

University of Mary Washington

Eagle Scholar

Student Research Submissions

Spring 5-12-2021

"The Relationship Between Parasocial Relationships and Grooming as a Problematic Rhetorical Strategy on YouTube"

Freeman Conner

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholar.umw.edu/student_research



Part of the [Communication Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Conner, Freeman, ""The Relationship Between Parasocial Relationships and Grooming as a Problematic Rhetorical Strategy on YouTube"" (2021). *Student Research Submissions*. 418.

https://scholar.umw.edu/student_research/418

This Honors Project is brought to you for free and open access by Eagle Scholar. It has been accepted for inclusion in Student Research Submissions by an authorized administrator of Eagle Scholar. For more information, please contact archives@umw.edu.

The Relationship Between Parasocial Relationships and Grooming as a Problematic Rhetorical
Strategy on YouTube

Conner Freeman

Department of Communications and Digital Studies

About the Author

Conner Freeman is a Communications and Digital Studies major at the University of Mary Washington.

Abstract

With the internet becoming more and more available to younger people, certain risks begin to present themselves. Parasocial interaction and relationships have been around since before the internet, however instances of it have increased due to social media apps like YouTube. This study seeks to analyze the relationship between grooming and parasocial relationships between YouTubers and fans. In order to do this, I use a content analysis to look at how the popular beauty YouTuber James Charles used his platform in order to cultivate parasocial relationships with underaged fans and send sexual messages to them. I analyze his top ten YouTube videos and comments left on those videos to distinguish common features that may contribute to fans developing a parasocial relationship with him. I also look at his recent scandal in order to analyze the connection between the parasocial relationships Charles' underaged fans create with him and the accusations those same underaged fans made about him grooming them.

Keywords: parasocial interaction, parasocial relationship, YouTube, social media, grooming

The Relationship Between Parasocial Relationships and Grooming as a Problematic Rhetorical Strategy on YouTube

1. INTRODUCTION

Parasocial relationships and interactions are concepts created by Horton and Wohl in 1959 in relation to early media like TV and radio. They first defined parasocial interaction as “a media user’s reaction to a media performer such that the media user perceives the performer as an intimate conversational partner” (Horton and Wohl). When this definition was proposed, however, the internet and social media did not exist. Even with the rise of social media influencers, the definition of parasocial interactions does not change much. It does make parasocial interactions much easier to develop because social media sites like YouTube are easily accessible to most people, especially younger people.

YouTube allows viewers to tune in to watch a creator whenever they want, and the company states on its website that its mission is “to give everyone a voice and show them the world” (Youtube.com). Anyone can make and watch content on YouTube, opening up the possibility of misuse on the hand of the content creator to the fan. Comment sections allow for interactivity to happen between content creator and fan, as well as fans to other fans. While this can help to move parasocial relationships into the realm of interpersonal relationships, there is also the danger of sexual harassment that is widespread throughout the internet.

While fan interaction is often touted as being an upside to social media, it also comes with concerns. There is a power imbalance between fans and the creators they look up to. Fans of certain creators are also often underaged, sometimes leaving them unable to recognize this power imbalance and unable to recognize when a creator they look up to is doing something wrong. This can lead to underage fans falling prey to grooming. Grooming can be defined as, “The

process by which an adult, using digital media prepares a minor in order to obtain sexual material from him or her or to sexually abuse him or her” (Machimbarrena, et. al. 3).

In early April 2021, popular beauty YouTube personality James Charles was accused of sending sexual messages to underaged boys. Insider reports that Charles exchanged sexual images with at least two 16-year-old boys that he claimed told him they were eighteen (Tenbarga). In the video response Charles made on the matter, he claims he was “desperate” and that he was “willing to trust too quickly, miss out on red flags” (Charles). Charles also admits there was a “power dynamic” in play given that he is essentially a celebrity and the boys he was making sexual advancements towards felt pressured to reciprocate.

Parasocial relationships between content creators online and fans are unhealthy and can be dangerous when lines are not drawn. Content creators contribute to their fans developing these relationships in the way they interact with fans on social media like Twitter and YouTube comments. Direct messages also contribute to this, creating power imbalances between fan and creator. In order to study this, I will look at James Charles and how he used his status as a way to sexually manipulate his younger fans. To do this, I will analyze James Charles’ top ten videos and comments left on those videos to analyze how their contents lead to fans developing parasocial relationships. I will also look at his April 2021 sexting scandal to analyze connections between these relationships and his accusations of grooming underaged fans.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

There is already research on how parasocial relationships impact an individual that we can look at as a framework for this study. Most of the research centers around TV personalities and celebrities, rather than social media celebrities which reveals a hole in such research.

Parasocial Interaction and Relationships

In order to establish groundwork for studying parasocial interaction, we can look at the article *Parasocial Interaction and Parasocial Relationship: Conceptual Clarification and a Critical Assessment of Measures*. The study featured in this article tests out several different scales previous researchers have used to measure parasocial interaction in order to figure out which one is best suited to use. It also gives background on where parasocial interaction first came about. Horton and Wohl first defined parasocial interaction as “a media user’s reaction to a media performer such that the media user perceives the performer as an intimate conversational partner” (Dibble, Hartmann and Rosaen 21). The study done in the article has participants watch a video of a woman and fill out a questionnaire afterward. There were two different videos that participants were randomly assigned to watch, one with the woman facing the camera directly and another where she is not. The study measured parasocial interaction by using the EPSI-scale, Parasocial-Interaction-scale, Parasocial-Interaction-Process scales, and Tukachinsky’s Parasocial Relationship scales. The conclusion of this study was that the feeling of parasocial interaction is especially triggered when the woman in the video was addressing the viewer by looking directly in the camera (Dibble, Hartmann and Rosaen 38). In the end, the study also found that the EPSI-Scale is most effective in measuring parasocial interaction (Dibble, Hartmann and Rosaen 41).

Research has also been done comparing relationships people have with a media personality to a real-life friend. A previous study seeks to apply the interpersonal models of friendships and the exploratory mediated model to parasocial relationships. The study was done via survey where participants were randomly assigned either a survey asking them to focus on a close friend or a survey asking them to focus on their favorite mediated personality. From the surveys, researchers were able to conclude that parasocial relationships are experienced much like real-world social relationships, however real-world friendships were found to have more

significance in participants lives when compared to PSRs (Eyal and René 774). Both models used supported that friendships and parasocial relationships are similar.

Previous research has looked at how scandal plays a part in how parasocial interactions and relationships are formed and broken. I study was done using various videos of George Clooney to measure participant's parasocial relationships and parasocial interactions.

Participants were randomly assigned to watch either a video on a Clooney scandal and a movie starring him, just the movie, the scandal video, and a talk show with Clooney, or just the talk show. The results from this study found that parasocial interactions was positively related to parasocial relationships in all conditions except for when participants watched the scandal video and movie together (Hu 225). Because of this, the author states, "when researchers investigate parasocial interaction across different media, they should take into account not only personae attributes but also media characteristics and viewing contexts" (Hu 226).

YouTube and Parasocial Interaction and Relationships

Because YouTube is much more popular with younger people, it is important to look at why YouTube personalities have such success with that audience. In their article *The YouTubers Phenomenon: What Makes YouTube Stars so Popular for Young People?* researchers analyze two popular YouTube content creators' videos in order to examine what makes them successful. The study looked at the video's contents, performance, and aesthetics. The conclusions the researchers draw from their analysis that these YouTubers focus on humor and avoid talking about things happening outside the internet (Fillol et. al 118). They state that children are "seeking someone who shares their language and can provoke easy laughter" (Fillol et. al. 119). This personability makes fans more likely to develop parasocial relationships with YouTubers they follow.

In order for YouTube personalities to establish trust with their fans and grow in popularity, they must maintain their brand. Influencers are regarded as their own brand but maintaining this human brand is difficult since one slip up could ruin it forever. People like it when brands stay consistent and that is not something humans generally do. “Branding is inextricably tied to marketing; however, the concept of self-branding does not fit neatly as a subset of branding and scaling the branding concept down to the individual is problematic” (Ang et. al. 2). Humans rarely stay constant and expecting a human brand to stay the same throughout time will only lead to fans feeling disappointed.

When thinking about how YouTubers become popular and trusted within their fanbase, something else to look at is how they present themselves physically. Especially in the beauty community, the idea of the beautiful is good effect is prevalent. The article *What is Beautiful is Good Because what is Beautiful is Desired: Physical Attractiveness Stereotyping as Projection of Interpersonal Goals* seeks to understand the reasons and mechanisms behind this effect and why people generally perceive traditionally attractive individuals as more sociable, trustworthy, and kind. The study uses a survey that looks at the participants attraction to a variety of people. The results found evidence supporting the prediction that projection of interpersonal desires explains the beautiful-is-good effect (Lemay, Clark, and Greenberg 350).

Most research on parasocial relationships focus on a person’s relationship with either a TV personality or celebrity. However, with the rise of YouTube and internet personalities more studies are beginning to focus on how fans interact with internet celebrities parasocially. One study conducts research reminiscent of an earlier study on PSRs with TV characters, however instead using YouTube. The article states, “[T]he interactive nature of digital environments like Facebook and Twitter promoted parasocial interaction and encourages some users to develop

more parasocial relationships than interpersonal ones” (Kurtin et. al. 236). The study done in the article was conducted by a survey to undergraduate students in order to study their YouTube exposure, parasocial relationships, attraction, and relationship importance. The study concludes that more time on YouTube leads to more parasocial relationships with YouTube personalities (Kurtin et. al. 245).

In the article *Tweens' Wishful Identification and Parasocial Relationships with Youtubers*, the authors surveyed a group of children between the ages of 9-12 to examine their parasocial relationship with the YouTubers they watch. The results of this survey found that YouTube is embedded in the lives of tweens and that the strength of a parasocial relationship that was formed related to the time the tween spent watching that YouTuber (Tolbert and Drogos 8). When the YouTuber has direct contact with a fan, that relationship can evolve into the impersonal realm. However, this can still be dangerous since there is a wide power imbalance between the fan and content creator.

RQ 1: What ways do internet personalities cultivate parasocial relationships?

In order to study what features a video has that contributes to the creation of parasocial relationships, researchers have collected videos and analyzed what features lead to parasocial relationships. The videos gathered were coded by their self-disclosure, video genre, gender, production features, and parasocial attributes. The conclusion of this content analysis found that vlogs were the best genre for presenting all three types of self-disclosure (positive, neutral, negative) and gaming-related videos came in second place (Ferchaud et. al. 93). It also found that self-disclosure was positively associated with higher levels of authenticity and that women were associated with higher levels of realism when compared to men (Ferchaud et. al. 93-94).

With the internet becoming more and more accessible to children, risks like cyberbullying, cyber dating abuse, online grooming, and problematic internet use are becoming a large issue. The article *Internet Risks: An Overview of Victimization in Cyberbullying, Cyber Dating Abuse, Sexting, Online Grooming and Problematic Internet Use* seeks to determine comorbidity between these risks. The article defines grooming as, “The process by which an adult, using digital media prepares a minor in order to obtain sexual material from him or her or to sexually abuse him or her” (Machimbarrena et. al. 3). Internet personalities like YouTubers have the ability to manipulate fans since they are looked up to and trusted. The article uses a questionnaire to analyze participants’ experience with these internet risks. The results in relation to grooming found cyberbullying was the most common risk, with cyberbullying-grooming being the most common combination at 12.6% (Machimbarrena et. al. 9). This particular study also found grooming risks to be much higher when compared to similar studies at 16.6% (Machimbarrena et. al. 10). Because parasocial relationships create such lopsided bonds between YouTube content creators and fans, the risk for grooming and sexual harassment from the content creator to the fan is a risk.

RQ 2: In what ways do parasocial relationships contribute to the risk of grooming?

Parasocial relationships with YouTuber’s can also be beneficial to brands looking to use the YouTuber to endorse them. Rasmusen states in an article related to branding on YouTube, “In a world filled with celebrity endorsers, the intimacy YouTube provides can be appealing to brands” (Rasmussen 282). The study done in the article particularly looks at beauty vloggers. Participants were randomly selected to either watch a video from a beauty vlogger with 2 million or more subscribers or a video from a beauty vlogger with 100,00-250,000 subscribers. A control group watched cartoon clips of nonspeaking animals. A questionnaire was then given to

participants to examine their response to the marketing used by the beauty vlogger. The results of this study found that the majority of participants saw the YouTuber as a credible source no matter how many subscribers they had (Rasmussen 289). It also found that 68% of respondents were more likely to purchase an item reviewed by the more popular YouTuber, while 53% responded they would buy it from the less popular YouTuber (Rasmussen 289). The author concludes, “The power of the YouTube celebrity as a means to connect an organization with a very targeted audience is clear” (Rasmussen 292). The parasocial relationship that viewers develop with a YouTuber adds to the viewer’s likelihood to purchase a product recommended by the YouTuber.

When looking at YouTubers and advertising, loyalty toward a specific creator is also rooted in parasocial behavior. In the article *Exploring the determinants of Viewers’ Loyalty toward Beauty YouTubers: A Parasocial Interaction Perspective*, the authors explore how parasocial interaction plays a part in loyalty toward a beauty YouTuber as well as the determinants of parasocial interaction. To research this, the authors conducted a survey that looks at female users who have followed beauty YouTuber’s channels. The results of the study found that viewers’ perception of beauty YouTubers’ expertise is the biggest deterrent of parasocial interaction, followed by likability and similarity (Ko and Wu 84). Self-disclosure also plays a role in determining parasocial interaction between viewers and YouTubers. The study also found that stronger PSI meant stronger loyalty toward beauty YouTubers.

3. METHOD

This study uses content analysis to analyze the way James Charles presents himself on his channel and how that can lead to fans having parasocial interactions with him that could develop into a parasocial relationship. James Charles is a twenty-one-year-old YouTube celebrity with

over 25.5 million subscribers. He has been involved in a variety of scandals during his five years on YouTube. His most recent one involved him sending suggestive messages and sexual pictures to underaged boys. He has admitted to this being true. However, he also states that the boys told him they were eighteen at the time.

I have specifically looked at James Charles' top ten videos and listed common themes within them. I first sorted them into categories based on genre and came out with four different genres: collaboration, review, reaction, and other. From the top ten videos on Charles' channel, six of them fit into the collaboration genre, three in reaction and review, and one in the 'apology' genre. I also collect and analyze several comments left on these videos by Charles' fans.

4. RESULTS

Looking at these genres individually allows us to pick out several themes common in Charles' videos. Generally, younger people tend to enjoy YouTubers that focus on humor and avoid talking about things that are happening in the world outside of the internet (Fillol et. al. 118). When looking at James Charles' top videos, this seems to be the case as well.

Collaboration Videos

Out of the ten videos, collaboration videos are Charles' most popular at six out of ten. This is not surprising since collaborating with other large creators allows Charles to reach a wider audience. Because Charles is interacting with other people, he comes across as more personable and likable. Both Charles and his guests still regard the audience as being like another person in the room with them. YouTuber creators often aim to have this feeling of inclusion in their videos. Their content regards the audience directly by using eye contact, phrases that include the viewer, and plain, non-distracting backgrounds.

The comment sections for these videos are relatively positive. The majority of the comments talk about how Charles and his guests look and how they interact with each other. On a video where Charles collaborates with TikTok star Charlie D'Amelio, one commenter states, "James keep doing what you're doing cause you are making a lot of people happy with your talent and beauty" (Sejal Patil). Looking through the comment sections, it is clear people who care enough to comment look up to Charles and often look up to the people he has on his channel as well.

Reaction and Review

The second most popular genres of videos consist of review and reaction videos. One is a review of a fake make-up pallet that is trying to emulate his own make-up pallet. Another is a 'challenge' type video where Charles uses art supplies as makeup. The last video features Charles watching and reacting to TikToks about himself. All three of these videos have Charles directly addressing the audience, allowing the audience to feel like they are part of the video and have some sort of relationship with Charles. They also feature his own opinions allowing him to self-disclose to his viewers. Charles' reacting to TikTok videos about himself also targets a younger audience because the app is most popular with younger people. He is making fun of himself in the video, which adds humor and shows that he is relatable.

Studies show viewer feel more trusting toward a content creator when they self-disclose about themselves, leading to increased parasocial tendencies (Ferchaud et. al. 91). In a few of these videos, Charles also takes the viewer along while he visits stores to pick up items for the video, making them feel like a vlog and making the audience feel included in his adventure. Studies determined that vlogs are the best genre for self-disclosure (Ferchaud et. al. 93). This can

be seen in the video titled “I Bought A FAKE James Charles Palette” where Charles takes viewers along while he purchases the fake palette in Downtown Los Angeles.

Comments left on these videos include comments about how talented he is at make-up and one user stating, “James is literally so caring, it kills me inside” (Maggie G). Interesting enough, this comment was left after news of his 2021 scandal broke out. There are also a number of positive comments relating to Charles’ looks.

Apology

The last video in James Charles’ ten most popular videos is a video response to a previous allegation made against him. Before the situation talked about previously in this paper, Charles was also a part of another scandal that was later proven false. Another YouTuber, Tati Westbrook, accused Charles of sexual misconduct toward straight men. Charles defends himself and proves comments made about him were false by bringing up screenshots of text conversations and videos that contradict the allegations. Because Charles was able to successfully defend himself by providing evidence, allowing fans to continue trusting him. While this initially caused his subscriber count to tank, Charles’ popularity came out of the scandal relatively unscathed.

When looking and the comments for this video, it is a stark difference when compared to the previous video’s comments. Because this video was uploaded back in 2019, many of the recent comments are on the subject of his recent scandal and how it “did not age well”. However, when looking at comments posted before his recent scandal came to light, there are many positive ones made by users who accept Charles’ story. One user commenting, “The more I rewatch this, the more I love James for who he is. He really didn’t deserve this. I also realize how much more mature he handled this” (Mushymelowdino).

5. DISCUSSION

This analysis adds to pre-existing literature on parasocial relationships by analyzing popular YouTube personality James Charles and how his top ten videos contribute to increased parasocial relationships between him and his fans. The initial question posed for this research study was: What ways do internet personalities cultivate parasocial relationships? When looking at James Charles most popular videos, we can see several ways in which he contributes to these parasocial relationships with his fans.

First, we can see in all his videos, he regards the audience as a member of the conversation and as a friend. This attitude is most prevalent in his collaboration videos. Because he is interacting with others who also show this behavior to the viewer. This leads to the viewer to regard them all as friends, even though they have never met or interacted.

Secondly, James Charles makes a point to self-disclose to his viewers about his life. This helps viewers feel closer to him and aides in creating the one-sided relationship. Rasmussen concludes in their research that “relationship building is occurring among viewers who watch YouTube celebrities” (289). The way Charles lets viewers into his personal life through his videos allows fans to build that relationship with him, despite not self-disclosing themselves.

Charles also aims his videos toward a younger audience. He participates in challenges that appeal to a younger audience, makes content about the app TikTok, and collaborates with other creators whose content trends toward a younger audience. A younger audience is also less likely to see fault in their favorite creator, leading them to blindly follow them no matter what they do. This study does not seek to answer whether Charles’ fans forgave him and still follow his content after his scandal, however he still has over 25 million followers on YouTube.

Through looking at comments on Charles' content, we can also see how his fans react to his videos and gain a little insight on their relationship with the YouTuber. The majority of the comment sections on the videos I looked at were positive. Most users were recounting moments in the video that they enjoyed or found particularly funny. There were also commenters commenting about how much they like Charles' content and how much it means to them. While we can not draw any concrete conclusions from these comments, it is clear that many people look up to Charles and enjoy the content he creates.

Grooming and Power Imbalances

The second research question looked at in this study was: Do parasocial relationships contribute to the idea of grooming? When looking at Charles' top ten videos, it is clear that he has created a brand based on being a personable, relatable person. He makes fun of himself, laughs with his friends, and generally presents himself as a good person. However, when someone with power like Charles interacts with people who look up to them, a large power imbalance is created between the two. In an Insider article about his sexting scandal, one of the boys who came forward with allegations, accusing Charles of repeatedly sending nude photos and accusing Charles of grooming (Dodgson).

The boys Charles messaged trusted him due to the way Charles presented himself on his YouTube channel. They likely had some sort of parasocial relationship with Charles given they were followers of his content.

6. CONCLUSION

This study aimed to answer the two questions: What ways do internet personalities cultivate parasocial relationships? And do parasocial relationships contribute to the idea of grooming? To answer these questions, I looked at beauty YouTuber James Charles, specifically his top ten most

popular YouTube videos, the comments on those videos, as well as his most recent sexting scandal. I also looked at past research to come to my conclusions.

With relation to the first question, my research found that several factors that determine whether a certain video contributes to a parasocial relationship. When YouTube creators address the audience personally, self-disclose about their life, and create content largely aimed toward a younger audience, the risk of parasocial relationship development increases. Research relating to the second question concludes that yes, parasocial relationships do have the possibility to contribute to grooming. When looking at James Charles' victims, they report feeling pressured to engage in the sexting Charles initiated.

This study is not without limitations. Due to time constraints and limited resources, information to delve deeper into the topic of parasocial relationships and grooming was not possible. Further research should be done on this topic in the future. It would be beneficial to interview or survey fans of a particular content creator to understand their relationship and feelings toward that creator better.

Work Cited

- Ang, Lawrence, Khamis, Susie, and Welling, Raymond. "Self-Branding, 'Micro-Celebrity' and the Rise of Social Media Influencers." *Celebrity Studies* [Online], (2016). Web. 17 Apr. 2021.
- Charles, James. "holding myself accountable." *YouTube*, uploaded by James Charles, 1 Apr. 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GsjwRp8_IWA.
- Dibble, Jayson L., et al. "Parasocial Interaction and Parasocial Relationship: Conceptual Clarification and a Critical Assessment of Measures." *Human Communication Research*, vol. 42, no. 1, Jan. 2016, pp. 21–44. EBSCOhost, doi:10.1111/hcre.12063.
- Dodgson, Lindsay. "'I'm Desperate': EXPERTS UNPACK JAMES CHARLES' Excuse for His Teen Sexting Scandal." 15 Apr. 2021. Web. 21 Apr. 2021.
- Eyal, Keren, and RenéM. Dailey. "Examining Relational Maintenance in Parasocial Relationships." *Mass Communication & Society*, vol. 15, no. 5, Sept. 2012, pp. 758–781. EBSCOhost, doi:10.1080/15205436.2011.616276.
- Ferchaud, Arianne, et. al. "Parasocial Attributes and Youtube Personalities: Exploring Content Trends Across the Most Subscribed Youtube Channels." *Computers in Human Behavior* [Online], 7.1 (2018): 80 (2018) 88-96. Web. 17 Apr. 2021
- Fillol, Joana, Moura, Pedro, and Pereira, Sara. "The YouTubers Phenomenon: What Makes YouTube Stars So Popular for Young People?" *Journal of Communication* [Online], 12 (2018): 107-123. Web. 17 Apr. 2021.
- Greenberg, Aaron, Clark, Margaret S., and Lemay, Edward P. "What Is Beautiful Is Good Because What Is Beautiful Is Desired: Physical Attractiveness Stereotyping as Projection

- of Interpersonal Goals.” *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* [Online], 36.3 (2010): 339-353. Web. 17 Apr. 2021
- Horton, D., & Wohl, R. (1956). Mass communication and para-social interaction: Observations on intimacy at a distance. *Psychiatry*, 19, 215–229.
- Hu, Mu. “The Influence of a Scandal on Parasocial Relationship, Parasocial Interaction, and Parasocial Breakup.” *Psychology of Popular Media Culture*, vol. 5, no. 3, July 2016, pp. 217–231. EBSCOhost, doi:10.1037/ppm0000068.
- Ko, Hsiu-Chia and Wu, Wen-Nig. “Exploring the Determinants of Viewers’ Loyalty toward Beauty YouTubers: A Parasocial Interaction Perspective.” *Association for Computing Machinery* [Online], 17 (2017): 81-86. Web. 17 Apr. 2021
- Kurtin, Kate, Nina O'Brien, Deya Roy, & Linda Dam. "The Development of Parasocial Interaction Relationships on YouTube." *The Journal of Social Media in Society* [Online], 7.1 (2018): 233-252. Web. 17 Apr. 2021.
- Machimbarrena, Juan M., Et. Al. “Internet Risks: An Overview of Victimization in Cyberbullying, Cyber Dating Abuse, Sexting, Online Grooming and Problematic Internet Use.” *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* [Online], 15 (2018). Web. 17 Apr. 2021.
- Maggie G. Comment on “I Bought A FAKE James Charles Palette.” *YouTube*, 18 Dec. 2018.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hthcWCOxyUs&t=208s>
- Mushymelowdino. Comment on “No More Lies.” *YouTube*, 18 May 2019.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uFvtCUzfyL4&t=6s>
- Sejal Patil. Comment on “Doing Charlri D’Amelio’s Makeup!” *YouTube*, 20 Mar. 2020.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J5wqeUewAXk>

Rasmussen, Leslie. "Parasocial Interaction in the Digital Age: An Examination of Relationship Building and the Effectiveness of YouTube Celebrities." *The Journal of Social Media in Society* [Online], 7.1 (2018): 280-294. Web. 17 Apr. 2021

Tolbert, Amanda N, and Drogos, Kristin L. "Tweens' Wishful Identification and Parasocial Relationships with YouTubers." *Frontiers in Psychology* 10 (2019): 2781. Web. "Youtube." Web. 18 Apr. 2021.