

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

Stance, Same-Sex Marriage and Space:
An Analysis of Self-Referencing on YouTube

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics
at Massey University, Albany, New Zealand.

Victoria Jane Kerry

2019

Abstract

By mid-2018, YouTube engagement reached 1.8 billion users per month, making it almost as big a platform as Facebook. Despite its popularity, little is understood about the user-generated comments written below the videos as a form of engagement on the site, with most linguistic research focusing on language found in the videos themselves. This study is a Mediated Discourse Analysis which explores what YouTubers say about themselves in textual responses posted under videos showing the passing of the same-sex marriage law in New Zealand. Using Du Bois' (2007) Stance Triangle as its fork, it analyses the function of self-referencing stances and the sharing of personal information to a potentially large and unknown audience.

In order to understand YouTube as a context for self-referencing, I propose a new framework called *Participatory Spaces*. The Participatory Spaces framework identifies three salient areas of YouTube interaction: the shared interest that brings a diverse group of participants together (the Membership Layer), the different members of the audience that are addressed (the Audience Layer), and the technical affordances and constraints of the Space (the Spatio-Temporal Layer). The three Layers of a Participatory Space outline the interactional practices within and provide key perspectives on the mechanics of stance. The Membership Layer focuses particularly on the centrality, weighting and interpretability of the discourses, Discourses and particular locations shared by a geographically dispersed, diverse, audience. Self-referencing is used to increase credibility of an argument, to warrant participation and to express the right to belong. The Audience Layer reveals how commenters design their contribution for specific audiences. Here, examples of self-referencing can function as a means of (dis)aligning with other members on YouTube, and creating the Space itself. Finally, the Spatio-Temporal Layer uncovers the influences of time and space on participatory norms, including how participants' histories and imagined futures are embedded in the Discourses they

present. The participants' self-referencing creates context and meaning for both their own, and the other participants', interpretation of their comments.

The Participatory Spaces framework also highlights the need for revisions to Du Bois' Stance Triangle. Specifically, I argue that adapting the Triangle to include multiple objects of stance, segmenting the audience, and including participants' histories, provides a tool for understanding YouTube interaction and the role self-referencing plays in these practices.

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher named above is responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher, please contact Professor John O'Neill, Director (Research Ethics), telephone 06 350 5249, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Massey University School of Humanities, and particularly the Head of School, Associate Professor Kerry Taylor, for providing me with the funding and resources for completing my PhD. The support I was given made a world of difference to my ability to achieve it. I am especially grateful for the opportunity that lecturing has provided for enriching my knowledge and understanding of linguistics. My thesis is all the better for what I have learnt while teaching.

To my three supervisors: thank you for the many years of support, encouragement, knowledge, feedback and mentoring. I have been so grateful for the amount of time you have given me, and especially your willingness and unhesitating availability. You have all helped me in such very different ways, and I am so grateful to have been supported by such a fantastic team of talented linguists.

To Dr David Ishii, thank you for your administrative organisation and especially for your collegial and moral support, and the kindness you showed me. You gave me confidence to get to where I am now as a lecturer.

To Dr Tony Fisher, thank you for the laughs during our discussions, your professional mentoring, and for your keen eye when reading my work. I will forever hear “show me the evidence!” as a mantra to making my work more robust and credible. My written work has benefited immensely from your knowledge and rigour.

To Dr Martin Paviour-Smith, thank you for inspiring me since undergrad, and sharing your love of linguistics with me, even from France. Learning Discourse Analysis from you changed the way I understand my world around me. Your thesis mentoring gave me the skills and confidence to work out new ideas for myself. Under your guidance, I have grown not only as a linguist, but also as a person.

To my supporters: my A+graphia writing group, my fellow PhD student friends and colleagues, Mum - Diana Wood, and Dad - John Faris, Jennifer Hunt, Iggy Wood, and, of course, David and Sebastian Kerry. I am very lucky to have you all. Thank you for your love, support and encouragement.

Finally, thank you to my participants – visible and invisible – who made up the Participatory Spaces I studied. Especially thank you to those who made this part of the Internet a positive place, and to those who celebrated a small, but significant, moment in time.

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	v
List of Figures and Tables	ix
Chapter 1. Introduction	1
Chapter 2. Literature Review on Computer-Mediated Communication, self-referencing, stance and same-sex marriage	9
2.1 Introduction	9
2.2 Computer-Mediated Communication.....	10
2.3 YouTube	14
2.4 Self-disclosure and self-referencing.....	17
2.5 Stancetaking.....	22
2.6 Participatory Culture	26
2.7 Affinity Spaces	30
2.8 Same-sex marriage.....	35
2.9 Chapter summary.....	40

Chapter 3.	Investigating YouTube stratification and the formation of <i>Participatory Spaces</i>	43
3.1	Introduction	43
3.2	The Membership Layer	44
3.3	The Audience Layer	55
3.4	The Spatio-Temporal Layer	65
3.5	Chapter summary.....	76
Chapter 4.	Research outline	79
4.1	Introduction	79
4.2	Stance as a framework.....	80
4.3	Research questions	84
4.4	Methodology.....	86
4.5	Ethics	102
4.6	Notes on conventions	105
4.7	Chapter summary.....	108
Chapter 5.	The Membership Layer, scales and positioning	111
5.1	Introduction	111
5.2	Scales.....	113
5.3	Local and global scales	115
5.4	Polycentricity and Scales.....	121
5.5	Polycentricity, shared interest and the focus of stance.....	124

5.6	Scales and scale shifts/jumping	128
5.7	Scales beyond the local versus global	129
5.8	Warranting participation	136
5.9	Second order self-referencing	138
5.10	Warranting stances as credible.....	144
5.11	Chapter summary.....	147
Chapter 6.	Audience alignment, collaboration and the dynamic nature of the Space	149
6.1	Introduction	149
6.2	Audience collaboration and alignment between participants	151
6.3	Understanding the different roles of audience members	161
6.4	Adapting the Stance Triangle	170
6.5	Stylistic stance and audience alignment	176
6.6	Shared understanding of the Space	182
6.7	Chapter summary.....	186
Chapter 7.	The Spatio-Temporal Layer, chronotopes and Heterochronicity	189
7.1	Introduction	189
7.2	The chronotope.....	191
7.3	Time-Space.....	192
7.4	Time	201
7.5	Heterochronicity	206

7.6	Heterochronicity with historical stances	211
7.7	Heterochronicity with future-looking stances	218
7.8	Stance and meaning-making over time and space	226
7.9	Chapter summary.....	228
Chapter 8.	Conclusion.....	231
8.1	Introduction	231
8.2	The Participatory Space Layers	231
8.3	Self-referencing.....	237
8.4	The Stance Triangle.....	241
8.5	Stancetaking in a Participatory Space.....	246
8.6	Limitations, mitigations and future directions.....	250
8.7	Concluding remarks	254
References	257
Appendices	281

List of Figures and Tables

Table 1: Playlist of YouTube videos for analysis	88
Table 2: Extracting self-referencing from the data	98
Table 3: Central and peripheral sexual categories from inthehouse [uploader] (2013)	134
Figure 1: The Membership Layer	44
Figure 2: The Audience Layer	55
Figure 3: The Spatio-Temporal Layer	66
Figure 4: The Participatory Space Layers	77
Figure 5: Du Bois' (2007, p. 163) Stance Triangle	81
Figure 6: Evaluation and positioning on Du Bois' (2007, p.163) Stance Triangle	111
Figure 7: The Membership Layer	112
Figure 8: Du Bois' (2007, p.163) Stance Triangle with Raz D / superkiwistar's interaction	126
Figure 9: The Stance Triangle with multiple stance foci	127
Figure 10: Alignment on Du Bois' (2007, p.163) Stance Triangle	149
Figure 11: The Audience Layer	150
Figure 12: "Persons and roles in the speech situation" (Bell, 1984, p.159)	164
Figure 13: Adrian C* and kiwimarck – when Adrian C* responds	169
Figure 14: The Stance Triangle for a polylogal audience	171
Figure 15: The Stance Triangle for a polylogal audience with Grant L*	173
Figure 16: The Spatio-Temporal Layer	189
Figure 17: The object of stance (or stance focus) on Du Bois' (2007, p.163) Stance Triangle	190
Figure 18: The Stance Triangle with chronotopes	227
Figure 19: The Participatory Space Layers	232
Figure 20: Du Bois' (2007, p.163) Stance Triangle with Raz D / superkiwistar's interaction	242

Figure 21: The Stance Triangle in a Participatory Space 245

Figure 22: Stancetaking in a Participatory Space 247

Chapter 1. Introduction

In April 2013, the *Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill* was voted into law in New Zealand, allowing two people “regardless of their sex, sexual orientation, or gender identity” to marry (New Zealand Parliament, n.d., p. 1). Not long after the vote in favour of the Bill, I sat at my laptop and watched a YouTube video uploaded by New Zealand’s parliament showing the moment it was announced. I heard the stirring rendition of *Pokarekare Ana*, New Zealand’s much-loved Māori love song, erupt from the public gallery in response. While physically alone in my room, I watched as other YouTubers, both from New Zealand and from around the world, shared the experience by posting their reactions in the commenting section on the screen. Some came out in support, such as “i am oh so proud to be a new zealander today¹” (KejaQT, in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013), while others expressed opposing views, such as, “Well, I won't be moving to New Zealand now” (zhukhov, in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013). I was struck by the way that so many commenters saw the Bill as an issue about who we are as New Zealanders, or what made citizens from other countries who they are, based on views from their countries about same-sex marriage. Despite being physically removed from one another, and not always sitting on the same side of the debate, we became connected to one another as YouTubers experiencing the same moment in time and space on the screens in front of us.

This Mediated Discourse Analysis study seeks to understand the YouTube commenting interaction I have just described. I look at what YouTubers have to say about themselves to an audience of transnational participants they are unlikely to have ever met, and with whom they are unlikely to maintain social ties. Specifically, I use Du Bois’ (2007) Stance Triangle as a framework for understanding the function of self-referencing stances. In doing so, this study also reflects on the

¹ See Chapter 4, Section 6 for further discussion on the retention of non-standard spelling and grammar in quoting data.

available theoretical frameworks for this topic. I propose a new framework for analysis for understanding the context of YouTube comments, which I call Participatory Spaces, and I suggest adaptations to the Stance Triangle for its use in understanding stances on YouTube. The analysed stances are all found in YouTube comments typed below videos on the moment that same-sex marriage passes into law in New Zealand, which I collected and will describe below.

To collect the comments for this study, I created a playlist specifically for this research. I then harvested the comments from both the original Parliament TV upload of the announcing of the vote (inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013), as well as the ten uploads that other YouTubers shared of that original video. While the videos are not all the same length as the original upload, they all include the moment that same-sex marriage was voted into law. I will describe the content of the original video here in order to present the various events and themes that participants refer to in their comments. The videos show the Assistant Speaker of the House, Lindsay Tisch, calling the House to order, and addressing the Members of Parliament (MPs) and public gallery with some administrative matters of the vote. He states that a *waiata* [indigenous New Zealand Māori song] will be sung following proceedings. He then announces 77 votes for the Bill, and 44 against. The sound of the public gallery bursting into cheers and applause can then be heard, and MPs begin clapping before rising to a standing ovation. The Speaker calls out, "Unlock the doors. Unlock the doors!" and the clerk stands and reads out, "Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill, Third Reading." When the Speaker begins to resume the administrative matters, a sole male voice breaks into a chant, followed by the public gallery joining in. The whole public gallery sings '*Pokarekare Ana*,' and during this song, the MPs hug and congratulate Louisa Wall, the Labour MP who put forward the Bill. At the end of the *waiata* there is more cheering from both the MPs and the public gallery, and the Speaker announces that the Chair will resume tomorrow.

In the commenting space found below all but one of the videos, the uploaders allowed other YouTubers to post textual responses; it is these comments that form the focus of my study. The topics of the comments include the vote itself, politicians, New Zealand's and other countries' same-sex marriage laws, religion, same-sex couples, human rights, and the song (to be discussed further, below), amongst other topics. Of the videos still left online by February 2018, participation rates varied from almost 1.6 million views of the original post (inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013) to 148 views of the least watched video (Alex Arathoon [Uploader], 2013). A similarly large range of participation was found in the comment section, with almost 7,400 comments appearing when data was first collected (in February 2014) on the most popular video (inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013). Due to some commenters deleting their posts, this number dropped by over 1,000 by February 2018. One video (jessica amber [Uploader], 2013), had no comments made below it when data was first collected, and the video was eventually deleted altogether, removing all traces of participation from YouTube. Almost 10,000 comments were available for analysis from the original data collection.

The singing of *Pokarekare Ana* is one of the most prominent features of the video. It is a Māori love song about a young man longing to be with his lover. The origins of the song are unclear, but two suggestions include it being written to persuade *Ngati Porou* [a tribe of New Zealand's North Island East Coast] elders to bless a marriage proposal ("Greenstone," 2016), or written by a group of unknown Māori soldiers in 1913 or 1914, while awaiting their posting to the war in Europe ("pokarekareana.com," n.d.). It has been described as "arguably New Zealand's favourite love song" and "New Zealand's unofficial national anthem" ("Greenstone," 2016). For many New Zealanders, the song evokes nostalgic feelings from remembering singing the song at primary school or while connecting with other New Zealanders overseas, as will become clear through my data analysis. It has also been described as:

a mesmerizing type of melody.... Most of the words are easily remembered and even for the most hardened kiwi it still conjures up some interior view they have of this country. I don't think people realise how much it has touched us all, without us even really knowing. ("Greenstone," 2016).

The sentiments provoked by the song, and the wider implications of what the moment shown in the video represents, were popular discourses in the self-referencing stances of my study.

In the next chapter I review the literature, focussing first on Computer-Mediated Communication, from the broad trajectory of study from the early 1980s to today, which shows a shift in viewing online communication as having a singular "Internet language" to a focus in more current research on how practices change amongst different participants in different online spaces. I also argue that YouTube research, which has only more recently included the comments rather than just the videos, has not so far focused on what YouTubers say about themselves in these comments, making self-referencing a novel approach to YouTube research. Despite existing frameworks being useful for understanding other online contexts, there is not yet a workable framework for understanding YouTube interaction specifically; I argue that this study will address that gap. The literature review also discusses existing stance, self-referencing, self-disclosure, and same-sex marriage research, in order to begin to outline the frameworks and contexts of this study.

In Chapter 3, I build on my argument that YouTube requires a more specific workable framework for understanding its unique context of interaction. Therefore, my first research question, "*What are the key features that make up 'YouTube' as a context for analysing online interaction?*" is dealt with at this point. While I acknowledge it is unusual to work on this research question in advance of the research methodology and separately from the other research questions, my reasoning is two-fold.

Firstly, during the initial review of the literature and reading of my data, it becomes clear that the features of Jenkins' (2006b) Participatory Culture and Gee's (2005) Affinity Spaces frameworks are both useful and problematic. The reworking of these frameworks into a new, adapted framework, which I call Participatory Spaces, is necessary before going further into the rest of my study. Therefore, using existing theories and comparing them to my data, I am able to outline three main themes for analysis in the Participatory Spaces framework. I begin with the Membership Layer, which focuses on how participants create metaphorical boundaries of the Space to interact within; the Audience Layer, which focuses on how speakers tailor their speech for different sections of an 'ideal' audience; and the Spatio-Temporal Layer, which focuses on the technical and temporal aspects of the Space. Secondly, it is through working with these three elements and immersing myself in the data, that the final two research questions emerge. Therefore, the second half of my study involves a deductive analysis, comparing YouTube comments from my data with the reworked features of the Participatory Spaces framework to test how the features manifest in YouTube. The three Layers subsequently form the structure of my inductive analysis in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

With the YouTube context and gap in the literature defined, Chapter 4 outlines the nature of the inductive analysis to follow. I describe Du Bois' (2007) Stance Triangle diagram as a framework for analysis, including how it can be used to understand the stances in my data. I then outline my next two research questions, "*What is the function of self-referencing on YouTube?*" and "*How can the Stance Triangle (Du Bois, 2007) be reworked for the context of YouTube interaction?*" I describe Mediated Discourse Analysis as a methodology; I argue it is appropriate for this study due to its focus on interaction as practice(s), as well as the multimodal aspects of YouTube interaction. I also include a discussion on ethics of YouTube research and a note on some of the writing conventions I use in this study.

In Chapter 5, I begin the second stage of research. Here, I start with the first Layer of the Participatory Space, the Membership Layer, where a diverse group of participants come together to interact over a shared interest. This is combined with the first side of the Stance Triangle, where participants evaluate a focus of stance and consequently position themselves in relation to that focus. Due to the diversity of the transnational audience that the Membership Layer highlights, and the differing views on what the shared focus of stance is, Blommaert's (2007) Sociolinguistic Scales is brought in to highlight the different value, weighting and vertically stratified position that participants assign to their different foci of stance. It reveals the centrality of particular concepts to different people, and how self-referencing stances are used to justify participation, claim belonging and warrant arguments within the Space. Moreover, it demonstrates that Du Bois' Stance Triangle should be adapted to include the multiple foci of stance that participants interact over.

Chapter 6 then uses the second Layer of the Participatory Space, the Audience Layer, which argues that the polylogal audience is complex and varied, as a focus of study. This Layer is combined with the second side of the Stance Triangle – alignment – which explains how participants' positioning and evaluations can be used to converge or diverge in their relationship with others. In this chapter, I use Bell's (1984) Audience Design to show that the Stance Triangle cannot account for the various levels of audience that YouTubers speak to and should be adapted to include addressees and auditors as separate sections of the audience. Features such as style convergence may indicate alignment between members – but that alignment may be about the shared interest of the space or about shared beliefs about practices within the Space.

Chapter 7 then focuses on the final area of Participatory Spaces, the Spatio-Temporal Layer, which sees participants' offline past, present and future experiences. This intersects with the focus

of stance, which is represented in the final corner of the Stance Triangle. I demonstrate that Bakhtin's (1981) chronotopes enrich our understanding of the nexus of the Spatio-Temporal Layer with the focus of stance. I argue that online and offline experiences give to – and get meaning from – one another, as well as giving to and getting meaning from other participants' experiences in other times and places. I again provide solutions as to how Du Bois' Stance Triangle can be adapted, to display the importance of timescapes by incorporating chronotopes into the Triangle.

I conclude the thesis with a summary of the function of self-referencing stances, arguing that in a transnational audience of unknown participants, self-referencing is used to provide greater understanding amongst participants; self-referencing can provide credibility to a stance or expression of a right to participate, but can also provide details of participants' experiences and reactions of their online and offline worlds in relation to the Marriage Amendment Bill. The conclusion also summarises how the Participatory Spaces framework successfully provides a context for analysing YouTube interaction, as it reveals specific areas of the Space that can be better understood through its use. In particular, the three Layers of Participatory Spaces highlight how the Stance Triangle can be adapted to better explain YouTube reaction. I then provide two final diagrams. The first combines the adaptations of the Triangle from Chapters 5, 6 and 7. The second incorporates these adapted features of stancetaking into a framework which outlines YouTube as a Participatory Space, based on the boundaries and practices defined by YouTubers. I finish with a discussion of the limitations of this research and future directions for Participatory Spaces, stancetaking and self-referencing on YouTube.

Chapter 2. Literature Review on Computer-Mediated Communication, self-referencing, stance and same-sex marriage

2.1 Introduction

This study is situated within the emerging research on Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC). Described by David Crystal (2001, pp. 238-239) in what he calls 'Netspeak' – CMC, or the new language of the Internet – “is a development of millennial significance [...and something which...] does not arrive very often, in the history of the race.” While Thurlow (2012) criticises this as a folk linguistic view, saying that “new linguistic practices seldom spring from nowhere, neatly quashing pre-existing forms and conventions,” new technologies have nevertheless developed quickly and created new areas for linguistic research in at least the past three decades. I will begin this literature review by outlining the development of CMC technologies from the early 1980s, and the resulting research on CMC participation from today’s audiences.

I then turn to the current phase of CMC research – Web 2.0 technologies – where collaborative, convergent media practices allow many-to-many interactive communication and variation in participation. I argue that more research is required in understanding the socially contested forms of participation in YouTube comments. I explain that focusing on personal stories would make a valuable contribution to our understanding of how YouTubers make meaning from and give to the semiotic resources associated with YouTube as they participate in the commenting section.

I next discuss two current frameworks in use for understanding YouTube as a space – Participatory Culture (Jenkins, 2006b) and Affinity Spaces (Gee, 2005) – and describe their usefulness

for understanding the social actions and technical affordances of YouTube. However, I will also argue that as they have been designed for analysing other online spaces, they require reworking for use in understanding YouTube as a social media platform. I will outline the gaps in the frameworks in this chapter, before looking at how to redress these gaps by using existing YouTube research in a deductive analysis of my data in Chapter 3.

While the predominant focus of this chapter is on CMC research and the YouTube context, there are three additional areas that require review before conducting my research. First, I review the literature on the Stance Triangle to show its usefulness as a theoretical framework for my YouTube analysis. I outline the research in social media to see how stance has been analysed elsewhere, as well as what is emerging in specifically YouTube research. Next, I outline what is known about self-disclosure and self-referencing in online contexts, as the early part of my literature review suggests these are under-developed areas of analysis. I begin defining these terms and argue that self-referencing is more appropriate for this research. However, I will reserve a more detailed description until Chapter 4, as I discuss how I chose tokens of self-referencing in my data collection. Finally, I finish this chapter with a review of Same-Sex Marriage Discourses in order to understand the socio-political environment that my participants are both influenced by, and add to, in the Discourses they present online.

2.2 Computer-Mediated Communication

CMC and technology research is often described as having gone through several phases. Firstly, there are the three phases of technology: the Pre-web, Web 1.0 and Web 2.0, which were met with different foci of research (Herring, 2015). There are also three waves of CMC research, from features of an 'Internet language,' to a second wave of variation studies amongst participants, to possible

future trajectories of research for the third (Androutsopoulos, 2015). Herring and Androutsopoulos's second and third phases do not match perfectly. Androutsopoulos suggests the third wave should look at how practices and social patterns of digital connectivity have changed over time. Herring differentiates between recent one-to-many publishing in the second, and the current, more interactive participation in the third. Nevertheless, there are still many similarities between their views on where technologies and related research interests have moved during the three decades from the mid to late 1980s to the present day.

Pre-Web CMC technology is described by Herring (2015) as the stand-alone, text-only technologies used from around 1985 to the late 1990s, such as emails, listservs, Usenet, IRC (Internet Relay Chat), MUDs and MOOS ('Multi-User Dungeons/Dimensions' and 'MUD, object-oriented,' text-based virtual reality systems). Paolillo (2001, p. 179) says that it was during the 1990s that the Internet arrived in the lives of millions of people around the world and was almost immediately promoted as "a means for fostering social connection and community-building among geographically dispersed people." Coining the term "virtual communities" in his research on the WELL [Whole Earth 'Lectronic Link] online community, Rheingold (1993) noted that these communities were based on social network capital, knowledge capital and communion shared amongst members. Collot and Belmore's (1996, p. 26) research on bulletin boards corroborated the sense of connection felt between virtual community members, through the way that long term participants knew each other's nicknames, mannerisms and ideas about different subjects. Participants also shared a connection through common interests and were generally highly involved and sympathetic to one another's participation.

Research on these early technologies tended to focus on Computer-Mediated Discourse (CMD) as a single language variety (Herring & Androutsopoulos, 2015, p. 128) – such as David Crystal’s ‘Netspeak’ mentioned above. Herring (2015) and Androutsopoulos (2015) both separately say that these early studies tended to look at micro-features of language, such as orthography, turn-taking, gender styles, word frequency, addressivity [how speakers direct their speech at sections of the audience], abbreviations, paralinguistic and prosodic cues. Yates (1996, p. 46), for example, noted that CMC shares a number of properties and characteristics with written discourse, such as the degree of lexical density typically evident in these two modes. Others (see, for example, Werry, 1996, p. 61) looked at how language was shaped to reproduce more discursive face-to-face spoken language, and how this was done within the affordances and constraints of the online environment.

From the mid-90s to early-2000s, everyday online usage tended to be predominantly ‘Web 1.0’ technologies. Here, one-to-many communication forms, such as online publishing of personal websites or blogs, and one-to-one communication, such as video chat and Instant Messaging (IM) became more popular (Herring, 2015). It is from this early research that I have retained the use of the word ‘audience’ to describe consumers of online content, though I understand these participants in the sense of ‘prosumers’ (who both consume and produce online content) now taking a more active role in producing the messages found online. As the CMC technologies and contexts became more diversified, Herring and Androutsopoulos (2015, p. 129) say researchers began to recognise that language was used differently in different kinds of CMC. In the early stages of this era, Crystal (2001) discussed how Internet language use would vary in different contexts, and spoke of ‘email,’ ‘chat,’ ‘virtual community’ and ‘web’ language varieties. Motives for usage and specific communicative practices in group interaction in role-playing MUDs were similarly analysed, and different groups were seen to interact differently according to group norms and goals (Baym, 1998, p. 46). In later stages of this research phase, interactional management, online community, identity

– including race, sexuality and gender – and intertextuality were the new areas of interest (Herring, 2015). Online linguistic forms were viewed as more socially variable and ideologically contested (Androutsopoulos, 2015). It is now commonly accepted that common modes, from private emails through to public blogs, each have “their own unique affordances, histories and cultures of use” (Herring & Androutsopoulos, 2015, p. 129). Even across modes, such as comparing open-access personal blogs to limited-access educational blogs for children, for example, large differences can be found within the textual genres.

The latter part of Androutsopoulos’s (2015) second wave, or Herring’s (2015) third phase of CMC, from around the mid-2000s to the present day, saw a shift from more personal publishing towards participation in ‘Web 2.0’ technologies. Participation and convergence rule the day, meaning that media content is produced and distributed through bottom-up participatory practices, and formerly distinct technologies and modes of communication have fused into more integrated digital environments (Androutsopoulos, 2011, p. 281). Social networking and content-sharing websites “dominate popular practice” within the large array of available digital communication modes available in Web 2.0 environments today (Androutsopoulos, 2011, p. 281). Even what would be considered more expository text – which would normally be top-down one-to-many communication, such as encyclopaedia entries – is collaboratively constructed on sites like Wikipedia and discussed on the ‘Talk’ pages that accompany each entry (Herring & Androutsopoulos, 2015, p. 129). Jenkins (2009, p. 109) tells us that much that is written about YouTube implies that the availability of Web 2.0 technologies has enabled the growth of participatory cultures. However, he argues that the opposite is also true: “the emergence of participatory cultures of all kinds over the past decades paved the way for the early embrace, quick adoption, and diverse use of such platforms.” I will further discuss ‘Participatory Culture’ (Jenkins, 2006b) in Section 2.6.

As stated above, Androutsopoulos (2015) predicts future research will move towards analysing changes and increases in the social reach of Internet use, and changes in social patterns of digital technology. Herring (2015), on the other hand, asks the question as to what will constitute linguistic research in the multimodal environment found online today. She says that participants no longer rely on single modes of communication, such as the purely text-based interaction in Rheingold's WELL research, discussed above. Rather, researchers should move beyond purely linguistic research to understand the interaction between text, emojis, video and image, amongst other modes. She also says that research into future and emergent technologies, such as tele-presence through the use of robot-mediated communication, for example, will require a better understanding of existing modes to highlight where new technologies are needed. My own research contributes to filling the gap highlighted by Herring (2015) of the need to have a better understanding of current online interactivity. The commenting section of the video repository, YouTube, with its multimodal affordances, is my technological mode of choice. I will outline in Chapter 4 how Mediated Discourse Analysis is an appropriate methodology to best understand the interaction of these various modes and practices. However, next, I will outline the current CMC research about YouTube.

2.3 YouTube

Current research that focuses specifically on YouTube demonstrates an understanding of the platform as a current technology and social tool. Linguistic research into YouTube emerged within the first five years of the site's foundation, although early research focused predominantly on the video content or attitudes towards YouTube participation from people who upload videos (see, for example, Adami, 2009a, 2009b; Burgess & Green, 2008, 2009; Chau, 2010; Christensen, 2009; Hendrick & Lindgren, 2010; G. M. Jones & Schieffelin, 2009; Kavoori, 2011; Lange, 2007b; Lange, 2008a; Stefano, 2008; Strangelove, 2010). It was not until the early-2010s onwards that researchers started paying attention to the commenting section, with Bou-Franch, Lorenzo-Dus, and Garcés-

Conejos Blitvich (2012, p. 502) noting that YouTube textual-comment research, at that point, was “scarce, especially within language-based disciplines.”

Early studies on textual comments included research into why discussions might occur (Thelwall, Sud, & Vis, 2012) and positive/negative sentiment analysis (Lindgren, 2012), both of which were conducted with exceptionally large data sets. While these quantitative studies give useful generalisations about categories and language forms, they could not provide detail about *how* YouTubers interact with one another. Alternatively, Lange’s (2007a, 2008b, 2016) interview data and Moor, Heuvelman and Verleur’s (2010) survey responses give interesting insights into video posters’ perceptions of the textual responses they received about their videos, but the focus is not on the form, function and nuances of the actual comments themselves.

Qualitative research dedicated to YouTube comments then began to focus on the linguistic form of YouTube comments, such as how short, positive and formulaic nature of YouTube posts were markers of a speech community (G. M. Jones & Schieffelin, 2009), or how coherence is achieved through linguistic devices in the “noisiness” of the commenting threads (Bou-Franch et al., 2012). While Androutsopoulos’s (2010) research on vernacular spectacles began with an analysis of recontextualised videos, he noted that recontextualisation also occurred within the commenting section as a way of bringing globalised texts to a more localised audience, offering an early discussion on YouTube written texts.

It is only recently that research specifically on YouTube comments has more closely followed the course of CMC research, as discussed above, moving from focusing on linguistic forms towards a

more socially contested and ideological approach to CMDA. The “inherent” nature of ‘hating’ felt by many YouTubers (Lange, 2007a) is likely responsible for the prevalence of research into antagonism found in YouTube comments. Research into online aggression ranges from Impoliteness strategies and discourse structures (Bou-Franch & Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2014; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, Lorenzo-Dus, & Bou-Franch, 2013; Lorenzo-Dus, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, & Bou-Franch, 2011), to swearing (Dynel, 2012), to responses towards ranting (Lange, 2014) to antagonism and sustained antagonism, or ‘drama’ Pihlaja (2011, 2012, 2014a). My own (Faris, 2013) research has similarly analysed Impoliteness in YouTube comments about CrossFit. While it is clear that antagonism is a salient feature of YouTube interaction, there is little research that analyses the more harmonious interactions that can also be found on the platform. This research on self-referencing in YouTube will include more examples of harmonious relations and begin to redress this gap.

Other topics on YouTube comments include research from Hall, Gough, and Seymour-Smith (2012), who looked at how masculinity was discursively produced in YouTube comments about make-up for men, despite the more typically feminine associations of make-up usage. Similarly, an analysis of how participation is enacted in using YouTube as a social action for civic debate has been analysed by Goode, McCullough, and O’Hare (2011), who say that despite the ‘unruly’ nature of YouTube debate, there is still a prevalence of gamesmanship, ritual, identity play, conflicts and pleasure in the motivations for YouTubers to comment about mainstream news videos. Meanwhile Carpentier (2014, p. 1013), perhaps more cynically, notes that there are minimal democratic participatory opportunities on YouTube, despite the participatory fantasy, and fantasy of agency, which I will discuss in Section 2.7 with regards to technical constraints within the site. However, he also notes that participatory practices were “enthusiastically embraced” by commenting YouTubers in his research on the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus. Pihlaja (2010, 2013, 2014b, 2016) has also done substantial research into commenting on YouTube, with a particular focus on Christians and

Christian references in interaction. His analyses of metaphor (2010, 2013) and positioning (2014b) both analyse language not for its micro-features, but for what they tell us about social indexing in the YouTube comments. Finally, I have also analysed comments about the YouTube upload of New Zealand Transport Agency's "Legend" advertisement and the expressions of a New Zealand identity within them (Kerry, 2014).

Similar to the authors discussed above, I seek to understand participation surrounding the comments below videos on the Marriage Amendment Bill as linguistic social action, rather than focusing on the micro-structures or discourse structures of the language. I seek to further our understanding of how participants can use these multimodal semiotic resources to make meaning of their experiences in their offline lives through their descriptions. However, while YouTube is known for fostering interaction between unknown participants, the literature review has uncovered very little research analysing the form and function of the personal details that participants are willing to share with one another in the comment sections, despite interacting with an unknown audience. Analysing the function of 'self-referencing' will be one of my main contributions to new knowledge that this study aims to address; this will be outlined further below, and in Chapter 4.

2.4 Self-disclosure and self-referencing

"The rise of social media has made possible the production of narratives by numerous individuals, not co-present in time or space, requiring researchers to reconfigure their understanding of narrative genres" says White (2015, pp. 629-644). Indeed, while it is the 'stories' in my data that prompted the interest in this data for my research, most comments in my data are too short to be considered 'narratives' (for example, Labov & Waletzky, 1997), or even 'small stories' (for example, Georgakopoulou, 2007). My aim to expand existing knowledge about what participants share begins

with a similar view to White's, above, of our need to reconfigure our understanding of what participants say in social media. This is where a focus on self-disclosure and self-referencing will be useful additions to the body of literature on YouTube interaction. I will begin with self-disclosure, as it is the more commonly used term for describing when people talk about themselves. I will then move to 'self-referencing,' which is the term I will use throughout this study.

Self-disclosure can be defined as "the act of revealing personal information to others" (see, for example, Jourard, 1971, p. 2). Early social psychology self-disclosure research by Morton (1978) differentiated between two kinds of disclosure: 'descriptive' and 'evaluative.' Descriptive self-disclosure is the revealing of *facts* about oneself, with particularly private facts including examples such as detailed accounts of the speaker's sex-life or a suicide attempt. Evaluative self-disclosure, on the other hand, is a presentation of the speaker's personal or intense *feelings or judgements*, such as strong expressions of love, misery or shame. Jourard (1971, pp. 14-15) says that a person's willingness, or intention, to self-disclose will depend on a number of conditions and factors. For example, the closeness of a relationship, reciprocity and existing knowledge or affinity between the participants will positively correlate with a person's propensity to self-disclose. Finding and analysing relevant factors have therefore been the focus on much social psychology research into self-disclosure, including in CMC contexts. Quantitative research in social networking sites has correlated self-disclosure with public self-consciousness (Varnali & Toker, 2015), affect (Yu, Hu, & Cheng, 2015) and context-cues such as trustworthiness and social presence (Li, Feng, Li, & Tan, 2015), for example.

The majority of social media research on self-referencing to date has focused on sites such as Facebook, where the profile user is known to friends and may include an 'authentic'² profile user

² See Chapter 4, Section 6 for further discussion on interpreting 'authenticity.'

name and photo. The distinction between Facebook or similar social media sites and the more anonymous participation in YouTube is important, particularly as the inclusion of profile information is associated with increased levels of trust, which correlates with increased levels of descriptive self-disclosure in certain support-seeking forums (Li et al., 2015). The known audience in other CMC contexts is also an important factor. The community of dancers in Dayter's (2014) Twitter research, for example, used positive self-disclosure not as a means of bragging or information-sharing, but rather their comments were interpreted as community-building by the recipients. Moreover, sites with known participants often have privacy management systems, meaning intimate conversations containing self-disclosure are more likely to occur through available private channels, such as instant messaging, than to appear on public commenting pages (Utz, 2015).

Self-disclosure research examining YouTube, like the majority of YouTube research, has focused predominantly on the videos rather than the commenting section (see, for example, Chou, Hunt, Folkers, & Augustson, 2011; Green, Bobrowicz, & Ang, 2015; Misoch, 2014, 2015; Morgan, Snelson, & Alison-Bowers, 2010). However, there are still many differences in how self-disclosure manifests between YouTube videos and the textual comments. For example, Green et al. (2015) indicate that while videos allow feeling and emotion to be expressed through non-verbal cues, more work is required by the receiver in text-based communication in processing and interpreting meaning. Misoch (2015) concluded that the use of the YouTube video as a tool for self-disclosure has specific forms of confidentiality management, such as the ability to anonymise or not, either through the use of a pseudonym³ or through limiting what to present via the audio-visual channel. Interestingly, despite the private and intimate themes revealed in YouTube note-card confession stories [videos where people face the camera and tell their story by writing them out on cards] – such as non-

³ Refer to the ethical considerations regarding pseudonyms in Chapter 3, Section 6, and the decisions I made regarding which pseudonyms to retain and which to obscure in my research.

heteronormative sexual identities, depression, loneliness and suicidal thoughts – visual anonymity was not found to be a necessary condition for self-disclosure in the videos. Rather, the asynchronous, “unidirectional communication” (a term these researchers have chosen, despite textual affordances actually being available for feedback) was found to enhance private self-awareness and lower social presence awareness (Misoch, 2014). In addition, a significant difference between analysing YouTube videos rather than comments is the length of the participants’ turns. For example, the narratives in Chou et al.’s (2011) research on cancer patients’ stories are of a sufficient length to conduct a full Labovian Narrative Analysis (Labov, 1972), where they recount how they found out they had cancer and what happened after that. Yet the comments in my data may be as short as only a few words, and using Labov (1972) or Labov and Waletzky’s (1997) frameworks is not feasible. Finally, research on self-disclosure in LGBT YouTube videos found that in addition to improving interpersonal relationships, enhancing one’s mental and physical health and changing societal attitudes, the use of video-mediated communication also serves to aid and support others. This is due to the platform’s affordances which allow (asynchronous) reciprocity between the producers and consumers of the videos (Green et al., 2015, p. 710).

Within the very little research which analyses self-disclosure in YouTube comments, the majority focuses more on outcomes for the participants than in specifically analysing overall YouTube practices. For example, Naslund, Grande, Aschbrenner, and Elwyn (2014) focused on themes and means of peer support found in textual responses to 19 videos which were uploaded by individuals with schizophrenia, schizoaffective disorder, or bipolar disorder. They found self-disclosure could both help and hinder recovery from or management of these illnesses. Their psychology research found that personal health information was frequently disclosed in participant videos and rewarded with encouraging viewer responses, or combative responses to negative comments or “outsiders” criticism. Elsewhere, research on self-disclosure in comments regarding non-suicidal self-injury

revealed that responses to self-harm videos rarely encouraged or mentioned recovery, and results suggested that sharing the experience may contribute to maintaining the behaviour (Lewis, Heath, Sornberger, & Arbuthnott, 2012, p. 380). More positively, McDermott, Roen and Piela's (2015) findings on online self-disclosure by self-harming LGBT youth suggest that the act of self-disclosing allowed the posters an opportunity to refute existing stereotypes, to manage and negotiate their pathologisation, marginalisation, and stigmatisation, as well as allowing them a means of articulating their LGBT identities (p. 884). The anonymity in the online forum allowed them to express their feelings without the same repercussions they worried they would experience in the offline world to known interlocutors (Roen, 2014). Green et al. (2015) suggest that analysis of viewer empathy through text-based communication surrounding YouTube videos is required to further understand the reciprocal side of self-disclosure in asynchronous communication. This connection between the participants is one aspect of my own research into disclosure in YouTube comments.

While the research described above does indeed include personal information, topics such as self-harming LGBT youths or the experiences of those suffering from mental illness are likely to express information that may be regarded as more private matters. This privacy was indicated by Roen (2014), who said some youths were not able to talk about their sexuality with close members of family, such as their parents; this is not always the case in my study. Therefore, the term self-reference, which can be described as "a process involving the schema of self" (T. B. Rogers, Kuiper, & Kirker, 1977, p. 679) may be more relevant to my data. In this definition, privacy is a less relevant concept than it is with self-disclosure. Using 'self-referencing' as a term, I will be able to analyse not only the emotionally invested tokens of self-disclosure, but also the 'schemata of self' that includes macrosociological plane categories (Silverstein, 2003, p.193) such as nationality, ethnicity and gender.

Very little existing research could be found on self-referencing, rather than self-disclosure, in CMC contexts. However, Coesemans and De Cock (2017) found that self-referencing by politicians on Twitter tended to be written in the third person and spoke more of their professional than personal lives. They concluded it was used as a means of branding themselves. The only instance of research into self-referencing on YouTube that has been uncovered concerns self-referencing as a medium of expression of consumer behaviour on YouTube (Stefano, 2008). This research focussed specifically on narrative self-referencing and, like the early YouTube research discussed above, it focussed on the language in the video itself, leaving my research into self-referencing in the YouTube comments an original contribution, to the best of my knowledge.

2.5 Stancetaking

I now move to discuss stancetaking as a framework, as it will be used as the overarching theoretical framework for this research. Stancetaking has been analysed substantially in linguistics research, including specifically social media research, such as Facebook Instant Messaging and online gossip (G. M. Jones, Schieffelin, & Smith, 2011), alignment in the blog *Stuff White People Like* (Walton & Jaffe, 2011), and the elitist stance of tourists who post photos on Flickr (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2009). Focussing specifically on Du Bois' (2007) Stance Triangle, I will describe the three sides of the Triangle in Chapter 4 and describe how the framework can be used as a means of understanding the way speakers take up a position in discourse. Positioning can be analysed both in terms of the way speakers evaluate a focus or object of stance, and in the way this positioning reflects their intersubjectivities, or their convergent and divergent alignment(s) with their audience. Du Bois' (2007) paper on the Stance Triangle, alone, has over 1000 citations, indicating that the Stance Triangle is perceived as a valuable theoretical framework for understanding interaction, including in online contexts.

In addition to social media research in general, the Stance Triangle is also becoming a widely-used framework for analysing YouTube comments. Common findings of such studies include the means by which comments can unite or divide the transcultural audience, and that aspects of regional or ethnic identities and their languages are salient features of the audience's stances. For example, an analysis of code-switching was used to index certain identities in Hachimi's (2013) research on the use of the regional Maghreb-Mashreq language variety in a globalised forum where Arabic prevails. He found code-choice indexed both regional identities and an elitist stance, as ideologies of 'impurity' and 'unintelligibility' were associated with a lack of prestige for certain codes. Elsewhere, Chun and Walters (2011, p. 263) found in their research on comments about the *'Axis of Evil'* comedy show that a shared stance towards Arabness brought them together more than a shared Arabic identity or language did. They predominantly focused on stylistic stance and the way parody and recontextualisation of style can inscribe Orientalising stances. Linguistic ideology and transnationalism were the focus of Krishna Sharma's (2014) research, too, where he found that stances about English language proficiency directed towards the Nepalese Health Minister's speech in English at a UN meeting articulated "much more than their affective stances of likes and dislikes" (p.26). Beyond affect, the participants' stances suggested both ideological and class-based attitudes about linguistic proficiency, produced by transnational Nepalese speakers who were more mobile and relatively more privileged than the majority of Nepalese from the homeland. Finally, while racial ideology was still the focus of the study of stance in Chun's (2013) research on 'masculine cool,' her paper is unusual in the way it also focuses on how notions of masculinity are tied up within Black American and Asian identities, and these ideologies are reinforced amongst comments from the transnational audience.

Perrino's (2017) research on racialised stances on YouTube theoretically bears much similarity to my own research, where Blommaert's (2007) 'Scales' (a framework for understanding the stratified nature of meaningful signs and their patterns of circulation, particularly in a globalised world) are used to enhance our understanding of how participants are framing nation states within their online stances. However, the particular data and participants in Perrino's (2017) research resulted in very different outcomes surrounding the stances on YouTube than my research will demonstrate in Chapter 5, due to different participants and data. For example, while Perrino's participants used anonymity to explicitly endorse anti-immigrant ideologies, my data allows me to focus on the revealing of personal information, and often explicit celebration of same-sex marriage ideologies. In addition, while Perrino's participants' ideologies created a nation-based scaling where Italians looked at foreigners via an 'us and them' dichotomy, the scales in my research include more transculturally focused collectivities of dispersed participants. This highlights the complexity of YouTube as a Space, and shows how the particular participants involved in a particular dataset (i.e. a particular thread of comments relating to a given video) may express very different stances, both in form and function.

White's (2015) research also bears similarity to my research through not only its combination of theoretical frameworks, with the Stance Triangle informing part of her analysis of YouTube comments, but also in its thematic focus on group belonging and narratives. White outlines how affective and evaluative stances about the New Zealand national anthem allowed participants to narrate expressions of attachment and belonging, with her analysis showing how individuals' ideas and beliefs exist alongside the structural processes of belonging. This analysis offers new insights into the ways in which individuals express their relationship to an imagined community. White also shows how feelings of belonging may be just as much challenged as ratified, and how YouTube may become a site of contestation as much as a site of connection. While White's focus is on banal

nationalism and online expressions of connection to an imagined geographical community, my own research comes from the other direction, showing how a geographically and culturally dispersed group of people, who imagine their physical communities are *not* connected, find other forms of connection (or separation) through their aligning and disaligning viewpoints in an online space. I will nevertheless return to her research in Chapter 5 as a springboard for my own analysis.

Finally, Kiesling's (2018) research on the performance of 'Pittsburghese' on YouTube gives insightful developments into the Stance Triangle which will be useful for my research. He suggests three simultaneous dimensions of relationships that a stance subject may create: a relationship to something represented in the text, a relationship to the talk itself, and relationships to interlocutors. He calls these affect, investment, and alignment, respectively (p.10). While alignment is not too dissimilar from the original framework, and affect bears similarity to 'evaluation' in Du Bois' original framework, his concept of 'investment' is an interesting consideration. Kiesling (2018, p.11) notes that an utterance such as "nice watch" is treated the same as "wow, that's a really swell watch you got there" in the original Stance Triangle, with regard to the strength of the emotion expressed in it. He argues that the Triangle is not able to indicate the increased investment in this second utterance but rather shows two people positively evaluating the watch and nothing more. I would argue that the Stance Triangle highlights that compliments such as 'wow' and 'swell' should be analysed both in terms of evaluation and alignment, indicating that the Stance Triangle is still useful. However, I also agree that there is room to better understand dialogicality than is currently shown using the Stance Triangle, and that Kiesling's additional feature highlights the necessity for a qualitative analysis of nuance, and the need to question if the Stance Triangle is able to describe all relevant phenomena found in a stance. In addition, Kiesling (2018, p. 12) suggests that 'stance focus' is a better term than 'stance object,' because "focus can be anything that is not even remotely object-like," and that the use of the term 'object' may be misleading. This is particularly when alignment with other

participants starts to concurrently become part of the stance focus. I will mirror this terminology in my research, as the participants are 'focussing' on more abstract concepts than the physical, tangible nature that the term 'object' implies.

The prevalence of research using the Stance Triangle as a framework indicates its usefulness at understanding interactions. In particular, its development "represented an exciting theoretical move because for once stance is grounded in specific forms and moves in discourse, and there is an algorithm for analysis" (Kiesling, 2018, p. 11). The existing literature also highlights the Stance Triangle's usefulness in understanding ideology and how this is represented in YouTube comments, particularly given the transcultural nature of the groups brought together in one place. However, Kiesling (2018) notes that the Stance Triangle "can be expanded and built upon, perhaps even by not having a triangle at all but noticing all the different possible alignments and disalignments that speakers can make with each other in a conversation." As I use this framework, therefore, I will be similarly questioning the Stance Triangle and looking to see where it can be improved for use in this context. Nevertheless, rather than completely abandoning the Stance Triangle, as Kiesling tentatively suggests, my own approach is to adapt it for use with my data.

2.6 Participatory Culture

In order to conceptualise participation and practices in YouTube, the 'Participatory Culture' framework (Jenkins, 2006b) has been used by several researchers. Participatory Culture can be defined as "culture in which fans and other consumers are invited to actively participate in the creation and circulation of new content" (Jenkins, 2006a, p. 331). It marks a shift in the power relations from media industries to their consumers (Burgess & Green, 2009, p. 10). With its roots in Jenkins' research on fandom, Participatory Culture sees media participants not just consuming pre-

produced stories, but manufacturing their own artistic creations, and reducing the separation between readers and writers (Jenkins, 1992, p. 45). While Participatory Culture uses concepts of Web 2.0 interaction, it does not so much view the Internet simply as a means of freeing users from constraints of the old media. As Burgess and Green (2009, p. 14) suggest, separating the bottom-up practices of users from those of the top-down mass media industries is too simplistic a division. Rather, Participatory Culture is a means of reconceptualising media use, which requires the rethinking of social relations (Jenkins, Ford, & Green, 2013, p. 3). It is a “hybrid model of engagement with popular culture – part amateur production, part creative consumption” (Burgess & Green, 2009, p. 14).

The aspects of culture described as central to Participatory Cultures share five common features (Jenkins, Clinton, Purushotma, Robison, & Weigel, 2006, p. 7):

1. Relatively low barriers to artistic expression and civic engagement
2. Strong support for creating and sharing one’s creations with others
3. Some type of informal mentorship whereby what is known by the most experienced is passed along to novices
4. Members believe that their contributions matter
5. Members feel some degree of social connection with one another (at the least they care what other people think about what they have created)

Existing research suggests that these features are indeed present in YouTube. For example, Chau (2010, p. 69) argues that a sense of belonging and identification with the community is created through the easy content sharing of videos, which has become part of the communal discourse on YouTube. Strangelove (2010, p. 187) adds that co-producing videos in mash-ups and parodies creates cultural collaboration – another central concept of Participatory Culture. In addition,

audiences can connect socially with the video's creators and with other audience members through the commenting function. Participatory Culture is also a useful means of understanding the 'community' of YouTube participants, in contrast to the early virtual communities described by Collot and Belmore (1996, p. 26) and Rheingold (1993), as outlined in Section 2.2, where participants knew each other by name and may have even met in the offline world. Pihlaja (2012, p. 33) adds that "community membership on YouTube might best be understood as activity rather than identity." This is relevant to Jenkins' (1992, pp. 2-3) idea that notions of 'culture' and 'community' are problematic due to their notions of unification, hence creating the Participatory Culture framework to account for participants' practices, rather than the way they group together online.

Researchers have shown that Jenkins' Participatory Culture, although designed for Web 2.0 fan groups, can be used as a tool for understanding YouTube. Participatory Culture as a frame was even described as "prophetic" in its understanding of online participation (Waldron, 2013, p. 260). Nevertheless, as it stands, it has limitations when used for YouTube. As Waldron (2013, p. 260) points out, when Jenkins first began working on Participatory Culture in 1992, the web was in its infancy and YouTube had not yet been invented. Its original purpose of describing how fans of popular culture interact online does not fully take into account the different degrees of engagement amongst users on different platforms, such as YouTube.

We can see that variation amongst different participants is not accounted for in Jenkins' framework firstly in the way the group's values can be collectively grouped in descriptions such as "members feel [...]." These phrases may be better suited to early CMC research, whereby community members were grouped on their similarities, and internal variation was hardly accounted for. Despite Jenkins' assertion (2006a, p. 57) that online groups are often voluntary, flexible and

temporary, lasting only as long as the tasks that set them in motion, the feature “members believe their contributions matter” still too strongly implies joint engagement for a site such as YouTube – many members do not spend the same length of time socialising with the same people and building relationships with them as participants on popular culture fan sites might. While a YouTuber may contribute by increasing the view count, or by adding one comment to the list of responses, it is unlikely he or she would believe such a contribution, on its own, would be significant. Jenkins et al. (2006, p. 7) do hedge their views that members’ contributions matter by saying that “not every member must contribute, but all must believe they are free to contribute when ready and that what they contribute will be appropriately valued.” Nonetheless, the term is still too overarching to be useful.

The other aspect of Participatory Culture that it is limited in providing understanding about YouTubers, is that it is too vague about its context. As Strangelove (2010, p. 103) points out, despite the absence of an agreed definition among scholars, there is evidence that many Internet participants do see their group as a community. However, the traditional concept of community includes the idea of forming groups through *belonging* to geographical or social boundaries, and relational concepts of one community group being *exclusive* to an ‘other’ (Anderson, 1991 [1983]; Cohen, 1993; MacQueen et al., 2001). While Participatory Culture defines a cultural movement, it still gives us no greater understanding of who or what distinguishes one group from another. Jenkins, himself, (in Jenkins & Carpentier, 2013, p. 272), says that the Participatory Culture framework fails to answer the question, “participation in what?” Therefore, this research will combine Jenkins’ framework, which conceptualises the group’s culture through its social actions, with Gee’s (2005) concept of Affinity Spaces. The Affinity Space as a concept may add useful insights into the metaphorical boundaries of online spaces, and outline the specific affordances of these spaces that influence cultural practices.

2.7 Affinity Spaces

The Affinity Space framework focuses on the idea of “a *space* in which people interact, rather than on *membership* in a community [original emphasis]” (Gee, 2005, p. 214). Affinity spaces allow us to ask “about what thoughts, values, actions and interactions go on in this space, by whom and with whom, without assuming any one group membership or, for that matter, any membership at all” (Gee, 2005, p. 223). In questioning the boundaries of Participatory Culture, Jenkins and Carpentier (2013, p. 278), agree with the concept of Affinity Spaces allowing for the decentralised and fluid form of social structure. This means that interaction occurs through a shared interest rather than shared geography (Jenkins & Carpentier, 2013, p. 278; Strangelove, 2010, p. 105). These groupings of online participants are short lived and may emerge ad hoc from a question or topic, then dissolve when they become no longer relevant, and the idea of belonging and close-knit ties are dropped in favour of incorporating the many different ways and degrees someone may participate (Gee, 2005, p. 214; Lindgren, 2012, p. 155). Moreover, by understanding the technical affordances and constraints of the Space, the researcher may gain more insight into how these influence the participants’ actions. For example, Carpentier (2014) found in his research that YouTube comment participation was hindered by constraints from the YouTube interface, including the maximum 500 characters allowed in a response, the use of English in the comments (when participants were largely Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots), the order of the responses due to the reply function, and the moderation of comments by the video’s uploader, limiting what posters could contribute to the discussion.

Gee’s (2005) description of Affinity Spaces takes two directions. Firstly, he describes the parts of an Affinity Space (pp. 218-219). These include the *generator* (the content of the space), the *internal grammar* (the page layout, features and buttons, for example, created by the designer), the *external*

grammar (the desires, thoughts and actions of the participants), and the *portals* (the access to the content, such as a web link). Gee (2005, p. 218) describes the combination of these features as a Social Semiotic Space: the generator can be viewed as a sign, or a set of signs, and the social practices surrounding these signs give them their importance. The primary concern with Affinity Spaces is how understanding these features as signs within semiotic spaces, people “get and give meanings to the signs within them” (Gee, 2005, p. 218).

Gee (2005, pp. 225-228) outlines 11 features common to Affinity Spaces. They are not an all-or-nothing criteria list but, rather, the more of these features a space contains, the closer it is paradigmatically to an Affinity Space. They are:

1. Common endeavour rather than race, class, gender or disability is primary
2. Newbies and masters and everyone else share common space
3. Some portals are strong generators
4. Internal grammar is transformed by external grammar
5. Intensive and extensive knowledge is encouraged
6. Individual and distributed knowledge is encouraged
7. Dispersed knowledge is encouraged
8. Tacit knowledge is used and honoured
9. There are many different forms and routes to participation
10. There are lots of different routes to status
11. Leadership is porous and leaders are resources

The similarities to Jenkins’ Participatory Culture include common endeavour being paramount, meaning race, class, gender or disability are not barriers to artistic expression. Jenkins’ description of

the experienced participants sharing the space and mentoring the inexperienced, and Gee's description of the four types of knowledge being encouraged, are similarly compatible between the two frameworks.

Elsewhere, Gee's framework fills in some of the gaps of Participatory Culture. Importantly, it answers Jenkins' question discussed above, that Participatory Culture is "participation in what?" While the terms 'generators,' 'portals' and 'grammar' perhaps over-complicate the description of multimodal aspects of a site, and terms such as 'portals' are somewhat outdated, the inclusion of this terminology nevertheless highlights where participants are interacting and what tools they can use to mediate their social actions. This concept fills a gap in Jenkins' framework. Defining YouTube as a space also aligns with Pihlaja's (2012, p. 128) work on YouTube metaphors, where he found that YouTube was often described as a 'place' by participants, such as "here on YouTube" and "I have been gone from this place a year and come back to find this douche still here." This latter comment also suggests that participants do not necessarily expect the membership in the space to remain constant.

In another difference from Jenkins' framework, Gee turns away from concepts such as 'members' and 'social connection' and instead focuses on participation as a "much more fluid endeavour than is typically attributed to membership in a 'community' " (Duncan & Hayes, 2012, p. 7). The reason for not using the community construct is that "there are so many different ways and degrees of being a member in some communities of practice [*sic*] that it is not clear that membership is a truly helpful notion" (Gee, 2004, p. 77). For example, participants may go once or rarely to an Affinity Space, and may participate by observing without contributing to the content; it is difficult then to describe these participants as part of the group or community (Gee & Hayes, 2011, p. 70). Gee does say that

this participant is still relevant to the space, as “they still may get a good deal from their interactions with others and share a good deal with them” (Gee, 2007, p. 89; Gee & Hayes, 2011, p. 78).

Moreover, YouTube’s value is that its participants – the developers, the video uploaders and the audience members – co-create the site (Burgess & Green, 2009, p. vii); the grouping of participants is essential to the make-up of the space.

Gee’s framework, too, has some limitations when used for understanding YouTubers. Firstly, as a specialist in learning and literacy, Gee’s concept has been created primarily as a means of analysing school groups and how they could be reconfigured in the future (Gee, 2005, p. 214; 2007, p. 87).

Therefore, the emphasis on Affinity Spaces as sites of learning is over-emphasised for the YouTube context. I will argue below that despite both Jenkins and Gee incorporating some kind of mentoring in their frameworks for fan culture and learning sites, teaching and learning would be better considered one of many forms of participation, rather than forming a category in their own right.

Gee next describes “leadership as porous,” meaning the choice of who acts as leader is fluid and based on the moment of interaction, rather than long-standing hierarchical structures. While this may be correct, it is less relevant to understanding YouTube participation than it is in understanding how learning occurs in Affinity Spaces. In Gee’s research, viewing leadership as porous is in contrast with the traditional teacher role, with Gee and Hayes (2011, p. 88) demonstrating that learners can sometimes take on a leadership role. Consequently, as with the understanding of mentoring, the feature of leadership being porous will be reduced to one of many types of participation for this research. However, because participation in the YouTube online space is usually self-directed, the concept of leadership is less relevant still.

Gee's Affinity Spaces framework as a means of understanding YouTube could also be improved by incorporating some of the features outlined by Jenkins. Lemke (2005, p. 115) points out, because real and virtual spaces are also places, they can be defined by "what they contain *and* by the actions we perform in them." Jenkins can fill the gap in Gee's work, where Gee largely ignores social component of online interactions in Affinity Spaces. Lammers, Curwood, and Magnifico (2012, p. 55) point out that social media sites such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and Tumblr did not exist when Affinity Spaces were first conceptualised, therefore this form of participation was less relevant at the time. Lammers (2012, p. 46) argued that Gee's first feature of participants working towards a "common endeavour" was not enough to explain the friendships and social connections being relevant to the Affinity Space in her research. Curwood, Magnifico and Lammers (2013) added, "Affinity Spaces provide a passionate, public audience for content," and, "socialising plays an important role in Affinity Space participation," (pp.678-679) – a concept that this research will incorporate, albeit with a reduced emphasis on all members feeling similarly engaged or "passionate."

In addition, in current practices, rather than groups working within one central platform, such as a discussion board, contemporary participants are constantly moving from one site to the other (Lammers et al., 2012, p. 47). In the adaptations to Gee's framework made by Curwood et al. (2013, pp. 678-679), the suggestion that Affinity Spaces "encompass a variety of media specific and social networking portals" is a useful addition – it will be adapted into this research, and will be outlined in Chapter 3 as part of the Spatio-Temporal Layer. I will discuss how media platforms are situated not only within a multimodal online environment, where users may switch from one window to the next and interact in a number of different settings at once, but also that their offline settings influence their online experiences.

To summarise, this research will focus on the participants' practices as its prime entry into understanding the community on YouTube by adapting Jenkins' (2006b) Participatory Culture. To better understand why social media sites are different to interactions in real world spaces and to fill the gap in Jenkins' framework about what defines the space participants are interacting in, this research must also take into account the affordances of the spaces. This will be done by incorporating the aspects of Gee's (2005) Affinity Spaces that describe the interfaces used by participants. In Chapter 3, I will outline the adapted features of my combined, hybrid form - *Participatory Spaces*. I will use the original frameworks and existing YouTube research to formulate the basic features. I then test these features by applying them to my own data from the Marriage Amendment Bill sites of engagement, allowing for differences in the online spaces to be fully adapted for understanding YouTube as its own, unique online space.

2.8 Same-sex marriage

This next section covers a review of the literature on same-sex marriage and rights for same-sex couples. I have included this in my research overview, as the recent history and surrounding societal discourses inform the debate on the Marriage Amendment Bill and give meaning to the stances found in my data, more than outlining gaps in our existing knowledge. Nevertheless, while there is a wealth of literature on the history of and surrounding discourses regarding same-sex marriage rights, both from New Zealand and internationally, there is still a gap, as none of these are about online stances of Same-Sex Marriage Discourses.

Of relevance to my research, Tracy (2009, 2011) and Tracy and Parks (2010) analyse stancetaking in oral arguments about same-sex marriage, particularly in legal cases and the courtroom. Similarly relevant to my research are the studies on public attitudes about same-sex marriage with YouTube

videos. Most are from an American political context, such as the recontextualisation of Obama's "Yes you can" speech to imply his support for same-sex marriage (Rymes, 2012, p. 224), or on political engagement on topics such as the *Proposition 8* trials, which surrounded same-sex marriage laws in the United States (Thorson, Ekdale, Borah, Namkoong, & Shah, 2010). No research has been found analysing Same-Sex Marriage Discourses in New Zealand found in social media.

Existing research also highlights some of the important changes that have occurred in recent New Zealand and international history. This is useful for my research as it explains the context that my participants are situated in and the Discourses they produce. An early significant event in the New Zealand context took place in 1998 when three lesbian couples went to court to fight for the right to marry their same-sex partners, claiming discrimination under the Human Rights Act 1993. This brought same-sex rights to the forefront of debate (Pusch, 2003, p. 25). The political interest group, Rainbow Labour (a sub-group of the left-wing Labour party), advocated for the Civil Union Bill, creating a politically achievable stepping stone to provide same-sex couples rights and recognition, rather than pushing immediately for full marriage laws (Pusch, 2003, p. 30). In 2003, the Care of Children Bill was proposed and included giving lesbian and gay parents full rights to have children conceived through fertility techniques (Clarke & Finlay, 2004, p. 17). In April 2005, the Civil Unions Act 2004 came into force, allowing two people to form a legal relationship, regardless of sex (Statistics New Zealand, 2012, p. 61). Up to December 2010, 78 percent of the 1,851 civil unions registered in New Zealand were of same-sex couples (Statistics New Zealand, 2012, p. 61). In April 2013, The Marriage Amendment Bill was passed in New Zealand, allowing two people "regardless of their sex, sexual orientation, or gender identity" to marry (New Zealand Parliament, n.d., p. 1). It is this moment in time that forms the content of the video in my research on the resulting textual responses.

Elsewhere, the Netherlands was the first country to allow same-sex couples to marry, with two women marrying in April 2001 (Clarke & Finlay, 2004, p. 17). By the end of 2017, following the 'yes' vote in Australia, 28 countries have allowed same-sex marriage, and another 13 allow Civil Unions (Venkatraman, 2017, Dec 21). While these political moves are certainly improvements for same-sex equality, laws relating to civil unions and same-sex marriage are not without their problems. Firstly, civil unions may be viewed as a "gay thing" and not respectable for "straight couples" (Pusch, 2003, p. 39). Also, New Zealand marriage policy fails to take into account the Māori family structure of the *whanau*, *iwi* and *hapū* [extended family, tribe and sub-tribe], which goes far beyond the model of the nuclear family and the individual commitment of two partners (Pusch, 2003, p. 28). Adam (2003, p. 274) adds that marriage "has long been implicated in a politics of exclusion" as religious authorities attempt to throw out "others" from the national family, and marriage is used as a tool to mark that exclusion. Finally, Pusch (2003, p. 40) explains, with regards to the Civil Union Bill, that positive change can be achieved only if law reform is backed by public opinion; this could be said equally for same-sex marriage.

Moving from legal and social developments to a focus on discourse, many researchers have given an overview of the Opposing Discourses surrounding same-sex partnerships, marriages and parenting, both in New Zealand and internationally, with similar or overlapping themes. Qualitative research interviews found that Opposing Discourses included the religious belief that homosexuality is a sin, that same-sex marriage threatens the heterosexual institution of marriage, that it will lead to other taboo behaviours such as polygamy, paedophilia and bestiality, that couples will be a financial burden on the State, that same-sex parents are not good for children, that homosexuality is unnatural, and that marriage is for procreation and therefore not available to same-sex couples (e.g. Ashford, 2007; Brewer & Wilcox, 2005; Clarke, 2001; Goodwin, Lyons, & Stephens, 2013; Laurie, 2004; Madill, 2008). Opposition to the Marriage Amendment Bill also included the feeling that the

Civil Union Act already existed as an option and no further law change was necessary (Ashford, 2007, p. 50). However, in her analysis of submissions to parliament on the Civil Union Bill, Laurie (2004, p. 9) concluded that those who oppose same-sex marriage tend to express views without providing evidence or explanations. Clarke (2001, p. 558) adds that while religious arguments are sought as reasons against same-sex marriage, this is out of step with current opinion on other matters. Pusch (2003, p. 26) notes that marriage in New Zealand does not have to be recognised by any faith to be valid, showing that the institution of marriage is not necessarily a religious institution (see also, Marriage Act 1955, [NZ]). Demographic factors have been found to be significant in those who favoured or opposed same-sex marriage. Religion and conservative political affiliations were strong predictors of opposing views, as with low exposure to same-sex couples, being older, and male (Brumbaugh, Sanchez, Nock, & Wright, 2008, p. 347; Madill, 2008, p. 45). Similarly, existing beliefs in marriage as strongly traditional or attribution of homosexuality to choice rather than innate characteristics, negatively influenced views on same-sex marriage (Madill, 2008, p. 46).

Perhaps more surprising from the interviews and analysis of parliamentary submissions is the opposition the Civil Union Bill and Marriage Amendment Bill received from gay rights supporters or gays and lesbians themselves (Baker & Elizabeth, 2012b; Laurie, 2004). Some reject same-sex marriage laws as a means of rejecting the “deeply gendered and patriarchal strictures that marriage carries” and rejecting the Bills distances themselves from the stigmatisation caused by AIDS and Promiscuity Discourses (Adam, 2003, pp. 273-274). Political strategy may also mean that politicians may argue for a view contrary to their own personal beliefs. For example, despite previously being perceived as gay-friendly, Nicolas Sarkozy opposed same-sex marriage in France to appeal to the far right and to oppose socialist leader, François Hollande (Baruch, 2013, p. 24). In a New Zealand context, much speculation has been given for John Banks’s (a far-right Member of Parliament) motives to vote in favour of the Marriage Amendment Bill, given his homophobic comments during

the passing of the Homosexual Reform Bill and a lack of explanation for his change in stance (Donnell, 2012, August 28; NBR Staff, 2012, August 28).

There is less literature on the Discourses surrounding those who do argue in support of legal rights via same-sex marriage laws. The prevalent themes are that same-sex marriage promotes equal rights for both heterosexual and same-sex couples, they provide a provision for stability and recognition for same-sex couples, and that the government should not impose religious codes on a secular society (Baker & Elizabeth, 2012a, 2012b; Goodwin et al., 2013; Laurie, 2004; Pusch, 2003). Both Laurie (2004, p.9) and Baker and Elizabeth (2012b) argue that those in support of legislation such as the Civil Union Bill tended to use their own personal experience to support their views – a concept highly relevant to my research, that I will return to in Chapter 5.

While the above research predominantly involved interview data, there is also a prevalence of research on same-sex marriage and media representation of the debates. Goodwin et al (2013, p. 3) reviewed newspaper representation of arguments during the debate on the Civil Union Bill in New Zealand, using Billig's construction of Banal Nationalism as a framework. They found national identity was used to create a communal "we," discursively positioning lesbians and gays as an oppressive threat to the mainstream majority in a bid to gain "undue privilege." This consequently created cultural heterosexism (Goodwin et al., 2013, p. 14). Other research used Framing as a means of analysing the media (e.g. Kenix, 2008; Liebler, Schwartz, & Harper, 2009; Pan, Meng, & Zhou, 2010). Most research found that gay marriage is framed in the media as a morality versus equality debate (Pan et al., 2010, p. 633) and that these frames tend to support heteronormative assumptions about gender and sexuality (Liebler et al., 2009, p. 656). Kenix's (2008) comparison of framing in United States and New Zealand media found that differences in Framing between the two

countries' major newspapers had some influence on the successful passing of social policy in New Zealand and the unsuccessful attempt to do the same in the United States.

The purpose of my research is not to decide which side of the argument is more valid, but rather to analyse the way that people take a stance on these issues in the comments on YouTube. The usefulness of understanding the Discourses above is that they outline the individual and societal views that participants bring with them, and disseminate, in YouTube interaction.

2.9 Chapter summary

This chapter has outlined the existing research in Computer-Mediated Communication and how to understand the YouTube context as a space. The literature review began by tracing the trajectory of CMC research, showing that that research trends have moved away from defining micro-processes and defining various types of online “languages” to a more socially-based focus on practices in various contexts. The literature review has also revealed that while research into YouTube emerged from early on after the platform was created, research into the textual responses was scarce up until 2012. Within this newer branch of YouTube research, studies have focused more strongly on topics such as turn-taking, coherence and a burgeoning area of research into hostility and antagonism. Significantly, Pihlaja's (for example, 2011; 2014a, 2014b) research on metaphor, membership categorisation and positioning has begun to fill a gap in our understanding of the form and function of YouTube comments. Little research has focused on harmonious relations within these textual interactions, however.

This literature review also demonstrates that stancetaking and Du Bois' Stance Triangle are commonly used for understanding social media interaction including YouTube comments. The Triangle's usefulness is both in its provisions for understanding how participants position themselves in relation to a stance focus, and the other participants, but also in its appropriateness for understanding YouTube as a stance-rich environment.

This literature review also defined self-disclosure and showed that research on YouTube concerning this topic is scarce. Moreover, it argued that self-referencing may be a better term to describe all instances of participants talking about their personal lives, as it removes the notion of privacy and emotionally-loaded content that the term self-disclosure contains. Existing research on self-referencing on YouTube was found to be scarcer still.

The literature on Same-Sex Marriage Discourses was also outlined in order to describe the socio-political situation in both New Zealand and countries around the world. It also set the scene for the surrounding Discourses in participants' lives, and in their participation on YouTube. More literature discussed the Opposing Discourses to same-sex marriage than those in support. Relevant to my research, however, it was found that Supporting Discourses often included personalised stories as evidence towards the need for improved rights for same-sex couples.

The literature review also critiqued the existing frameworks used for online research. It showed that YouTube researchers have used Participatory Culture (Jenkins, 2006) as a framework for understanding the context, due to the prosumer-based participatory practices and interaction with others demonstrating how Web 2.0 spaces differ from offline contexts. However, because the

framework was written for understanding fandom online communities, it did not fully translate into YouTube, as social practices differed in the different space. I also argued that the definition of space left unanswered the question 'participation in what?' I then showed that Gee's (2005) Affinity Spaces filled many of Jenkins' gaps, particularly with regards to defining the boundaries of online spaces through a shared interest, and by focusing more strongly on the technical features of those spaces. Yet this framework, too, did not translate perfectly for YouTube, as it relied on more sustained connections between participants, and over-emphasised learning as the purpose of interaction. By combining the salient features of these frameworks, they can better explain participation in YouTube. This combination of features will be organised by three themes: the participants, the audience, and the spatio-temporal nature of the space, as separate aspects of a combined *Participatory Space*. These 'Layers' will be deductively compared with my data in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3. Investigating YouTube stratification and the formation of *Participatory Spaces*

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I argued that Gee's (2005) Affinity Spaces and Jenkins' (2006) Participatory Culture frameworks were useful for understanding Web 2.0 spaces. I showed that each fills the gaps in the other's frameworks, and the combination of the two allows an understanding of online spaces as bounded by the shared interest, influenced by the technical affordances, and as social spaces that are shaped by the participants' interactions. However, I also argued that they required reworking from the fandom and learning spaces that they were created for in order to be better adapted for understanding YouTube.

In this chapter, I compare the three features of the hybrid *Participatory Spaces* framework to see if they accurately reflect the nature of participation in YouTube, and rework them where necessary to make a better fit for this different context. During the course of this research, it became clear that the features appropriate to YouTube fell into three broad categories. First, the 'Membership Layer' covers the actions in the traces left by participants as they engage in the Space and how these traces reflect diversity in both offline demographics and online means of participation. Next, the 'Audience Layer' covers the way those participants are influenced by who they believe will interact with their digital traces and read them. Finally, the 'Spatio-Temporal Layer' shows how time, space and the multimodal environment further influence participation. I deal with each of these three themes separately. These are used not only in this chapter to group features by their related concepts, but also structure the study as a whole, as they guide the analysis of self-referencing stances.

3.2 The Membership Layer

The first group of features is centered on the concept that participants enter the space based on a shared interest rather than shared geography or offline social grouping, and that they are responsible for creating the content. This Layer concerns the variety of demographics found amongst participants, the reduced barriers to entry, the shared interest that brings participants together and the way that these participants' social actions shape the space, or as Gee (2005, p. 218) describes it, "internal grammar is transformed by external grammar." The resulting diversity of participants consequently includes the feature "there are many routes and forms of participation" (Gee, 2005, p. 228). The deductive analysis will also show that Gee and Jenkins' concepts of mentorship and strong social bonds are not as relevant to the YouTube context as in their spaces of study because of a lack of sustained engagement between participants. Moreover, a 'digital divide' still exists, even if the barriers to entry are lower than those of more elitist platforms or communities in offline spaces.

Figure 1: The Membership Layer

Membership Layer	The Space is defined by a shared interest	The Space is made up of a diverse range of participants	Participants' actions shape the Space in a variety of ways	Barriers to entry are lowered
-------------------------	--	--	---	--------------------------------------

These features, outlined in Figure 1, above, form the first Layer of the Participatory Spaces framework. I will now elaborate on each one.

3.2.1 The Space is defined by shared interest rather than demographics of the participants

One of the most useful concepts from Gee's framework is his explanation of how the space is defined, and how the groupings of participants are formed differently to the 'communities' found in

offline spaces. Rather than focusing on geographical, ethnic, gendered and social boundaries for connecting participants, this concept focuses on what participants do together to define them as a group, as they interact over a shared interest. Understanding this concept removes the idea of belonging and close-knit ties or sustained participation that may be found in online communities elsewhere on the Internet. Instead, it incorporates the many different ways and degrees someone may participate.

The shared interest in my data begins with the video of the moment that same-sex marriage passes into law in New Zealand, as it is the video that brought the participants together to interact with one another. However, while this shared interest is necessarily the same in order to create the Space, once participants are in that Space, the focus of their interaction may vary, and different but related topics may be found, such as the laws in other countries, religious discussions, the singing of *Pokarekare Ana*, personal experiences relating to relationships, the political situation in New Zealand, or their opinions on other participants in the thread, in my data.

In understanding the shared interest as the boundary for the Space, in lieu of a physical geographical boundary being available, the boundary should be interpreted flexibly. For example, in the Marriage Amendment Bill data, a Participatory Space's boundary could encompass one video on YouTube, such as "Parliament breaks into song after gay marriage bill passed in New Zealand" (jessica amber [Uploader], 2013), and the social actions that surround it, such as the views, comments and shares related to the video. That Space's boundary might not include a different video, such as "The Moment Australia's Parliament Broke into Song after Legalizing Same-Sex Marriage" (A Plus [Uploader], 2017), however. Another Space's boundary could extend to actions surrounding a wider collection of videos on a similar theme, such as my original channel's playlist of

11 Marriage Amendment Bill videos, as well as the social actions surrounding it, including commenting and liking, as listed above, but not include my personal playlist of music I like. Finally, the whole YouTube platform could be seen as the boundary, with other video sharing websites, such as Vimeo, MediaCore or Vidcaster, or other unrelated Internet sites forming the 'other.' As in offline groups, such as those the Community of Practice framework can describe, boundaries may vary depending on what focus is taken, with some groups overlapping, some subsuming others, and some groups which function separately but in direct relation to one another (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1999, pp. 188-189). For example, in Eckert and McConnell-Ginet's research, jocks, burnouts and teachers may all constitute different groups which function in opposition to each other within a high school, but they could also form one community of the school as a whole when compared to another school community.

Evidence of these flexible boundaries and overlaps between spaces can be seen in my data through one participant's comment:

Max L*

Maurice Williamson MP who made the speech about the gay rain bow has had to resign from the government this week for messing around with police matters [...].

(in CrazyWebs [Uploader], 2013).

Maurice Williamson is an MP, whose speech presented at the final reading of the Marriage Amendment Bill went viral on YouTube, but he does not appear in the videos in the channel created for this research. Nevertheless, Max L* assumes the other participants will share an interest in and knowledge of this related topic, as he demonstrates by including it in his conversational turn. While he does explain who Maurice Williamson is, the definite article in "the speech about the gay rain bow" indicates that Max L* expects others to be aware of that particular speech. Therefore, he may

be interpreting the boundary of the Participatory Space and shared interest as a wider Space than those who participate in comments below only one video.

3.2.2 The Space is made up of a diverse range of participants

The effect of defining the Participatory Space by shared interest rather than geography or social grouping means that participants bring a diverse range of nationalities, ethnicities, genders and sexualities to the Space, which can be seen in comments in the Marriage Amendment Bill data. For example, local New Zealand voices, such as: “ka pai [good on you] New Zealand, i sure am proud” (Chad M*, in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013) are found amidst those from overseas: “I think NZ took a great step forward and hope to see my country [identified as France] do the same soon!” (Benjamín G*, in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013). Some participants do not explicitly state their nationality, but their ethnic identity can be inferred from the non-native use of the English language, or by their choice of pseudonym, such as the non-standard English sentence constructions and Korean script found in this example:

정희 *

I want to know the name of the big lady who contribute the freedom.. the lady with glass.. anywon knows?

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013).

Consequently, this diversity offers a range of perspectives, questions and shared knowledge in the participants’ comments. I will discuss how diversity may be due to lowered barriers to entry in Section 3.2.4.

As a consequence of the diverse range of participants, there is also diversity in terms of values, opinions and stances on that shared interest. For example Niffe H* and Craig S* offer markedly different views on the subject of the Marriage Amendment Bill, despite both sharing an interest in discussing the topic:

Craig S*

God tells us that marriage is for a man and a woman, it's so sad to see people sin like that

Niffe H*

And +Craig S[*], not even your bigotry is going to harshen my buzz on a day like this. I sincerely hope that you will start seeing the world in a more loving light and your fellow human beings as brothers and sisters instead of sinners.

But until then: good luck with that hate and intolerance.

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

Despite Craig S* and Niffe H* evaluating the Marriage Amendment Bill from opposing sides of the debate, they are nevertheless still connected through a shared interest about the Bill passing.

Nick*72 sums up his perception that a range of opinions and participants on YouTube is normal, with his response to xxyodiexx elsewhere in my data:

Nickr*72 in reply to Niffe H*

well...whatever works/happens i guess. the internet is the internet.. you either have great conversations with like minded people...or terrible arguments with immature and ignorant idiots.

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

When Nick*72 compares conversations with like-minded people as being “great” to other arguments being “terrible” and made by “immature and ignorant idiots,” he demonstrates an expectation of the presence of opposing views in this online forum. While he is clear he disagrees

with others' opinions, he does not suggest they have no right to be there, but rather shows he is resigned to their presence as just the way things are, because "the internet is the internet."

Diversity in participation may also refer to the different purposes participants have for using the site. For example, Durga (2012, p. 93) found in her research on a game modding (computer game modifying) Affinity Space, that no two players shared a similar view of modding, with some participants interested in improving game-play, while others were interested in improving their programming skills, despite it being their shared interest in modding that brought them together. My data similarly showed different purposes for using the Participatory Space, in addition to the different topics discussed, as listed above. Most participants did not expressly state their reason for interaction, but some of the participants' actions ranged from expressing opinions, to finding out more information about New Zealand and the Bill, to appreciating the song, and/or comparing the law changes in New Zealand to the social situation in their part of the offline world.

Next, when Gee (2005, p. 228) discusses the different forms and routes to participation, he suggests that social actors may choose to participate either centrally or peripherally in any space, and also that they may change their participation daily. Some participants may choose a lower level of engagement in the space at a given moment, such as by simply watching the video, to linking, embedding, favouriting, rating and commenting on them. Others – or the same participants in a different time or space – may demonstrate more active levels of engagement, such as uploading video comments, putting together a mash-up of favourite videos or creating and uploading original (Hendrick & Lindgren, 2010, p. 160). I will discuss this idea further in Section 3.4.4 in relation to the dynamic nature of the Space.

3.2.3 Participants' actions shape the Space in a variety of ways

An important aspect of Web 2.0 participation, and understanding interaction as grouping participants, is the way that social interaction also shapes the Space. On one level, every time a new participant enters a Participatory Space, the Space changes, at the very least, by one more view count on the screen, making the total number different for every successive participant. On another level, participants who leave comments leave new digital traces, topics and views, which shapes the Space even more obviously for the later participants who read them – and as I will discuss, below, how the nature of these digital traces may change over time. On a larger scale still, the 11 participants who uploaded a video of the Marriage Amendment Bill passing into law created a larger area for others to interact within in their creation of content that did not exist in the Space beforehand. As participants repeatedly view, comment and recirculate YouTube videos on the one hand, it makes the content more widely available to a larger number of people, but simultaneously, it makes the semiotic resources function differently for different people as the range of repertoires and meaning broadens (Rymes, 2012).

The differences in engagement levels described above are consistent with my data. For example, the view-count for the original video upload (inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013) showed that well over 1.5 million individual users had viewed the video, yet there were only just over 10,000 participants who 'liked' or 'disliked' the video, and just under 6,500 comments at the time data collection was complete, some of which were written by the same YouTubers. Of the participants who commented, many left only one contribution (sometimes consisting of only one word), compared to more prolific commenters, such as Chris B, who made 441 contributions to one video alone. Some commenters required several posts to ensure inclusion of their entire message, despite the 500 character restriction imposed by YouTube (a technical constraint less likely to be found in most forums used by

gamers and educational fan sites). Of the affordances outlined by Hendrick and Lindgren (2010, p.160) as being available on the site, such as the liking, disliking, commenting and uploading videos, most affordances were taken up by at least some participants in my data. Even though only one video response was found, and no examples of mash ups were discovered, enough variation in participation across a variety of modes was found to be consistent with existing research. This feature is also consistent with Dynel's (2014, p. 39) assertion that describing an 'active' versus 'passive' dichotomy of participation ignores the changing participation roles enacted by YouTubers, and is misleading. I will further discuss differences in engagement levels in Section 3.4.4 in relation to the dynamic nature of the Space.

3.2.4 Barriers to entry are lowered

An important aspect to consider when discussing participants interacting over a shared interest is Jenkins' (2006) and Gee's (2005) shared view that online spaces have relatively low barriers to entry, such as race, class, gender or disability. Firstly, the only requirement as to who can register an account so as to like/dislike, comment on or post a video, is having a Google account, and registration is not even necessary to view most videos, with age-restriction being the only barrier for a few adult-themed videos (YouTube, 2018). Adami's (2009a) research shows how despite the low participation from certain countries in the "Where do YouTube"? Space, as the participants interact over a joint endeavour in creating a mash-up of video responses from around the world, diversity itself is valued. Similarly, in my data, the way participants build up threads about the range of countries that they are commenting from indicates diversity is valued in this space, too. Moreover, YouTube's size and diversity of content means that unlike elitist websites such as 'BeautifulPeople,' or affiliation-focused sites like 'My Church,' amongst others identified by d. m. boyd and Ellison (2007, p. 218), YouTube does not structurally limit the audience to a target demographic.

One of the difficulties in analysing barriers to entry is that a lack of participation creates a lack of available data. Aside from this discussion, this feature will therefore be outside the scope of this study. There were no clear signs of barriers to entry beyond the use of English being the clear code of choice for participants, meaning non-English speakers might find it difficult to interact. Non-native English did not prevent participation, as evidenced by examples of non-standard English – and an absence of criticism of these entries from the other participants. However, Jenkins (2006a, pp. 23, 269) suggests that differences in gender, race, class or language may give groups more or less confidence and comfort about expressing their views in public. While there were examples of comments written in other languages such as Spanish, Dutch, Japanese and Hawaiian, these were rare, and even more rarely responded to. One participant in my data was not technically barred from the site, but potentially felt a lack of inclusion in the Space in an apparent case of ageism, as evidenced in jimssid1's response to this interlocutor:

jimssid1

I did not want to sound like an ageist in anyway. It just happens that there is a generational gap on the support of marriage equality and the fact that mostly older people oppose it shows that it is an policy that cannot be stopped [...].

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013).

Interestingly, the comment jimssid1 is responding to has been deleted. Jimssid1's utterance, beginning, "I did not want to sound like an ageist in any way" suggests that the deleted comment to which this is a response may have contained some kind of accusation of ageism. The deletion of the comment hints at a perception of a lack of inclusiveness in the Space as a barrier to participation.

Similarly, with regards to gender, Thelwall et al.'s (2012, p. 621) research found that 72.2% of YouTube commenters were male, perhaps indicating social barriers to entry for female participants. In my data, gender discrimination appeared in a comment found within a sustained interaction

between two males and a female. The more antagonistic of the two males addressed xxyodiexx as follows:

jay k*

xxyodiexx Chris B says you are a woman and worth a shag I am feeling generous and its pull a pig day do you fancy it chubby chops?

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

The taboo topic and language jay k* uses in saying xxyodiexx would be worth a shag is unrelated to the topics of religion found in her turns. Therefore, not only does the insult “chubby chops” give cause for offence, she is forced into a sexualised topic for which she has not agreed to join. While xxyodiexx had been an engaged participant to that point, she chose not to respond here. While it is outside the scope of this study, it is also possible that any number of participants viewed the presence of antagonism towards groups such as LGBTs, religious people, and certain nationalities as barriers to entry, but the absence of their participation is not measurable. However, because there was also a large number of participants claiming a diverse range of identity characteristics relating to ethnicity, gender and sexuality, there were still many who felt able to comment in the Space. Nor are the barriers discussed due to structural restrictions, such as YouTube requiring particular demographics in order to register for the site, which somewhat corroborates Gee and Jenkins’ views on all participants being welcome.

It can also be argued that barriers to access through these features are present in a range of digital technologies. Adami (2009a, p. 142) admits that of the 59 seemingly diverse countries represented in her “Where do YouTube”? video data, English-speaking, Western countries and particularly the USA occur more frequently; some countries, such as China, Iran, Morocco and Turkey, have censorship laws banning access to certain social media sites. It is for this reason that

rather than describing the audience in my data as 'global' – which would indicate participation possible from any part of the world – I will use the term 'transnational' (Vertovec, 1999), to argue that participation may, at the very least, transcend geographical boundaries. Jenkins et al. (2013, p. 189) add that a systematic bias is inherent in all Web 2.0 spaces, caused through factors such as a lack of digital access, disposable income or disposable time. In the US, they suggest the effect is more visibility for some groups, such as the Asian Americans reaching the top rankings in YouTube views and African Americans not gaining the same profiles. An 'elitism' may be present in the genre meaning that some viewers will have a lack of shared (specific and implicit) knowledge which will influence full comprehension of the themes, topics, histories and inter-textual messages in the texts (Adami, 2009a, p. 59). Therefore, the barriers to entry must be understood as 'reduced' or 'lowered,' rather than totally absent.

3.2.5 Membership Layer summary

To summarise the Membership Layer, diversity stems from participants varying in features such as their demographic categories in the offline world, to the variation in their social actions and forms of participation within the space. This Layer assumes lowered barriers to entry into the Space, and their connection through a shared interest. Moreover, the participants in the Membership Layer are what makes up the Space, and it is they who shape the content for the audience. While the audience is also made up of contributing participants – as speakers become audience members and vice versa – I separate the audience out for separate analysis with the next feature, not because they are perceived to be different people, but because at the time of participating, it is the influence of the unknown audience that will shape the way a participant behaves.

3.3 The Audience Layer

The next feature of Participatory Spaces incorporates features such as Jenkins’ concept of members feeling “some degree of social connection with one another,” and Curwood et al.’s (2013, p. 678) adaptation of Gee’s framework: “Affinity Spaces provide a passionate, public audience for content.” In this section, I will outline the nature of some of the interaction on YouTube, how the commenters are aware that public audiences will engage with the content, how interaction is often a form of social connection, but that they may not always be ‘sociable’ in the sense of amicability or connecting with others. I will also exclude Gee and Jenkins’ focus on teaching and mentorship of being worthy of their own feature when the frameworks are adapted for YouTube.

Figure 2: The Audience Layer

Audience Layer	Participants interact in front of an ideal audience	Social connections exist through short interactions rather than sustained ties	Some interactions may not be considered sociable	Participants decide which practices are meaningful
-----------------------	--	---	---	---

Figure 2, above, outlines the features of the Audience Layer, which I will now describe in detail.

3.3.1 Participants interact in front of an ideal audience

While Gee has little to say about the perceived audience, Curwood et al.’s adaptation of his framework adds that participants are aware of a public audience and that content will be catalogued and documented. The audience differs in YouTube in that, unlike other social media sites that have been researched in more depth, such as Facebook, the main point of social media sites is not necessarily to connect people who know each other already in the offline world (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007, p. 1143; Gruzd, Wellman, & Takhteyev, 2011, pp. 1295-1296; Robertson, Vatrappu, & Medina, 2009, p. 12; Strater & Lipford, 2008, p. 112). Facebook friendships are often friends from the online world, and Twitter threads may be followers either that know each other in the offline

world, such as friends, or that one side is aware of, such as fans following a celebrity. However, YouTuber audiences are unlikely to know the other people commenting on the posts, the people uploading the videos, or even the subjects of the videos themselves. Thelwall et al. (2012, p. 619) say that even if some known participants interact, “in principle, anyone with web access can view any public YouTube comment, and in practice, commenters can expect their messages to be read by at least some unknown people.” While the audience is unknown, participants can assume it exists in some form.

Nevertheless, Marwick and d. m. boyd’s (2010) research on participants’ beliefs about the Twitter audience is perhaps more closely related to how YouTubers perceive the audience than Jenkins and Curwood et al.’s concept of a singular, impassioned group making up the audience. Marwick and d. m. boyd (2010, p. 116) discuss the audience as “imagined” by tweeters, whereby the platform affords “dynamic, interactive identity presentation to unknown audiences.” In this research, the audience was often viewed as context dependent, with overlaps between audiences such as friends and family, potential customers or followers (p. 120). Consequently, rather than setting up a static profile page as on other social media platforms such as dating sites or Facebook, tweeters used their posts as a form of self-presentation and sometimes targeted their posts according to who they perceived their audience to be at the time. Many tweeters regarded the audience as an “ideal” audience who was the mirror image of the writer, and who will share their perspective and appreciate their work (Marwick & d. m. boyd, 2010, p. 120). Twitter audiences differ from those on YouTube (and particularly the Participatory Space in my data, which focuses on a one-off event) as ‘followers’ may either know the participant personally, or they may sustain engagement in the Space (Halavais, 2013). Nevertheless, the imagined and ideal audience is still relevant to YouTube, since participants do not know one another. However, Lange (2008b, pp. 369-370) shows that YouTube video creators are aware of audiences and that they may use different practices accordingly, even if

they do not know their subscribers personally. She says some specifically target the audience by making videos that are of broad appeal in order to attract wide audiences, while others restrict personal information in the videos, make videos of limited appeal for friends or restrict access to viewing them. The effect of the unknown audience on commenters will be discussed below, then analysed further in Chapter 6, as I outline how the unknown YouTube audience should be segmented.

My data similarly follows the notion that participants may not know who will read their comments, yet they are aware that their audience exists. For example, some members pinpoint specific sections of the wider audience with terms such as “anyone who” or “all the [type of people] who”:

Streksti

To anyone who issued a homophobic comment, I ask of you, "Why? What makes homosexuality so wrong that you need to say it in front of many others? Why can't you keep it to yourself?".

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

By pinpointing only those “who issued a homophobic comment,” Streksti is aware that others in the audience are not necessarily homophobic, so only part of the audience need take heed of his suggestion to keep “it” [their thoughts] to themselves. Those who are not homophobic may still read the comment, but they may interpret the comment differently as support, rather than confronting, than those addressed. This can be described as awareness of the ‘polylogal’ nature of the interactions, where both one-to-many and intergroup discussions take place (Bou-Franch & Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2014; Bou-Franch et al., 2012). Others show an awareness of the audience through their questions addressed at anyone who will respond, such as “What are they singing?” (BensonS*, in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013). Questions such as these are not perceived to be rhetorical

questions by the audience, who indeed respond with either information on what the song is or as to where they can find out more information. These questions, therefore, can be considered as directed at an audience, and the lack of obvious recipient or addressee suggests they could be for anyone in that unknown audience.

An interesting example of a user who is aware of the audience is from Hadrian M* (inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013), who copied and pasted the same post six times into one thread of comments. This appeared to be in order to get more engagement from the audience on the original post. This could contradict Curwood et al.'s (2013) feature of portals placing a high value on cataloguing content, as it appears she has assumed new readers will not have read the first five posts. However, as Marwick and d. m. boyd (2010, p. 116) suggest with Twitter audiences, while it is virtually impossible to account for their potential audience and actual readers, tweets may not actually be seen by infinite numbers of people. Instead they say, "nearly all tweets are read by relatively few people – but most Twitterers don't know *which* few people [my emphasis]." Indeed, different participants reacted to Hadrian M*'s posts, with some posts being received more positively or negatively than others, despite the matching content. It also shows an awareness of the dynamic nature of the Space, as she perceives different audience members to be present at different times. The dynamic nature of the Space will be discussed further in Section 3.4.4.

3.3.2 Social connections exist through short interactions rather than sustained ties

While my data shows that the feature of interaction being performed in front of an audience is, indeed, consistent with YouTube Participatory Spaces, it does not corroborate the idea of close-knit ties that Jenkins et al. (2006, p. 7) create through their descriptions, and conversations moving beyond the shared interest were almost totally absent. Features including phrases such as "strong

support” for sharing creations with others, and that members “believe that their contributions matter” and “care what other people think about what they have created” are more appropriate for fandom sites where interaction is sustained with the same participants over longer periods of time. While some YouTube Spaces may have more sustained participation, such as those created by uploaders with a strong subscription base, this is not the case for all YouTube videos. In my data, the lack of sustained interaction means the social connection between participants is too short-lived to be described as “strong support” or “care” by the majority of the audience. Moreover, content creators and commenters cannot be equally captured by the concept of “creator” in Jenkins’ definition.

Nevertheless, connections may still be established through interaction with one another. Audience members often respond to one another via nested reply, or by closely framing their response to an earlier comment to show that YouTuber as a direct addressee. For example, the similarity between the topics makes them appear to form a somewhat coherent conversation, whether they are intentionally direct replies or not, such as in the interaction below.

BloodyMaori

Woohoo! Go New Zealand!

John M*

i love this. i am totally moving to new zealand!!!

(in videos9148 [Uploader], 2013)

However, the interaction between BloodyMaori and John M* does not go beyond this one turn. Indeed, Rotman, Golbeck, and Preece (2009, p. 45) say that any given comment response is unlikely to lead to subscriptions, friendship offers, or to go further than two to three exchanges. This is possibly due to the short-lived nature of interactions. Between 77 and 80 percent of commenters in

Bou-Franch, Lorenzo-Dus, and Garcés-Conejos Blitvich's (2012, p. 516) research did not contribute more than one conversational turn. Interaction length is also generally short, with the most common length of turn in Thelwall, Sud and Vis's (2012, p. 622) large data set being only 19 characters long, or approximately 11 words. Similarly, the repetition of the comments "suggests that posters do not read more than the most recent comments, as the same queries and opinions recur" (G. M. Jones & Schieffelin, 2009, p. 1062). Sociality on YouTube is, therefore, generally very short-lived.

In addition, the social connection on YouTube may not necessarily be understood as "knowing" people, but rather the desire to share with others, such as in comments like:

Alexandra S*

My 4 and a half year old daughter adores this video, and this song. She doesn't want to see Hayley Westernra singing it, or a kapahaka group - just this video 'The one with all the happy people.' [...]

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013).

The comment about the participant's daughter and her quote about the video "with all the happy people" does provide an evaluation of the video, but it also implies the participant's positive evaluation of her daughter, whose opinion is worthy of quoting. Inclusion of this kind of personal information may not necessarily be used as an information turn, but potential 'cuteness value' in her daughter's description of the members in the public gallery singing, rather than information. This makes it a form of personal connection rather than rigorous debate. Regardless, it is still not sustained enough to be considered a social tie. Nonetheless, it is still firmly rooted in connecting with others over the shared interest of the video.

3.3.3 Some interactions may not be considered 'sociable'

Because impolite behaviour and trolling have become “normalised in the cultural system of YouTube” (Burgess & Green, 2009, p. 96), not all interaction on YouTube fosters positive social connections. Indeed, many participants in my research used the site as a space to debate antagonistically with other participants. Some hostile comments, such as jay k*'s antagonism towards xxyodiexx (in thehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013) – where he calls her a “chubby chops” and says he hears she is “worth a shag” since it is “pull a pig day” – as described in the Membership Layer, showed that interaction is not necessarily positive for all participants. However, while YouTube is not primarily designed for collaborative or collective participation, and cannot totally be classed as a social networking site, which is “primarily organized around people, not interests” (d. m. boyd & Ellison, 2007, p. 219), there is still “a distinctly social aspect to YouTube” (Haridakis & Hanson, 2009, p. 332). Some of these participants appeared to enjoy the debate such as Kent L*, in response to another antagonistic participant:

Kent L*

C'mon, miss piggy is more woman than you'll ever be, and how is that relevant to this debate. I can put a turd in a shirt and call him John Key too, and that is fake as well, but that has nothing to do with gay marriage.

(in thehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

By referring to “miss piggy” and nesting his reply to superkiwistar's turn, Kent L* is addressing superkiwistar and intentionally interacting with him specifically. While his turn is insulting both through its use of taboo language and in its suggestion that superkiwistar's facts are fake and irrelevant, it is similar in tone to that superkiwistar's turns. By calling the interaction a “debate” rather than an ‘argument,’ it is reasonable to assume that he considers each participants' tone to be acceptable for this context. It is, therefore, necessary to include a feature of social interaction as an

important feature of YouTube as a Participatory Space, albeit under the caveat that social does not necessarily mean harmonious.

Confirming existing YouTube research, only one comment in all of my data appeared to fit the idea of a 'social' connection, in that it moved beyond the topic of conversation on the shared interest of the video to other random conversational but amicable topics.

TiocfaidhArla

Are you in NZ? I was in Auckland and BOI a few months ago.

Griffin9857

Yes, I am in New Zealand :)

TiocfaidhArla

NI or SI? I like both. Akaroa- OMG- I wanted to stay forever!! [...]

(in CrazyWebs [Uploader], 2013).

The two commenters continue the conversation about travelling through New Zealand to a discussion of the toilets on the busses they travelled in. While New Zealand was the initial link between the rest of the discussion in the Space, the shift from the Marriage Amendment Bill related topics to travelling the country moved the interaction into more social space than related stances on the video. However, this conversation, too, continued for only one more turn. Because this was the only interaction of this nature in all of the comments collected, it is fair to assume – at least in this Participatory Space – that most participants believe that interaction over the shared interest is the most appropriate topic of conversation rather than other kinds of sociability.

Other kinds of personal comments could also be seen as a kind of “diary” commentary, whereby people comment to an unknown audience without necessarily expecting a response or connection to anyone in the audience. For example, alice o* comments as follows:

alice o*

feliciddaes nueva zelandia poco a poco todos aprovaran la ley y esperemos se viva en un pais mejor”

[congratulations new zealand gradually we are getting the bill passed and are looking forward to living in a better country]

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

It appears at a first glance that she directs her comment at New Zealand, except that it is written in Spanish, despite most New Zealanders being English speakers. It is, therefore, unclear whether the comment is indeed directed at New Zealanders or rather that the participant wrote the comment for herself. Marwick and d. m. boyd (2010, p. 119), for example, found when interviewing tweeters, that some users who tweeted “for themselves” saw the site as “personal space where other people’s reactions do not matter.” However, even if the tweets were not specifically directed at others, these participants still followed others and had followers, and were not tweeting into a void without an audience. This could also be the case on YouTube.

3.3.4 Participants decide which practices are meaningful

Another form of social interaction is the mentorship or passing of knowledge from masters to newbies, which were features that both Gee and Jenkins’ included as meaningful practices in their frameworks. Indeed, there were participants in my data who were able to ‘teach’ the uninitiated, be it how to use the Space, or information about the topics in the Space, such as New Zealand politicians or meaning of *Pokarekare Ana*.

Josh vdG

im unfamiliar with NZ politics, so who is the lady in the rainbow coloured top that everyones hugging ??”

reuillois

Louisa Wall (MP who submitted the law).

(inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013).

Interestingly, when reuillois ‘teaches’ Josh vdG about New Zealand politics, in the comment above, he does so, despite having previously identified himself as French. Regardless of nationality, his deep interest in the shared interest of the Space has led him to learn about other, relevant information to the point where he can ‘teach’ someone with less knowledge of the topic. Again, however, a one-off question and answer scenario does not constitute enough sustained interaction to be considered ‘mentoring.’ It must also be noted that not everything the novices in the Space read online will be based on fact, even if it proclaims to be backed up with sources. Indeed, my data showed examples whereby comments posed as stating evidence, despite their arguments lacking credibility:

Li G*

This is the end of civilization. And yes the next step would be legalization of pedophilia and other immorality. Look up to some European country's, that's already going on there.

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013).

Epistemically, the stance is phrased as linguistically certain, as there is no hedging when he says “this is the end of civilisation,” or what he believes the next step will be, and that he believes looking it up will confirm his statement. However, his point is not substantiated with actual evidence and could not be considered a worthy case of teaching. Therefore, in YouTube, teaching and mentorship are not as salient features as they are in Gee and Jenkins’ frameworks. Rather than eschew these practices totally, Participatory Spaces regards them as one form of many available practices and

purposes that YouTubers have. It is the participants who decide which practices are meaningful. For example, the previous section demonstrated that some participants interact via less harmonious interactions, some are in the Space to socialise, while some give a diary-type commentary – rather than assuming all participants partake in teaching and learning.

3.3.5 Audience Layer summary

In sum, YouTubers do not place the same emphasis on sustained ties as members of Jenkins' and Gee's online spaces do, nor those of traditional social media sites such as Facebook or a Twitter account with followers, where they may know who they are interacting with to a greater extent. However, there is still a social aspect to YouTube in the interactions that occur over the shared interest of the Space, and sociality is still worthy of analysis. Participants are aware of the audience when they perform their social actions and conceptualise the audience as ideal, in that they assume the audience has shared perspectives. This feature indicates that an unknown audience is considered by participants when they post online, and participants may comment on a personal or inter-personal level. The concept of the polylogal audience interaction will be analysed further in Chapter 6, where I introduce Audience Design (Bell, 1984) as a means of understanding the different parts of the audience speakers design their stances for. The practices that occur within the Space are decided by the participants meaning that teaching and learning, harmonious or less harmonious, and any number of other forms of participation are not only found within the Space, but their inclusion is decided upon by the participants themselves.

3.4 The Spatio-Temporal Layer

This final area of analysis comes from Curwood et al.'s (2013, p. 678) adapted features of Affinity Spaces: "participation is self-directed, multi-faceted, and dynamic," "portals are often multimodal"

and “Affinity Spaces encompass a variety of media-specific and social networking portals.” These features explain the multimodal affordances of the Space, how affordances are used by the participants, as well as the Space’s situation in other multimodal spaces, both online and offline. In addition, the dynamic nature of the Space presented by Curwood et al. (2013) rightly fills a gap in Gee (2005) and Jenkins’ (2006) work, where temporality is largely ignored. This current gap in the frameworks is despite the synchronous or asynchronous aspect of different online spaces – whereby participants interact either in real-time, or interact with traces left by a participant at an earlier point in time – being identified as strongly influencing the way in which social actors behave on a given site, such as with how participants manage coherence, addressivity and turn-taking (see, for example, Herring, 1999). The Spatio-Temporal Layer incorporates both the asynchronous nature of interaction, as well as the interrelationship of temporality between participants’ online and offline experiences.

Figure 3: The Spatio-Temporal Layer

Spatio-Temporal Layer	Participants’ actions are influenced by multimodal affordances and constraints	The Space is influenced by surrounding offline spaces	The Space is influenced by temporality	The Space is dynamic
------------------------------	---	--	---	-----------------------------

Figure 3, above, outlines the features of the Spatio-Temporal Layer, which I will now describe in detail.

3.4.1 Participants’ actions are influenced by the multimodal affordances and constraints of the Space

The first influence that the multimodal environment has on participants’ actions is the way that YouTube is only one of many other online, multimodal spaces that participants use. Participation in online spaces is seldom limited to the Space itself but may be determined by other outside factors

(Holden, 2012, pp. 157-158). R. H. Jones (2010, pp. 155-157) outlines, for example, how young people may have a polyfocal attention span in a range of online environments, where different programs are open in different windows and multiple tasks are performed at once, i.e. doing their homework while web-browsing, instant messaging their friends and downloading music, amongst other online activities. One possible consequence is that their attention is divided, reducing their sustained engagement in any one, particular Space.

Another possible consequence of YouTube's situation within the multimodal environment is that many online spaces become interconnected and participation in one may lead to participation in another. Links on people's Facebook pages or sent via email may be the reason that a YouTuber participates in a given Participatory Space in the first place, for example. Lammers et al. (2012, p. 51) say that movement amongst portals, such as through Twitter, Facebook, YouTube and Tumblr is "integral to young people's engagement in Affinity Spaces." On YouTube, some participants use multiple resources, such as other websites to learn more about what they saw in the video, spurring other participants to move into different Spaces.

oirudleahcim

I read a nice article on wikipedia about the song. I also looked up "waiata" and found all the information intriguing, especially since I'm a music buff. The South Pacific's music is one area I have neglected a bit.

(in nzheraldtv [Uploader], 2013).

The use of Wikipedia by this participant was directly related to finding out more information for this Space, as he looked up the meaning of 'waiata' that he heard in the video. His interaction on Wikipedia should not be separated from his overall practice within the YouTube Space.

Alternatively, different technologies and videos from the original Participatory Space can be used to participate in the same event:

yoo toob

It is amazing. I've watched many angles of this event, some from cell phone recordings. It appears the singing started in the upstairs observer gallery and kudos to the speaker of Parliament for not banging his gavel, but joining in.

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013).

Here, multiple recordings of the event were aggregated and used to give the participant a better understanding of what happened. Moreover, by sharing this information on YouTube, the participant is connecting the various technologies used outside this Participatory Space, such as cell phones, to those found within it, such as the commenting section, widening the Space for other participants who interact with this comment.

Understanding the wider multimodal environment also allows an observation of how different online spaces encourage different forms of participation. For example, due to Google's ownership of YouTube, it was possible to see when the video was shared into another Google+ Space, as a digital trace appeared in the YouTube thread with 'Shared on Google+' in the by-line:

Dy OH Shared on Google+

Watch: Marriage Equality Legalized in New Zealand

Keep watching till the end to hear spectators sing a Maori love song in celebration.

Mauri ora! Kia ora! [Cheers! Best wishes!]

Read more at <http://bit.ly/NZmarriageEQ>

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

The 'Shared on Google+' comments tended to take different forms to those situated in YouTube alone. As with Dy OH's comment above, many Google+ shares described the content of the video to an audience which has not likely seen the video with a call to action to watch, such as "keep watching till the end," plus a description of what they will see if they do, such as the singing of a Māori love song in Dy OH's example. The commenters who posted only on the YouTube platform worked under an apparent assumption that most participants had already viewed the video, as comments did not outline the video to someone who had not seen it, nor were calls to action to watch it found in my data. The only instance where a YouTube-only commenter checked if someone had watched the video still did not describe it or state directly to do so:

xxyodiexx 2 years ago in reply to Chris B

Also...have you seen that video up there ↑ ????? One of the most moving things I've seen in a while. Hopefully US will follow soon :)

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

However, the response could be interpreted as Chris B thinking the question was strange to ask:

Chris B 2 years ago in reply to xxyodiexx

ummmm yep, I live in New Zealand, it is kind of a famous vid here now. I hope you do as well.

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

The elongated "ummmm" at the beginning of Chris B's sentence is not likely signalling that he is not sure whether he has seen it or not, particularly as he says the video is famous here (in New Zealand), but rather that he is not sure how to respond, as signalling the answer to the question is obvious.

The difficulty responding indicates surprise at being asked. The "ummmm" is used as a type of disaffiliation to show that the question was obvious, and would likely be interpreted by others as sarcasm. Similarly, the use of hashtags, while prevalent in Twitter (R. Rogers, 2013, p. xii), were rarely found in my data, as with the offline social connections, such as on Facebook, as discussed above, indicating further differences in practices on different platforms.

While Curwood et al.'s (2013, p. 680) adapted features do not explain the dynamic nature of online spaces in great detail, I interpret this to incorporate the ever-changing nature of online spaces. This makes YouTube a “particularly unstable object of study, marked by dynamic change (both in terms of video and organisation) [and] a diversity of content (which moves, and often disappears from, the service)” (Burgess & Green, 2009, p. 6). This feature is strongly related to the manner in which participants shape the Space, as discussed in Section 3.2.3. It is difficult to give evidence of the longer-term dynamic changes in YouTube by using one relatively small data set, in comparison to the size of the entire YouTube platform. This is especially in a dataset concerning a one-off event, which has all but dissolved over time – most of the discussions in my data sets did not go past about four months after the video’s uploading. However, the concentration of participation in the beginning compared to the almost totally slowed participation levels by the end of my data collection (other than a few small flurries of activity at times where the law was being passed in other countries) is in itself evidence of the Space’s dynamic nature.

Nevertheless, there is still evidence of the randomness of conversation and the manner in which types of participation change over time to corroborate the idea that a Participatory Space is dynamic. This is albeit on a shorter timescale and potentially to a lesser degree than we might see over many years of dynamic change to YouTube’s formal structure (internal grammar) and social practices (external grammar). Building on this idea from Section 3.2.3, that the Space is shaped by participants, dynamism may include the way the Space may change depending on which participants happen to be interacting. The nature of the comments tends to flow in and out of related topics, whereby participants discuss themes related to the ones surrounding it. When a new topic is introduced, the overall shape of the content may change, both in terms of style and form. For example, participants may shift the topic to the song, where they express short, positive comments

about how the song made them cry. Elsewhere, there may be threads where participants each send their congratulations from whichever part of the world they are commenting from. Elsewhere again, commenters may post long messages, using their full character count (or over several posts), quoting religious texts and negative sentiment towards the Bill. As expected, similar topics in a second pair part of a related assessment/agreement 'adjacency pair' (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1978), shows relatedness from one post to the next. Interestingly, however, when the topic changes completely, there is no requirement for the participant to note the lack of relevance to the preceding comments or lack of second pair part to the adjacency pair found in the comments, as may happen in a face-to-face conversation. In this case, the video itself could be considered the first conversational turn.

3.4.2 The Space is influenced by surrounding offline spaces

It is not just other Participatory Spaces that may merge with a given Participatory Space – offline spaces may also influence online activity. R. H. Jones (2010, p. 155) found that while young people in his research were using their computers, they spent more than a quarter of their time looking away from the computer screen, engaged in other activities such as family conversations, engaging in written texts such as magazines or homework, or with other forms of media, such as telephones or television programmes. These youth online practices are described as 'event complexes,' which make it difficult to discuss one particular practice in isolation, or even understand where a practice begins and ends (R. H. Jones, 2010, p. 157). Furthermore, it should be taken into account that many participants interact online with people they know, such as friends, classmates and relatives "with whom they regularly have face to face interaction, sometimes on a daily basis" (R. H. Jones, 2010, p. 158), which contrasts early research that suggested computers isolate students from the physical world (see for example Kraut et al., 1998; Kroker and Weinstein, 1994). The link between offline interactions and YouTube practices is clear, with 97.6 percent of interviewees in O'Donnell, Gibson,

Milliken and Singer's (2008, p. 2) research answering 'yes' to the question: "Do you ever talk with other people about videos you have seen on YouTube?"

It is not possible to observe offline interactions concerning YouTube in my data – and that of other researchers of online comments – making it an under-developed idea. Nevertheless, there are still discussions of the offline world found online which can deepen our understanding of the connection between offline and online spaces.

ludovica36

I learned this song from my Kiwi school teacher back in 1974, and still remember all the Maori words:)

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013).

For example, when ludovica36 discusses the song that she hears in the YouTube video, she speaks not only of her online topic of "this song" (*Pokarekare Ana*) but also of what it reminds her of in the offline world - learning the song from her Kiwi school teacher. The connection between the online and offline world, as demonstrated in user comments, will be a central focus in Chapter 7, and, as far as I am aware, an original contribution to knowledge. This comment is also interesting as it is not just the 'here' that is removed from the YouTube interaction, but also the 'now'; she is discussing learning the song many years earlier, in 1974. This concept of multiple spaces and multiple times will also be analysed, as I use Bakhtin's (1981) idea of 'chronotopes' and Lemke's (2005) 'Heterochronicity' framework.

3.4.3 The Space is influenced by temporality

I suggested at the beginning of this section that temporality was a gap in both Gee (2005) and Jenkins' (2006) frameworks, particularly with regards to synchronicity, or the time delay (or lack

thereof) between when the first participant leaves a comment to when the later participant(s) read and potentially leave a response. This is important, as the asynchronous nature of YouTube leads to different social actions than in Spaces where no delay occurs. Coherence outside real-time interactions may be problematic, although this is improved by the use of visual spatial cues within YouTube to indicate turn-taking behaviour (LeBlanc, 2010, p. 528), such as ordering replies and comments and annotating when a comment was made. However, Bou-Franch et al. (2012, p. 515) found, rather, that YouTubers' preferred "managing turns through turn-entry/exit devices and cross-turn addressivity signals." For example, YouTubers are more likely to use their interlocutor's name in a response than they are to copy and paste the comment they are responding to, which is consistent in my data. Bou-Franch et al. say this is unusual, when most CMC research indicates strategies such as cross-turn quoting and back-channelling are more common.

Moreover, d. m. boyd (2007, pp. 125-126) suggests that the public audiences in online networks have four properties that separate them from unmediated audiences: persistence (as online texts are permanently recorded forms of communication), searchability (as search tools can cover recorded texts), replicability (as recorded interactions can be copied verbatim) and the invisible audience (as we cannot ascertain all those who might find the text in networked interactions). The first three features all clearly relate to the asynchronous nature of YouTube, as they rely on the recording of digital traces remaining present for later participants. When d. m. boyd adds that the invisible audience is further complicated by the first three properties, since they will cause the original utterance to be heard at a different time and place from when it was originally formed, it confirms the importance of understanding this temporal feature. However, despite the permanence of YouTube comments, unless the hosted video is deleted, "comments on unpopular videos are likely to be rarely read and comments on popular videos are also likely to become rarely read as they are replaced by newer comments at the top of the list" (Thelwall et al., 2012, p. 619). Similarly,

Strangelove (2010, p.210) suggests that if a video becomes popular, that popularity tends to have a short life span, where it might be watched frequently when first uploaded then not watched at all after some time. Conversely, Bou-Franch et al. (2012, p. 503) say that the persistent textual record leads to a larger number of participants who interact over a prolonged period of time. As mentioned earlier, because my data revolves around a one-off event, the interaction is less persistent than that of another genre, such as a music video or film upload. In the comment below, we see evidence of both the asynchronous nature of YouTube comments, but also the persistence of the interactions.

MindFreeze

It's Feb 2017, life is still normal here in NZ. The sky hasn't fallen, Hell hasn't opened up & everyday is still the same. Where are you Australia? You are seriously lagging behind the rest of the World. 😞

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

By saying “It’s Feb 2017,” MindFreeze shows an understanding that whoever reads the comments is not interacting with her in real time – she either accommodates for the fact that the next participant may read the comment at a much later date, or predicts that the later participant may believe her comment was made earlier than it was. Nevertheless, this comment is evidence that nearly four years after the Bill passed, there are still participants – albeit many fewer – who go back to the video to watch it.

3.4.4 The Space is dynamic

Because participants shape the Space, and this is done over longer or shorter periods of time, the nature of the Space is dynamic; the Space may differ depending on who is interacting, the topics they are discussing, or the overall tone (for example, celebratory or adversarial), which is often influenced by these first two features. As discussed earlier, participants’ own behaviours may also be dynamic, as their actions change depending on what is happening in the Space at the moment of

their participation. This, in turn, makes the Space itself and the semiotic artefacts found there similarly dynamic. For example, Chris B's comments vary in style changes throughout different parts of the commenting thread. In the first example below, Chris B's disagreement is expressed through the colloquial insult "nutter" (crazy person) and the conversational "saves you having to write with crayons huh" to express a view that his interlocutor is childish – hence the use of a writing implement used by kindergartners rather than adults who can type. It is also written entirely in lower case letters:

Chris B in reply to iamevie21

mmmm thanks nutter who thinks the moon landing was fake.....we can think for ourselves and gay marriage harms no one. You must like the internet, saves you having to write with crayons huh..

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

This is in contrast to the style used in a later stance taken against another person he disagrees with:

Chris B in reply to John C*

No I think you don't understand. The public school system that promoted ordinary marriage and was non accepting of gays when I grew up is what I have rejected, so in fact it is you that are the sheep because you roll with what the generation above you has said is bad. Your moniker is ironic considering it is you that needs to wake up.

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

In this second example, Chris B uses jargon such as "moniker" and formal syntactic structures or vocabulary such as "non accepting" and "is what I have rejected" and a lack of contractions in "it is you that." This comment is written amongst a conversation about the 'Flynn Effect' theory, so the topic has influenced features from a more academic register for quoting research within his conversational turn. While the majority of Chris B's comments are adversarial, sarcastic and insulting towards other participants, his participation varies to the extent that very occasionally he may even

write comments for harmonious interaction, such as when xxyodiexx says that despite their religious differences both she and Chris B agree about the Bill and should join forces against “trolling bigots”:

Chris B in reply to xxyodiexx

Sounds fair, happy to team up with anyone that can think of others and not themselves all day.

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

This example demonstrates the point that participants may not always behave in the same way at any given moment on YouTube. I acknowledge that it is possible that the difference in participation could be explained by two participants using the same pseudonym. However, this is unlikely considering Chris B, xxyodiexx, and some of Chris B’s more adversarial interlocutors sustain prolonged interaction and no comment is made regarding anyone using the same pseudonym (which happened elsewhere in the data). I will return to the issue of commenters shifting style in Chapter 5, where I will demonstrate the way style is used by YouTubers as a kind of stancetaking, and in Chapter 6, as I discuss the influence of the audience on participation.

3.4.5 Spatio-Temporal Layer summary

To summarise the Spatio-Temporal Layer of analysis, the original frameworks rightly suggest that the influence of the technical affordances of the Space should be analysed in order to fully understand social action. Curwood et al.’s (2013) adaptation of the original frameworks allows an understanding of the dynamic nature of the Space. However, I have highlighted that Participatory Spaces as an adapted framework also takes into account the surrounding multimodal environment, and the interrelatedness of the online and offline worlds. Moreover, I have highlighted, through other YouTube research and the subsequent deductive analysis, that temporality must be included in the adapted framework as an important topic for analysis.

3.5 Chapter summary

My research is done by understanding the context of YouTube under a hybrid framework – Participatory Spaces – to understand the social actions on YouTube, and how these are influenced by features of the Space. It combines Gee’s (2005) Affinity Spaces with Jenkins’ (2006) Participatory Culture. I have demonstrated that while Jenkins helps us understand the social actions occurring within the Space, Gee helps us understand how the Space influences these actions. By combining the salient features of these frameworks, and reducing those that are less relevant to YouTube into combined categories, three distinct themes emerged, as outlined in Figure 4, below.

Figure 4: The Participatory Space Layers

Membership Layer	The Space is defined by a shared interest	The Space is made up of a diverse range of participants	Participants’ actions shape the Space in a variety of ways	Barriers to entry are lowered
Audience Layer	Participants interact in front of an ideal audience	Social connections exist through short interactions rather than sustained ties	Some interactions may not be considered sociable	Participants decide which practices are meaningful
Spatio-Temporal Layer	Participants’ actions are influenced by multimodal affordances and constraints	The Space is influenced by surrounding offline spaces	The Space is influenced by temporality	The Space is dynamic

I argue that the Membership Layer accounts for the shared interest defining the Space, the manner in which participants shape the Space and the lowered barriers to entry as being relevant to use in YouTube research, but with reworking the existing frameworks. They encompass the less sustained interaction found in this context. The Audience Layer then accounts for the way that participants are aware of an unknown or ideal audience, and that their creations are designed to be seen by others, but that the polylogal nature of the audience needs to be better understood than existing frameworks allow for. I demonstrated that despite sociability being an important part of YouTube interaction, the feature does not encompass the same levels of connectedness, harmony and mentoring as Gee and Jenkins describe in their Spaces. Finally, the Spatio-Temporal Layer accounts for the dynamic nature of online spaces and multimodal environment both within the Space and in

its online and offline surrounds. It also fills gaps in both Jenkins' and Gee's work, which largely ignore temporality, despite other online researchers arguing the importance of understanding time in space. Combining the three Layers, the Participatory Spaces framework aims to account for the complexity of YouTube interaction caused by the range of speakers, audience members and temporalities found in the one online space.

Chapter 4. Research outline

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I outline the processes and decisions made in researching self-referencing on YouTube, where participants bring personal, but not necessarily private, information about themselves into the interaction. I build on the literature review, which demonstrated the usefulness of the Stance Triangle as a framework for analysis; in this chapter, I define this construct more thoroughly as a means of demonstrating a speaker's positioning with regards to their stance focus and their interlocutors. I argue that Du Bois' (2007) Stance Triangle is an appropriate framework for understanding YouTube commenters' interactions, but that it also has limitations that this study aims to redress.

I then state two further research questions and explain the rationale for them – with my first question having already been addressed in Chapter 3. My subsequent inductive analysis focuses on the questions: “What is the function of the self-referencing stances taken in a YouTube multi-party interaction?” and “How can the Stance Triangle (Du Bois, 2007) be reworked for the context of YouTube interaction?” I will demonstrate how these questions will form the structure of the rest of the study, as each following chapter excavates a different Layer found in YouTube.

This chapter also outlines my methodologies and method of data collection and analysis. While Computer-Mediated Discourse Analysis (Herring, 2004) will be shown to be an umbrella term for any online research, I will detail how Mediated Discourse Analysis (Norris & Jones, 2005b) is a useful methodology for going beyond the linguistic forms alone and analysing language as social interaction and practice. It also allows a multimodal analysis of the signs found in the YouTube Participatory

Space. I will describe how I overcome or mitigate some of the limitations and criticisms of MDA, as well as with my data collection. In addition, I build on the definitions of self-disclosure and self-referencing that I made reference to in Chapter 2, and I outline how decisions were made as to what comments should be analysed in depth from my data.

I finish the chapter with a review of the ethical considerations that online researchers should be aware of, and explain how these influenced the decisions I made. This is done particularly in relation to maintaining privacy for the participants in my research, despite YouTube being a 'public' forum, but also finding the balance in acknowledging authors' ideas. Finally, I describe certain writing conventions in presenting the commenters' texts and ways of describing participants or phenomena in my research and the reasoning behind the decisions made in choosing terminology.

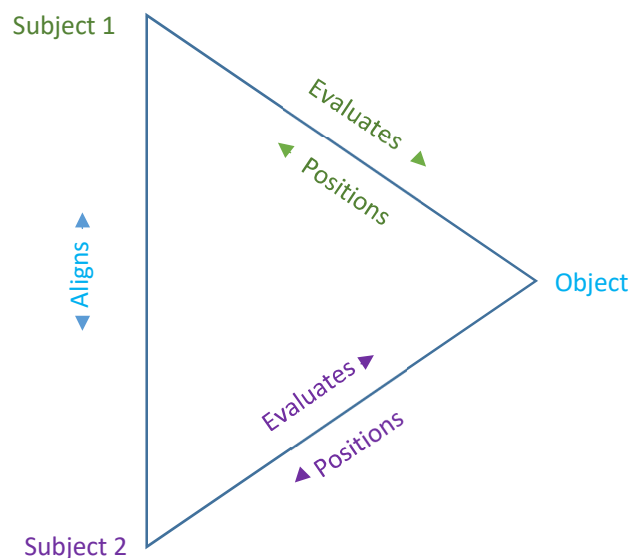
4.2 Stance as a framework

In Chapter 2, I argued that stancetaking is particularly relevant to YouTube, as the comments made below videos are written intersubjectivities as YouTubers interact with one other in debating their similar and dissimilar views. Moreover, the prevalence of research that uses the Stance Triangle (Du Bois, 2007) as a theoretical framework indicates its wide acceptance in linguistic research.

To further build on its definitions, stancetaking is a broad and multi-faceted topic (see, for example, Jaffe, 2009, for an overview of stance types). Various researchers have focused on different areas of Stance, such as *evaluation*, *epistemic stance*, *affective stance* and *positioning* (see, for example, Du Bois, 2007, pp. 144-145; Englebretson, 2007, p. 2; Jaffe, 2009, p. 6; Tracy & Parks,

2010, p. 67). However, Du Bois (2007, pp. 144-145) proposes that the various types of stancetaking could, in fact, be combined in one analysis. His Stance Triangle (Figure 5) is a means of interpreting *evaluation*, *positioning* and *alignment* in a single stance act (Du Bois, 2007, p. 163). The Stance Triangle analyses how the speaker firstly evaluates an object, secondly positions a subject (usually the self), and thirdly, aligns with other subjects (Du Bois, 2007, p. 163). While all three may not be overt in the utterance, the interpretation of the stance relies on analysis of each part of the triangle to understand the utterance in its entirety (Du Bois, 2007, p. 164).

Figure 5: Du Bois' (2007, p. 163) Stance Triangle



To give further detail to this concept, I will demonstrate how Du Bois' Stance Triangle works, using examples from my data. Beginning with evaluation, this is described as a broad category where an individual or community's value system is indexed via their language or discourse (Jaffe, 2009, p. 5) – put simply, evaluation can be understood as giving an opinion on something (from all levels of the continuum from purely affective through to substantially factual). For example, in Raz D's

comment (from my data), below, we see him evaluate the stance focus – the part of the video, or the moment in time, where everyone starts singing.

Raz D

God, this actually made me cry! Amazing when everyone starts singing together.
Congrats NZ! :..)

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

In describing the part where “everyone starts singing together” as “Amazing,” Raz D offers as positive evaluation within his stance, so we can also assume that the tears he cried were from overwhelming happiness. This is in comparison to superkiwistar’s response to Raz D’s crying, which is paired with a negative evaluation of the stance focus:

superkiwistar

it made me cry too – but for a different reason, i am sure. when advocates of perverted behaviour adopted by a 1.6% minority ruin traditional family values for everyone, it should be declared a crime against humanity.

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

Here, we can assume that it is not just the reason that made superkiwistar cry that differs from Raz D, but also that his tears differed, as his were unhappy ones, paired with other negatively loaded language such as “perverted behaviour” which will “ruin traditional family values” and should be declared a “crime against humanity.” However, the shared ambiguity of their stance focus between the two interlocutors, from Raz D’s focus on “this,” to superkiwistar’s “it” show an assumption that other participants will have a similar understanding of what the focus of stance is. We can also assume that superkiwistar believes he is commenting on the same stance focus as Raz D, due to the use of the word “too.”

Raz D and superkiwistar have different evaluations of the video's content, which, in turn, also *positions* them differently. Positioning is the process in which personal stories "make a person's actions intelligible and relatively determinate as social acts and within which the members of the conversation have specific locations" (Harré & Langenhove, 1991, p. 395). For example, when Raz D describes the singing as "amazing," he locates himself as pro the singing of *Pokarekare Ana* in parliament and, by association, at least in this Participatory Space, as pro-same-sex marriage. Conversely, superkiwistar's negative evaluation on a range of stance foci locates him in an anti-same-sex marriage position. Positioning also allows us to "find out how each conversant conceives of themselves and of the other participants by seeing what position they take up and in what story, and how they are then positioned" (Davies & Harré, 1990, p. 48). For example, despite superkiwistar's negative evaluation of the "perverted behaviour" that he believes the Bill advocates, he simultaneously takes up a position of being pro "traditional family values." Evaluation and positioning in participants' self-referencing stances will be the focus of Chapter 5.

In Chapter 6, I focus on the next side of Du Bois' (2007) Stance Triangle, which indicates the intersubjective positioning of one participant with another, based on shared or divergent positioning on that stance focus, otherwise known as alignment. In addition to the speaker being positioned in relation to the focus of stance, the speaker can also be positioned in relation to other speakers. For example, when superkiwistar said that "it made [him] cry *too* [my emphasis]," he not only positions himself against his focus of stance, but also in relation to Raz D, and Raz D's stance. His assertion "but for a different reason," followed by his anti-same-sex marriage sentiment positions him as opposing Raz D's view and, therefore, in divergent alignment with him. However, while in this instance we see a deliberate calibration or "pointing to" (Dick, 2010, p. 281) the divergent relationship on the part of superkiwistar, as his tears are directly related to the prior event of Raz D's tears, alignment may be more subtly demonstrated through different positioning of the speakers.

The various Spaces in my data include threads of aligning views, where common evaluations create a space of either pro- or anti- Marriage Amendment Bill sentiment and the combination of the threads together combine to form a two-sided debate on the changing law. Similarly, conversations on common stance foci, such as the song or the vote or rights for same-sex couples, collaboratively created a fuller picture of the various issues that the video brought forward for participants to think about. Nationality was a particularly predominant theme that occurred in most of the datasets in various places. However, the Space is dynamic, and different participants with different views come in and out of the thread, changing both the content and tone. Divergent alignment was prevalent, as opinions varied as much as the stance foci did.

The Stance Triangle will not only be my over-arching framework for analyses, but will also, alongside the Layers discussed in Chapter 3, form the structure of my data analysis. I will discuss further in the following section in relation to my research questions how I focus separately on each aspect of the Stance Triangle as a way of understanding different YouTube practices. I also demonstrated in Chapter 2 that while the Stance Triangle has been taken up enthusiastically by many linguistics researchers, that it is still at a stage where improvements and modifications can be made. Therefore, as I use the framework in my research, I will simultaneously question the use of the model and suggest further areas for improvement for understanding YouTube audiences.

4.3 Research questions

Throughout the process of researching stancetaking on YouTube and working with my data, my research questions have been reworked and developed as areas of interest became more apparent. This study began with aiming to understand YouTube as a Space in order to understand the context of the interactions for analysis. While the literature indicated that Jenkins' 'Participatory Culture' and Gee's 'Affinity Spaces' would be useful concepts for understanding the context of YouTube, it

became clear through the process of applying it to my data that the features of fan culture or online learning spaces did not always translate into a YouTube context. Therefore, to reiterate, my first research question was:

- What are the key features that make up 'YouTube' as a context for analysing online interaction?

I will outline further below, in Section 4.4.3, how a deductive approach was used to answer this question. It was necessary to answer this question before constructing more narrowly focused research questions inductively.

By answering RQ1 in the first phase of research, I was able to structure the second stage of my research. In the second phase, I conducted a data-driven analysis of stance as practice(s) found within the YouTube Participatory Space. Therefore, my next research question is:

- What is the function of the self-referencing stances taken in a YouTube multi-party interaction?

The function of self-referencing stances will be analysed by using the three Layers of YouTube features that Chapter 3 highlighted as salient for YouTube. These groups of features will form the structure of Chapters 5 - 7: in Chapter 5, I will focus predominantly on the function of self-referencing stances in the Membership Layer in relation to the positioning and evaluation aspects of the Stance Triangle. I use Sociolinguistic Scales (Blommaert, 2007) to guide my analysis of the warranting of stances and value placed on the demographic categories that participants describe themselves as belonging to. In Chapter 6, I combine the alignment aspect of the Stance Triangle to understand the Audience Layer, using Audience Design (Bell, 1984) to guide my analysis. Finally, in Chapter 7, I will analyse how the stance focus is situated in YouTubers' online and offline spaces, and how time and space interact with that focus (the Spatio-Temporal Layer), using the concepts of 'chronotopes' (Bakhtin, 1981) and 'Heterochronicity' (Lemke, 2005) as further lenses.

As already indicated, the Stance Triangle (Du Bois, 2007) is, for the most part, a useful framework to use. However, answering this second question highlighted some gaps in the framework when used for analysing YouTube comments. Therefore, my final question involved reflexively analysing the Stance Triangle:

- How can the Stance Triangle (Du Bois, 2007) be reworked for the context of YouTube interaction?

Du Bois (2006, p. 168) acknowledges that in its present state, the framework is challenged when presented with cases which do not appear to involve a shared stance object. This research will, therefore, simultaneously use the framework to aid in the analysis, as well as to reflect on its usefulness. I will make recommendations as to how the Stance Triangle can be adapted for use in YouTube research as another new contribution to knowledge. It is through combining the Stance Triangle with the other theoretical frameworks that gaps in the Stance Triangle framework can be redressed or reinterpreted.

4.4 Methodology

4.4.1 Data collection

The data in this research is sourced from the comments of a playlist I created of videos (see Table 1: Playlist of Videos for Analysis) where same-sex marriage passes into law in New Zealand. In 2013, Parliament TV (in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013) uploaded a video of the official parliamentary vote at the end of the Third Reading of the Marriage Amendment Bill, which was reposted in full or in part. I described this video in full in Chapter 1. The playlist was created when data collection began in February 2014, and includes any videos which included the announcement of the vote, which were found through searching with the key words “same-sex marriage,” “gay marriage” and “Marriage Amendment Bill.” YouTube then offered “Recommended for you” videos based on these

searches, which suggested further relevant videos and key words to extend the search. The search uncovered ten more videos where users had reposted the Parliament TV video, making a playlist of 11 in total of the moment that same-sex marriage passed into law, as outlined on the following two pages.

Table 1: Playlist of YouTube videos for analysis

Title	Uploader / date published	Engagement by February 2014	Engagement by July 2018	Link
Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill - Third Reading - Part 20	inthehouseNZ April 17, 2013	7,397 comments (1,454,313 views)	6,194 comments (1,599,507 views)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DW4DXOAXF8U&t=13s&list=PLFX-ncuYRmoVEkqhGGYwASUge6TXhsmgd&index=2
Gay Marriage Bill Passed New Zealand & Song	CrazyWebs Apr 17, 2013	1,223 comments (view count unavailable)	826 comments (98,071 views)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iLMBLV3A6ug&index=2&list=PLFX-ncuYRmoVEkqhGGYwASUge6TXhsmgd
New Zealand Parliament passes gay marriage bill -- and a love song.	Martin Richardson April 17, 2013	394 comments (137,554 views)	495 comments (258,023 views)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q9pOJ8Bc_g&index=3&list=PLFX-ncuYRmoVEkqhGGYwASUge6TXhsmgd
MPs Cheer Marriage Vote	nzheraldtv Apr 17, 2013	123 comments (15,975 views)	Video deleted	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vx-rzFfeHps&list=PLFX-ncuYRmoVEkqhGGYwASUge6TXhsmgd
LOVELY!!! New Zealand Parliament Passes Marriage Equality Bill	Jayness April 17, 2013	121 comments (view count unavailable)	Video deleted	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KIVaPHdTWMk&index=8&list=PLFX-ncuYRmoVEkqhGGYwASUge6TXhsmgd

Title	Uploader / date published	Engagement by February 2014	Engagement by July 2018	Link
New Zealand Legalizes Gay Marriage: Parliament Breaks Into Love Song	TopTenNow April 17, 2013	12 comments (6919 views)	Video deleted	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sbmiApJ3DaY
NZ Parliament Breaks into Singing after Legalising Gay Marriage	videos9148 April 19, 2013	2 comments (view count unavailable)	Video deleted	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HsrVx6xbcHY&list=PLFX-ncuYRmoVEkqhGGYwASUge6TXhsmgd
The Moment Same-Sex Marriage Became Legal in New Zealand	NewsInWorld Now Apr 17, 2013	1 comment (194 views)	1 comment (449 views)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ej99wHTAfY&index=7&list=PLFX-ncuYRmoVEkqhGGYwASUge6TXhsmgd
NZsaysYES	Alex Arathoon Apr 17, 2013	1 comment (116 views)	1 comment (151 views)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iuC1RzWv1tk&index=5&list=PLFX-ncuYRmoVEkqhGGYwASUge6TXhsmgd
Parliament Breaks into Song after Gay Marriage Bill Passed in New Zealand	jessica amber Jun 30, 2013	0 comments (26 views)	Video deleted	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lao4rTC_qeg&list=PLFX-ncuYRmoVEkqhGGYwASUge6TXhsmgd
Gay Marriage Passes in New Zealand	Michael Berg Apr 18, 2013	Comments Disabled (545 views)	Comments Disabled (853 views)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9KRUOZFUt-U&list=PLFX-ncuYRmoVEkqhGGYwASUge6TXhsmgd&index=4

The length of videos ranged from as short as 20 seconds (NewsInWorldNow [Uploader], 2013), which included only the announcement of the vote, to the original 4:47 minutes that inthehouse posted, to 6:32 minutes (Alex Arathoon [Uploader], 2013), which includes an unedited version and music during the counting of the vote⁴. By July 2018, only five videos remained online as some uploaders had deleted their post. In addition to the playlist that I used within YouTube itself, in February 2014, all of the comments below the video were copied and pasted into a document so that they would be preserved, should any comments be deleted. However, even by data collection in February 2014, some comments had already been deleted. This could be seen either by uploader's comments forming the second part of an adjacency pair where no first pair part could be found, or YouTubers discussing that other comments had been deleted, or by the YouTube platform indicating deletion when a link to a previous comment was broken. My initial data collection did not include the view count, as it is not specifically part of my analysis, therefore the information is not available for all videos. Nevertheless, I have included the viewcount in the table above in instances where it is available, as it further demonstrates the dynamic nature of the Spaces.

4.4.2 Methodological framework

This research is a type of Computer-Mediated Discourse Analysis (CMDA) (Herring, 2004), as “any analysis of online behaviour that is grounded in empirical, textual observations is computer-mediated discourse analysis” (p. 339). I will, therefore, refer to aspects of Herring's (2004) framework where relevant. Because CMDA is best considered as an approach, rather than a ‘theory,’ which allows researchers to select a set of methods that best suit the research questions and data, this methodology section will focus more strongly on Mediated Discourse Analysis (MDA). I will

⁴ It is not clear where the additional two minutes of footage came from, but it is possible that Alex Arathoon posted content from the televised version rather than the original YouTube post. I maintain that the content of all videos was filmed by Parliament TV, and am therefore I am crediting inthehouse for the original YouTube upload.

define MDA as conceptualised by Norris and Jones (2005b), but with reference to concepts from 'Nexus Analysis' (Scollon, 2001a, 2001b; Scollon & Wong Scollon, 2007), in which MDA was originally grounded. However, unlike Nexus Analysis, where steps such as interviewing participants and conducting surveys, conducting focus group surveys, and aiming to change the nexus of practice are all considered essential to the methodology, these steps fall outside the scope of this research.

CMDA may take one of two approaches: the first would have considered "CMC as text." Here, the Internet would have been viewed as a vast and dynamic archive of written language and research. It would have involved collecting large amounts of that data in order to analyse specific linguistic features or categories. MDA relies on the second of the two approaches that CMDA may take, which sees "CMC as place." Researchers using this approach are more likely to focus on digital literacy practices, whereby online spaces are seen as containers for text, and analysis rather focuses on how social actors use a particular medium in order to engage in social activities (Androutsopoulos, 2014, p. 77). In Norris and Jones' (2005b) work on MDA, they demonstrate the latter in describing their methodology as analysing "discourse in action," as understanding linguistic practices becomes the most salient area of analysis.

MDA works by understanding how social action is shaped by the available tools and repeated practices that participants do with those tools, or 'mediational means' (Norris & Jones, 2005a, p. 17). Mediation means may include both physical and psychological objects used to carry out actions, including language, gesture, material objects, and institutions, all of which are carriers of their sociocultural histories (Scollon, 2001b, p. 7). For example, on YouTube, the YouTuber (or social actor) may perform a mediated action of watching a video, then another mediated action of typing a comment in response. MDA also understands 'practice' as a countable noun, which is defined as

“social actions with a clear material existence in the world, as well as a psychological correlate in the habitus of social actors” (R. H. Jones & Norris, 2005). Practices become recognisable to other social actors as being the same social actions. YouTubers, for example, may share particular practices, such as writing similarly short messages, rarely using hashtags and even more rarely using the video response function – so much so, that YouTube removed this particular mediational means from the platform (Androutsopoulos & Tereick, 2015, p. 355). Moreover, Discourses become internalised as practice by long habit. If participants perform a particular action it starts to become spontaneously performed without the need to think carefully about how to perform it (Scollon & Wong Scollon, 2007, p. 163).

Another relevant concept for my research is the ‘frozen action’ (or semiotic artefact), which is when actions remain embedded in the material object after the fact. For example, anyone who goes to the YouTube site will see frozen actions in the view count showing the number of people who have watched the video, or the number of people who have liked or disliked that video based on the icons embedded in the webpage. The comments that people write as interactions are similarly frozen actions, and it is these semiotic artefacts, in particular, that form the data for my analysis.

The usefulness of MDA and its inclusion of ‘mediational means’ allows all semiotic modes to be taken into consideration. The first assumption underlying multimodality is that language is very much a central component that is analysed (Jewitt, 2009, p. 14). As Benson (2015, pp. 83-84) explains, the YouTube page is not just a written text, but an aggregate of “multiple semiotic modes, including moving images, spoken word, music and sound, still images, written words, and a variety of clickable objects, icons and links.” He asserts that there are typically more than 100 identifiable communicative elements on a given YouTube page, in addition to the comments themselves. It is

essential to allow the inclusion of all modes, because an exchange often begins with one set of semiotic resources and is completed by a turn that ends in another – a comment, he says, is often a text response to a video made up of images, sound and screen text. Moreover, the essential understanding of the use of these multimodal semiotic resources (i.e. ‘mediational means’) is that they are social. This framework, importantly for my research, focuses on participants’ practices and how they are shaped by the norms and rules operating at the moment of sign-making (i.e. the ‘nexus of practice’) (Jewitt, 2009, pp. 14-16).

MDA uses a range of specific vocabulary, such as ‘mediated actions,’ ‘mediational means,’ ‘social actors,’ ‘site of engagement’ and ‘frozen actions.’ My research uses the concepts and worldviews associated with these terms, which sees YouTube as a semiotic space where participants make and give meaning to the signs found within them. I use this terminology interchangeably with that of researchers interested in both multimodality and semiotics. Some widely accepted terminology for the same ideas listed above include ‘actions,’ ‘tools’ or ‘[technical] affordances,’ ‘YouTubers’ or ‘participants,’ ‘space’ and ‘[digital] traces’ or ‘signs’ respectively.

4.4.3 Method

In answering my first question in Chapter 3, where I sought to understand the features of the YouTube space, I used a deductive approach. As with all deductive analysis, this approach involved testing whether the data was “consistent with prior assumptions, theories, or hypotheses identified or constructed by an investigator” (Thomas, 2006, p. 238). In my case, I looked at each of the revised features based on Gee’s (2005) and Jenkins’ (2006) features of ‘Participatory Culture’ and ‘Affinity Spaces,’ as well as existing social media and YouTube research, to test whether they were also apparent in the YouTube context. As I compared each feature to the existing literature and to what I

found in my data, I reworked the features to be more relevant for YouTube, keeping those that were consistent with my data, and removing or rewording those that were not appropriate for the particular YouTube context. It was at this point that the three Layers emerged, as several features shared common themes with one another. I used the full datasets for this stage of research, without delimiting to tokens of self-referencing, as I aimed to understand the Space as a whole, at this point.

After finding that the YouTube context required significant reworking of Gee and Jenkins' ideas, I was researching in lesser-known territory. Therefore, for research questions 2 and 3, I used an inductive approach, where I used the data to guide my analysis. Thomas (2006, p. 238) suggests that a purely deductive approach may obscure the data due to preconceptions in the data collection and analysis, while an inductive approach "allow[s] research findings to emerge from the frequent, dominant, or significant themes inherent in raw data, without the restraints imposed by structured methodologies." As codes emerged from my data, I repeated the process (as described above) to ensure earlier examples were not missed.

In using MDA, I took the following steps in analysing my data inductively. After copying the data into Microsoft Word, and saving it as a PDF to retain all images and formatting, I copied and pasted every comment into the spreadsheet program, Microsoft Excel. Copying each comment separately into its own cell (using text wrap, so that every word of each comment can be read without scrolling across the page) also allowed me to go through every comment one by one as an initial familiarisation with the data. I then analysed the data through an iterative process of coding, where a comment was written in an adjacent cell to prompt me to go back and look at similar features amongst the cells. Once common themes began to appear, such as participants' self- or other-referencing of "Christianity," "sexuality" or "New Zealand," for example, I returned to the beginning

of each data set to make sure to have included all examples. Further examples were found throughout coding other topics as I became more aware of the importance of particular themes. Another advantage of hand-coding, rather than using data-mining software, meant that I was able to include references that I may not have thought to include in a token search, such as more symbolic connections to New Zealand. These include expressions such as “across the ditch” (meaning ‘New Zealand,’ in reference to it being found across the Tasman Sea from Australia) and “Kiwi” (meaning ‘New Zealander,’ referring affectionately to the national icon of the kiwi bird), for example.

The analysis of the data spanned from February 2014, and was closed by February 2018. I used a mixture of referring to the PDF documents, the Excel spreadsheets, and returning to the YouTube site itself. I preferred to code in Excel when looking for shared themes. However, due to the multimodal nature of the space, once interactions were noted as worthy of further analysis, I went back to analyse them on YouTube itself, so that the technical affordances were as representative as possible, including the positioning, spacing and order of the data, as found on the screen. This also allowed me to notice changes over time, including a small surge of new comments that were added after significant relevant events, such as Scotland passing same-sex marriage legislation in December 2014, and Australia doing the same in December 2017. I also used the PDF documents as some comments were deleted over the four years of analysis, and the PDFs allowed me to see what the original reactions were to particular comments. While this approach worked for the most part – as very few comments were added, so the data sets were not changing too significantly – the data collection should have been done more systematically. Rather than referring solely to the newly added comments at sporadic intervals, a full copying of all of the comments at regular intervals would have given a more robust method of tracking changes over time. Therefore, a detailed analysis of how the Space may change over time is outside the scope of this study, but could be an area worthy of research in the future, though new data would need to be collected.

4.4.4 Harvesting self-referencing data from the full datasets

I discussed in Chapter 2 that the distinction between self-disclosure and self-referencing is important for deciding which comments to extract from my data. I began the discussion looking specifically at 'self-disclosure' as a concept, defined by Jourard (1971, p. 2) as "the act of revealing personal information to others." However, without stating what kind of personal information that is, the literature revealed that self-disclosure research – particularly in psychology – has studied topics where participants reveal personal information that carries some kind of intense emotion, including suicidal or self-harming thoughts, more so than that which is found in my own research. My data includes information such as nationality and gender, which in a context of predominantly English speakers, would not likely require the same emotional investment to reveal. Therefore, I decided to use the term 'self-referencing' to describe the stances taken, which I define further, below.

I have used Rogers et al.'s (1977, p. 679) definition of self-reference, which is described as "a process involving the schema of self." In addition, Roger et al. (1977, p. 679) say "this process involves the interaction between previous experience with personal data and new stimulus input." While self-referencing here is defined as a cognitive process, its definition from psychology is still relevant, despite my use of the term to describe a speech act. Psychologists may use self-referencing to describe the encoding of new information based on personal data, while I have used it to describe linguistic evidence of how my participants describe their own experiences and interpretations of their online interactions. This allowed me to include not only instances of traditional self-disclosure, but in addition, any personal data of any experience or concept of the self that a participant may have had. Tokens of self-referencing include their self-described gender and nationality, for example, which may be potentially less emotionally salient than tokens of self-disclosure.

My first research question, where I deductively compared my data to existing contextual research on YouTube, used all of the comments in my dataset. For my second and third question, I analysed specifically the stances where self-referencing occurred, or was responded to. Deciding what tokens to extract as examples of self-referencing began with reviewing the definitions of self-referencing, above. I also conducted an initial familiarisation of the data before deciding on categories of self-referencing (outlined in Table 2, below) so that they could be coded as such, and extracted for analysis. When in doubt, the tokens were retained for further analysis and discarded only when clearly found to be irrelevant. The categories are on the following page:

Table 2: Extracting self-referencing from the data

Type of self-reference	Example of token	Similar examples that might be excluded
<p>Descriptions of macrosociological plane categories (Silverstein, 2003, p. 193), such as nationality, gender, sexuality, age, education etcetera, that participants say they are or are not.</p>	<p>I'm so proud to be <i>Kiwi</i>.</p> <p><i>Here</i> in Australia we...</p> <p>I'm a <i>Christian</i> but...</p> <p>I'm <i>not</i> even <i>gay</i>.</p>	<p>-</p>
<p>Descriptions of emotional responses.</p> <p>Personalised evaluations.</p>	<p>It's the 44 that <i>concerns me</i> more than the 77.</p> <p><i>I find that</i> so beautiful.</p>	<p>Formulaic expressions that refer to something within the argument, particularly in relation to the other person: <i>I'm so sorry</i> but you're wrong.</p> <p>Evaluations that are not overtly linked back to the self: <i>That's</i> beautiful</p>
<p>Descriptions of personal experiences – in the past, present or hypothetical future.</p>	<p>It made <i>me cry</i></p> <p><i>I live</i> next door to someone who...</p> <p><i>I saw this</i> on the news tonight.</p> <p><i>I can't wait</i> for this to happen in my country.</p>	<p>Formulaic expressions which structure an argument but do not relate to the participant outside the argument:</p> <p><i>I see</i> what you're saying.</p> <p><i>We're changing</i> the subject now.</p> <p><i>I just told you</i> that...</p>

I also included instances where participants used the same kind of examples to describe *someone else* in the interaction, such as “You’re obviously a Christian.” This is in order to understand the audience’s perceptions, based on any indexes given in the speakers’ stances, as well as any reactions given in response to those assertions. Therefore, these tokens are not analysed in their own right, but are used for the purposes of triangulation. Again, any references relating only to the argument and not the participants’ lives outside the interaction were excluded such as, “*You are guilty* of the logical fallacy known as Slippery Slope [my emphasis].” Including other-referencing provided more context for particular stances, revealed more about how the information provided by YouTubers was interpreted by others in the interaction, and it gave greater understanding of what information YouTubers thought necessary in this context. However, it is only the self-referencing tokens that are analysed in depth in this research.

4.4.5 Potential limitations

The first aspect of limitations considered before beginning this research concerns my data collection. I have limited my data in two ways. Firstly, due to the vastness of available data on YouTube, I have limited analysis to comments found in only 11 videos, all of which cover the same moment in time. Consequently, I cannot state that my claims are necessarily indicative of all behaviour on the platform (Herring, 2004, p. 351). However, I do not claim it is possible to describe all behaviour on YouTube, but rather, by analysing practices found in one context, I also propose reworking frameworks, with the aim of making them more useful for understanding other contexts – researched either at a later date or by other researchers. Researching this specific area adds to the growing body of knowledge which explains how each Participatory Space differs, based on factors such as topic and participants. For example, the norms of interaction in my Participatory Spaces data were different to those found in Chou et al.’s (2011) research into cancer narratives on YouTube, where participants used the video function to describe their long-term experiences of their illness,

and full narratives became possible. My own participants differed in the use of the commenting section to describe relevant experiences about the Marriage Amendment Bill, resulting in shorter, less story-like constructions in their self-referencing descriptions. However, the Participatory Spaces framework is still useful for analysing these differences.

Secondly, I have further restricted my analysis to instances of self-referencing within these datasets. Herring (2004, p. 351) suggests that while restricting by phenomenon may allow a more in-depth analysis of the linguistic behaviour, it may also lead to a loss of context, and conclusions about distribution become impossible. Conclusions about distribution have not been made in this research. With regards to the potential loss of context, I have dealt with this by retaining all comments, regardless of their content, so that each instance of self-referencing can still be analysed in its original context where necessary. The deductive analysis in Chapter 3 also allowed me to have a broader understanding of the Space when analysing this more refined section of the data. Moreover, the loss of context has some benefits. The prevalence of research on hating, antagonism, trolling and flaming on YouTube was outlined in the literature review. In data discussing same-sex marriage, there was indeed a plethora of vitriol from both sides of the argument, but many were particularly prejudiced towards already marginalised groups of people. Therefore, the decision to limit my data to instances of self-referencing quite intentionally prevented me from re-disseminating the full arsenal of prejudiced sentiments expressed (though it did not remove all instances), and allowed the celebration of the passing of the law to take a more central place. The focus on more harmonious relations on YouTube was similarly highlighted in the literature review as an under-researched topic of analysis – a gap that this study aims to redress. I do not state that the level of harmony presented in my analysis is representative of the nature of YouTube, nor even of my datasets. However, harmonious interactions are present and worthy of analysis to understand how they work, in as much as work on trolling seeks to understand those behaviours.

Like any methodology, MDA also has limitations. Firstly, like many qualitative research methodologies, subjectivity is a potential threat to making empirical claims. Some qualitative researchers suggest finding several researchers to separately code the data then compare notes to ensure that coding is consistent (see, for example, White, 2015; Wodak, 2008). Due to the solitary nature of completing PhD research, this has not been possible. Therefore, I have addressed this by working closely with my supervisors, who have focused some discussions on scrutineering my inclusion of evidence for any claims I make about my data.

Moreover, criticism of multimodality sometimes states that interpretations could be deemed impressionistic (Jewitt, 2009, p. 26). Despite an appearance of subjectivity, these impressions are often based on the attitudes and connotations that build up over large sections of interaction, which become recognisable and identifiable as particular practices embedded in both the participants' and analysts' habitus (King, 2015, p. 138). Instinct has indeed been a useful tool in the initial familiarisation of the data. However, as King states in his own research, evidence is still required for any claims I make. Increasingly, multimodal semiotic research looks across a range of data (Jewitt, 2009, p. 26). While I have not used resources such as participant interviews, I have used user responses found within the data as a form of triangulation. For example, if someone refers to "tears" from watching the video, a response such as "Same here. Beautiful!" indicates an intersubjective common interpretation of joy in those tears. Moreover, my interpretation is based purely on the available data. For example, if someone states, "So proud to be Kiwi," I analyse this comment as an authentic presentation of the online self at the moment of interaction, regardless of whether or not the person considers themselves to be a New Zealander in the offline world. The exception is in the case of obvious irony – which will always be triangulated with another user's response. Authenticity is discussed further in Section 4.6.

4.5 Ethics

The data collection and analysis has been approved by Massey University's Human Ethics Committee under a low-risk notification letter dated 4 June 2014 (Appendix 1). The preparation of the low-risk notification and issues of ethics, as well as continuing to collect data in the later stages of this research, was done in consultation with my primary supervisor. Additional consultation was sought from Senior Lecturer Gillian Skyrme, the Ethics Advisor for the Massey University School of Humanities, both in the earlier and later stages of this research. The research was accepted as low-risk due to its lack of interaction with participants and collection of data from a public Internet forum.

Despite the public nature of the data, consideration was still given to existing ethical practices in CMC research. Androutsopoulos (2014, p. 87) says that there is no general consensus on how to protect individual privacy in CMC research, and all researchers in the field face a tension between privacy and publicness in deciding how to do ethical work with CMC data. On one side of the issue, many researchers consider online comments to be found in the public domain and, therefore, they do not require consent for their use. If commenters want privacy, they may choose to create a pseudonym or even pseudo-identity in order to disguise their real world identity when interacting online (Lange, 2008b). Users may additionally monitor their privacy through setting the video views to selected groups of friends and subscribers (Sindoni, 2013, p. 178).

Other researchers and guidelines view privacy as needing more protection. Massey University's (2013, p. 7) guidelines state that *respect for persons* must be considered, which "involves recognition of the personal dignity, beliefs (including cultural and religious beliefs), privacy and autonomy of individuals," with privacy being the most significant aspect to consider in my research. In considering

privacy breaches in terms of how they 'harm' participants, Zimmer (2010, p. 321) points out that 'harm' in the form of a threat to 'dignity' could be at stake in this situation. This is particularly as Eysenbach and Till (2001, p. 3) suggest that members of Internet communities may not always see themselves as in the public domain. When users do see themselves in the public domain and use pseudonyms, sometimes in an attempt to protect their own offline identity, these may be traceable to real identities (Bruckman, 2002). King (2015, p. 134), for example, notes that while the data collected for his research was done in 'public' (or semi-public, as registration onto the site was required), it was likely written for only a *certain* public – the registered, presumably interested in dating, public – and therefore he sought consent to use participants' data. Conversely, in my research, the nature of a YouTube comment – including the more than 1.5 million views noted on the view count for the inthehouseNZ [Uploader] (2013) – and lack of long term connections made between participants (as discussed in Chapter 2), would suggest that the context of YouTube is not just public by name, but also public by nature. Participants are likely to expect an unknown but potentially large audience to be able to access what they have written. In addition, while privacy violations might occur when information about individuals might be readily available to people who are not properly or specifically authorised to access the data (Zimmer, 2010, p. 322), this is not the case with YouTube. Here, the comments are available to anyone who goes to the YouTube page, with no registration required at all. In deciding what is and is not freely available data, McDermott et al. (2015, p. 876) used the criteria that if the content of an online interaction was freely available without sign-in requirements, it could be judged that contributors did not anticipate a level of privacy that would prevent their posts being used for research. Therefore, the comments in my data are considered to be in the public domain, and consent was not sought for their inclusion in my research.

The next consideration was Bassett and O'Riordan's (2002, p. 244) argument that privacy and safety are not the only issues to be concerned about with the ethics of online research. Massey

University's (2013, p. 16) Code of Ethics states that, "processes of research and publication must not violate or infringe personal, legal or culturally determined property rights [including ...] information and works of the intellect." Postings which are stored and searchable on publicly accessible servers (such as YouTube), can be considered published in the public domain and share equal status to published texts (Gruber, 2008, p. 60). Therefore, users are entitled to attribution of their quotes in the same way as for the traditional media (Bassett & O'Riordan, 2002, p. 244), and consent does not need to be sought. In addition, of particular interest to some of the self-referencing found in my data, Bassett and O'Riordan (2002, p. 244) say that covering LGBT identities with pseudonyms or other means of covering their identities, even when done under the aim of protecting privacy, may contribute to the homophobic myth that LGBT identity is something to be ashamed of, maintaining unequal power relations by blocking their voice in the media. Therefore, attributed quotes from the YouTube comments should be used as necessary.

One ethical consideration for the use of attributing quotes changed during the course of my research. When I began my research, it was common for users to have a pseudonym. However, throughout the course of my research, I received notifications from YouTube to suggest my own pseudonym be updated to my offline name, which I declined. Later, through being signed in to Gmail on the same web browser, I noticed that my YouTube account was signed in using the offline name associated with my Gmail account, and not my pseudonym. Therefore, it is possible that participants in my research commented in 2013, believing their writing to be under a pseudonym, and this may have changed to a name closer to their offline identity without their knowledge. Therefore, any user names which include a first plus last name that bears similarity to what we would expect from an offline real name will have their surname lightly masked with the first letter kept, then an asterisk covering the rest to protect the participants' privacy. For example, Victoria Kerry would become Victoria K*, but if the username was already Victoria K, it would remain unchanged. This will retain some social positioning that may be indexed in a name (such as ethnicity and gender, for example)

and relevance when people's names are discussed by other participants. I acknowledge that a limitation to this approach is that verbatim quotes can be linked back to the original posts via a web search, meaning simply anonymising data may not fully protect a commenter's identity (Androutsopoulos, 2014, p. 89). However, with the issue discussed above of attributing quotes to the rightful speaker, this solution appears to find the best balance of maintaining privacy where required and maintaining intellectual property elsewhere. I have also left the video uploaders' names unchanged to best attribute sources to their channel.

4.6 Notes on conventions

While quoting data, I have retained the original spelling, grammar and punctuation, regardless of whether they are standard or non-standard forms, or regional variations, to retain the authenticity and presentation of the participants' comments. I have not added *sic* after these comments.

In threads of comments with replies, I have presented them in chronological order of when they were posted from top to bottom, even though any replies that were not 'nested' below a starter comment would have appeared in the reverse order on YouTube. This has been done to maintain consistency across the quotes and for ease of reading in this different written context.

In addition to the ethical considerations concerning the inclusion and exclusion of user names in the previous section, the choice of pronoun to refer to them also required consideration. Participants have not been contacted or asked their gender, and user profiles do not include gender in the 'about' sections. However, when referring to a particular participant, I have opted to use gendered terms such as 'he' and 'she' or the gender neutral 'YouTuber,' for the sake of readability. If

a particular gender category was expressly stated by the YouTuber, or more strongly implied, such as through a typically masculine or feminine user name or profile picture, the most likely appropriate gender pronoun was used to match the presentation of their online identity at the moment of writing, albeit with the potential for error. For others, where no gender was obvious, I have randomly assigned either a male or female gendered pronoun and avoided the use of the third person plural 'they' to refer to a singular person. While cybermetric search tools for collecting gender and other demographic data are available (see, for example, van Zoonen, Vis, & Mihelj, 2011), none have been used in this research. I decided that because the information was not available to other participants as they read the comments, that the online presentation of gender (or absence of) in the interactions was more relevant than registered demographics that the user may have included when signing up for YouTube. A further note about the use of the 'YouTuber,' is that I use it to refer to any social actor who participates in any way on YouTube at a given point in time. However, in using this term, I acknowledge that it may imply a regular or sustained engagement with YouTube which is not intended; I am using the term even for those participants who may be on the site for the first and last time.

When referring to participants' non-heterosexual sexualities, unless the participant has chosen their own descriptor, such as 'gay' or 'lesbian' – in which case I retain their choice of identity marker - I have chosen to use the term "LGBT" [lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender] in keeping with the commonly used term for breaking the binary notion of homo- or hetero- sexual identities, while still allowing succinctness. I acknowledge that this term may not fully incorporate the many more varied identities, nor the fluid nature of human identity and sexuality (see, for example, Butler, 1993).

I have also used the terms 'online' and 'offline' to describe spaces and practices, despite an awareness that this dichotomy does not necessarily accurately reflect the integration and simultaneous use of both in many participants' lives (see, for example, R. H. Jones, 2010; Leander & McKim, 2003). However, following Leander and McKim (2003, p. 212), I am using the term 'online' to describe practices and settings that are predominantly Internet-mediated, and 'offline' to describe those that are *not* predominantly Internet-mediated. I have also avoided analysing 'authenticity' as a concept, but am taking all participants' comments as *prima facie* representations of their fluid online selves, regardless of how the impression compares to any aspects of their offline selves.

Finally, I turn to the term 'discourse.' Discourse can refer both to "a group of verbal performances" i.e. what people actually say, or "the group of statements that belong to a single formation" i.e. Feminist Discourse, describing as a collection of ideas used by those who espouse feminism (Foucault, 1969, pp. 120-121). Following multimodal research conventions, I use Gee's (1999, 2011) concept of "Big D, little d" discourses when using the term. That is to say 'Discourse' with a capital 'D' represents "a characteristic way of saying, doing, and being" (Gee, 1999, p. 30) – such as we see with the recurring themes in supportive and opposing views in 'Same-Sex Marriage Discourses.' On the other hand, using a lower case 'd' for discourse refers to "language-in-use or stretches of language" (Gee, 1999, 2011, p. 34), which I use, for example, when describing the stretch of textual comments found below each of the videos. In a similar manner, frameworks – such as Scales or Participatory Spaces (and the Spaces that make up the framework) – are capitalised, while more generalised common nouns, such as local scales or offline spaces are not.

4.7 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have built on the description of the Stance Triangle from Chapter 2 as a framework for analysis. I have shown the manner in which the Stance Triangle can be used to position a speaker both in terms of their evaluation of the stance focus, as well as their intersubjectivities with their interlocutors. I argued that the wealth of literature and stance-rich environment of YouTube make it a worthy framework for analysis, but that my own research should question its performance in this context and allow for modifications and improvements.

I have argued that my research questions require both a deductive approach of testing out existing frameworks for understanding YouTube as a context, as well as an inductive approach as a means of understanding the function of self-referencing on YouTube and the reworking of the Stance Triangle for use in this context, which will be addressed in Chapters 5 - 7.

I next described CMDA and MDA as consistent with current research trends on CMCs. These methodologies allow an understanding of the social practices associated with the linguistic forms and interactions on YouTube, rather than focusing on a type of 'Internet language' that is out of step with current views on online participation. I also argued that their incorporation of various semiotic modes, beyond language alone, allow a fuller understanding of online participation. While I also described various limitations with MDA, particularly concerning subjectivity and my limited data collection, I also explained how these limitations will be offset with evidence, including data provided by other participants and discussions with supervisors, in order to triangulate my data and verify my analyses. I explained how not including all available data found on YouTube had benefits, both in terms of data size and ideological values.

The explanation of the three sections of the Stance Triangle – evaluation with positioning, alignment between participants, and situating the object/focus of stance in the offline world was used to outline form the structure of the second half of the study. Similarly, the different Layers that I outlined in Chapter 3 as themes grouping Gee and Jenkins’ more useful features for YouTube as a Participatory Space each take a central-weighting in the next three chapters. The combination of each Layer with one aspect of the Stance Triangle is then used in conjunction with Audience Design (Bell, 1984), chronotopes (Bakhtin, 1981) and Heterochronicity (Lemke, 2005) in Chapters 6 and 7. In the next Chapter, however, I turn to Sociolinguistic Scales (Blommaert, 2007), and demonstrate how the evaluation and positioning of self-referencing stances can inform us about the ‘Membership Layer’ found on YouTube.

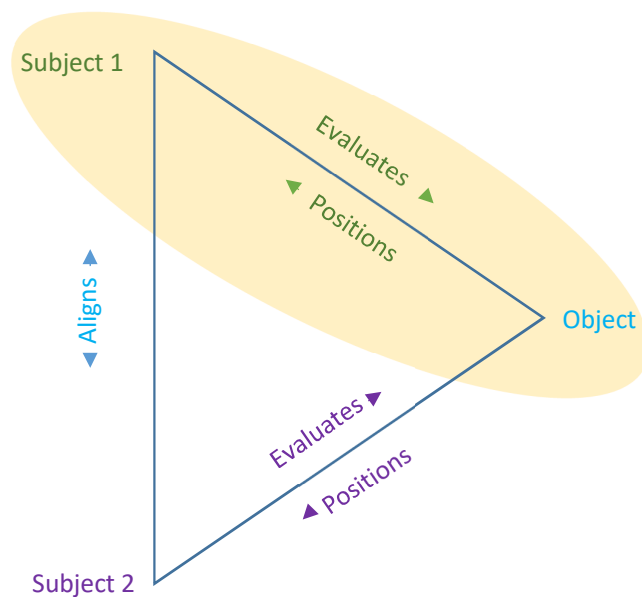
Chapter 5. The Membership Layer, scales and positioning

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is made up of three strands: the evaluation of the stance focus and positioning of the speaker on the Stance Triangle, the Membership Layer of the Participatory Space, and Blommaert's (2007) Sociolinguistic Scales. I demonstrate how they are interrelated in the way that a diverse group of transnational participants self-reference to give context, meaning, and justification or value to their stances.

I have already begun describing Du Bois' (2007) Stance Triangle. I explained how Du Bois' Stance Triangle begins with the concept that as speakers evaluate a stance focus, they simultaneously position themselves in relation to that stance. In this chapter, I focus on the self-referencing stances which evaluate the stance focus, and position the speakers. I will introduce the Du Bois' diagram of a Stance Triangle, and focus on the positioning and evaluation side of it (as indicated in Figure 6).

Figure 6: Evaluation and positioning on Du Bois' (2007, p.163) Stance Triangle



In this chapter, I focus on the Membership Layer of the Participatory Spaces framework (reproduced in Figure 7), where a transnational group of diverse participants interact, not due to geographic or social similarity, but via a shared interest and reduced barriers to entry. Therefore, the focus of the data in this chapter will be recurring themes related to evaluation and positioning in stance, and how self-referencing is used to provide understanding and meaning to a diverse group of participants who are not physically co-present.

Figure 7: The Membership Layer

Membership Layer	The Space is defined by a shared interest	The Space is made up of a diverse range of participants	Participants' actions shape the Space in a variety of ways	Barriers to entry are lowered
-------------------------	--	--	---	--------------------------------------

This Layer is combined with Blommaert's 'Sociolinguistic Scales' (or, simply, 'Scales'), a tool designed for understanding linguistic resources in a globalised environment. This chapter will outline the core concepts of Scales: central and peripheral locations, the weighting or value accorded to the more central locations, and the notion of polycentricity, or multiple central locations (Blommaert, 2007; Blommaert, Collins, & Slembrouck, 2005; Blommaert 2003). These concepts provide a useful lens to explain meaning and value to the locations and Discourses discussed by members of this Participatory Space. Specifically, the use of Scales will allow me to make several arguments about the use of self-referencing stances in the Membership Layer.

In using Scales, I will demonstrate that the central and peripheral geographical locations accorded the highest weighting by members in this Space relate strongly to a particular part of the content of the video, and position participants in terms of their beliefs about same-sex marriage. I will also argue that this Space has a number of centres that may not necessarily relate to the local and global

scales, but a range of macrosociological plane categories, which will contribute to an adaptation of the Scales analytical framework. I will also show how an absence of certain macrosociological plane categories in the stances of this Space indicate more peripheral weighting accorded to those categories.

Self-referencing in this Space will also be shown to assign value to an argument, such as increasing credibility, or to a participant's place in the Space, as they use stance to warrant their own participation. Finally, Scales will be used to show how interpretability and indexicality from existing Discourses create stereotypes and second-order self-referencing stances. Participants, therefore, use self-referencing to reject values or positioning that others have assigned to them as they renegotiate the scalar position via their stance evaluation.

5.2 Scales

Blommaert's framework aims to clarify and make meaning from the indexes created in space and time. Inspired by literature from social geography and World-Systems Analysis, it attempts to create an order and understanding of the social and material world through a vertically stratified system, such as moving from the regional, to the national, to the global. This system helps to demonstrate how various aspects of "TimeSpace," such as linguistic resources (including code, accent and available registers) are distributed in relation to one another (Blommaert, Westinen, & Leppänen, 2015, p. 119). In this chapter, the focus on TimeSpace will focus more broadly on the space, with an underlying assumption that time is at the moment of interaction, unless otherwise stated (time will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7). Scales can, for example, create order in classifying the value and meaning ascribed to particular cities in relation to one another in a "spatiotemporal scope of understandability" (Blommaert et al., 2015, p. 123) – which I will refer to as 'interpretability,' in

order to use a more central term myself. A high scalar position would be given by many Western Europeans to places such as London and Paris, even if they have not been to those cities, than places such as Bielefeld in Germany or Gijon in Spain, for example (Blommaert et al., 2015, p. 123). The high scalar position may be both in terms of prestige, and in terms of knowing and understanding those spaces.

The use of the terms 'value' or 'weighting,' and the description of stratification as 'vertical' – with high and low scalar positions – is not accidental, as access to and control over scales is unevenly distributed. People who are able to access (linguistic) resources from high scalar positions are generally able to also access other forms of capital and, therefore, the scalar position is a more highly valued one. However, scales are not fixed or static notions, and the local arrangement of and relations between cultures, languages and politics may change from one context to the next, thus shifting the scalar relations and relative value or weight (Westinen, 2014, p. 130). Indeed, Westinen (2014, p. 136) emphasises that hierarchical positions should be explored rather than assumed, as the global scale, while often holding higher weighting and a more central position, does not always systematically prevail over others, and her data showed that sometimes the local scale was positioned as much more important than the global one. Therefore, any Scale analysis is regarded as a "snapshot" of the particular stratification of meaning to one group of participants at a point in time (Blommaert, 2010, p. 5).

Scales as a conceptualisation of how linguistic resources are understood in a globalised environment is particularly useful for this chapter, where I aim to understand the way a geographically and socially diverse group of participants interact with one another in one Participatory (Time)Space. Blommaert and De Fina (2017, p. 13) argue that despite a current lack of

research using Scales in online spaces, the concepts will be particularly salient for understanding the complexity of social arrangements online, due to the imagined co-presence of an unknown number of participants, of unknown identities, and a stretchable time frame involving asynchronicity and archivability. These salient features, moreover, are most relevant to the Membership Layer of the Participatory Space in the present study.

5.3 Local and global scales

Blommaert et al. (2015, p. 123) remind us that because the notion of Scale is originally closely tied to space and time, distinctions such as “local” and “global” dominate analyses. In Scales, the world is described as a system of structurally unequal parts, organised as “centres,” “peripheries” and “semi-peripheries,” where higher levels of capital accumulation, or value, are weighted in the central areas, with lower levels of capital being associated with the peripheries. Capital value in this Space is unlikely to refer to economic capital, but can rather be understood as largely cultural and symbolic capital (see, for example, Bourdieu, 1989). Scales generally concern participants’ beliefs about the ‘value’ of the locations and resources, rather than any tangible financial gain. For example, sociolinguistic centres and peripheries might describe a ‘central accent,’ such as a “sophisticated” (i.e. high prestige) British English accent, as having more potential for capital than a ‘peripheral accent,’ such as an accent indexing a small-town, rural identity (Blommaert, 2010, p. 5; Dong & Blommaert, 2009, p. 45). Linguistic resources and different language varieties may index not only the region they come from, but also suggest the extent to which identities using those resources ‘belong’ to the spaces within which they are found (Dong & Blommaert, 2009, p. 45). Therefore, I will begin the discussion of Scales by analysing instances of the ‘local’ and the ‘global’ found in self-referencing in my data, and show how different central or peripheral localities index particular values in this Participatory Space.

Beginning with centrality, and the idea that the centre carries more weighting or value, there were many instances in my data where New Zealand was regarded as the centre. For example, bayrockwhk, below, shows the centrality of New Zealand firstly when he not only explicitly tells us “i’m proud of my country” – he accords it high cultural capital due to the law change - but that he does so without stating exactly which country “my country” is – he assumes its interpretability in this Space. While there are some implicit signs that he must mean ‘his’ country is New Zealand – because only New Zealand can be named the first country to give women the vote, for example – it is the context of the Participatory Space that creates its centrality. For example, because many commenters focusing on New Zealand, the law, and the people of New Zealand, the centrality of the location is understandable to the point of not requiring explicit description.

bayrockwhk

i'm proud of my country
1st to give women the vote
full social security in the 30's
nuclear free
13th to allow same sex marriage

(in nzheraldtv [Uploader], 2013)

In addition to the implicit association with New Zealand of this comment to the existing context, bayrockwhk adds further weighting to New Zealand’s centrality by the value he accords the nation by associating it with further events that are likely to be positively understood in this Space. Any scalar indexing relies on “pointing towards socially and culturally ordered norms, genres, traditions, expectations – phenomena of a higher scale-level” (Blommaert, 2010, p. 33). In a Space that celebrates same-sex marriage passing into law, bayrockwhk adds further value or weighting by associating New Zealand with other laws that value women, social security and the environment; he further indexes the nation as a socially progressive nation to a Space of members with liberal tendencies. The overall construction of his comment as a list of events shows that the speaker sees

them as coherent and connected entities – both to each other and, we can assume due to the inclusion of same-sex marriage on the list, to the Space. This is despite New Zealand, a small island nation of only 4 million people, not necessarily being accorded the same central value or interpretability in many other transnational contexts.

New Zealand was also positioned as value-laden in the way that participants expressed belonging to the nation, such as in the discussion below, between mo m* and Ailsa P*. Expressions of affinity in this Participatory Space bore striking resemblance to the features of belonging that White (2015) found in her research on YouTube comments and the New Zealand national anthem. White's features included descriptions of YouTubers' embodied attachment (such as describing their blood, heart and soul); routes to belonging (such as describing where they are versus where they want to be); everyday affects (through positive affective stance and alignments with others); and longing as belonging (framed as 'missing,' often through descriptors relating to time, the seasons and nature, or creating images and memories as shared stories).

mo m*

the song SHOULD be the NZ national anthem, but its not.....ita a Maori love song and it makes me cry whenever i hear it.....having been away from nz for 18 years.....its the song most kiwis think of as nz's national song.

Ailsa P*

+mo m[*] Kia ora koe [Māori greeting, 2.SG]. Maori songs belong to you. Tears shed is your connection to the land. You belong to us....wherever you are. End story.

(in jayness33 [Uploader], 2013)

In mo m*'s post alone, for example, all of White's (2015) features can be found: mo m*'s embodied attachment is found in her tears; her routes to belonging are shown in that while she is away now, it has not always been the case; her everyday affects are seen in her wish for *Pokarekare Ana* to be the

New Zealand national anthem, as well as in the way it makes her cry; and the longing as belonging is seen through her description of the 18 years she has spent away and but knowledge of what “kiwis” think, presumably from her time there before she left. The convergent alignment in Ailsa P*’s response who tells mo m*, “You belong to us,” spatially locates mo m* as being metaphorically co-present, as mo m*’s tears are her “connection to the land” (the land that Ailsa P* is also connected to). In relation to Scales, mo m*’s self-referenced desire to belong to New Zealand indexes a high scalar position and centrality of New Zealand, and Ailsa P*’s expression of desire for mo m* to belong is based on shared central values from mo m*’s post.

Interestingly, the value accorded to New Zealand and the expressions of desire to belong, as in White’s (2015) research, was not reserved solely for those born in New Zealand. For example, Gary G*, who identifies elsewhere from being in the UK while his “chosen” family is from New Zealand, describes the embodied attachment of tears from his heart. He signals positive affect in calling New Zealand “a country I love so much.”

Gary G*

Kia Ora [Māori greeting], my dear friends and chosen family in Aotearoa [Māori name for New Zealand]. This brought my heart tears of joy for a country I love so much. I can no longer cry nor sing, but I sang it with every member of the House.

(in nzheraldtv [Uploader], 2013)

The sentiments above, of an apparently non-New Zealander, reinforces the notion that the indexed value and centrality of New Zealand in this particular forum contributes to participants’ sense of belonging. Nationality or ethnic identity based on birth place is not a requirement for the desire to belong. In this Participatory Space, belonging to New Zealand could be considered part of sharing an affinity with others in the Space, as participants align with one another in their shared connections. It is interesting to note in both Gary G* and Ailsa P*’s comments there is a greeting in the indigenous

Te Reo Māori language. With Te Reo Māori being unique to New Zealand, it is not just the discursive resources I have already described that demonstrate belonging to New Zealand, but also the linguistic resources, such as code choice, may index belonging, or a desire to belong, to this particular region. The speakers who use and understand the greeting signal their own highly weighted position in their right to use this resource – for Gary G* it is his connection to the country he loves, and for Ailsa P*, whose anonymised surname is also in Te Reo, she presents herself as tangata whenua [person of Māori ethnicity, literally ‘person of the land’]. This use of Te Reo signals not only her right to the language, but also her right to accept other people as New Zealanders, such as Ailsa P*.

While value and weighting are essential components of centrality and peripherality in the Scales framework, interpretability is similarly so. Just as a metropolitan accent may be accorded more prestige than a rural accent (Dong & Blommaert, 2009), for example, it is usually afforded greater awareness from participants. In my data, it became clear that countries with similar laws and, therefore, presumed generally similar values of its people with regard to same-sex marriage, could be assumed to have a similar scalar value. However, it was not always the case that they were. Rather, an absence of interpretability from (or knowledge of) participants in this Space may have reduced that nation’s centrality and placed it on a lower scalar position than New Zealand. The current nature and content of the video are factors increasing the awareness of New Zealand’s law change in this particular Participatory Space that afforded it its central position.

christhefis

Oh my god, this made me tear up. Lots of Love from Denmark (who by the way also allows gay people to marry!)

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013)

In christhefis's comment he mentions he is from Denmark, and adds the comment "who by the way also allows gay people to marry!" This demonstrates an awareness that despite Denmark allowing marriage equality before New Zealand did – which should accord it an equal or higher value if based on shared beliefs in the Space – it is not as central to this Space. Silverstein (2005, p. 12) says that in a discursive system like English, when a proper name (such as Denmark) is presumed to be unfamiliar to the interlocutor, an appositive descriptive phrase, such as "who by the way also allows gay people to marry," functions as giving reference back to the category. It is a meta-discursive comment that serves to mark what follows as informationally subordinate to the salutation: its purpose is to create interpretability. The phrase "by the way" further suggests that christhefis does not assume that others in the Space would necessarily know that about Denmark, but that it was information he had to add as an aside. Denmark is deliberately positioned here as being semi-peripheral to the central discussion surrounding New Zealand's law change. Christhefis' self-referencing is used to provide context and interpretability, and the use of the word "also" demonstrates his retention of New Zealand's place in the central position. I will discuss christhefis' example further in Section 5.8, as I discuss how participants may warrant their participation in the Space particularly as we can see, the peripheral position may not automatically afford the YouTuber participation rights.

The indexing of values could also be seen in the way other countries were positioned against New Zealand on the vertical scale. This is referred to as the "ideological topography" described in the distinctions between the centres and peripheries in research on Finnish Hip Hop Scales, where spatiotemporal differences (for example, the city versus the country) indexed social differences, such as the fast life versus the slow rural spaces of social isolation (Blommaert et al., 2015, p. 120; Westinen, 2014). In my data, countries where the law was previously passed, such as Canada, were

similarly positioned to New Zealand in a vertically higher position than other countries, such as Australia, or Southern U.S. states, where the law was not put forward for debate in their parliament.

Wade I

Dear New Zealand..you honour your indigenous, your land, and now all your people have the same rights to love someone. What an example you have set for that racist, sexist, and greedy country across the Tasman, a country I was born in and no longer have any pride in. I am very proud of your courage

(in CrazyWebs [Uploader], 2013)

Wade I, for example, says he was “born in” Australia, but does not claim an identity as an Australian. In contrast to those who expressed belonging to New Zealand, above, he removes any notion of belonging to his own nation. Rather, the difference in passing one law, means he no longer has “any pride” in a place that he previously did. Instead of calling the land “my country,” the spatial deixis involved in calling it “*that* racist, sexist and greedy country across the Tasman [my emphasis]” metaphorically situates Wade I away from *there* – they both use distal, rather than proximal deixis. He not only accords Australia low value, but he spatially casts the country in a more peripheral physical location than if he were still *here* in *this* country. Therefore, he establishes New Zealand at the deictic centre, and his own Australia as a more peripheral location for the purposes of this Participatory Space. It was not uncommon to see other pro-same-sex marriage Australians similarly position the two nations as such.

5.4 Polycentricity and Scales

The discussion so far has demonstrated the concept of centrality in its simplest form. *Polycentricity*, however, accounts for not only the value of centrality, but also the complexity of finding the centre in a transnational audience. Rather, “polycentricity defines the intrinsic *indeterminacy* of social actions and processes, and their *non-unified character* [original emphasis]”

(Blommaert, 2017, p. 34), as different centres co-occur. While I have outlined the centrality of New Zealand, due both to interpretability (such as against the peripheral and lesser understood Denmark), or to its position on the vertical scale and subsequent value (such as against the often lower-valued Australia), the examples are common occurrences of New Zealand as the centre, but are certainly not indicative of New Zealand always being placed as such. Rather, any number of TimeSpaces could be considered central, depending on the snapshot at the moment of analysis. Moreover, when another nation, such as Canada, takes the more central position, it would be overly simplistic to assume its centrality is due solely to its previous same-sex marriage laws passing, or that Australia's differing laws may lead to a lower scalar position.

Daniel S

Canada legalized marriage equality in 2005. New Zealand has done so in 2013. The United Kingdom itself may also follow this year. Australia: take the collective hint from your siblings and parent!

(inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

Daniel S, for example, discusses Canada, New Zealand and England as holding similar scalar positions. They are valued for their legalisation (or possible imminent legalisation) of marriage equality. Australia, on the other hand, is not peripheral to the discussion, despite being vertically lower than the other countries in terms of marriage equality and associated values in this Space. Rather, the connections between its mother culture and settler states connect the four nations via their positions as Commonwealth nations. Moreover, the close geographical and cultural connections between New Zealand and Australia mean that Australia is equal, or nearly equal, in terms of interpretability within the Space. For some participants, Australia will be even better understood and, therefore vertically positioned, as a larger South Pacific nation than New Zealand, or for others, as their home nation. The centrality of Australia in Daniel S's stance, for example, despite the country's lack of law change, hints at self-referencing an identification with Australia on Daniel S's part. Polycentricity, with its allowance of many centres and peripheries, better describes

the complexity of views found in a diverse, transnational Participatory Space than a simplistic, static hierarchical system would. The above example also demonstrates how meaning, indexes and context in a semiotic event are based not just in Space, but in TimeSpace, and the connection of value and history must be underscored (Blommaert, 2015, p. 108). The timescales surrounding participants' self-referencing stances will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

Evidence of participants' perceptions of polycentricity can be seen in the interaction between Brendan H* and Jerry G, below. Here, the two participants differ in their perception of the United States as being a centre. The first participant, Brendan H*, begins with an exophoric reference when he says "We got off to a rough start this week," referring – based on the social offline context at the time his comment was written, and the further exophoric reference of "Boston" in his later comment – to the bombing at the finish line of the Boston Marathon in April, 2013.

Brendan H*

Good morning. We got off to a rough start this week, we humans did, so let's turn that around a little. This is what happened when New Zealand passed marriage equality. Watch this, smile, get chills, and be happy today.

Jerry G

What Rough Start are you talking about?

Brendan H*

That would be Boston.

Jerry G

... Replace Humans with White Americans and you might be onto something. As stated it implies most of humanity is 'other' than human. Also it's dismissive of the people regularly killed in ways that don't make our local airwaves. Which I don't think is intended.

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013).

While New Zealand is still central in terms of value in this interaction, the United States city of Boston is seen as vertically even more central – or powerfully weighted – in Brendan H*'s stance. This is represented through describing the week as getting off to a rough start for “we humans,” which collectively groups those affected into all humans of the world – not just those in Boston. However, Brendan H*'s scalar positioning of the U.S. city is contested when Jerry G downscales its centrality, saying, “replace Humans with White Americans and you might be onto something.” This highlights the way that multiple centres allow different values to be ascribed by different participants. As Blommaert (2017, p. 44) explains in his description of the different perceptions of the class clown as seen from the teacher's point of view versus the other students' point of view, expectations and beliefs about TimeSpace may overlap or contradict, even when based on exactly the same behavioural features. This emphasises not only the diversity of geographical backgrounds by participants in the Membership Layer, but also on the lenses they bring to their understanding of the discussion in the Space.

5.5 Polycentricity, shared interest and the focus of stance

The idea of polycentricity and participants' different 'centres' is particularly relevant to both the Membership Layer of the Participatory Space and the evaluation side of the Stance Triangle, due to links between centres, shared interests, and the stance focus. The 'centre' is the most understandable and valued location or Discourse, the shared interest is the related concept that brings participants together and forms the metaphorical boundaries of the Space, and the stance focus is the salient aspect of what the participants evaluate and position themselves both in relation to it, and in relation to each other. The Stance Triangle (Du Bois, 2007) accounts only for when participants share the same concept as to what constitutes the centre, the shared interest, or stance focus i.e. it assumes participants are taking a stance on the same thing. However, the previous section has shown that often this is not the case, with polycentricity accounting for differences in

what participants view as the centre, or most valued or understood location or Discourse. I will now demonstrate that participants not only have different values and weightings of importance, but the foci of stance themselves may differ, despite an apparent similarity in their evaluation of the shared interest. Therefore, the Stance Triangle needs to adapt to account for these differences in stance foci.

To demonstrate how the Stance Triangle does not adequately account for differing centres of the stance focus, I return to Raz D and superkiwistar's discussion from Chapter 4, Section 2, where each positioned themselves in one way or another about the broader issue of same-sex marriage.

Raz D

God, this actually made me cry! Amazing when everyone starts singing together.
Congrats NZ! :..)

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

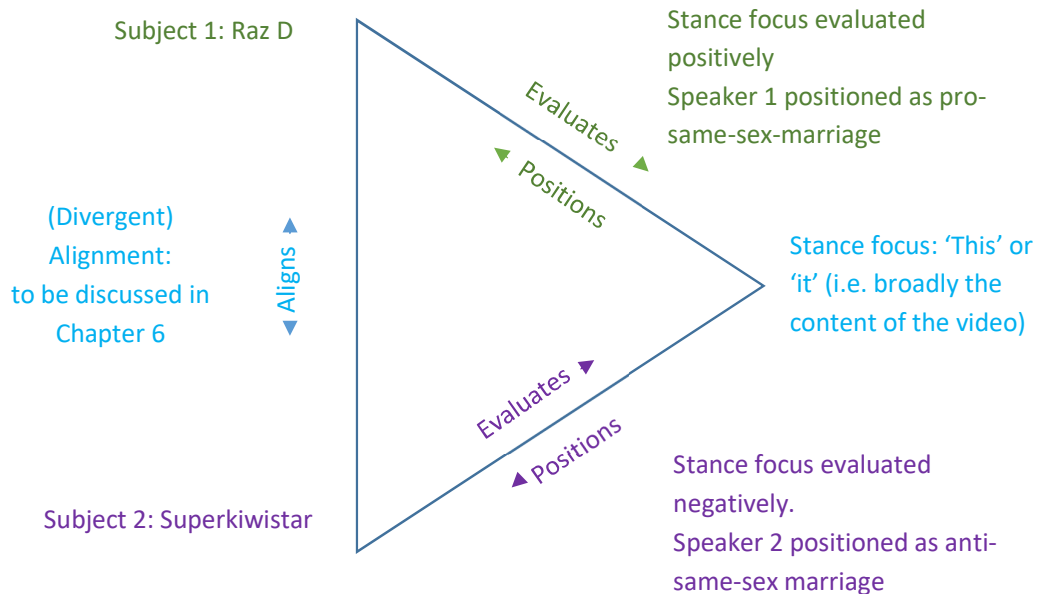
superkiwistar

it made me cry too – but for a different reason, i am sure. when advocates of perverted behaviour adopted by a 1.6% minority ruin traditional family values for everyone, it should be declared a crime against humanity.

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

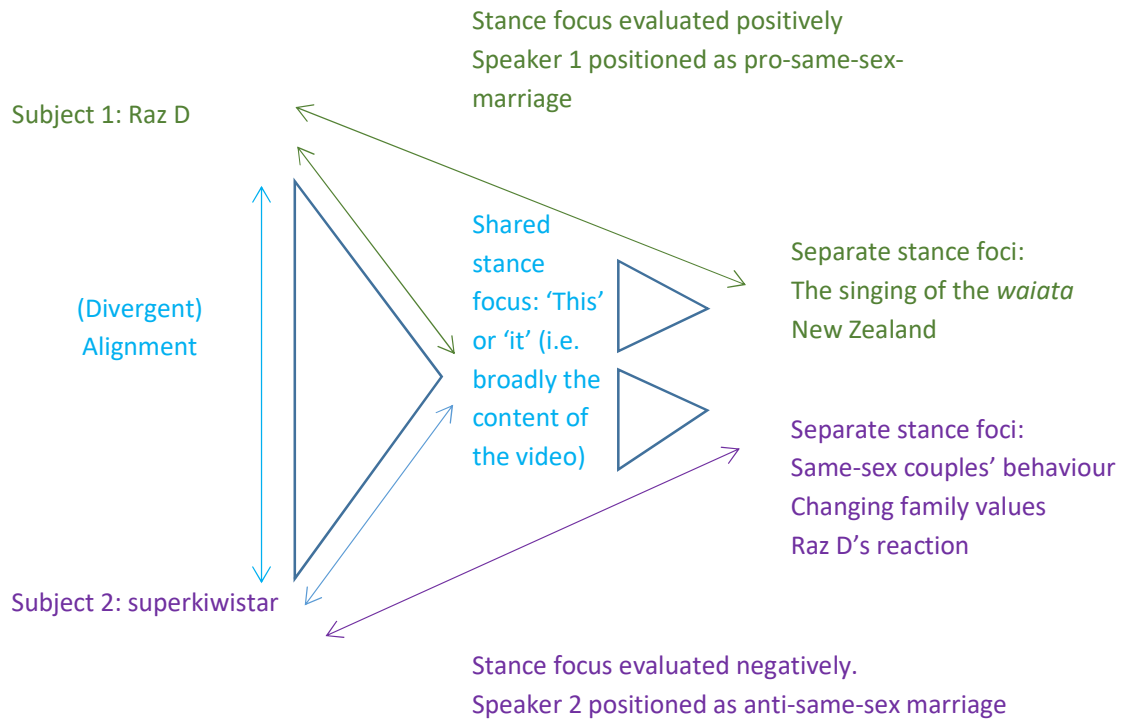
I have used the Stance Triangle to demonstrate that Raz D and superkiwistar both evaluate what made them cry about the shared interest, yet each positioned them differently with regards to same-sex-marriage. Du Bois' (2007) Stance Triangle, used in its original form, with one evaluative act (described using Kiesling's [2018, p. 12] change of 'object' to 'focus'), would conceptualise Raz D and superkiwistar's interaction as follows, in Figure 8.

Figure 8: Du Bois' (2007, p.163) Stance Triangle with Raz D / superkiwistar's interaction



However, looking beyond the tears, Raz D also evaluated New Zealand – which he congratulates, and superkiwistar also evaluated the behaviour of same-sex couples, which he describes as “perverted” and done only by a “minority.” Because he said it made him cry “too,” he also evaluated Raz D’s initial stance itself – which he disagrees with. To account for the full stance act that each participant made, the above diagram is overly simplistic, in that it accounts for only one stance focus, or shared interest. The following adaptation aims to account for multiple stance foci, in Figure 9.

Figure 9: The Stance Triangle with multiple stance foci



In Figure 9, Du Bois’ original idea of evaluation and positioning leading to a convergent or divergent alignment between two interlocutors still stands. However, this diagram also accounts for additional foci in their stance. Raz D and superkiwistar have one shared stance focus – “this” or “it,” which both broadly refer to something from the content of the video – so this is represented in the same way as Du Bois originally demonstrated. Any number of shared stance foci could be added here if they had other shared topics. This adaptation demonstrates that additional stance foci may not only be present, but may also be used in the same act of positioning and aligning with the interlocutor, even though the foci of stance are not all shared between the two. Therefore, they are separated out from the shared stance focus. This shows the additional layer of complexity found in YouTube stances, where interlocutors may make several points to back up their position, but not necessarily the same as their interlocutor(s). There are no markers to indicate a change in topic or positioning, so each comment can still be regarded as one stance act. The multiple foci of stance demonstrates

the polycentric nature of YouTube interaction, as different participants have different aspects that are more or less salient to them – they have different ‘centres’ to the discussion – despite a shared interest for interacting in the Space.

5.6 Scales and scale shifts/jumping

In addition to multiple stance foci, particularly across multiple interlocutors’ stances, a single interlocutor may change the nature of the stance focus. As stated in Section 5.2, scales are not fixed or static, but rather index meaning at a given moment. Related to this idea are ‘Scalar processes,’ which is where shifts between scales occur (Blommaert, 2010, p. 36). Described as a “vertical move within a stratified social meaning system,” a scale jump not only gives an indexical re-ordering of the statement, but also involves complex re-semiotisation of images of time and space, and new patterns of acting upon them (Blommaert, 2010, pp. 36-37). Blommaert (2010, p. 36) says this is often a shift between local and translocal forces, i.e. from the local to the global. In my data, this could be seen when some participants shifted the focus of the social change in the Bill being in New Zealand (the local force) to a focus on a global social change (a translocal force).

TadZappy

I am so proud to be a New Zealander. We celebrate by singing as one voice for equality. Very very proud moment in history not just for our country but the world.[...]

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013)

When TadZappy describes the moment as a “Very very proud moment in history not just for our country but the world,” she not only shifts the focus from the local (New Zealand) to the global (the world), but the vertical shift also scales up the significance of the event, with people from all around the world being affected by the change. Dong and Blommaert (2009, p. 44) say that scale shifts, such as from local to translocal or momentary to timeless, “involves and presupposes access to particular

resources, and such access is often subject to inequality. Thus, a move across scales is also a power move.” However, due to the reduction in barriers to entry into the Participatory Space (discussed in Chapter 3), power is not generally distributed unevenly in YouTube comments. Rather, by scale shifting from the local to the global, TadZappy is able to intensify the significance of the change of the law, and assign a more positive value to New Zealand’s law change. Nevertheless, her scale shift does not necessarily shift power relations from or to any groups at the same time.

5.7 Scales beyond the local versus global

While I argued in Section 5.3 that the Scales framework predominantly focused on linguistic resources on a local, national, or global scale, Scales can also be used to understand other, related concepts. For example, Westinen (2014)’s research on values between the centres and peripheries in Finnish Hip Hop is innovative in the way she has adapted Scales from focusing predominantly on *linguistic* resources in Scales – defined as languages, varieties, dialects and slang (2014, p. 81) – to also focusing on *discursive* resources. She defines these as ways of speaking, and various issues, narratives, topics, speech act patterns and cultural references (2014, p. 131). Indeed, she notes that “the artists’ linguistic resources and repertoire can only be explored *in combination* with discursive resources [original emphasis]” (Westinen, 2014, p. 313), as the two are so deeply entwined. She found that topics such as North versus South, remote districts, nostalgia for home and anti-fame/success in one rapper’s lyrics surrounded the notions of home, place, a centre, and a feeling of dislocation (2014, p. 188), which are all strongly place-based notions. In addition, another rapper’s Discourses of success and achievement, religion and mainstream versus authenticity were “all (projected as) emphatically global, while they also simultaneously relate to the national context” (Westinen, 2014, p. 154). It was not just style or dialect that contributed to the rappers’ scalar constructions, but also what they spoke about.

Similar to Westinen's emphasis on more than linguistic resources alone, Collins and Slembrouck (2009, pp. 23-24) note that cultural-discursive resources should influence the researcher's thinking. They say that other macrosociological plane categories, such as gender, ethnicity, generation and class, should contribute to thinking within Scales, due to the "essential interconnections between pre-given social categories and hierarchies and situated communicative conduct" (Collins & Slembrouck, 2009, pp. 23-24). They say, for example, that understanding the macrosociological plane categories of a migrant child's use of Spanish in the United States may be interpreted differently if viewed in terms of multilingual peer judgments about communicative activity, or if viewed alternatively through a lens of institutional language policy about Standard English. Both Collins and Slembrouck's and Westinen's examples have moved beyond discussions purely based on *linguistic* resources, to analysing the *discursive* resources, in order to enhance our understanding of the local versus global scales.

Like Westinen, I agree that discursive resources should be explored in understanding Scales, and like Collins and Slembrouck's, I agree that other macrosociological plane categories to influence thinking is necessary. However, my data additionally shows that the concepts beyond the local versus global dichotomy, such as other macrosociological plane categories, can benefit from concepts such as vertical stratification, central versus peripheral weightings, and interpretability, and reveal other instances of power and inequality. Therefore, this section now aims to adapt the Scales concept to analyse hierarchical placement of another prominent macrosociological plane category in my data: sexuality. Due to the prevalence of religion as its own topic in my data, it will be discussed separately as another macrosociological plane category in Sections 5.9 and 5.10.

Certain labels to describe different sexual identities are more prominent in my data than others, indicating that certain categories occupy higher and more central scalar positions than others. Firstly, my data contained descriptions of the vertical stratification between heterosexual and homosexual relationships in the offline world. While the law change in New Zealand signals a move away from inequality between same-sex and opposite-sex couples, many participants from around the world discuss their hope that the same thing may happen in their country one day, as until then they do not have the same rights concerning marriage. Opposite-sex marriages are described in the default position: they are, simply, “marriage.” Next, self-referencing in my data provides evidence that my participants face discrimination and prejudice, some from the bullying they were subjected to as teenagers, or others who faced structural inequalities in their offline spaces.

missjames434

Thanks from a nz'r currently in the states. The fight is hard in the US. My partner is a US citizen and she can't sponsor me to live with her permanently because there is no federal gay marriage. Unlike my straight cousin who is legally married to his US wife. It's a nightmare. My partner has kids and we can't move to nz it wouldn't be fair to move them. I am sick of waiting for half of an ignorant and fearful america to get over it and get a clue. Our life is on hold because of religous bigotry

(in CrazyWebs [Uploader], 2013)

Missjames434, for example, faces institutional barriers because United States law prevents her female partner from sponsoring her so that they can live together. The effect of this is that her “life is on hold.” We see a low scalar position for her sexual category in the offline situation, as she has fewer rights than her “straight cousin,” who is able to marry his American wife under United States law; their macrosociological sexual categories have led to different consequences for each of these family members. Moreover, the “ignorant and fearful america” and “religous bigotry” that she is “sick of waiting for [...] to get over it and get a clue” suggests it is not just the law that she finds

difficult to cope with, but also the societal attitudes against same-sex couples by other groups of people.

In contrast to her offline experience, due to the reduced barriers to entry of this Space, missjames434 holds the same rights within this online Space as anyone with any other macrosociological plane category, in relation to any of the structural affordances or constraints. Indeed, at times, those who claim a “gay” identity may hold a higher scalar positioning than those of the Christian category that reign in their offline spaces, at least in parts of the Space where anti-LGBT commentary is made in the name of Christianity. Generally, a greater number of participants respond to reject anti-LGBT commentary than defend it. Indeed responses to wtfstfuroflemao’s derogatory comments led to responses such as “Go away. Pray in silence” (hudstar2011, in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013), which directly referenced the addressee’s Christian identity as part of the cause of his rejection, but also in response to his “hateful discourse.” In fact, some of wtfstfuroflemao’s comments were deleted by Martin Richardson, the channel’s owner, as a means of “just keepin’ it clean,” as he viewed his channel as a Space for celebration. (Martin Richardson’s deletion of comments will be discussed further in Chapter 6 in relation to the way different members of the audience interpret the norms of the Space.) In relation to barriers to entry, it is the value-laden category of the “bigot” (as the participants call them) that faces exclusion, not those in a same-sex couple relationships. Those citing religious bigotry are accorded a lower scalar position than those of gay identity. While macrosociological categories do not create barriers or inequalities to participation, Martin Richardson’s move demonstrates greater rights to scaling procedures – such as promoting greater centrality to particular Discourses – to channel owners, as they are able to moderate or delete comments.

A gay category is also valued in this Space due to its centrality in the law change and, therefore, content of the video and discussion thread. The value is shown through love sent to “my gay brothers and sisters,” indicating an equal position as a sibling would have to another. Similarly, in defence of same-sex couples, some argue that their union is more genuine than in opposite-sex-couples:

BrewarFR in reply to jay k*

Probably because Gay couples are usually in a more loving relationship, whereas straight couples usually just want the benefits it brings in.

[...]

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013).

While the comment is somewhat essentialist in that it assumes same-sex couples will behave in one way, and straight couples in another, this comment nevertheless hedges the full-scale essentialism with “usually,” and also gives the minority position greater weight than the dominant one and, therefore, greater centrality in this forum. The comment is in response to jay k*'s prejudiced and anti-same-sex marriage stances which demonstrate a low scalar positioning of same-sex couples at that snapshot of the thread. However, due to the manner in which anti-LGBT commentary is more often shut down than allowed in this Space, the Space generally demonstrates low scalar positioning of prejudiced Discourses, instead.

Despite the “gay” identity being highly weighted in this Participatory Space, the ‘central versus the peripheral’ concept highlights that other sexual identities are often placed lower on the Scale than the “gay” identity, consistent with an “epistemic contract of bisexual erasure” (Yoshino, 1999). While “gay” and “straight” are the central, strongly weighted identities in the sexuality category – both in terms of value and of interpretability – other sexualities are either almost, or totally, invisible. In the largest dataset (inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013), for example, terms such as “gay” or

“gay rights” or “gay marriage” are found at significantly higher frequencies than terms such as “LGBT,” “bisexual,” “transsexual,” “transgender,” or any other category terms for various types of sexual identity, as demonstrated in Table 3, below.

Table 3: Central and peripheral sexual categories from inthehouse [uploader] (2013)

Term for particular sexual identity category	Frequency of token⁵
Gay	850
Homosexual / homosexuality	540
Lesbian	44
LGBT	22
Bisexual	7
Transgender	7
Asexual (including searches for assexual)	2
Takatāpui / takataapui [Māori term for same-sex partner or friend]	1
Transsexual (including searches for transexual)	0

⁵ I acknowledge that analysing token frequency rather than analysing ratios of the tokens used by different speakers has the potential to over-inflate the numbers. However, the length of YouTube comments is such that few speakers will significantly bias the frequencies by using any term more than another speaker. In addition, as this is not a central argument of the study, it was decided that an overview of the numbers would be sufficient as a means of quantifying what the qualitative analysis had highlighted as significant.

Similar weightings to those in Table 3 were also found in the smaller datasets, which have been excluded here to allow more of a focus on the qualitative nature of their use. Usage of the more peripheral terms (i.e. any of the terms other than gay or homosexual) demonstrated less interpretability than the more central terms. For example, 'lesbian' and 'bisexual' were used more frequently by commenters personally identifying as either lesbian or bisexual, rather than by those identifying as heterosexual. Bob AI, for example, assumed his interlocutor, K9thundra, was lesbian – an identity that he positioned negatively. However, k9thundra corrects his assumption when she tells him she is bisexual “and proud of it.”

k9thundra in reply to Bob AI

haha, and you came out normal right? dude your totally screwed up if you think same sex marriage will mess up mental progress, [...]. and as me being a lesbian no honey, I am bisexual and proud of it.

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

Despite the derogatory nature of Bob AI's original comment, 'lesbian' is still seen as only semi-peripheral, and therefore positioned vertically higher than the more peripheral 'bisexual,' as it was the term of interpretability that Bob AI found. He does not appear to have considered that a female who desires females could be anything other than lesbian, rendering invisible the bisexual category with which K9thundra prefers to identify.

Finally, the use of the terms in Table 3 were those that were uncovered in the course of research or that were searched for specifically to test the notion of centrality. Therefore, these concepts may in fact be more centralised and understandable than other terms to describe a range of gender performances that were not well enough understood (by participants or the researcher), or focused on to even make this list. It is self-referencing – such as K9thundra's description of her bisexuality – that rescales these identities as being more understandable or central to the forum. In the next

section, I will focus on how self-referencing may also give greater weighting to participants' arguments or position in the Space.

5.8 Warranting participation

In addition to using self-referencing to provide context and interpretability, self-referencing is used by participants in my data to warrant stance, such as justifying their reason for commenting, legitimising their position in the Space, or strengthening their argument through describing their own experiences. Thornborrow (2001, p. 462) describes warranting as twofold: it is how speakers establish their participation as ratified, and how they construct a contextually relevant position from which to speak. I discussed in Section 5.3 the example from christhefis (in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013), the Dane who added the appositive descriptive phrase that Denmark “also allows gay people to marry!” I argued that the description served as evidence that Denmark was a more peripheral location in this Space than New Zealand, therefore, christhefis provided information for clarity to those unfamiliar with the lesser understood nation. I now hypothesise that his additional information and greater weighting given to Denmark in the way christhefis increases Denmark’s centrality may also serve as justification for his comment. His positioning of Denmark as being similar to New Zealand in terms of marriage equality, and his comment that it “made him tear up” (i.e. cry) positions christhefis as connecting with the Space; he expresses his right to be there. Not only is Denmark similar to New Zealand, but christhefis is similar to the other participants who support same-sex marriage. His self-referencing has warranted his participation in the Space as appropriate and legitimate, and his position as a speaker is ratified.

Another participant who justifies her place in the Participatory Space is The Dream Maker Terri E*, when she discloses her profession as a marriage celebrant in New Zealand.

The Dream Maker Terri E*

So happy to be a Celebrant in New Zealand and allowed to do what I am able to to help same sex couples be allowed what they should have always been allowed to do, express their love for another person and have it recognized.

(in jayness33 [Uploader], 2013)

One interpretation of The Dream Maker Terri E*'s comment, describing what services she provides, could be that it is a form of advertising. It is also interesting to note that advertising in YouTube comments is usually 'flagged as spam' and/or criticised in YouTube, yet this comment received six likes – higher than most other comments in the same section of the thread. Rather, this comment is interpreted as an expression of pride in choosing to officiate same-sex marriages as a means of legitimising her participation in the forum and her membership in the group. She is saying how her profession and her life experiences connect her to the other participants. In both The Dream Maker Terri E*'s and christhefis's comments, the self-referencing ascribes more value to their participation; they are highlighting the scalar value ascribed to their categories to show as an individual they belong through their self-referencing stances.

In other studies of self-referencing, Thornborrow (2001, p. 477) found that most lay participants on public radio broadcasts (as opposed to invited experts) self-referenced in order to warrant their participation, either by providing self-categorisations, or by framing their turn in relation to other participants. However, this is not always the case on YouTube. Many participants do not give identifying features as to who they are, nor do they necessarily refer to another participant's stance in their turn:

Liam G*

god bless these people, they have restored my faith in the kindness of humanity

(inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

Liam G*, for example, leaves a comment with no introduction as to who he is, or if his stance refers to any particular previous comments. This highlights the nature of the Space where, for many YouTubers, their participation is automatically ratified and no justification for participation or self-referencing is required at all.

5.9 Second order self-referencing

So far, the majority of examples I have discussed are from participants who position themselves in their own evaluation of the foci of stance. We could say that these stances are instances of 'first order positioning,' whereby "people position themselves and others within an on-going and lived story-line [and] the acts thus made determinate have immediate perlocutionary effect" (Harré & Langenhove, 1991, p. 397). For example, the participants in the previous section stated their sexuality as part of their own argument, rather than in response to anyone else's suggestions. However, elsewhere, some participants' stances could be described as 'second order' or 'performative positioning': this is the moment "in which the first order positioning is questioned and has to be negotiated" (Harré & Langenhove, 1991, p. 396). In my data, some participants responded to assumptions other participants had directly stated about them. For example, Juan79843, suggests that Cobbax9916 must be lesbian or male (potentially as a means of provoking the outspoken anti-same-sex marriage participant). Consequently, Cobbax9916 repositioned herself as both female and heterosexual as a renegotiation of her macrosociological plane categories, and second-order positioning:

Cobbax9916 in reply to juan79843

Ive been married 40 years next year child (to a man) and Im a WOMAN I have kids older than you little one

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

Her second-order positioning is seen in her description of her experience as a woman, married to a man, in a marriage of nearly 40 years – indicating her marriage is a solid and enduring one. However, even second-order positioning can be negated from the other interlocutor.

juan79843 in reply to Cobbax9916

Anyone can be whatever they want on youtube. You're obviously a closet lesbian, probably married to Margie Phelps.. [lawyer for the staunchly anti-homosexual Westboro Baptist Church, and daughter of Fred Phelps, who founded the group].

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

This particular comment is interesting in that juan79843 questions cobbax9916's self-presentation in suggesting that she may not be who she claims to be. Apart from instances of 'trolling,' where participants deliberately self-reference false information as a means of upsetting others for humorous purposes (see Hardaker, 2010; 2013; for discussion) – which may well be the case in this instance – Juan79843's prolonged rejection of Cobbax9916's self-presentation provokes an angry response. Anger is seen in the insult "you little one," and her capitalised "WOMAN" (often interpreted as shouting in online spaces). Cobbax9916's identity claim draws attention to an otherwise implicit assumption that participants generally believe other participants' self-referencing. To make the Space work – a Space made up of participants entering by their own volition – people need to agree on its existence and accept self-presentation, because a lot of the self-presentation work is unverifiable.

While the example above demonstrated Cobbax9916's second-order positioning to reject the first order *other* positioning from juan79843, some participants use second-order positioning not necessarily based on a direct other positioning by another speaker, but by the surrounding Discourses within – and outside – the Space. Antony H*, for example, states:

Antony H*

I'd just like to say that I'm Christian, and I completely agree with the idea of same sex marriage!.. and I'm sure I'm not the only one!

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

While there was potentially a deleted comment that Antony H* responded to, there was no sign from within the collected data that Antony H* was responding to any one YouTuber in particular. The likeliness that his response was to the Space's audience in general – and therefore he renegotiates the second-order positioning of Christians in general, rather than positioning directed at him personally by any one interlocutor. The rejection of others' views is suggested in his comment "I'm Christian, and I completely agree with the idea of same sex marriage!" where the juxtaposition of his Christianity with his agreement of same-sex marriage suggests he believes some might presume the two are mutually exclusive. Also, when he says, "I'm sure I'm not the only one!" he draws attention to the fact that some may believe not many Christians would hold that belief. However, we can see the comment is not directed at any one person – as we might often see in responses to second-order positioning. His first utterance, "I'd just like to say" suggests a bid for the floor and request to join the conversation, rather than a response to one comment. Rather, he directs his comment to anyone in the Space who may subscribe to an anti-Christian position.

Antony H* was not the first to try to change the general assumption that all Christians would be against the Bill. Throughout the dataset, particular macrosociological plane categories were generally associated with particular stances – for example, New Zealanders, LGBTs and atheists were usually positioned as positively evaluating the Bill unless they argued otherwise – which I will discuss further, below, regarding stake inoculation. Similarly, participants who fell outside these categories needed to argue in favour of the Bill in order to change their default positioning. Christians, in particular, were often assumed to be anti-same-sex marriage. Blommaert et al. (2015, p. 122) say

that “forms of indexical order create broader frames of expectation with regard to meaning: we expect coherent sociocultural meanings to follow in an orderly fashion.” They add that if someone is indexed in a particular way, such as a “country bumpkin” whose speech patterns index a rural and culturally unsophisticated background, “we do not usually expect that person to provide elaborate and highly nuanced discourses on ‘sophisticated’ topics such as expensive French wines or the paintings of Matisse.” Antony H*, above, is responding to – and rejecting – the frames of expectation from this Space, that others see Christianity as indexing an anti-same-sex marriage stance. However, his case also highlights the dangers of essentialism, where qualities or characteristics are seen as “predictable-as-true” (Silverstein, 2003, pp. 202-203), as Antony H* demonstrates that Christian identity and stance is not, in fact, predictable. Due to the recurring Discourses both in offline spaces and this Participatory Space, a more explicit warranting of stance – possibly through self-referencing – may be felt necessary by some Christians such as pro-same-sex-marriage Christians, like Antony H*.

Returning to Scales and interpretability, I suggest that the changing of assumptions about certain macrosociological plane categories, such as religion, ethnicity or sexuality, is also an implicit aim to shift the scalar position of those features as what they index is negotiated. I argued above that many participants valued Pro-Same-Sex Marriage Discourses more highly in many parts of this Space. Therefore, if Christianity is seen as indexing an anti-same-sex marriage stance, it would simultaneously hold a low scalar position for many participants. Therefore, in shifting Christians’ positioning as being potentially pro-same-sex marriage, Antony H* is simultaneously (or at least making an attempt at) repositioning Christianity as higher on the vertical scale in this Space. This is not to say that Christians who are anti-same-sex marriage do not believe they are also aiming to position Christianity as holding a high value position on the scale. Rather, they might claim Christianity is pro tradition and “family values” as a means of according it value. However, Westinen

(2014, p. 137) highlights that scales are “an indexically organized network of meanings,” and, therefore, “intrinsically historical.” Even though they are synchronic in terms of capturing a moment in time, rather than static concepts, they are nevertheless understood because of the histories of use prior to the interaction in which they occur. Antony H*, therefore, may be responding to these histories and indexically organised meanings when he responds to his perception of how others in the Space do or do not value Christianity.

While I cited Clarke’s (2001) research, above, which suggested self-referencing was generally used by pro-Civil-Union advocates, and Religious Discourses tended to be against, there were, nevertheless, instances of self-disclosure and descriptions of personal experiences concerning religion, in a pro-same-sex marriage positioned stance. However, they tended not to be used in arguments against same-sex marriage, but rather in defence of their Christianity, such as in Antony H*’s comment, above. Similarly, xxyodiexx was a strong supporter of same-sex marriage over many turns, and openly references her Christianity, despite the assumptions of some YouTubers that the two are incompatible.

xxyodiexx

I think I'm a very reasonable person. I don't believe conspiracy theories. I don't even believe anything that people post until I Google the crap out of it and get some solid proof. I'm definitely one of those "have to believe it to see it" kind of people. I'm not naive. When it comes to God, there's things he's done in my life for me...and things that he's shown me that make me have faith in knowing he's there. It's something I can't explain, and even if I tried, there's no proof I can give.

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

Xxyodiexx’s self-disclosure about her life’s experiences that have developed her faith have been used to argue against Chris B’s beliefs that scientific laws exist but God does not. She also shows that her experience of faith is not necessarily considered as highly valued by other non-believers, and she

admits she could be considered “naive” or too quick to believe anything she is told. This is why she makes sure to “Google the crap out of it and get some solid proof” when people posts comments she is not sure about. Here, not only is xxyodiexx constructing herself as aware of the potential to be labelled naïve (which, if she was not aware of, would make her naïve), but also that she is aware of the particular views or expectations held by others. She uses “stake confession” (Potter, 1996, p. 9) when she says that she has no proof that God exists. By mentioning this point first, she “puts potential objectors in the interactional position of making a point that has already been conceded” (Potter, 1996, p. 9). She uses self-referencing to strengthen her claim by rejecting any counter-arguments before they are made.

By openly stating her awareness that xxyodiexx has no proof that God exists, above, she positions her earlier comment that “things that he’s shown me that make me have faith in knowing he’s there” as being credible, because she is open to admit points that are not. Therefore, she shows an awareness that in this Participatory Space, a pervasive interpretability of Christianity is that those of faith have no proof and, therefore, no credibility, which she needs to renegotiate in order for her own argument to stand in this Space. Finally, xxyodiexx’s pro-Christian, pro-same-sex marriage stance is another instance of polycentricity, whereby complex patterns of value and indexes are positioned and repositioned, rather than fixed or static. This highlights what Westinen (2014, p. 137) explains as historicities ‘coinciding’ in the synchronic moment, and the way that meaning effects must be understood in each moment, “because of the histories of their use, not (only) based on the local interaction.” The histories of meaning and use will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

5.10 Warranting stances as credible

While participation does not always require warranting, some participants self-reference as a means of warranting their stance as a credible and valid argument. Describing personal experiences and how those experiences have led to certain beliefs is one means of doing this. For example, Kolbrun N*, defends against wtfstfuroflemao's comments, directed to the general audience, "we all know [...] hidden behind the marriage, there is the child question," (in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013) which were in a thread negatively evaluating same-sex parenting. Kolbrun N* responds with her stance that sexuality and the ability to parent are unrelated.

Kolbrun N*

I'm from Iceland, I am gay, I am married I have 2 beautiful healthy children. They are happy to have 2 loving parents. We don't drink alcohol and don't smoke and our children are not bullied and have friends. Can't see what's the harm in that. [...]

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013)

Kolbrun N* self-references her sexuality and role as a gay mother, her parental status and that her children are living healthy and happy lives. She includes a long list of potentially sanctioned behaviours or effects on her children that do not apply to her family, indexing a moral order of responsibility. This list is included in order to reject any of wtfstfuroflemao's claims against their parenting. Rather, Kolbrun N* positions herself as knowledgeable based on her own experience – as a gay parent, she must have a better understanding of gay parenting than wtfstfuroflemao. Her personal experience gives her a more central and, therefore, higher scalar position in terms of credibility and understanding.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the majority of self-referencing comments used to warrant stance were *for* the Bill, either through explicit evaluation, or by the positioning that the stance indexed,

often more implicitly. This finding is in line with Laurie's (2004) analysis of 6,350 submissions on behalf of the Campaign for Civil Unions in New Zealand. She found that while 33 percent of those in support of same-sex marriage had personal experience to provide as evidence, only 7 percent of those against same-sex marriage did. She concluded that those who oppose same-sex marriage tended to express views without providing evidence or explanations. New Zealand researcher, Clarke (2001, p. 558), adds that religious arguments have often been sought as reasons against same-sex marriage, even though religious arguments are not often used in discussing other matters. The indexing of religion with an anti-same-sex marriage stance will be discussed in section 5.10, below, in relation to other-referencing.

There were other commenters who self-disclosed as a means of warranting their stance, but their own personal experiences did not create as strong an argument as using someone else's. In particular, someone who did not identify as LGBT, but knew someone who was, would relate the other person's experience to their own stance.

scottishastronomer

I hope you don't think that all Christians are like thelastroadrunner. I'm a Catholic, I'm not lesbian but my little sister is. I cannot wait to see the day that Scotland allows her to marry her partner [...].

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013)

For example, while scottishastronomer's Catholicism gave her authority to give a stance on Christianity, her non-lesbian identity meant she did not have personal experiences based on her sexuality to disclose in favour of the Bill. However, her experience of having a younger lesbian sister meant that she was close enough to someone else's personal experiences to warrant her stance on the Marriage Amendment Bill. In this particular example, knowing someone else is perhaps even stronger than if it were herself who was lesbian, as she is able to break the stereotype that

Christians have similar prejudiced views to thelastroadrunner by saying that despite her religion, she still loves someone who is lesbian.

Others who were not LGBT and had not faced the same prejudice against their sexuality did not necessarily use other people's stories to warrant their stance. Instead, such as we see with hdn, when he discloses his own sexuality, he argues that the self-disclosure is not important.

hdn in reply to amidnightdreary

I'm not gay either but that has nothing to do with it. You don't have to be gay to celebrate human rights. Congratulations New Zealand!

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013)

It is interesting that despite saying sexuality is irrelevant to celebrating gay rights, hdn nevertheless chooses to disclose his own "not gay" identity. His statement is somewhat contradictory. By arguing that you do not have to be gay to celebrate human rights, he is trying to say that the macrosociological plane category should be levelled as equal and sexuality is, therefore, irrelevant to the discussion. However, due to the competing Discourses in the hierarchy of sexualities, in order to make a claim for non-heteronormative identities, he needs to position himself as a member of the dominant, heteronormative group. Hdn's self-referencing warrants his stance by saying that even though he has no reason to be affected by the law change, it is still a cause for celebration. The comment implies that if even those unaffected personally by the law change agree with it, then it must be the right thing to have happened. This is what Potter (1996, p. 127) calls "stake inoculation," in that the careful evaluation of an idea is independent of any personal interest or wish for a particular view, and, therefore, must be factual or credible.

5.11 Chapter summary

In line with the Membership Layer, this chapter has demonstrated that in a diverse transnational audience, whose shared interest rather than social grouping or geographical proximity brings them together, that self-referencing stances may be used, amongst other functions, to create understanding and provide context to the interactions found within the Space. The chapter focused on participant discussions of macrosociological plane identities, with nationality being a predominant focus in the first half of the chapter. The combination of discursive resources that inscribed value and weighting to some nationalities over others, and the focus on diversity in a delocalised, transnational audience, meant that Sociolinguistic Scales (Blommaert, 2007) was a useful tool for analysing these stances.

The analysis showed that despite New Zealand's usual position of a small, peripheral nation, the content of the video and sociological context of the law change occurring just prior to the interaction in my data, the country generally held a central, and thus highly valued, scalar position in this Participatory Space. Participants both from New Zealand and abroad expressed notions of belonging, and positive affect for the nation. Similarly, when nations were viewed as ideologically, historically, or geographically close to New Zealand, they were accorded a high scalar position. Conversely, when the focus was on differing ideological positions, or if they were more peripheral in terms of understanding, other nations – sometimes the same as those valued elsewhere – were often seen by many participants as hierarchically lower.

Polycentricity was also a focus of this chapter, which emphasised the multi-faceted nature of participation within the Space. At any given point in time, positions could be stated, contested, or

renegotiated. One nationality may be vertically positioned as valued in one 'snapshot,' while at another point in time, the same nation may be less centrally positioned and valued. Moreover, the multiple centres in the Space make for different foci of stance for the participants. While some participants focused on the *waiata* or on New Zealand, for example, another might focus on same-sex couples or family values. Therefore, I argued that Du Bois' Stance Triangle should be adapted to incorporate the layers of stance foci, rather than assuming all interlocutors shared the same focus of stance. The range of stance foci highlighted the range of Discourses found within the Space, and I argued that Scales can be used to understand centrality, weighting and interpretability about a range of macrosociological plane categories beyond the local versus global dichotomy, such as sexual or religious categories.

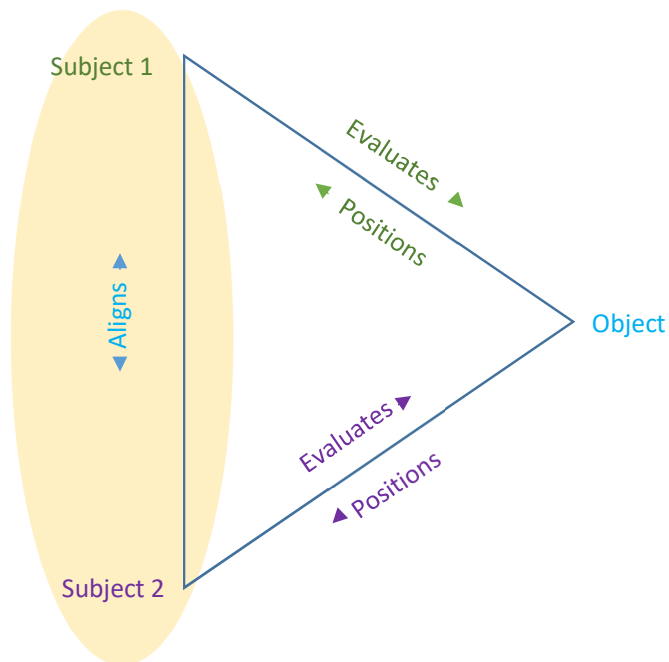
The variation in views, positions, and macrosociological plane categories meant that beyond context, self-referencing served other functions in this Space, too. Some used self-referencing to warrant their position or right to be in the Space, including those from potentially more peripheral locations. Their warranting not only allowed them to belong, but increased the interpretability and centrality of their location. Finally, the range of stances and categories meant that self-referencing allowed participants to warrant their stances in terms of credibility, whereby they aimed to increase the weighting of their arguments. Some used known features of positioning, such as stake inoculation or stake confession, while others simply used personal experience as a means of showing their own central position and understanding of the topic.

Chapter 6. Audience alignment, collaboration and the dynamic nature of the Space

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I focus on the alignment side of the Stance Triangle and the dynamic collaboration feature of Participatory Spaces. I have already explained how alignment is the act of calibrating the relationship between two stances, and by implication two stancetakers (Du Bois, 2007, p.163), and how as speakers evaluate the *stance focus*, they simultaneously position themselves. In this chapter, I look at how those actors' positioning also positions them in relation to other *speakers* (Figure 10). A focus on alignment between speakers and hearers is simultaneously a focus on audience.

Figure 10: Alignment on Du Bois' (2007, p.163) Stance Triangle



To understand audience, this chapter also focuses on the Audience Layer of the Participatory Spaces framework (reproduced in Figure 11). As outlined in Chapter 3, the audience will be understood as participating in short interactions, rather than knowing each other through sustained ties, with an imagined audience, who may be constructed as ideal. This chapter will analyse how the particular participants in the thread change the nature and tone of the Space depending on their alignment with one another. I will show how the nation becomes a metonym for a collapsed ideal audience.

Figure 11: The Audience Layer

Audience Layer	Participants interact in front of an ideal audience	Social connections exist through short interactions rather than sustained ties	Some interactions may not be considered sociable	Participants decide which practices are meaningful
-----------------------	--	---	---	---

To reiterate, this imagined audience is ‘polylogal’ (Bou-Franch & Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2014; Bou-Franch et al., 2012), because a range of one-to-one, one-to-many, and many-to-many interactions occur within the Space. Therefore, in this chapter, I will also show how speakers design their talk for their audience, and argue that Bell’s (1984) Audience Design is a useful tool for doing so, as it explains how different members of the audience influence the speaker in different ways. This is particularly important in YouTube, where there may be many participants who act in both the ‘speaker’ and ‘hearer’ positions. I will show how Du Bois’ (2007) Stance Triangle needs to be adapted in order to account for the multiple roles participants play in a polylogal interaction.

Using Audience Design and the adapted Stance Triangle, I will then demonstrate examples of particular style shifts that occur as speakers address different members of the audience. In particular, I will show how address terms change depending on alignment, and how hyper-emotive

language is used in my data amongst participants who converge in alignment. I will also show how shared style may indicate that even when two participants appear to diverge in alignment with one another, sometimes this may indicate, in fact, that they converge in their understanding of the Participatory Space. Because this chapter moves from the participants to the audience, not all of the examples include self-referencing. However, the inclusion of these examples is still necessary for understanding the context that those who self-reference find themselves interacting within.

6.2 Audience collaboration and alignment between participants

While Chapter 5 focused on participants evaluating and positioning themselves in relation to a shared interest, which was often the focus of stance or what that stance focus indexed, this chapter focuses on how that evaluation and positioning can allow members of the audience to position themselves in relation to one another. This does not always need to be explicit: DuBois (2007, p.164) says that, in some circumstances, the Stance Triangle can indicate what missing information can be assumed from whatever information is present. If two people positively evaluate the focus of stance and position themselves as supporters of the Bill, we can often assume convergent alignment with one another. When speakers diverge in their alignment, it indicates divergent positioning in their evaluation of the stance focus as well, unless otherwise stated.

Converging alignment in evaluation of the stance focus was often found with acceptance of the first speaker's focus of stance. For example, Esa L*, below, positions herself in support of the Bill through congratulating New Zealand, her stance focus, which CrazyWebs agrees with, and positively aligns with her.

Esa L*

Well done, New Zealand! The first country to extend voting rights to women is once again a leader in social justice! You have much to be proud of. Love from Canada!
<3

CrazyWebs

Thank you <3 from New Zealand!

(in CrazyWebs [Uploader], 2013)

We see CrazyWeb's acceptance of the stance focus coincide with positive alignment, as she thanks Esa L* for the compliment given to New Zealand in her response, and stays on the same topic. Shared positioning is also represented by the "<3" symbol of a love heart, and the mirroring of writing the message "from" their respective countries. This acceptance of the stance focus was common amongst aligning participants and not marked as unusual – unlike in the next example.

Elsewhere, when evaluation and alignment differed, participants often refused to accept the first speaker's choice of focus of stance. For example, when Natacha-Rebeka L* criticises the Bill through negatively evaluating "this" – which is presumably the song because of the "words" that she does not believe sound "ok" - valkyrienz shifts the stance focus. Rather than agreeing or disagreeing about the singing in celebration of the vote, or positioning herself in relation to the passing of the Bill, valkyrienz directs her stance to the new stance focus: Natacha-Rebeka L* herself, and her lack of ability to spell. She also diverges in style, by using standard spelling in comparison to that of her addressee.

Natacha-Rebeka L*

Not sure wat words would ever sound ok for this
all I cansay is dam and they wonder wer the inbred disabilities come from !?!!!!?

valkyrienz

Probably the same place as your spelling

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013)

Often disalignment in this data set, such as in valkyrienz's response, above, comes in the form of a direct insult to the speaker, rather than simply rejecting that speaker's views. In this example, valkyrienz's response to where "the inbred disabilities come from" as being "Probably the same place as your spelling" suggests that Natacha-Rebeka L*'s spelling also has "inbred disabilities" – or has perhaps been written by someone with those disabilities. Valkyrienz does not make a direct statement in disagreement with Natacha-Rebeka L*'s stance itself, however. Cameron (1995, p. 68) says that focusing on trivial stylistic qualities in someone's writing can be a common-place argument that someone is also "morally deplorable," as the critic views the writer's work as "careless" or "sloppy," and the writing shows "outward signs of a deeper flaw in character." This "deeper flaw" in Natacha-Rebeka L*'s, indicated by her writing, similarly positions her view on same-sex marriage as morally deplorable, and valkyrienz's divergent alignment positions herself, in contrast, as pro-same-sex-marriage. This example is also interesting in the way that valkyrienz has shifted the stance focus. While she is still clearly responding to Natcha-Rebeka L* through the use of the "same" place where disabilities come from, she has changed the topic. While the first speaker focuses on no song being appropriate to sing in celebration, valkyrienz renegotiates the stance focus to Natacha-Rebeka L*. I will return to this example at the end of the next section, when I describe how valkyrienz imagines her ideal audience. However, I now turn to another example of convergent alignment with others.

6.2.1 Nationality as a metonym in convergent stances

Nationality, in addition to its use to warrant a stance or the speaker's belonging to the Space (discussed in Chapter 5), was sometimes used as a means of aligning with other members of the

audience, even when the speakers' nationalities were different. It was not uncommon across the datasets to see threads of similar comments appear, such as in the example below, where commenters added their congratulations from wherever they were from. Here, as each speaker adds a different country to the list of those congratulating New Zealand for passing the Bill, it creates a sense of celebration from around the world for same-sex couples' rights. It also highlights the way that geographical location does not prevent participants from interacting with one another.

Hanne S* S*

Congratulations from Denmark.

Joseph S*

Congratulations from the United States.

maie6

Much love from the states.

mike*007

Congrats from Quebec Canada !!!! :) U Make My Day !!!:)

Scott F*

congrats from the UK

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013)

In each of these utterances, other than the naming of the country they are sending wishes from, there is little variation in each of the stances taken here. The speakers share their positioning on the Bill and do not offer a counter-stance to the preceding utterances. The shared style of 'congrat(ulation)s' + from country (or 'much love' + from country in the second of the comments from the United States), also shows a shared alignment in collaborating over the form and content of the Space. By implication, they each share a positive evaluation of the focus of stance of New Zealand, and collective positioning as being in favour of the Bill. If Hanne S* S* was the only speaker in this thread, it would add to the collaborative support for the Bill, but it would not create the same

collective sentiment of community created from the transnational audience as it does here, with each speaker's mirrored form.

Also of note in the discussion of nationality and nations is how countries were used as metonyms (words which stand in place of an associated concept) for the action of passing the Bill. In particular, New Zealand was a metonym used in stances positioned in favour of passing the Bill. I discussed in Chapter 5 how participants 'scaled up' processes that matched their positioning. Some participants suggested all of New Zealand was responsible for the law change if they positively evaluated the law and the nation, while nations were 'scaled down' to include only the politicians, but not the citizens, if it was a law change the speaker did not agree with. Similarly, we see a 'scaling up' process here in Matthew H*'s stance, where he uses New Zealand and Canada as metonyms for all of the law-makers and citizens in each of these countries, rather than separating out exactly who was responsible for valuing "rights and freedoms" in each country.

Matthew H*

Dear New Zealand: Welcome to the small but elite group of nations that truly value rights and freedoms for ALL of its citizens

Love: Canada

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013)

The use of metonymy in examples such as Matthew H*'s has the effect of backgrounding New Zealand and Canada as homogenous entities, defined by a single evaluation of the passing of the Bill. Matthew H* has not explicitly sectioned off each country to be 'those of us from New Zealand/Canada who agree with the Bill' think this way, but he implies that everyone from these countries do agree. It is clear that not all of New Zealand and Canada's citizens will be present in the YouTube thread. Instead, Matthew H* is speaking to the New Zealanders and Canadians in the

YouTube audience who have come together to celebrate. Therefore, he is addressing an ideal audience, which I will discuss, below.

The “ideal audience” or “universal audience” (Perelman, 1979) is one to which common-sense arguments can be made, as the speaker can begin his or her reasoning by assuming a set of common-sense values or truths behind that reasoning: it assumes “common principles, notions and common places for philosophical communication” (p.48). In social media research, Marwick and d. m. boyd (2010) have adapted this concept for understanding online audiences – specifically on Twitter. They found that Twitter users’ “ideal audience” was an “imagined audience” of people who would share their perspective and appreciate their work. What is interesting when we compare the YouTube audience to the Twitter audiences of Marwick and d. m. boyd’s (2010) research, who follow a particular tweeter and are indeed likely to follow someone they appreciate. That someone might be the celebrity tweeters with large followings, or those with smaller followings of family and friends (Halavais, 2013). In at least this part of YouTube, however – and particularly in my data which follows a polemical issue and does not have a sustained following – it is clear that the audience is made up both of people who align with each speaker’s perspective, and a large portion of the audience who diverge in alignment and do not have a shared perspective or appreciation of the post. Speakers are likely aware of conflicting views, as they are ever-present in the threads. Therefore, it can be argued that messages aligning with the audience are addressed to just the ideal *section* of the audience.

We see a clear example of a speaker addressing his ideal audience when he speaks to those who have shared alignment with him, and speaks about a less than ideal member of the audience as if he were no longer present:

Natsparky

For those replying to wtfstfuroflemao: He's given up and removed all of his unfounded and biased "scientific" comments on this video about gays being prohibited from adopting children and the negative effects this has on them.

I don't think we changed his mind about the issue, but we've certainly made it clear that we will not stand aside and let people with unfounded "scientific" claims bully us into believing that the sex of the parents is more important than the love they give their child <3

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013)

Natsparky's use of the second person pronoun "we" is inclusive in this example (you and I – the speaker and addressees). His description of the joint action amongst members of the audience making it clear that they will "not stand aside" discursively produces shared alignment between himself and the audience. Not only do they positively evaluate the stance focus of same-sex parenting and position themselves in favour of same-sex-marriage, but they are also positioned by the speaker – Natsparky – as aligning as community members with a similar understanding of how to behave in this Participatory Space, where bullying will not be tolerated.

I discussed in Chapter 5 how the channel owner, Martin Richardson, held scaling privileges which he used to delete wtfstfuroflemao's comments. Returning to this event, Martin responds to Natsparky's comment with an indication as to why this dataset is unlike many others on YouTube:

Martin Richardson

Sparky, it was me that removed all his posts. He was annoying, and this thread is more a 'celebration' than a platform for hateful discourse. Just keepin' it clean.

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013)

Martin Richardson's action of deleting wtfstfuroflemao's comments reshaped the Space. By removing the divergent comments, he changed who the audience participants were. Anyone entering the Space from the moment that the comments were deleted can see only that antagonistic comments had once been there, but wtfstfuroflemao's actual posts – and, therefore, semiotic artefacts of his participation – are no longer there. Therefore, the reimagining of the community and dynamic nature of the Participatory Space can also be aided by particular actions in the audience. Moreover, the reshaping of the audience by removing the divergent comments allowed other participants to imagine it as a more positive Space, influencing them to continue with the positivity set down before them.

Despite Natsparky and Martin Richardson's alignment in wanting the Space to remain clean and free from bullying, this was not the case for all members in the audience. The Participatory Spaces framework highlights the complexity of YouTube, as Layers account for a range of views, practices, and participants. Some YouTubers believe that, regardless of the opinions stated, the Space should be a site of free speech.

SangerZ*

First of: I'm on your side about the gay marriage thing. It should be legal since it doesn't hurt anybody. BUT: Deleting comments, which contain some sort of argument or opinion (other than just insults), no matter how ignorant that opinion is in your view, IS censoring and should be handled very carefully.

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013)

SangerZ*, above, does not criticise Martin Richardson over his stance on the Marriage Amendment Bill. She is accordingly polite in her comment, which we see through her recognising his view and only going as far as to say that deleting comments "should be handled very carefully." Here, she hedges the criticism of deleting comments as potentially risky, rather than directly saying he should

not have done it. Here, her stance still indicates that members of the ideal audience may share perspectives – both on the stance focus, and on appropriate practices within the Space. However, the second part of her stance indicates stronger rebuking of his actions, and she disaligns with his position of comment moderator and deleting of another user’s comments. Her use of capitalisation in “BUT” and “IS” is done for emphasis and indicates an epistemically strong stance. The “BUT:” is also used to signal a change in alignment, from agreeing with his stance on same-sex marriage, to disagreeing with his censoring of comments, while the emphasis in “IS” highlights that his comments can be considered nothing short of censorship, rather than being only potentially so. She admits that wtfstfuroflemao’s stance on the Bill does not match her own, but she nevertheless respects his right to voice it in this forum.

Despite SangerZ*’s epistemic certainty about what she considers acceptable in this Space, above, her view that Martin Richardson should not delete comments is nevertheless contested.

Martin Richardson

Hi Sanger. The comments that I delete tend to be hateful and insulting – even the ones that try to make some actual point, almost always contain at least one cruel barb. Having said that, I will delete anything here that I don't like with a clean conscience. I'm a nobody with no sway over the issues nor the individuals that post here, and I have never promoted this thread as some kind of public forum.

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013)

It is clear from the interaction between SangerZ* and Martin Richardson that while certain practices may be more or less commonly found on YouTube, it is still up to the actual participants in any given thread to use, not use, or negotiate the practices that make up that particular Participatory Space (other than any specifically not allowed by the YouTube platform itself). SangerZ*’s contribution indicates that participants may shift in alignment with another participant within the same post, but

it is marked as unusual and a clear shift in alignment (such as through her using “BUT:” to switch from one alignment to the next) is required for clear understanding.

The incident involving the deletion of wtfstfuroflemao’s comments indicates that there may also be a mismatch between the speaker and audience’s perception of the Space, and who the rest of the audience is. Natsparky and Martin Richardson view the Space as a “clean” site for celebration, as indicated in earlier examples. Wtfstfuroflemao, however, in response to criticism asking who he thinks he is to behave so differently from them, constructs the Space as a site where he can be, “A free mind thinking with my reason and not my emotions” (in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013). There is no evidence in his prior posts to suggest that he views the audience as agreeing with his anti-same-sex marriage stances, and therefore sharing common perspectives in that sense. In describing the Audience Layer in Chapter 3, I argued that social interaction in the Participatory Space did not necessarily mean harmonious participation. Rather, for wtfstfuroflemao, the ideal audience may be an audience willing to debate, argue and disagree with each other about the issue. Similarly, if he is trolling, the ideal audience for this speaker may be made up of those who react strongly to that provocation.

In contrast with trolling, some divergent speakers may not necessarily be speaking to the addressee. Returning to the example of valkyrienz’s divergent stance with Natacha-Rebeka L*, some stances appear to run counter to the argument that speakers direct their utterance at an ideal audience, who share similar perspectives to the speaker. Valkyrienz’s short insult directed at Natacha-Rebeka L* is expressed with no hedging or politeness strategies to minimise the threat to her face, or sense of self-worth (see, for example, Brown & Levinson, 1987), as might be expected if she felt her addressee was ideal and like-minded. Compare valkyrienz’s face threatening act to the

hedging in SangerZ*'s criticism of Martin Richardson, where she aligns with his stance on same-sex-marriage. Valkyrienz may not, therefore, be speaking solely to the person her comment is directed at but perhaps also a wider audience of Marriage Amendment Bill supporters, and her insult acts as a kind of “vernacular spectacle” (Androutsopoulos, 2013) designed for others to watch. Therefore, if we are going to analyse alignment with the audience, we must look beyond the dyad and analyse stancetaking and alignment with multiple members of the audience. I show, below, how Goffman’s (1981) Participation Framework is currently being used in YouTube research to understand the polylogal audience, and how Bell’s (1984) offshoot, Audience Design, can be combined with the Stance Triangle to give us a better understanding of the way talk is designed for more than one hearer in YouTube.

6.3 Understanding the different roles of audience members

6.3.1 Goffman’s Participatory Framework

Emerging research on YouTube commenting audiences has begun adapting Goffman’s (1981) Participation Framework for use in the online realm. In Goffman’s original framework, the traditional notion of ‘speaker’ and ‘hearer’ is broken into more nuanced categories. Firstly, there are the ‘addressed’ and ‘unaddressed’ recipients of the message (who are ratified members of the interaction, i.e. they are licensed to attend the interaction as a legitimate participant in the conversation), and those who are not ratified, such as the inadvertent ‘bystanders’ and the more surreptitious ‘eavesdroppers.’ Similarly, the concept of a speaker is separated into different categories to show that sometimes the person making the utterance – such as an actor, or someone reading aloud – may actually be speaking someone else’s words. In addition, Goffman describes how an ‘audience’ in the mass media, such as television and radio broadcasts, should be broken down into the live witnesses and co-participants in the interaction itself, and those who are grouped off the stage, such as the listeners at home, who are imagined recipients – which is relevant to the

viewers of a YouTube video who then later appear in the comments section. Differentiation is important, as each participant will behave differently in the interaction.

Marcoccia (2004) was an early adapter of the Participation Framework for online audiences. She saw that newsgroup audiences were made up of those who sent and received messages, who were distinct from readers who do not leave a trace, despite participating through reading. In the online world, determining who is involved in the interaction is significantly more complex than in dyadic, face-to-face ones, and Lorenzo-Dus et al. (2011, p. 2583) say that Goffman's approach regarding the reception role of the overhearing audience is a useful means of dealing with this complexity.

M. Boyd (2014) and Dynel (2014) have more recently gone beyond using Goffman's Participation Framework for online participation in general and adapted it for use in understanding YouTubers in particular. While M. Boyd has just two levels of interaction (the video interaction and the commenting interaction), Dynel's three levels best explain YouTube interaction. In her first level, she describes the interlocutors within the video itself (such as the actors or vloggers), which is a separate level to the senders and recipients in those videos (such as the uploaders and viewers). She says that the recipients of the uploaded video are not just overhearers, but rather are a type of ratified hearer, as they are the intended and targeted audience of the videos (Dynel, 2014, p. 42). Finally, she suggests that the senders and recipients in the commenting section deserve a participation level of their own – this is the level my research focuses on. Those who were in the reception role in the first level(s), i.e. they watched the video, may take on a production role if they choose, where they can comment, or 'like' or 'dislike' the video. When individuals read the comments, they are taking the 'hearer' role that speakers assign to them, and if they do not read the comments, they are no longer participants in the interaction. She says that ratified hearers are either an addressee or a third party. YouTube comment exchanges may form conversations which are reminiscent of everyday

conversation in their turn-by-turn patterns, except that they are available to other ratified participants – the third parties – as well (Dynel, 2014, p. 47) (ignoring, for now, the asynchronic nature of comments). Due to the origins in Goffman’s framework of live, spoken conversations, as well as Du Bois’ terminology in describing the Stance Triangle, I have retained the terms ‘speaker(s)’ and ‘hearer(s),’ even when describing interlocutors who use text to communicate.

These early researchers, particularly Dynel (2014) and M. Boyd (2014), have made good headway into explaining audience interaction on YouTube through using Goffman’s framework and understanding what the various roles of the participants in YouTube are. While Goffman (1981) and the subsequent YouTube researchers who have used his framework do say that the various speakers and hearers are cognisant of the varieties of roles in an interaction and that these roles shift during the course of that interaction, the existing research has focused little on what the actual *effect* is on the participants’ language due to these various roles. Bell (1984), however, in mass media research, proposed an Audience Design framework which builds on Goffman’s work by looking at how a speaker’s talk is designed around responding to the various roles of different hearers. Therefore, my research will build on the emerging research in participants’ roles on YouTube by using Audience Design to understand the audience as a major factor in determining practices in the YouTube commenting Participatory Space.

6.3.2 Audience design

Audience Design looks at the different roles of speakers and audience members in a similar manner to Goffman’s Participation Framework, with four main characters in the audience:

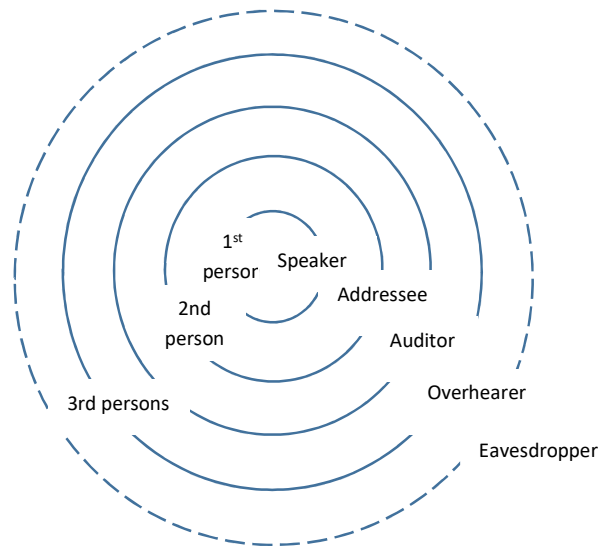
- The addressee, who is known, ratified and addressed.
- The auditors, who are known and ratified, but not addressed.
- The overhearers, who are known, but are not ratified or addressed.

- The eavesdroppers, whose presence is unknown; they may be there either intentionally or by chance.

(Bell, 1984, p. 159)

Bell adds to Goffman's framework firstly by ordering the roles by whether or not the participants are known, ratified or addressed by the speaker. He says that we could picture the roles on a concentric circle, such as that in Figure 12, below, where each audience member is one space more distant from the speaker.

Figure 12: "Persons and roles in the speech situation" (Bell, 1984, p.159)



The important point with Audience Design that differs from Goffman's work is how Bell shows that speakers design their talk depending on who these particular audience members are. Audiences are by no means passive, making speakers responsive to the audience's needs and desires. Therefore, speakers may make linguistic choices such as how they choose pronouns, form speech acts, code switch, use honorifics or shift style in response to their audience (Bell, 1984, p. 161). An

understanding of each of the audience roles should show how the speaker designs their language based on their perception of who the audience is – or, on YouTube, at least who the addressee(s) and auditor(s) are.

While the speaker is the first person in an interaction, the addressee (known, ratified and addressed) is singled out as the second person. This is distinct from all other audience members, who are third persons. Speakers will predominantly accommodate their speech to their addressee and either converge or diverge on a number of levels such as speech rate, accent, content, and pausing (Bell, 1984, p. 145). In Dynel's (2014, p. 47) discussion of addressees in adapting Goffman's Participation Framework, she says addressees on YouTube can be identified by factors such as the relevance of the content of the message, a speaker's earlier comment, terms of address such as nicknames and personal pronouns, and the position of the message in relation to another commenter's post. These show us that the addressee is someone who is signalled as the recipient of the message in some way by the speaker. In my data, we see each of these features manifest in various ways, such as using the +(pseudonym) affordance, such as "+Purplepoppyanimator Congrats :)," (in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013), by referring to them directly using personal pronouns and/or their pseudonym, for example, "LOL just seen *your* comment *Xtopher* [my emphasis]" (in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013). Participants can also click the 'reply' button, so that the response is nested below the first part of the adjacency pair, or by responding to a first pair part in such a way that the utterance is clearly a second pair part, such as by answering a question or continuing a particular aspect of a topic discussed by one particular YouTuber. The second pair part will also be shown as posted later in time by YouTube when the 'newest replies' setting is used to order the comments.

Also of note, Bell (1984, p. 200) highlights that mass media audiences differ from face-to-face audiences, as 'known' should be understood as 'known to be present' in the interaction, rather than necessarily knowing the addressee personally. Similarly, in understanding the YouTube audience, 'knowing' does not imply any kind of intimacy or knowledge *about* the other participants. Rather, it is about knowing *where* or *to whom* the utterance is directed, as opposed to the even lesser known larger and more imagined audience of auditors and overhearers. Similarly, there is no way of knowing that the addressee has remained in the interaction unless further responses are made.

Moving now to the auditors, who are known and ratified, but not addressed, these participants are third person audience members. Bell (1984, p. 145) says speakers will accommodate their speech to third persons, although style will be affected to a lesser degree than found when accommodating to the addressees. In spoken conversation, the auditor effect is that the speaker will shift in the same direction as the hearer, but to a lesser degree than for addressees, and shifts tend to be overt, such as including the use of politeness strategies and honorifics, or code-switching (Bell, 1984, pp. 174-175). In my data, often broad categories of people are addressed, such as New Zealanders or Christians, so anyone from a different country or religious view might be an auditor, as they are not specifically addressed, but are assumed to be in the Space. For example, when Hanne S* S* (in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013) posts her congratulations from Denmark to no particular addressee, as outlined in Section 6.2.1, but rather to an assumed ideal audience, others responded with their own congratulations from elsewhere. Their shared perspectives shown in the mirroring of the structure of their congratulations, as discussed above, shows that even as ratified but third person audience members, they still choose to conform to a style set by the original speaker. The nature of the Participatory Space is that auditors are expected to contribute more than in other mass media audiences, such as those listening to traditional (i.e. not internet mediated or talk-back) radio news broadcasts.

Overhearers (known, but not ratified or addressed) are also third party members in the interaction. The effects of these participants, who are nearly at the edge of the concentric circles in Figure 12 have only a slight or indistinguishable effect on the speaker. However, even though style shift may no longer register, overhearer design can still be seen in choices such as pronoun selection (particularly if marked for politeness), speech act design, and bilingual code switching (Bell, 1984, p. 176). While the difference between an auditor and an overhearer in Bell's work is ratification (the auditor is ratified but the overhearer is not), this is not the case in YouTube. If the uploader has allowed comments in the forum, any audience participation is ratified at that point.

Dynel (2014, p. 42) argues that there are no overhearers in YouTube video audiences because they are designed for an indeterminable audience and are, therefore, ratified hearers in terms of mass communication theory. Quoting Lange (2008b), she points out that YouTube videos may be dubbed "publicly private" or "privately public," as anyone has the right to access the videos (and, by extension, also any publicly available comments). To a large extent, this research accepts her claim that eavesdropping is not possible. However, it is also worth considering that the audience may still consider some participants as not being genuine members of the Participatory Spaces – such as internet data trackers who may fit the term 'lurker' [person who spends time in an Internet community who observes but generally does not post], with the full connotations of the word from the offline world, and implication that they are not welcome. These participants may be those who are part of the audience, but not part of the ideal audience. Because these participants are unseen and unheard, it is not within the scope of this study to analyse them. There is also unlikely to be any effect on the speaker's language, as Bell posits (1984, p. 175). Addressees and auditors, on the other hand, will have an effect and, therefore, both types of audience members should be accounted for when using the Stance Triangle to understand alignment in YouTube stances.

6.3.3 Addressees and the existing Stance Triangle

The existing Stance Triangle model is a useful tool for understanding a speaker's style of self-referencing when it is directed at one addressee, as it clearly shows how each participant positions themselves in relation to one another. We must bear in mind that while Subject 1 begins as the speaker in the interaction and Subject 2 is the addressee, if Subject 2 responds, the two interactants will change roles; Subject 1 will become the new addressee and Subject 2 will become the speaker, in the simplest example.

If we look at kiwimarck's interaction with Adrian C*, below, kiwimarck begins as the speaker to an undeterminable imagined audience. When Adrian C* replies, Adrian C* is the speaker and kiwimarck becomes the addressee; these roles reverse when kiwimarck responds to Adrian C* specifically (I will discuss zamakhosi further, below).

kiwimarck

this makes me proud to be a kiwi and gay I cant wait to marry my fiancé

Adrian C*

Congrats ! [congratulations]

kiwimarck

+Adrian C[*] thank you :)

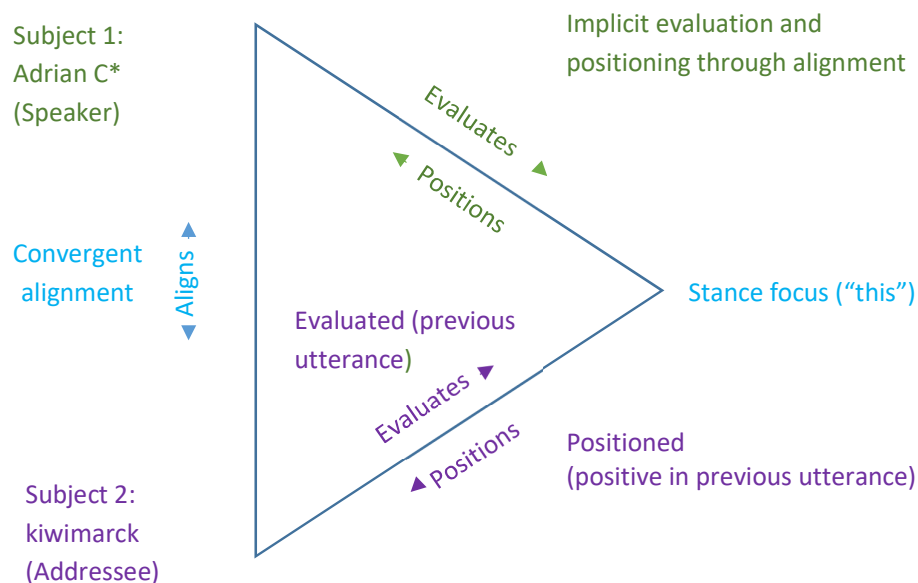
zamakhosi oupa

+kiwimarck I hope you 2 are still happy and and Marching joyfully in life...

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013)

If we translate this interaction into the Stance Triangle model, we can see that kiwimarck evaluates the focus of stance (“this” – an ambiguous pronoun for many aspects of the situation, such as the video, the song, and the changing of the Bill as likely options) in a positive manner (he is proud). Therefore, he positions himself in favour of same-sex-marriage. This is reinforced in his referencing that he is gay and looking forward to now being able to marry his fiancé. When Adrian C* responds with, “Congrats !” he shows a convergent alignment with kiwimarck. In this situation, Adrian C* is the speaker. The topic of congratulations and the nesting of his response via YouTube’s reply function indicates kiwimarck as the addressee. While Adrian C* has not specifically commented on the passing of the Bill, his positive assessment of kiwimarck’s situation positively aligns him with the speaker and implicitly suggests that he is likely to support kiwimarck’s positioning.

Figure 13: Adrian C* and kiwimarck – when Adrian C* responds



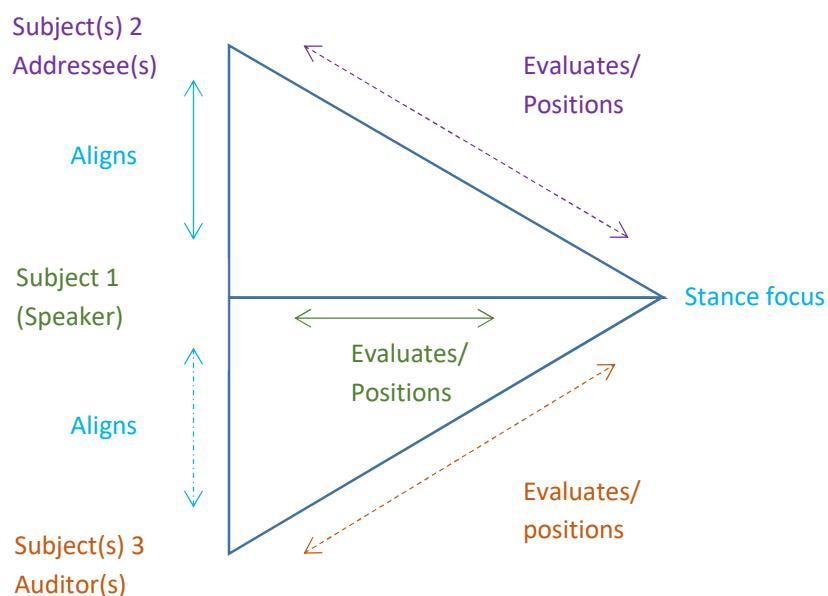
While the example in Figure 13 clearly shows how a speaker and addressee’s utterances position each subject in relation to one another and in relation to the stance focus, it does not account for all

of the participants on YouTube. It appears from the Stance Triangle that kiwimarck, as the addressee, is the only other subject in the interaction. Yet YouTube audiences have been described as chaotic due to their polylogal or multi-party interaction, as discussed above. Du Bois' Stance Triangle allows for only two subjects: the speaker and the hearer, yet intersubjectivity can occur between multiple participants. In Adrian Chester's interaction, there are clearly other auditors who have read his stance: zamakhosi oupa enters the conversation when he says that he hopes kiwimarck and his fiancé are happy, and 15 other auditors clicked 'like' without commenting. There is also an unknown number of auditors who 'heard' kiwimarck's utterance but chose not to respond. However, if we put all of these auditors in the same Subject 2 position as kiwimarck, it does not indicate that their participation is any different to that of the addressee. Therefore, in a polylogal interaction, such as that on YouTube, the Stance Triangle needs to be adapted to better represent not only the larger number of participants, but also the different kinds of participants, which I will do below.

6.4 Adapting the Stance Triangle

To account for the complexity of the YouTube audience, Figure 14 still demonstrates the way a speaker can evaluate the focus of stance and position themselves in doing so, then the converging or diverging alignment of the addressee will simultaneously position them in relation to the stance focus. However, it also shows that auditors may be present in the interaction. The auditors cannot go in the same part of the triangle as the addressee, as they may differ to them in their alignment with the speaker and evaluation of the stance focus. The Triangle also shows dashed lines in the arrows to represent Bell's findings that while a speaker will adapt their style to any auditors, they will adapt their style more towards any addressee(s). I will discuss style shifts in the next section.

Figure 14: The Stance Triangle for a polylogal audience



I will now demonstrate the Adapted Stance Triangle for Audience with another interaction found in the inthehouseNZ [Uploader] (2013) dataset (some comments have been shortened for readability).

Grant L*

Freedom of religion grants us the right to fight for what we believe in and we believe that marriage is a sacred union between a man and a woman so excuse me for fighting for what we believe in!!!

[other interactions] [...]

bluey1695 in reply to Grant L*

Then excuse us for fighting in what we believe in.

[other interactions] [...]

Jonathan G* in reply to Grant L*

Freedom of religion also means the freedom from religion. Believe what you will but don't expect others to; certainly don't expect laws of a land to reflect your opinion, as the premise of a democratic system is to adopt the majority opinion. You've been outvoted. [...]

[other interactions] [...]

Estonia C* in reply to Grant L*

Funny the way people have flagged your comment as spam, just because they disagree with you. That's bigotry for you though! [...] Continue to speak up for what you believe in, and ignore them!

[other interactions] [...]

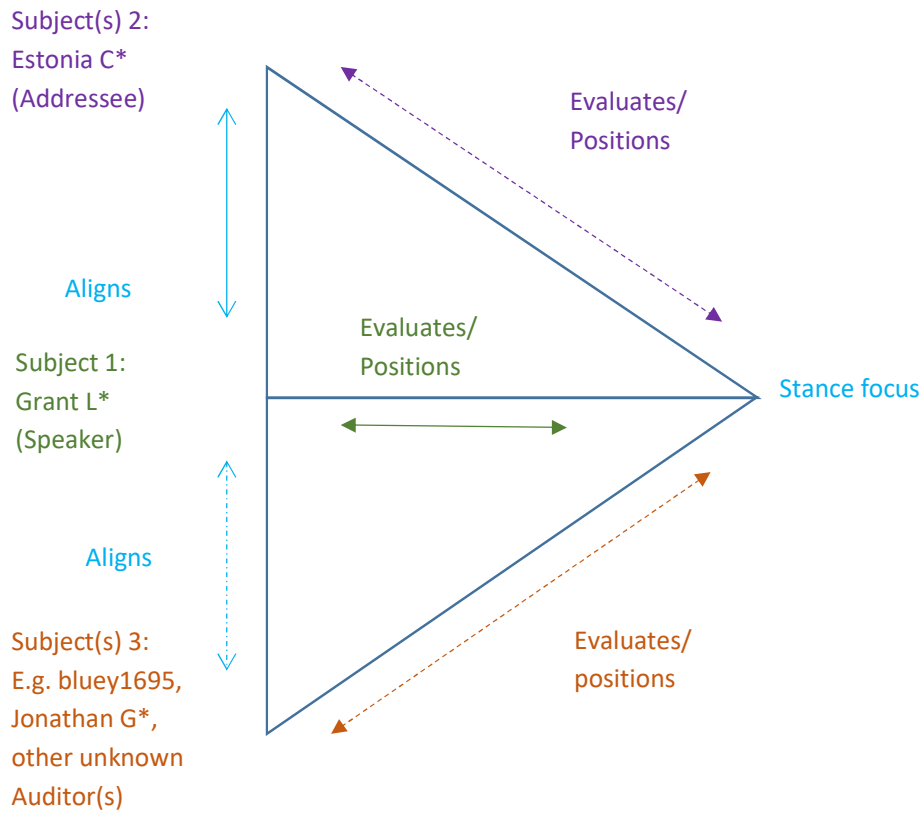
Grant L* in reply to Estonia C*

thank you! it is sooooo refreshing to get someone that can put opinions aside and respect my right to speak what i believe in!!

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

Grant L*'s reply to Estonia C* is shown in Figure 15, below. Here, we can see that she is the addressed recipient as Grant L* has used the YouTube affordance of the 'reply' button to mark her as such (as shown in the 'in reply to' added to his name). He is responding to her evaluation of the other YouTubers' behaviour in flagging Grant L*'s earlier comment as spam. With Grant L*'s first comment about marriage being a sacred act between a man and a woman, Estonia C*'s support of his right to express this view implies they both position themselves as against the Bill. Other commenters in the data hedged any comments that potentially positioned them differently to their evaluation, so we would expect a comment such as 'even though I don't agree with you about marriage, you are entitled to express your view without being flagged' – or something similar – if she positioned herself differently. She is marked on the Stance Triangle in the same way as we would using Du Bois' (2007) original model.

Figure 15: The Stance Triangle for a polylogal audience with Grant L*



Other YouTubers in the Grant L* interaction, such as bluey1695 and Jonathan G*, made comments which negatively evaluated his view of the nature of marriage, and they positioned themselves as supporting the Bill in doing so. While Grant L* addresses Estonia C*, it is likely that he was conscious of those who had commented. He says that he is grateful she “put opinions aside” in order to support him, despite it appearing both here and in her religious debates throughout the rest of the thread that she does actually share his opinion. It is more likely that the opinions Grant L* is referring to are those of the auditors with different opinions. Both their differing stance to Estonia C* (the addressee) and the difference in the nature of how Grant L* more implicitly speaks to them requires them to have their own space in the Stance Triangle. Interestingly, while I quoted Bell (1984, p. 176), above, as suggesting that speakers overtly shift their style to auditors in his framework, this interaction, and many others in the data, tend to more implicitly design their style

to the auditors, such as I have demonstrated Grant L* has done here. It also needs to be noted that taking up any of these roles is fluid. While Du Bois (2007, p. 170) says that participants in the Stance Triangle move between the speaker and hearer roles as each participant takes a turn, in polylogal interactions, the hearers may also switch between addressee and auditor roles while in the receptive position.

As well as showing the multiple receivers of any message, the usefulness of including Audience Design in analysing stance is when there is an effect on the speaker. I could not argue that every single speaker and hearer shift their speech to either converge or diverge in alignment with the audience – it is an unquantifiable trend rather than a given, made difficult to prove by the fact that with only one comment, it is difficult to know what is personal speech variation, and what might be influenced by the audience. However, it is interesting to note the examples where there are clear differences in speech design from *the same* speaker to *different* addressees. This effect can be seen in the way that Uchihahasuk5 adapts his stance to the various audience members throughout the thread. While in spoken conversation, a speaker may hold a single turn, but direct an addressee through the use of gaze, body positioning, gesture or tone of voice, for example, the technical constraints of the YouTube Participatory Space mean that these non-verbal cues cannot be performed in the same manner. Instead, we see the same speaker take several turns, each one directed at a different addressee. As we can see in marked shifts of tone and alignment with each of the speakers, he re-evaluates who his imagined audience encompasses:

Uchihahasuk5 in reply to Tiffany M*

fuck your god. keep your jesus to yourself. if you can't do that, then I hope you enjoy hell

Uchihahasuk5 in reply to Eren I*

I wonder too. How were they linked here? How did they find this video? The title gives no indication. Do they scour the internet looking for places to spread their hate, using all of their time to spread an angry, backward doctrine? I think they're really pathetic and sad.

Uchihahasuk5 in reply to MrMickelmc

The number of uneducated bigots is alarming and scary. Go fuck yourself.

Uchihahasuk5 in reply to J dftba

Thanks for being an ally. We're glad to have you.

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

There is a clear difference in the style used by Uchihahasuk5 in utterances directed at various audience members; comments directed at Tiffany * and MrMickelmc show disalignment and aggression through the use of “bald, on-record” Impoliteness Strategies, as well as implicature for offensive purposes (see, for example, Culpeper, 1996, 2010, 2011). In his reply to Tiffany M*, he begins with a directive combining taboo language with blasphemy to someone he says believes in a God – as it is her God and Jesus he asks her to keep to herself. Moreover, when he says “I hope you enjoy hell,” he uses sarcastic implicature by flouting two of Grice’s (1975, p. 47) maxims of the Cooperative Principle. First, he flouts the maxim of quality, which assumes speakers will make their contribution truthful and based on evidence – he does not want her to enjoy hell, as it is not a place that can be enjoyed, particularly by a Christian who believes in it. Second, he flouts the maxim of manner, which assumes participants will make their points clear – he is obscuring the more formulaic directive ‘go to hell’ by implying she will go there to enjoy it. In Uchihahasuk5’s reply to MrMickelmc, his directive “Go fuck yourself” is not only taboo, and therefore potentially offensive in

itself, but by following the insult after the assertion “The number of uneducated bigots is clearly alarming” it also indicates that MrMickelmc is positioned as one of them. This is in contrast to the responses directed at Eren I* and J dftba, which are markedly different, both in terms of alignment and, particularly in the comment to J dftba, in a friendly tone shown through the thanking and positive assertion of being glad to have her. This is consistent with Bell’s (1984, p. 158) assertion that “intraspeaker variation is a response to interspeaker variation,” as Uchihasasuk5 varies his ways of speaking according to who in the audience he is directing his speech at.

Interestingly, even though the replies to J dftba and Eren I* both show alignment through either positive sentiment, or through agreement, the audiences are still addressed differently. While the positive message to J dftba appears to be directed solely at her, it appears there is both an addressee – Eren I* – and a group of auditors in the longer of these comments. The amount of detail, from answering what appears to be rhetorical questions, to the negative assertion “I think they’re really pathetic and sad” are more than would be required simply to agree with Eren I*’s assertion (which is no longer on the site) as a sole addressee. Rather, this insult is likely aimed at a wider, overhearing audience of auditors.

6.5 Stylistic stance and audience alignment

6.5.1 Hyper-emotive language

I showed in the previous section that style can be used as a means of indicating different *evaluations* of other subjects (i.e. when other participants in the Space are the focus of the speaker’s stance) in the Stance Triangle. In this section, I argue that style shifts can also be used to represent a speaker’s converging or diverging *alignment* with the subject(s). Bell (1984, pp. 161-162) also notes that Audience Design incorporates Howard Giles and his associates’ (1979) Accommodation Theory,

where a speaker may adapt their linguistic style – often converging with that of the hearer’s, if the hearer’s approval is sought. Given that the accommodative act may involve certain costs for the speaker, in terms of identity-change and effort (Giles & Powesland, 1997, p. 233), it is particularly interesting to analyse style shifts in a transnational YouTube audience. When style accommodates others in the Participatory Space, sometimes at the expense of styles associated with other identities, such as ethnic or gendered styles of language, the shape of the Space is further shaped by the influence of the audience.

The Martin Richardson [Uploader] (2013) dataset, in particular, had a notably similar style used by many of the participants. Many of those who supported the Bill and converged in their alignment shared a similar, hyper-emotive style, such as Tewa “c*san” c*’s comment, below.

Tewa “c*san” c*

Same here... I can see them,those that are to be born as the years go by,living normal lives with no fear of who they are like we did at the beginning.Its truly beautiful

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013)

Tewa “c*an” c*’s uses of deixis with his switch from “I can see *them*” to a different pronoun, “*those*” creates a future nostalgic sentiment as it distances the subjects from the present to the future, which is emphasised in the use of the cliché “as the years go by.” He evokes strong emotion towards the significance of the passing of the Bill for future generations.

Indunil, similarly stirs an emotive response to the significance of the Bill:

Indunil

This song was sung at the most appropriate time. It is very emotional and touching. This isn't just about gay marriage passing, its about the growth and step forward towards peace in this earth amongst the human race. The fact that NZ's beautiful step towards it makes me proud to be part of this country. God bless this peaceful land.

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013)

In addition to the explicit emotion expressed in the “emotional and touching” nature of the song, Indunil’s convergent style with the Space is seen through the hyperbolic, scaled up assessment of the Bill as not just good for New Zealand, but described as “the growth and step forward towards peace in this earth amongst the human race.” Elsewhere in the same dataset, other hyper-emotive or poetic devices included repetition, such as Kath R’s “What a beautiful, beautiful moment” and Claire M*’s “i cried and cried and cried..”; or elongated syllables, such as Heksje and rniam382’s “Sooooo touching!” Next, the intensifiers “how” in Giovan P*’s “How I wish I could get out of here and see my boyfriend in Australia” and “oh” in Ernest Adams⁶ “but oh, how symbolic this time!” (referring to “Unlock the doors!” being a procedural announcement by the Speaker in parliament), and “truly” in Βάσω N*’s “i felt truly free for a moment :)” all emphasise the messages in each stance act. To some extent, the use of these devices can be a means of expressing emotion in the absence of non-verbal cues, such as tone of voice or facial expression. However, it is important to note that comments using these devices tended to be found near one another in the thread, and they were less commonly found in the other datasets, indicating that they may have been used in a response to one another. Moreover, the comments in these hyper-emotive sections which converged in style, also appeared frequently when speakers converged in their stance on the Bill with the visible audience in that part of the thread.

⁶ This name has not been anonymised as it is assumed to refer to the brand name.

Another indication that the hyper-emotive style was used to converge in alignment, is what can be seen when the same speakers diverge in their alignment with different audience members. Just as the earlier examples demonstrated Uchihasuk5's style shifts from antagonistic to grateful depending on his evaluation of the stance focus, here, speakers shifted style according to their alignment with other audience members. For example, Indunil (in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013), quoted above about the Bill moving us towards "peace on earth" also spoke of "the true meaning of humanity and the true meaning of Love" and how New Zealanders are "blessed" when speaking with those in support of the Bill. However, when she responds to wtfstfuroflemao's deleted comment which was widely rebuked, as discussed above, Indunil's response dropped the hyper-emotive style to a more conversational and antagonistic, "who gives a shit. opinions mean nothing, action speaks for everything" (in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013). It is also interesting to notice differences in her punctuation. In her convergent stances, she uses emphatic capitalisation, both in sentence initial position and in non-standard forms to emphasis emotive words such as "Love." Conversely, in her divergent stance, while still non-standard, she removes all use of capital letters entirely.

6.5.2 Address terms and alignment

The use of the highly emotive literary forms has the effect of bringing together participants - there is a sense of people from all around the world uniting and sharing the moment with one another. Similarly, participants 'scaled up' the closeness they felt for others through the use of address terms. For example, address terms usually reserved for family members were used to express closeness.

Madame Lulu

Go THE KIWIS!!!! Another reason to love my pacific brothers and sisters in New Zealand. I wish Australia would finally do the right thing too and pass the same law but our politicians forget they represent their people and what they want [...] <3 from Australia

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013)

Madame Lulu, for example, addresses her “pacific brothers and sisters in New Zealand.” The term “pacific” indicates she is using the term metaphorically – they are geographically and historically related, rather than biologically. However, rather than “neighbours” or any similar term to express physical proximity, the familial term indicates emotional alignment with New Zealanders too. Further closeness is expressed in her opening, “Go THE KIWIS,” which resembles a chant cried out in support of a sports team, positioning Madame Lulu as a fan or supporter. Other address terms that changed depending on alignment related to the pseudonyms people used. In convergent alignment, some members shortened the addressee’s name, such as “Natsparky” being shortened to “Sparky” (in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013), or “Giovan P*” being shortened to “Giovan.” The removal of a surname or shortening of a long pseudonym may indicate a reduction in social distance, similar to being a on ‘first name basis’ in face-to-face conversations. The comments written to Sparky and Giovan were convergent in their alignment on the Bill and expressed messages of support.

Adapting pseudonyms was also used by those who wanted to express a divergent alignment, as pseudonyms were more negatively adapted into derogatory nicknames. For example, jay k*’s pseudonym was changed to “GayJay” when he was addressed by an antagonistic audience member, and Chris B’s name was changed to several variants such as “chrispy cunt,” “Chrispymissme,” “chrispy arse” and “chrispy whispy.” In each of these nicknames between the two male speakers, language play, such as rhyme, alliteration and homonyms, were used to change the original name

into a nickname that often also suggested the hearer take a more feminine or homosexual sexual identity.

Closeness and convergent alignment were also expressed from the many speakers in support of the Bill in the Martin Richardson [Uploader] (2013) dataset who admitted crying while watching the video. Textual responses were required to tell others they had cried due to the absence of visual non-verbal cues, even though crying is something that most English speakers choose to do in private. The performance of privacy is demonstrated through a tendency of audience members in my data to obscure their admission in comments such as “DAMN ONIONS” (infinityx33, in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013), pretending it was not the video that made them cry. However, just as comments with a hyper-emotive style were found together, comments about crying were also grouped in threads, indicating a shared response from various audience members. Here, I use the term “shared” in both the sense of members experiencing a similar response to one another, as well as the action of sharing by telling others about it. This is consistent with research outlined in Chapter 2, which said that in spoken conversation, self-disclosure is often a form of solidarity and used to bring people closer together.

The prevalence of convergent alignment with various members of the Martin Richardson [Uploader] (2013) dataset led to a different understanding of the imagined audience than in the other datasets, where more divergent alignment was present – such as in the earlier example of Natsparky’s comment to his ideal audience, when he says, “we will not stand aside [my emphasis].” In outlining the Participatory Spaces framework, I discussed how YouTube is often understood as a site of antagonism, and trolling is accepted by many members as the norm. In the inthehouseNZ [Uploader] (2013) dataset, for example, xxyodiexx’s response to jay k*’s antagonism is “Can’t tell if

on drugs...or just normal crazy youtuber” – indicating that she imagined jay k*’s audience participation as expected and normal, and she is not fazed by it. However, in the Martin Richardson [Uploader] (2013) dataset, where more emotion and close address terms have been used, such as in Natsparky’s comment, some participants imagine the community differently. As these comments reveal that YouTubers have expectations of behaviour, or have acquired norms of interaction, I will now discuss similarities and differences in how the Space may be interpreted by the audience.

6.6 Shared understanding of the Space

Shared alignment and a shared understanding of the imagined audience did not necessarily go together in the same way as I have just described in the hyper-emotive language found in the Martin Richardson [Uploader] (2013) data set, in particular. This could be seen both in terms of shared alignment leading to a different understanding of the Space, and divergent alignment appearing despite a shared understanding of how to interact on YouTube. In arguing for shared alignment not necessarily meaning shared understanding of the Space, I earlier demonstrated the way that SangerZ* politely sanctioned Martin Richardson (in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013) for his decision to remove wtfstfuroflemao’s comments despite her shared stance with Martin Richardson on the Bill.

There were also times where divergent alignment on the Bill was found in interactions with apparent convergent views on participants’ understanding of the Space. Bell (1984) asserts that there will always be other factors influencing a speaker’s style other than audience, such as personal idiosyncrasies, topic and context, and style may not always indicate convergence. On YouTube, standard spelling of English may come more easily to some than others, for example, or may be indicative of practices used in online spaces in general, rather than to the particular audience in the

Space at the time of the utterance. However, Bell says that when variation within that speaker does occur, it is usually in response to others. In contrast to the convergent style matching convergent stance, and divergent style matching diverging stance, this was not the case in every example.

superkiwistar

oh yeah. like we really believe that!! more likely u will need new trousers when maurice williamson and john key appear starkers.

Chris B

who cares what you believe pindick

[other interactions] [...]

jay k*

Chris B Dawkins is a dick the Queen is who you bow down too. Like I said I don't know anything about Aussie punk either just The Saints obviously but I will check his convict streak out. I know more about Aussie 60s psych/beat/garage.

Chris B

Richard Dawkins is the head of what I believe sorry Jay. The Queen means nothing. You can jack off to her if you like, I am not interested sorry.

[other interactions] [...]

lpgft in reply to xxyodiexx

No, hopefully the US will NOT !! pretty soon we'll all be able to marry our goats !

Chris B in reply to lpgft

Congratulations !!! You are the 1000000th person to make this retarded comment. Click here to get your prize!

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

In each of Chris B's responses to an addressee, above, it is interesting that he shifts his style to converge with his addressees *even when he evaluates, positions or aligns with the addressee in a*

divergent manner. In the first example, Chris B converges in style with superkiwistar's non-standard orthography, particularly with the lack of sentence initial capitalisation. However, previous stances taken in the data show that Chris B is a supporter of the Bill, and superkiwistar is not. Divergent alignment in the superkiwistar / Chris B adjacency pair is also seen in the manner that each participant insults the other: superkiwistar implies that Chris B is sexually attracted to the politicians, Maurice Williamson and John Key, and Chris B referring to superkiwistar as a 'pindick,' and tells him sarcastically that no-one cares about his opinion. The insults also share a similar theme: while superkiwistar attributes a sexuality that he perceives is inferior to Chris B, Chris B attributes inferior sexual equipment back to him.

In the second example, we see Chris B again shift his style to converge with his addressee. He uses standard spelling and punctuation, mirroring that of jay k*. Again, the interlocutors insult each other: jay k* calls Chris B a "dick" and refers to his previous stance that Chris B believes in the Church of England – hence "[he] bow[s] down to" the Queen. Chris B has refuted the claim, as aside from it not being a true representation of his beliefs, unwarranted alignment with Christianity, in this Participatory Space, would reposition him as being against the passing of the Bill, for which he is a supporter. Chris B responds by implying that jay k* would be sexually attracted to her when he says he can "jack off to her." Chris B also accepts jay k*'s stance focus – the Queen.

In the final example, we see a third style shift when Chris B responds, "Congratulations !!!" to from lpgft's comment that "the US would NOT !!" [i.e. pass the law]. The message of congratulations is sarcastic, as it is paired with insults that lpgft's comment is not original – he is the 1000000th person to make it – and his comment has no worth, as it is "retarded." Therefore, it is unlikely that his convergent, mirrored style is a form of alignment with the speaker but rather a form of mimicry. Park (2012, p. 85) says that mimicry is a form of stancetaking: "Because the speaker must place his

or her voice in relation to the voice that is being mimicked, such positioning alignment necessarily results in some kind of evaluation or attitudinal assessment.” Park adds that a mimicked evaluation is usually a negative one – such as in this example. However, rather than copying the exact words, which may mean that the audience may not see the difference between the subject of mimicry and the performer, appropriate stylistic resources are used to index the voice and identity of the mimicked (Park, 2012, p. 84). In this instance, Chris B copies the more marked aspects of lpgft’s comments – the space + exclamation marks appears in both comments, and the hyperbolic assessment of the effect on the law matches the number of people who have made the comment, according to Chris B. Conversely, his evaluation of the stance focus is clearly different.

In each of the examples, Chris B is responding to an addressee who has been seen to antagonise other members in the space – with superkiwistar and jay k* being particularly prolific at flaming [“displaying hostility by insulting, swearing or using otherwise offensive language” (Moor et al., 2010, p. 1536)]. Therefore, I argue, it is not an alignment of their stance that Chris B converges his style to meet, but rather a convergence in the participants’ understanding of the Space. Each of these participants appears to enjoy the antagonism and play fight they have with one another, particularly evidenced by the ongoing interaction they sustain with one another with no indication of a desire to leave the conversation. However, another participant interjects part way through the Chris B and superkiwistar argument:

Kiri W*

Do people come on here to argue or am i missing the point?

Chris B in reply to Kiri W*

Well I came on here to learn Latin Dance but arguing seems easier to do really.

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

In the final example, above, Chris B responds with irony to Kiri W*'s rhetorical question (placed amidst a long thread of flaming), used to express a view that the point of the Space should not be to argue. Chris B's deliberately off-topic response is used to indicate his belief that Kiri W* is indeed missing the point of the Space. He shows that arguing is exactly the purpose of his interaction at that point of the thread – on a platform tailor-made for discussion or argument rather than physical activity. It is interesting to note that while Kiri W* has used the non-standard lower case "i" to refer to herself, Chris B has *not* mirrored this in his own response. While Kiri W*'s rhetorical comment also suggests frustration at the arguing, Chris B's irony also shows he is not taking her complaint seriously. His style shows a divergent stance on his understanding of YouTube – Kiri W* does not agree with the arguing, while Chris B seemingly enjoys the debate. What is also interesting is that Bell (1984, p. 165) found that when speakers require approval from their addressees (such as travel agents wanting their customers to win their cooperation and book with them), their speech convergence is stronger. While this data cannot prove whether Chris B seeks more approval from the other flammers or not, we could hypothesise from his convergent style that this might be the case.

6.7 Chapter summary

In order for the Participatory Space to be created, participants post their views in comments in the section below the uploaded video. Comments represent stances, which are taken up by other participants who evaluate not only the stance focus, but also the positioning the other participants have taken in their own evaluation. This collaboration in posting stances creates the Space, and the tone is set by whether or not the participants converge or diverge in alignment. Those who align in stance, can mirror one another in style, form and choice of stance focus, while those who diverge in alignment with one another can create conflict, rejecting one another's views, styles and foci of stance. The Participatory Spaces of YouTube are dynamic areas, subject to change depending on the particular participants in the thread at the time.

In analysing participant alignment in YouTube, a different understanding of the participants from a conversational dyadic interaction is necessary to account for the different members. By adapting the Stance Triangle to include Bell's (1984) Audience Design, we can not only see the wider range of participants involved in the interaction, but we can also surmise who the speaker is designing their utterance for and how their style shifts according to audience. We can see the way style shifts towards addressees depending on alignment, particularly when the speaker and hearer converge in alignment, and how auditors influence more indirect comments, particularly when the speaker diverges in alignment. Audience Design also allows a more detailed look at shared styles, and my data showed a particular emphasis on hyper-emotive language and abbreviated or familial address terms amongst those who shared a pro-Bill alignment, while pseudonyms were adapted into insulting nicknames, or a mimicking of style could be used amongst those who disaligned with one another.

The nation as a metonym for its citizens was another feature common to my data, particularly amongst those who were in favour of the Bill. By collapsing all members of a nation into one homogenous group, speakers were able to express closeness with one another as they spoke only to their ideal audience. Metonyms were used to collapse the nation and the speaker into one, allowing the speaker to talk on behalf of all other citizens of their country, and to the YouTubers of a particular nation. However, I demonstrated that this was done only when the speaker agreed with what was happening in their country. Those who disagreed with their country's laws separated the nation from themselves, the other citizens and their politicians.

Finally, I argued that an ideal audience may not necessarily be made up of the members we would expect. While shared alignment and shared style often reflect a shared evaluation of the focus

of stance, sometimes shared style was found amongst participants who had opposite evaluations of the focus of stance. In this case, they may have intentionally flamed one another in a joint battle of wits, arguing from opposite sides of the political debate. In these cases, shared alignment was in the form of sharing an understanding of the Participatory Space, not necessarily agreement about the Marriage Amendment Bill passing into law.

Chapter 7. The Spatio-Temporal Layer, chronotopes and Heterochronicity

7.1 Introduction

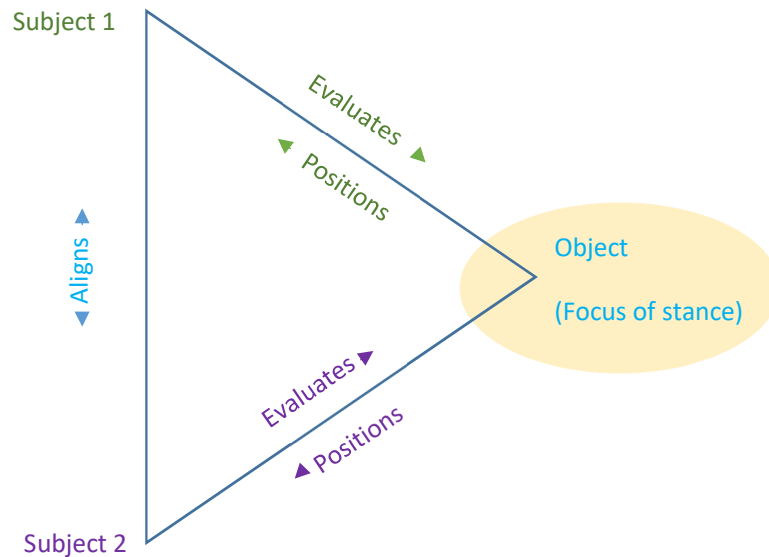
In this chapter, I look at the Spatio-Temporal Layer found in the YouTube interactions (reproduced in Figure 16). I begin with the notion of Bakhtin's (1981) chronotope, and the ways in which time and space are interrelated in the speakers' evaluation of their focus of stance. I discuss how temporality and location can index particular stances on the Marriage Amendment Bill.

Figure 16: The Spatio-Temporal Layer

Spatio-Temporal Layer	Participants' actions are influenced by multimodal affordances and constraints	The Space is influenced by surrounding offline spaces	The Space is influenced by temporality	The Space is dynamic
------------------------------	---	--	---	-----------------------------

The Spatio-Temporal Layer will be linked to the final corner of the Stance Triangle – the stance focus – to demonstrate how the speakers' stances can fit into a larger overall picture of their lives, and that time and place give meaning to the participants' understanding of the interactions. It is less neatly mapped onto the Stance Triangle diagram, as it is not part of Du Bois' original framework but rather an addition that the Participatory Spaces framework has highlighted as relevant. Rather than highlight the final side, I focus on the corner, as all other parts of the triangle link to it (Figure 17).

Figure 17: The object of stance (or stance focus) on Du Bois' (2007, p.163) Stance Triangle



Chronotope literally means 'time-space,' where the two parts of the concept are inseparable. While this chapter assumes the inter-connectedness of time and space, some parts of the analysis focus more strongly on either time *or* place, yet a connection is still assumed. Some parts of this chapter and of the Spatio-Temporal Layer are more strongly rooted in the spatial aspect of the chronotope, such as that participants' actions are influenced by multimodal affordances and constraints of the Space, and that their actions are influenced by the surrounding offline Spaces. In relation to these features, this chapter will look at space in terms of Bakhtin's (1981) metaphor of the road and show how it relates to chronotopes on YouTube, and how movement and progress are common themes in this data. I will argue that Lyotard's (1979) description of the 'metanarrative of progress' is still relevant to today's participants, despite his view that societal metanarratives would cease to hold the same relevance in a post-modern society. Instead, participants in my data continue to use metaphors of movement as they link physical spaces from the outside world to descriptions of societal progress in an online forum.

Elsewhere, the temporal aspect of the chronotope is more foregrounded, relating to the features of the Participatory Spaces framework that see the Space influenced by temporality, and that the Space is dynamic. Here, participants' offline past and future experiences relate to their interaction in the present. The analysis will reveal that participants do not always focus on just one time-period, but layers of time can be built up within one stance. This can be understood through the lens of Lemke's (2005) Heterochronicity, which analyses the mixing of time in the chronotope. I demonstrate that the histories and imagined futures are connected to allow a more relevant understanding of the event for the participants. I will explain how these chronotopes and layers of temporal focus are found not only in the stances that participants make, but that the Space itself works as a (dynamic) semiotic artefact embedded within time and space.

7.2 The chronotope

Chronotopes (Bakhtin, 1981) were originally used to conceptualise the way characters in the Greek novel moved from place to place, and their associated times of passage and paces of events. The inseparability of time and space, according to Bakhtin (1981, p. 84), is particularly evident when referring to how their relationship is expressed artistically. Bakhtin explains this via the temporal expression "at one and the same time," which shows its interdependence on the spatial marker "in one and the same place" when two characters failed to meet: if characters fail to meet at either the same place or at the same time, there is consequently no meeting at all (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 97). Vice (1997, pp. 202-203) adds that while every text has its own chronotope or set of them, certain texts, such as those which are set at a particular historical moment or which set out to represent a historical event, find the chronotopic approach reveals more fruitful observations than others. She discusses the chronotope of 'Hiroshima' as both place and time in her cinematic analysis of the film *Hiroshima mon amour* (1959). To be "at" Hiroshima refers not only to the city in Japan (place), but also to being present at the moment the atomic bomb was dropped (time). In addition, chronotopes

allow us to “examine space and time as social constructions, negotiated in dialogical interaction” (Ritella, Ligorio, & Hakkarainen, 2017, p. 50), which is important to my research. They can be used to examine YouTubers’ interaction and how it is both influenced by, and constructs, an interdependence of temporal and spatial links. We will see how YouTubers relate their own spatial and temporal experiences throughout the course of their online and offline lives – or ‘chronotopic experiences’ - with the Marriage Amendment Bill and related concepts as foci of stance.

7.3 Time-Space

I will begin with what Bakhtin describes as the “most obvious” meaning of the chronotope for narratives, which is that they are the “organizing centers for the fundamental narrative events of the novel. The chronotope is the place where the knots of narrative are tied and untied” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 250). In my data, some participants ‘set the scene’ of their narratives by describing the time and place of where their particular narrative takes place; they are used as necessary indicators of a historical moment. The moment is described from a different time and place to the present interaction.

tony b*

My family emigrated to NZ in 1958. In 1972, I returned to England because homosexuality had been legalised (with provisions). Only a few years later, NZ woke up saw there was no reason to discriminate and since then has regularly outstripped the UK in its legislation. [...]

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013)

kurtzbike

I attended Queensland Parliament in November 2000 when sexuality and gender identity finally became protected areas under the Anti-Discrimination Act (despite aggressive opposition from the LNP and their allies). [...]

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

In both examples, the chronotope is used to situate the participants' experience. In the first example, tony b* discusses which years he moved between New Zealand and England, while kurtzbike places himself in both Queensland as an Australian state, but also more specifically in parliament. In addition to the understandings and beliefs surrounding New Zealand, English and Australian stances on same-sex marriage, the physical setting of a parliament building is even more specifically loaded with indexical understandings of the protocols and participant roles found within. Similarly, each of the years the participants discuss: 1958, 1972 and 2000, index social beliefs which are associated with the societal shifts in beliefs surrounding people who desire people of the same sex. In tony b*'s examples, he lived in an era where homosexuality was legislated against, with no talk of same-sex marriage even near discussion, while in kurtzbike's example of 2000, even though same-sex marriage laws were not yet tabled in Australia, sexuality and gender were at least protected under the Anti-Discrimination Act. If we return to Bakhtin's idea of the chronotope being an 'organising centre,' we can see that while these speakers could still be situated in the same physical spaces they describe, our understanding may also shift when the location is the same but the time-period is different. New Zealand in 2018 could be considered a different 'place' to New Zealand in 1958 due to the changes in society. Blommaert (2018, p. 6) describes these societal views as the "moralised behavioural scripts," which describe what is recognised as meaningful or appropriate. These scripts have changed between the different chronotopes that tony b* and kurtzbike each describe.

7.3.1 The 'progress' chronotope meets Bakhtin on the road

In Chapter 5 and 6, in my discussion of the sharing of nationalities, I demonstrated the manner in which the social and spatial distance is reduced when people of different social groupings interact with one another, either by grouping them together as one, or by celebrating unity across those diverse groups. This is similar to Bakhtin's (1981, p. 243) discussion of the travel or "on the road" chronotope, where "all social classes, estates, religions and ages intersect at one spatial and temporal route." However, the "on the road" chronotope shows not only the linking of time and space, but also how both can *move* together.

While the events captured in the YouTube videos examined in this study occur in one place at one time (New Zealand's parliament on April 17, 2013), the metaphor of travel, a route, and forward movement were nevertheless prevalent in my data. Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p.456) argue that the patterned use of conceptual metaphor is systematic; when linguistic patterns emerge in describing concepts, they give insights into the nature of these concepts. For participants in my data, the concept that 'progress is a journey,' and is something that must involve physical movement over time and space, was common. For example, David C* (in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013) describes the "many success *on the route*." Others personified the movement, such as in "the *march* to equality" (edd921, in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013). Politicians were described as "still a wee bit away from making this *leap* of common sense" (Gene S*, in nzheraldtv [Uploader], 2013) and Scotland hopes "to be *following* in your equal-marriage-legalising *footsteps* soon!" (Mintzic, in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013) [my emphasis in each example]. As these last two examples simultaneously demonstrate, another road metaphor was the distance travelled, showing that countries who had not yet past the Bill were lagging behind, such as when ManicWolf (in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013) hopes that "Britain won't be *too far behind* you [my emphasis]."

Tarvi (2015, p. 210) suggests Bakhtin used the term “metaphor of the road” interchangeably with the “chronotope of the road.” What is particularly interesting in my data, is that arguments using the chronotope or metaphor of the road conceptualise that road as physical (in both the sense of ‘tangible’ and in the sense of ‘involving bodily movement’). However, these arguments are all found in a disembodied discussion situated in virtual space. This highlights how the chronotope in a Participatory Space is found at the intersection of online and offline spaces, and the offline world gives meaning to that online discussion.

In a combination of several of the road and travel metaphors described above, on YouTuber says:

Jay F*3

It's called "The March of Progress" for a good reason. It won't stop. I'm glad to see New Zealand on the right side of history. It's another beacon of light for a world without intolerance.

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013)

Not only does Jay F*3 name the event the “march,” which indicates a rhythmic, planned, loud, crowd movement, the term also highlights the group mentality and possible synchronicity involved in a march. Using the definite article “the” presupposes the existence of the march of progress as a phenomenon that is recognisable to others, for whom the fact of its existence is uncontroversial. Moreover, by saying “it’s called” shows that not only does the march exist, but it has a name, and the name exists (in the form of a proper noun, no less). These combine to present the march as a real and recognised entity. He also tells us that the movement “won’t stop,” indicating that the values shift has gained sufficient momentum to render it an irresistible force. He continues to say that he is glad to see “New Zealand on the right side of history,” linking temporal metaphors, such as history – which will be discussed further in Section 7.6 – to his description of the movement and momentum. The “beacon of hope” is also relevant to the journey, as beacons are used to attract

attention to a particular location, usually so that someone trying to reach that location can find it, or as a way of passing messages between two different locations. The combination of time, place and motion show how this YouTuber sees the societal shift as moving to a desired destination in a chronotope of 'progress' (to be discussed further throughout this chapter.)

In Vice's (1997, p. 215) analysis of chronotopes of the road journey in the 1991 film *Thelma and Louise*, she discusses the way maps are used to link one event to the next, as the protagonists plot their physical journey. She says maps are used as material expressions of time, and while they usually chart space, they can also be used to represent time as the protagonist's journey moves across it. In my data, the mapping of law changes around the world is similarly used to chart the passage of time, as more and more countries change their laws in succession. While nations are obviously still (essentially) physically in the same location as they always have been, when there are changes to their laws, countries are perceived to reside in a different time-period. While some participants list all of the countries that have changed the law or are about to – with New Zealand the 13th in the world to do so⁷ – others highlight particular countries that may be more relevant to them.

Daniel S

Canada legalized marriage equality in 2005. New Zealand has done so in 2013. The United Kingdom itself may also follow this year. Australia: take the collective hint from your siblings and parent!

(in nzheraldtv [Uploader], 2013)

⁷ The exact number of countries who had passed same-sex marriage into law before New Zealand is unclear, as some nations, such as the USA, had certain jurisdictions that allowed same-sex marriage, while other parts of the country had not. Participants in my data generally accepted New Zealand as the 13th country in the world to give same-sex couples the same rights as heterosexual couples, so this study will use the same place marker.

Daniel S, for example, lists only four countries and where they stand on same-sex marriage rights. They are listed in chronological order of when the laws changed, showing the way timescales map the geographical relevance. He has personified Australia to “take a hint” and listed the other countries as “siblings and parent,” which likely refers to the Commonwealth history that links these particular nations together, with the United Kingdom the “parent” of the other post-colonial nations. The timescales used by this speaker are taken from the actual time-period where the laws did or did not change.

Elsewhere, timescales are used more metaphorically, such as in tvee’s comment:

tvee

Wow!! New Zealand is now in a special 21st century league of progressive forward thinking and brave nations that literally leaves most of the other 175+ in the 18th century (most Muslim and African countries) 19th century (Most of non-Muslim Asia, Caribbean, Pacific Islands, Russia) & 20th century (Europe, Latin America, Australia & USA) dust clouds that continue to blind them to true equality and justice for all. Way to go New Zealand!! You've made Australia look so last century!

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

The progress chronotope is used here to create a temporal scale. Describing New Zealand as “now” being in the “special 21st century league of [...] nations,” the nation is compared to other countries which are described as 18th, 19th and 20th Century countries, despite referring to events which are all simultaneously happening in the current era. The further the countries’ perceived values are from the speakers, the further back in time they are positioned. Australia is singled out, and its present-day condition is described in a similar fashion to other countries where similar laws have not been passed, as it is looking “so last century.”

Elsewhere, the progress chronotope is also used to position various countries as in a different time-period. Sometimes New Zealand is not seen as in the most recent time-period.

MrPolaco77

congratulation new Zealand, more and more countries, this is historic greetings from Canada :)

(in CrazyWebs [Uploader], 2013)

MrPolaco, for example, positively evaluates New Zealand in his congratulations. However, by sending “historic greetings” from Canada, he is positioning Canada as having reached New Zealand’s current position many years earlier. While there is potential for a fullstop to be missing from after “greetings,” as presented, his comment suggests that Canada is more progressive than New Zealand and further ahead in its timescale. Alternatively, “historic greetings” could refer to sending greetings for this historic occasion, which casts the moment as something the participants will look back to from a future standpoint. This will be discussed further in Section 7.7.3.

The effect of repositioning the timescales in which the places are situated is an indexing of changing values. Not allowing same-sex couples to marry is aligned with views of the past, and changing the law is seen as emblematic of societal views changing over time. Timescales may also index particular beliefs about previous time-periods. Time-periods such as the Dark Ages or mediaeval times are used to indicate features of a less tolerant world than the present. The comparison, therefore, indexes not only a change in societal views about homosexuality, but the belief that the views have changed for the better, such as in seraph1701’s comment, below.

seraph1701

Totally made me cry at work. The world is finally stepping out from the dark ages.
Well done New Zealand!

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

Alternatively, reference to the Middle Ages may refer to a less enlightened or scientific time, where religion and superstition ruled the day.

Chris B in reply to DancingMedicineMan

My rellies were C of E and as silly as Catholics quite honestly. But I think hey, in the dark ages when most had very little education maybe you did need to believe in a man in the sky. No excuse for it now and unfortunately the second coming is merely the age where antiquated thinkers get pushed to the back. They have had their centuries, it is time for enlightenment.

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

Referring to this past time-period can be used as an insult, as under the progress chronotope, it is time that has brought knowledge and more enlightened moral views. This is similar to what Lyotard (1979) calls a "legitimation of knowledge," or "master narrative" of the modern era, that sees morals of the Enlightenment as proven via "the people's consensus" (p.30). Lyotard argues that civil laws are debated and described as 'fact' in much the same way that the scientific community produces paradigms of what they have researched as fact; the spread of knowledge was considered to be giving the nation freedom of thought. This narrative can be reworked as a chronotope. Chris B says "It is time for enlightenment" to suggest the legitimacy of his own moral views, in contrast to his perception that people with religious views are "antiquated," "silly" and from a time where people "had very little education."

bChrispy

Oh piss of to the 15th century would you

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

Similarly, bChrispy's suggestion to "piss off" shows that ClimateScam's views are not wanted, because they belong to antiquated thinking. Coupled with the suggestion that the "15th century" is where ClimateScam should go is clearly ironic and impossible if taken literally, so is used to signal a lack of seriousness given to ClimateScam's initial comment as a means of insulting him.

As in the above examples, we can see UNSC INFINITY's use of time-space to index particular beliefs.

UNSC INFINITY

I remember where i was when History was made for us here in New Zealand. I straight up cried my heart out. I'm still waiting for my Partner to Propose to me LOL. ... Come on Australia!! Get with the rest of the World!! - Stop living in the past

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

By saying to Australia "Get with the rest of the World!! – Stop living in the past," UNSC INFINITY is implying that Australia's stance on same-sex marriage is less progressive than other countries from around the world, which also positions the speaker as being in favour of the passing of the Bill.

Blommaert (2015, p. 109) tells us that Bakhtin used the chronotope as "an important aspect of the novel's heteroglossia, part of the different 'verbal-ideological belief systems' that were in dialogue in a novel and gave the novel its historical meaning potential." Identifying the co-occurrence of events from different times and places in novels through the chronotope allowed Bakhtin to address the differences between them. As we can see in these examples above, the way that the chronotope indexes difference in both time and space and the associated beliefs of societies that lived in them,

referring to specific times and spaces is also a way of positioning the speaker in relation to the beliefs of those different societies.

7.4 Time

Vice (1997, p. 201) tells us that in some chronotopes, including those of “uprooted modern life,” time may take precedence over space, while in others space holds sway over time. My discussion in Chapter 5, while not specifically about the chronotope, looked at those stances where space and place (such as the local or the global) took precedence; I now look at those where time is the focus of the stance. Bakhtin viewed time as the most important aspect of the chronotope because actions “make use of time” in order to become a reality (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 85, as cited in Steinby, 2013). It is within the ‘moment’ that allows a human subject to perform an act, as they must use time in order to do so (Steinby, 2013, p. 116).

7.4.1 The moment it all happened

In my data, a common chronotope referred to the particular ‘moment’ that the ‘yes’ vote for the Bill was announced. This specific point in time could be considered an ‘event.’ While Bakhtin saw an event simply as something that occurred between two or more ethically responsible subjects, Morson (2010, p. 105) describes an event as having ‘eventness’ only if the present moment is something more than an automatic result, and if it happens even though it might not have. An event is something unpredictable that happens when human action and freedom of choice have an effect on what happens (Steinby, 2013, p. 110). It is perhaps that the outcome of the vote for the Marriage Amendment Bill could possibly have been a ‘no’ that has made this particular moment so special for many of the YouTubers who watched it.

bored1980

I love that some members crossed the floor for this. It shows a rare moment of the true unity between kiwis [New Zealanders].

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

In discussing the moment of true unity between Kiwis, Bored1980 describes it as “rare,” signalling that in normal circumstances, members of parliament would not cross the floor in a vote. The fact that they did this time makes it more of an event than an ordinary vote for a bill. Similarly, J V* signals the eventness of the “amazing special moment” by saying “It’s not always like this” and that similar events “don’t come along very often.”

J V*

It's not always like this.... trust me. This was one of those amazing special moments that don't come along very often.

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

It is not clear which particular part of the moment is considered a particular event for J V*, as it is in reply to a deleted comment. However, similar comments in the thread referred to the emotion created through the positive vote and through the unusual nature of a *waiata* being sung in parliament following the vote. Some commented that the combination of the two were what made the moment so special.

Yan B*

This is very magic moment of my life to see NZ aplicated this bill ! Im french from Québec to Canada and i have never see a nice harmoni to parlement and it's never happend to Canada (Québec). great job ! Long live the NZ !

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

Yan B* states that he has never seen a harmony in parliament, which is ambiguous (both in French and in English) whether harmony relates to unity or to singing in tune. However, the assertion that it has never happened in Canada – which in this Space is seen as a similarly progressive country in terms of human rights – means it is not unreasonable to assume that he is referring to the singing of *Pokarekare Ana*. What is also interesting about his comment is that the moment is situated within the rest of his life. There is a very short duration of a “magic moment” intertwined with the rest of every other moment in time – special or otherwise – he has ever experienced.

Similarly, we can see that the ‘moment’ is embedded in a longer time-period for Leslly A*. For example, when she says that “moments like this keeps me going,” she is referring simultaneously to the event in the video, and also an implicit time-period that led to that moment. She is not only referring to the moment in question that gives her strength, but also all of the other moments (plural) “like this.”

Leslly A*

This is so beautiful. To see how much people can love each other and accept each other's differences. Being a gay person isn't easy when the whole seems to be against you and moments like this keeps me going.

(Leslly A*, in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013)

She qualifies her “this is so beautiful” statement with an explanation of her experience of feeling judged for being gay. Therefore, while the beauty of the moment includes her negative experiences, presumably where discrimination made her not want to keep going, it also refers to the positive actions of those who are voting for the law, or singing in this video. She considers what these people may have done in the past in order to bring them to this particular special moment. We see that she refers to all of these experiences from the duration of time where she needed to keep going to the

shortest time-period of seeing the “beautiful” moment where people demonstrated they can love and accept each other. The way that participants create layers of time in this manner will be discussed further in Section 7.7 on Heterochronicity.

Elsewhere, however, while participants are still discussing a short term “moment” where the Bill passed, not only is the physical location more removed from the place the stance is taken from, but it is more relevant to the participant’s memory. In a similar manner to UNSCINFNITY’s (in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013) comment above, where he says, “I remember where i was when History was made for us here in New Zealand,” place is tied to the moment in time for other speakers, too, such as in the examples below.

Alex S*

I was watching this at the gym and it made me cry. Heaps macho aye?”

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

TiocfaidhArla

I was in K Road when the Bill was passed- in a funky bar whose name I forget, sadly. LOL went to a few pub quiz nights and the accents were so odd that I had to keep asking them to spell what they were asking:) Couldn't answer any Rugby question, of course:(

(in CrazyWebs [Uploader], 2013)

With the gym, a local bar, and UNSCINFNITY’s unnamed but still memorable location, it is not just the time that is relevant, but also the place that is firmly attached to the moment and to their memory of what happened. For others, as we will see below, that memorable moment can be re-lived through the affordances of YouTube.

7.4.2 Reliving the moment

For some participants, the eventness of the moment has led to a desire to relive that moment again and again by re-watching the video. Participants explained how they would “bring out this video when I need cheering up” (kath m*, in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013) or that when they are “having a bad day this reminds me the goodness of humanity” (Dave S*, in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013), or how despite watching the video repeatedly, it made them cry every time.

Karishma B.

I've watched this video about 20 times today and I am all cried out. [...]

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

For Karishma B., it is not just the ‘moment’ that appears as the relevant time-period, but we also see the way this is intertwined with repeated participation in the Space by watching the video 20 times that day. The duration, therefore, while still situated within a relatively short space of the day, is still longer than the ‘moment’ that the Bill was voted in. She continues:

[...] As a kiwi this song has always been a part of me, and now I don't think I will ever be able to hear it without feeling a huge surge of love for this wonderful country.

Amazing

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

In the rest of Karishma B.’s comment, we also start to see the way that each participant situates the song into various relevant timescales within their lives. When Karishma B. says the song has always been a part of her, we see reference to her past and that the song was played while she grew up as a New Zealander. Similarly, her hypothesis that she will not be able to hear it without feeling love for this country, shows a projection into her future connections with this song – this is the way mixed timescales are experienced in continuity with one another. Therefore, we can no longer say that her

stance is situated in one time or place. It is with this idea that I move to Lemke's concept of Heterochronicity, or overlapping timescales.

7.5 Heterochronicity

Heterochronicity (Lemke, 2005), takes the idea of the chronotope and looks at how timescales can become mixed. Events may occur very quickly on short timescales, or take place over longer periods of time, and Heterochronicity looks at the interdependence and coupling of the mixing of these timescales. It also uses physical traces, or semiotic artefacts, as indexical signs about occurrences of that action in the past. The way that the activities are linked across timescales is through the use of discursive-semiotic artefacts.

To give an example of how Heterochronicity works, Lemke (2005, p. 113) suggests you imagine travelling through Europe. You are engaged on a longer timescale of the trip as a whole, which as you move from setting to setting, finds you engaged in relatively short timescales, such as eating lunch at a café or visiting a cathedral, or on shorter timescales still, as you take a moment to look at the altar or the stained glass window within that cathedral. That cathedral is part of another timescale again – that of its existence – which sees the stones set together to build the cathedral, and the services that have taken place within it since hundreds of years ago. Lemke says that we experience all of these timescales with continuity, and the connection of these timescales creates meaning for us, even if we are not able to say so in as many words. The semiotic artefacts associated with these timescales include the blueprint for the cathedral's design, the actual physical building itself, or the ticket you purchased to get entry into the cathedral and the visitors' book that you leave your name and date as a trace of your visit. This is consistent with MDA, which sees the intersection of several practices occurring in real time as a mediated action (Scollon, 2001a, p. 37).

Events become embedded in other events, such as the way someone writing a YouTube comment is engaged in an event that is embedded in the wider event of overall YouTube participation, including the uploading of the video and all of the other people commenting, and this is embedded in the wider event of social change for same-sex couples, for example. Heterochronicity can be used to examine the mediated experience of reading the YouTube comments as semiotic resources left by others and allows us to focus on the particular timescales relevant to a large number of other participants than would happen if participants simply watched the video on their own.

7.5.1 Overlapping timescales in YouTube

According to Lemke (2005, p. 111), it is not just the way time, space and movement are interrelated and used as semiotic resources that matter, but how the framework of Heterochronicity alerts us to how our experience of time and space play a role in what is meaningful to us. The digital traces of stance, particularly in the comments found below the videos, capture a very short moment in time as the participants interact online. However, the comments act not only as semiotic resources for that point in time, but also demonstrate an intersection between the participants' online spaces, and the longer timescales of their offline spaces, giving both spaces connection and meaning. We see this in particular when multiple timescales are combined in one stance.

Marcos G* D*

I live in a country with almost 900 years of history. We've fought great wars and discovered new continents, we we're among the first to abolish slavery, the death penalty and most recently we approved same-sex marriage. Perhaps when we abolished slavery there were some among us who said the same things you are saying now. But today it is a given fact that slavery was not a good thing. Perhaps in the future people will consider preventing people who love each other from marrying wrong as well...

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

In Marcos G* D*'s stance, he refers to the far past, where other humanitarian achievements have been made, to more recent social events of same-sex marriage rights and beliefs about slavery, to a future prediction regarding his country's beliefs about those who were against same-sex marriage, combining 900 year's worth of timescales in the one stance. Marcos G* D* suggests enlightened views of the progress and emancipation master narratives (Lyotard, 1979) in the positive social changes and, like in Chris B's earlier example, sees moral views as "a given fact." While Lyotard (1979, p. xxiii) suggests the present post-modern era will see the "crisis of narratives," where society questions the master-narratives in an increasingly fragmented world, Marcos G* D* predicts instead that in the future society will more likely be in favour of the current law change; he says "future people" (a homogenous term) may consider that not allowing same-sex couples to marry is "wrong as well."

In addition to the use of the progress chronotope, Marcos G* D*'s use of past events was part of an analogy created for his addressee, Bob AI, who disaligns with his view on the Marriage Amendment Bill. By demonstrating that today's views are not consistent with historical views on slavery and the death penalty, he hopes to make a point that anti-same-sex marriage laws will one day be regarded in similar disbelief as to their appropriacy. The analogy is designed to make it easier for Bob AI to imagine that his views could differ if he was situated in a different period of time. However, it also pinpoints the time taken to write a YouTube comment, as he holds a conversation with Bob AI and attempts to change his views about a video they both just watched. In addition, the two commenters are interacting about the content of a video which showcases 4 minutes and 47 seconds of an interaction in a parliament building. Yet those four minutes are the culmination of many months of work by politicians writing the Bill, and many decades of work by civil rights activists working to promote equality, and even the history of New Zealand as a parliamentary democracy.

7.5.2 The video as a semiotic artefact of an ethereal moment

I discussed in the previous section how ‘the moment’ was a relevant timescale for many participants, and how some relived the moment by watching the video repeatedly. For others, the idea of the video as a semiotic artefact becomes even clearer if we consider that they were present in parliament when the Bill was passed but came back to YouTube to seek out the video in order to recreate the experience.

globalman

Seeing again it remains one of the most moving moments of my life. Singing in Traditional language in a government building I am grateful that such people on this planet exist as Louisa Hareruia Wall and those who supported her. The good that one person does affects all humanity.... as does the evil of hatred, discrimination and bigotry. The latter brings humanity down..... the former lifts us all up to a higher plane.

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013)

For the YouTubers who were present in parliament when the *waiata* was sung, the video is not about information seeking about what happened that night, but rather a way of reliving the moment. This special moment has passed in the offline world, but their participation in the online world allows them a later, mediated experience of that moment and an opportunity to share the experience with others who may not have been there. As we saw in Section 7.4.2, in Karishma B.’s comment, even though globalman’s comment is focussing on one moment in time – the time where the participant sang in a government building – it also fits into a much larger overall timescale, as it is one of the most moving moments in his *life*. These participants often express strong emotions alongside their desire to continue watching the moment, often described in exaggerated ways, such as here, where the good is “affecting all humanity” and it “lifts us all up to a higher plane” – similar to the style accommodation described in Chapter 6. While the moment has gone, by coming back

and having a physical video to watch or other people to participate with through the comments section, the commenter is able to make that moment live on for longer.

The significance of the video as an artefact is comparable to the semiotic artefacts described by Goh (2014, pp. 271-272) in relation to tourist “pilgrimages” to Lord of the Rings (LOTR) film sites. Goh links the concept of mediaeval Christian “*praesentia*,” which were physical relics used to create a “physical presence of the holy” to an otherwise ethereal concept of a saint, to LOTR fans who similarly use physical props and memorabilia to give meaning and a presence to an otherwise ethereal concept of characters in a film they have seen. The use of the video as a semiotic artefact could similarly serve as a kind of “*praesentia*” to certain participants in my data, and a physical presence of an ethereal moment.

Simon B*

It keeps hitting me. I was there. I am on this clip, though unrecognisable, and I was there. I am so proud to be a New Zealander, and a straight male supporting equality and fairness in New Zealand. I have not slept much in three days now, getting back from Wellington at three am this morning. As such, I am going to bed, but I am so proud, honoured and humbled. I was there.

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013).

For Simon B*, for example, who tells us “I was there,” it is clear that he is not seeking new information about what occurred on the night the Bill was passed. He also tells us “I am on this clip;” his presence has been preserved as a semiotic artefact both in the video and, now, the comment section. These artefacts work as permanent relics of the moment he experienced with such pride. The pride is written in a similarly literary fashion as described in stylistic stance in Chapter 6, or globalman’s hyperbolic comment, above, where pro-same-sex marriage stancetakers used poetic devices in their speech, such as in Simon B*’s repetitive statement “I was there.”

7.6 Heterochronicity with historical stances

7.6.1 Personal histories

Heterochronicity is also useful for showing the way that participants situate the recent passing of the Bill to events in their own personal histories that happened further back in time. For example, many related the singing of *Pokarekare Ana* in the video – which occurred when the Bill passed – to memories of when the song had been sung at a significant point in their own lives. Tryggda (in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013), in a similarly emotional temporal link, says “I discovered this song for my dad's funeral,” while Taughrian K* says, “My Grand Father use to sing that song.... before he passed away.” (inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013). Taughrian K*'s temporal adverbial adjunct “before he passed away” is redundant, in that her grandfather clearly could not have sung the song after he passed away. Rather, she is indicating that he *did* die and, therefore, she is linking the emotion of the song in the video in the present with the past emotion associated with her grandfather's death. The same could be said for tryggda's emotional associations between the song in the present video and the emotion of his father's funeral. Similarly, mo m*'s comment that I discussed in Chapter 5, that described her homesickness and how the song made her cry as she thought about New Zealand also has a past chronotope linked to the present.

mo m*

the song SHOULD be the NZ national anthem, but its not....ita a Maori love song and it makes me cry whenever i hear it.....having been away from nz for 18 years.....its the song most kiwis think of as nz's national song.

(in jayness33 [Uploader], 2013)

Even though mo m*'s comment does not have the same past ‘eventness’ as in Taughrian K* and tryggda's stances, the time-period “whenever i hear it,” links an indefinite past emotion and homesickness for New Zealand with the present viewing of the video and any future hearing of the song.

Both Taughrian K* and mo m* use punctuation to index the emotion linked to the timescales they mention in their post, such as mo m*'s "it makes me cry whenever i hear it.....having been away from nz for 18 years....." The use of ellipses as punctuation allow the reader to fill in the gaps between what is said, and what the audience can be expected to feel. These comments may initially seem quite removed from a debate about same-sex marriage laws, yet the presence of the song in the video becomes relevant to the participants' understanding when the link the song to moments in their own personal histories. There is also no apology for these comments, as we would often see in an online space where the commenter believes they have gone off topic – the commenting of how the song links to their personal history is seen as a legitimate *on-topic* comment to make in this Space.

7.6.2 Past experiences influence present values and beliefs

In Chapter 5, I discussed how self-referencing was often used as a form of warranting, and gave examples of macrosociological plane categories to do so, such as Kolbrun N*'s "I'm gay" warranting her pro-same-sex marriage stance, or Antony H*'s "I'm Christian" being used as stake inoculation to warrant his pro-same-sex marriage stance that runs counter to common Religious Discourses. However, for some participants, it is not so much a categorisation and wider understanding of expectations of those macrosociological plane categories, but Heterochronicity highlights how particular experiences that occurred in one's personal histories can lead to particular beliefs.

Derek W*

Not a lot of sleep that's for sure, but I can't let them get away with their arrant nonsense, and there are kids reading this stuff, and someone has to give them ammunition so they know what they're hearing in church, about homosexuals being evil, is capable of challenge.

I survived a childhood of religion, and it drove me to suicide, with life changing consequences resulting from carbon monoxide poisoning, so I am on a mission.

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

Derek W*, for example, speaks of his attempted suicide brought on by his religious upbringing conflicting with his homosexuality. His response to randmnumber's question of why he continues to engage with trolls is explained not through a categorised position, such as in Kolbrun N* or Anthony H*'s examples, or in other stances posted online about his homosexuality, but through one particular, meaningful experience. Linde (1993, p. 25) says that when people recount their (life) stories, they are not simply a collection of stories or explanations, but rather the connections between them; any new story that is added must be related or at least not contradictory to them. In Derek W*'s example, he is criticised for wasting his time – and elsewhere in the thread he too admits frustration at how much time he has spent answering to trolls. Recounting his earlier story of having attempted suicide due to religious prejudice against his sexuality explains and lends coherence to his more recent experience of spending too much time online responding to criticism: he wants the “kids reading this stuff” to know that the church's view on “homosexuals being evil, is capable of challenge,” based on his own experiences of having suffered from bullying.

The significance of Derek W*'s life event – not least of which is highlighted by the inclusion of his attempted suicide – is also emphasised by the way the chronotopic elements change. For example, in immediate past events of a shorter duration, such as “I started crying when they began singing” (Invokingthemoon, in CrazyWebs [Uploader], 2013), the chronotope at the moment she writes is only just removed from the present. The place where the event occurred and the place where the event was summarised on YouTube are most likely one and the same: at Invokingthemoon's keyboard. However, with Derek W*'s experience of attempted suicide, the chronotope changes not only into further in the past, but the location of his keyboard and the location of his carbon monoxide poisoning are unlikely to be the same. Bakhtin (1981, p. 116) tells us that “the *exceptional*, utterly *unusual* moments of a man's life [sic] [...] *shape the definitive image of the man, his essence, as well as the nature of his entire subsequent life* [original emphasis].” These moments do not occur

in real-time pascings, but short moments, particularly compared to the stretching out of the rest of the character's life. In contrast, the less significant event of crying after watching a video occurs more in 'biographical' time – known now as real time.

The less significant event of Invokingthemoon crying after watching a video is unlikely to be remembered or discussed again at a later date. Landmark events may have extended reportability, such as Derek W*'s suicide attempt, as they remain important ways of explaining moral meaning for something (Linde, 1993, p. 23). Conversely, events that have little significance or that are not particularly unusual or unexpected (such as Invokingthemoon crying as an emotional response to a video) may have a limited period of reportability, as they serve only as explanations of a current or recent condition (Linde, 1993, p. 23). However, the archived nature of YouTube comments mean that both Derek W*'s and Invokingthemoon's comments remain as reported events for prolonged periods of time: both share equal status as semiotic artefacts in the YouTube comments. The only comments apportioned additional status are those receiving a higher level of interaction in the form of likes or comments, which will see them organised by YouTube at the top of the thread if the default sorting by "Top comments" is selected.

7.6.3 Wider histories and longer chronotopic scales

While my previous examples have shown how the video has acted as a prompt for understanding the moment that the Bill passed into law and where the participants were in the offline world when this happened, in other comments, the video acted a semiotic artefact for *other* events in the participants' offline lives.

thewhatever379only

This is one of those moments (like the Sound of Music flashmob in Antwerp) which restores my faith in humanity by just a little. :D

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013)

Rather than linking the video to events in their own personal lives, some participants link the content of the video into wider histories with which they are familiar, but may or may not have personally experienced. For example, the song was linked into New Zealand or global historic musical events, such as the tradition of *Pokarekare Ana* playing as passenger ships were leaving, or by the New Zealand Army band. Thewhatever379only likens it to the famous flashmob [staged but apparently spontaneous public group song and dance] event that occurred in Belgium that he has not described as something he was necessarily personally present at, but that nevertheless “restores [his] faith in humanity by just a little.” The linking of the song with these other events connotes nostalgia through the past renditions of the song or other stirring musical events.

Other events may also index particular views or connotations, depending on what past experiences were used by the speakers or understood by the listeners.

Anaru S*

They Legalised Prostitution and gay marriage in Nz now.. Whats next? MARIJUANA PLEASE haha

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

Here, the passing of the Bill is likened to the past legalisation of prostitution, or the imagined legalisation of marijuana. Depending on the audience’s interpretative lenses, the ‘first this, then that’ could be interpreted under the “progress” chronotope: first prostitutes are given greater rights and protection, then same-sex couples were given their human rights, now people will have more

freedom to choose other aspects of their lifestyles. However, for some participants, the connection may be more negatively value-laden. The “now same-sex marriage, next negative consequence” structure was often used by those speaking against the Bill, such as those suggesting bestiality or paedophilia would follow if same-sex couples were given the right to marry. Therefore, Anaru S* may be suggesting that drugs will be a negative follow-on from the loosening of a social law. The interpretation of the comment – and its ambiguous “haha” at the end – will change depending on the audience’s own heterochronic histories and lenses.

Wider events that were discussed included particularly New Zealand events, such as Edmund Hillary’s ascent of Everest, or often political events such as being the first country to allow women to the vote – as in bayrockwhk’s example I discussed in Chapter 5, which he combined with other significant social events such as women’s suffrage, full social security in the 1930s and the passing the Nuclear Free NZ laws. Elsewhere, others mentioned musical or poignant events, such as Martin Luther King’s famous “I have a dream” speech, or a range of events as in the example below.

kwinden Haag

Thank you for your facist, god neolithic comments, but sorry they mean nothing to us. This is OUR country, OUR politics, OUR laws. We voted, we accept outcome, whatever outcome. If you think this is radical, check out what else we have done...

1893 - first to grant women the vote.

1894 - first lady mayor

1898 - first pension entitlement for all.

1953 - conquered everest (thanks Ed)

1999 - first transgender MP

2008 - First carbon tax..

Take your filth rhetoric elsewhere. Welcome to Godzone...

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

These kinds of comments not only situate the present video within a historical space, but connect the connotations of those previous events with the passing of the Marriage Amendment Bill. In the example above, the list of “firsts” in the world and ‘conquering’ of the world’s highest mountain indicate that the list is made of events in New Zealand’s history (or “Godzone” that New Zealand is often affectionately called) that the writer is seemingly proud of.

While the final example here does not explicitly discuss historical events, the comparison to various post-colonial nations and the treatment of indigenous peoples in those countries implicitly links to a colonial past and movement through time to start to address some of the wrongs that have occurred.

Innamoramento9

How astounding. I wish Natives everywhere, US, Canada, Australia were given such respect that their songs are memorized and sung by non-indigenous people. New Zealand has its issues like any other country but they should be so proud. [...]

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013)

This colonial analogy is particularly interesting, as it not only shows a timescale that occurred *further in the past* than many other comments, but it also shows a timescale with a longer *duration* than, for example, “the moment” that same-sex marriage passed into law. It also compares trajectories of the different Anglophone nations and the differing consequences of the period of Anglo colonisation in different countries.

7.7 Heterochronicity with future-looking stances

7.7.1 Personal futures

The chronotopes in my data also show an imagined possibility. This is consistent with existing research into the chronotope, such as White and Pham's (2017) interviews with Vietnamese learners of English, who created chronotopes in imagining their future selves as workers as motivation to learn the language, or rural Mexicans in Dick's (2010) research whose chronotopes allowed them to imagine a better life for themselves if they migrated to the USA, or if they stayed in the region but became educated. The chronotope, says Dick (2010, p. 276), is "one way actors make available times and spaces that otherwise would not be phenomenologically accessible." For example, in my data, many participants in countries where the Bill had not passed created future chronotopes where they, or someone close to them, would be able to marry a loved one in their own country.

Paul D*

I was in tears watching this in Wales. We long for the day in the UK when my gay son and his Civil Partner can be married. Congratulation my Kiwi friends. Oh, and my marriage won't be threatened either. And I shall continue to remain a Christian, committed to equal marriage.

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

Paul D*'s longing for the right for his son and his son's civil partner to marry is brought about by the current impossibility of the idea due to the laws of the United Kingdom not allowing it. The chronotope shifts the situation from the present to "the day" that they "can be married." In contrast to Mortensen's (2017, p. 5) research on the chronotope in online dating discourses, where participants tentatively suggested an imagined future with a potential love match, the participants in my data expressed more certainty. Mortensen highlighted the use of the "if-" clause in dating chronotopes as "the linguistic epitome of possibility," and the use of *kunne* ('can' in Danish) to construct non-realis to mark any future togetherness as hypothetical. This uncertainty allowed her

participants to suggest meeting while also allowing an 'out' if the hearer did not want to partake in the desired *rendez-vous*. In my data, the stances taken about imagined futures of laws changing initially appeared more epistemically certain. The use of "can" in Paul D*'s comment is not that the law may or may not change, but the dynamic modality of it offers his son and son's partner the right to choose to marry – they are offered agency that they do not have to take up if they do not wish to (Halliday, 1976). However, the epistemic modality in saying that his marriage "won't" be threatened states certainty in his second point. Finally, the use of "shall" in his assertion that he will continue to remain a Christian is marked; it not only expresses obligation and futurity, it is also an infrequently used modal verb, used more often in legal texts than elsewhere, (Gotti, 2003, p. 271). This has the effect of making Paul D*'s declaration more emphatic, and shows certainty in this part of his imagined future (his Christianity will remain intact). The longing he expresses also places the degree of certainty into a desire, an imagined circumstance, or an impatience for it to happen, rather than something that he believes is about to happen.

As in the examples above, there is certainty in BeeEmmW's statement of future intention since the Bill passed in New Zealand. BeeEmmW does not say that he would like to move to New Zealand, nor that he is just considering it, but states outright in the present tense that "Im" moving to New Zealand.

BeeEmmW

fuck this. Im moving to NZ
Screw backward Australia

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

While the reactive "fuck this" indicates an immediate response and short-term consideration and may mean that he is not actually going to move to New Zealand is irrelevant: BeeEmmW's

chronotope linguistically shows an epistemic certainty of his imagined future in New Zealand, as if it were already set in motion via the active “material process” (Halliday, 1985) of “I’m moving.” It is more, as Mortensen (2017, p. 5) explains, that “it is through creating these chronotopes that makes sociocultural values evident.” BeeEmmW is at least showing certainty that the imagined future of a life in a country where same-sex marriage is allowed is preferable to one where it is not. The process of positioning the self within a future chronotope is, as Dick (2010, p. 277) says, not only indicative of the imagination of the TimeSpace that the participants are inhabiting, but also the representation of the imagined people they would be coming into contact with.

Not all of the participants were so epistemically certain that their imagined future would come to pass, however.

Shalmendo G*

I really hope I get to sing when(if?) they leagalize gay marriage in the U.S. or at least where I'm going to be living. sigh. [...] I just want to be with the person I love...without the government and things getting in the way, making it more difficult then it allready is because of how people view it. Right now my lover has no leagal rights to help me if I end up in the hospital or something...can't sign papers, or gain insurance benefits etc, because those things aren't recognized in a relationship like ours. I actually feel like we're punished just for being in love.

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

While Shalmendo G*, like those mentioned above, also has an imagined future chronotope of more positive circumstances for same-sex couples, his epistemic stance of “when” they legalise gay marriage in his home country is immediately downplayed with an “(if?)” signalling that he is not sure if that will happen. Similarly, throughout his utterance he uses “mental processes” (Halliday, 1985), or cognitive verbs, such as “hope” and “want,” rather than the greater certainty expressed through Paul D*’s modal verbs, or BeeEmmW’s material process verbs. Instead, Shalmendo G* reverts back

to the present day where he regrets his lover's lack of legal rights towards caring for him, and his feeling of being punished for loving someone of the same sex.

Like those of the personal histories discussed earlier in this chapter, many future chronotopes show how the passing of the Bill in New Zealand relates to the participants' own personal lives. For example, while Irish DannyBoy is not personally directly affected by the passing of this Bill, since he does not live in New Zealand, he still responds with how the event is relevant to his own potential future.

Irish DannyBoy

Why am I crying watching this video.. I am simply crying because as a gay man here in Ireland it makes me believe our own country will pass this bill in a few months time after the referendum and I can Marry my husband to be of over 10 years.. Hugs to my Gay Family in New Zealand :):):)

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013)

He says that the fact that New Zealand's law passed successfully "makes me believe our own country will pass this bill in a few months time," which connects his own relevant time-space of the near future Ireland to that which he sees in the video from New Zealand in the present, or very recent past. The term "husband to be" is similarly interesting with regards to the chronotope: 'husband' is a term that can be given to someone only *following* marriage i.e. the marriage must have previously taken place for the term to be used. However, by using "to be" at the end of it, it indicates that the event has not happened yet, but will. The use of "over 10 years" signals that this desire for the future has been held for a whole decade into the past. Irish DannyBoy finishes his statement by returning his stance to the relevance of the audience. He steps out of his own location and temporal past and future to give his "Gay Family in New Zealand" hugs and to relate his stance back to a large section of the audience.

Other participants may not necessarily be personally affected by the Bill in New Zealand or elsewhere in the world, but still use their own personal temporal scales as a means of connecting their lives with the focus of stance.

thatlagirly

watched this. :) and what makes me even happier is that gay marriage will become legal on my 16th birthday. :D I hope lots of countries will follow and legalise love for everyone. <3

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013)

Thatlagirly does not express emotion at her own change in possible marital status following the Bill and by stating that she hopes “lots of countries” will change and allow “love for everyone,” she demonstrates a desire for all places and people to benefit. This suggests she neither needs the laws in her own country (which can be interpreted as New Zealand, due to the content of the video referencing a change in law in this country, and her not specifying she means a different law elsewhere), nor for her own relationship, to change. However, by linking the event to her 16th birthday, she is still positioning herself as connected to the passing of the law in order to express a positive evaluation and positioning herself in favour of the Bill. This is mirrored in her use of emojis, such as :'), :D and <3, which are generally accepted as representing positive emotional responses such as (happy) crying, a big smile and a love-heart, respectively.

Leander and McKim (2003, p. 212), in relation to the chronotope, tell us that “space-time (or social space) is not simply a static background ‘upon’ which human activity is played out,” but rather that it is an ongoing production drawing on multiple material and discursive resources “and is malleable through individual agency and imagination.” In some of my participants’ imagined futures, the moment in the YouTube video on New Zealand’s Bill is recontextualised into an imagined future in the participants’ own spatial backgrounds. This was particularly evident in comments relating to

the place-bound nature of the singing of *Pokarekare Ana* and how strongly New Zealand the choice of *waiata* was.

Angela C*

Some happiness in the middle of all the horrifying news these days. We need to decide what song to sing when gay marriage is legalized in the U.S.

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

Colm B*

[...] What will we sing in Ireland?

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

Suggestions for what would happen if the Bill passed overseas and a more localised song were to be sung, included *All You Need Is Love*, *We Are Family* or *Celebration*, which focused on the love and happiness of the event, while elsewhere specific songs discussed were also more place based, such as Australia's *Waltzing Matilda* or *Advance Australia Fair*, or France's national anthem *La Marseillaise*. Significantly, it is not just the choice of localised song that is relevant here, but the way participants imagine a future where local reactions to same-sex marriage would be reworked in a similar fashion but in the new time and the new place. Some, however, thought that "this would never be done here with all our stuffy ass politicians" (Kaimosae, in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013). This leads to the next chronotope of 'unimaginable futures.'

7.7.2 Unimaginable futures

In contrast to the imagined futures discussed in the section above, some future looking stances did not represent desires of the participants. Rather, they spoke ironically towards some of the dystopian views held by others.

Andy G*

Yeah look at canada, they allowed it years ago and seriously their fucked! its like the apocalypse up there, flaming men on horseback, cows eating eachother, christians are being thrown to the canadian lions and everythings on fire. oh... wait... no sorry its fine :L

(in nzheraldtv [Uploader], 2013)

kaamos

Yes because in 20 years time the very fabric of western civilization will be torn asunder thanks to gay people being allowed to marry in New Zealand. The horrors in store for us as these people pursue happiness and love on the same terms as heterosexuals... wow. Just you wait! Men will marry kiwis, women will walk down the aisle hand in hoof with horses and no heterosexual will ever be married or have children again... all because they went and allowed what you don't like.

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

In these two examples, we see irony in the 'predicted' futures each participant offers as a consequence of same-sex marriage passing. We can see the exaggeration in terms of possible outcomes in ridiculous images such as "flaming men on horseback, cows eating eachother, christians are being thrown to the canadian lions and everythings on fire" in the first example, and "Men will marry kiwis, women will walk down the aisle hand in hoof with horses and no heterosexual will ever be married or have children again..." in the second. This is in contrast to the opposite, more subdued outcomes expressed by the same participants as to their actual views: "no sorry its fine" and "these people pursue happiness and love on the same terms as heterosexuals." The effect of the ironic futures is to show a lack of serious consideration given to those who forecast dire consequences in New Zealand's future now that the law has passed, compared to a much more understated seriousness to the situation. The speakers adopt a strategy which effectively introduces a voice of the hyperbolised 'other,' who takes a negative view of the Bill's passing. While each comment was written as a direct response to an auditor, they simultaneously speak to well-known wider

discourses from the anti-same-sex marriage side of the debate and the auditors who subscribe to them.

7.7.3 A historical future

We can also see way that participants foresee themselves in the future, looking back at the present (which would, by then, be in the past). Participants commented that they were proud to see New Zealand “on the right side of history” or that the event was significant enough to be “history in the making.” The change was seen as “a positive change in our lifetimes” – which is often said with thought given to historical events that occurred *outside* of our lifetimes.

htownstizzow

Screw the trolls, as a New Zealander I am damn proud of what my country has achieved with this bill. To even sing the Maori love song "Pokarekare ana" in a celebratory way made it a greater moment in history for me.

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

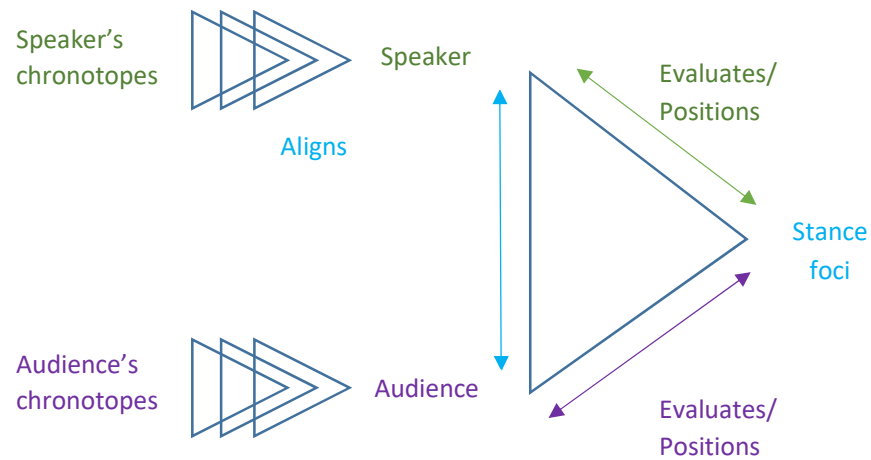
By commenting that the celebration is a “greater moment in history for me” highlights the way commenters are aware of the permanence of history. By imagining someone in the future seeing the moment as historical shows a belief that it will be looked back on as a moment of significance. This is made possible through the use of semiotic artefacts – be it oral, written or computer-mediated recordings of the event. As this commenter notes, it is not just the passing of the Bill that was the significant event, but the singing of the Māori love song, *Pokarekare Ana*. It is unclear whether the significance refers to the singing of an indigenous song – particularly, as some participants noted, in a government building – or like another commenters noted, perhaps the emotion of the song made the event more poignant and memorable, as it was likened to another historical event – the Martin Luther King “I have a dream” speech. Perhaps there are alternative meanings not discussed elsewhere in my data that this commenter found relevant but did not state. Rather than the

ambiguity being a lack of clarity as to the meaning of why it is a greater moment in history for this YouTuber, it highlights how multiple interpretations and timescales occur in this Space and how whoever reads the comments will bring their own set of histories and imagined futures into the interpretation of both the comment and the event itself. In Chapter 5, I discussed the way participants may differ in their focus of stance and that sometimes their actual focus is ambiguous. The reason it may be difficult to know what the focus of stance is for some participants is, is that with a range of heterochronic timescales present in every stance focus, we also do not know which event within the series of events the participant is focusing on. This adds another layer of complexity to Du Bois' (2007) Stance Triangle, which I return to now.

7.8 Stance and meaning-making over time and space

In returning to our model of stance, many participants in my data use chronotopes to justify, explain or contextualise their stances. Some chronotopes situate the speaker in time and space and bring their associated connotations such as mediaeval views or those of different religions associated with occupying different physical spaces. The chronotopes of Progress or Movement on the Road index the way societal views have a temporal and dynamic trajectory. Personal and wider histories and imagined futures are also used as analogies or explanations for current beliefs, or bring associated emotions from different events to create meaning with the current focus of stance. This means that a speaker's stance is often made up of both their own personal chronotopes, as well as the societal chronotopes they live within.

Figure 18: The Stance Triangle with chronotopes



In Figure 18: The Stance Triangle with Chronotopes, we see the additional triangles at the top left, representing the chronotopes that led to the speaker's stance before it is made. While I have included three triangles to represent the past, present and future chronotopes that influence a speaker's utterance, there may be many more chronotopic experiences that influence the speaker. Similarly, the audience of addressees and auditors have their own chronotopic experiences which may influence the range of possible interpretations of a given stance. Similarly, the three triangles are representative only, but many more chronotopes are likely to shape their perception of an utterance, and influence their evaluation, positioning and alignment with that utterance and the speaker.

The comments left below the videos are semiotic traces of these multiple interpretations and multiple timescales shown on the Stance Triangle above. This nexus of interactions of both time and place adds an exponential dimension to the interaction that occurs. It also allows readers of these comments to take on new interpretations that may not have been as relevant had they not

interacted within other members' timescales. Therefore, both the speakers' and the hearers' personal and societal histories must be considered in understanding any focus of stance, as they are embedded at the point of interaction on YouTube.

7.9 Chapter summary

In conclusion, the multiple timescales that occur within YouTube allow participants to experience the space differently, and the semiotic traces allow others to share that experience with them. For some, the digital traces (i.e. the semiotic artefacts) of both the video and the comments allow the users to recreate the moment – while time disappears and we are left with only a memory of any given event, the multimodal affordances of the Space provide artefacts to allow that moment to be relived in a more permanent and tangible manner.

For other participants, their personal histories give additional meaning to the interpretation of the song. Nostalgic memories of loved ones or happy memories add to the emotion experienced while watching the video *this* time. Elsewhere, wider histories of famous events or facts related to the song place both the singing of the song this time, and the song itself, on historical timescales with equal significance to those that we have previously remembered.

For some participants, the future is the timescale that is most relevant to them, particularly to those living in a different geographical space, and imagining the singing of a song relevant to their own offline world is linked to the imagined future where their own country may pass same-sex marriage into law. Similarly, imagining the future allows us to imagine looking back at ourselves in the present and feeling proud of what we have achieved at this time.

Finally, the fact that these multiple timescales take on different meanings for different participants, means that multiple interpretations of the same event become significant. Chronotopes and Heterochronicity allow us to understand that it is not just the multiple physical spaces that intersect when participants from distant offline spaces come together, but also participants' differing past, present and future imaginings offer an exponential array of views on the significance of the moment that same-sex marriage passed into law in New Zealand. It is through understanding the embedded nature of histories in each participants' lives that we can see the full nexus of views given in any one stance. As new participants come online and interact with others – or at least with the archive of semiotic artefacts of their participation – the heterochronic timescales of others becomes part of every new participants' experience in that Space, and in relation to the Bill.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

In this final chapter, I revisit my three research questions. Firstly, I will discuss how the Participatory Spaces framework was used to understand YouTube as a context and, consequently, shape the study by providing three main themes to analyse further. I argue that Participatory Spaces successfully incorporated existing research to provide a framework specific to this online context. Next, I summarise the function of self-referencing in this Space to show that it is not just a means of understanding the individual participants, but that their stances also function to allow an understanding of the Space. Thirdly, I revisit Du Bois' (2007) Stance Triangle, and argue that while it is useful for understanding multiple meanings found within the short utterances in YouTube comments, the complexity of the polylogal audience requires adaptations to the Triangle. I provide two final diagrams. The first incorporates the three adaptations to the Stance Triangle proposed in this study. The second provides an overall representation of YouTube as a Participatory Space, including the metaphorical boundaries and features of the Space, as well as the mechanics of stance found there. Finally, I look at the limitations and future directions from this research and conclude the study.

8.2 The Participatory Space Layers

I began this research by examining YouTube as a context, arguing that traditional notions of 'community' did not account for the fluid boundaries of the Space, the diverse and widely-spread participants in the transnational audience and, in particular, the lack of sustained ties between YouTubers in any given Space. Therefore, my first research question asked:

- RQ1: What are the key features that make up 'YouTube' as a context for analysing online interaction?

This question was used to create a context in which to begin my research and, therefore, required a deductive analysis of the Participatory Spaces framework, which I developed from existing theories and studies. I argued that Gee's (2005) Affinity Spaces and Jenkins' (2006) Participatory Culture were useful frameworks to begin with, and that each filled in gaps that were found in the other. For example, Gee's framework defined the boundaries of the Space as being created through interaction over a shared interest that Jenkins' did not, while Jenkins better described the social interaction found within that space than Gee's did. However, due to their creation for understanding learning and gaming spaces respectively, they did not adequately describe YouTube as a Space. The literature review also highlighted gaps such as the lack of focus on temporality as a feature of the Space. This combination of existing research and Gee and Jenkins' frameworks suggested that features could be grouped into three salient areas: the participants who enter the space, the participants as audience, and the spatio-temporal influence of the Space on participants. These three themes, or 'Layers,' and their respective features are outlined in Figure 19 below:

Figure 19: The Participatory Space Layers

Membership Layer	The Space is defined by a shared interest	The Space is made up of a diverse range of participants	Participants' actions shape the Space in a variety of ways	Barriers to entry are lowered
Audience Layer	Participants interact in front of an ideal audience	Social connections exist through short interactions rather than sustained ties	Some interactions may not be considered sociable	Participants decide which practices are meaningful
Spatio-Temporal Layer	Participants' actions are influenced by multimodal affordances and constraints	The Space is influenced by surrounding offline spaces	The Space is influenced by temporality	The Space is dynamic

Each Layer highlighted the diversity and complexity of YouTube as a Participatory Space. The term Layer indicates that each aspect of YouTube consisted of multiple, overlapping features. Moreover, each Layer provided a focus for further analysis that this study used for better understanding YouTube as a Space.

The first Layer was the Membership Layer, which focused on how participants came together, and I argued that the shared interest created a boundary for the Space. Combined with Blommaert's (2007) Scales, this Layer revealed that diversity lay not only in the participants who came to the Space as they interacted with others from around the world, including variables such as ethnicity, but also in terms of their engagement and perception of the Space. While one participant might view New Zealand as the centre, and accord it a higher scalar position than another location, another may view their home nation as the centre, for example. Therefore, the shared interest of the YouTube Space should be understood flexibly, as in the example below, where New Zealand and Australia are the centres of interest.

Wade I

Dear New Zealand..you honour your indigenous, your land, and now all your people have the same rights to love someone. What an example you have set for that racist, sexist, and greedy country across the Tasman, a country I was born in and no longer have any pride in. I am very proud of your courage

(in CrazyWebs [Uploader], 2013)

Wade I accorded New Zealand a high scalar position, firstly in terms of centrality of the argument, as his stance is focused on "the example" the nation has just set for others: it is the shared interest of the Space and reason participants are interacting with one another. His praise of New Zealand's achievements in social equality, such as the way New Zealand honours its indigenous people, the land, and now same-sex couples, indicates more positive evaluation than his own "greedy country

across the Tasman.” Not only does his praise accord New Zealand higher value in the Space, he does not even name Australia specifically, as if to avoid the taboo word with a euphemism. Moreover, for the New Zealand audience, who are higher in his scale, the reference to “across the Tasman” is immediately understandable as Australia. Conversely, audience members from more peripheral and faraway places may not have the same geographical knowledge and understanding of the area, or this description of Australia. However, despite his criticism of the nation and an absence of naming it, his focus on Australia still accords it centrality and, therefore, interpretability, weighting, and a consequently higher scalar position. As participants interacted with one another, the inclusion of a range of nations that they discussed in this polycentric forum gave greater weighting to those seen as central and understandable by more participants.

I also argued that while locality is the main interest of Blommaert’s Sociolinguistic Scales – such as New Zealand versus Australia in Wade I’s example, or value shifts from the local to the global in other examples – the framework can be expanded to focus on other concepts. Using the Membership Layer to understand YouTube interaction, the study also revealed that other kinds of Discourses, such as those surrounding sexual macrosociological plane categories, or differing evaluations of the stance foci, were similarly subject to polycentricity, scale-shifting and weighting. This further developed Blommaert’s emerging framework for understanding transnationalism.

The next Layer was the Audience Layer. It became clear that Gee and Jenkins – and, as I will discuss in relation to the Stance Triangle, Du Bois – have not accounted for the different types of audience members, but that different sections of the audience were being spoken to in a given utterance. For example, Estonia C* spoke to both auditors and addressees in her post, below:

Estonia C* in reply to Grant L*

Funny the way people have flagged your comment as spam, just because they disagree with you. That's bigotry for you though! [...] Continue to speak up for what you believe in, and ignore them!

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

Estonia C* directly addresses Grant L*, who can be described as her ideal audience: they share perspectives that it should be acceptable to speak up for what you believe in (and, implicitly, an anti-same-sex marriage sentiment). However, I argued that Grant L* is not the only member of the audience. The auditors – who Estonia C* knows are there but does not directly address – have an effect on her speech, as she directs her comment that it is “bigotry” as a way of expressing her criticism of Jonathan G* and bluey1695, who are known to have disagreed with Grant L*.

While scholars who research YouTube have begun using Goffman’s Participatory Framework to label the various parts of the audience, to my knowledge, this is the first study to use Audience Design to understand the effect of the different parts of the audience on the speaker. In doing so, the Audience Layer revealed style shifts as a form of alignment, which further contributes to stance research. My study was consistent with Accommodation Theory (Giles & Powesland, 1997), finding that styles converged with shared alignment, and diverged with divergent alignment. It also revealed how YouTubers use different address terms as indicators of converging or diverging in alignment. The Audience Layer built on Marwick and d. m. boyd’s (2010) concept of the ideal, imagined audience that they have used to describe Twitter audiences and this study adapted it for understanding YouTube interaction. I argued that shared perspectives amongst audience members may not necessarily indicate shared alignment about the focus of stance, but that shared perspectives may, rather, indicate shared understanding of the Space, as demonstrated in the less harmonious interactions from my data.

Finally, the Spatio-Temporal Layer was used to analyse the chronotopic and heterochronic timescales that participants' interactions are embedded within. While temporality was not part of Gee and Jenkins' frameworks, it was demonstrated in the literature review that other general CMC and YouTube research indicated its importance. However, CMC research generally refers to asynchronous or synchronous interactions, where temporality is central and its link to space underdeveloped. Chronotopes and the Heterochronicity framework were, to my knowledge, novel approaches to understanding YouTube interaction. Timescales were embedded in YouTubers' practices, and contributed to the speakers' meaning-making, such as through connecting the content of the video to other experiences, both on and offline, or through other online spaces, such as Wikipedia. The past, present and future in terms of the Bill, their personal lives and their online and YouTube practices were experienced with continuity in one moment interacting online.

Karishma B.

I've watched this video about 20 times today and I am all cried out.

As a kiwi this song has always been a part of me, and now I don't think I will ever be able to hear it without feeling a huge surge of love for this wonderful country.

Amazing

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

For Karishma B., for example, multiple chronotopes were seen through the event that appears in the video, her 20 times watching it that day, and the space-time histories of having listened to *Pokarekare Ana* in the past. Chronotopes were also seen in the way these past and present interactions with the song will be embedded in any future times that she hears it; her emotion and "huge surge of love for this wonderful country" will be recalled. Moreover, the nexus of interaction with other participants meant that the hearer was also exposed to the timescales of the speakers, creating an exponential intersection of time and space in a given stance. As others watch the video and have their own embedded histories and potential futures, and they participate with Karishma B.,

her histories and emotion of the song simultaneously become part of *their* experience of interacting in the Space.

Participatory Spaces proved to be a useful framework both in its demonstration of the wide-ranging practices, beliefs and experiences that YouTubers brought with them to the Space and disseminated in the Space for others to interact with. Rather than assuming YouTube practices to be similar for all participants, the Layers accounted for shared understanding of the Space, but through different means and lenses. The way that the framework structured the study meant that the three areas for further analysis not only highlighted three areas of adaptation that the Stance Triangle required, but also accounted for the diversity found in self-referencing, which I discuss below.

8.3 Self-referencing

The self-referencing in this YouTube data was wide-ranging and diverse. This is firstly in terms of the types and categories of information that participants self-referenced: with ethnicity, nationality, sexuality, gender, age, and other macrosociological plane categories, as well as a range of personal experiences of themselves or others, and various TimeSpaces between participants' online and offline worlds making up the different discourse topics. Secondly, there was diversity found within those categories that members of the transnational audience each brought to the Space. For example, within the 'nationality' category, New Zealanders, Australians, Americans, Canadians, English, Irish, Dutch, Korean, Argentinians and many other nationalities were referenced. My second research question aimed to understand the purpose of the self-referencing and personal information that YouTubers chose to reveal in the Space, particularly given the unknown and potentially large audience:

- RQ2: What is the function of the self-referencing stances taken in a YouTube multi-party interaction?

For many participants, self-referencing functioned as a means of warranting stance. Some participants' arguments were positioned as more credible when personal experience was used to justify opinion. Others used stake inoculation and confession to explain why, despite a lack of experience or a conflict of interest, the participants' viewpoints should still be accepted. Alternatively, some participants used self-referencing to discredit others' views or evaluations by ironically referencing an imagined future that they did not believe would come to pass.

For other participants, self-referencing allowed an expression of personal meaning-making. The act of placing the event in their personal histories allowed them to situate the online video in their offline worlds. Participants self-referenced their offline reaction to watching the video as a way to understand that moment in time, while others reflected on how that moment in time brought them into the Space to watch the video. These stances highlighted the nature of the Space as a semiotic artefact. While the passing of the Bill was only one moment in time, the video which could be watched repeatedly made that moment in time both tangible and permanent.

Simon B*

It keeps hitting me. I was there. I am on this clip, though unrecognisable, and I was there. I am so proud to be a New Zealander, and a straight male supporting equality and fairness in New Zealand. I have not slept much in three days now, getting back from Wellington at three am this morning. As such, I am going to bed, but I am so proud, honoured and humbled. I was there.

(in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013).

Simon B*, for example, who “was there” in parliament at the moment the vote was announced, not only experienced the event as it happened in Wellington, he is also able to relive the moment via YouTube. His present tense description “I am on this clip” shows that the event has not disappeared but, rather, he can come back to the video whenever he wants to see it again. Moreover, he is a participant in the events as they unfold on the video for anyone else who cares to view it at any given time.

Participants also used self-referencing to warrant their participation in the Space, and by sharing common features of the self with others, they could then express their right to interact in the Space, and with others in the Space, despite not knowing one another. Participants could connect and align with one another, as they shaped the Space and collectively created ways of making each other belong. While one person’s nationality on its own may be a simple description, for example, a collective thread of many nationalities – particularly when commenters echoed the structures used by earlier thread contributors – defined the Space as transnational and diverse, and it highlighted the manner in which the passing of the Bill was being celebrated around the world. The content and shared interests, and therefore metaphorical boundaries of the Space, were created through this kind of alignment and shared engagement.

Self-referencing also allowed others to make meaning from the stances. Self-referencing demonstrated the importance, or centrality, of particular locations, macrosociological plane categories, and evaluations, to the particular participants at a given moment in time. Weighting and centrality was sometimes done directly, through positively evaluating particular places or concepts more highly than others. Sometimes weighting and centrality were less direct, with frequency or more accepted understanding of the relevance of a location or concept demonstrating its value. As

particular categories were referenced as more highly weighted, their continued discussion added further weighting still. An absence of referencing suggested a lower centrality and, therefore, weighting in this Space.

Other-referencing was also used as participants directed their stances towards particular sections of the audience. Other-referencing sometimes appeared subtly in the manner in which participants directed their stances at an ideal audience, which was made up of members who shared similar views or perspectives – be it in relation to the object of stance or, at times, in their understanding of how the Space should function. Natsparky, for example, addressed the section of the audience who had interacted with *wtfstfuroflemao* in the first-person plural, inclusive ‘we,’ saying “we’ve certainly made it clear that we will not stand aside and let people with unfounded ‘scientific’ claims bully us” (in Martin Richardson [Uploader], 2013). The norms of the Space, and who the members of the ideal audience were, however, were often contested and renegotiated by others, who had different interpretations of the Space.

Finally, self-referencing was also used to renegotiate or ‘correct’ the other-referenced categorisation given to them, such as *Cobbax9916*’s “Im a WOMAN I have kids older than you little one” (in CrazyWebs [Uploader], 2013), in response to *juan79843*’s suggestion she was either lesbian or male. Some of these interactions functioned as a way of allowing others to see their interpretations of the Space, or functioned to change or rework the Space. For example, there were pro-same-sex marriage Christians who wanted to change the stereotypes and assumptions made about a Christianity that automatically positioned the participant as anti-same-sex marriage.

While existing qualitative research on YouTube comments has focused on the antagonistic interactions between participants, the literature review revealed very little, if any, has focused on non-confrontational talk between participants. This is despite finding that in certain Spaces, such as the Martin Richardson [Uploader] (2013) dataset in particular, or other threads found within the other datasets, harmonious relations dominated some of the Participatory Spaces. This study is novel not only in that it focused on what participants say about themselves, but also that these self-references contained typically harmonious relations. While shared alignment is generally seen through shared evaluations of the stance focus, self-referencing was also a means of highlighting similarities between participants, such as nationality, religion or sexuality. The Stance Triangle, which I discuss below, was used to understand this kind of participant alignment.

8.4 The Stance Triangle

The use of the Stance Triangle as a framework for analysis was an effective tool for understanding YouTube interaction. I began the study describing YouTube as a “stance-rich” environment, and throughout the study did not find a YouTube comment that could not be classed as stancetaking in one way or another, even down to the one-word comments, such as “beautiful.” Du Bois’ assumptions outlined in the Stance Triangle show that as participants evaluate the focus of stance, they simultaneously position themselves, both in relation to the focus of stance and in relation to each other. The Stance Triangle was, therefore, a useful way of understanding greater meaning behind those stances than they may appear. For example, while “beautiful” is clearly a positive evaluation of the (ambiguous) focus of stance, in this context, it simultaneously positioned the speaker as pro-same-sex marriage. This revealed how YouTubers can create meaning in such short utterances. The interpretation that the speaker was pro-same-sex marriage could also be triangulated through the way other participants responded, converging or diverging in alignment with the speaker.

It became apparent that the Stance Triangle could not fully account for the complexity of communication in a polylogal environment. Using the Stance Triangle as described in Du Bois' (2007) seminal piece sees utterances between only two speakers such as in the first example of stancetaking that I included:

Raz D

God, this actually made me cry! Amazing when everyone starts singing together. Congrats NZ! :..)

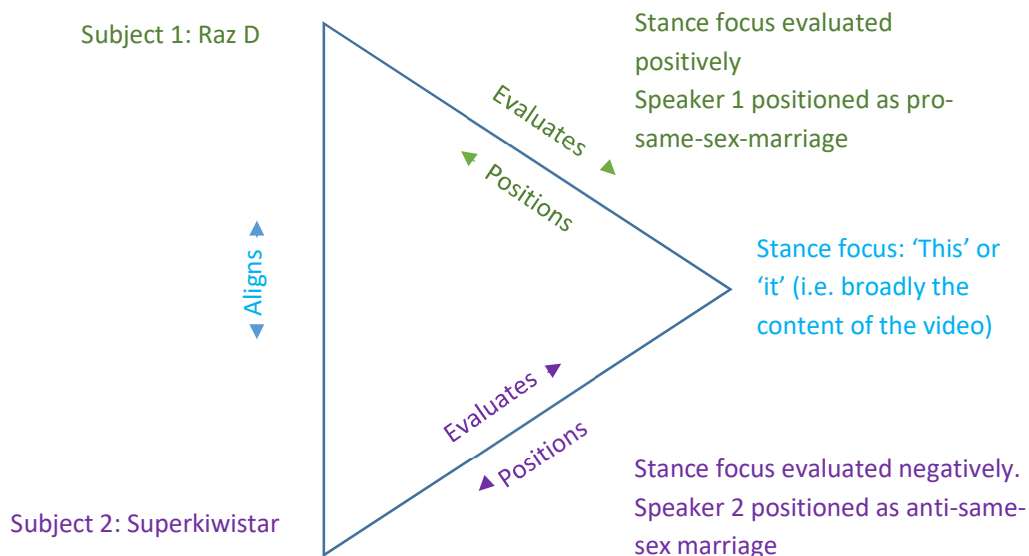
superkiwistar

it made me cry too – but for a different reason, i am sure. when advocates of perverted behaviour adopted by a 1.6% minority ruin traditional family values for everyone, it should be declared a crime against humanity.

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

The Stance Triangle was useful for showing different positioning and evaluation of the focus of stance (“this” or “it”), and divergent alignment between the two participants (see Figure 20).

Figure 20: Du Bois' (2007, p.163) Stance Triangle with Raz D / superkiwistar's interaction



However, the Triangle did not account for the multiple foci of stance that each participant addressed in their stance, such as the song, New Zealand, or same-sex couples, and the embedded histories that led to each participant's views, nor did it account for any other participants in their interaction, such as the unaddressed auditors. Therefore, I return now to my third research question:

- RQ3: How can the Stance Triangle (Du Bois, 2007) be reworked for the context of YouTube interaction?

In addressing each of the areas that Du Bois did not include in his original Stance Triangle, I offered adaptations to that Triangle, one at a time. In Chapter 5, I argued that Du Bois' Stance Triangle assumed a shared focus of stance between participants, yet on YouTube, participants often evaluated a range of stance foci within the one stance act, such as above, where Raz D focuses on "that" plus the song, and superkiwistar focuses on "it," plus the behaviour of same-sex couples, traditional family values and Raz D's stance, for example. Most participants left only one turn in their interaction – consistent with Bou-Franch, Lorenzo-Dus and Garcés-Conejos Blitvich's (2012) research – which may explain why multiple stance foci were more apparent in this study than Du Bois accounted for in his model, as YouTubers may discuss all of the stance foci in one utterance. Therefore, while Du Bois' Triangle was useful when that stance focus was shared, it was necessary to adapt the Triangle to show the stance foci that were not shared between participants. I also demonstrated that even when participants included separate stance foci, their evaluations and alignment still positioned them within the same stance act, so should be included in the same diagram.

In Chapter 6, I then expanded the Triangle to show that addressees and auditors may both have an effect on the speakers' utterances, but that they may not necessarily share evaluation, alignment,

and positioning. Therefore, I argued that they should be accounted for in separate parts of the Stance Triangle. While this does not account for the full range of differing evaluations and positions that may occur when addressees and auditors are a group of people, it nevertheless points out the way that the same stance can be directed differently to different parts of the audience. In Chapter 6, in particular, I gave the example where Uchihahasuk5 addresses Eren I* and assumes a convergent alignment on the Bill, yet tailors his speech so that an overhearing audience of auditors can be aware of his perception of them, that they are “really pathetic and sad.”

Uchihahasuk5 in reply to Eren I*

I wonder too. How were they linked here? How did they find this video? The title gives no indication. Do they scour the internet looking for places to spread their hate, using all of their time to spread an angry, backward doctrine? I think they're really pathetic and sad.

(in inthehouseNZ [Uploader], 2013)

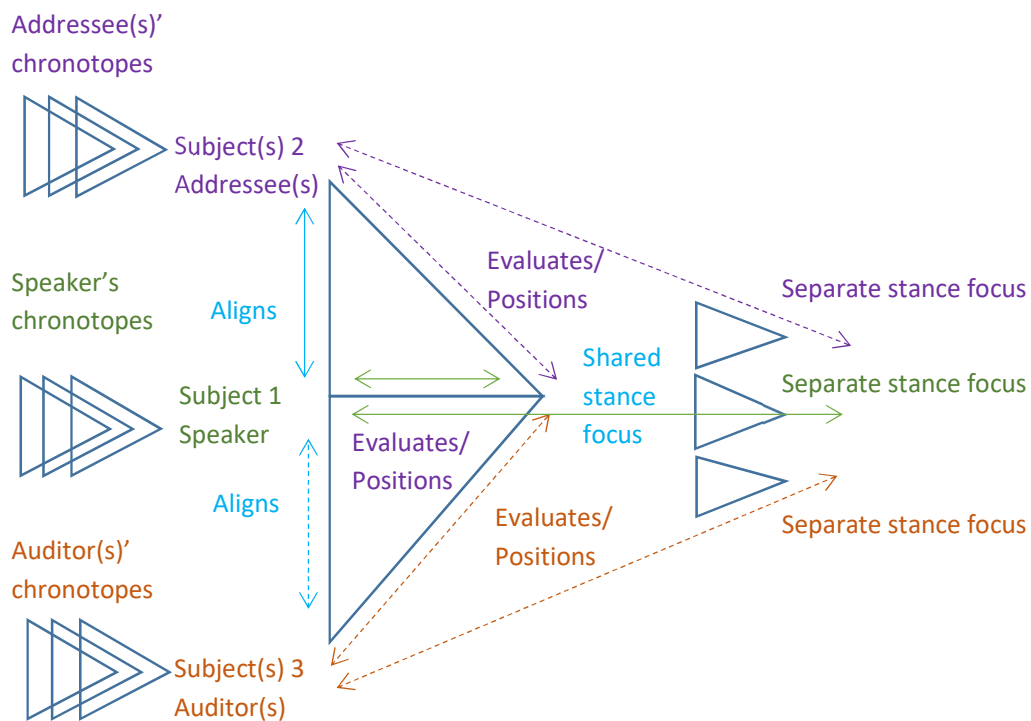
The adaptation to the Stance Triangle served to differentiate between the addressee – Eren I* – that Uchihahasuk5 converges in alignment with, and the auditors Uchihahasuk5 has designed his speech for, who “scour the internet looking for places to spread their hate.” Because there is a difference in alignment between the speaker and the addressee (who, in this example, converge), and the speaker and auditors (who, in this example, diverge), it is necessary to include both parts of the audience on the Stance Triangle.

Finally, in Chapter 7, I argued that self-referencing was used in instances where participants created meaning from the stance focus by situating that stance focus in time-space (the chronotope). The range of heterochronic timescales built up overtime and intersected on YouTube at the moment that both the speakers and the hearers interacted online, such as in Karishma B.'s stance, above. Therefore, the histories and imagined futures also needed to be included on the

Stance Triangle. As participants interacted, they not only brought with them existing experiences and Discourses from their offline worlds, but their stances added to those Discourses and experiences for both themselves and the other participants. Moreover, their existing chronotopes meant participants brought a range of lenses to the interaction and the potential for different interpretations of the existing stances.

To summarise the adaptations made in the final three chapters, each adaptation has been included below in one overall diagram (Figure 21).

Figure 21: The Stance Triangle in a Participatory Space



As Goode et al. (2011, p. 612) remind us, “YouTube remains a noisy, messy place that brings people into strange new forms of contact with other people.” Therefore, YouTube polylogal interaction cannot be represented in an overly tidy or simplistic model. Rather, this framework embraces the

diversity and multiple layers of participants, participation, and personal histories found within the Space; it points out in a more orderly fashion what can be found within the full range of stances there. Moreover, the three Layers of the final Stance Triangle model represent the three Layers of the Participatory Spaces framework – with the chronotopes on the left representing the Spatio-Temporal Layer, the range of speakers and hearers in the middle representing the Audience Layer, and the range of stance foci on the right representing the Membership Layer. Therefore, it is a particularly useful representation for understanding YouTube interaction. Further research would determine how it could highlight aspects of interaction in other contexts.

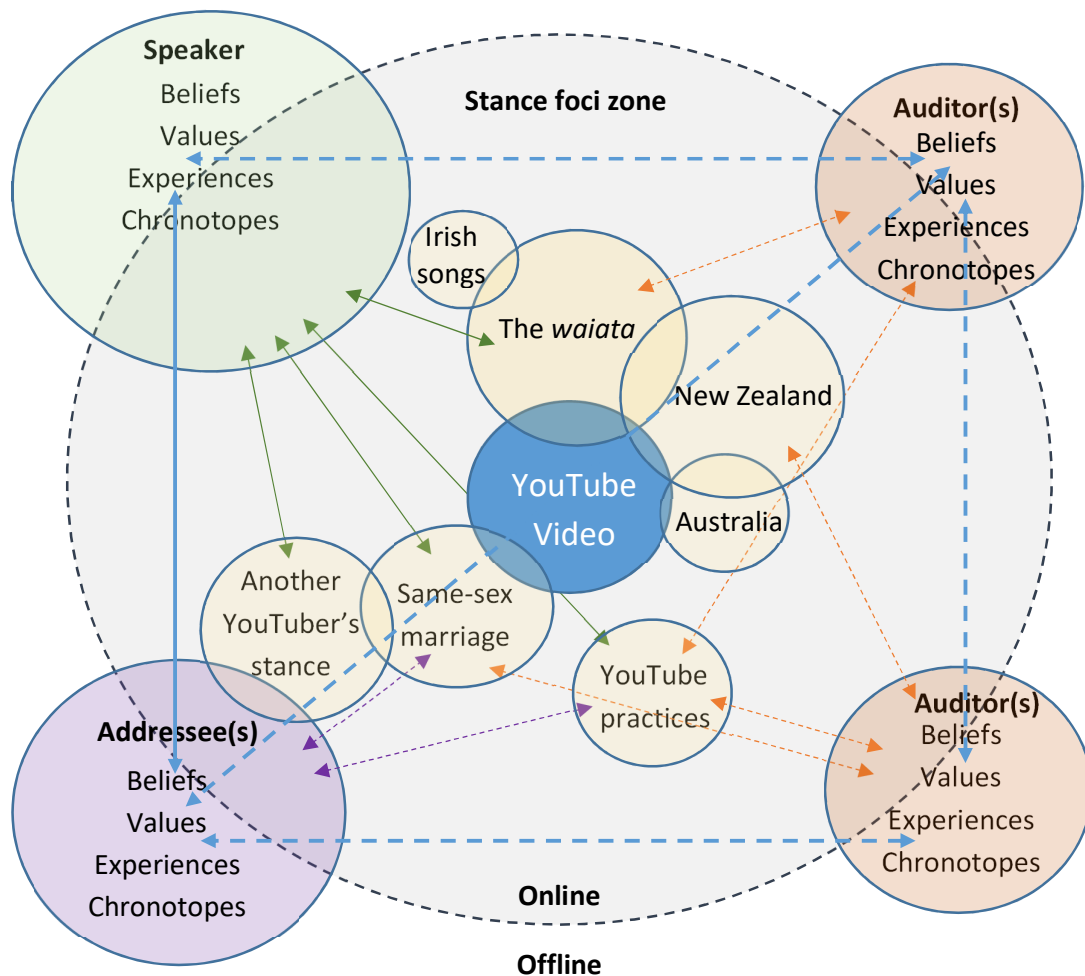
I outlined in the literature review that Kiesling (2018, p.12) has begun addressing the areas in which Du Bois' Stance Triangle can be improved, such as accounting for investment in a stance, or changing the term "object" of stance to "focus" of stance – which I incorporated in this research. However, to date, I have not found any research accounting for the range of audience members, multiple stance foci or chronotopes existing in an interaction that this new diagram does. This study has shown how incorporating these areas into the adapted model reveals insights into the existing beliefs and multiple interpretations of stance that are brought to YouTube interactions.

8.5 Stancetaking in a Participatory Space

Finally, I look to combine both the Stance Triangle and the Participatory Spaces frameworks to visually represent how interaction occurs within the Space. Figure 22: Stancetaking in a Participatory Space combines the features of Du Bois' (2007) Stance Triangle: the alignment between speakers and hearers, the evaluation and positioning found within a speaker's stance, and the foci of stance that are being evaluated. It also contains my revisions to the Triangle, with the segmented audience,

multiple stance foci and the chronotopes of the audience members, which the Participatory Spaces framework highlighted as necessary for understanding polylogical interaction. Importantly, this diagram also represents the Space itself, which is the major difference between this diagram and Figure 21. The largest circle in the schematisation represents the Participatory Space. The border of the space is porous and flexible, and provides a boundary between the online and offline worlds of the participants. This is necessary to show the way different participants interpret what is within and outside the Space, as well as where that Space begins and ends. Within this circle, the elements of stance take place, and the influences from outside of the Participatory Space help shape the nature of the Participatory Space and the practices it contains. The diagram also demonstrates the dynamic nature of the Space and the multiple interpretations that occur within, which are often influenced by beliefs and values from outside.

Figure 22: Stancetaking in a Participatory Space



I begin with the large grey circle, which can expand or contract in size to incorporate the flexible boundaries of the Space, such as participants who view one video as the boundary of the Space, to those who view a channel, or the whole of YouTube as the boundary of the Participatory Space. Circles have an infinite number of points which, here, represent the unknown size of the audience and Space. The grey circle also represents the division between participants' online and offline worlds, as their YouTube practices have been shown to occur at the intersection of these two domains. Its border is represented with a dashed line, to show the permeability of online and offline practices.

The members of the space include the speaker, the addressee(s) and auditor(s). These are placed in bubbles around the circle, overlapping the boundaries of the Participatory Space, as each member of the audience and their identities are found partly within the online Space, but also simultaneously situated in an offline world. Their offline experiences, beliefs, values and chronotopes feed into (and out of) their online experiences, and in influencing their interactions, may also influence the online experience of other participants. Their online experiences and beliefs, such as their understanding of YouTube norms, are found within the larger circle, are similarly relevant to the way the participants will interact. While I have included only four circles to represent members of the audience, the framework understands the audience to be made up of any number of participants and, of course, the way that the roles audience members are assigned, or which they self-assign, will change over time.

The inside of the circle represents the online interaction within the Participatory Space. The centre of the circle has the YouTube video, which is the catalyst for the online interaction.

Surrounding the video is the 'stance foci zone.' Any number of stance foci can appear within the zone. Many, but not all, will overlap with the content of the video, while others may overlap with each other, or with other participants in the Space. The positioning and evaluation of the stance foci by the speaker, addressee(s) and auditor(s) are marked with arrows (in the colour of the participants' bubbles). The solid lines represent the positioning and evaluation from the speaker's act of stance at the moment of interaction, while the dashed lines represent the implied or historic stances of the other audience members. Centrality, or weighting, is indicated by the position and sizing of the stance foci bubble for the particular snapshot in time.

Converging and diverging alignment is shown on the diagram with blue arrows. A solid line is used to represent alignment between the speaker and addressee(s), while dashed lines represent alignment between other participants; these alignments are present in the Space but have a lesser effect on the speaker. Note that the arrows linking the audience members cross the Participatory Space. This refers to the visible traces of alignment in the recorded comments. The arrows linking the participants remain outside because of the views and beliefs that originate before participants enter the Space.

Finally, arrows are also used between participants and the stance foci, as some participants may align with another participant, but not with that participants' views, for example. The speaker's positioning and alignment from their stance is represented with solid green arrows. The other participants' arrows are dashed lines, indicating that their evaluation and positioning of the stance foci is either implicitly understood through their alignment with the Speaker, or it remains from a previous stance taken.

This diagram summarises the study as a whole. It incorporates the Membership, Audience and Spatio-Temporal Layers of the Participatory Space, while indicating how an act of stance involves not only evaluating a stance focus or multiple stance foci, but also positions the interlocutors, and calibrates the interlocutors' alignment or disalignment with one another. It also highlights the dynamic nature of the Space, the porous and flexible boundary, the polycentricity of the stance foci, the multiple interpretations and histories of the polylogal audience, and the intersection of online and offline practices. While this diagram, as pictured, demonstrates just one Participatory Space, such as the Martin Richardson dataset, for example, if each dataset represents a different Participatory Space, they should be understood to overlap as well. This is because some commenters participated across several datasets – there were visible traces of commenters posting below more than one video. In addition, it is unlikely that a member of this Participatory Space came to YouTube to see only this video in one particular channel's Participatory Space without ever viewing another video on YouTube. Rather, they are likely to have multiple memberships to Participatory Spaces that cluster around different catalyst videos, which add to their understanding of and beliefs about YouTube as a whole.

8.6 Limitations, mitigations and future directions

In my research outline, I highlighted several limitations of this study that were present from the outset. Firstly, the data collection was limited to only 11 videos, then further limited to tokens of self-referencing. Limiting the data to self-referencing proved a novel approach that was successful in terms of highlighting harmonious reactions, and Section 2.4 revealed what self-referencing added to the body of literature on YouTube commenting interactions. With regard to the 11 videos – all of which contained virtually the same content – this highlights that further research could look at other areas of YouTube to see what the Participatory Spaces framework and adapted Stance Triangle can reveal. For example, some YouTube videos have comments which show somewhat more sustained

ties between many of the participants, or the content of other videos may not have the same emotional responses as the law change did for particular people. It would be interesting to see, in particular, if and how self-referencing changed with different group understanding of the other participants, and different topics. The Participatory Spaces framework and adaptations to the Stance Triangle have been designed to work across different Participatory Spaces. Their use in other Spaces would be useful for highlighting differences in norms and practices found in other parts of YouTube from the particular datasets I have analysed in this study.

Similarly, I discussed in Chapter 4 how my initial data collection did not include the original view counts, and should have more systematically returned to the Space to record changes over time. This would have allowed a better source of information for analysing the dynamic nature of the Space in detail. While this limitation is, for the most part, minor, as the exact changes to the Space are outside the scope of the present study, through the course of the research, it became clear that even my initial data collection occurred after many comments had been deleted. My dataset may have been very different if I had collected data more immediately after the passing of the Bill. Therefore, being aware of upcoming events and being prepared to collect data from the outset should be a consideration for any similar kind of research.

While my aim in delimiting the data to self-referencing had been, in part, to avoid re-disseminating prejudiced views, as self-referencing tended to be found in the more harmonious interactions, some examples in this study nevertheless criticised particular groups of people beyond the individual in question. However, to ignore the antagonistic responses altogether would also be ignoring a large part of the interaction. As the final study stands, the majority of responses still indicate the overwhelming celebration found in my data, and are representative of the self-

referencing tokens found within it. To ignore all instances of prejudice would involve cherry-picking the data and result in a biased study. Moreover, I worked to avoid casting personal value judgments on the stances that participants took. Nonetheless, the focus on celebration has largely remained intact.

Delimiting the data also meant that some aspects of the Participatory Spaces framework were focused on in more or less detail than others for the purpose of this study. For example, the chronotope as a feature of the Space where participants were influenced by temporality and the dynamic nature of the Space was a strong focus of Chapter 7. While the feature that participants are influenced by the surrounding multimodal environment is still an important feature of the Space, the study was not able to analyse it in the same depth, as it was discussed more in stances that did not include self-referencing than those it did. Similarly, the Audience Layer was a useful means of understanding the YouTube context that participants interacted within, but many examples in Chapter 6 did not necessarily include self-referencing. However, despite the imbalances in which features were analysed in more depth in this study than others, the Participatory Spaces framework still allowed an understanding of the *YouTube comments*; it is only that some features are more or less important for understanding *self-referencing*, in particular.

I also highlighted the potential for subjectivity in this research, due to the qualitative nature of MDA. I said that the nature of a thesis meant triangulation would be done through supervision of the work, rather than other researchers individually going over the data and forming their own conclusions to compare. This risk would be mitigated not only through that supervision, but also in finding participant responses as a means of checking the multiple interpretations possible given for any stance act. However, not all utterances had clear responses from others, so it was also the

reaction over the totality of stances that was used to do this. Future research, therefore, could include participant interviews as a means of testing other interpretations that may occur – particularly given the different cultural expectations that may occur in a transnational audience. This would also allow greater insight into the participants who either leave one very short comment or even those participants who remain invisible to this kind of research – who view without responding at all.

Another limitation is that of the deductive analysis used to create the Participatory Spaces framework. By using existing research and existing frameworks created to describe other spaces leaves the potential for areas of YouTube that should be analysed to be left undiscovered, particularly in a study with a delimited dataset. Therefore, while this initial study argues that the framework has revealed useful insights into the nature of YouTube, further research is required to find any further gaps over time. However, the inductive analysis that followed, where comments were iteratively analysed from three different directions has, to date, not found areas lacking. Rather, as the term Layer implies, overlaps are present, and demonstrate the complexity found within them.

In terms of the additional frameworks used in this research, Blommaert's (2007) Scales is perhaps the framework that could most be looked into further. While my scalar analysis of Discourse contributed to the use of this framework, it was perhaps at the expense of analysing the linguistic resources (such as language codes and registers) in depth. This was due to a lack of meta-comments from participants about their views of linguistic resources, such as the value and weighting given to a particular code. This was despite interesting examples of code-mixing being found in my data. Due to the focus on self-referencing, and participant responses for triangulation, the lack of meta-

comments about these codes meant that code-mixing was not analysed. Therefore, future research of another dataset where code-mixing was discussed by participants may make better use of this aspect of Blommaert's Scales, and add additional insight into the way participants converge or diverge in alignment through code choice.

This study is significant in that self-referencing comments, while under-studied in their own right, also represent another lesser-understood area of YouTube, where participants align with one another. In the literature review, I highlighted the focus on existing research into trolling and antagonist behaviour, due to the prevalence of these behaviours on the platform. This research highlighted the ways that self-referencing and alignment were often found in the same interactions in my data. Further research could look further into self-referencing in other Participatory Spaces – both on YouTube and in different platforms – to see if self-referencing is a common factor resulting in more harmonious interaction elsewhere, too. Understanding why harmonious interaction occurs could be a starting point for those who wish to guide harmonious behaviour in other Spaces.

8.7 Concluding remarks

The complexity of this study, where self-referencing stances were analysed according to the three Layers of Participatory Spaces, drawing on Scales, Audience Design, chronotopes and Heterochronicity, emerged through my engagement with the data and through my theorising on the nature of the Space. It was through using the Participatory Framework that under-theorised areas of YouTube interaction were revealed, and that the additional frameworks could provide explanations for. In doing so, the study also revealed novel uses for these existing frameworks as they were applied to YouTube commenting interaction. However, I regard this study as complex, rather than

complicated, and the frameworks succeeded in revealing insights about one another, and about YouTube interaction.

In addition to the theoretical value that this study has provided, with understanding of the YouTube commenting practices, self-referencing, and the various theoretical frameworks that guided the research into stance, this research has also provided a snapshot of Discourses surrounding same-sex-marriage. It outlines not only how the law change in New Zealand has affected locals, but also how the transnational audience responded to the law change from their own cultural and national perspectives. Moreover, the social change that occurred transnationally was somewhat represented in the dynamic changes to my data. For example, while Australia was not debating same-sex marriage laws when my data was first collected, by the end of my data collection, a referendum and subsequent change to their laws had taken place – followed by the singing in parliament of “We are Australia,” and an uploading of a video of this moment onto YouTube (see, for example, A Plus [Uploader], 2017). While YouTube is by no means the only media source that Australians come in contact with, and various information sources will have been sent across the Tasman Sea, it does highlight how interaction over an issue is not only a representation of current views, but a dissemination of views that may influence future thought. I therefore conclude with Rheingold’s (1993, p. 11) prophetic statement that remained pinned to my noticeboard throughout the course of this study as a reminder of the importance of understanding online interaction:

CMC might become the next great escape medium in the tradition of radio serials, Saturday matinees, soap operas – which means that new medium will be in some way a conduit for a reflector of our cultural codes, our social subconscious, our images of who “us” might be, just as previous media have been.

Youtubers' self-referencing allows participants to imbue their YouTube practices and stances with meaning; they allow their personal histories, projected futures, diverse backgrounds and levels of engagement, and perceptions of the ideal audience to guide their interaction and understanding. The stances are a snapshot of the practices, the interactions, and the values of the participants found within my Participatory Space, and what participants choose to reveal about themselves. This study is, therefore, also a description of who participants say that "us" might be.

References

- A Plus [Uploader]. (2017). The moment Australia's parliament broke into song after legalizing same-sex marriage. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jVLEmvmPVtI>
- Adam, B. D. (2003). The Defense of Marriage Act and American exceptionalism: The "gay marriage" panic in the United States. *Journal of the history of sexuality*, 12(2), 259-276.
- Adami, E. (2009a). *Video-interaction on YouTube: Contemporary changes in semiosis and communication*. (Doctoral Dissertation), Universita' degli Studi di Verona, Verona, Italy. Retrieved from <http://www.univr.it/main?ent=catalogoaol&id=337507&page=dettaglioPubblicazione&lang=en>
- Adami, E. (2009b). 'We/YouTube': Exploring sign-making in video-interaction. *Visual communication*, 8(4), 379-399.
- Alex Arathoon [Uploader]. (2013). *NZ saysYES* [Online Video]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iuC1RzWv1tk&list=PLFX-ncuYRmoVEkqhGGYwASUge6TXhsmgd>
- Anderson, B. (1991 [1983]). *Imagined communities*. London, United Kingdom: Verso.
- Androutsopoulos, J. (2010). Localizing the global on the participatory web. In N. Coupland (Ed.), *The handbook of language and globalisation* (pp. 203-231). Oxford, United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Androutsopoulos, J. (2011). From variation to heteroglossia in Computer-Mediated Discourse. In C. Thurlow & K. R. Mroczek (Eds.), *Digital discourse: Language in the new media* (pp. 277-298). Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Androutsopoulos, J. (2013). Participatory Culture and metalinguistic discourse: Performing and negotiating German dialects on YouTube. In A. M. Trester & D. Tannen (Eds.), *Discourse 2.0: Language and new media* (pp. 47-71). Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

- Androutsopoulos, J. (2014). Computer-Mediated Communication and Linguistic Landscapes. In J. Holmes & K. Hazen (Eds.), *Research methods in sociolinguistics: A practical guide* (pp. 74-90). West Sussex, United Kingdom: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Androutsopoulos, J. (2015). *Towards a 'third wave' of digital discourse studies: Audience practices on Twitter*. Paper presented at the Approaches to Digital Discourse Analysis (ADDA) 1, Valencia, Spain.
- Androutsopoulos, J., & Tereick, J. (2015). Language and discourse practices in Participatory Culture. In A. Georgakopoulou & T. Spilioti (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of language and digital communication* (pp. 354-370): Taylor & Francis Group. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/MASSEY/detail.action?docID=3569824>.
- Ashford, R. K. (2007). *The nuptial blessing of same-sex couples by the Anglican church in New Zealand*. (Master's Thesis), University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand. Retrieved from <http://www.w.kuratrading.com/PDF/NuptialBlessingofCSsCs.pdf>
- Baker, M., & Elizabeth, V. (2012a). Negotiating 'marriage': Comparing same-sex and different-sex cohabiting couples. *New Zealand sociology*, 27(2), 1-20.
- Baker, M., & Elizabeth, V. (2012b). Second-class marriage? Civil union in New Zealand. *Journal of comparative family studies*, 43(5), 633-645.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). Forms of time and the chronotope in the novel (C. Emerson & M. Holquist, Trans.). In *The dialogic imagination: Four essays* (pp. 84-258). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Baruch, M. O. (2013). Gay marriage and the limits of French liberalism. *Dissent*, 60(4), 24-27.
- Bassett, E. H., & O'Riordan, K. (2002). Ethics of Internet research: Contesting the human subjects research model. *Ethics and information technology*, 4(3), 233-247.
- Baym, N. K. (1998). The emergence of online community. In S. Jones (Ed.), *CyberSociety 2.0: Revisiting computer-mediated communication and community* (pp. 35-68). California, USA: Sage Publications.

- Bell, A. (1984). Language style as audience design. *Language in society*, 13(02), 145-204.
- Benson, P. (2015). YouTube as text: Spoken interaction analysis and digital discourse. In R. H. Jones, A. Chik, & C. A. Hafner (Eds.), *Discourse and digital practices: Doing Discourse Analysis in the digital age* (pp. 81-96). Oxon, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Blommaert, J. (2007). Sociolinguistic scales. *Intercultural pragmatics*, 4(1), 1-19.
- Blommaert, J. (2010). *The sociolinguistics of globalization*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Blommaert, J. (2015). Chronotopes, scales, and complexity in the study of language in society. *Annual review of anthropology*, 44, 105-116. doi:10.1146/annurev-anthro-102214-014035
- Blommaert, J. (2017). Durkheim and the Internet: On sociolinguistics and the sociological imagination. *Tilburg papers in cultural studies*(173), 2-90.
- Blommaert, J. (2018). Are chronotopes helpful? Why do we need another word for context? *Working papers in urban language and literacies*(243), 2-9.
- Blommaert, J., Collins, J., & Slembrouck, S. (2005). Spaces of multilingualism. *Language & communication*, 25(3), 197-216. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.langcom.2005.05.002
- Blommaert, J. (2003). Commentary: A sociolinguistics of globalization. *Journal of sociolinguistics* 7(4), 607-623.
- Blommaert, J., & De Fina, A. (2017). Chronotopic identities: On the timespace organisation of who we are. In D. Ikişoglu, J. Wegner, & A. De Fina (Eds.), *Diversity and super-diversity: Sociocultural linguistic perspectives* (pp. 1-15). Washington D.C: Georgetown University Press.
- Blommaert, J., Westinen, E., & Leppänen, S. (2015). Further notes on sociolinguistic scales. *Intercultural pragmatics*, 12(1), 119-127.
- Bou-Franch, P., & Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, P. (2014). Conflict management in massive polylogues: A case study from YouTube. *Journal of pragmatics*, 73, 19-36. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2014.05.001

- Bou-Franch, P., Lorenzo-Dus, N., & Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, P. (2012). Social interaction in YouTube text-based polylogues: A study of coherence. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 17*, 501–521.
- Bourdieu, P. (1989). Social space and symbolic power. *Sociological theory, 7*(1), 14-25.
- boyd, d. m. (2007). Why youth (heart) social network sites: The role of networked publics in teenage social life. *MacArthur Foundation Series on Digital Learning – Youth, identity, and digital media, 16*, 119-142.
- boyd, d. m., & Ellison, N. B. (2007). Social network sites: Definition, history, and scholarship. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 13*(1), 210-230. doi:10.1111/j.1083-6101.2007.00393.x
- Boyd, M. (2014). (New) participatory framework on YouTube? Commenter interaction in US political speeches. *Journal of pragmatics, 72*, 46-58.
- Brewer, P. R., & Wilcox, C. (2005). Same-sex marriage and civil unions. *Public opinion quarterly, 69*(4), 599-616.
- Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (1987). *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Bruckman, A. (2002). Ethical guidelines for research online. Retrieved from <http://www.cc.gatech.edu/~asb/ethics/>
- Brumbaugh, S. M., Sanchez, L. A., Nock, S. L., & Wright, J. D. (2008). Attitudes toward gay marriage in states undergoing marriage law transformation. *Journal of marriage and family, 70*(2), 345-359.
- Burgess, J., & Green, J. (2008). *Agency and controversy in the YouTube community*. Paper presented at the IR 9.0: Rethinking Communities, Rethinking Place - Association of Internet Researchers Conference, Copenhagen, Denmark.
- Burgess, J., & Green, J. (2009). *YouTube: Online video and Participatory Culture*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Polity.

- Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that matter: On the discursive limits of "sex"*. USA: Routledge.
- Cameron, D. (1995). *Verbal hygiene*. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Carpentier, N. (2014). 'Fuck the clowns from Grease!!' Fantasies of participation and agency in the YouTube comments on a Cypriot Problem documentary. *Information, communication & society, 17*(8), 1001–1016.
- Chau, C. (2010). YouTube as a Participatory Culture. *New directions for youth development, 128*, 65-74.
- Chou, W.-Y. S., Hunt, Y., Folkers, A., & Augustson, E. (2011). Cancer survivorship in the age of YouTube and social media: a narrative analysis. *Journal of medical Internet research, 13*(1). doi:10.2196/jmir.1569
- Christensen, C. (2009). "Hey man, nice shot": Setting the Iraq War to music on YouTube. In P. Snickars & P. Vonderau (Eds.), *The YouTube reader* (pp. 204-217). Stockholm, Sweden: National Library of Sweden.
- Chun, E. W. (2013). Ironic blackness as masculine cool: Asian American language and authenticity on YouTube. *Applied linguistics, 34*(5), 592-612.
- Chun, E. W., & Walters, K. (2011). Orienting to Arab orientalisms: Language, race, and humor in a YouTube video. In C. Thurlow & K. R. Mroczek (Eds.), *Digital discourse: Language in the new media* (pp. 251-273). Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Clarke, V. (2001). *What about the children? Arguments against lesbian and gay parenting*. Paper presented at the Women's Studies International Forum.
- Clarke, V., & Finlay, S.-J. (2004). 'For better or worse?' Lesbian and gay marriage. *Feminism & psychology, 14*(1), 17-23.
- Coesemans, R., & De Cock, B. (2017). Self-reference by politicians on Twitter: Strategies to adapt to 140 characters. *Journal of pragmatics, 116*, 37-50.

- Cohen, A. P. (1993). *The symbolic construction of community*. In *Key ideas*. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat00245a&AN=massey.b2825954&site=eds-live&scope=site>
- Collins, J., & Slembrouck, S. (2009). Goffman and globalization: Frame, footing and scale in migration-connected multilingualism. In J. P. Collins, S. Slembrouck, & M. Baynham (Eds.), *Globalization and language in contact: Scale, migration, and communicative practices* (pp. 19-41). London, United Kingdom: Continuum.
- Collot, M., & Belmore, N. (1996). Electronic language: A new variety of English. In S. C. Herring (Ed.), *Computer-Mediated Communication: Linguistic, social, and cross-cultural perspectives* (pp. 13-28). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- CrazyWebs [Uploader]. (2013). *Gay marriage bill passed New Zealand & song* [Online Video]. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ilMBLV3A6ug&list=PLFX-ncuYRmoVEkqhGGYwASUge6TXhsmgd>
- Crystal, D. (2001). *Language and the Internet*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Culpeper, J. (1996). Towards an anatomy of impoliteness. *Journal of pragmatics*, 25, 349-367.
- Culpeper, J. (2010). Conventionalised impoliteness formulae. *Journal of pragmatics*, 42(12), 3232-3245.
- Culpeper, J. (2011). *Impoliteness: Using language to cause offence*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Curwood, J. S., Magnifico, A. M., & Lammers, J. C. (2013). Writing in the wild: Writers' motivation in fan-based Affinity Spaces. *Journal of adolescent & adult literacy*, 56(8), 677-685.
- Davies, B., & Harré, R. (1990). Positioning: The discursive production of selves. *Journal for the theory of social behaviour*, 20(1), 43-63.
- Dayter, D. (2014). Self-praise in microblogging. *Journal of pragmatics*, 61, 91-102.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2013.11.021>

- Dick, H. P. (2010). Imagined lives and modernist chronotopes in Mexican nonmigrant discourse. *American ethnologist*, 37(2), 275-290.
- Dong, J., & Blommaert, J. (2009). Space, scale and accents: constructing migrant identity in Beijing. In J. P. Collins, S. Slembrouck, & M. Baynham (Eds.), *Globalization and language in contact: Scale, migration, and communicative practices* (pp. 42-61). London, United Kingdom: Continuum.
- Donnell, H. (2012, August 28). John Banks to vote for marriage equality. *New Zealand herald*. Retrieved from http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10830040
- Du Bois, J. W. (2007). The stance triangle. In R. Englebretson (Ed.), *Stancetaking in discourse : subjectivity, evaluation, interaction* (pp. 139-182). Amsterdam, Netherlands: John Benjamins Pub.
- Duncan, S. C., & Hayes, E. (2012). Expanding the Affinity Space: An introduction. In E. Hayes & S. C. Duncan (Eds.), *Learning in video game Affinity Spaces* (pp. 1-22). New York, N.Y.: Peter Lang Publishing Inc.
- Durga, S. (2012). Learning to mod in an affinity-based modding community. In E. Hayes & S. C. Duncan (Eds.), *Learning in video game Affinity Spaces* (pp. 84-102). New York, N.Y.: Peter Lang Publishing Inc.
- Dynel, M. (2012). Swearing methodologically: The (im)politeness of expletives in anonymous commentaries on YouTube. *Journal of English studies*, 10, 25-50.
- Dynel, M. (2014). Participation framework underlying YouTube interaction. *Journal of pragmatics*, 73, 37-52. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2014.04.001>
- Eckert, P., & McConnell-Ginet, S. (1999). New generalizations and explanations in language and gender research. *Language in society*, 28, 185-201.
- Ellison, N. B., Steinfield, C., & Lampe, C. (2007). The benefit of Facebook 'friends': Social capital and college students' use of online social network sites. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 12, 1143-1168.

- Englebretson, R. (Ed.) (2007). *Stancetaking in discourse: subjectivity, evaluation, interaction*. Amsterdam, Netherlands: John Benjamins Pub.
- Eysenbach, G., & Till, J. (2001). Ethical issues in qualitative research on internet communities. *BMJ*, 323, 1103-1105.
- Faris, V. J. (2013). *"You've clearly never done CrossFit": Impoliteness and Participatory Culture on YouTube*. (Unpublished Research Report), Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.
- Foucault, M. (1969). *An archaeology of knowledge* (A. M. Sheridan Smith, Trans.). London, United Kingdom: Editions Gallimard.
- Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, P., Lorenzo-Dus, N., & Bou-Franch, P. (2013). Relational work in anonymous, asynchronous communication: A study of (dis)affiliation in YouTube. In J. s. Romero-Trillo & I. n. Kecskés (Eds.), *Research trends in intercultural pragmatics* (pp. 343-365). Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Gee, J. P. (1999, 2011). *An introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and method* (Third Edition ed.): Routledge.
- Gee, J. P. (2004). *Situated language and learning*. Baskerville: Book Now Ltd.
- Gee, J. P. (2005). Semiotic social spaces and Affinity Spaces. In D. Barton & K. Tusting (Eds.), *Beyond Communities of Practice: Language, power and social context* (pp. 214-232). Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University press.
- Gee, J. P. (2007). *Good video games + good learning: Collected essays on video games, learning and literacy*. New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing Inc.
- Gee, J. P., & Hayes, E. (2011). *Language and learning in the digital age*. Oxon, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Georgakopoulou, A. (2007). *Small stories, interaction and identities* (M. Bamberg Ed.). Amsterdam; Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins Company.

- Giles, H., & Powesland, P. (1997). Accommodation theory. In N. Coupland & A. Jaworski (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics: A reader and coursebook* (pp. 232-239). Houndsmills, United Kingdom: Macmillan Press.
- Goffman, E. (1981). Footing. In *Forms of talk* (pp. 124-159). Oxford, United Kingdom: Basil Blackwell Publisher.
- Goh, R. B. H. (2014). The Lord of the Rings and New Zealand: Fantasy pilgrimages, imaginative transnationalism and the semiotics of the (Ir)Real. *Social semiotics*, 24(3), 263-282.
doi:10.1080/10350330.2013.866781
- Goode, L., McCullough, A., & O'Hare, G. (2011). Unruly publics and the fourth estate on YouTube. *Participations: Journal of audience and reception studies*, 8(2), 594-615.
- Goodwin, I., Lyons, A. C., & Stephens, C. (2013). Critiquing the heteronormativity of the banal citizen in New Zealand's mediated civil union debate. *Gender, place & culture*, 21(7), 813-833.
doi:10.1080/0966369X.2013.810609
- Gotti, M. (2003). Shall and will in contemporary English: A comparison with past uses. In R. Facchinetti, M. Krug, & F. Palmer (Eds.), *Modality in contemporary English* (pp. 267-300). Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Green, M., Bobrowicz, A., & Ang, C. S. (2015). The lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender community online: Discussions of bullying and self-disclosure in YouTube videos. *Behaviour & information technology*, 34(7), 704-712. doi:10.1080/0144929X.2015.1012649
- Greenstone. (2016). *Pokarekare Ana*. Retrieved from <http://www.greenstonetv.com/programmes/documentaries/culture/pokarekare-ana-a-maori-love-story/>
- Grice, H. P. (1975). Logic and conversation. In P. Cole & J. L. Morgan (Eds.), *Syntax and semantics* (Vol. 3: Speech acts, pp. 41-58). New York: Academic Press.

- Gruber, H. (2008). Analyzing communication in the new media. In R. Wodak & M. Krzyżanowski (Eds.), *Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the social sciences* (pp. 54-76). Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gruzd, A., Wellman, B., & Takhteyev, Y. (2011). Imagining Twitter as an imagined community. *American behavioral scientist*, 55(10), 1294-1318.
- Hachimi, A. (2013). The Maghreb-Mashreq language ideology and the politics of identity in a globalized Arab world. *Journal of sociolinguistics*, 17(3), 269-296.
- Halavais, A. (2013). Structure of Twitter: Social and technical. In K. Weller, A. Bruns, J. Burgess, M. Mahrt, & C. Puschmann (Eds.), *Twitter and society* (pp. 29-42). New York, N.Y.: Peter Lang Publishing Inc.
- Hall, M., Gough, B., & Seymour-Smith, S. (2012). "I'm METRO, NOT gay!": A discursive analysis of men's accounts of makeup use on YouTube. *The journal of men's studies*, 20(3), 209-226. doi:10.3149/jms.2003.209
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1976). Modality and modulation in English. In G. Kress (Ed.), *Halliday: System and function in language* (pp. 189-213). London, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1985). *An Introduction to functional grammar*. New York, N.Y.: Arnold.
- Hardaker, C. (2010). Trolling in asynchronous computer-mediated communication: From user discussions to academic definitions. *Journal of politeness research*, 6, 215-242.
- Hardaker, C. (2013). "Uh. . . not to be nitpicky,,,,,but...the past tense of drag is dragged, not drug." An overview of trolling strategies. *Journal of language aggression and conflict*, 1(1), 58-86.
- Haridakis, P., & Hanson, G. (2009). Social interaction and co-viewing with YouTube: Blending mass communication reception and social connection. *Journal of broadcasting & electronic media*, 53(2), 317-335.
- Harré, R., & Langenhove, L. V. (1991). Varieties of positioning. *Journal for the theory of social behaviour*, 21(4), 393-407.

- Hendrick, S. F., & Lindgren, S. (2010). YouTube as a performative arena: How Swedish youth are negotiating space. In E. Dunkels, G. M. Franberg, & C. Hallgren (Eds.), *Youth culture and net culture: Online social practices* (pp. 153-169). Hershey, P.A.: IGI Global.
- Herring, S. C. (1999). Interactional coherence in CMC. *Computer-Mediated Communication*, 4(4). doi:10.1111/j.1083-6101.1999.tb00106.x
- Herring, S. C. (2004). Computer-Mediated Discourse Analysis: An approach to researching online behaviour. In S. A. Barab, R. Kling, & J. H. Gray (Eds.), *Designing for virtual communities in the service of learning* (pp. 338-376). Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Herring, S. C. (2015). *The co-evolution of Computer-Mediated Discourse Analysis and computer-mediated communication*. Paper presented at the Approaches to Digital Discourse Analysis (ADDA) 1, Valencia, Spain.
- Herring, S. C., & Androutsopoulos, J. (2015). Computer-Mediated Discourse 2.0. In D. Tannen, H. E. Hamilton, & D. Schiffrin (Eds.), *The handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Electronic Book: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Holden, C. L. (2012). The not-so-secret life of *Dance Dance Revolution*. In E. Hayes & S. C. Duncan (Eds.), *Learning in video game Affinity Spaces* (pp. 129-161). New York, N.Y.: Peter Lang Publishing Inc.
- inthehouseNZ [Uploader]. (2013). *Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Bill - third reading - part 20* [Online Video]. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DW4DXOAXF8U&list=PLFX-ncuYRmoVEkqhGGYwASUge6TXhsmgd>
- Jaffe, A. (Ed.) (2009). *Stance: Sociolinguistic perspectives*. New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press.
- Jaworski, A., & Thurlow, C. (2009). Taking an elitist stance: Ideology and the discursive production of social distinction. In A. Jaffe (Ed.), *Stance: Sociolinguistic perspectives* (pp. 195-226). New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press.

- jayness33 [Uploader]. (2013). *LOVELY!!! New Zealand parliament passes marriage equality bill* [Online video]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KIVaPHdTWMk&index=8&list=PLFX-ncuYRmoVEkqhGGYwASUge6TXhsmgd>
- Jenkins, H. (1992). *Textual poachers: Television fans and Participatory Culture*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Jenkins, H. (2006a). *Convergence culture: Where old and new media collide*. New York, N.Y.: New York University Press.
- Jenkins, H. (2006b). *Fans, bloggers, and gamers: Exploring Participatory Culture*. New York, N.Y.: New York University Press.
- Jenkins, H. (2009). What happened before YouTube. In J. Burgess & J. Green (Eds.), *YouTube: Online video and Participatory Culture* (pp. 109-125). Cambridge, United Kingdom: Polity.
- Jenkins, H., & Carpentier, N. (2013). Theorizing participatory intensities: A conversation about participation and politics. *Convergence: The international journal of research into new media technologies*, 19(3), 1-22. doi:10.1177/1354856513482090
- Jenkins, H., Clinton, K., Purushotma, R., Robison, A. J., & Weigel, M. (2006). *Confronting the challenges of Participatory Culture: Media education for the 21st century. An occasional paper on digital media and learning*. Retrieved from Chicago, I.L.: <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED536086.pdf>
- Jenkins, H., Ford, S., & Green, J. (2013). *Spreadable media: Creating value and meaning in a networked culture*. New York, N.Y.: New York University Press.
- jessica amber [Uploader]. (2013). *Parliament breaks into song after gay marriage bill passed in New Zealand* [Online Video]. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lao4rTC_qeg&list=PLFX-ncuYRmoVEkqhGGYwASUge6TXhsmgd
- Jewitt, C. (2009). An introduction to multimodal analysis. In C. Jewitt (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of multimodal analysis*. Oxon, United Kingdom: Routledge.

- Jones, G. M., & Schieffelin, B. M. (2009). Talking text and talking back: "My BFF Jill" from boob tube to YouTube. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 14(4), 1050-1079.
- Jones, G. M., Schieffelin, B. M., & Smith, R. E. (2011). When friends who talk together stalk together: Online gossip as metacommunication. In C. Thurlow & K. R. Mroczek (Eds.), *Digital discourse: Language in the new media* (pp. 26-47). Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Jones, R. H. (2010). Cyberspace and physical space: Attention structures in computer-mediated communication. In A. Jaworski & C. Thurlow (Eds.), *Semiotic landscapes: Language, image, space* (pp. 151-167). London, United Kingdom: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Jones, R. H., & Norris, S. (2005). Introducing practice. In S. Norris & R. H. Jones (Eds.), *Discourse in action: Introducing Mediated Discourse Analysis* (pp. 97-99). London, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Jourard, S. M. (1971). *Self-disclosure: An experimental analysis of the transparent self*. USA: John Wiley & Sons.
- Kavoori, A. P. (2011). *Reading YouTube: The critical viewers guide*. New York, N.Y.: Peter Lang.
- Kenix, L. J. (2008). From media frame to social change? A comparative analysis of same-sex rights in the United States and New Zealand press. *Australian journal of communication*, 35(3), 105-128.
- Kerry, V. J. (2014). 'Ghost Chips' and the New Zealand localisation of interaction on YouTube. *New Zealand English journal*, 28, 10-20.
- Kiesling, S. (2018). Youtube Yinzers: Stancetaking and the performance of 'Pittsburghese'. In R. Bassiouney (Ed.), *Identity and dialect performance: A study of communities and dialect*. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- King, B. (2015). Investigating digital sex talk practices: A reflection on Corpus-Assisted Discourse Analysis. In R. H. Jones, A. Chik, & C. A. Hafner (Eds.), *Discourse and digital practices: Doing Discourse Analysis in the digital age* (pp. 130-143). Oxon, United Kingdom: Routledge.

- Krishna Sharma, B. (2014). On high horses: Transnational Nepalis and language ideologies on YouTube. *Discourse, context & media*, 4-5, 19-28.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dcm.2014.04.001>
- Labov, W. (1972). *Language in the inner city: Studies in the Black English vernacular* Philadelphia, P.A.: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Labov, W., & Waletzky, J. (1997). Narrative analysis. In J. Helm (Ed.), *Journal of narrative and life history* (pp. 3-38). (Reprinted from: "Narrative analysis" (1967). *Essays on the verbal and visual arts*, ed. J. Helm, 12-44. Seattle: University of Washington Press).
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). Conceptual metaphor in everyday language. *The journal of philosophy*, 77(8), 453-486.
- Lammers, J. C. (2012). "Is the Hangout...The Hangout?" Exploring tensions in an online gaming-related fan site. In E. Hayes & S. C. Duncan (Eds.), *Learning in video game Affinity Spaces* (pp. 23-50). New York, N.Y.: Peter Lang Publishing Inc.
- Lammers, J. C., Curwood, J. S., & Magnifico, A. M. (2012). Toward an Affinity Space methodology: Considerations for literacy research. *English teaching: Practice and critique*, 11(2), 44-58.
- Lange, P. (2007a). *Commenting on comments: Investigating responses to antagonism on YouTube*. Paper presented at the Society for Applied Anthropology Conference, Florida, USA.
- Lange, P. (2007b). *Searching for the 'You' in 'YouTube': An analysis of online response ability*. Paper presented at the Ethnographic Praxis in Industry Conference Proceedings.
- Lange, P. (2008a). Living in 'YouTubia': Bordering on civility. *Proceedings of the Southwestern Anthropological Association*, 2, 98-106.
- Lange, P. (2008b). Publicly private and privately public: Social networking on YouTube. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 13, 361-380.
- Lange, P. (2014). Commenting on YouTube rants: Perceptions of inappropriateness or civic engagement? *Journal of pragmatics*, 73, 53-65. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2014.07.004
- Lange, P. (2016). *Kids on YouTube: Technical identities and digital literacies*: Taylor & Francis.

- Laurie, A. J. (2004). *Report on the written submissions to the Justice and Electoral Select Committee on the Civil Union Bill and Relationships (Statutory References) Bill*. Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University of Wellington.
- Leander, K. M., & McKim, K. K. (2003). Tracing the everyday 'sitings' of adolescents on the internet: A strategic adaptation of ethnography across online and offline spaces. *Education, communication & information, 3*(2), 211-240.
- LeBlanc, T. R. (2010). Impoliteness as a model for virtual speech community building. In R. Taiwo (Ed.), *Handbook of research on discourse behavior and digital communication: Language structures and social interaction* (pp. 523-539). Hershey, PA: Information Science Reference.
- Lemke, J. L. (2005). Place, pace, and meaning: Multimedia chronotopes. In S. Norris & R. H. Jones (Eds.), *Discourse in action: Introducing Mediated Discourse Analysis* (pp. 110-122). London, New York: Routledge.
- Lewis, S. P., Heath, N. L., Sornberger, M. J., & Arbuthnott, A. E. (2012). Helpful or Harmful? An examination of viewers' responses to nonsuicidal self-injury videos on YouTube. *Journal of adolescent health, 51*(4), 380-385. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2012.01.013>
- Li, S., Feng, B., Li, N., & Tan, X. (2015). How social context cues in online support-seeking influence self-disclosure in support provision. *Communication quarterly, 63*(5), 586-602. doi:10.1080/01463373.2015.1078389
- Liebler, C. M., Schwartz, J., & Harper, T. (2009). Queer tales of morality: The press, same-sex marriage, and hegemonic framing. *Journal of communication, 59*(4), 653-675.
- Linde, C. (1993). *Life stories: The creation of coherence*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lindgren, S. (2012). 'It took me about half an hour, but I did it!' Media circuits and Affinity Spaces around how-to videos on YouTube. *European journal of communication, 27*(2), 152-170.
- Lorenzo-Dus, N., Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, P., & Bou-Franch, P. (2011). On-line polylogues and impoliteness: The case of postings sent in response to the Obama Reggaeton YouTube video. *Journal of pragmatics, 43*, 2578–2593.

- Lyotard, J.-F. (1979). *The postmodern condition: A report on knowledge; theory and history of literature* (Vol. 10). Minneapolis, MN 55455-3092, USA: University of Minnesota Press.
- MacQueen, K. M., McLellan, E., Metzger, D. S., Kegeles, S., Strauss, R. P., Scotti, R., . . . Trotter, R. T. (2001). What is community? An evidence-based definition for participatory public health. *American journal of public health, 91*(12), 1929-1938.
- Madill, M. (2008). Civil Unions and the recognition of lesbian relationships A reflection in the context of Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Affilia, 23*(1), 77-86.
- Marcoccia, M. (2004). On-line polylogues: conversation structure and participation framework in internet newsgroups. *Journal of pragmatics, 36*(1), 115-145.
doi:[http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166\(03\)00038-9](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(03)00038-9)
- Martin Richardson [Uploader]. (2013). *New Zealand Parliament passes gay marriage bill -- and a love song*. [Online Video]. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q9pOJ8Bc_g&list=PLFX-ncuYRmoVEkqhGGYwASUge6TXhsmgd
- Marwick, A. E., & boyd, d. m. (2010). I tweet honestly, I tweet passionately: Twitter users, context collapse, and the imagined audience. *New media & society, 13*(1), 114-133.
- Massey University. (2013). Code of ethical conduct for research, teaching and evaluations involving human participants. Retrieved from <http://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/fms/Human%20Ethics/Documents/MUHEC%20Code%202013.pdf>
- McDermott, E., Roen, K., & Piela, A. (2015). Explaining self-harm: Youth cybertalk and marginalized sexualities and genders. *Youth society, 47*(6), 873-889. doi:10.1177/0044118X13489142
- Misoch, S. (2014). Card stories on YouTube: A new frame for online self-disclosure. *Media and communication, 2*(1), 2-12.
- Misoch, S. (2015). Stranger on the internet: Online self-disclosure and the role of visual anonymity. *Computers in human behavior, 48*, 535-541.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2015.02.027>

- Moor, P. J., Heuvelman, A., & Verleur, R. (2010). Flaming on YouTube. *Computers in human behavior*, 28, 1536-1546.
- Morgan, E. M., Snelson, C., & Elison-Bowers, P. (2010). Image and video disclosure of substance use on social media websites. *Computers in human behavior*, 26(6), 1405-1411.
doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2010.04.017>
- Morson, G. S. (2010). *The chronotope of humanness: Bakhtin and Dostoevsky*: Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg.
- Mortensen, K. K. (2017). Flirting in online dating: Giving empirical grounds to flirtatious implicitness. *Discourse studies*, 19(5), 581-597.
- Morton, T. L. (1978). Intimacy and reciprocity of exchange: A comparison of spouses and strangers. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 36(1), 72-81. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.36.1.72
- Naslund, J. A., Grande, S. W., Aschbrenner, K. A., & Elwyn, G. (2014). Naturally occurring peer support through social media: The experiences of individuals with severe mental illness using YouTube. *Plos one*, 9(10), 1-9. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0110171
- NBR Staff. (2012, August 28). Banks to support gay marriage bill. *National business review*. Retrieved from <http://www.nbr.co.nz/article/banks-support-gay-marriage-bill-ck-127014>
- New Zealand Parliament. (n.d.). *New Zealand Parliament Pāremata Aotearoa*. Retrieved from <http://www.parliament.nz/en-nz/>
- NewsInWorldNow [Uploader]. (2013). *The moment same-sex marriage became legal in New Zealand* [Online Video]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ej99wIHTAfY&list=PLFX-ncuYRmoVEkqhGGYwASUge6TXhsmgd>
- Norris, S., & Jones, R. H. (2005a). Introducing mediated action. In S. Norris & R. H. Jones (Eds.), *Discourse in action: Introducing Mediated Discourse Analysis* (pp. 17-20). London, United Kingdom: Routledge.

- Norris, S., & Jones, R. H. (Eds.). (2005b). *Discourse in action: Introducing Mediated Discourse Analysis*. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- nzheraldtv [Uploader]. (2013). *MPs cheer marriage vote* [Online Video].
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vx-rzFfeHps&list=PLFX-ncuYRmoVEkqhGGYwASUge6TXhsmgd>
- O'Donnell, S., Gibson, K., Milliken, M., & Singer, J. (2008). *Reacting to YouTube videos: Exploring differences among user groups*. Paper presented at the Proceedings of the International Communication Association Annual Conference, Quebec, Canada: NRC 50361.
<http://nparc.cisti-icist.nrc-cnrc.gc.ca/npsi/ctrl?action=rtdoc&an=8914081&lang=en>
- Pan, P. L., Meng, J., & Zhou, S. (2010). Morality or equality? Ideological framing in news coverage of gay marriage legitimization. *The social science journal*, 47(3), 630-645.
- Paolillo, J. C. (2001). Language variation on Internet Relay Chat: A social network approach. *Journal of sociolinguistics*, 5(2), 180-213.
- Park, J. S.-Y. (2012). Framing, stance, and affect in Korean metalinguistic discourse. *Pragmatics*, 21(2), 265-282.
- Perelman, C. (1979). *The new rhetoric and the humanities: Essays on rhetoric and its applications*. Holland/Boston, USA: D. Reidel Publishing Company.
- Perrino, S. (2017). Recontextualizing racialized stories on YouTube. *Narrative inquiry*, 27(2), 261-285.
 doi:doi:10.1075/ni.27.2.04per
- Pihlaja, S. (2010). The pope of YouTube: Metaphor and misunderstanding in atheist-Christian YouTube dialogue. *The Journal of inter-religious dialogue*, 3, 25-35.
- Pihlaja, S. (2011). Cops, popes, and garbage collectors: Metaphor and antagonism in an atheist/Christian YouTube video thread. *Language@Internet*, 8(1).
- Pihlaja, S. (2012). *The development of 'drama' in YouTube discourse*. (Doctoral Thesis), The Open University, United Kingdom.

- Pihlaja, S. (2013). 'It's all red ink': The interpretation of biblical metaphor among Evangelical Christian YouTube users. *Language and literature*, 22(2), 103-117.
- Pihlaja, S. (2014a). *Antagonism on YouTube: Metaphor in online discourse*. London, United Kingdom: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Pihlaja, S. (2014b). "Christians" and "bad Christians": Categorization in atheist user talk on YouTube. *Text & talk*, 34(5), 623-639.
- Pihlaja, S. (2016). 'What about the wolves?': The use of scripture in YouTube arguments. *Language and literature*, 25(3), 226-238.
- pokarekareana.com. (n.d.). *Pokarekare Ana*. Retrieved from <http://www.pokarekareana.com/>
- Potter, J. (1996). Representing reality: Discourse, rhetoric and social construction. In. London, United Kingdom: SAGE Publications Ltd. Retrieved from <http://sk.sagepub.com/books/representing-reality>. doi:10.4135/9781446222119
- Pusch, H. (2003). *Civil Union - partnership of equals: State registration of adult partnerships and its impact on women in Aotearoa New Zealand: An analysis of marriage and civil unions (based on the proposed concept of civil unions in the Civil Union Bill) from a feminist perspective*. Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University of Wellington.
- Rheingold, H. (1993). *The virtual community: Homesteading on the electronic frontier*. USA: William Patrick.
- Ritella, G., Ligorio, M. B., & Hakkarainen, K. (2017). Theorizing space-time relations in education: The concept of chronotope. *Frontline learning research*, 4(4), 48-55.
- Robertson, S. P., Vatrapu, R. K., & Medina, R. (2009). *The social life of social networks: Facebook linkage patterns in the 2008 US presidential election*. Paper presented at the Proceedings of the 10th Annual International Conference on Digital Government Research: Social Networks: Making Connections between Citizens, Data and Government.

- Roen, K. (2014, April 15). *Explorations of gender, sexuality, and emotional well-being: An online approach*. Paper presented at the College of Humanities and Social Sciences Research Series, Massey University, Auckland.
- Rogers, R. (2013). Debanalising Twitter: The transformation of an object of study. In K. Weller, A. Bruns, J. Burgess, M. Mahrt, & C. Puschmann (Eds.), *Twitter and society* (pp. ix-xxvi). New York, N.Y.: Peter Lang Publishing Inc.
- Rogers, T. B., Kuiper, N. A., & Kirker, W. S. (1977). Self-reference and the encoding of personal information. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 35(9), 677.
- Rotman, D., Golbeck, J., & Preece, J. (2009). *The community is where the rapport is – On sense and structure in the YouTube community*. Paper presented at the Proceedings of the fourth international conference on Communities and technologies, Pennsylvania: C&T.
- Rymes, B. (2012). Recontextualizing YouTube: From macro–micro to mass-mediated communicative repertoires. *Anthropology & education quarterly*, 43(2), 214-227.
- Sacks, H., Schegloff, E. A., & Jefferson, G. (1978). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn taking for conversation. In *Studies in the organization of conversational Interaction* (pp. 7-55): Elsevier.
- Scollon, R. (2001a). Action and text: Toward an integrated understanding of the place of text in social (inter)action, Mediated Discourse Analysis, and the problem of social action. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis (E-book edition)*: Sage Research Methods. Retrieved from Retrieved from: <http://srmo.sagepub.com/view/methods-of-critical-discourse-analysis/d9.xml?rskey=XwHjSx&row=5>.
- Scollon, R. (2001b). *Mediated discourse: The nexus of practice*. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Scollon, R., & Wong Scollon, S. (2007). Nexus analysis: Refocusing ethnography on action. *Journal of sociolinguistics*, 11(5), 608-625.
- Silverstein, M. (2003). Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language & communication*, 23(3), 193-229. doi:[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0271-5309\(03\)00013-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0271-5309(03)00013-2)

- Silverstein, M. (2005). Axes of evals. *Journal of linguistic anthropology*, 15(1), 6-22.
- Sindoni, M. G. (2013). *Spoken and written discourse in online interactions : A multimodal approach*.
New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Statistics New Zealand. (2012). *Demographic trends: 2011*: Wellington: Statistics New Zealand ISSN.
- Statistics New Zealand. (2013). Household Use of Information and Communication Technology:
2012.
http://archive.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/industry_sectors/information_technology_and_communications/HouseholdUseofICT_HOTP2012.aspx?gclid=Cj0KCQjwrLXXBRCXARIsAIttmROaZWshFvKkkgPwW8msxQTp7broSUfaDn0GH4jMAjm2NHEpKWBMaFAaAnsGEALw_wcB
- Stefano, P. (2008). YouTube: An opportunity for consumer narrative analysis? *Qualitative market research: An international journal*, 11(2), 213-226. doi:10.1108/13522750810864459
- Steinby, L. (2013). Bakhtin's concept of the chronotope: The viewpoint of an acting subject. In L. Steinby & T. Klapuri (Eds.), *Bakhtin and his others: (Inter)subjectivity, chronotope, dialogism* (pp. 105-126). London, United Kingdom: Anthem Press.
- Strangelove, M. (2010). *Watching YouTube : Extraordinary videos by ordinary people*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Strater, K., & Lipford, H. R. (2008). *Strategies and struggles with privacy in an online social networking community*. Paper presented at the 22nd British HCI Group Annual Conference on People and Computers: Culture, Creativity, Interaction, Swinton, UK.
- Tarvi, L. (2015). Chronotope and metaphor as ways of Time-Space contextual blending: The principle of relativity in literature. *Bakhtiniana: Revista de estudos do discurso*, 10(1), 193-208.
- Thelwall, M., Sud, P., & Vis, F. (2012). Commenting on YouTube videos: From Guatemalan rock to El Big Bang. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 63(3), 616-629.
- Thomas, D. R. (2006). A general inductive approach for analyzing qualitative evaluation data. *American journal of evaluation*, 27(2).

- Thornborrow, J. (2001). Authenticating talk: Building public identities in audience participation broadcasting. *Discourse studies*, 3(4), 459-479.
- Thorson, K., Ekdale, B., Borah, P., Namkoong, K., & Shah, C. (2010). YouTube and Proposition 8: A case study in video activism. *Information, communication & society*, 13(3), 325-349.
- Thurlow, C. (2012). Generation Txt? The sociolinguistics of young people's text-messaging. <http://extra.shu.ac.uk/daol/articles/v1/n1/a3/thurlow2002003-paper.html>
- Tracy, K. (2009). How questioning constructs judge identities: Oral argument about same-sex marriage. *Discourse studies*, 11(2), 199-221.
- Tracy, K. (2011). A facework system of minimal politeness: Oral argument in appellate court. *Journal of politeness research. Language, behaviour, culture*, 7(1), 123-145.
- Tracy, K., & Parks, R. (2010). *Stance-taking within neutrality-attentive judicial discourse: Oral argument about same-sex marriage*. Paper presented at the International Communication Association, Singapore.
- Utz, S. (2015). The function of self-disclosure on social network sites: Not only intimate, but also positive and entertaining self-disclosures increase the feeling of connection. *Computers in human behavior*, 45, 1-10. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2014.11.076>
- van Zoonen, L., Vis, F., & Mihelj, S. (2011). YouTube interactions between agonism, antagonism and dialogue: Video responses to the anti-Islam film Fitna. *New media & society*, 13(8), 1283-1300. doi:10.1177/1461444811405020
- Varnali, K., & Toker, A. (2015). Self-disclosure on social networking sites. *Social behavior & personality: An international journal*, 43(1), 1-13.
- Venkatraman, J. (2017, Dec 21). Mapped: The countries that have legalised same-sex marriages. *The Hindu*. Retrieved from <http://www.thehindu.com/society/mapped-the-countries-that-have-legalised-same-sex-marriages/article22138995.ece>
- Vertovec, S. (1999). Conceiving and researching transnationalism. *Ethnic and racial studies*, 22(2), 447-462.

- Vice, S. (1997). *Introducing Bakhtin*. Manchester, United Kingdom: Manchester University Press.
- videos9148 [Uploader]. (2013). *NZ Parliament breaks into Singing after legalising gay marriage* [Online Video]. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HsrVx6xbCHY&list=PLFX-ncuYRmoVEkqhGGYwASUge6TXhsmgd>.
- Waldron, J. (2013). User-generated content, YouTube and Participatory Culture on the Web: Music learning and teaching in two contrasting online communities. *Music education research, 15*(3), 257-274.
- Walton, S., & Jaffe, A. (2011). "Stuff White People Like": Stance, class, race, and internet commentary. In C. Thurlow & K. R. Mroczek (Eds.), *Digital discourse: Language in the new media* (pp. 199-219). Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Werry, C. C. (1996). Linguistic and interactional features of Internet Relay Chat. In S. C. Herring (Ed.), *Computer-mediated communication: Linguistic, social, and cross-cultural perspectives* (pp. 47-63). Amsterdam, Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Westinen, E. (2014). *Construction of authenticity: Resources, scales and polycentricity in Finnish hip hop* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä, Finland. Retrieved from: <https://jyx.jyu.fi/handle/123456789/43614>.
- White, C. (2015). Banal nationalism and belonging within the echoed imagined community: The case of New Zealand anthems on YouTube. *Journal of language and politics, 14*(5), 627-644.
- White, C., & Pham, C. (2017). Time in the experience of agency and emotion in English language learning in rural Vietnam. *Innovation in language learning and teaching, 11*(3), 207-218.
- Wodak, R. (2008). Discourse studies - important concepts and terms. In R. Wodak & M. Krzyżanowski (Eds.), *Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the social sciences* (pp. 1-34). Houndmills, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Yates, S. J. (1996). Oral and written linguistic aspects of computer conferencing: A corpus based study. In S. C. Herring (Ed.), *Computer-mediated communication: Linguistic, social, and cross-cultural perspectives* (pp. 29-46). Amsterdam, Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing Co.

Yoshino, K. (1999). *The epistemic contract of bisexual erasure*. Paper presented at the Faculty Scholarship Series.

YouTube. (2018). Create an Account on YouTube.

<https://support.google.com/youtube/answer/161805?co=GENIE.Platform%3DDesktop&hl=en>

Yu, J., Hu, P. J.-H., & Cheng, T.-H. (2015). Role of affect in self-disclosure on social network websites:

A test of two competing models. *Journal of management information systems*, 32(2), 239-277. doi:10.1080/07421222.2015.1063305

Zimmer, M. (2010). "But the data is already public": On the ethics of research in Facebook. *Ethics and information technology*, 12(4), 313-325.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Ethics Low Risk Notification



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA

FILE

4 June 2014

Victoria Faris
3D/40 Charlotte Street
Eden Terrace
AUCKLAND 1021

Dear Victoria

Re: Stance-taking and the Marriage Amendment Bill: An Analysis of Online Discourse in YouTube Comments

Thank you for your Low Risk Notification which was received on 15 May 2014.

Your project has been recorded on the Low Risk Database which is reported in the Annual Report of the Massey University Human Ethics Committees.

You are reminded that staff researchers and supervisors are fully responsible for ensuring that the information in the low risk notification has met the requirements and guidelines for submission of a low risk notification.

The low risk notification for this project is valid for a maximum of three years.

Please notify me if situations subsequently occur which cause you to reconsider your initial ethical analysis that it is safe to proceed without approval by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees.

Please note that travel undertaken by students must be approved by the supervisor and the relevant Pro Vice-Chancellor and be in accordance with the Policy and Procedures for Course-Related Student Travel Overseas. In addition, the supervisor must advise the University's Insurance Officer.

A reminder to include the following statement on all public documents:

"This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research."

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor John O'Neill, Director (Research Ethics), telephone 06 350 5249, e-mail humanethics@massey.ac.nz".

Please note that if a sponsoring organisation, funding authority or a journal in which you wish to publish requires evidence of committee approval (with an approval number), you will have to provide a full application to one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. You should also note that such an approval can only be provided prior to the commencement of the research.

Yours sincerely

John G O'Neill (Professor)
Chair, Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and
Director (Research Ethics)

cc Dr Martin Paviour-Smith
School of Humanities
Wellington

Assoc Prof Kerry Taylor, HoS
School of Humanities
PN242

Massey University Human Ethics Committee
Accredited by the Health Research Council

Research Ethics Office, Research and Enterprise

Massey University, Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand T 06 3505573; 06 3505575 F 06 350 5622
E humanethics@massey.ac.nz; animalethics@massey.ac.nz; gte@massey.ac.nz www.massey.ac.nz