeJolys, is het bespreken van de vloggers met anderen. Giles schrijft over deze fase dat de interactie met anderen over mediafiguren ervoor kan zorgen dat meningen met betrekking tot deze personen kunnen veranderen. Deze verandering zorgt ervoor dat de parasociale relatie een andere wending krijgt. Deze en de fases die hiervoor plaatsvinden (zie Figuur 1) worden bevestigd in interviews met leden van het forum. Dit zijn *viewing of the episode* (in het geval van het huidige onderzoek, een vlog), *person judgement* (wat te maken



Figuur 1: De fases in de ontwikkeling van een parasociale relatie (Giles, 2003)

heeft met identificatie) en *person knowledge* (wat kan ontstaan uit de interactie tussen de leden op het forum). Ook *other encounters* hebben invloed op de parasociale relatie, omdat hierna volgens het model van Giles *imagined interaction* plaats kan vinden. Dit kan er vervolgens voor zorgen dat er daadwerkelijk een poging wordt gedaan om contact te hebben met mediafiguren. Deze laatste drie fases zijn voor het huidige onderzoek minder relevant, maar worden ook bevestigd in de interviews om te onderzoeken of het model ook toe te passen is op overwegend negatieve parasociale relaties.

METHODE

Voor de rekrutering van de proefpersonen is er een oproep geplaatst op het roddelforum. Hiervoor is eerst toestemming gevraagd aan de administrator van het forum. Door middel van deze oproep zijn er vijf respondenten verzameld die vrijwillig deelnemen aan het onderzoek. Semigestructureerde interviews met deze proefpersonen vonden plaats door middel van een medium (vb. Skype) die de mogelijkheid biedt om zonder kosten internationaal te bellen. De identiteit van de proefpersonen zal grotendeels anoniem blijven. Er zijn geen specifieke eisen gesteld met betrekking tot geslacht, leeftijd of etniciteit. Het was enkel van belang dat de respondenten lid zijn van het forum en een mening hebben over de SacconeJolys. Aan de hand van vijf interviews zal het niet mogelijk zijn om generaliserende uitspraken te doen over anti-fandom en de negatieve parasociale relatie die zij vormen. Het doel van dit onderzoek is het formuleren van een theorie met betrekking tot de motivaties van de leden van het roddelforum en hun manier van betekenisgeving aan de SacconeJoly-vlogs.

Opvallend was dat de respondenten die zich uiteindelijk vrijwillig aanmeldden voor een interview veelal *lurkers* zijn. Deze term wordt op het forum gebruikt om leden te benoemen die niet veel posten op het forum, maar wel actief lezen. Voor het huidige onderzoek zijn ook actieve posters benaderd, maar deze waren allemaal niet bereid om mee te werken. De reden die zij veelal gaven was dat ze zich er niet op hun gemak bij voelden. Een van de interviews is via chat afgenomen in verband met de telefoonangst van deze respondent, de andere vier interviews zijn via een telefoongesprek afgenomen.

Aan de hand van een topic list zijn de respondenten bevraagd over de zelfpresentatie van de SacconeJolys in dagelijkse vlogs en op sociale media, wat het is dat zij zo hekelen aan de familievloggers en hun motivaties om lid te zijn van het forum. Deze onderwerpen zijn gekoppeld aan de fases van de ontwikkeling van parasociale relaties (Giles, 2003). Dit zijn het bekijken van de vlogs, person judgement, person knowledge en other encounters. De gemiddelde duur van de interviews ligt tussen de 30 en 40 minuten. De keuze voor semigestructureerde interviews is gebaseerd op de interactiviteit die de methode biedt. Er is mogelijkheid tot *probing*, het doorvragen naar onduidelijke of interessante uitspraken. Alle interviews zijn na toestemming van de respondenten opgenomen en ad verbatim worden getranscribeerd. De verzamelde data is geanalyseerd aan de hand van de coderingprocedures van de Grounded Theory benadering. Theorieën of concepten betreffend het onderzochte fenomeen ontstaan alleen vanuit de verzamelde data (De Bruin, 2008). De Bruin onderscheid drie vormen van codering: 'open', 'axiaal'

en 'selectieve' codering. Met behulp van de concepten die uit de geanalyseerde data naar voren komen kan er kritisch gekeken worden naar de uitspraken van de respondenten over hun motivaties om lid te zijn van het roddelforum.

De interviews hebben allemaal een code als naam gekregen om de anonimiteit van de respondenten te waarborgen. Deze codenaam bestaat uit een cijfer, waarbij de chronologische volgorde van de interviews is aangehouden, en de eerste letter van de voornaam of gebruikersnaam van de respondent. In de analysesectie van dit onderzoek wordt er bij het gebruik van citaten uit deze interviews verwezen naar deze codes. De getranscribeerde interviews zijn te vinden in de bijlagen (pp. 23-40).

ANALYSE EN INTERPRETATIE

Tijdens de analyse van de getranscribeerde interviews zijn in het coderingsproces een aantal thema's gevonden. In de eerste stap, het open coderen van de transcripten, zijn de uitspraken van de respondenten in categorieën (codes) onderverdeeld. De uitspraken in verschillende categorieën zijn vervolgens tijdens de axiale coderingsfase samengebracht in een tabel, waarbij sommige categorieën tot een overkoepelende code werden toegewezen. Tijdens het axiaal coderen werd het mogelijk om de overeenkomsten en verschillen tussen de uitspraken van de respondenten te analyseren. De belangrijkste overkoepelende categorieën zijn: eerste indruk, mening over vloggen, recent kijkgedrag, zelfpresentatie, performance, fans/minions, vinden van het forum, sfeer op het forum, content van de posts op het forum en other encounters. Tijdens de laatste stap van het coderingsproces, de selectieve codering, is gekeken naar wat er precies in de uitspraken wordt gezegd over een bepaalde code waardoor er relaties en verbindingen zijn gevonden tussen deze uitspraken om zo theorieën te vormen met betrekking tot deze categorieën. De tabel waarin de belangrijkste categorieën zijn samengebracht is te vinden in de bijlagen (pp. 41-58). Deze categorieën zijn verdeeld over de thema's de SacconeJolys en vloggen, het forum en other encounters. Deze thema's zullen als leidraad dienen voor de structuur van de analysesectie.

DE SACCONEJOLYS & VLOGGEN

Allereerst werden de respondenten gevraagd wanneer zij voor het eerst een video zagen van de SacconeJolys en wat zij op dat moment van de vlogs en de familie vonden. Het bekijken van de vlogs is volgens Giles (2003) de eerste stap in het ontwikkelen van een parasociale relatie met mediafiguren. Aanvankelijk bleek uit het coderingsproces dat de eerste indruk van alle respondenten positief ten opzichte van de SacconeJolys was. Ze vonden het een leuke familie met lieve kinderen en keken graag naar de vlogs. Na de axiale coderingsfase bleek dat twee van de respondenten niet uitsluitend positief waren, zij gaven aan soms al twijfels te hebben over bepaalde content.

I[nterviewer]: And what did you think about them at first? Did you like them?

R[espondent]: Yeah, I did like them at first. But there was something off about them that I couldn't put my finger on.

(Interview 05J)

Vervolgens werden de respondenten gevraagd welke andere YouTubers zij nog meer bekijken en wat zij van het vlogging-genre vinden. Tijdens dit gesprek over vloggen en YouTubers gaven alle vijf

respondenten aan dat zij een sterke afkeur hebben voor het familie-vloggen. Na de selectieve coderingfase kan gesteld worden dat deze afkeur veroorzaakt wordt door het feit dat de kinderen geen toestemming kunnen geven voor de beelden die van hen worden gemaakt en op het internet worden geplaatst.

R: I don't watch any other family daily vloggers... I don't agree with the concept of it myself. I do watch Louise Pentland, who sometimes films her daughter, but I think it is the extent to which the SJs film their children that I just find worrying.

I: You don't enjoy other family vloggers? Why?

R: I personally don't think it's right to film your children daily without their consent, just to make money. There are varying degrees of it to take into account, but daily is too much in my opinion, particularly when the children have no comprehension of why they are being filmed.

(Interview 03L)

Omdat de familie hier geld mee verdient, wordt het door een aantal respondenten gezien als uitbuiting. Zoals Tait (2015) beschrijft in haar artikel over familievloggers bestaan er nog geen regels met betrekking tot deze vlogger-kinderen.

R: Why am I so invested in children I don't know? Because they don't have a voice. Everyday, since birth, they have been exploited...their private moments shown to over a million people, so their parents can make money.

(Interview 03L)

Een deel van de respondenten gaf aan recent geen vlogs meer te kijken. Na de selectieve coderingsfase kan er gesteld worden dat er in recent kijkgedrag een tweedeling bestaat tussen de leden van het roddelforum. Het grootste deel kijkt geen vlogs meer en doet dit uit protest, om het kanaal te onthouden van views. Wat zij meekrijgen van de vlogs komt voornamelijk uit de berichten die op het forum worden geplaatst. De andere respondenten die aangaven nog steeds af en toe te kijken deden dat voornamelijk om mee te kunnen praten over wat er dat moment op het forum speelt. Een van de respondenten deed hierbij een interessante uitspraak waarbij een belangrijk concept naar voren kwam.

R: I don't actually *hate-watch* that often, I really follow what's going on from the forums. I don't want to give Jonathan a view, that's not going to happen. So I very rarely watch, because it's all numbers again at the end of the day.

(Interview 02I)

Eerder in de literatuurstudie is het concept hate-watching besproken. Haatkijken is het kijken van een acteur, performer, televisieshow of film (en in dit geval vlog) die iemand actief hekelt (Zimmer & Carson, 2013). De term werd niet gebruikt in de vragen die aan de respondenten werden gesteld, maar zelf gebruikt door de respondent om haar kijkactiviteit te beschrijven. Het feit dat deze term naar voren kwam tijdens het gesprek laat zien dat de parasociale relatie van de respondenten is veranderd ten opzichte van toen zij voor het eerst de vlogs bekeken. De eerste fase die Giles (2003) beschrijft in de ontwikkeling van een parasociale relatie is het bekijken van content van een mediafiguur. Het woord 'haat' voegt hier een sterk negatieve lading aan toe.

ZELFPRESENTATIE & PERFORMANCE

Vervolgens werden de respondenten gevraagd naar de zelfpresentatie van de SacconeJolys. In de meeste gevallen gingen deze gesprekken voornamelijk over Anna en Jonathan. De respondenten waren allemaal gelijkgestemd met betrekking tot Jonathan en de manier waarop hij zichzelf presenteert in de vlogs. Volgens de respondenten doet hij zich gek, raar, kinderachtig en enigszins dom voor. In het gesprek over de zelfpresentatie van de SacconeJolys deed een van de respondenten wederom een interessante uitspraak:

R: I thought that Jonathan was a bit of an annoying...*performer*, and I've always felt Anna is a narcissist. I think she is more of a narcissist than Jonathan. I think Jonathan needs validation.

I: And why do you call him a performer?

R: Just from what I've observed, with his behaviour. When he is on his vlogs, his behaviour in happiness is just amplified and glorified and nobody is like that in real life, at least the people that I've ever met. And if you see him in the background of other people's video, he's just a normal quiet person.

(Interview 04A)

De respondent geeft hier aan dat zij Jonathan ziet als een performer. Goffman beschrijft zelfpresentatie als een performance (2007), omdat er sprake is van impression management. Hij stelt dat dit wordt bepaald aan de hand van setting, uiterlijk en gedrag. Uit de analyse van de uitspraken met betrekking tot de zelfpresentatie van Jonathan, Anna en de presentatie van de

kinderen blijkt dat de respondenten zich voornamelijk richten op gedrag. Over Anna wordt gesteld dat zij lui, saai en afwezig is in de vlogs en de kinderen worden voornamelijk als verwend omschreven. Het uiterlijk van Jonathan, Anna en de kinderen en de settings van de vlogs werden niet buiten beschouwing gelaten, maar het gedrag bleek voor de respondenten het meest van belang te zijn wanneer zij spraken over de zelfpresentatie van de SacconeJolys.

De performance van de kinderen kwam ook ter sprake in een aantal interviews. Twee respondenten gaven aan te merken dat Emilia doorheeft dat zij zich op een bepaalde manier moet gedragen wanneer zij wordt gefilmd. Ook worden de kinderen volgens hen beloond wanneer zij iets leuks doen voor de camera.

R: I know Emilia, she understands that she has to do something cute or funny for the camera. And I'm pretty sure they get chocolate afterwards when they do something cool, because she was to Eduardo like: "if you do this, you get chocolate", so he did it. I think he's a bit over it, and he's only like, two. But I think Emilia has some understanding of how she has to act when the camera is out.

(Interview 05J)

Zoals eerder genoemd in de literatuurstudie is er in de vlogs van de SacconeJolys sprake van een performance team, omdat de familie samenwerkt en soms gebeurtenissen moet verbergen voor hun collectieve performance. Alle respondenten gaven aan dat zij het vervelend vonden dat de SacconeJolys gebeurtenissen weg laten in hun vlogs. Hierdoor presenteren zij een vals beeld van hun dagelijks leven, wat voor veel respondenten een belangrijk kritiekpunt is. Een aantal van de respondenten gaf zelfs aan dat dit hetgeen was wat zij het meest hekelden aan de vloggers. Een voorbeeld van zo'n verborgen feit is de babysitter, die in een aantal interviews besproken werd.

R: When the White Moose café guys came to visit and they caught the nanny, the babysitter, on Snapchat, and then they completely took her out of the vlog of the next day, even though the nanny was clearly around. It just pisses me off that, why will they not admit to this shit, like...what is so wrong with admitting that you are normal?!

(Interview 04A)

Het verbergen van dit soort feiten, activiteiten en motieven wordt door Goffman (2007) negatieve idealisatie genoemd. De respondent zag dit op Snapchat, wat volgens het model van Giles (2003) onder other encounters valt. De babysitter is niet te zien in de vlogs omdat het niet overeenkomt met het geïdealiseerde beeld van de SacconeJolys, namelijk dat zij een gewoon en hardwerkend

gezin zijn. Dit vinden de respondenten nep, omdat naar hun idee vloggen het filmen van het dagelijkse leven zou moeten zijn. Omdat veel leden van het forum zich hieraan storen, noemen zij de familie ook wel de 'SacconePhonys'. Dit komt overeen met de theorie van Tsay-Vogel & Schwartz (2014) die stellen dat wanneer media als authentiek wordt beschouwd er vaker positieve parasociale interactie plaatsvindt. Omdat de respondenten de beelden van de SacconeJolys als onecht beschouwen, vormen zij een negatieve relatie.

R: They say it's life, but it's not life. Because you are only showing what you want to show. You're not showing your whole life, you are only showing....you don't really know what they are like, you only know what they want you to think they are like.

(Interview 01M)

Wat tijdens deze gesprekken ook vaak naar voren kwam was het beeld dat de respondenten van de fans van de SacconeJolys hebben. De fans, die zij liefkozend *minions* noemen, zijn naar het idee van de respondenten allemaal erg jong en vooral naïef.

R: I think it's not really...like, it's kind of a fake thing that they present to their viewers...they're so young, they're only like ten or twelve or something. Anyone who is older can see that that is not really how it is.

(Interview 05J)

Dat de respondenten een generaliserend beeld hebben van de fans van de SacconeJolys, is een interessant gegeven. Deze fans hebben niet direct te maken met de zelfpresentatie van de vloggers, maar spelen wel een grote rol in het succes van de SacconeJolys. De leden van het roddelforum zijn als het ware in een strijd met de 'minions', dit wordt ook aangegeven in een aantal interviews.

HET FORUM

Een respondent was van mening dat fans van de SacconeJolys het forum zouden moeten bezoeken, zodat zij hun favoriete vloggers ook eens van een andere kant zouden zien. Wat de respondenten namelijk allemaal aangaven was dat het vinden van het forum voor hun persoonlijk een *eye-opener* was, omdat ze ineens zagen wat er allemaal mis was met de familie die zij daarvoor graag keken. Omdat het forum al langer bestond, was er een groot aantal threads te lezen waarin andere leden hun meningen over de vloggers besproken. De respondenten gaven aan dat toen zij eenmaal begonnen met lezen, het moeilijk was om te stoppen. Na het vergelijken van de uitspraken binnen de categorieën eerste indruk en het vinden van het roddelforum kan er gesteld worden dat er een keerpunt heeft plaatsgevonden in de parasociale relatie van de respondenten met de SacconeJolys. Tijdens het lezen van de informatie en posts op het roddelforum ontwikkelden zij allemaal een

negatieve attitude ten opzichte van de vloggerfamilie, terwijl zij eerst overwegend positief waren. Allemaal vonden ze het forum via Google terwijl zij iets aan het opzoeken waren over de familie of over andere YouTubers.

R: I joined the forum because I was actually Googling something about the kids, because I noticed when they were very small, that they didn't have stairgates in the house. I was like, you can't do that with two kids, you know, two toddlers. I was Googling about them, then I came across the forum and it opened my eyes. Things I hadn't really noticed. It's just so enthralling, it really is.

(Interview 02I)

Alle respondenten gaven aan dat het forum enigszins kleinzielig kan zijn, omdat er leden zijn die er enkel posten om te haten voor het haten. Ook kan er af en toe ruzie ontstaan tussen de leden wanneer meningen botsen. Maar het forum draait volgens alle respondenten om hetzelfde, en dat is bezorgdheid voor de kinderen.

I: What do you think about the other members on the forum?

R: I genuinely think they are all caring people who share my concerns for the children. Obviously, I appreciate there must be personal reasons as to why some of us frequent the board as often as we do, but from what they post they all seem empathic, level-headed... Give or take a few minor disagreements, but no one gets on perfectly in real life either, I guess.

(Interview 03L)

Zo wordt er volgens de respondenten veel gepraat over problemen zoals de voeding van de kinderen, het feit dat zij weinig activiteiten doen en hun verwerende gedrag. De leden van het forum documenteren dit en sturen via e-mails bewijs naar bedrijven waar de SacconeJolys sponsordeals mee hebben. Daarnaast wordt er gespeculeerd over gebeurtenissen in de vlogs waar de leden over twijfelen, zoals de dreigkaart die het stel kreeg net voordat Emilia geboren werd en de miskraam die de familie vorig jaar heeft geleden.

OTHER ENCOUNTERS

Volgens Giles (2003) is het praten over mediafiguren met anderen een belangrijke fase in het ontwikkelen van een parasociale relatie, omdat het meningen kan veranderen. Het bespreken van mediafiguren wordt gedaan op basis van person knowledge en person judgement. Daarnaast kan er sprake zijn van other encounters, zoals eerder genoemd in de analyse (zie: Zelfpresentatie & performance). Uitspraken over sociale media en mogelijke andere ontmoetingen zijn aan de hand van de open coderingen van de transcripten verzameld en vervolgens vergeleken. Zij zijn

ondergebracht onder de overkoepelende categorie other encounters, omdat zij buiten de dagelijkse vlogs van de SacconeJolys vallen. De andere ontmoetingen die het publiek heeft met de SacconeJolys zijn voornamelijk via sociale media. Alle respondenten hebben wel eens de sociale media van Anna en Jonathan gezien en gaven aan dat zij zich hier niet anders presenteren dan in de vlogs. Wel worden er soms backstage momenten vastgelegd die misschien niet in het ideaalbeeld van de vloggers passen, zoals de babysitter die eerder in de analyse werd besproken. Door dit soort andere ontmoetingen kunnen pogingen ontstaan om contact te hebben met de mediafiguren. Slechts een van de respondenten gaf aan dit gedaan te hebben. Zij kreeg geen direct antwoord, maar werd wel geblokkeerd door zowel Anna als Jonathan.

I: Do you follow either Anna or Jonathan on social media?

R: Oh yep, I don't follow them on Instagram, but I did follow them on Twitter..but I got blocked.

I: Why? What happened?

R: I got blocked by Anna because I said they should buy a water filter thing to set on the beach instead of having bottled water every single day because it's quite bad for the environment...so I got blocked there. And then Jonathan blocked me because I said they shouldn't have taken their kid on that flight when he obviously had chicken pocks.

(Interview 05J)

Omdat dit de enige respondent was die zelf aangaf contact te hebben gezocht via social media met zowel Anna als Jonathan is het model van Giles (2003) wellicht niet geheel toepasbaar op deze specifieke anti-fans. In tegenstelling tot de fans van de vloggers zijn zij niet zo lustig om contact te zoeken. Dit heeft te maken met het feit dat zij vervolgens geblokkeerd worden, vaak toch geen respons kunnen verwachten en zelfs aangevallen worden door fans van de vloggers. Een van de respondenten gaf aan bedreigd te zijn door de jonge fans van de SacconeJolys waardoor ze niet meer in de reactiesectie onder de video's haar mening durft te plaatsen. Hiervoor zoekt zij liever toevlucht op het roddelforum, waar zij met gelijkgestemden veilig over de vloggers kan discussiëren.

CONCLUSIE & DISCUSSIE

Uit de analyse van de getranscribeerde interviews met deze vijf respondenten wordt een aantal dingen duidelijk over de negatieve parasociale relatie die zij hebben opgebouwd met de SacconeJoly familie. Zo waren zij aanvankelijk allemaal redelijk positief over de vlogs, totdat zij twijfels kregen over gebeurtenissen in de vlogs en dus het dagelijkse leven van de SacconeJolys. In de reactiesectie onder de vlogs wordt enkel met lof gepraat over de YouTubers, en negatieve reacties worden verwijderd. Via Google vonden de respondenten het roddelforum, wat volgens hen allemaal eye-opening en enigszins verslavend was. Pas nadat de respondenten lid werden van het forum, begon de ontwikkeling van een overwegend negatieve parasociale relatie met de vloggers. De belangrijkste fase in de ontwikkeling van hun parasociale relatie is daarbij het bespreken van de SacconeJolys met anderen. Hoewel de respondenten allemaal aangeven dat het forum vooral om bezorgdheid om de kinderen draait, wordt er werkelijk over van alles gepraat dat niet altijd te maken heeft met de kinderen. In het bespreken van de zelfpresentatie van de SacconeJolys met de respondenten richtten zij zich voornamelijk op het gedrag van de familie en minder op het uiterlijk van de vloggers en de setting van de video's. De SacconeJolys zijn een performance team die door middel van negatieve idealisatie het beeld van een normaal en hardwerkend gezin proberen te presenteren. De zelfpresentatie van de vloggers is volgens alle respondenten nep, omdat zij een vervormd beeld van de realiteit presenteren waarbij zij gedragingen, feiten en gebeurtenissen weglaten. Omdat vloggen het filmen van je dagelijkse leven zou moeten zijn, wordt dit sterk negatief ervaren door de respondenten. Dit sluit aan bij de ideeën van Tsay-Vogel & Schwartz (2014), die stellen dat wanneer media als authentiek wordt beschouwd, er sterkere positieve parasociale interactie plaatsvindt. Omdat de SacconeJolys niet als authentiek beschouwd worden, ontstaat er een negatieve attitude bij de respondenten.

Er moeten wel een aantal kanttekeningen worden gemaakt bij deze resultaten. Zo zijn er slechts vijf interviews afgenomen, waarbij er een via chat is afgenomen. De keuze voor semigestructureerde interviews is gebaseerd op de interactiviteit die de methode biedt, omdat er mogelijkheid is tot probing. Via een chatgesprek is dit in veel mindere mate aanwezig dan in een face-to-face of telefoongesprek. Daarnaast gaven de respondenten allemaal aan lurkers te zijn, wat betekent dat zij niet of nauwelijks posten op het forum maar wel actief lezen. Deze scheiding is interessant, omdat actieve posters wellicht andere antwoorden hadden gegeven in de interviews. Dit zou mogelijk ook invloed kunnen hebben op de mate waarin leden van het forum een negatieve parasociale relatie opbouwen met de vloggers. Het geringe aantal respondenten is te verwijten aan de beperking in tijd die aanwezig was tijdens het schrijven van dit onderzoek. Als er minder tijdsdruk

was, was het wellicht mogelijk geweest om meer respondenten te benaderen en ook een aantal actieve posters te werven voor een interview.

Voor vervolgonderzoek is het interessant om in contact proberen te komen met dit soort actieve posters, om te onderzoeken of er een verschil is in de negatieve parasociale relatie die zij opbouwen met vloggers of andere mediafiguren en de relatie die zogenaamde lurkers opbouwen. Daarnaast is het wellicht interessant om gebruik te maken van focusgroepen voor de interviews met anti-fans. Door interviews af te nemen met meerdere mensen tegelijkertijd, kan men naast data verzamelen over de negatieve parasociale relatie die zij opbouwen met mediafiguren ook de groepsdynamieken bestuderen tussen anti-fans. Op fora hebben de anti-fans de mogelijkheid op elkaar te reageren, waardoor er soms interessante uitspraken gedaan worden. De respondenten hebben aangegeven dat er op het forum wel eens ruzie ontstaat tussen leden, maar het internet biedt een zekere mate van anonimiteit door middel van gebruikersnamen, waar in een focusgroep geen sprake van is. De groepsdynamiek tussen anti-fans met vaak zeer uitgesproken meningen lijkt mij daarom ook een interessante casus voor vervolgonderzoek.

Het doel van het huidige onderzoek is het vormen van een grounded theory met betrekking tot negatieve parasociale relaties van anti-fans. Na de analyse van interviews met 5 leden van het roddelforum kan de authenticiteit van de beelden van vloggers als verklaring van deze negatieve relaties aangewezen worden. Deze theorie hangt nauw samen met het antwoord op de hoofdvraag van dit onderzoek: "op welke manier speelt de zelfpresentatie van YouTube-vloggers een rol in de negatieve parasociale relatie die leden van een roddelforum vormen met deze vloggers?". De zelfpresentatie van vloggers speelt een belangrijke rol in de vorming van negatieve parasociale relaties van kijkers met deze vloggers, omdat er in de video's een ideaalbeeld wordt geschetst. Kijkers weten echter dat dit geen authentiek beeld is, bijvoorbeeld door het bekijken van de sociale media van de vloggers. Door gebeurtenissen te verbergen waarvan kijkers weten dat zij wel plaatsvinden, ontstaat er kritiek vanuit de kijkers. Deze kritiek kunnen zij vervolgens niet op YouTube en sociale media kwijt, omdat hun kritische en vaak negatieve reacties worden verwijderd. Het roddelforum biedt een veilige omgeving om met gelijkgestemden te praten over de vloggers, waardoor hun negatieve parasociale relatie zich verder kan ontwikkelen.

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BIJLAGEN

TOPIC LIST

Topics	Voorbeeldvragen
SacconeJolys en andere vloggers op YouTube (<i>small talk</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Do you remember the first video you saw of the SacconeJolys? When was this?• What did you think about them at first?• Are there any other vloggers that you watch? Do you enjoy those vlogs?• What do you think of the vlogging-genre?• Do you watch any other YouTubers that do not vlog? Do you have a favorite channel?
Zelfpresentatie van de SacconeJolys	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Do you still watch the vlogs? Daily, or occasionally?• Can you tell me something about the way Anna and Jonathan present themselves in the vlogs?• What do you think about this?• What do you think happens when the vlogging-camera is not on?• Do you follow either Anna or Jonathan on social media like Twitter or Snapchat?• What do you think about their profiles on social media?• What do you dislike most about the SacconeJolys?
Motivatie om lid te zijn van haatforum	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• How did you find the forum?• When did you join the forum? Were you also a frequent visitor of the GuruGossiper board?• Why did you join the forum?• Can you tell me something about the forum? What goes on there, what do you talk about?
Activiteit op het forum	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Do you visit the forum often?• How often do you post?• What makes you post?• What do you think about the other members on the forum?• Are you a member of any other websites like this forum?• Is this forum different from those websites? Why?

TRANSCRIPT VAN INTERVIEW 01M

I: We should be fine in about thirty minutes
R: I'll talk slow..
I: (laughs) thank you! So do you remember the first video you saw of the SacconeJolys?
R: Ehhhhm..
I: Or when did you start watching?
R: When Eduardo was born..
I: When Eduardo was born, okay. And what did you think about them at first?
R: I thought they were good. Like, I thought they were entertaining.
I: Did you watch them a lot?
R: Pardon?
I: Did you watch them a lot? Every day?
R: Eh, not every day. I wasn't like (incomprehensible) like, subscribed to them, but I wasn't on it all the time. If that makes sense. Just not all the time?
I: Yeah, sure. And you liked all of them? You also liked, not just Eduardo?
R: Yeah, no, I liked them all, I liked the family, yeah.
I: So are there any other vloggers that you watch now?
R: Ehm, I used to watch the Michalaks...but I don't now much either..
I: And do you enjoy those?
R: No, not...well I used to...but then...I go off people really easily.
I: (laughs) Yeah you have that a lot?
R: Yeah...
I: Why do you think that is?
R: Ehm...I don't know, it's just like..I feel like you get like a false, (incomprehensible) when you watch more and more stuff...do you know what I mean? You get like a false view of them..
I: Yeah.
R: And you just start...and once you notice one thing...and then you go and gossip..and I'm like "oh my god!"
I: Do you think that has anything to do with the vlogging-genre?
R: Yeah because they're like...not showing their whole...personality. And also like, if that's your job. If your job is filming yourself, filming yourself, like, how do you have a life? If that makes sense. Like you are not going out to work and stuff like that, it's basically being like unemployed, I feel like.
I: Yeah, well basically your job is to make videos.
R: Yeah. I can make a video, do you know what I mean like? I'm not getting paid for that..
I: Yeah. And do you have any other YouTubers that you, who maybe not vlog, that you watch?
R: Oh I watch loads... Ehm... Charles Gross.
I: Hmmhmm..
R: Him. I watch him a lot, I actually, he vlogs, but he never leaves his house, so that's weird. But I don't know, I wouldn't count that as a vlog. Ehhh..who else do I watch? Wait a second let me look on my YouTube thing.
I: That's okay. Is that your favourite channel?
R: Just now...but I'll go..like...ehmmm..Idops, I've just recently subscribed to him..ehmm..who else is up here? Shane Dawson, I love Shane Dawson.
I: Why?
R: I just find him funny.

I: Does he make funny videos?
R: Yeah.
I: It's mostly talking videos right, where he just discusses subjects?
R: I like him better..I don't like for example...I just find him quite bold and...
I: So do you still sometimes watch any of the SacconeJoly vlogs?
R: Only when I'm just gonna go on the like, forum thing. I'll watch the most recent one just so I know what everyone is talking about. But I wouldn't actually... Am I speaking quite fast?
I: No no no, it's fine, I can totally understand.
R: Okay, great. So I would normally go on...just to like, know what everyone is talking about. I don't go watch them..like..
I: Daily or occasionally?
R: Yeah. Yeah. I would only, if I'm gonna go on the forum, obviously I want to get what everyone is fuckin..on about.
I: Yeah, ofcourse.
R: Yes.
I: And, in those recent vlogs that you watched, can you tell me something about the way that Anna and Jonathan present themselves?
R: I feel like they are a bit fake, I feel like they are not showing, like if they are going to have an argument, they are not going to like, get out the camera and show that. And they are not going to, because you know everyone has their arguments, I have arguments in my household all the time, do you know what I mean?
I: Yes.
R: So like, they are not showing, they say it's like...life, but it's not life. Because you are only showing what you...want to show...if that makes sense, like, you're not showing your whole life, you are only showing....
I: Ofcourse
R: And it's boring, all they do is talk, to the camera..
I: And what do you think happens when the camera is not on?
R: Well exactly, you don't know. Like, because those..they never say like "oh I had an argument" but it's like...I don't know.. I don't know... It's quite like, I find it really weird, because it's, you don't really know what they are like, you only know what they want you to think they are like.
I: You mean that they put up a show?
R: Yeah!
I: And we don't know what's going on backstage?
R: Yeah, like, they don't show. If there's...well, if something..well take like the miscarriage, which I don't really like to talk about too much, but like, you don't..they only said that, obviously. Because it was upsetting. They only told us about that..
I: The miscarriage?
R: Like, yeah, like later on. They were in...wherever they went...
I: Orlando
R: America, yeah. In America they were like having a good time, so do you know what I mean like? So it's false.
I: Do you believe that it's false?

R: Well...Oh no I do believe, I believe she had the miscarriage. I don't actually like when people talk about that on the forum...I'm like, oh my god it's a bit much.
I: Because it's too personal?
R: Yeah, just don't feel like it needs... as well because it was so long ago, I do think there is something weird about it, but like I don't think, like, I go off the forum and don't come back on for ages when people talk about that because I'm like, I'm not comfortable, with that.
I: That makes sense. And do you follow Anna or Jonathan on social media?
R: No...but I used to follow her Snapchat, but it's too boring, and it was like, so boring... You know when Snapchat used to have the numbers of seconds that it was on for?
I: Yes.
R: And it was on for like, over a 100, and I was like, who has the time, to fucking watch all that? Not me (laughs)
I: What did she snap about?
R: Just, like, honestly, nothing. She'd be making, I'm proving I'm making dinner.. Like, alright, everyone makes their own dinner, you don't need a round of applause, or like, a medal?
I: So you did not enjoy them very much?
R: No no, (laughs) I didn't.
I: And Jonathan?
R: Not..has he got a snapchat?
I: I think so.
R: Well not, I don't follow him.
I: But maybe Twitter?
R: No, because (laughs) I look at their Twitter and my eyes are like to the back of my head I'm like "shut the fuck up", sometimes I feel like they can't even type. Just like me (laughs) I can't type in English basically, but, they I don't know though, I just find his tweets just boring. And it's like, how old is he? Like 30 or something, and he's like, tweeting young girls, I'm not comfortable with that.
I: Why? Do you think it's wrong? That he's tweeting?
R: I think it's weird. I think it's..I'm not saying, I'm not accusing him of anything, if my like, I don't know..I don't know anyone in their thirties...right..but..someone I work with like, who's thirty, if they were messaging, because he's just, a normal person, that films his life, if another normal person was tweeting wee lasses, it's weird!
I: Yes. And what do you think about their profiles on Twitter and Snapchat?
R: I just think they are..quite boring. Because they don't do anything. And I don't like how they do...you know Anna is really bad for this she'll tweet something like "ohh all the haterzzz saying....this...blablabla"
I: The haterzzz?
R: Looking it, like she's sticking it to the haters yeah the haterzzzz. And then, but she's not, proving anything wrong, or anything right, with what she's doing, because she will just say..I don't know I feel like she tries to preach stuff that she's not actually doing. If that makes sense.
I: Yeah it does! And is there something you dislike most about them, and the way they present themselves?
R: Yeah, because I don't like how they think like, I think both of them think they are fucking amazing..when..but then their whole brand, based on like, being a normal

person. But they don't think they are normal people. Like, they think they are..they don't think they have to...leave the house with their kids, I think that's annoying that like every day, especially when the kids were a little younger, they weren't going... I've got a younger sister, who is seven, so like, I'm 23, 24 even. I'm almost 24, like on the 18th. But anyway. So she's like, I don't know, ehm, and you need to take kids out. You can't keep them in the house, that's why I really don't like that. That they're like, never, the kids just don't get a lot of... For people with a lot of money, they could do more stuff with their kids. If that makes sense.
I: Yes. They took a road trip a while back, do you remember? They went to Ireland.
R: Oh right, no I've seen people talk about that but I didn't see it.
I: Oh you didn't see it?
R: No but I seen when they did the roadtrip from Ireland to, like when they moved, and then they didn't have enough food in the car and stuff like that and I was like "that's weird".
I: And what do you think about the other food-issue that is talked about a lot on the forum?
R: What's the...?
I: Well that the kids get Nutella on pancakes for breakfast and such
R: Oh right, well I personally, I don't think it's that bad, that the kids..I do feel like they get fruit as well, and kids are allowed treats and stuff, but I do feel like when she goes "it's no ones business what I feed my kids" like it is, if you are not like giving them the right nutrients and stuff it is someone else's business. Because it's, not good for your child. Like a teacher, it would be a teacher at their school's business, and stuff like that. Do you know what I mean she thinks she's above, like, nutrition, basically? She thinks she knows what she's doing, when it's...she...I'm so bad with words...she thinks she can feed her kids anything although I don't personally it...being that bad about their diet. But I feel like the way Anna reacts to it is bad because she thinks no one can tell her, she's not good with criticism, is what I'm saying. Even if that's like, constructive.
I: Do you think there's a reason she's not good with criticism?
R: I feel like she's never had to like, deal with it, before, basically. I feel like she probably, in school, she was probably like really popular person, and never like, I feel like she's the type of person that's never told no to stuff. Even like, as a child. With her parents, I feel like her parents are the type of parents that doesn't say no, to anything. So now, when someone says no to her, she's struck by it, basically.
I: And what do you think about Jonathan?
R: I think he's fucking weird (laughs)
I: Why is that?
R: I don't know, even... My partner is like, five, six years older than me, but like, with Jonathan, when he met Anna, even when...was she not like 19, or something?
I: She was very young, yes.
R: Yeah, I find that, suspicious, again, not accusing him of anything, but like it's just, I find him like, he sort of like...because Anna's sort of, a pretty girl, do you know what I mean? And Jonathan...is not..a handsome man at all, well personally that's what I think. So like, I feel like,

he got her, young, so and they married like really quick so that's kind of like, it's weird... It's a little bit manipulative, but not, I don't want to accuse him of being anything like that..but I find it strange that they got... Because they got married like quite, because Anna is still quite young, they got married really quick, personally just.. I mean each to their own but I find Jonathan really really really really strange.

I: By the way he acts?

R: Yeah he is so childlike aswell like, when he does like stupid voices I'm like "how fucking old are you?" (laughs) I feel like I can't even watch them.

I: And what do you think about the kids? Because you see footage of the kids, right?

R: So the kids, I think, it's a shame because they are obviously like really sweet kids, what I was saying about Anna they don't get told no to, I don't think they get told no to anything, really, like, you still need rules, but I feel like, just now, it's okay, because like, with the whole present thing, they're like "oh have you got a present?" when you leave the house, for like, five seconds, Jonathan will go and take the bins out, and he will come back and they expect a gift, basically. It's that much. But then, ehm.. I feel like that's okay just now, because they are young, so it's still like, oh you can like, people will laugh when someone comes and visits them and they say "where's my present" it's like funny, because they are young. But like, by the time they are teenagers, nobody is going to find that funny. And it's not really their fault, but like, do you know what I mean? People excuse it now, but if it's never stopped. I just feel like they're going to be quite bratty. And I think there's a lot of ideals, Anna saying she hates bratty kids, and it's like "okay but your kids are going to be like that" ... That's what I think anyway.

I: And you blame Anna and Jonathan?

R: Yeah, because they need to like, not, I don't blame the kids at all, because if you're getting gifts every time, every, you get like people post you gifts, strangers are posting you gifts, like obviously you're going to expect it and you'll just expect more, and like they, the way that Jonathan and Anna deal with it and just give them the gifts and like never really, they say they hold them back, but then the next day you see every single gift on the table and it's like well what ones did you hold back, just like a packet of sweets or something? So I blame, I feel like they should, for people who apparently don't like bratty kids, they need to sort out their own bratty kids.

I: Okay, and do you remember when you joined the forum, because first there was a board...

R: Yeah, yeah I do..

I: on like GuruGossip?

R: Yeah I remember, it was when he said that rape-joke.

I: When he made the rape joke? So before that you liked their videos?

R: Yeah. Basically, I didn't really, it wasn't that I was like, I never really thought that much into it, I just liked watching them basically, and then when he said that, I went onto the forum, and read through like, loads of pages of it, like, a couple like, dozen threads that went like from about, like I read through two before I even made the account. Because if you don't have an account and you don't have approved posts I remember you can't see some of the photos

I: Yes

R: So I made it and then I posted and then like people are really nice to me on that forum, and I'm like, what the hell? But anyway, so like, I read though about like two threads or something first and then I made the account and I kept reading more because I started, and it's really hard to like, find, well I find it hard to like navigate through that forum and...

I: Yeah...

R: So I was like really far behind and I kept reading and reading and I was like "yeah, they do...they do do that they do do that..!" and then it just got like deeper and deeper and I was like, I actually, at the end of that night, after I started reading and...by the end of that night I was like "I can't even fucking stand these people"

I: So would you say it was eye-opening?

R: Yeah, definitely! Because I never really noticed...because it's like a lot of little things, it's kind of hard to say exactly what I mean, because it's like...you sound so petty, over like, well, oh so you give your kids a gift, but it's not just one gift, do you know what I mean? I was really like, you give your child, you don't care, you tell that people like, nutrition what you feed your kids is your business, but it's like not just that it's loads of little things in a bigger picture and so it makes you sound, when you just say one or two things you sound really petty and just like, you hate for hatings sake. I'm sat like I'm in my house pure watching them fucking..hate...you got a sad life, just hating on them for nothing. But it's the bigger picture, and that's why it feels like, a lot of their little fans, or minions, or whatever you want to call them, I feel like they think we're just hating because it'll be like over one little thing, when they come look at the forum they just see one little thing that we're discussing at that time, and then, so they are like oh they are just petty, they are just talking about like, food, right, say that for example, they are just talking about food and then it's like...that's why I think, once the, their wee fans come over, that's why they get so annoyed, I think, personally, because they just see one little thing, but if they read back, I feel like, their eyes would be opened aswell, and they would be like "oh yeah, that's true" because it's like, they are not bad people, I don't think they are nearly as bad as some people on the forum do. Like, I'm like, some people, I do not agree with anything they say, but then, I do still think they are not great people. But they are not like, off, but some people on that forum and actually I'm like, do you know these people personally? Because you proper hate them for like, it's not that big a deal. Do you know what I mean? Like some people are like, actively hating them, I don't actively hate them, I just go about my day, and I'll watch some, and then I'll be like alright, this is what I've got to say, if that makes sense. I've just gone off on a tangent there...(laughs)...what was the question again?

I: (laughs) I don't even remember the question, but ehm, can you tell me something about what goes on on the forum? Like, who talks there and what do you talk about?

R: Ehm..so..well..ehm..just like, if you watch a video, you'll go on the forum, and like, if you notice something, like, I'll go and discuss it but basically it's..a lot of the time it's concern for the kids which I think is good. There's a lot of concern for, like, them not being like, but

like Emilia's hair, I can't say that Emilia. Emilia's hair, for example, people are really like, I don't know, they are concerned about that because it isn't like, I think, it's not that like thick, or anything. But then I don't really know, because that's not that bad, because I've not got thick hair, but...I don't know, I feel like a lot of people do take it too far, but it's good at the same time.

I: Why is it good?

R: Because it's like, well like you said, because it's eye-opening. For people that like, will just come there to say one thing and then they'll be like "oh yeah, yeah" that like, so it makes them...I don't want them personally to lose like, everything, because I mean they got two kids, like, I want them, I want the kids to be like okay. Some people I feel like, they want them to basically be like homeless. Well not, like, there was a time when Anna got fired from...was it ASDA?

I: ASDA!

R: Or something..yeah. I didn't agree with that, because I was like, well you...a lot of people, and if I don't agree with something I'll...quite...I'm not argumentative, but I'll just tell them if I don't agree, some people I feel just like suck-up to people as well, I do feel there's a bit of a clique sometimes, but anyway, with this ASDA thing. So ASDA like, when they fired her, I don't get it, I don't get why they wanted her fired from it, because they say she does nothing, she gets money for nothing, when she's actually doing something, she's actually got a job, she actually writes a column, and then they are like "no we don't want her to have the column" I was like what? That to me, is like taking money, food out of their kids mouth and stuff like that, because that money would go to.....well maybe it wouldn't but I feel like...

I: (laughs)

R: it would be used for feeding their kids but like yeah, I didn't agree with that. Because like, you can't say one thing, and then she actually has a job, and you'll all jump down her neck and get her fired.

I: And do you visit the forum often?

R: Not that often anymore, I used to, at the start...But like I think I kind of needed to stop as well because..a lot of..well, a people were telling me, I wasn't who I was saying who I was. They started saying I was Anna.

I: Really?

R: They actually did, and I was like, what the fuck, right, I'm not going to come on here then.

I: Wow...

R: Yeah... it was like a few months ago, and then I didn't go on for ages. Because I was like, what the fuck, I'm not going to go and fucking prove myself, like what, I'm not Anna. And then I was quite offended that they think Anna has the same (incomprehensible) as me.

I: (laughs)

R: I was like, I'm...cheeky. Very cheeky. (laughs)

I: And what do you think about those member that thought you were..Anna Saccone Joly?

R: Well I don't fucking talk to them... I don't give them the time of day. Some of them still, like my posts, like they used to on, the old one, they would like "thank" it. And I would be like "what the fuck are you thanking at for"? I proper didn't like them for a minute, but now I'm okay. There's one person, should I say names?

I: That's fine.

R: Right. Ehm, oh what is her name? It's like, she still posts on GuruGossiper (incomprehensible). Oh I know what her picture is it's like...right one second I'm going to find her.

I: That's okay.

R: Because, this person has got like a proper, vendetta, against Anna. Like, I said, the last one I watched properly was the one, were they..they went back and filmed..showed Emilia being born. Do you know which one I'm on about? The video

I:Yeah, the throwback-video?

R: Yeah. And I said I felt sorry for her because she seemed so much happier then. And then this pers., she was like "I don't feel sorry for her at all" and I was like (incomprehensible)..wait one second because it never fucking loads.

I: It's a slow website...

R: Yeah!

I: And are you on GuruGossiper as well?

R: Yeah I'm on that more because I talk about other people. But I don't really ehm..I feel a bit weird on that sometimes because a lot of the time, ehmm..like...I feel like I get like, some people are like...up my arse. I don't want to sound like, too, like, feeling myself. But like some people, like, I'll just post anything, and they'll be like "ha-ha-ha-ha, that's so funny!" and I'm like "whaaat?" like I don't really understand a lot of the time..I don't know, I feel like I get, I feel like people might not like me on it, because they think, I don't know, it's weird, because I'll..like..some of my posts do get quite a lot of likes on it, and I'm like..I don't want people to think I'm like, I don't know, like, I don't know...I'm not feeling myself or anything I don't want people to think like that I'm like, because of what I was saying a bit, there's a few cliques, and I'm not clique-y at all like I don't want...I don't know I feel like I got to get a good reaction a lot of the time..if that makes sense.

I: Hmmhmm..

R: Zeppy. Is her name.

I: Zeppy.

R: Do you know her name?

I: Uhh, no.

R: She is...she was the one that's like yeah I thought there was something about like..me. Like, I was like, why? Piss of then.

I: And ehm, do you post a lot?

R: Yes, I do. I post on other, not so much on...because I don't really watch them that much anymore. But like, on other YouTubers I do.

I: What do you post about?

R: Just like stuff, that you know..would get deleted off, if you posted it on their actual video.

I: In the comments?

R: Yeah, like I think it's a good place for people to post stuff that's like, I'm not saying horrible and I can be really horrible, but like, it's like...I don't know. Like, you can post stuff that's like, not going to be like, you're not going to get like death threats of people... Like if I was going to write some of the stuff that I write onto like, a SacconeJoly video, like all their wee fans would be like oh my god you're so horrible, blablabla, but they are all like twelve, so I don't know why I'm so scared of them. (laughs)

I: (laughs) And do you think the SacconeJoly forum is different from other forums? Or?

R: Yeah because the other one is more to do with...their actual videos, like, but the SacconeJoly ones like, I feel like, some people do take it too far but it's like more about like the kids' wellbeing and stuff like that. Because they vlog their life, it's more about their life, where there's other people would be like "Oh I didn't like this video because I didn't like...like..."

I: The way she applied make-up...

R: Yeah! But that's what you get for vlogging your life I suppose.

I: So you'll never vlog your life?

R: (laughs) No, no never.

I: Okay well I think I have everything...

R: Cool, sorry I go off on lots of tangents....

TRANSCRIPT VAN INTERVIEW 02I

R: mhm, I'll definitely try my best.

I: That's alright, I mean..you're on the forum, so...you should be fine.

R: Yeah

I: Ehm, first question is..do you remember the first video or when you saw a first video of the SacconeJolys?

R: It would've been about, ohh, maybe two years ago? I just got into all the, you know, Zoella, and Tanya Burr and all them, ehmm..because I was out of the country I was away from home so I wanted something just in the background, something every single day, to listen to and to...like I wouldn't even pay attention it's just regular voices, you know, you follow the story every day you know it's like a soap opera..

I: It is...

R: You know like you watch (incomprehensible)..on TV and it's just everyday...do you know? Ehm, see I'm, I must have gotten into them I don't know exactly I don't quite remember but it was about two years ago now.

I: And can you tell me what you thought about them at first?

R: At first I thought they were not too bad, I quite like, enjoyed them. Ehm the kids were really cute in the beginning, Jonathan...hmmm..not a huge fan of him but it's like whatever, Anna seemed okay. But I mean, and again, I didn't really pay attention, so I never really, saw, all the weird things that were going on until much later.

I: So do you..you said Zoella and Tanya Burr are there any other bloggers that you watch? Maybe not family vloggers, or other family vloggers?

R: Ehmmm no well the Michalaks, or the Michalaks, whatever they are pronounced. Tanya, Jim, Zoe, Alfie, Marcus, Niomi, do you know? Just the...those who post more often that I can have in the background, when I'm like doing my make-up, and doing assignments, and you know, cleaning up, so...

I: Yeah I do the exact same. It's background noise.

R: Yeah it's great though!

I: And what do you think about vlogging? People..

R: I love vlogging!

I: filming themselves?

R: Yeah yeah yeah, I was a vlogger way way back years, too..

I: Wow!

R: So I think it's great I look back now to like my 16 year old self and I think it's great and my brother did the same thing. So it really is fantastic to have that, there, and it is, it's very fun to do, it really builds your confidence, it's just great. I mean, back then you didn't get money you didn't get sponsorships it was just for fun... Whereas now it's more, you know, for the fame, you know, so you get sent stuff and things like that. And subscriber numbers, it's money it's all money money. Ehm, whereas back when I was doing it, it was for fun. So I think the shift has..there has been a shift, to less of a hobby and more of a job. And I think that might be a bit of a problem. Especially for like..

I: And why do you think that?

R: Sorry?

I: Why do you think that?

R: Why do I think it's a problem?

I: Yes

R: Because, at the end of the day, look at Zoella from that, I don't know if you follow her? Are you on GuruGossip as well?

I: Yeah well I've seen her board

R: Yeah, she just spews out the same crap every single week, ehm, just because it's money, she has no passion for it she doesn't give a damn, if she.. If she didn't have to do it, I'm sure she wouldn't.

I: And so you said you go on other boards? Do you go for every vlogger you watch?

R: No. Only the interesting ones. So, Zoella, Tanya and SacconeJolys.

I: And do you have a favorite channel to watch?

R: Ehm...to hate-watch, or to watch in general?

I: (laugh) both is fine

R: Ehm, I love GreyGray Girl but (onverstaanbaar) I don't actually hate-watch that often, like I really follow what's going on from the forums, I don't have time to properly..like I don't want to give Jonathan a view, there..that's not going to happen. So I very rarely watch, because it's all numbers again at the end of the day.

So...

I: Yeah.

R: Do you know?

I: So, have you seen any blogs recently?

R: From the SacconeJolys?

I: Hmmhmm

R: No, not lately

I: And ehm, when do you think the last time was that you watched one?

R: Pfff, I don't know..months and months ago. I haven't been following them really..

I: And why did you watch it then?

R: Before? Before because I liked them and I thought they were interesting. And I, you know, they are cute, and the dogs were, okay...ehm...I don't know, again, it was just.. again: i was homeless at the time, i was in a different country, i was jobless, i was single, i had no friends. It was just something everyday to kind of like, keep me, grounded I suppose? Ehm, so that's why I watched it.

I: And can you tell me something about the way that Anna and Jonathan present themselves in the vlogs, in the daily videos?

R: In the vlogs...well, jesus, ehm, Jonathan for one is just nuts. He's insane, he's very irritating. Like if you go back and watch a video, properly, you really figure out: jesus he's annoying. And it's, as an Irish person, it's very insulting, it's just...shame, shameful, do you know? Ehm, I don't know, he's just ridiculous. They are both ridiculous....

I: What about Anna?

R: Anna..she is not really in the blogs, do you know? And when she is, she is very subdued, she doesn't have the energy, it's like she doesn't give a damn she doesn't want to be there, really. You know?

I: Why do you feel that way?

R: It's just her attitude, you know, she is always very, "hmmhmmm, yeah, yeah jonathan" do you know? There's no real, oh "blablablabla" it's just very, basic, boring, like she doesn't want to do it either. You know she is just being dragged into it because this is how she gets her money.

I: And what do you think happens when the camera is not on, when they are not filming themselves? Would it be different?

R: I don't know, the girls speculate a lot longer on the forum, saying you know, oh, Jonathan is in his study, and Anna just stays in bed all day. Now I don't have snapchat I don't follow Anna on snapchat. So I don't really know if she does, spend all her day in bed, on Snapchat. Ehm, I don't really want to speculate about the things that I can't really see. So mhm, as a journalist, that's a very important thing to do, you know.

I: Very important.

R: So I don't really know what they do. I would like to think that...see, again, as the girls always point out, if they're doing something interesting with the kids, if they are, walking the dogs or taking them out places, they will obviously, I'm so sorry about the buzzing by the way, they will obviously have filmed it. Do you know? So I can't imagine they are doing that much with their day if they are not vlogging it. You know, if it's not worthwhile content..

I: Yeah and you said something about Anna's snaps? Have you seen any of it maybe somewhere else, not on snapchat?

R: Oh yeah, on the board obviously. What can I say, it's all filtered stuff do you know. She does spend a lot of the day in bed, but I mean...that's what we see.. I don't really know.

I: Do you think she's any different on social media like snapchat and twitter then on the vlogs?

R: What do you mean?

I: Does she present herself in a different, in a different manner?

R: I actually don't follow her on Twitter. I follow, well I don't...I keep an eye on Jonathan, just because he dribbles, crap. So I wouldn't really know anything about Anna. She's just a boring person. I don't even follow, I never watched her own, channel, you know, she's just, I find her very boring very basic very bland, she just recreates the same thing as everybody else does. So, she doesn't have something new to say, there's no...you know, magic spark. She doesn't go off and do her own research, it's just blablabla, it's whatever she gets sponsored to speak about.

I: And Jonathan? Because you mentioned you do follow him?

R: Jon...Jonathan I just follow him on, well I keep an eye on his Twitter, I don't follow him, I keep an eye on his Twitter, just to (incomprehensible)..like he's so funny, he is...it's complete nonsense, the desperate spelling, of course like the fucking minions, I like to, rile them up sometimes, you know if I'm having a bad day it's nice to pick on a minion. Nicely now, nicely. But mhm, they are a bit ridiculous and the whole..it's just ridiculous, they really are.

I: And what do you think about the kids?

R: Eh, Emilia and Eduardo, well, they are brats. I'm sorry, they really are brats. They were lovely when I used to watch them, I thought they were fine. But lately...and you know, we get little tube chops, so I see a little bit here and there and they are just screaming, they are always giving out, Eduardo is always hitting or screaming or getting out about something and I can see a mean streak in Emilia as well. Which is kind of

worrying. I mean, we were all like that..but she seems to be (incomprehensible).. And the whole, chocolate thing, it's a big big issue. You can see the way she looks at chocolate it's just..it's not healthy, you know?

I: Why do you think that these kids are brats?

R: Oh because they were raised that way. Do you know what I mean? If you look at Jonathan and Anna, they are not perfectly upstanding citizens, really. You know, they don't make an effort, ehm, they don't have jobs. They are not anyone you can really look up to, as kids. Do you know? I'm sure you have your own parents and they always work they are always busy, but they still make time to make a nice dinner for you, to talk to you at the dinner table, to bring you nice places and do things with you. Whereas Jonathan and Anna don't do that, with their kids. So I think that's definitely, very bad of brain, really. They just want attention, they want love, and they are not getting it so they are doing whatever they can, acting out, as you would as a child to do that, to get that.

I: And is there a way you could tell me what you dislike most about the SacconeJolys?

R: Oof, god that's hard to pinpoint, hmm..

I: Ah well you can go on about something, everything.

R: Ehmmm..why I say possibly most of all I, this whole clickbait-crap. I am so sick of this pregnancy. I am, I am in the camp of the miscarriage didn't happen. I strongly believe that.

I: Hmmhmm

R: So I just, I hate the clickbait. Anna's been pregnant for so damn long and they're just they're such hypocrites. Same about the whole, they don't want, they're afraid of their privacy being taken away and that, people will be showing up at the hospital and stuff yet every single freaking, the, baby is in every single title. Ehm..and it's just not fair and they're screwing with the minions really, you know, like that snapchat a while ago of Anna in the hospital and everyone is losing their shit thinking that's it they're, she's giving birth and all this, and it's just not fair, it's not fair to the viewers and it's just really annoying, you know, you don't do that as a normal human being. You wouldn't do that. You would get called out very fast, if you tried to scam people in any way you've worked. Do you know? So that really annoys me.

I: And when did you decide to join the forum?

R: Ehmm..

I: Were you also a member of the GuruGossiper board? For the SacconeJolys?

R: I was on GuruGossiper, I still am on GuruGossiper, I was also on the deleted forum, last summer.

I: Yeah

R: And then this one as well so I've just been following ehm, what's going on. That's, the one thing I follow very closely, is the forum. I joined the forum because I was actually googling something about the kids, because I noticed when they were very small, that they didn't have stairgates. In the house. I was like, you can't do that with two kids, you know, two toddlers, really. So I don't know, I was googling about them, then I came across the forum and I just got really, like it opened my eyes. Things I hadn't really noticed, because what I said I was kind of passive watching. Ehm.. it's just, it's so enthralling, it really is.

I: And can you tell me something about the forum? So what goes on there, and what do people talk about?
R: Everything. They criticize and they analyse everything that goes on. Sometimes it's a bit, like crazy, and obsessive. They you know, they create scenes in their heads, that doesn't happen, you know, oh my god, you know, Eduardo he looked at Emilia, with like this terror, you know, with anger in his eyes and he's just playing by himself you know I mean like, what, what's going on? But a lot of things is true, a lot of, you know they are very good for documenting things you know. Ehm, the car seat thing, over and over and over again, do you know? Ehm, they've documented that, they documented examples of them driving with the car seats, faulty ehm, they document even the freaking you know, yourself, the manuals, how the manuals say it's supposed to look and how it, the exact comparison of how it's not. So they are very good for that now, they are, they can be a bit crazy and fights, there's a lot of repetition as well which is annoying sometimes, ehm, but I suppose sometimes it's very quiet over there.
I: And what do you not agree with, when it's talked about on the forum?
R: Pff.. I don't know.
I: When do you think they are being too crazy?
R: When, when they, eh, this whole Anna is, fat, is Anna not fat crap? Sometimes it goes on for pages and pages and I'm just like, I, we don't need everyone's opinion, do you know? I agree, I disagree, I agree, I disagree, well I disagree as well, well I agree, do you know? That's great but we need to, that's not the point, that's not the point of the forum. We are here to criticize them but not for pages and pages on the same topic. You know, that we have done, a week ago, and a week before that and a week before that. So ehm, yeah. Sometimes it just gets a bit..too much.. to be honest.
I: And do you visit the forum often?
R: Every day, or every second day.
I: And you mentioned you are more of a lurker, what does that mean?
R: Ehm, I just watch what's going on, I read what people are saying, I don't really contribute to the conversation because usually I don't have anything to say, because as I said, I don't watch them, I don't follow them, super closely on Twitter or on Instagram or I don't have them on Snapchat. So, I get my information from there, so I don't have anything to add to it really. Ehm.. plus I don't know..I'm just, I'm afraid of getting into arguments and stuff, do you know?
I: Why?
R: Because it can go mental sometimes.
I: Yeah, and I think you had about three posts? What were the things that made you post?
R: Geez I don't even know what I posted, I can't remember. I know I posted this morning about oh, spring, because I'm on the same boat as ehm, I suppose, Jonathan is. With the whole spring, when is spring? Spring is different in different countries.
I: Yeah
R: So I understand that he was confused, as like, I mean I'm not sticking up for him but like I get his confusion, I don't think it's stupid. Because I mean if I said, oh spring is the first of February, the french people, I'm half

french, the french would be like, no, you're insane, it's still winter. So it really depends on where you are, so I was just trying to give a bit of an example, because I suppose I am from his country, so..and we're all different that's what's fantastic that's what makes it amazing. But sometimes you need to like, give a bit of context as well.
I: Yeah. What do you think about, eh, the other people on the forum. You already said you liked that they're good at documenting things?
R: Yeah.
I: How's the, how's the atmosphere, how do you, eh, feel in the group?
R: I actually like it for the most part, there's one of two people that drive me insane but I mean we have some fantastic characters and personalities, like scar, b-bopper, I know you're talking to mazy, earlier on in the week..
I: She was wonderful
R: I remember her first post she like, made a complete, like an instant impact, and you will watch out for people like that and that's really interesting. They're very vivid, you know, we're just usernames at the end of the day with random photos. Ehm, so you can, kind of, you need the personality to kind of, stand out a bit, and it's really interesting.
I: How do you feel about being anonymous on the forum? With the username, and the vague pictures?
R: I person...I have nothing to hide, I don't. I will happily stand out and scream I HATE THE SACCONJOLYS, I'm part of the forum, I have done the emails, I have complained, I have no problem I mean that's just how it is on the forum but if it was like a more personalized thing I wouldn't be too bothered, I'll be like, that's fine. Do you know what I have nothing to hide. At the end of the day, we're trying to do a good thing, we're trying to help the kids, and we're trying to like, get rid of those followers that like, hang on to their every freaking word for no reason, so. No I have no problem.
I: Why do you feel there are people that still believe in them so much? So, you called them minions? Why do they keep following, when 'we' clearly see everything that is wrong?
R: Well, you know, because people are delusional, they don't want to, you know, something is, if you believe something so much, and you're proven wrong, you find it very very diffi...it's human nature, to not want especially if you.....ugh, sorry.
I: It's okay.
R: I know I'm going on tangents, and as a journalist, this would drive me insane. So I'm trying to make full sentences for you.
I: It's all valuable data.
R: Are you quoting me actually? Or?
I: Ehm, I'm not sure, I think I just have to code all the interviews and find if there's like similarities and stuff.
R: Okay, so you are not necessarily quoting. Okay, that's grand, that's fine, so I don't have to really think, too hard.
I: No, not at all.
R: Eh...well, the question was, the question was, oh the minions. Ehm, yeah it's human nature to follow someone to admire someone and to want to put them into this idol, idol status. Ehm, where they are better

than you, not necessarily, I wouldn't say superiour, but like, they are more succesful, they have more money, they are more beautiful they have more, ehm, you know, accomplishments and things going for them, and you look up to that, and you want to, be like them I suppose. So if they have a fault, then you'll be at fault if you're...you know, you don't have a fault if you're as good as them, do you know? So especially like, 12 year olds, which are the..average range age range of the SacconeJolys..they don't really know, I mean, you know, they have never raised kids, they don't know what it's like. They are kids themselves, so they don't really know, ehm, what's better, what's out there. And as SaconneJolys are part of like Gleam-crowd.

I: Hmmhmm..

R: They have more focus on them, so, they are more popular. So it's cool to follow them I suppose, do you know?

I: And ehm, you are a member of other boards, so do you post there, maybe more often than you would post on this one?

R: No, I don't post very often at all. Ehm..usually because I would, GuruGossip, I don't get a chance, I go once every blue moon, so I have pages and pages and pages to catch up on. And again, I said, I really have nothing to say, everything that needs to be said, has been said.

I: Yeah

R: So there is no need for me

I: And is like, the SJ forum, is it different from the GuruGossip board or other boards on GuruGossip?

R: Ehm. No, not really. It's faster, definitely, GuruGossip was a nightmare there, for a while, before we moved. But no, there's nothing particularly different, no.

I: Okay well I think that was all of my questions, but if you have any more questions?

R: No no that's fine. When is it due?

I: Ah, the 31st of March, so that's really quickly.

R: Aaah, same as me!!

TRANSCRIPT VAN INTERVIEW 03L

I: Okay so before we start I have to ask you if you are okay with me recording this conversation for later data analysis?

R: Yes that's obviously fine, apologies for doing it this way, I'd just find it easier. Hope you understand.

I: It's alright, it works fine for me! It might take a little longer than 30 minutes though. So, are you ready for the first question?

R: Yes, hit me

I: Do you remember when you first saw a video of the SacconeJolys?

R: Yes... I've watched them on and off for a number of years. I watched Anna's personal channel and I found the vlogs from there

I: What did you think about the videos? ...Both Anna's personal ones and the vlogs?

R: Well, I enjoyed Anna's videos a lot pre-pregnancies...she was a lot happier and her videos very informative. I found the vlogs pre-pregnancies to be alright, they were a bit boring at times so...I wouldn't watch them as often as I watched Anna's videos. ...It was only after they had Emilia I started noticing things that led me to the gossip forum.

I: What kind of things?

R: The fact that they used threats of hoping she was stillborn as publicity made me feel a little...uneasy, but I guess I just brushed it off. Then when she was born...she passed out at a few months old and they just kind of laughed it off without getting any medical attention. I don't know...they would leave her for long periods at a time unattended...and there was a couple of inappropriate, sort of, exchanges between Jonathan and Emilia, where he fed her yoghurt and put lotion on her, that I found abnormal and disturbing. I searched him online and that's where I found the forum, and others who shared my concerns.

I: And do you watch any other vloggers?

R: I don't watch any other family daily vloggers... I don't agree with the concept of it myself. I do watch Louise Pentland, who sometimes films her daughter, but I think it is the extent to which the SJs film their children that I just find worrying.

I: You don't enjoy other family vloggers? Why?

R: I personally don't think it's right to film your children daily without their consent, just to make money. There are varying degrees of it to take into account, but daily is too much in my opinion, particularly when the children have no comprehension of why they are being filmed.

I: And maybe other vlogs, non-family daily videos? Do you watch those?

R: I watch vlogs from vloggers like The Anna Edit, Lily Pebbles, Tanya Burr, etcetera, but I don't watch every vlog they upload

I: Have you seen any recent SJ vlogs? Do you still watch them occasionally?

R: I don't watch them unless someone in the forum mentions a specific scene they want to discuss. I still watch Anna's personal videos from time to time though. There was an incident yesterday where someone mentioned Jonathan filming Emilia's private area, which

turned out to be a false alarm, but I went onto the vlog to report it for nudity.

I: Can you tell me something about the way Anna and Jonathan present themselves in the vlogs?

R: I think Jonathan puts on an act, definitely. I also think it's inappropriate for him to refer to his young audience as 'friends', as it's sending out the wrong message to them, and his children. He acts all hyper and 'in your face' whereas when he is in other people's videos he appears more shy, withdrawn. I don't think he knows how to properly interact with adults socially, hence his internet obsession.

I: What do you think he's like "backstage", when the cameras are off?

R: I don't think he's as hands on as he likes to portray, definitely. I always remember he's the one in control, he decides what to show in the vlogs and what to edit out. I think he likes to paint himself as a brilliant family man, while portraying his wife in a negative light, by filming her in moods, waiting on her in bed, flinching away from his touch, etcetera. Yet Anna has mentioned in her own videos he doesn't like her wearing certain colours, and that he opens her private mail. Obviously, no one can know what goes on behind the camera, but from all I have seen, he is definitely not as he appears...

I: And what about Anna?

R: Obviously I'm not an expert, but I think she's clearly unhappy. It's clear from her recent videos she's not interested in Youtube anymore...the difference between her content now and pre-children is eye opening. She doesn't appear to have many interests or hobbies, or any friends outside her hired help. She has admitted herself she sometimes doesn't leave the house for days.

I: Hmmhmm..

R: I think she has some unresolved issues following her father's death...she's spoken about having an eating disorder but from what I have seen I think there is more to it. This is obviously speculation though.

I: And how do you feel about that?

R: I think it's quite sad that she is spending her life doing something that clearly doesn't make her happy. I do think she is a little narcissistic though, along with her husband. I think it's so peculiar how they spend their mealtimes watching themselves on previous vlogs on television. I think she focuses a lot on herself and doesn't think about how what she and her husband are doing will affect their children. She's too absorbed in herself and her own issues.

I: Have you seen their profiles and content on social media? Snapchat, or Twitter?

R: I have seen their Twitter profiles, and recently added Anna on SnapChat to see what all the fuss was about re what she feeds her kids.

I: How do they present themselves there? Anything different from the vlogs?

R: I think Anna lets her guard down a lot more on social media, in terms of talking back to 'haters' and sticking up for her husband re the rape joke, etcetera. I have seen tweets of her making fun of people, and calling people crazy for finding her husband's jokes offensive. Jonathan is much more reserved and professional, albeit for a few spelling/grammar issues. I think he lets the vlogs do the talking and is more reserved on social media, and Anna is the complete opposite.

I: What do you think about the kids?

R: The children are the reason I visit the forum. I understand why people have failed to understand us, if you get me. Like, why am I so invested in children I don't know? Because they don't have a voice. Everyday, since birth, they have been exploited...their private moments shown to over a million people, so their parents can make money. They don't care about stalkers, or paedophiles. They made a whole other channel dedicated to filming their children's private moments for money. They bribe them to say things for the vlog, which in my opinion makes them working. If their parents vlog and call it working, how can they sit back and say their children aren't? They don't even look their children in the eye when talking to them, they look at the camera. They get their children to refer to strangers as friends, with no concerns about stranger danger despite documented threats made against them. I just find it sickening how it is allowed to be honest.

I: What would you say you dislike most about the SJs?

R: Their exploitation of their children, pure and simple. You should work hard to provide for your children, not the other way about.

I: You already mentioned you joined the forum after Emilia was born, was this the GuruGossip board? Were you a frequent visitor?

R: Yes, under the same username. I wouldn't say frequently...I am much more frequent on the current board. I think ever since the Radio Times competition where Jonathan lured his young audience onto an adult chat site to manipulate them for votes, I have been much more active.

I: Can you give me a summary of what happened with the competition and the adult chat site?

R: Basically Jonathan was wanting to win this competition, bribing his young audience to vote for him and he would do things for them like a Q&A and a camera giveaway. He invited them to Omegle, the adult chat site, as part of it. I found that just so terribly wrong. Especially as it was very late at night.

I: And can you tell me something about the current forum? What goes on there, what do you talk about?

R: We talk about a variety of issues! Jonathan's obsession with clickbait, the children's diet... The topics vary in seriousness, from their looks to their exploitation of the children. I don't agree with everything that is said, but nothing anyone says there can be any worse than what the SacconeJolys do to their own kids, so I only converse when and if I feel it is appropriate.

I: Do you have an example of something you don't agree with?

R: People can sometimes err on the verge of inappropriate in terms of criticising the children. I understand some people do it to portray it as a reflection of their parents treatment of them, but some people take it too far I feel. But everyone has varying opinions on what is right and what is wrong.

I: Do you visit the forum often?

R: Currently, I visit it everyday due to personal circumstances. I am currently unemployed so have more free time lol. Before New Year I would visit maybe every couple of days, or every week depending on work and free time.

I: And what makes you post?

R: A combination of things, really. A concern for the children, to rant, to vent, to get things off my chest. Recently, I admit I do use it as a way to combat boredom and retract from my own personal issues as well. An outlet where no one knows me.

I: You enjoy the anonymity?

R: Not in terms of the SacconeJolys. I firmly believe in everything I say on the forum and have stated my opinions using my real name on their vlog comments and on social media. I stand by my opinions re the children and I'm not 'hiding behind a keyboard', for all some may disagree. I would happily meet with them face to face to discuss my concerns. However, on a personal level I like the fact that I have the freedom to air my opinions without fear of judgement from people I know in real life.

I: What do you think about the other members on the forum?

R: I genuinely think they are all caring people who share my concerns for the children. Obviously, I appreciate there must be personal reasons as to why some of us frequent the board as often as we do, but from what they post they all seem empathic, level-headed... Give or take a few minor disagreements, but no one gets on perfectly in real life either, I guess.

I: Oh, the disagreements.

R: I know, lol! We are all very opinionated haha...

I: Are you a member of other websites like this? Do you also talk about other family vloggers?

R: No, I've never felt as strongly about anyone else as I do about the SJs. Maybe because I haven't really watched any other family vloggers? I think I am so concerned regarding the SJs because I watched them before they had children and kind of watched it all unfold in front of me, I guess

I: Well I think those were all my questions, I'm sorry it took a bit longer than expected but I want to say I appreciate you talking to me very much since I've had some trouble finding people willing to haha

R: No problem at all! Answering these questions has kind of benefitted me as well, working out why I think the way I do, etc

I: That's good to hear! I was so intrigued by the forum and the way people discuss this (and I agree with a lot of stuff discussed) I wanted to know a bit more about it and try to go a bit deeper. And my university liked the idea haha

R: That would be great, thank you! I wish you all the best with it and hope you get the results you're working so hard for :)

TRANSCRIPT VAN INTERVIEW 04A

I: Then I can start this... Ehm, so, do you remember the first video you saw of the SacconeJolys and maybe, just, when, it was?

R: Yeah. Ehm, it's a really weird story. I..eh, I have no idea about the YouTube world I thought YouTube was just for like, ehm, watching commercials and like music videos (laughs). Like that's how like, not in with it, I am. But ehm, I was on Facebook one time and I was looking up my sister in law before she was married to my brother, and I looked up her name, she has the exact, her maiden name is the exact same name as Anna, Saccone, ehm, as weird as that is. And when I looked her up I accidentally clicked on this Anna Saccone, and I was like, that's weird, interesting, like, you know, like follow her on YouTube, so I'm like, that's so..that's super weird so I checked it out. And she was pregnant, at the time, with..Emil...Emilia??

I: Yeah, Emilia.

R: And ehm, she was pregnant at the time with her, and eh, I saw that she did like makeup tutorials and I'm like wooww this is like super weird, and ehm, I'm interested in human behaviour, I have a masters in social work, so, I was just, interested? In, like, watching people's behaviour, like, people putting out their behaviours for the whole world to see. And I thought it was a little bit narcissistic (laughs) like, what's so amazing about you that you think that (laughs) people are interested in your day-to-day boring actions? Ehm...so...I just, it was like a trainwreck, I just couldn't stop watching. It was interesting, and weird at the same time. At least, to me. I: But what did you think about them, then, at first?

R: Ehm, at first, ehm...

I: Did you like them at all? Or were you skeptical?

R: Ehm...I thought that Jonathan was a bit of an annoying...performer...ehm, and I thought that, I, oh, I've always felt Anna's a narcissist. (laughs) I think she's more of a narcissist than Jonathan. I think Jonathan needs validation...

I: And why do you call him a performer?

R: Ehm.....eh... Just from what I've observed, with his behaviour. When he is on his blogs, he is...his behaviour in happiness is just amplified and glorified and...nobody is...like that (laughs) in real life, at least people that I've ever met. And if you see him in the background of like other people's video, he's just a normal quiet person.

I: Hmmhmm... And ehm..

R: Just typical, like, everybody.

I: You mentioned you didn't really know this side of YouTube, but now that you've been watching this, do you watch any other vloggers? Maybe other family-vlogs, or non family vlogs?

R: Ehm, no. I don't like familyvloggers, I think it's...I don't believe in, putting your children up, on the internet for the world to see. I'm completely fine with, posting on like Facebook, you know, ehm, things like that for your family, like....my family lives across the country and are constantly begging me to put pictures of my daughter up.

I: Hmmhmm

R: And I have it, in a secure environment, private, for my family and friends to see. Not for the world. Because

she, my daughter can't give me permission. Ehm..but I watch, Casey Neistat. Ehm...I think he's pretty interesting. He actually lives an interesting life (laughs)..so..

I: Yeah, he sure does.

R: But that's about it, other than that, I just...look up like make-up tutorials, and I listen to a lot of music on it, with my daughter...so...

I: What YouTubers do you watch make-up tutorials of?

R: Ehm...

I: Do you know their names?

R: Basically whoever pops up.

I: Okay (laughs)

R: (laughs) It's ehm, yeah like, I'm just not that interested in...although, I have come across Tanya Burr?

I: Yeah

R: I tend to like watching her stuff, ehm...not necessarily like her make-up stuff. But she seems to have her shit going. Like, she seems to have her shit together.

I: Have you seen her vlogs?

R: Yes, I've seen a few.

I: What do you think?

R: Ehm...I think she's a go-getter. Ehm, and I like that she only vlogs when things are interesting. She doesn't like, look at me, I'm eating, something, how cool is that? You know, she only vlogs when fun things are happening...ehm...but yeah. I think she's, I think she's setting herself up for something...past YouTube. Which I don't think the SacconeJolys are.

I: Okay, why not?

R:Ehm, the world is constantly evolving with technology, and media, and all that. I really think that YouTube, like, the blogging, is going out. And I feel like Tanya has like, her cosmetics thing, she you know, obviously, I don't know if I agree with why she got the deals but at least she's setting herself up where the SacconeJolys have calendars. And that's a little bit narcissistic too (laughs) like, who wants a calendar of the random, like, of a random family? Ehm, I don't know. They just don't seem to have their...I don't know, that's just my opinion.

I: And have you seen any recent vlogs? Do you still watch them?

R: Ehm, yeah. To be quite honest, like, and maybe this is too much information, but it's my bathroom..eh..video. Like, when I have to go take a shit, that's what I watch.

I: (laughs)

R: (laughs) like...

I: So you would say...

R: I used to watch it everyday because I was like ohh, you know, I just like, I used to like, to be interested. But when things started not making sense to me, and behaviours didn't match with what they were saying, and I noticed inconsistencies with things that they were saying. I was just like, oh, this is fucking stupid. And I just resorted to like, when I was going to the bathroom, just sitting on the toilet, and watching it.

I: So it's...quite daily? That you watch them..?

R: Oh yeah. But I do a lot of skimming too, through it.

I: Okay

R: Now. I just can't stand them, really. But it's like a trainwreck, I can't not look.

I: And ehm, can you, you already said a little bit about this, about Jonathan...being...the way you feel he is a

performer. But can you tell me something about the way that Anna and Jonathan present themselves, in the vlogs?

R: Ehm....obnoxious, is Jonathan. And...I don't...I think Anna is a reserved person, and that's completely fine, ehm, I do think she has ehm..I do think she has mental issues, I'm not quite sure if they are what they...what she claims them to be...

I: Hmmhmm

R: Ehm, I don't know if she has full-on bulimia, but she definitely has an unhealthy relationship with food. Ehm, from what I've gathered, from watching her.

Ehm...yeah. I just, it just...I've noticed just so many inconsistencies with the things that they've done...first with the card. Because I was around when the card happened, and... that's when I was just like, and... I truly believe that Jonathan was behind that...people...I'm, I'm quite well off. Ehm, I'm not like, go on a private jet plane, you know, well off.

I: Hmmhmm

R: But I am in a position where if I want to go to Paris tomorrow, I can get a ticket first class and go.

I: That's nice

R: (laughs) I'm very fortunate, my family has given me...and my siblings, very comfortable life, ehm... And...I see people in the town that I live in, the city I live in is very, glitz and glamour, ehm...and I see...people do less for more money. You know? Have done, like, shit for... And really, I think it's for money. Like, money is the root of all evil, and...views to them, and crazy things, equal money. And I don't blame them, who wouldn't be after like, money...I mean...people can say what they want about me, I didn't necessarily earn the money that I have, ehm...my parents did...(laughs) Eh...and, trust me I have like my, you know, fashion houses, items..

I: Hmmhmm

R: But, they are super super flashy. And it's almost like they need that validation. With, all of their fanciness.

I: Do you think it's real?

R: What? Their items? Or...

I: No, well no..their presentation of themselves?

R: No. No, uhm, I think Anna's probably a fucking psycho-bitch. To her, behind..to Jonathan behind the scenes. I can almost guarantee it. She, she, definitely, ehm..and I don't...I...I don't to diagnose...

I: You can!

R: But ehm...I'm just so like, I used to work as a therapist, I don't have a job now, I quit, I'm a stay at home mom now. I volunteer with people with mental illness now, and ehm..she definitely has something.

I: What do you think goes on there when the camera is not on? Besides from Anna being crazy?

R: (laughs) Ehm, I'm sure there is probably fights like, oh my gosh I can't believe you recorded me doing that, and you better get rid of it, and you're so annoying (laughs) ehm...eh...I don't know (laughs)

I: Do you foll..do you follow Anna or Jonathan on social media? So, maybe Twitter or Snapchat?

R: No....ehm..I don't have either. I'm not a big social media person. I have Facebook, I rarely ever get on, the only time I ever get on is when like, family is begging me for pictures, or I want to see pictures of my family and friends.

I: Hmmhmm. Have you seen maybe some of her snaps, or his tweets?

R: I have. Yes, I've seen them. I just don't watch them religiously.

I: What do you think about them?

R: Ehm...from what I've noticed, her snaps are just, like, vlogging. Ehm...I mean the same thing. Like, to be quite honest, I think it's a..she's losing money for the vlogging channel, because maybe her core audience ehm...that really only goes to watch her, she's already giving away the goods, the day before, you know.

I: And Jonathan's tweets? Because he doesn't snap much

R: Oh yeah. The ones that I've seen on the thread (laughs) he's so dumb.

I: Why?

R: Eh..... ..eh... He is in a public position. Fucking spell your shit right.

I: (laughs)

R: (laughs) Like...like, oh my g...I mean, I can understand a mistake here and there, like, instead of the you put teh, or something, instead of the, ehm...but you're a grown person, clearly with an education, which I still think is questionable, I think he only holds one masters, there's no evidence that proves otherwise.

Ehm...eh...and he ju...I think so badly, he wants to be...a comedian, and, he just, he isn't. And he needs to accept that. You know? He's not funny (laughs), he has no punchline.

I: Okay...I know this is a hard question, but, can you maybe, eh, what you dislike most about the SacconeJolys?

R: Ehm....right now, because I have a daughter, and, it really became like apparent like once I became pregnant, was, them putting their children out for the whole world to see, and using the excuse 'we're creating memories for them'

I: Hmmhmm

R: Ehm, and using them for financial gain. I take videos of my daughter pretty much every day...there's not a day that goes by I don't have pictures taken of her, or, you know, I'm like, ohhh, you know, she's crawling today, or, she ate this for the first time. I don't put it out for the world to see for financial gain. And I think that's the difference. That's what's most upsetting, and...their inconsistencies with their stories. Ehm, their whole miscarriage?

I: Yeah

R: I, I believe she had a miscarriage, I do not believe...it happened how they said it did. Ehm...just there were too...there was too many inconsistencies, and, the stories that they've told about it, when it happened, on camera..ehm..just..yeah.. And to be quite honest, I don't think Anna was that hurt, by it. To be quite honest (Ilaughs), if I'm being..everybody said that she was just so, ehm, eh...like a lot of people said that she just didn't show so much emotion, and stuff..I completely agree, but I think it's just because she didn't see it as like a huge failure. It was just something like, oh well, you know, I didn't really want it anyways, so, shit happens and just...move on.

I: What do you think about the kids?

R: Ehm...Emilia, eh...I think that the people on the thread don't get like..the..I don't comment, I just read a

lot, I only posted once on there. I don't give they give her as much credit. I think she's doing pretty well, she seems pretty well-adjusted. Ehm, but she does seem to be a performer, and I think that them recording her, she's going to have a lot of issues...eh...when she gets older. Not knowing the difference between eh...I don't know...Because I think that Jonathan makes her...play it up, for the camera. Which is weird. Ehm. It would be one thing if he just observed his children. Like me, when I take personal videos of my child. I'm observing their behaviour, ehm not telling them do this, do that. Ehm, I think that will cause a lot of issues when she is older. And Eduardo, I...ehm..just seems typical...two year old..three, almost three. I mean, everybody like talks about the hitting, and stuff. Ehm, he does do that an awful lot.

I: Yeah

R: Ehm...but, I think a lot of little children are like that, when they have siblings. I know my nieces ehm..my one niece that's one and a half, you know, bangs on her five year old sister a lot. I mean, it's just a learning curve, for children. I just feel sorry for them. That, I don't feel sorry that they have a nanny, I have somebody that comes, and helps with my daughter, all the time. I have nothing against that, I'm in a lucky position where I have somebody that can come watch my child...whenever..and I'm the stay at home mom.

I: Hmmhmm

R: So I don't judge that, ehm...I..I just...they won't admit to anything (laughs) like, I'll be the first to admit, like, I'll go crazy if like, my babysitter can't come...like on certain days. Like, you know, I need that time for myself and, all that. And just that they can't admit to those things. I think that that makes them less relatable...than...because, a lot of people complain about ohhh they are showy, they are showy, which they are, they are not very humble, in the aspect of having nice things..ehm..but what I find the most appalling is that they can't admit that they get help, with their children.

I: Yeah.

R: And...because...I believe in the saying it takes a village to raise a child. I know a babysitter, I know my husband, I know my mom...my mom is actually coming today, to watch her for a little while, ehm...like...it's just, it's just ridiculous to be quite honest. They can't take the heat when people complain, or ehm ask questions, so they just pretend like it doesn't exist..

I: You mean...they leave it out?

R: Yeah...or...at least they try to (laughs) they've been caught a few times, but...ehm..yeah.

I: And when did you join the forum? Were you also already a visitor of the GuruGossip board?

R: Yes, yes. I would visit that.

I: And would you post there too?

R: No. So far, I have only posted one time. Onto this new board.

I: So why did you join?

R: Ehm...to me, I've always liked, like, celebrity gossip, like, ehm..like one of my favorite channels here is E!, I like E! News..

I: Yeah...

R: I don't like the reality shows, but I do like E! News, and ehm...I've just always liked that. And...when I was

noticing inconsistencies with things they were doing and saying, I was like "this can't be true!" so I typed...I think it was..ehm, I think it was the card, maybe, that I was a little like...the first thing where I was like what the fuck? You know?

I: Hmmhmm

R: And I googled it, and GuruGossip came up. And I was like, oh, that's interesting. So I clicked on it, and...I was like, wow, I'm not the only one, like, thank god (laughs)...like...so..

I: And ehm, can you tell me something about the forum, this current forum, what goes on, and what do people talk about?

R: Ehm....some of the people talk about petty shit. Like, you know, I just read, and observe. I think some hate, just to hate, you know? And I think some have good...eh, some have good valid points...ehm...some of the girls can get snarky with eachother..which is, weird, to me, like, when they do.

I: Why?

R: Just because like some of the things aren't, to me, are a reason to get snarky (laughs)...like...like eh...I don't like when people post about the children's looks and weight in a derogatory way. If they show concern, ehm..that's okay, like, they are concerned with their weight, they are concerned with their hair...but when they just shame them, I just kind of get an icky feeling...but for the most part, that's not happening. There's probably like one or two that do, ehm...the most, the majority are concerned people.

I: Why are they concerned?

R: Because these...well first of all, somebody who basically, the couple has basically lied (laughs) to like get to where they are...ehm...which I just...is disgusting...ehm..they can say it's hard work, bullshit. Ehm, I, you know, yes I have a lot of money but my parents made me work from the time I was sixteen and I worked some pretty shitty jobs, through high school, and, college...I...their job is not hard. I can assure that. Ehm...and... ..I'm sorry, I lost my train of thought.

I: That's okay. Do you visit the forum often?

R: Uhm, yeah, like every day.

I: Before or after you watch the vlog?

R: Ehm, it used to be after, now it's before.

I: Why?

R: Ehm...because I don't...I just dislike them...so much...(laughs)...like...I just don't like them.

I: What...

R: And basically, like I told you, I use...I watch the vlogs when I have to shit (laughs)...so..

I: (laughs)

R: So, if I don't have to shit in the morning....

I: You visit before, that makes sense (laughs)

R: (laughs)

I: You said you only posted once, eh, what made you post?

R: Ehm, it was, it just pissed me off so much, when ehm...the White Moose cafe guys came to visit...

I: Yeah

R: Ehm...ehh...when they came to visit and they caught the nanny, whoever, the babysitter, ehm, on the Snapchat, and then, they completely took her out of it in the blog of the next day, and then like, picked up the kids from school, and bla bla bla, even though the nanny

was clearly around. Ehm...it just pissed me off that like, why will they not admit to this shit, like...what is so wrong with admitting that you are normal?

I: Why do you think they don't admit it?

R: I think that they want to...eh..well first of all, another cast-member, (laughs) takes away from their screentime...and I really think they want it all to be about them them them...and...I just think they want to appear like they are hardworking and do it all, and ehm, they're just the most amazing people on earth. I really think it's to boost their ego. Like, oh my god, you are sooo amazing, like Jonathan continually needs validation, for everything...ehm...and...Anna is just a narcissist, and it's all about her.

I: What do you think about the other members on the forum?

R: Eh, some of them are fucking funny. Eh, some of them are funny, there's only one that I kind of...rubs me the wrong way, but...that's all. They're pretty funny ladies..

I: Are you a member of any other, like, websites like this? So you mentioned GuruGossip?

R: Oh, no, no. This is..no..

I: This is the only board?

R: Yeah, and to be quite honest, this is like way out of character for me..ehm, but...I'm just amazed, sheer amazed at how...people can lie their way to a shit-ton of money (laughs), like, I think is why I'm so interested in it. It's how they, and how people don't notice?! Like, ugh...it just amazes me, but then again, their core audience, are a bunch of tweens. And they don't fact-check and...all that. So..

TRANSCRIPT VAN INTERVIEW 05J

I: When did you first see a video of the SacconeJolys?
R: Ehm, probably..I think...oh..must have been maybe three years ago?
I: Okay
R: I think Emilia was like one, so..
I: Yeah that should be three years ago
R: Yeah
I: And what did you think about them at first? Did you like them?
R: Yeah, I did like them at first. But there was something off about them that I couldn't put my finger on.
I: Do you watch any other vloggers?
R: Ehm, not family vloggers. Just like, normal, random vlogs. I like BugsVlogs I think?
I: Why not other familyvloggers?
R: I just haven't found any other ones that I like, really. Well I don't really like the SacconeJolys actually.
I: (laughs)
R: Sorry.
I: What do you think about vlogging?
R: Ehm, I think it's fine, as long as they, like, don't make the vlog about the children. They need to make it about themselves, because those kids obviously can't consent.
I: Do you have a favourite channel on YouTube?
R: Hmm, yeah. I would say..probably (incomprehensible) like, beautyvloggers.
I: So it would be vloggers that you like the most to watch?
R: Yeah, yeah.
I: And do you still sometimes watch some of the SacconeJoly vlogs?
R: Uhm, yeah occasionally. If I see there's been like, some drama, or if I'm like, superbored.
I: What's the last one you watched?
R: Uhm, probably, I don't know. Maybe it was a few days ago, I'll have a look actually.
I: Did you see their video of, the skit, for the red nose day?
R: No, I didn't (incomprehensible), it seems quite funny. I watched ehm, oh the one that says "Is she having contractions?" (laughs)
I: Aahaa...
R: That was the one
I: That one
R: Yeah
I: Can you tell me something about the way that Anna and Jonathan present themselves, in the vlogs?
R: Ehm, well they think they're pretty high and mighty. Jonathan is quite childish, he pretends he doesn't know things that he should know or I'm pretty sure he does know. Maybe it's to appeal to like, their young audience. I'm not really sure.
I: And Anna?
R: Anna is the perfect mum, you know. She tries to present it that way. But, you can tell, that she's not actually doing anything (laughs) that she should be..she's always in bed, she's a princess.
I: What do you think about, that?
R: Ehm, I think it's not really, like, like it's kind of like a fake thing that they present to their viewers...they're like so young they're only like ten or twelve or

something. Ehm, like, anyone who is like older they can see that it is not really how it is, like that's only fifteen minutes of them probably like, making everything look perfect. Whereas it's not actually like that in real life. Or if you don't have help...like, they obviously have a nanny. So, you know. They just make it look like the perfect family life, pretty much.
I: And what do you think happens when the camera is not on?
R: Ehm...hmm..
I: Is it very different, you think?
R: I'd say it would be, yeah. I would, I don't think that ehm, I'd like to say that ehm, I do feel like Anna does, like, pinch the kids, because you know, whenever she's mad at them they're like ohhh, completely like shitting themselves, pretty much. Yeah, I reckon she does just things like that, like, she's quite manipulative, I think, like mean.
I: And what do you think about Jonathan?
R: Ehm..I think he's not as dumb as what he puts out he says, he's kinda smart, really. I'm not really sure what's going on with all those mouth shots lately though... (laughs)
I: (laughs) Do you..
R: It's so...
I: Go ahead
R: Ehm...yeah, no, I don't think he's half as dumb as he puts out but he's also not as smart as what he thinks if you know what I mean..
I: Hmmhmm
R: He keeps saying he has all these degrees and like, he's like, starting a busi... Do you remember when he said he was starting a business and nothing ever happened?
I: Uhu (laughs)
R: Yeah. Although they do, they're like overdoing the ehm, the clickbait titles...like even all these, all their fans, are like, oh like, you need to stop. Ehm...yeah no they do know how to play with the audience, essentially. It's their job.
I: Yeah... Do you follow either Anna or Jonathan on social media? I think Anna has SnapChat, and they use Twitter and Instagram?
R: Oh yep, I don't follow them on Instagram, but I do, I did follow them on Twitter but I got blocked (laughs)
I: (laughs) why? What happened?
R: Uhm, I got blocked by Anna because I said they should buy, they should buy like a water filter thing to set on the beach instead of bottled water every single day because it's quite bad for the environment so I got blocked there. And then, ehm, Jonathan blocked me because I said they shouldn't have taken their kid on that flight when he obviously had chicken pocks.
I: Yeah...from Sorrento...
R: Yeah, (incomprehensible), but ehm, yeah I do follow Anna's SnapChat but I can hardly watch it because my phone keeps crashing every time I go on SnapChat.
I: But you've seen some of them?
R: Yeah yep I've seen some of them
I: What do you think about them?
R: Ehm, it's just like normal snapchat really, she just puts filters on her face and looks pretty. It's quite boring, really.
I: Why is it boring?

R: Ehm, because everyone is doing that. Like if I wanted to see it, I could just look at my friend's Snapchat they're doing the same thing. She should do something more exciting. If she's supposed to be like the perfect, most exciting family.

I: And how do they present themselves on social media? Is it any different? From the vlogs?

R: Ehm... I wouldn't say it is different from other people, because you know like, Instagram is very fake. Ehm, in the sense that people don't actually look like that, like they are obviously posing and Anna does trick poses so that she looks nice, and like, perfect and everything...and then it's filled with some things like...Instagram is fake, though, I don't know if a lot of people realize that it's fake! Like, I don't have any problem with it being fake either, because it's just photos that you want to like nice in you know...but, ehm, Jonathan's Instagram is quite like terrible, it's very, it's not very good he doesn't put a lot of effort into it..like his spell-shaking is quite awful as well. Yeah I don't think they are any different from anyone else.

I: And what do you think about the kids?

R: Ehm, what do you mean? On social media?

I: Well, and in the vlogs. And..how do you, how do you see them?

R: Ehmm..well pretty much, I know Emilia, she understands that she has to do something cute or funny for the camera. And I'm pretty sure they get chocolate afterwards when they do something cool because she was like to Eduardo like: oooh, if you do this, you get chocolate, so he did it. I think he's a bit over it, and he's only like, two. But ehm, yeah, I think Emilia, she has some understanding, that, how she has to act when the camera is out.

I: Is there a way that you could tell me what you dislike most about them?

R: Ehm...well..blocking everyone, that's something. How they have to like, block all the haters and they delete comments constantly and go on rants about people, and it's like, most of the time it is nothing. Like, after my water bottle comment she had to go on Snapchat and have a rant about it...Like, she showed us stuff like putting a water bottle in the recycling bin and I was like, that's not what I was getting at though. You know, you're like, getting a bit over the top. I'm pretty sure they get a lot of comments and a lot of hate. That comment on the forum about them following up against that terrible terrible letter that he showed on the camera and saying that it probably is fake, like, that's really sad, like that's so bad. Just about anything for views I guess, that is, that is their job. Uh..

I: Do you think it was fake?

R: Yeah I think it was fake. I think they would not have been allowed to show it on the camera if they, if it wasn't fake, like that would be like, an evidence, actually.

I: Yeah, for an investigation, yeah ofcourse.

R: Yeah..like, and also, why would you show people that? That's so sad... And in his handwriting, someone did something where it like matched to it and stuff, and I was like, wait your kids are going to see this they don't need to know that someone really didn't like that about them.

I: Was that on the forum, the..with the handwriting?

R: Yes, yeah..not sure where though.

I: When did you, when did you join the forum? Were you also a member of the GuruGossiper board?

R: Ehm, I wasn't a member but I used to check it every now and again, but then I joined the new one because I was like "why is it so dead on here?" and then everyone had actually moved, so.

I: How did you get to the GuruGossiper board?

R: Ehm, there is this other YouTuber called Kalel, and I was trying to find some, something about her and then I found this like, forum what was like years ago that was four years ago or something. It was just talking shit about all these other Youtubers...

I: Yep

R: And I just fell in a black hole pretty much.

I: What do you mean?

R: Like, I just couldn't stop reading. I was like seeing all these opinions I hadn't even thought about, her like that. And I was like, oh, oh well. I still like you though, but you can tell. She's done some pretty like, terrible things, yeah.

I: What about...what about the SacconeJoly board?

When you read it, did you feel any different?

R: Yeah I did, because, there, when I read it I was like, oh, like, that's what I couldn't put my finger on, like, when I was watching them, like I was watching and I was like oh these vlogs, they, they're alright. And then I kept watching them but then I was like "there's something off about them" and then when I read about them and seeing all these people that were like saying that they don't like them because of this and this and this and they did this and I was like, oh, that's why I don't like them.

I: (laughs)

R: It was just put in writing so I could see it. So I agreed with it.

I: And you are also a member of the new forum right?

R: Yeah.

I: Yeah, and can you tell me something about what goes on there, so, what do people talk about?

R: Pretty much people talk about and comment on each like, each episode, because they come out pretty much daily so if you check back daily you can see what's happened in the last vlog. Like recently, it's been talking about, ehm, Jonathan's, like, rotten teeth, the kid's chocolate addiction, because they do feed their kids a lot of chocolate, I wish I was a kid and I could've eaten that much chocolate because I wouldn't even be able to get my hands on... ehm, ah yeah there was one about the dogs as well, how she was like, oh, I need to let the dogs out, and then, ehm, like complaining every time that they pee on the floor, and they're not really outside, everything, conspiracies on how they have help. Just I don't know, just things like that. It's quite petty, all of it really. But it's an interesting read.

I: Why petty?

R: Because...they're just people, like, if you don't like them, you don't watch them, pretty much. Like, you know, you don't need to have a forum (laughs), even though it's like fun to read and gossip on. You don't need it to be like, talking shit about people, you know, it's kind of mean, but, I don't really care I still read it.

I: How often do you visit the forum?

R: Probably...every...like, once a day. To see what anyone, posted anything interesting.

I: And do you post aswel?

R: Ehm, occasionally, if I have an opinion that I want to talk about but not so much as other people.

I: How often do you post? Because you said occasionally, but..?

R: Yeah maybe like, hmm let's say, every...a week or two weeks, it depends if something has happened, I guess.

I: What do you mean something happens?

What...does...ehm, do events make you post?

R: Ehm, yeah like, when they do like something like weird or stupid just like when they were looking for ehm a birthday venue for Eduardo and it was like this giant manor, and it's like, why, he's he's a baby you don't need to do that..

I: Yeah

R: Or, yeah, ehm, like, you know like, random things like that with Jonathan asking his fans because he wants them to look at a car for him, which they're like...they can't even drive.

I: Most of them can't, no.

R: Yeah, most of them, yeah.

I: And ehm, what do you think about the other members on the forum?

R: Ehm, yeah they are alright, everyone pretty much shares the same opinions. Sometimes they can like, fight, for ages. And it's like, shut up, it doesn't even matter anymore. About like, something..oh..I think one was like, eh, oh, if you, if you like put down their opinion they will all go psycho.

I: And are there things that you don't agree with? When it's talked about?

R: Ehm, yeah yeah, like that, yeah. If, if someone posts something and you're like, nah, that's not true, and you reply to them and be like, explain why that's not true. And, some of them, they'll be like...you'll end up in a fight with them.

I: You don't..?

R: That's what I've seen

I: You don't the fights?

R: Yeah, so there are fights. It's not very often, but..there are...

I: You also said you're a member of ehm, the Kalel board? On GuruGossiper? Are there any other boards or forums that you're a member of?

R: Ehmm..I looked at the (incomprehensible) one but I like her, so, I was like, offended, so I stopped looking at it (laughs)

I: (laughs)

R: Ehm...

I: Is this one any different? From other boards?

R: This one is probably, I'd say the most active out of all them, to be honest.

I: Why do you think that is?

R: Eh, what?

I: Why do you think that is?

R: Because they've made a whole other forum for it...like, GuruGossiper isn't good enough anymore, so we gotta have like, another forum. And there's like, there's posts everyday. Like, on the Kalel one, there's a post like once a month, if there..because no one's really got anything to say about her anymore. I think it's because the SacconeJolys make videos, like, almost every day, so, you've always got something to comment on.

I: Yeah

R: Yeah, and also they create drama like there is nothing else to do. It's just, so much drama.

I: What kind of drama?

R: Ehm, usually to do with the kids, like, how they ehm, I don't know, just them exploiting the kids just constantly while they make, like, big clickbait titles. That one where he shoots in the hospital, or their like, haters-rants. Like, they are always doing something that like, gets your attention. Even if it's like, in a negative way.

I: But their comments are mostly positive?

R: Yeah, because they delete all the bad ones. (laughs)

I: Did you see the posts on the forum about, them, blocking words..

R: Yeah...I did see that

I: ..from the comment section?

R: Ehm, I did see that. And my comment did post though, but I'm pretty sure I have tried to post a comment saying something, or once, and it didn't work it just wouldn't work at all. So I think that they do block words in comments.

I: What kind of words?

R: Like, the ones to do with the nanny. I've not really done, written enough comments, on it, to actually know what they are blocking.

I: Yeah

R: But I know that the word, like, Tasha is blocked.

I: Yeah, I think...I'm pretty sure Tasha is blocked.

R: Yeah

I: Do you think she's still there?

R: Ehm...I actually don't think she is, I think that they've got, another babysitter now.

I: It's a shame, Tasha was nice.

R: Really nice. But she was on someone's Snapchat though, apparently.

I: Right, with the White Moose café guys..

R: Yeah...so maybe she is, I don't know.

I: What do you think about this pregnancy?

R: Ehm, it's taken like a 1000 years it's the longest pregnancy I've ever..ever..(incomprehensible). Ehm, it's just because they're posting clickbait all the time, and it's like, oh just hurry up.

I: Just get the baby out?

R: Yeah, yeah. Like, I've had enough now. I just want to know its name, and in..I'll have enough. See, I've caught up in that drama of knowing the name now, it's like, I shouldn't even care.

I: You need to know the name now

R: Yeah, yeah. I've been caught up in the hype.

CODERINGSTABEL				
Bron	Tekst	Open codering	Axiaal	Selectief
T01M	I thought they were good. Like, I thought they were entertaining.	Eerste indruk	Eerste indruk vlogs	Eerste indruk van de vlogs is voornamelijk positief
T01M	Yeah, no, I liked them all, I liked the family, yeah.	Eerste indruk	Eerste indruk vlogs	“ “
T02I	At first I thought they were not too bad, I quite like, enjoyed them. Ehm the kids were really cute in the beginning, Jonathan...hmmm..not a huge fan of him but it's like whatever, Anna seemed okay.	Eerste indruk	Eerste indruk vlogs	“ “
T02I	Before because I liked them and I thought they were interesting. And I, you know, they are cute, and the dogs were, okay	Eerste indruk	Eerste indruk vlogs	“ “
T03L	Well, I enjoyed Anna's videos a lot pre-pregnancies...she was a lot happier and her videos very informative. I found the vlogs pre-pregnancies to be alright, they were a bit boring at times so...I wouldn't watch them as often as I watched Anna's videos.	Eerste indruk	Eerste indruk vlogs	“ “
T05J	Yeah, I did like them at first. But there was something off about them that I couldn't put my finger on.	Eerste indruk: redelijk positief, twijfels	Eerste indruk vlogs	“ “
T01M	Ehm...I don't know, it's just like..I feel like you get like a false, (incomprehensible) when you watch more and more stuff...do you know what I mean? You get like a false view of them...	Mening over vloggen	Mening over vloggen	-
T01M	Yeah because they're like...not showing their whole...personality. And also like, if that's your job. If your job is filming yourself, filming yourself, like, how do you have a life? If that makes sense. Like you are not going out to work and stuff like that, it's basically being like unemployed, I feel like.	Vloggen is geen baan	Mening over vloggen	-
T02I	So I think it's great I look back	Verandering in de	Mening over	-

	<p>now to like my 16 year old self and I think it's great and my brother did the same thing. So it really is fantastic to have that, there, and it is, it's very fun to do, it really builds your confidence, it's just great. I mean, back then you didn't get money you didn't get sponsorships it was just for fun... Whereas now it's more, you know, for the fame, you know, so you get sent stuff and things like that. And subscriber numbers, it's money it's all money money money. Ehm, whereas back when I was doing it, it was for fun. So I think the shift has..there has been a shift, to less of a hobby and more of a job. And I think that might be a bit of a problem.</p>	vloggerwereld	vloggen	
T03L	<p>I don't watch any other family daily vloggers... I don't agree with the concept of it myself. I do watch Louise Pentland, who sometimes films her daughter, but I think it is the extent to which the SJs film their children that I just find worrying.</p>	Tegen familievloggen	Mening over vloggen	Er bestaat kritiek op familievloggen omdat de kinderen geen toestemming kunnen geven. Vloggen voor geld is uitbuiting van je kinderen.
T03L	<p>I personally don't think it's right to film your children daily without their consent, just to make money. There are varying degrees of it to take into account, but daily is too much in my opinion, particularly when the children have no comprehension of why they are being filmed.</p>	Tegen familievloggen, toestemming kinderen	Mening over vloggen	“ “
T03L	<p>Like, why am I so invested in children I don't know? Because they don't have a voice. Everyday, since birth, they have been exploited...their private moments shown to over a million people, so their parents can make money. They don't care about stalkers, or paedophiles. They made a whole other channel dedicated to filming their children's private moments for money.</p>	Vloggen is uitbuiting	Mening over vloggen	“ “
T03L	<p>Their exploitation of their children, pure and simple. You</p>	Vloggen is uitbuiting	Mening over vloggen	“ “

	should work hard to provide for your children, not the other way about.			
T04A	I don't like familyvloggers, I think it's...I don't believe in, putting your children up, on the internet for the world to see. I'm completely fine with, posting on like Facebook, you know, ehm, things like that for your family, like....my family lives across the country and are constantly begging me to put pictures of my daughter up.	Tegen familievloggen, toestemming kinderen	Mening over vloggen	“ “
T04A	And I have it, in a secure environment, private, for my family and friends to see. Not for the world. Because she, my daughter can't give me permission. Ehm..but I watch, Casey Neistat. Ehm...I think he's pretty interesting. He actually lives an interesting life (laughs)..so..	Kinderen kunnen geen toestemming geven voor vloggen	Mening over vloggen	“ “
T04A	Ehm....right now, because I have a daughter, and, it really became like apparent like once I became pregnant, was, them putting their children out for the whole world to see, and using the excuse 'we're creating memories for them'	Uitbuiten van de kinderen in vlogs	Mening over vloggen	“ “
T04A	Ehm, and using them for financial gain. I take videos of my daughter pretty much every day...there's not a day that goes by I don't have pictures taken of her, or, you know, I'm like, ohhh, you know, she's crawling today, or, she ate this for the first time. I don't put it out for the world to see for financial gain. And I think that's the difference	Uitbuiting van de kinderen in vlogs	Mening over vloggen	“ “
T05J	Ehm, I think it's fine, as long as they, like, don't make the vlog about the children. They need to make it about themselves, because those kids obviously can't consent.	Kinderen kunnen geen toestemming geven voor vloggen	Mening over vloggen	“ “
T05J	I don't know, just them exploiting the kids just constantly while they make, like, big clickbait titles.	Uitbuiting van de kinderen	Mening over vloggen	“ “
T01M	Only when I'm just gonna go on the like, forum thing. I'll watch the most recent one	Alleen kijken om erover te kunnen praten op het	Recent kijkgedrag	Er bestaat een tweedeling in het kijkgedrag.

	just so I know what everyone is talking about. But I wouldn't actually...	forum		Sommigen kijken helemaal niet meer uit protest en anderen kijken alleen om erover te kunnen praten op het forum.
T01M	So I would normally go on...just to like, know what everyone is talking about. I don't go watch them..like..	Alleen kijken om erover te kunnen praten op het forum	Recent kijkgedrag	“ “
T01M	I would only, if I'm gonna go on the forum, obviously I want to get what everyone is fuckin..on about.	Alleen kijken om erover te kunnen praten op het forum	Recent kijkgedrag	“ “
T02I	I don't actually hate-watch that often, like I really follow what's going on from the forums, I don't have time to properly..like I don't want to give Jonathan a view, there..that's not going to happen. So I very rarely watch, because it's all numbers again at the end of the day. So...	Niet kijken uit protest	Recent kijkgedrag	“ “
T02I	Pfff, I don't know..months and months ago. I haven't been following them really..	Niet meer kijken naar de vlogs	Recent kijkgedrag	“ “
T03L	I don't watch them unless someone in the forum mentions a specific scene they want to discuss. I still watch Anna's personal videos from time to time though. There was an incident yesterday where someone mentioned Jonathan filming Emilia's private area, which turned out to be a false alarm, but I went onto the vlog to report it for nudity.	Alleen kijken om erover te kunnen praten op het forum, verder nooit kijken	Recent kijkgedrag	“ “
T04A	Ehm, yeah. To be quite honest, like, and maybe this is too much information, but it's my bathroom..eh..video. Like, when I have to go take a shit, that's what I watch	Nog steeds dagelijks kijken	Recent kijkgedrag	“ “
T05J	Uhm, yeah occasionally. If I see there's been like, some drama, or if I'm like, superbored	Kijken alleen bij drama om erover te praten	Recent kijkgedrag	“ “
T01M	I think he's fucking weird	Jonathan is raar	Zelfpresentatie Jonathan	Wanneer er wordt gesproken over de zelfpresentatie van Jonathan

				wordt er vooral gericht op zijn gedrag.
T01M	.. I mean each to their own but I find Jonathan really really really really strange.	Jonathan is raar	Zelfpresentatie Jonathan	“ “
T01M	Yeah he is so childlike aswell like, when he does like stupid voices I'm like “how fucking old are you?”	Jonathan gedraagt zich raar	Zelfpresentatie Jonathan	“ “
T02I	In the vlogs...well, jesus, ehm, Jonathan for one is just nuts. He's insane, he's very irritating. Like if you go back and watch a video, properly, you really figure out: jesus he's annoying. And it's, as an Irish person, it's very insulting, it's just...shame, shameful, do you know? Ehm, I don't know, he's just ridiculous	Jonathan is raar, vervelend	Zelfpresentatie Jonathan	“ “
T03L	I also think it's inappropriate for him to refer to his young audience as 'friends', as it's sending out the wrong message to them, and his children. He acts all hyper and 'in your face' whereas when he is in other people's videos he appears more shy, withdrawn. I don't think he knows how to properly interact with adults socially, hence his internet obsession.	Jonathan gedraagt zich hyper en vreemd	Zelfpresentatie Jonathan	“ “
T04A	Just from what I've observed, with his behaviour. When he is on his blogs, he is...his behaviour in happiness is just amplified and glorified and...nobody is...like that (laughs) in real life, at least people that I've ever met.	Jonathan gedraagt zich overdreven	Zelfpresentatie Jonathan	“ “
T04A	Ehm....obnoxious, is Jonathan.	Jonathan is onaangenaam	Zelfpresentatie Jonathan	“ “

T05J	Jonathan is quite childish, he pretends he doesn't know things that he should know or I'm pretty sure he does know. Maybe it's to appeal to like, their young audience. I'm not really sure.	Jonathan gedraagt zich kinderachtig en doet zich dom voor.	Zelfpresentatie Jonathan	“ “
T03L	I think Jonathan puts on an act, definitely. I also think it's inappropriate for him to refer to his young audience as 'friends', as it's sending out the wrong message to them, and his children. He acts all hyper and 'in your face' whereas when he is in other people's videos he appears more shy, withdrawn. I don't think he knows how to properly interact with adults socially, hence his internet obsession.	Jonathan zijn zelfpresentatie is nep	Performance Jonathan	Jonathan doet zich anders voor dan hij daadwerkelijk is.
T03L	I don't think he's as hands on as he likes to portray, definitely. I always remember he's the one in control, he decides what to show in the vlogs and what to edit out. I think he likes to paint himself as a brilliant family man, while portraying his wife in a negative light, by filming her in moods, waiting on her in bed, flinching away from his touch, etcetera.	Jonathan zijn zelfpresentatie is nep, hij maakt keuzes	Performance Jonathan	“ “
T04A	Ehm...I thought that Jonathan was a bit of an annoying...performer...ehm, and I thought that, I, oh, I've always felt Anna's a narcissist. (laughs) I think she's more of a narcissist than Jonathan. I think Jonathan needs validation...	Jonathan doet zich anders voor	Performance Jonathan	“ “
T04A	Just from what I've observed, with his behaviour. When he is on his blogs, he is...his behaviour in happiness is just amplified and glorified and...nobody is...like that (laughs) in real life, at least people that I've ever met. And	Jonathan doet zich anders voor in vlogs	Performance Jonathan	“ “

	if you see him in the background of like other people's video, he's just a normal quiet person.			
T05J	I think he's not as dumb as what he puts out he says, he's kinda smart, really.	Jonathan doet zich dom voor	Performance Jonathan	“ “
T05J	I don't think he's half as dumb as he puts out but he's also not as smart as what he thinks if you know what I mean..	Jonathan doet zich dom voor	Performance Jonathan	“ “
T01M	feel like she's never had to like, deal with it, before, basically. I feel like she probably, in school, she was probably like really popular person, and never like, I feel like she's the type of person that's never told no to stuff. Even like, as a child. With her parents, I feel like her parents are the type of parents that doesn't say no, to anything. So now, when someone says no to her, she's struck by it, basically.	Anna is verwend	Zelfpresentatie Anna	-
T02I	Anna..she is not really in the blogs, do you know? And when she is, she is very subdued, she doesn't have the energy, it's like she doesn't give a damn she doesn't want to be there, really. You know?	Anna is afwezig, heeft geen energie	Zelfpresentatie Anna	Ook bij de zelfpresentatie van Anna wordt er vooral op haar gedrag gelet.
T02I	It's just her attitude, you know, she is always very, "hmmhmmm, yeah, yeah jonathan" do you know? There's no real, oh "blablablabla" it's just very, basic, boring, like she doesn't want to do it either.	Anna gedraagt zich saai	Zelfpresentatie Anna	“ “
T02I	She does spend a lot of the day in bed, but I mean...that's what we see.. I don't really know.	Anna is lui	Zelfpresentatie Anna	“ “
T02I	She's just a boring person. I don't even follow, I never watched her own, channel, you know, she's just, I find her very boring very basic very bland, she just recreates the same thing as everybody else does	Anna is saai	Zelfpresentatie Anna	“ “
T03L	Obviously I'm not an expert, but I think she's clearly unhappy. It's clear from her recent videos she's not interested in Youtube	Anna is ongeïnteresseerd en saai	Zelfpresentatie Anna	“ “

	anymore...the difference between her content now and pre-children is eye opening. She doesn't appear to have many interests or hobbies, or any friends outside her hired help. She has admitted herself she sometimes doesn't leave the house for days			
T04A	I thought that, I, oh, I've always felt Anna's a narcissist. (laughs) I think she's more of a narcissist than Jonathan.	Anna is narcistisch	Zelfpresentatie Anna	-
T04A	...I think Anna is a reserved person, and that's completely fine, ehm, I do think she has ehm..I do think she has mental issues	Anna is meer op de achtergrond	Zelfpresentatie Anna	-
T05J	Anna is the perfect mum, you know. She tries to present it that way. But, you can tell, that she's not actually doing anything (laughs) that she should be..she's always in bed, she's a princess.	Anna is lui	Zelfpresentatie Anna	Ook bij de zelfpresentatie van Anna wordt er vooral op haar gedrag gelet.
T01M	So the kids, I think, it's a shame because they are obviously like really sweet kids, what I was saying about Anna they don't get told no to, I don't think they get told no to anything, really, like, you still need rules, but I feel like, just now, it's okay, because like, with the whole present thing, they're like "oh have you got a present?" when you leave the house, for like, five seconds, Jonathan will go and take the bins out, and he will come back and they expect a gift, basically. It's that much	Kinderen zijn lief maar verwend	Presentatie kinderen	Wanneer er over de kinderen wordt gepraat, gaat dat voornamelijk over hun gedrag.
T02I	Emilia and Eduardo, well, they are brats. I'm sorry, they really are brats. They were lovely when I used to watch them, I thought they were fine. But lately...and you know, we get little tube chops, so I see a little bit here and there and they are just screaming, they are always giving out, Eduardo is always hitting or screaming or getting out about something and I can see a mean streak in Emilia as well. Which is kind of worrying. I mean, we were all like that..but she seems to be	Kinderen gedragen zich verwend	Presentatie kinderen	“ “

	(incomprehensible)..			
T02I	They just want attention, they want love, and they are not getting it so they are doing whatever they can, acting out, as you would as a child to do that, to get that.	Kinderen gedragen zich verwend	Presentatie kinderen	“ “
T04A	Eduardo, I...ehm..just seems typical...two year old..three, almost three. I mean, everybody like talks about the hitting, and stuff. Ehm, he does do that an awful lot.	Eduardo gedraagt zich typisch	Presentatie kinderen	“ “
T03L	They bribe them to say things for the vlog, which in my opinion makes them working. If their parents vlog and call it working, how can they sit back and say their children aren't?	De kinderen spelen mee in de vlogs	Performance kinderen	De kinderen zijn ervan bewust dat zij leuk moeten doen voor de vlogs.
T04A	Ehm, but she does seem to be a performer, and I think that them recording her, she's going to have a lot of issues...eh...when she gets older. Not knowing the difference between eh...I don't know...Because I think that Jonathan makes her...play it up, for the camera. Which is weird. Ehm. It would be one thing if he just observed his children.	Kinderen spelen mee in de vlogs	Performance kinderen	“ “
T05J	I know Emilia, she understands that she has to do something cute or funny for the camera. And I'm pretty sure they get chocolate afterwards when they do something cool because she was like to Eduardo like: oooh, if you do this, you get chocolate, so he did it. I think he's a bit over it, and he's only like, two. But ehm, yeah, I think Emilia, she has some understanding, that, how she has to act when the camera is out.	Kinderen spelen mee in de vlogs	Performance kinderen	“ “
T01M	I feel like they are a bit fake, I feel like they are not showing, like if they are going to have an argument, they are not going to like, get out the camera and show that. And they are not going to, because you know everyone has their arguments, I have arguments in my household all the time, do you know what I mean?	Er worden dingen weggelaten	Performance team SJs	Er is sprake van negatieve idealisatie in de vlogs van de SJs, waardoor zij als onecht worden beschouwd.

T01M	So like, they are not showing, they say it's like...life, but it's not life. Because you are only showing what you...want to show...if that makes sense, like, you're not showing your whole life, you are only showing.....	Beeld is nep	Performance team SJs	“ “
T01M	Like, because those..they never say like “oh I had an argument” but it's like...I don't know.. I don't know... It's quite like, I find it really weird, because it's, you don't really know what they are like, you only know what they want you to think they are like.	Beeld dat wordt geschetst is nep	Performance team SJs	“ “
T04A	Ehm, I'm sure there is probably fights like, oh my gosh I can't believe you recorded me doing that, and you better get rid of it, and you're so annoying (laughs) ehm...eh...I don't know (laughs)	Dingen weglaten in vlogs	Performance team SJs	“ “
T04A	but what I find the most appalling is that they can't admit that they get help, with their children.	Niet toegeven dat ze hulp hebben (weglaten in vlogs)	Performance team SJs	“ “
T04A	Ehm...ehh...when they came to visit and they caught the nanny, whoever, the babysitter, ehm, on the Snapchat, and then, they completely took her out of it in the blog of the next day, and then like, picked up the kids from school, and bla bla bla, even though the nanny was clearly around. Ehm...it just pissed me off that like, why will they not admit to this shit, like...what is so wrong with admitting that you are normal?	Niet toegeven dat ze hulp hebben (weglaten in vlogs)	Performance team SJs	“ “
T05J	Ehm, I think it's not really, like, like it's kind of like a fake thing that they present to their viewers...they're like so young they're only like ten or twelve or something. Ehm, like, anyone who is like older they can see that it is not really how it is, like that's only fifteen minutes of them probably like, making everything look perfect. Whereas it's not actually like that in real life. Or if you don't have help...like,	Beeld dat wordt geschetst is nep	Performance team SJs	“ “

	they obviously have a nanny. So, you know. They just make it look like the perfect family life, pretty much.			
T01M	that's why it feels like, a lot of their little fans, or minions, or whatever you want to call them	Fans (minions) zijn klein	Fans/minions	Er bestaat een generaliserend beeld van de fans van de SJs, zij zijn volgens de respondenten allemaal jong en naïef.
T01M	like all their wee fans would be like oh my god you're so horrible, blablabla, but they are all like twelve, so I don't know why I'm so scared of them.	Fans (minions) zijn jong	Fans/minions	“ “
T02I	So especially like, 12 year olds, which are the..average range age range of the SacconeJolys..they don't really know, I mean, you know, they have never raised kids, they don't know what it's like. They are kids themselves, so they don't really know, ehm, what's better, what's out there.	Fans (minions) zijn jong en naïef	Fans/minions	“ “
T03L	I also think it's inappropriate for him to refer to his young audience as 'friends', as it's sending out the wrong message to them, and his children.	Publiek van de SJs is jong	Fans/minions	“ “
T04A	but then again, their core audience, are a bunch of tweens. And they don't fact-check and...all that. So..	Publiek van de SJs is jong en dom.	Fans/minions	“ “
T05J	Jonathan asking his fans because he wants them to look at a car for him, which they're like...they can't even drive.	Fans zijn te jong om auto te rijden	Fans/minions	“ “
T05J	like it's kind of like a fake thing that they present to their viewers...they're like so young they're only like ten or twelve or something. Ehm, like, anyone who is like older they can see that it is not really how it is	Fans zijn allemaal jong en naïef	Fans/minions	“ “
T01M	So I was like really far behind and I kept reading and reading and I was like “yeah, they do...they do do that they	Forum vinden was eye-opening	Forum vinden	Na het vinden van het forum vond er een keerpunt plaats

	do do that..!" and then it just got like deeper and deeper and I was like, I actually, at the end of that night, after I started reading and...by the end of that night I was like "I can't even fucking stand these people			in de eerst positieve parasociale relatie, nu negatief.
T01M	but if they read back, I feel like, their eyes would be opened aswell, and they would be like "oh yeah, that's true"	Forum is eye-opening	Forum	-
T02I	I was googling about them, then I came across the forum and I just got really, like it opened my eyes. Things I hadn't really noticed, because what I said I was kind of passive watching. Ehm.. it's just, it's so enthralling, it really is.	Forum vinden was eye-opening	Forum vinden	Na het vinden van het forum vond er een keerpunt plaats in de eerst positieve parasociale relatie, nu negatief.
T04A	And I googled it, and GuruGossip came up. And I was like, oh, that's interesting. So I clicked on it, and...I was like, wow, I'm not the only one, like, thank god	Forum vinden: bondgenoten vinden		" "
T05J	Yeah I did, because, there, when I read it I was like, oh, like, that's what I couldn't put my finger on, like, when I was watching them, like I was watching and I was like oh these vlogs, they, they're alright. And then I kept watching them but then I was like "there's something off about them" and then when I read about them and seeing all these people that were like saying that they don't like them because of this and this and this and they did this and I was like, oh, that's why I don't like them.	Forum vinden was eye-opening	Forum vinden	" "
T01M	it's kind of hard to say exactly what I mean, because it's like...you sound so petty, over like, well, oh so you give your kids a gift, but it's not just one gift, do you know what I mean? I was really like, you give your child, you don't care, you tell that people like, nutrition what you feed your kids is your business, but it's like not just that it's loads of little things in a bigger picture and so it makes you sound,	Forum is kleinzielig, haten voor het haten	Sfeer op het forum	Hoewel er soms ruzie is op het forum, en andere leden kleinzielig kunnen zijn die alleen haten om het haten, bestaat het forum vooral uit bezorgdheid om de kinderen.

	when you just say one or two things you sound really petty and just like, you hate for hatings sake.			
T01M	basically it's a lot of the time it's concern for the kids which I think is good. There's a lot of concern for, like, them not being like, but like Emilia's hair, I can't say that Emilia. Emilia's hair, for example, people are really like, I don't know, they are concerned about that because it isn't like, I think, it's not that like thick,	Forum is bezorgdheid voor de kinderen	Sfeer op het forum	“ “
T02I	they can be a bit crazy and fights, there's a lot of repetition as well which is annoying sometimes,	Ruzie op het forum	Sfeer op het forum	“ “
T02I	At the end of the day, we're trying to do a good thing, we're trying to help the kids, and we're trying to like, get rid of those followers that like, hang on to their every freaking word for no reason,	Forum is bezorgdheid voor de kinderen	Sfeer op het forum	“ “
T03L	I genuinely think they are all caring people who share my concerns for the children. Obviously, I appreciate there must be personal reasons as to why some of us frequent the board as often as we do, but from what they post they all seem empathic, level-headed...	Forum is bezorgdheid voor de kinderen	Sfeer op het forum	“ “
T03L	Give or take a few minor disagreements, but no one gets on perfectly in real life either, I guess.	Ruzie op het forum	Sfeer op het forum	“ “
T04A	Ehm....some of the people talk about petty shit. Like, you know, I just read, and observe. I think some hate, just to hate, you know? And I think some have good...eh, some have good valid points...ehm...some of the girls can get snarky with eachother..which is, weird, to me, like, when they do.	Forum kan kleinzielig zijn, hateren om te hateren	Sfeer op het forum	“ “
T04A	the majority are concerned people.	Forum is bezorgdheid voor de kinderen	Sfeer op het forum	“ “
T05J	It's quite petty, all of it really. But it's an interesting read.	Forum is kleinzielig	Sfeer op het forum	“ “
T05J	Ehm, yeah they are alright, everyone pretty much shares the same opinions. Sometimes they can like,	Ruzie op het forum	Sfeer op het forum	“ “

	fight, for ages. And it's like, shut up, it doesn't even matter anymore. About like, something..oh..I think one was like, eh, oh, if you, if you like put down their opinion they will all go psycho.			
T01M	Ehm..so..well..ehm..just like, if you watch a video, you'll go on the forum, and like, if you notice something, like, I'll go and discuss it but basically it's..a lot of the time it's concern for the kids which I think is good.	Content posts op het forum	Content posts op het forum	Op het forum wordt het gehele leven van de SJs bekritiseerd, omdat het vaak over de vlogs gaat. In deze vlogs laten de SJs hun dagelijkse leven zien.
T01M	Like, you can post stuff that's like, not going to be like, you're not going to get like death threats of people	Content posts op het forum, veilige omgeving	Content posts op het forum	“ “
T02I	Everything. They criticize and they analyse everything that goes on. Sometimes it's a bit, like crazy, and obsessive. They you know, they create scenes in their heads, that doesn't happen, you know, oh my god, you know, Eduardo he looked at Emilia, with like this terror, you know, with anger in his eyes and he's just playing by himself you know I mean like, what, what's going on? But a lot of things is true, a lot of, you know they are very good for documenting things you know. Ehm, the car seat thing, over and over and over again, do you know? Ehm, they've documented that, they documented examples of them driving with the car seats, faulty ehm, they document even the freaking you know, yourself, the manuals, how the manuals say it's supposed to look and how it, the exact comparison of how it's not. So they are very good for that now, they are, they can be a bit crazy and fights, there's a lot of repetition as well which is annoying sometimes, ehm, but I suppose sometimes it's very quiet over there.	Content posts op het forum, herhaling	Content posts op het forum	“ “

T03L	We talk about a variety of issues! Jonathan's obsession with clickbait, the children's diet... The topics vary in seriousness, from their looks to their exploitation of the children. I don't agree with everything that is said, but nothing anyone says there can be any worse than what the SacconeJolys do to their own kids, so I only converse when and if I feel it is appropriate.	Content posts op het forum	Content posts op het forum	“ “
T04A	I don't like when people post about the children's looks and weight in a derogatory way. If they show concern, ehm..that's okay, like, they are concerned with their weight, they are concerned with their hair...but when they just shame them, I just kind of get an icky feeling...but for the most part, that's not happening. There's probably like one or two that do, ehm...the most, the majority are concerned people	Content posts op het forum	Content posts op het forum	“ “
T05J	Pretty much people talk about and comment on each like, each episode, because they come out pretty much daily so if you check back daily you can see what's happened in the last vlog. Like recently, it's been talking about, ehm, Jonathan's, like, rotten teeth, the kid's chocolate addiction, because they do feed their kids a lot of chocolate, I wish I was a kid and I could've eaten that much chocolate because I wouldn't even be able to get my hands on... ehm, ah yeah there was one about the dogs as well, how she was like, oh, I need to let the dogs out, and then, ehm, like complaining every time that they pee on the floor, and they're not really outside, everything, conspiracies on how they have help. Just I don't know, just things like that. It's quite petty, all of it really. But it's an interesting read.	Content posts op het forum	Content posts op het forum	“ “
T05J	That comment on the forum about them following up against that terrible terrible	Content posts op het forum	Content posts op het forum	“ “

	letter that he showed on the camera and saying that it probably is fake, like, that's really sad, like that's so bad. Just about anything for views I guess, that is, that is their job.			
T01M	No...but I used to follow her Snapchat, but it's too boring, and it was like, so boring... You know when Snapchat used to have the numbers of seconds that it was on for?	Social media, saai	Other Encounters	De andere ontmoetingen van de respondenten met de SJs vinden allemaal plaats via sociale media. Op deze sociale media presenteren de vloggers zich niet anders dan in de dagelijkse vlogs.
T01M	I look at their Twitter and my eyes are like to the back of my head I'm like "shut the fuck up", sometimes I feel like they can't even type. Just like me (laughs) I can't type in English basically, but, they I don't know though, I just find his tweets just boring. And it's like, how old is he? Like 30 or something, and he's like, tweeting young girls, I'm not comfortable with that.	Social media	Other encounters	" "
T01M	I just think they are..quite boring. Because they don't do anything. And I don't like how they do...you know Anna is really bad for this she'll tweet something like "ohh all the haterzzz saying....this...blablabla"	Social media, reageren kritiek	Other Encounters	" "
T01M	Looking it, like she's sticking it to the haters yeah the haterzzzz. And then, but she's not, proving anything wrong, or anything right, with what she's doing, because she will just say..I don't know I feel like she tries to preach stuff that she's not actually doing. If that makes sense.	Social media, reageren op kritiek	Other Encounters	" "
T02I	I follow, well I don't...I keep an eye on Jonathan, just because he dribbles, crap. So I wouldn't really know anything about Anna. She's just a boring person. I don't even follow, I never watched	Social media	Other Encounters	" "

	<p>her own, channel, you know, she's just, I find her very boring very basic very bland, she just recreates the same thing as everybody else does. So, she doesn't have something new to say, there's no...you know, magic spark. She doesn't go off and do her own research, it's just blablalabla, it's whatever she gets sponsored to speak about.</p>			
T02I	<p>I keep an eye on his Twitter, just to (incomprehensible)..like he's so funny, he is...it's complete nonsense, the desperate spelling, of course like the fucking minions, I like to, rile them up sometimes, you know if I'm having a bad day it's nice to pick on a minion. Nicely now, nicely. But mhm, they are a bit ridiculous and the whole..it's just ridiculous, they really are.</p>	Social media	Other Encounters	“ “
T03L	<p>I think Anna lets her guard down a lot more on social media, in terms of talking back to 'haters' and sticking up for her husband re the rape joke, etcetera. I have seen tweets of her making fun of people, and calling people crazy for finding her husband's jokes offensive. Jonathan is much more reserved and professional, albeit for a few spelling/grammar issues. I think he lets the vlogs do the talking and is more reserved on social media, and Anna is the complete opposite.</p>	Social media	Other Encounters	“ “
T04A	<p>Ehm...from what I've noticed, her snaps are just, like, vlogging. Ehm...I mean the same thing. Like, to be quite honest, I think it's a..she's losing money for the vlogging channel, because maybe her core audience ehm...that really only goes to watch her, she's already giving away the goods, the day before, you know.</p>	Social media	Other Encounters	“ “

T05J	Ehm, it's just like normal snapchat really, she just puts filters on her face and looks pretty. It's quite boring, really.	Social media	Other Encounters	“ “
T05J	Ehm... I wouldn't say it is different from other people, because you know like, Instagram is very fake. Ehm, in the sense that people don't actually look like that, like they are obviously posing and Anna does trick poses so that she looks nice, and like, perfect and everything...and then it's filled with some things like...Instagram is fake, though, I don't know if a lot of people realize that it's fake! Like, I don't have any problem with it being fake either, because it's just photos that you want to like nice in you know...but, ehm, Jonathan's Instagram is quite like terrible, it's very, it's not very good he doesn't put a lot of effort into it..like his spell-shaking is quite awful as well. Yeah I don't think they are any different from anyone else.	Social media	Other Encounters	“ “
T05J	Uhm, I got blocked by Anna because I said they should buy, they should buy like a water filter thing to set on the beach instead of bottled water every single day because it's quite bad for the environment so I got blocked there. And then, ehm, Jonathan blocked me because I said they shouldn't have taken their kid on that flight when he obviously had chicken pocks.	Geblokkeerd op social media	Other encounters	“ “