

# HOW-TO VIDEOS AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF AUTHENTICITY IN THE AMATEUR CULTURE

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**ABSTRACT.** As content created by amateurs continues to gain at least as much popularity as professional productions in the online medium, authenticity is key in this ongoing struggle. In this context, this paper discusses the ways in which authenticity is constructed in regard to a popular user-generated genre: the how-to video. It examines a set of eighteen such media texts uploaded on YouTube, that are covering various topics. The study finds that these how-to videos create an authenticity effect through a combination of both external and internal factors. Five main ingredients contribute to the construction of their authenticity: expertise, amateur status, mimesis, emotion and interactivity.

**Keywords:** YouTube, authenticity, how-to video, user-generated content, amateur culture

## Introduction

The fact that how-to videos draw so much attention despite being produced by someone with no formal expertise might stir curiosity. Burgess and Green observed that popular amateur videos on YouTube generate more engagement than professionally produced ones (Burgess & Green, 2009). In other words, not only are these videos watched by a lot of people, but they also receive many comments and numerous other videos are added as responses to them.

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What makes such videos popular and engaging is their authenticity, a feature that is seen to be a core value of social media platforms (Tolson, 2010). Thus, everyone is struggling to be authentic on such websites in order to draw attention and keep their audience close.

As YouTube can be considered the birthplace of many user-generated genres, some of which became very popular Internet-wide, the platform also witnesses a continuous effort to create authentic content. The authenticity of several user-generated genres that have conquered the online medium, such as Internet memes (Shifman, 2018) or vlogs (Tolson, 2010; Werner, 2012), has been given scholarly attention in recent years, but many other popular ones have been neglected. Therefore, this paper focuses on the construction of authenticity of amateur-made how-to videos on YouTube.

## **Background**

According to Merriam-Webster dictionary, if something is authentic it means that it is real, sincere, and not false or an imitation. On social media, it somehow means the same thing (Tolson, 2010). Therefore, for a YouTube video to be considered authentic, it is important that its creator is honest, and presents real information in an original way. Concerning how-to videos created by amateurs specifically, these aspects are critical for their success, given that their ultimate purpose is for ordinary people to learn something from them and to further put the knowledge gained into practice. Burgess and Green acknowledge “the ideology of authenticity associated with DIY culture” (Burgess & Green, 2009, p. 29) that is taken very seriously on YouTube.

On her study on a type of Internet memes known as testimonial rallies, Limor Shifman distinguishes two types of authenticity: external and internal (Shifman, 2018). Especially in the case of user-generated content, the two can often be combined.

External authenticity refers to the “objective truth” (Shifman, 2018). In this sense, it relates to objective depictions of the world that can be validated from the outside, by someone other than their producer, through scientific means for instance. Making references to terms such as “factual truth” or “truth as correspondence”, the scholar points out that this approach is essential for telling the difference between what is authentic and what is inauthentic (Shifman, 2018). When it comes to media texts, it helps draw distinctions between reality (what is authentic, real, and true) and representations (what is inauthentic as opposed to real). This opposition is often used as a reference in discourses undermining the authority of traditional media, something that is characteristic to user-generated content. For how-to videos created by amateurs this is somehow crucial, as it usually helps confirm their applicability.

As to internal authenticity, the notion revolves around a correspondence between a statement and a sort of inner essence (Shifman, 2018). To explain the concept, Shifman appeals to terms such as “truth as coherence” or “truth in essence” (Shifman, 2018). According to the former, it is enough for a person to be coherent when creating the content for it to be perceived as authentic. As implied by the latter, the preferred message will always be the one that resonates with the audience’s worldview, regardless of what is proven to be, based on actual facts, true.

Moreover, internal authenticity is strongly related to individualism. To be authentic thus rather means to stay true to yourself, choosing not to follow mass commercial trends (Shifman, 2018). Hence, while authenticity can be interpreted in many ways, when presenting themselves on social media, users are trying to stay away from the official and inauthentic ways associated with older media (Tolson, 2010). As their amateur nature is key to their success and their creators seem economically disinterested (Riboni, 2017), this is also critical for how-to videos and it often helps validate their unprofessional origin.

## **User-generated content and authenticity**

There is no universal solution for creating authentic amateur content on social media, therefore everyone is striving in a variety of ways. What's more, since being authentic means staying away from what is mainstream, it is logical for every content creator to try obtain this authenticity through a variety of different means.

Furthermore, every user-generated genre has its own specificities, no matter how similar it is to another. Some aspects work for more genres, but some are only characteristic to one genre in particular and it all depends on the genre's features.

Shifman observed that testimonial rallies benefit of both internal and external authenticity (Shifman, 2018). For this genre specifically, authenticity is built through four basic ingredients as follows:

- Evidence: the people participating in the movement present proof of their involvement through detailed accounts of the events, either verbally or through audio recordings, photos, or material evidence;
- Self-orientation: the unique, personal experiences of the people participating are emphasized through the use of their own handwriting, photos, and voice recordings;
- Affective judgement: participants express their emotions and judgements through verbal or non-verbal cues, creating a sense of affinity with like-minded individuals;
- Mimesis: the creation of memes relies on formulas, thus participants follow a certain bottom-up model they developed themselves, as opposed to the approaches imposed by more traditional, commercial media (Shifman, 2018).

In his study on genres of the YouTube vlog, another successful user-generated phenomenon, Werner analyzed the construction of authenticity of reaction and witness videos (Werner, 2012). The scholar observed that emotions are suitable weapons frequently used by creators to make their content authentic. Such videos appear not to be staged and seem free of constraint. They allow for the display of

things that would not normally be shown in a material produced by mainstream media such as inappropriate emotion, flawed character and truth that would usually be concealed. The immediacy and intimacy of these videos render them authentic. In addition to these aspects that constitute internal authenticity, witness videos, through their nature, also benefit from one ingredient that is similar to Shifman's evidence for testimonial rallies: the person that proves that he or she truly participated in the events as a witness.

Comparing vlogs to older media, like radio or broadcast television, Tolson looked at the former's construction of authenticity based on three dimensions:

- **Presentation:** the videos are unedited, seem unscripted, and are shot in a domestic setting, while the content creators use colloquialisms and local dialects, and do not hide their clumsiness and lack of professionalism. In the cases examined by Tolson, the videos were not edited because the YouTubers did not even have the skills needed to do so.
- **Interactivity:** the participatory possibilities existent on YouTube allow the content creators to address the audience like in a real-life, face-to-face conversation, and the audience replies by adding comments or posting other videos;
- **Expertise:** although the videos are made by amateurs, these seem to know what they are doing, and the way they structure their talks resembles other speech genres such as lectures (Tolson, 2010).

### **How to create authentic how-to videos on YouTube**

When it comes to the authenticity of how-to videos created and uploaded by amateurs on YouTube, it is also necessary to consider the existence of several subgenres, such as life-hack videos, which have their own characteristics and are popular in their own right. Likewise, the fact that they cover a variety of topics, from domains such as Beauty & Fashion, Cooking, Health, Home Improvement, Kids,

Sex & Relationships, or Technology, must not be neglected either. This research tries to identify and describe the ingredients that render amateur-made how-to videos authentic by answering the three research questions:

RQ1: How is authenticity constructed in the case of popular how-to videos uploaded by amateurs?

RQ2: What are the specificities of authenticity construction depending on the domains covered in popular amateur how-to videos?

RQ3: What are the specificities of authenticity construction depending on the subgenres of popular amateur how-to videos?

## Method

Qualitative content analysis was performed on eighteen amateur-made how-to videos in English, uploaded in the How to & Style predefined category on YouTube channels that are influential according to the Social Blade ranking. With the aim of analyzing media texts that cover a diversity of topics, three frequently encountered domains were considered. The two most influential channels depending on the domain covered were selected as follows: *NikkieTutorials*, *SaraBeautyCorner - DIY, Comedy, Makeup, Nail Art* (Beauty & Fashion), *Rosanna Pansino, MosoGourmet 妄想グルメ* (Cooking), *DaveHax, Troom Troom* (Home Improvement). Being chosen based on their titles so that life-hack videos were also included, three videos pertaining to each of these content creators were examined. The language used by YouTubers was kept unchanged, as provided by the platform's automatically generated text transcript, to emphasize each creator's unique way of address.

Based on the aspects assessed by Shifman, Werner and Tolson in their aforementioned studies on the authenticity of several popular user-generated genres, a new formula was created in order to be applicable to how-to videos created by amateurs, considering their specificities. Hence, five main factors, both external and internal, that make such videos authentic were scrutinized: expertise, amateur status, mimesis, emotion and interactivity.

## Findings

While the five main ingredients combine forms of both external and internal authenticity, the boundaries between these two can sometimes be blurry. Some aspects are more prominent than others from one video to another, but they are all essential in constructing the authenticity of how-to videos produced by amateurs.

### *i. Expertise*

As the ultimate goal of watching a how-to video on YouTube is to learn something from an amateur or non-professional, it is important that these people provide proof of their expertise, otherwise nobody would pay that much attention to them. Given how diverse how-to videos are on the platform, this can come in many forms.

For starters, the fact that the videos eventually work stands as solid proof that the content creators know what they are doing. If the tips and tricks they offer in their media texts lead to an actual result that is functional or is attainable in the end, then their expertise is verified. The way in which they use the right products and tools in order to obtain specific results is also noteworthy. In addition to that, their competence is also validated by the fact that when they share their knowledge, they put everything in practice themselves. As the audience sees in detail what they do and how they do it, and sometimes also receives an answer to the whys, the YouTubers leave the impression that they are experts in their fields.

Furthermore, the language used by the channel owners also shows proof of their know-how. Sometimes, the wording they use resembles that of specialists:

“I pat on the color as opposed to buffing the color in.”  
(NikkieTutorials)

“If you set the pressure too low it takes forever and if it’s too high, you’re in danger of blasting the soil out of the pot.”  
(DaveHax)

Some of them make recommendations like true professionals for their viewers, despite their amateur status:

“If you were looking to buy this to mattify or set your face I wouldn’t really recommend it because it has a sheen.” (NikkieTutorials)

“White base works best if you are using bright colored sharpies like I do.” (SaraBeautyCorner)

“After a few minutes of heating and mixing this is how it should look like.” (Rossana Pansino)

“So what you can do is put your hose directly into the watering can so it’s constantly filling it up.” (DaveHax)

Every now and then, the language used by the content creators also reveals their confidence in their own skills and materials, that it becomes impossible not to perceive them as experts and follow their instructions:

“You’ll easily make it, I promise!” (SaraBeautyCorner)

“I’m about to show you 12 amazing make-up and DIYs that will change your life!” (SaraBeautyCorner)

Body language is also playing a significant role, serving the same purpose. For instance, in one video, the channel owner of SaraBeautyCorner shows the color swatch of the lip glosses she created from scratch by applying all the tints she obtained on her hand, while talking about the existence of so many options. The YouTuber basically shows the audience how these colors look like in association with skin color, so that viewers would know what to expect from the entire palette. As to the videos which do not imply any talking, gestures are even more important. An example in this sense is a video added on the channel MosoGourmet, where the content creator makes a giant emoji ice cream cake. The channel only contains videos that depict hands performing the task and the actual person is not fully shown. When pouring the cake mix into the cooking mold, the YouTuber carefully removes the bubbles on the surface with a spoon, so that when it freezes it remains neat.



*ii. Amateur status*

Internet users choose to watch content produced by amateurs and non-professionals in order to learn something for a reason. Therefore, it is also imperative that creators maintain their amateur status in spite of their proven expertise, otherwise there would be nothing left to differentiate their content from that of professionals. This, as well, is done in many ways.

The setting is a crucial detail in the case of amateur how-to videos and is a factor that contributes to their authenticity. As their purpose is to be put into practice by anyone by themselves, at home, they are all shot in a domestic setting, regardless of their subgenre.

However, the setting depends on the type of content featured in the videos. Thus, cooking tutorials are all made in the kitchen. Even though in some of them, only a pair of hands doing the work is shown, kitchen appliances or other pieces of furniture specific to that type of room confirm the location. Furthermore, home improvement videos are set all around the household, depending on the space where “improvement” is needed. Hence, how-to videos offering gardening tips are shot in the garden, while those explaining how to clean tiles in the shower cabin are made in the bathroom. As to media texts covering beauty related topics, the action in these ones either occurs with the channel owner standing against a wall in front of the camera, usually holding a mirror in her hands, or in the bedroom.

Moreover, the language used by the YouTubers is an indicator of their amateur status as well. They often make use of informal speech, using contractions like “gonna”, “cuz” (NikkieTutorials, Rossana Pansino, DaveHax). The channel owner of SaraBeautyCorner even uses double negatives, another marker of informal language: “didn’t do nothing”, and prefers the short form of some words such as “mani” (for “manicure”) or “combo” (for “combination”). The YouTuber that owns NikkieTutorials makes use of colloquialisms and more vulgar idioms: “In today’s video I’m gonna grab the color green by its balls”.

Sometimes they even admit themselves that they are not perfect and make mistakes just like everyone else. Such examples include:

"[...] along the forehead or should I say eight head before the haters do." (NikkieTutorials)

"I'm kind of freaking out about this tutorial/ transformation because I have no idea where this is going [...] but I'm here to learn and try" (NikkieTutorials)

"This is actually the first time I'm trying the sharpie nail art." (SaraBeautyCorner)

"Leaving room is really difficult, I have a hard time doing that." (Rossana Pansino)

In some situations, their gestures happen to be more expressive than words could ever possibly be. For instance, when applying lipstick in a video, the channel owner of NikkieTutorials also gets some on her teeth before she cleans it up. Another example is a video on the cooking channel called MosoGourmet, when the hands that are performing the action are shown while dropping some kitchen tools, and, while trying to arrange the resulting Oreo sandwich in order to take pictures of it, it falls down.

Regarding editing, overall, it is characteristic to how-to videos, but it is a necessity required by the features of the genre and is kept to a bare minimum. Very few how-to videos are filmed in a single shot, despite their amateur nature and this does not occur because the YouTubers are experts in using video editing software. Most probably, they are not, and they just have some basic skills. It is common for some life-hack videos to be filmed in that way, because they are shorter and the actual purpose of the videos in this subgenre is to make tasks faster to accomplish. Nevertheless, for life-hack videos that present a list of solutions, and not just a single one, it is necessary for the distinct parts to be filmed separately and put together through editing. For instance, in a life-hack video uploaded on the channel called DaveHax, that offers several tips for cleaning the shower and tiles, the channel owner prefers to film in a single shot one tip or trick, then the camera is moved when he is showing something else.

Moreover, as to cooking how-to videos, it would take too much time to shoot while the food is in the oven or in the fridge for instance. Channel owner Rosanna Pansino prefers to stop recording while leaving her cups in the freezer for hardening and then resumes filming her activity when they are ready. Thus, it would be ineffective to leave the camera on and filming as the time goes by and later obtain a video that is several hours long instead of a few minutes. That surely is not something that the audience expects from a how-to video.

By the same token, when the YouTubers start doing something shown in detail and then they continue with that specific action in the very same way, or repeat it, it would become dull for the audience to watch the same thing done all over again. Thus, the content creators make use of their editing abilities to avoid the monotony. One such technique employed is the use of fast-forward, like done by the channel owner of DaveHax, who uses this function to prevent the tedium while carving a pumpkin. He explains how he does it, shows it in detail in the beginning and the rest is fast-forwarded. Another example is a video uploaded on the NikkieTutorials channel, where the YouTuber applies make-up and creates a pattern on one eye and shows everything in detail, but prefers to repeat the same action for the other eye, off-camera. If she had not done that, the video would have been at least seven minutes longer, and while it already has a total length of thirteen minutes, it would have become dull.

As to scripting, where talking is involved, the channel owners seem to talk naturally. Markers of hesitation and insecurity can often be traced in their speech and are not hidden from the audience:

“I’m going in with this Mac, uhm... Next to Nothing powder.”  
(NikkieTutorials)

“Some prayers to me please because I hope this eye will look a little bit, like 10% the same of this side.” (NikkieTutorials)

In one video, the channel owner of NikkieTutorials also stutters and mumbles something when talking about the concealer she will use, calling it “Narciso 7”, then immediately correcting herself by saying “Nara soft”.

One aspect that could be debatable is the introductory greeting that is repeated in the same way at the beginning of every video. The materials uploaded on the channels NikkieTutorials and Rossana Pansino are two illustrative examples in this sense:

“Hello guys! It’s me, Nikkie!” (NikkieTutorials)

“Hey guys, it’s Ro!” (Rossana Pansino)

The channel owner of DaveHax also has a specific idiom, often asking the audience if something is “pretty cool, huh?”. On the one hand, perhaps the YouTubers are trying to remember to use them every time, which would give out their scripted parts of the materials. On the other hand, maybe these phrases are so characteristic to them that they always come out naturally and they are markers of their authenticity.

Even regarding the videos where they use voice overs, one can argue that content creators follow a script. While performing the actual actions, they drop things and it is possible that not everything is always perfect. Thus, the performance was not scripted, while the voice over is done in a certain way only to fit the imagery, because otherwise it would be pointless.

However, the videos uploaded on the channels called SaraBeautyCorner and Troom Troom contain parts that follow a clear script without a doubt. The channel owners frequently incorporate mini-scenarios into their videos, so that the audience can understand how and when the life-hacks presented can be useful in real life situations. Regarding SaraBeautyCorner, the content creator plays all the characters involved, while the videos on Troom Troom feature more people that are recurring. The second character is usually a supportive friend that comes with the solution that is further presented step-by-step. In the videos uploaded on the Troom Troom channel, the characters switch roles so often that at some point it no longer makes sense who is the one in need of help and who is the other, and who narrates the story. As the script is visibly confusing and flawed, it reminds the audience that it still is an amateur production. Nonetheless, concerning both situations, the use of such

scripts can be perceived as a necessity, as they allow the audience to grasp the information with more ease.

*iii. Mimesis*

Although it is a user-generated genre that is predominantly found on a platform whose community has strong feelings of dislike for the mainstream (Werner, 2012), it does not mean that how-to video creators do not follow a similar recipe, just like professionally produced content does. As diverse as they are, they still have features in common. While the structure slightly resembles that of tutorials produced by formal educational institutions, YouTubers have developed it over time. Therefore, the recipe is also a creation of the everyday Internet user, which makes the videos more authentic.

All content creators constantly provide proof of both their expertise and amateur status. They all show what they do and how they do it without hiding their clumsiness. They share with the audience what products and tools they use, how these are applied and why they are needed, sometimes admitting they are not sure of the result. Every single video depicts someone performing the action from beginning to end, and the performance is not always without error.

YouTubers constantly imitate each other, but at the same time, each of them adds something genuine to it. Depending on the sub-genre and topic covered, more specific formulas can be observed.

Life-hack videos are designed as short materials, as due to their nature, they are supposed to be implemented easily, thus quickly. SarahBeautyCorner, DaveHax and Troom Troom channels contain media texts where one life-hack is presented in less than one minute. It is difficult to determine how content creators “agreed” to a set of rules and conformed to them, or if they did it independently, without being aware of one another’s work. Nonetheless, they all do it in the same way.

Moreover, in cooking how-to videos, the ingredients and tools needed are usually shown at the beginning. An example in this sense is the channel owner of Rosanna Pansino, who enumerates everything

that she is about to use before starting to do any work. By comparison, in how-to videos on beauty and fashion, the most important product or tool is usually mentioned in the beginning, while the others are revealed during the action. For instance, in the introductory part of one video, Nikkie from NikkieTutorials recommends the Fenty Beauty Killawatt Highlighter, without which she would not be able to obtain the desired summer glam look. While working on the make-up transformation, she uses plenty other cosmetic products, but those could be replaced, so they are not given so much significance.

While all the channels considered are influential, the videos discussed were uploaded in different periods of time, from 2015 to 2018, so it is impossible to affirm who came up with the recipe. It is rather safer to say that they all built it and developed it in time.

#### *iv. Emotion*

As how-to videos are supposed to be instructional, the display of emotion is not so often encountered in these media texts. Anyhow, as they are made by amateurs, they do not completely hide their emotions from the public, and this aspect contributes to the authenticity of their media texts. Sometimes, content creators share their own enthusiasm in regard to their work and the quality of the results obtained, or talk about what they feel in regard with certain aspects related to their actions:

“Oh my God! I am living a freckled fantasy.” (NikkieTutorials)

“The color green gives me anxiety, the color green makes me nervous, but most of all very unhappy.” (NikkieTutorials)

“Just thinking about how many colored glitter lips we can create makes me so excited about life! Pretty embarrassing... but I love it.” (SaraBeautyCorner)

Even when they do not explicitly display their emotions through words, YouTubers do that through exclamations or gestures. In one video, Nikkie from NikkieTutorials channel sighs when she applies setting spray on her make-up and she finally obtains the desired look.

Similarly, while cooking one recipe, the channel owner of Rossana Pansino loudly smells the chocolate that she is about to add to her dish, emphasizing how good it smells, and then says “oooh yeah!” and “woo-hooo!”, expressing enthusiasm when the dish seems to turn out as expected.

*v. Interactivity*

The fact that YouTube allows for interaction between the content creators and the viewers also contributes to the construction of authenticity of how-to videos. While the audience has the possibility to participate in the dialogue through comments or video responses, it is often the channel owners that initiate conversation. They usually talk to their audience as if they were present, addressing it in second-person plural or refer to themselves plus the audience as a group, using first-person plural:

“Hello guys [...] you see this? You’re like what, but then you’re like oh my gosh!” (NikkieTutorials)

“Hey loves!” (SaraBeautyCorner)

“We are gonna be making bonbons!” (Rossana Pansino)

“Let’s get started!” (Rossana Pansino)

“There’s our pumpkin message board really to use!” (DaveHax)

“We want to completely soak the shower head.” (DaveHax)

Moreover, content creators pose questions to their viewers or provoke them to react through their affirmations:

“Have you heard that a lot of people are getting freckle tattoos?” (NikkieTutorials)

“I want to know who of you watch the Eurovision and are big fans of it.” (NikkieTutorials)

“Maybe because they just look too good to be real, what do you think?” (SaraBeautyCorner)

These are then able to reply through the aforementioned means. The fact that audience contribution is actually relevant is confirmed by the fact that many channel owners admit that some of their

materials are made at viewers' request. In this way, YouTubers basically reply to the replies of the audience, engaging in conversation with it. A case in point is content creator Rossana Pansino, who affirms this in one video: "I got so many requests from you guys to make something Steven Universe themed". At the same time, snapshots of user comments from previous videos, certifying such requests, are displayed at the bottom of the video.

Some YouTubers see the viewers' comments as a challenge or inspiration for creating new content and they openly admit it:

"I've been hyping up this challenge for a couple of months now." (NikkieTutorials)

"You guys made fun of me in the comments of last video saying that I have an obsession with glitter!" (SaraBeautyCorner)

Channel owners also invite members of their audience to further contribute to the construction of knowledge products with their own opinions, ideas and interpretations, looking for some sort of feedback for their works:

"I hope you'll try it out and if you do so, please send me photos." (SaraBeautyCorner)

"Let me know in the comments which hack you think is the coolest." (SaraBeautyCorner)

"If you guys make these treats please take a picture and send it to me." (Rossana Pansino)

"If you have any other ideas [...], please let me know." (Rossana Pansino)

"Did you like our cleaning life hacks? Then write in the comments which of them you will use the next time you have a battle with dirt." (Troom Troom)

## **Conclusions**

How-to videos created by amateurs or non-professionals are, in a genuine way, authentic. The genre combines forms of external and internal authenticity, which is constructed through five main ingredients:



expertise, amateur status, mimesis, emotion and interactivity. While the first two seem to be incompatible, above all, this paradox is the most significant. If the YouTubers did not know what they were doing, then nobody would be interested in watching their materials. Only the mere fact that content creators show both proof of their expertise and amateurism makes how-to videos authentic and sets them apart from other user-generated genres, no matter how similar they actually are to them.

Creators of how-to videos often rely on editing and, sometimes on scripts for the production of their materials, whereas these are not at all characteristic to vlogs. Moreover, as they are supposed to be instructional and somewhat reminiscent of formal, traditional learning environments, the channel owners display less emotions in their materials, in comparison to the aforementioned genre. Nonetheless, these individuals are still amateurs, so they do not completely hide them from the audience, adding up to their authenticity.

Furthermore, even though their authenticity relies on their genuineness, how-to videos are based on a user-generated formula that is adopted by every content creator, just like Internet memes do. These recipes vary depending on the subgenre of and topic covered in the how-to videos.

Due to the participatory possibilities implied by YouTube as a platform, more often than not, content creators initiate and engage in conversation with the viewers of their materials. This interactivity involves the exchange of ideas, opinions, and interpretations between YouTubers and their audience. Therefore, both parties contribute and are relevant to the construction of knowledge products, making this specific type of video authentic.

The study of other subgenres, or more how-to videos in general, might reveal other ways in which their authenticity is built. Given how diverse the media texts pertaining to this genre are, there might be other significant ingredients besides the five considered in this research, as well as other methods through which they are expressed.

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