ADOLESCENTS AND YOUTUBE: CREATION, PARTICIPATION AND CONSUMPTION

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RESUMEN
Este trabajo pretende describir cómo los adolescentes usan YouTube como canal de expresión y como un espacio para el empoderamiento cultural. A tal fin, desde una perspectiva comunicológica, se presenta una revisión de la investigación existente sobre YouTube, haciendo especial énfasis en las facetas que son aplicables en el ámbito de la adolescencia, con el fin de examinar más de cerca aspectos como los comportamientos e interacciones audiovisuales; su consumo; los sujetos y narrativas canalizadas en esta plataforma; el fenómeno de los youtubers; los usos existentes; la popularidad y la naturaleza viral; y las características de los videos. Por último, se hace una propuesta sobre los aspectos que se pueden estudiar en el futuro.

ABSTRACT
This paper seeks to describe how adolescents use YouTube as a channel for expression and a space for cultural empowerment. To that end, from a communicological perspective, this is a review of the existing research into YouTube, placing particular emphasis on facets that can be transposed to the field of adolescence, in order to examine more closely aspects such as audiovisual behaviours and interactions; consumption; subjects and narratives channelled in this platform; the YouTubers phenomenon; uses; popularity and viral nature; and the characteristics of the videos. Finally, a proposal is made about aspects that can be studied in the future.

Palabras clave
Youtube; videos; adolescentes.

Keywords
YouTube; videos; adolescents.
1. Introduction

In a context in which the video culture and audiovisual interactions are progressively on the rise, this paper attempts to explore the communicative experiences of adolescents on the YouTube platform, taking into consideration that the development of this type of imaging technology enables both the consumption of audiovisual content and its production and distribution.

The main objective is to describe how adolescents use this channel of expression as a space for cultural empowerment, a place for constructing identity, where multiple communities are generated based upon which bonds of belonging are woven together. YouTube is a platform that enables sharing and commenting on videos, which have become authentic nodes that shape relationships and make other means of communication possible through favourites or video groupings.

From a communicological perspective, this paper reviews the existing research about YouTube in its connection with adolescence, in order to research more closely audiovisual behaviours and interactions; consumption; subjects and narratives that appear on this type of platform; and specific phenomena such as YouTubers, the uses made of videos, video characteristics, and popularity levels and viral nature.

YouTube, one of the most-used websites worldwide, is a web platform focusing on video sharing, with the capacity to allow them to be managed in different ways. Together with the commercial logic within it, it is a site where the audiovisual documents play a relevant role. It is a platform which thrives on the need to communicate (in this case through audiovisual pieces, comments and “like” or
“dislike” reactions, among others), a space that is propitious for adolescence as regards innovation in forms of communication and expression.

In short, this paper centres on the domestic perspective, on its possibilities as a communication space with its own language, which presupposes interaction with others and the possibility of being perceived by others at different levels, with the intention of revealing those aspects that require further exploration.

2. Adolescence and social networks

The starting point of this paper is the review conducted by Subrahmanyam, Greenfield and Michikyan (2015) of the most significant aspects of the connection between adolescence and social media.

In addition to general uses, one of the issues addressed is the idea of privacy and intimacy. There are many different studies that indicate adolescents make conscious use of social media when presenting images and ideas. This would demonstrate their capacity to control the public, partially public or private dimension of the information that they present to others. Likewise, it confirms their capacity to control access to their own profile, the content they want to divulge and the list of people with whom they interacts (Madden, Lenhart, Cortesi, Gasser, Duggan & Smith, 2013).

Another relevant aspect is that which refers to the nature and quality of the adolescents' relationships, as well as the influence on their wellbeing. The use of social media has much to do with contact with friends, the search for support and the cultivation of “emotional ties”. Although it has been said on occasion that instant
messaging is a replacement for face-to-face conversation, in actual fact these tools amplify offline contact and peer networks.

However, Callejo and Gutiérrez (2014) make reference to the concept of dialogue as the current trend in which the current flow of information never closes. There is no final word or anything that allows the topic to conclude; this could result in something of a somewhat potentially addictive nature. From their point of view, the immediacy, synchrony and deterritorialisation of social media influence the existence of a low level of reasoning, together with rapid, possibly weak, social relationships.

Other studies have focused on the differences between social media insofar as disclosing emotions and wellbeing are concerned. In this respect, it seems that Facebook is more disposed towards emotional disclosures, whereas Pea et al. (2012) suggest that face-to-face communication is associated, to a greater degree, with wellbeing than video use.

Other research centres on analysing what motivates social network site use. Barker (2009) detected the transcendence of identification with a determined group and collective self-esteem, i.e. the self-identity of an individual that derives from the values, emotional meanings and knowledge aspects associated with belonging to a group. Likewise, it was observed that adolescents who showed a low level of collective self-esteem sought, to a greater extent than others, compensation formulas through social network sites.

Finally, there is extensive literature regarding Internet risks, more specifically referring to intimidation and harassment. These issues have also been associated with platforms such as YouTube. According to the work of Livingstone, Kirwil, Ponte and
Staksrud (2014), 32% of adolescents state they have been bothered at some time by videos they have been able to find, whether these were violent (30%) or pornographic (27%). Thus, according to them, it is not unusual to find harassment between adolescents.

3. Audiovisual and YouTube consumption by children and adolescents

YouTube allows its users to upload, share, see and rank videos with comments. In general terms, we can differentiate between two types of users: active users, who publish content and follow the contributions of other active users, and passive users, who limit themselves to following the content generated by others. According to a study carried out by Gallardo and Jorge (2010), the participation of the spectators of the videos via Internet is tiny, given that it is possible to leave comments, rate and leave responses with another video but they rarely do so. In this respect, the authors conclude that YouTube followers have a passive attitude, not so different to that they have towards television.

Focusing on audiovisual and YouTube consumption activities among young Europeans, watching videos has become one of the first activities of children on the Internet (Holloway, Green & Livingstone, 2013) and listening to music, watching videos and visiting social network sites were those most carried out by adolescents daily on the Internet in 2013 and 2014. By comparing the results of the European project Net Children Go Mobile with its precedent, EU Kids Online, we can come to an understanding of how these uses have evolved. Highlighted among the online
activities which most increased between 2010 and 2013-14 are uploading photos, videos or music to share with others and, to a lesser extent, watching videos on video-sharing platforms. However, the figures concerning downloading films or videos did not change much (Mascheroni & Ólafsson, 2014).

The rapid spreading of the use of mobile devices, such as tablets and smartphones, among the younger age groups is contributing noticeably to the increase of this type of audiovisual activities. In 2013 and 2014, 46% of European children aged nine to 16 years old possessed and used smartphones on a daily basis, while 20% did the same with tablets (Mascheroni & Ófalsson, 2014). Among American children, it is surprising that, in 2013, 72% of children aged under nine and 38% of children under two had already used these mobile services. Even more significant is the fact that the figures for daily use of these devices doubled between 2011 and 2013, with an average use of 15 minutes per day and of over one hour among those who use a mobile device in a typical day (Common Sense, 2013).

After playing, the most common activity among US children aged under nine using these devices is watching videos, films or television (Common Sense, 2013). In fact, watching YouTube videos is one of the first activities children carry out on these devices and it is surprising to see how children, aged even two or three years old, are capable of accessing and going from one video to another, using their parents' devices (Protégeles, 2014). For their part, pre-teens (9-12 year olds) who use tablets or smartphones listen to music or watch videos online to a greater degree than those who do not use them (Mascheroni & Ófalsson, 2014). More specifically, the most frequent type of activity on tablets among children aged between nine and 12 years old is watching YouTube videos, especially funny videos, together with playing games.
Among older children, however, the most common activity is watching films (Haddon & Vincent, 2015).

YouTube is the media sharing site that European adolescents (9-16 years old) use most, although use varies between countries. 55% of the children with a profile on media sharing platforms use YouTube most, followed by Instagram (37%) (Mascheroni & Ólafsson, 2014). It is otherwise with American adolescents, among whom Instagram has been more successful (Pew Internet Project, 2013). Three out of each four British children aged between 12 and 15 years old and over half of 8-11 year olds said they do always watch YouTube channels, while 25% of the former and 29% of the latter stated they preferred watching YouTube channels to watching TV channels (Ofcom, 2014). Among British children aged under five, it was their second favourite site (Childwise, 2012).

Their preference for one platform or another is conditioned by social factors, such that a larger proportion of boys than girls, of older children and of those from more modest backgrounds have opened accounts with YouTube. By contrast, girls choose Instagram first: 70% of boys have a profile on YouTube compared to 39% of girls, whereas 51% of girls have a profile on Instagram compared to 24% of boys. However, it must be recalled that it is not indispensable to create a YouTube account to watch videos although it is to upload videos, leave comments and create playlists.

Looking specifically at age, we do not find great differences in the preference for one platform or another among the youngest respondents (9-12 years old), although children clearly prefer YouTube from the age of 13. As for socioeconomic status, children belonging to families with a medium or low socioeconomic status are more
likely to have opened an account with YouTube, unlike children from families with a high socioeconomic status (Mascheroni & Ólafsson, 2014).

As regards the content accessed on this channel by adolescents, when British children were asked where they would go find "fun things like hobbies or interests", 33% of 12-15 year olds said they would turn first to Google, 26% to YouTube and 18% to other social media. However, 33% would turn to YouTube to find out "how to build, make or create things" and a few less to Google. More than half of the children aged 12 to 15 years old who go online and watch YouTube said that they find content thanks to their friends (59%), while a similar number (55%) stated that they find YouTube content by searching. Children aged 8 to 15 years old stated that they are as likely to get information about new TV programmes from trailers as they are by word of mouth (Ofcom, 2014).

4. Reasons for consumption

From a more generic perspective, Gallardo and Jorge (2010) analysed video consumption in Spain and showed that Internet users enter a global sphere woven by social networks to consume local content, by preference.

Taking as their starting point a perspective of the uses and gratifications theory, Haridakis and Hanson (2009) suggested that, to the extent that YouTube makes it possible both to watch mediated content and to share it with others, the reasons leading to the watching of videos on this platform are similar to those identified for television. Based on a sample of university-student YouTube users, these authors also found that there is a clearly social aspect for their use which reflects their social
characteristics. These were socially active males who used this space for entertainment, searching for information, social interaction and watching videos with others, which increased their success. Therefore, those who think they can control their life in the face of external circumstances and who are socially active tend to share videos with the aim of social interaction, co-viewing and entertainment.

Looking at adolescents, their use of smartphones is associated with identity construction processes, in that they serve to explore, as part of their general growth process, who they are and who their friends are. Many children and adolescents are assiduous followers of YouTubers and Vloggers who post information about their daily family lives, offer tips on make-up, hair and fashion or show their support for online or league football teams. They also follow celebrities and they especially like those normal people who became famous due to their Vlogging (Haddon & Vincent, 2014). YouTube allows adolescents to look for and join video groups made up of young people with the same interests as them, thus making it a new way to find friends online, especially among adolescents aged 15 to 17 years old (Lenhart et al., 2015).

5. Visions from adolescence

It is also important to analyse the appropriation of the audiovisual space by adolescents. In this respect, both platforms such as YouTube and Vlogs become spaces which drive consumption. But they also support new ways of creating and sharing content generated by themselves, which they are able to do thanks to their technological skills.
Indeed, the starting point is the idea that, together with the other social media sites, audiovisual media sites are places to exchange experiences, emotions and knowledge. Although more connected with the photographic domain, Eftekhar, Fullwood and Norris (2014) understand that the members of this generation use audiovisual media as another option for presenting themselves to others, while at the same time constructing their identity. In fact, sharing videos also has to do with the new modes of sociability, which is increasingly interwoven into social media. In this manner, adolescents would also be participating in constructing social realities (Núñez, García & Hermida, 2012).

Internet can also be analysed as a cultural matrix, a space in which people can see each other and participate in community (Jiménez & Gaitán, 2013), where videos are accessible to all the people connected, which could provide the idea of being immersed in a global forum. For many young people and adolescents, being able to access audiovisual representations from around the world means a cosmopolitan approach of “getting closer” to other cultures. To this, there can be added the aesthetic element. The audiovisual culture permeates the daily lives of adolescents, who have available to them an enormous number of professional and amateur videos of different types of formats, generating a clearly cumulative effect.

According to Jiménez and Gaitán (2013), adolescents also use Vlogs and platforms such as YouTube as a source to widen their knowledge. It could almost be stated that they become a new type of classroom, in which divergent forms of learning are suggested. Adolescents use these audiovisual spaces to receive instruction and information about all manner of activities, even in relation to formal teaching.
Thus, the mission of the many different audiovisual proposals is to enable a person to present themselves to others. This, like all human action, can lead to recognition or criticism, while this process of sharing feelings and visions of reality serves to construct one's own identity. And this response can be channelled into comments, subscriptions and choice of favourites.

6. Prosumers on YouTube

In June 2010, YouTube incorporated a simple video editor. Three years earlier, it offered for the first time began an opportunity for users to be invited to become YouTube partners, to enable them to gain financial profit based on the audience levels generated by their creations (YouTube, 2007). With these conditions, digital natives found a tool that permits them to develop their audiovisual creative capacity, enabling new communication networks and reinforcing their empowerment as prosumers. This term (Islas, 2011) describes a group of communicative players from the ubiquitous society in which all the barriers of time and distance are broken, which makes it possible for agents of this group to access a broad spectrum of services through an extensive range of technological devices.

The Internet user is no longer merely a consumer of what is offered from the web, but also plays a new role as a creator of content to seek interaction with other users. These, in turn, also become prosumers either by sharing that content or by commenting on it. The direct consequence of this feedback coincides with the vision of Langue (2007) about the emotional and cognitive help provided by sharing videos to create new personal connections and develop extensive relational circles. In this
respect, the author states that, going beyond friendship connections based on an online profile, the mere action of sharing a video can become an essential pathway for identifying with a specific social network site and having a feeling of belonging to a digital community.

Within this aspect of interrelationship lies the success of social network sites and, in particular, of YouTube, which makes the prosumer more powerful with a link in their name, highlighted in large, attractive characters, and enables links to their own personal channel. In addition to this, there is complementary information which makes it possible to find out the number of videos already posted by this prosumer and the number of subscribers following them. Other hypotheses of the causes of the success of YouTube focus on, on the one hand, how easy it is to watch and how simple it is to link videos to other videos automatically (West, 2011), and, on the other, having known how to foresee on-demand online television (Islas, 2011).

The empowerment of sharing videos provided by this channel has resulted in the emergence and popularisation of the “YouTubers” who publish self-created videos through this channel and are placed in a hierarchal level similar to that of audiovisual professionals (Ardèvol & San Cornelio, 2007).

Since its launch in 2005, this channel has grown from being a means of audiovisual dissemination within one’s social-family circle to incorporating a threefold functional dimension: being a model of interpersonal relationships, a broad public space and, finally, an extensive commercial space (Jones, 2010). From this perspective, YouTube offers a peculiar business proposition used to make money by not just a few users around the world who, in some cases, devote their professional and working lives exclusively to this new business (Burgess & Green, 2013: 55-57).
The fact is that audiovisual media is on the rise. In the report by CISCO (2015), it was predicted that in 2019 over 80% of web content will circulate in this format, combining image and sound. Current figures are already remarkably high, sitting at 64% already, taking into account, however, that this percentage is not limited just to the videos spread through social network and Vlogs, but also include other forms related to the television and à la carte videos. In these predictions, equally surprising are the calculations referring to potential viewing at the end of the current decade, which consider that one individual would need over 5 million years to watch the amount of video that will cross the Internet each month in 2019 and that each second of the year 2019, nearly one million minutes of video content will flow through the network.

7. Musical re-creations and media education

The spreading of music and, in particular, live performances, is one of the most prolific aspects for the production of online videos which have in YouTube an irrefutable platform. In this respect, the majority of the viral videos taken as a sample in the West study (2011) coincided in that part of their content is musical, they have a short title (no more than three words) and a short run-time (less than three minutes).

Lapuente (2011) conducted a study on the spreading of videos taken of concerts, which had been recorded by prosumers. According to the author, this is a new way of watching and of being in contact with music, a way which is truly foreign to the objectives of the record industries. This practice is, as stated by Aguilera et al. (2010), creative appropriation that alters the content and widens its use, given that
the creators and disseminators themselves of the videos contribute a different context of communication. This phenomenon has excited enormous interest, taking into account the significant traffic of opinion generated, together with the forms of constructing and extending one's own cultural identity, which really leads to the public sphere.

For Edward and Tyron (2009), the development of new video creations using as a platform a social network site such as YouTube is an act of participation which allows users, as prosumers, to increase their media literacy. Along the same lines, Islas (2011) stated that, based on new technologies and social networks, the prosumer develops, among other tasks, an exchange of knowledge, as well as managing and spreading information and expressing feelings.

This is a form of personal enjoyment but it also harbours other intentions, such as the spreading of new channels of entertainment, as well as a critical approach that enables opinions to be shared with other users, arising out of which is a new form of empowerment for an active digital citizenry. This critical-political approach has also been addressed in many different research studies due to the impact caused by these videos and their massive popularisation (Axon, 2010; Cooper, 2010; Dias da Silva & García, 2012; Berrocal et al., 2014; Viñuela, 2015).

The discovery of websites such as YouTube to create and share in a simple fashion all manner of different audiovisual content offers adolescents and young people a participative culture to develop their identity and interact and to progress cognitively (Chau, 2010). In the context of learning, Duncum (2011) observed significant changes in this field based fundamentally on affinity between peers connected online. Authors such as Erstad et al. (2013) defend this practice, as it also results in the
satisfaction which young people feel through using new technologies. Duffy (2007) pointed at educators as the agents responsible for fostering this change, whose objective should will focus on enabling adolescents and young people to engage in their own learning experience through certain skills which they themselves develop through the creation of their own audiovisual content.

Along these lines, Álvarez Gandolfi (2015) addressed the practice of vidding (creation of an audiovisual document by fans) on YouTube for pedagogic development, fundamentally in secondary education, because it allows a channel to be used that strengthens their social need to consume and produce media, as well as stimulating day-to-day interaction between adolescents.

Given this situation, it remains surprising that educational authorities are reluctant to go deeper into media and digital education, and that they do not include related content in educational establishments. Although focussing on small children, as Aguaded and Sánchez (2013) pointed out, there are many positive experiences that foster critical learning vis-à-vis audiovisual elements based on experimentation and practice. This can be carried out by providing adolescents and children them with skills that allow them to create, produce and put together audiovisual documents and by enabling them to begin critical analysis of the different genres. The underlying idea is that this type of literacy must also appear in formal education, without dismissing the related economic, political, literary, social, artistic and computing dimensions.
8. Creativity and virality

According to Jiménez and Gaitán (2013), there are few adolescents who attempt to generate audiovisual projects. This can arise from a certain fear of facing assessment by others. At this point, it is a good idea to remember the emotional impact that can be caused by comments made by others, even when those people are strangers.

However, in the last few years, a growing trend of uploading videos online has been observed. Those who do show interest in doing it, to a certain extent, are creating networks and communities, through new expressive modes of socialising. On occasions, sufficient bonds are formed to encourage collaborative audiovisual projects, based within a community that has common identity characteristics with its own codes, where it is difficult to determine the causes of any video successes or failures.

Artisan work acquires relevance as compared to commercial work, through a participative culture which constitutes one of the keys of the new social media sites and social relationships. And this is found in connection with new ways of understanding citizenship, sometimes articulated as a countervailing formula. Citizens channel information that contrasts with the information coming from political oligarchies and institutions.

Other works analyse YouTube as a space for participative culture. Shifman (2012) did so through the “meme” concept for what are known as memetic videos. These are video clips which generate the clear “engagement” of extensive users through creative derivatives. This article detects various features or characteristics: focus on ordinary people, flawed masculinity, humour, simplicity, repetitiveness and whimsical content. In addition, the growing importance of meme creations in contemporary digital culture.
must not be forgotten, a fact which is linked both to economic and social aspects and to cultural participation logics.

In their study, Seo, Hyunjin et al. (2014) pointed out the positive correlation between the amount of time spent on YouTube and the intention of participating in a flash mob. This can indicate the emergence of a way of understanding citizenship, interactiveness and online activities, very often through participative media such as shared videos. A very interesting example regards the popular flash mobs. Some leaders create videos of a public performance so that other participants can learn and practice. This process involves, in turn, a social cognitive process.

Another audiovisual alternative which aims to lead to greater audience participation is provided by the videos made using the mashup technique, which invites debate as to the meaning and content of the videos. In their qualitative analysis of videos of a political nature, Edwards and Tyron (2009) concluded that it is a way of supporting change but they do not identify solutions; fundamentally, they constitute a more critical than creative work with an imitative and remix logic. In the same vein, Berrocal-Gonzalo et al. (2014) considered that media prosumers of political videos create few videos, and those they do create have a very limited subject matter that solely restricts itself to reproducing repeatedly one single message.

9. Causes of the success of the YouTuber

Achieving fame as a YouTuber involves not only growing in personal confidence but also aspiring to a luxurious career (Holmbom, 2015). The realisation of a difficult-to-achieve desire can result in a flexible, gratifying job that can even provide vast profits,
as the figures demonstrate. Despite the fact that, a priori, earning EUR 1 for every 1,000 views can seem meagre, according to data provided by Forbes magazine (2015) the 10 YouTuber channels with the most followers in the world have achieved an astronomical number of subscribers: from the number of 40 million subscribers reached by Swede, Felix Ulf (better known as PewDiePie) to the 4.8 million of US YouTuber, Rosanna Pansino. These figures result in substantial annual financial earnings which range between the USD 2.5 million achieved by the American continent dweller and the USD 12 million earned by the European.

They all share a common feature: they are young, all aged under 30 and in the majority of cases are aged under 25. This fact is not coincidental, as this sector of the population shows a special interest in social network sites and opts for content that triggers empathy through a relaxed, comical and even sarcastic tone. An exploratory study conducted by Courtois et al. (2013) confirmed this consonance between the profile of the YouTubers, on the one hand, and their followers and most frequent visitors, on the other. Those who generate content on YouTube endeavour for them to be seen by users who are emotionally close to them and with similar tastes in order to thus trigger interaction in real life and the resulting popularity.

This success, based on empathy between peers, is achieved with the audiovisual dissemination of scenes and comments that are socially transgressive, typical of youthful and adolescent attitudes. In the opinion of Durcum (2011), this fact must be socially accepted and seen as a social, productive and even enriching activity for later generations. In line with this idea, the transgression can be translated into satire, mainly in political actions, which makes it possible to construct the “counterpublics” concept described by Da Silva and García (2012).
Murolo and Lacorte (2015) have looked deeper into the profile of the YouTubers. Typified as self-taught, YouTubers prepare their videos knowing that they are in tune with the tastes of an audience which they have built up gradually, paying no attention to suggestions nor, of course, the orders of top professionals or important TV chains. Nyberg and Wiberg (2012) included them in the category of “digital entrepreneurs”, but this aspiration is not, at all, within the reach of just anyone; competition is increasing and it is really difficult for new users to be able to use YouTube as a channel for communication with a large audience (Holmbom, 2015).

Another added obstacle has been pointed out by Duncum (2011): the multiplicity of the subjects of the videos that are shown, the immediate consequence of which is the sheer impossibility of defining the particular features that cause the popularity of their content. However, the author points out three inherent characteristics that underline and reinforce the diversity of participation: the extraordinary range of material, its inventiveness and, especially, its socially transgressive nature.

An interesting issue is the ability to share and make the content go viral. In the opinion of Botha (2014), going viral depends on two key elements: on the one hand, the creative capacity of the published content and, on the other, the intensity of the emotional reaction felt. And this, in turn, occurs at a double level: on the one hand, it will depend on the type of emotion achieved, with positive emotions clearly prevailing, and on the other, it will also be related to the intensity of that emotion.

In short, emotions, such as surprise and happiness, together with other factors such as the type of content (presence of humour, utility, creativity), how it is perceived, the quality of the video, the characteristics of the people sharing the video,
as well as the communicative processes and those of identity, become drivers for decision-making when sharing a video.

Looking beyond the difficulties, it is undeniable that this important social network amply meets the main objective that, according to Harrison and Barthel (2009), Internet users pursue: of establishing an extensive participative space to enter into contact with people who share a similar interest or practice, lessening the physical barriers and limitations without paying particular attention to prior bonds of affectivity, friendship or familiarity generated in the offline environment.

10. Conclusions

The new social media are becoming a key space for adolescents, not only insofar as their social relationships are concerned but also as regards audiovisual consumption. Platforms such as YouTube have for years been the screen that children turn to on a daily basis. And this fact contributes to the presence of new modes of approaching knowledge and other people.

Quite apart from establishing itself as a benchmark in audiovisual consumption in this sector of the population, different research has shown its importance in the construction of adolescent identity. Exchanging experiences and emotions, and the fact of being able to share videos (which on occasion are created by the adolescents themselves) make this medium a source of learning and also for developing their own creativity, fundamentally within their peer circle. Aspects such as the implication of media literacy, the keys to going viral or the success of certain YouTubers also help to understand this phenomenon.
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