

Linking Privatised Large-Family Domestic Space with a Public Audience: An Analysis of Housewives who are YouTube Vloggers

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ABSTRACT

Amateur vlogs on YouTube provide a glimpse of everyday life and reveal things one might not normally show in public. This paper explored two case studies, female-run YouTube accounts *Jamerrill Stewart*, *Large Family Table* and *Parsnips and Parsimony*, and focused on how both accounts blurred the boundaries between private and public lives as they invited the audience to know about their domestic lives. It aimed at exploring how these female vloggers constructed a particular self-presentation while using YouTube as a personal online diary to archive their everyday lives. The study, however, avoided depicting vlogs as “reality” because vlogs, just like any other audio-visual medium, could be edited. The research findings revealed that in constructing their self-presentation, both women offered an unstructured portrayal of large-family lives in comparison to the representation of American family lives in other mainstream media, such as television (TV) reality shows. By showing the audience incidental and chaotic everyday occurrences for instance, children arguing, messy living rooms, or what they called “real life”, these vlogs were redefining what was understood as “reality” in audio-visual material.

Keywords: Everyday lives, female vloggers, large family, representation, YouTube

INTRODUCTION

The development of new technologies is changing the hierarchy of power in the social and political realm, particularly regarding gender. These new technologies, including social media, have the potential to alter the boundaries between private (domestic) and public lives, particularly for women. New technologies also create new spaces for interaction and participation

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received: 22 June 2018

Accepted: 10 April 2019

Published: 19 March 2020

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(Molyneaux et al., 2008). Interaction and participation are crucial in social media because they disrupt the social and cultural conventions of patriarchal ideologies, creating spaces for women to articulate themselves in the virtual public space. The cultural representation of women and their everyday lives in social media is becoming an arena in which socially constructed femininity is negotiated, evaluated or even reproduced.

YouTube, which was established in 2005, has evolved into the most popular video-sharing website and hosts more videos than any of its rivals. It contains many types of content; however, most YouTube videos are amateur and document the everyday lives of vloggers (Godwin-Jones, 2007). Strangelove (2010) stated that:

YouTube is not merely an archive of moving images. It is much more than a fast-growing collection of millions of homemade videos. It is an intensely emotional experience. YouTube is a social space. It has become a battlefield, a contested ground where amateur videographers try to influence how events are represented and interpreted. (p. 4).

These home videos, according to Strangelove, are not merely documentation. They also display the expressions and creativity of the creators, making YouTube a social space for its users. Day-to-day activities are represented and interpreted through these homemade amateur videos

(Rettberg, 2014). These videos have become a space to connect with other YouTube users (Christian, 2009).

YouTube has been utilised by female vloggers to articulate their agency even though it has been often claimed as a male-dominated digital technology. Szostak (2013) highlighted how female vloggers were actively involved in the YouTube community based on an analysis of video responses to the video "Girls on YouTube". Maguire (2015) argued that female vloggers, particularly Jenna Marbles, negotiated with the mainstream demand that young girls needed to be able to market themselves as "hot" if they wanted to gain popularity on YouTube. Maguire (2015), pointed out that:

Her strategy is to offer a range of self-representations that are sometimes contradictory (like the nerdy retainer girl, the Master's Degree scholar, and the hot bimbo in this clip), but which are pulled together under the Jenna Marbles brand. These competing representations work to speak back to and interrupt the dominant narratives of girlhood in digital spaces and beyond. (p. 84).

By negotiating with the normative ideals of YouTube, these female vloggers are constructing an alternative space of empowerment. Research has shown that this user-generated technology is a potentially empowering space for female vloggers or even for advocacy work (Horak, 2014; Miller, 2017; Maguire, 2015; Szostak, 2013; Wotanis & McMillan, 2014).

However, a research gap exists in regard to one type of female vlogger which has not been discussed extensively, that is, the housewives and mothers from large families who have been vlogging and displaying their family's every day live on YouTube. Based on my digital ethnography work on their channels, by documenting and archiving their families' everyday lives they are actually blurring the boundaries of the private and the public while contesting ideal portrayals of femininity. As most blogs focus on personal themes (Nardi et al., 2004), boundaries are distorted because vloggers invite strangers who watch YouTube into their private, domestic lives. The two channels chosen as the case studies for this article were *Jamerrill Stewart, Large Family Table* and *Parsnips and Parsimony*. The main question is how mothers from large families portray their lives in their vlogs. It aims to contribute to the scientific discussion on YouTube's female vloggers and how this video-sharing platform has been used to express new ways of portraying oneself and how an individual relates to others.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

As explained earlier, this research focused on two YouTube accounts namely *Jamerrill Stewart, Large Family Table* by Jamerill and *Parsnips and Parsimony* by Janelle. Jamerill and Janelle, the respective vloggers, were stay-at-home mothers of eight children and they both home-schooled their children as well. In their vlogs, audiences were invited to see their day-to-day activities, including

home-schooling time, grocery shopping, visits to relatives' houses or any mundane everyday activities they did around their houses. The justification for choosing these two vloggers was the identities they displayed which heavily emphasised motherhood, large families, frugal lifestyles and home-schooling in comparison with other female vloggers on YouTube. As argued by Chae (2015), contemporary motherhood was characterised by an intensive mothering ideology, comparison and competition, and these were associated with the media. Jamerill and Janelle represented not only the scrutiny of who could become the perfect mother, but also the "real" struggle of motherhood as they dealt with their eight children and chose to maintain a frugal lifestyle.

By conducting a digital ethnography of the vlogs since 2015, this analysis focused on how female vloggers controlled their self-presentation of femininity, family life and motherhood while utilising YouTube as a personal online diary. For the last 4 years, every vlog (1365 videos on *Parsnips and Parsimony* and 464 videos on *Jamerrill Stewart, Large Family Table*) had been analysed as soon as it was posted, which is a benefit of digital ethnographies in which a researcher was able to be an active observer of their vlogging activities. The main research method was content/textual analysis, as vlogs were categorised based on reappearing topics, for example, home-schooling, frugality or how they disciplined their children. After categorising the vlogs by topic, selected parts of the vlog were further analysed for self-presentations of

being a housewife/stay-at-home mother and non-idealised portrayals of a large family. The comments on each vlog and how these female vloggers responded to these comments were also analysed. Similar to conducting participant observation in ethnography, comments that drew new insights on the dynamics of the interaction between the vloggers and the commentators were interpreted in relation to the aforementioned issues. For example, one of the most repeated comments was on how well-behaved the children were. Hence, one of the issues to be analysed in this article was the vlogger's choice not to sensationalise the children's misbehaviour as a part of their agency in controlling their self-presentation.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Presentation of the Self in Social Media

Erving Goffman's conceptualisation of self-presentation within social interactions has been used by many scholars in the fields of sociology and media studies to make sense of how an individual portrays a particular impression of him- or herself in response to an audience's expectations. By constructing this image, according to Goffman (1956), the individual has effectively projected what is expected out of them by the audience. Goffman (1956) also pointed out:

Self-presentation has different degrees, and everything depends on the social context. For example, an individual would act in a calculating manner to evoke particular responses

from the audience. Sometimes, an individual is calculating every single thing in his or her action without even realising that he or she is trying to construct particular impressions. All in all, when the individual presents himself before others, this performance will tend to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of the society, more so, in fact, than does his behaviour as a whole. (p. 23).

Many scholars have argued Goffman's notion of self-presentation in everyday lives is an insightful and substantial subject of analysis; however, Psathas (1996) had criticised the lack of systemic organisation of his work even though Psathas further on explained how Goffman's work could be read in many ways. West's (1996) evaluation of Goffman mapped out his arguments in relevance to feminist studies and argued that "Goffman's legacy to this field, then, is twofold: 1) an appreciation of how power works in spoken interactions between women and men, and 2) an appreciation of mundane conversation as the means of discovering this" (p. 360). Furthermore, Goffman (1956) provided an understanding that power prevailed in everyday social settings and interactions as individuals constructed impressions to maintain social equilibrium. Within this social context, there is an ideal standard created by the powerful group; therefore, in self-presentation, one has a variety of communication techniques available for the specific purpose of fitting into the ideal standard.

Goffman's conceptualisation of self-presentation in the social stage has opened the discussion on the relationship between the audience and producers within mass-mediated social interaction (Ytreberg, 2002). Sannicolas (1997) conducted research on online relationships and how people using chat rooms portrayed themselves not as who they were but more as how they would like a potential partner to see them. However, Sannicolas also argued that this social stage was unique since there was a lack of face-to-face presence that gave the actor far greater control and the opportunity to present "the ideal self" while sustaining that presentation throughout the interaction. This is the main difference between physical interaction and interactions in media and social media, which means the idea of self-representation needs to be profoundly contextualised within the specificity of the case study.

Self-Presentation: The "Real" Housewives of YouTube

Strangelove (2010) argued that understanding how YouTube worked was significant in order to problematise the post-television (TV) era. The TV is no longer the most substantial everyday technology; amateur videos uploaded on YouTube in a more constant and profligate way have been embraced as the new medium to see the everyday reality of ordinary people. YouTube users are concerned with what is real and authentic because they watch these videos online.

In these amateur videos, creators are basically performing their day-to-day

activities and sharing what they do with the YouTube audience. A vlogger becomes a performer who regulates and controls their own appearance. As explained earlier, Goffman's approach has been used to understand the dynamic of the online presence of the self. Hogan (2010), in reference to Goffman, wrote that since an individual presented an idealised version of themselves on the social stage, the authentic self was evaluated in this conceptualisation of self-representation. In other words, particularly in social media analysis, the discussion of the "real" and "authentic" will always be problematic. Furthermore, this performance is also limited to the context of YouTube as the virtual social space.

Jamerill and Janelle were housewives who used YouTube to archive their everyday activities and presented it to the public. Both housewives were originally bloggers and ran their own online businesses from home. Jamerill had a home-schooling blog which provided free materials for other home-schooling mothers, which was the reason why she decided to open a YouTube channel in August 2010, although she had only actively vlogged since the birth of her son Daniel in 2014. According to some of her videos, particularly her country-porch chat videos, in which she sat down on her porch and talked to the camera for around 20-40 minutes explaining particular subjects or answering questions from the comments section, she stated that she wanted to help other mothers did low-budget home-schooling while living a frugal country life. Her eight children (the youngest having

been born in July 2017) were often featured in her videos. Meanwhile, her husband, Travis, was almost invisible in her videos.

Concurrently, Janelle runs several different online businesses. Besides running her blog, www.parnsipandparsimony.com, she (and her husband) used to sell things they found in garage sales on eBay. They quit eBay earlier this year as they decided to clean their house and started purging all the superfluous items while keeping only what they needed. Janelle is also a part-time Emergency Medical Technician and a consultant for Thirty-One Gifts, an online business that gives women the opportunity to run their own successful businesses selling fashionable and functional products. Her husband, Art, and seven children are often seen in her videos. Unlike Jamerill, who shares her life experience with the audience in her videos, Janelle's videos are mostly daily vlogs sharing her family's everyday activities, which means that viewers can see her children and her husband in almost all her videos.

The banners these vloggers used on their channels depict the main theme of their vlogs or what they wanted to convey to their subscribers or other audiences. The name of Jamerill's channel had changed frequently over the last few years. Initially, it used to be *Jamerrill Stewart* but in 2015, she changed

it to *The Encouraging Homeschooling Mom*. In 2016, she decided to have two channels and added a channel focusing on food and meal planning (*The Large Family Table*), while the other channel solely focuses on home-schooling. She finally decided to merge the two channels and name them *Jamerrill's Large Family Table*. In 2019, she changed her channel name to *Jamerrill Stewart, Large Family Table*. This flexibility and control over her channel, as she often reconfigures what she wants to focus on, could be read as her authority and agency in framing the way she wants to present herself (and her family).

Figure 1 showed the signifiers Jamerill used to introduce herself to her audience. She used her own photograph and not a photograph of all her children and husband. She also used the tagline "helping you feed all your people", expressing the idea of her responsibility to feed her large family, which was also reflected in the pictures of a shopping cart filled with food, kitchen utensils and a fully stocked freezer. The subjects of "food" and 'motherhood' were what was to be expected from her vlogs. As explained by Goffman (1956), individuals often foster the impression that the routine they were presently performing was their only routine, or at least their most essential one. By emphasising the representations of



Figure 1. The banner from Jamerill's YouTube channel in April 2019

food and motherhood, Jamerrill's routines as a mother manifested in cooking food for her large family and taking care of her children, became her sole identity. Therefore, the audience, in their turn, often assume that the character projected before them is all there is to the actor, which in turn constructs a particular image of what kind of mother Jamerill is in front of her audience.

The other case study, *Parsnips and Parsimony*, has been using the same name since the family first broadcast their YouTube channel in February 2014.

Unlike Jamerill, in Figure 2, Janelle used family photographs on her channel, which was updated in December 2016 when Lilian, their youngest daughter, was born. As mentioned earlier, this could be interpreted as an indication of what is to be expected from the channel. The tagline "Right Family, Wrong Century" indicates the family's tendency to lead a unique life which does not embrace modernity. In their channel, they often post frugal family financial planning because, besides home-schooling, *Parsnips and Parsimony* is a channel focusing on how to manage a large-family budget in the most frugal way. They do not follow the modern ideal lifestyle portrayed in mainstream

media. For example, they do not let their children watch TV, except the Olympics, documentaries or other educational shows. They also rear their own chickens and have a small fruit and vegetable garden where they grow produce for their daily needs. The way they run their everyday lives is more similar to the lifestyles of the pilgrims or early inhabitants of America. It is an ambiguous lifestyle where they distance themselves from modern life and yet use YouTube and the Internet as a space of social interaction and to earn some money.

In April 2018, Janelle changed her banner (Figure 3) and changed the tagline into "Celebrating family and the things that matter the most". Based on these changes, there was less emphasis on a traditional lifestyle and more on the idea of celebrating family. However, the content of the vlogs still emphasised frugality and a non-consumptive lifestyle.

Banners, for both Jamerill and Janelle, are the first impression the audience gets of their channels. When the interaction initiated by first impressions is itself merely an initial interaction, people often speak of "getting off on the right foot" and feel that it is crucial that to do so (Goffman, 1956).

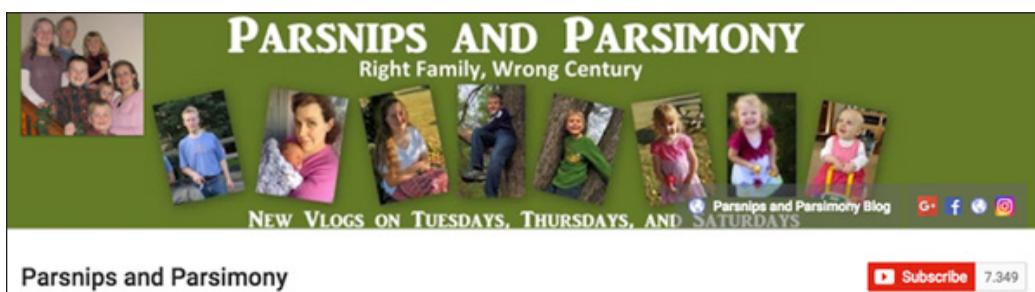


Figure 2. The previous banner from Janelle's YouTube channel



Figure 3. The updated banner from Janelle's YouTube channel

These two vloggers get off on the right foot by showing their audience that they are mothers with large families who put a high priority on those families.

Jamerill and Janelle are also presenting themselves as “real” housewives, as the nature of vlogs is to capture everyday life. Self-presentation is a way to attract a particular audience, and the expected reactions are important for how the vloggers decide to present themselves. Both women are aiming to present the “real” versions of themselves as housewives. However, what they convey as “real” is already altered; they have narrowed down what the audience can watch from their vlogs. Jamerill’s focus on home-schooling, which is a result of her home-schooling website, is a construction of the parts of her life she wants to share with her audience. Janelle’s proclamation that family and “things that matter the most” are her main priority could also be seen as a form of self-presentation which limits the expectations audiences could have of her lifestyle. The next section of the article will look at how these two women are actually contesting the idea of presenting their

idealised versions, because in many of their videos, despite editing, there are moments where they focus on how their family is not ideal.

A Non-Idealised Version of a Large Family

The evolution of YouTube has transformed it into a TV-like medium. This challenges the dominant structural, economic and power relations of TV as an old form of mainstream media. In the early 2000s, reality shows, for example, became some of the most popular programmes on TV. One might argue that this reflects a craving for “reality” or the depiction of “authentic” everyday lives. After 2008, in the midst of the American economic recession, the Real Housewives franchise, which revolves around glamorous lifestyles, became one of the most popular reality programmes on TV (Lee & Moscovitz, 2013). This reality show franchise has constructed and affirmed a stereotypical portrayal of women, particularly housewives, in the mainstream media. Lee and Moscovitz (2013) stated:

Sacrificing motherhood, empathy and altruism, the rich bitch, a bourgeois feminine character done up as a cartoonish trope, pursues selfish material gains single-mindedly. Always gendered (female), always classed (leisure), and almost always racialised (white), she functions at a cultural crossroads where class antagonisms can be articulated and traditional gender roles can be reasserted. (p.65).

These housewives were portrayed as “rich bitches”, and the fact that they were in a reality show accentuated their seemingly realistic lives. A number of scholarly works have argued about the authenticity of these reality shows, mainly because most of them are scripted. I would not argue that these reality shows are parallel to my chosen case studies; however, it is necessary to contextualise the YouTube vlogs of “ordinary” American urban housewives within mainstream media representations.

Another reality show which can be compared to the two vlog case studies is *19 Kids & Counting*, a reality show about Michelle and Jim Bob Duggar and their 19 children. The show’s main appeal or even source of controversy, besides its religious discussions, is as follows (Mesaros-Winkle, 2012), “... it is relatable to anyone - regardless of religious affiliation - interested in putting family first ... Television

programmes such as *19 Kids & Counting* often contain a traditional family structure, with all other family structures portrayed as the ‘before conversion’ example of secular society” (p.68).

The representation of housewives and large families in mainstream media, which is a recent development in American society, is not exclusively introduced on YouTube because it has been portrayed by several forms of mainstream media. However, as mentioned earlier, these reality shows are scripted with sensational events and incidents. The acts presented mostly aim at attracting emotional reactions from the audience because one nature of TV is to ensure that people keep coming back for more episodes. Reality shows on TV might be showing the sensational and shambolic side of family lives to attract more viewers. In other words, the more sensational it is, the more it gives revenues to the producers and TV stations.

Jamerrill and Janelle’s vlogs represent a shift in how large-family lives are depicted in an audio-visual medium. In these YouTube vlogs, despite the editing process, messy family lives can still be seen. Both the vloggers explain that they intentionally do not show, for example, how their children misbehave. However, it is interesting to actually see that some of these misbehaviours are sometimes caught in camera and both the vloggers, who edit their own vlogs, decide to retain these scenes. The messy frame of large-family

life, in comparison with reality shows on TV, is not sensational or scandalous and is even boring at times, because it is something which could happen in almost anyone's life. However, the mundane nature of the vloggers' everyday lives with the occasional portrayal of the complexities of a large family is the main attraction that is different from reality shows. YouTube represents a transformation in the structure of our media-saturated culture. This is a transformation of who is saying what to whom, which is both simple and profound in its consequences (Strangelove, 2010). These housewives are sharing their intimate private lives and have transformed the way the complexities of American family lives could be perceived in a media-saturated culture by showing that family dynamics can no longer be sensationalised as depicted in reality shows on TV.

Both channels often share how messy their house can get and their misbehaving children. In one video, as shown in Figure 4, Janelle and Art explained to the viewers that the week had been difficult and they had been lacking sleep because Grace, their two-year-old, had been having "... a very strong will and this week have been one of those weeks when she's been a more challenging child ... so we've been putting the camera away making sure she has our full attention and that we are being consistent with what we say and what we ask of her" (Janelle, 2017). They also explained that it took them a long time to even take that short clip because of interruptions from children misbehaving.

In the middle of explaining things (14:07), Janelle and Art's faces turned stern and they looked at the right side of the camera as shown in Figure 4. At that moment, a child was playing on the computer. In another video, as Janelle was making bread with her four-year-old daughter Mary who nearly put the raw dough in her mouth. Janelle stopped her in time while saying "Art, please edit that out". However, Art decided to retain that scene.

Jamerrill, in one of her videos, also showed when her two boys, Gabriel (five) and Liam (seven), were fighting. The audience could not actually see the fight, but could hear Jamerrill describing what is happening:

They're racing back. Liam is crying at Gaby cause Gabriel's beating him. You know how it goes. Gaby won. Oh my. I was just trying to get their cute profiles. Oh my ... oh ... passionate ... passionate words coming. What do you think Amelia? Simmer down boys ... simmer down. (Jamerrill, 2015, August 12, 14:51-15:09).

The ways Jamerrill and Janelle describe their children's misbehaviour reflects the self-presentation of a good and patient parent. Instead of using words like misbehaviour or naughty, the use of subtle words or phrases such as challenging child (Janelle) and passionate words (Jamerrill). Their filming strategies, in which they intentionally avoid capturing these messy moments, can also be seen as their way of controlling the

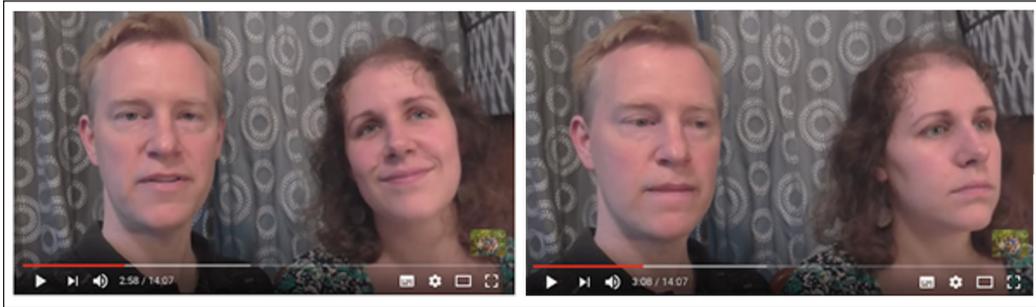


Figure 4. Janelle and Art's faces turn stern and they look at the right side of the camera (Source: Janelle, 2017, July 12, 2:58 and 3:08).

audience's gaze. If an individual is to give expression to ideal standards during her performance, then she will have to forgo or conceal action which is inconsistent with these standards (Goffman, 1956). In presenting themselves, these women do not comply with the ideal standards of being the perfect mother with perfect children. They honestly share these parenting moments. However, unlike reality shows on television, they refused to sensationalise their children's misbehaviour as a spectacle for the audience. They narrate it and tell us the story of the misbehaving children without showing us in the video. Editing becomes a significant factor since unlike physical social interactions, which are the foundation of Goffman's conceptualisation of self-presentation, digital interactions on YouTube between vloggers and their subscribers or audience members are filtered by the editing process. The editing process, which is done by the vloggers themselves, works as a blind that conceals particular actions which might not fit ideal standards. However, my research shows that these women are in control of what they decide to conceal while simultaneously not giving

in to ideal standards of perfect motherhood, leaving them with a strong sense of agency.

The Audience: Online Hostility or Reflexive Interactions

The audience on YouTube observes and monitors the self-presentation of these women, including viewers who give immediate feedback through the comment section. YouTube has also created a community and, like in every community, there will be those who do not play well with others. In the Internet world, such people are known as haters - a person who posts rude or obscene comments. As mentioned earlier, YouTube has become a social space wherein many individuals can interact in many ways. However, online hostility can also be a sign of how the boundaries between private and public lives have been blurred

In one of the vlogs (Janelle, 2017), in the comment section, a viewer had questioned aspects of Janelle and Art's parenting style. The viewer was judging them as bad parents because they asked their son to lift a heavy bag of soil from the car to the front porch that might hurt the boy's back. Due to the nature of immediate

commenting and responding to comments on YouTube, Janelle and Laura (Janelle's sister-in-law) were able to clarify things, though the viewer's opinion remained unchanged. Jamerrill also experienced some criticism of her choice of food, which is seen in her grocery shopping videos. In "Large Family \$90 Quick Grocery Outlet Haul" vlog, Jamerrill talked at length about her food choices due to previous debates in the comment section:

"I have people arguing about their food choices ... arguing about my food choices. Some of my faithful commenters or viewers get attacked because they drink milk or they don't eat meat. We just got a lot of drama going in some grocery haul videos, so I wanna come up with some sort of watching Jamerrill's grocery shopping hauls friendship creed or something. We have to come up with something like "I, by watching this video, will be kind and give each other grace. I will accept my own personal food choices and I will allow other people to accept their personal food choices. Because really, we're all just trying to give the best we can do for our family ... People get passionate about food. We all have our food choices and food opinions. And I'm also saying this because you gonna see marshmallows and Twizzlers and cake mix in this grocery haul and I know that's gonna cause some

drama, so I'm confessing my sins upfront" (Jamerrill, 2016, April 21, 01:10 - 02:18).

In other grocery shopping videos, every time Jamerill shows her full case of instant macaroni and cheese, she apologises and needs to explain her choice of food for her family. For example, in another vlog, she said, "And yes, all the moms are shaking their heads. Yes Jamerrill, it is okay" (Jamerrill, 2016, June 6, 06:45 - 06:50). In some vlogs, she called it her "emergency case of mac and cheese" that she used when her pantry and fridge were empty.

As part of her self-presentation as a mother who decides what food to serve to her family, Jamerill highlights her right to choose what is best for her family. At the same time, she also gently invites her audience to share their reactions to different opinions and views. Lange (2007) argued that online hostility from YouTube users was a product of "assumed online anonymity" and asserted that offline cultural and psychosocial contexts exacerbated online hostility. Strangelove (2010) was of the view that these social interactions in YouTube were "highly reflexive". Much reflection on the norms and ideals of the community exists, along with constant monitoring of others' behaviour.

CONCLUSION

Research findings reveal that YouTube provides alternative self-presentations of a large family living in comparison to what can be found on mainstream TV.

Unlike the formulaic narratives provided by TV and movies, vlogs offer a messier and sometimes unstructured depiction of family life, which audiences can easily relate to in comparison with reality TV. By discarding formulaic narratives, these vlogs are offering something different and are becoming an increasingly popular form of narrative, particularly if how more and more women are using YouTube for the same purpose of archiving their families' everyday lives were considered. More research can be done to contextualise this cultural phenomenon within the American social, cultural or even political situation. This research does not claim that YouTube videos are an alternative to commercially produced content because YouTube is a commercial product and ads in the vlogs form part of the commercialisation process. This can be discussed further in other research. However, amateur online videos/vlogs provide what Strangelove (2010) termed as a fresh new window inviting the audience to look at the unexpected nature of people in their everyday lives including the potential agency. These videos demand the audience's attention and stimulate curiosity in consuming a distinctive way of understanding the dynamics of motherhood and the lives of large families in America.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author would like to acknowledge the financial support provided by the Directorate of Research and Community Engagement through the International Publication

for Final Assignments Research Grant (PITTA Research Grant 491/UN2.R3.2/HKP.05.00/2017) funded by Universitas Indonesia.

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