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Chapter 6

When vlogging educates in politics: the French case of "Osons Causer"

At the dawn of the 21st century, digital technology has become, according to some, a civilization (Doueïhi 2011) and, according to others (Serres 2012), a civilizational mutation at least as important as the inventions of writing and printing. It changes the way we socialize, consume, engage in politics, teach, learn, love, honor the memory of our departed loved ones and, above all, communicate. Multimodal interactive platforms that allow the user to communicate in different modes (text, audio, video, graphics, etc.) are booming (Herring 2015) and new social practices combined with increased technical possibilities allow new forms of writing and publishing to emerge. YouTube, created in 2005, is one of the first multimodal interactive platforms. Today, more than 1.9 billion users connect each month and more than a billion hours of video are viewed daily¹. In an initial analysis of different vlogs and an attempt to define the genre of the vlog (Combe Celik 2014), I observed that the title and framing of the video play an essential role in the overall staging, that the opening and closing rituals have an important socio-emotional role and serve to forge links with the recipients in order to encourage subscription to the channel and, ultimately, the creation of a community of fans around the vlogger and the theme he develops and deploys within the comments.

In this text, I am interested in the particular kind of vlog that deciphers politics. Indeed, on YouTube, Internet users grab political information and popularize it, thus paving the way for an alternative citizen form of political educational journalism. My research objective is therefore twofold: on the one hand, I am looking to characterize

Chapter written by Christelle COMBE.

¹. Source: <https://www.youtube.com/intl/fr/yt/about/press/>.

the techno genre of "vlogging" discourse, based in particular on the recent notions of the theoretical framework for the analysis of digital discourse developed by Paveau in 2017, and to see, on the other hand, to what extent vlogging, in this particular case, makes possible a reconfiguration of political education and citizen debate between Internet users. After having presented the theoretical basis of this research as well as the methodological approach, I will present the analyses carried out.

6.1. Theoretical anchoring

The theoretical foundation of this research is in language sciences in the field of multimodal computer-mediated communication and the more recent field of digital discourse analysis.

6.1.1. *Computer-mediated multimodal communication and digital discourse analysis*

In language sciences, since the advent of the Internet at the end of the 20TH century, the field of computer-mediated communication (CMO) has developed, which has evolved in recent years with the advent of Web 2.0² towards what Herring (2015) calls "computer-mediated multimodal communication", which includes all online interactions, from video games to telepresence robots, and includes the object that interests me more particularly, namely multimodal interactive platforms. In order to study these platforms, I rely on recent insights from analysis of digital discourse, which studies the composite nature of techno-linguistic production in a connected digital ecosystem (Paveau 2017).

Discourse analysis traditionally gives "a key role to the types of courses, which are not considered types of texts, from a taxonomic perspective, but communication devices, both social and linguistic in nature" (Maingueneau 1995, p. 4). Among the defining constraints of a genre, the medium and modes of distribution play a fundamental role in the emergence and stabilization of a genre, and digital technology - and in particular Web 2.0 - promotes the emergence of new discursive genres (Barton and Lee 2013). Paveau (2017) refers to "techno-genre discourse" to designate discourses native to the Web "with a composite dimension, resulting from a co-constitution of the language and technology" (p. 300). In the case of the YouTube digital ecosystem, and more specifically the "vlogging" digital genre (Combe Celik 2014), it is a "prescribed techno-genre", still according to Paveau's

². By "Web 2.0" I mean the Web popularized in the early 2000s, which allows users to contribute content and interact more easily.

typology (2017, p. 301), i.e. it is strongly constrained by technological devices (the platform conditions online writing through the format it imposes) and that it does not exist offline (vlogging is a genre native to the Web).

6.1.2. Multimodal interactive platforms and participatory culture

Multimodal interactive platforms are characterized by a convergence of communication modes (with text, graphics, audio, video, etc.) (Herring 2015) and technology that is more accessible to users without computer skills. In particular, they make it easier to create content and also offer the possibility of sharing it more widely and instantly. On these platforms, a "participatory culture" is developing (Jenkins 2006) which can be defined as follows:

"For the moment, let's define participatory culture as one: 1) with relatively low barriers to artistic expression and civic engagement; 2) with strong support for creating and sharing one's creations with others; 3) with some type of informal mentorship whereby that known by the most experienced is passed along to novices; 4) where members believe that their contributions matter; 5) where members feel some degree of social connection with one another (at the least they care what other people think about what they have created)" (Jenkins *et al.* 2006, p. 7)

On these sites reign amateurs whose practices revolutionize the way knowledge is produced, information is disseminated, works are created and activism is promoted. "Pro-am" (professionals-amateurs) are self-taught experts, citizen-actors, creators in their own right (Flichy 2014). YouTube is one of the first multimodal interactive platforms, and it is also typically a site of participatory culture (Burgess and Green 2009). Although it should be noted that YouTube's operation is also based on the enhancement of the platform and that its owner is Google, with all that implies, but I will not make this my point. Rather, we will observe in this study, from a techno-semio-discursive point of view, how amateur Internet users grab political information and popularize it in vlogs with their audience, opening the way to the beginnings of an alternative citizen form of political educational journalism.

6.2. Purpose of the research and methodological approach

6.2.1. The vlog "Osons Causer"

The object of my research is the French YouTube channel "Osons Causer"³ (roughly translated as "let's dare to speak"), enriched by the various media and other social networks that accompany it, namely a site⁴, a Facebook page⁵, a Twitter account⁶ and a Tipee account⁷ active since June 15, 2015, the channel "Osons Causer" defines its videos as "intellectual self-defense to understand the news, politics and the world". Hosted by three friends, she has 93 videos and more than 203,000 subscribers as of the day I write this chapter, probably more when it is read. Videos sometimes belong to headings, numbered by a hashtag: "blabla", "hot", "media chronicle", or "go further". Their duration varies from 1 min 47 s to 38 min 6 s, and currently 62 videos are under 10 min long. Their theme touches on major current political issues, generally French or European, such as "Macron candidate for finance?", "Privatized dams: the EU imposes them, only France submits", "Palm oil diesel, a disaster for the climate", etc.

6.2.2. The methodological approach

Studying native online discourse, "i.e. in a connected digital ecosystem" (Paveau 2015, p. 3), implies rejecting digital dualism and considering digital life to be part of our reality and requires a particular research posture. The data I studied are not strictly speaking "collected". On the contrary, they are observed *in situ*, a little like an ethnologist of the Web. Moreover, since these data are both massive and labile (Develotte 2012), in a qualitative, descriptive and comprehensive approach, I did not seek to be exhaustive, but rather to study a corpus, a sample that I considered representative of the digital genre that I propose to characterize. It is therefore mainly the observation of the characteristic features of these new individual and social techno-semio-discursive forms that are emerging and spreading, or even becoming generalized, that I am interested in. My approach is qualitative, descriptive and comprehensive. For more details on the methodological approach to analyzing a multimodal interactive platform like YouTube, I refer the reader to Combe (2016).

³. <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCVeMw72tepF11Zt5fvf9QKQ>

⁴. <http://www.osonscauser.com>

⁵. <http://www.facebook.com/osonscauser>

⁶. <https://twitter.com/osonscauser>

⁷. <http://bit.ly/tipeeeosonscauser>

6.3. Analyses

6.3.1. Digital writing and building an ethos

First of all, I focused on digital writing and the construction of ethos, in the sense that Amossy (2015) understands it, in a multimodal space. The writer is subject to the platform's architect (Jeanneret and Souchier 2005) and the multimodal staging is partly configured by the techno-genre discourse. Indeed, a videoblog is characterized first by a home page (Figure 6.1) that hosts a banner (1), the name of the channel (2) and a video tag (3), followed by the other videos. The "About" tab is a form of introduction, description of the string.

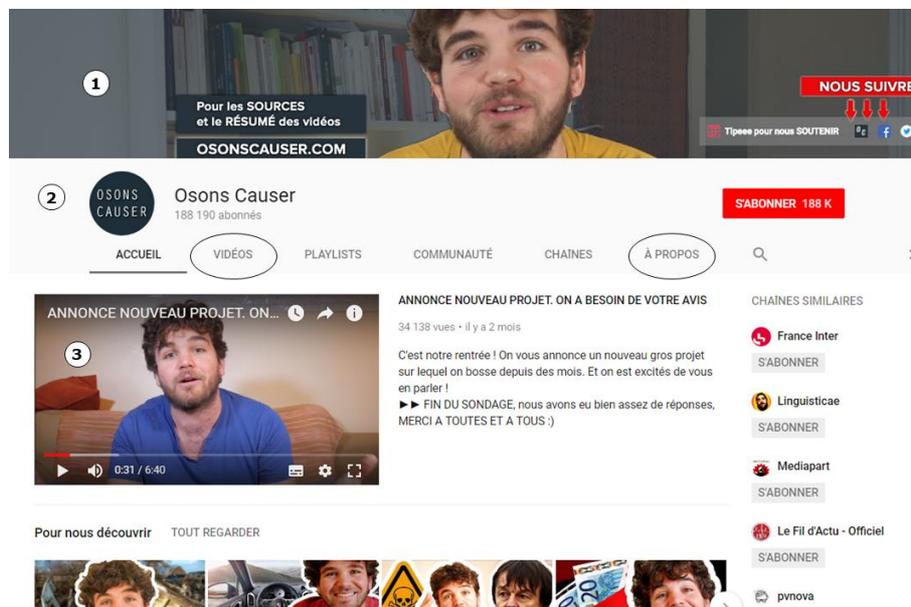


Figure 6.1. Digital discourse on the home page of the "Osons Causer" blog

It is through this staging, partly configured by the techno-semio-discursive device, that we observe the construction of the multimodal discursive ethos.

6.3.1.1. From pseudonym to brand image

One of the first elements of a YouTube channel is the pseudonym chosen by the author(s). *Pseudonymity* is the choice by an individual of a name other than his own and, on the Internet, it is *a priori* a matter of masking his official identity. However,

pseudonyms are part of digital identity and perform two important functions of sociability in the digital context: identity and identification. "Osons Causer" is the nickname of a team of three young men, Ludo, Xavier and Stéphane, students in human and social sciences (philosophy, sociology, psychology). Graphical and morphological features such as the imperative first-person form of the plural of "Osons Causer" mark a group and engaging authorship for the audience, associated with an injunction to speak out. We are faced here with a collective ethos that wants to constitute itself as a unified and active entity. The pseudonym that has become a slogan and logo - the graphic charter is the same for all digital spaces- is ultimately a form of self-registered trademark that is part of an elf-promotion claimant. However, one speaker is predominant, Ludo (pictured in Figure 6.1), who is the channel's real spokesperson, particularly within videos, which remain the central element of a YouTube channel.

6.3.1.2. *Set design and ethos of a pro-am*

The scenography of the video element is worked out with simplicity, the setting is always the same or almost the same: it is the intimacy of an apartment shared by the three young students, an informal space. As the videos progress, we observe the construction of a young ethos, between the student and the young person who is not yet completely active, with a relaxed, a familiar attitude and tone that gives a feeling of closeness to the audience that is *a priori* composite and with whom we must deal (they also propose two video formats, short and longer ones that explore certain issues). The choice is therefore made to build an ethos that is literally the opposite of what has become, in a way, the traditional media journalist.

The opening ritual is always the same: "Wesh wesh les amis", a formula derived from the young talk about the cities and which Ludo explains in video 24⁸"[FAQ #1] Osons Causer : un moment avec l'équipe - février 2016", video to answer his questions from the audience. That's how he greeted his family when he returned home, he says, and it's his way of getting into his listeners' homes. The closing ritual is also familiar: translated as "Hello, friends", "Goodbye, friends". The lexicon is chosen to be understandable, uncomplicated, and often Ludo expresses himself in a familiar register. The speech is therefore peppered with slang, but it is also well documented, the texts are written, the videos worked on and not improvised. The ethos that emerges is therefore an ethos of simplicity mixed with competence, the ethos of the pro-am (professional/amateur) (Leadbeater and Miller 2004) who has succeeded in re-appropriating the spheres of social activity traditionally devoted to professionals, here politics, and which is intended for a still undefined audience, but which is intended to be as broad as possible: "It is essential to write for everyone, and this

⁸. <https://youtu.be/ARtmmwrAH-c>

imperative requires both the choice of subjects and the way to treat them. When we write, we try to put ourselves in the shoes of those disgusted with politics, the disappointed of the left and the right, the border enthusiasts and the Europhiles," they say on their website.

6.3.2. Educating for politics: digital rhetoric and elements of didacticity

As defined by Moirand (2002), *didacticity* is mobilized "to designate the didactic coloring of discourse whose social vocation is not fundamentally to transmit knowledge, and which is produced in situations that do not necessarily fall within the remit of social training and educational institutions" (p. 181). If we take the example of video 87 on the suspicions of cheating in Sarkozy's⁹ election, we observe elements of didacticity at several levels (Figure 6.2).

First, the introduction of the carefully produced video, a real "hat" in journalistic terms, sets the subject of the video and serves as to catch the eye in the same way as the back cover of a thriller novel. The use of the conditional "Sarkozy would have been elected", but also the lexical field of the police type "money, key witnesses, dead or in a coma, murdered, police, trace, undeclared cash, HQ, huge safe, die, very strange circumstances", the questioning of the title "Sarkozy elected by cheating, murdered witnesses? " and the moments of suspense at the end of the introduction are all elements that encourage the audience to watch the video. A real *captatio benevolentiae* is being set up.

There is also a staging with Arfi and Laske's book, *Avec les compliments du guide*, published in October 2017, on the secret history of Gaddafi and Sarkozy, the only element of the setting that appears discreetly in the background and helps to set the scene. Different elements within the discourse then support this didactic effect. The general question that is the subject of the video is asked immediately after the opening ritual: "In this video, we will ask ourselves why..." Like an informal teaching course, the speaker recalls the purpose of the upcoming speech. This is followed by many rhetorical questions, such as "why is it said that touching Libyan money is a democratic scandal...", which are themselves followed by explanations. The speech is structured in several points that the speaker systematically reminds us: "So in this case, there are two important points: the first..." These discursive elements are highlighted and illustrated by numerous covert and iconic gestures (Cosnier and Develotte 2011) and Ludo can be attributed as being a true pedagogical actor in mimogestuality in terms of how he can communicate through facial expressions and gestures (figure 6.3) (Tellier 2016).

⁹. <https://youtu.be/frPoD1717es>

Wesh wesh les ami.e.s ! Alors dans cette vidéo on va se demander pourquoi notre ancien président

SARKOZY ÉLU EN TRICHANT, DES TÉMOINS ASSASSINÉS ?
160 412 vues

Osons Causer
Ajoutée le 29 mars 2018

S'ABONNER 199 K

EDIT : Bechir Saleh est depuis sorti du coma et a confirmé les millions touchés par Sarkozy en 2007 de Kadhafi à l'équipe de Cash Investigation le 22/05/2018
Sarkozy aurait été élu en trichant en 2007 avec l'argent de Kadhafi. Des témoins clefs sont morts ou dans le coma, peut-être assassinés. La police a retrouvé la trace de masses de cash non déclaré au QG de Sarkozy en 2007 et d'un immense coffre-fort loué par le numéro 2 de Sarkozy Claude Guéant pendant la campagne. Des éléments solides indiquent que le dictateur Kadhafi serait la source de dizaines de millions décisifs pour faire gagner Sarkozy. Malheureusement, des témoins clefs meurent dans des circonstances très bizarres...
Découvrez un des plus gros scandales de la 5ème République, ou comment l'élection de 2007 a peut-être été volée avec l'argent d'un dictateur
►► POUR NOUS SOUTENIR : <https://www.tipeee.com/osons-causer>
► LES SOURCES : <http://www.osonscauser.com/sarkozy-el...>

Catégorie **Actualités et politique**
Licence **Licence de paternité Creative Commons (réutilisation autorisée)**

Figure 6.2. Example of indirect questioning of the opening of the speech (video 87)

We note the work of pedagogical popularization through the use of a lexicon adapted to non-specialists in politics and media decoding, humorous elements "Fais pas bon être Monsieur Tune en Libye", hyperboles and repetitions. Finally, iconic and graphic elements are added, which illustrate, reinforce and support the explanation, as in Figure 6.4.



Figure 6.3. Example of a co-verbal gesture to punctuate the speech (video 87)



Figure 6.4. Iconographic inlay indicating the source of the information (video 87)

In particular, we observe here a form of intermediation, where the capture of a headline from a Swiss daily newspaper, *Le Matin*, is included in the video, accrediting the vlogger's statement by specifying the source.

Finally, didacticity is somehow claimed not only in the appropriateness of the channel, where it is a question of "explaining our world" or "understanding our societies", but also in the parent site which dedicates a whole page to the project "Pourquoi Osons Causer?" in a kind of committed and engaging manifesto:

"Osons Causer, it's a video blog that wants to reconcile us with politics.

Osons Causer is a video blog that seeks to put the public interest back at the center of political debates.

Osons Causer is a vlog with two types of current videos to reconcile us with politics by talking about the public interest.

Osons Causer is a benevolent and understanding vlog that wants to think like friends.

Osons Causer is a video blog that allows everyone to dare to talk, to dare to think and, finally, to dare to speak"¹⁰

6.3.3. *Relationality of native digital discourse*

Linking with other Web discourse is one of the structural features of native digital speeches, particularly because of the hypertextual structure of the Web.

The networking of the discourse is mainly done through the different sites and parent networks with clickable buttons. The initial chain is associated with four other sites that the audience is strongly urged to follow: a Facebook page, a project explanation site, a Twitter account and a Tipee page for participatory financing (see footnotes 1 to 5 and figure 6.1).

Relationality is also intrinsic to the vlog, especially in the relationships that the vlogger maintains through the "like" or "dislike" buttons, or the comments with his audience.

¹⁰. <http://osonscauser.com/le-projet/>.

| Video number and title | Date | Duration | Like/Dislike | Comments |
|--|-------------|----------|--------------|----------|
| 1. Pourquoi les arabes [<i>sic</i>] sont des voleurs (Why Arabs [<i>sic</i>] are thieves) | 15-June-15 | 7:12 | 5 K/1 K | 1 799 |
| 8. Médias : Pourquoi 10 milliardaires contrôlent notre information ? (Media: Why do 10 billionaires control our information?) | 17-Sept-15 | 27:58 | 12 K/629 | 2 103 |
| 15. Attentats de Paris : quel est le piège que nous tend Daesh ? (Paris attacks: what is Daesh's trap for us?) | 18-nov-15 | 17:20 | 6 K/211 | 1 351 |
| 28. Nuit debout : analyse à chaud, décryptage et perspectives (The night standing: hot analysis, decoding and perspectives) | 15-Apr-16 | 15:25 | 1 K/172 | 1 009 |
| 41. 10 faits qui montrent comment les multinationales achètent la politique européenne (10 facts that show how multinationals buy European policy) | 29-Oct-16 | 23:55 | 7,1 K/195 | 1 151 |
| 43. Programme de Fillon : qui veut travailler plus pour gagner moins ? (Fillon Program: who wants to work more to earn less?) | 29-nov-16 | 3:35 | 3,7 K/365 | 1 125 |
| 53. Emploi fictif : pourquoi cette affaire peut tuer Fillon ? (Fictitious employment: why can this case kill Fillon?) | 26-Jan-17 | 8:16 | 8,3 K/460 | 1 328 |
| 54. Fillon, nouvelles révélations : sa défense s'écroule, il doit partir ! (Fillon, new revelations: his defense is falling apart, he must leave!) | 31-Jan-17 | 4:32 | 8,5 K/518 | 1 426 |
| 61. Hamon va-t-il faire gagner Macron ? (Will Hamon make Macron win?) | 30-March-17 | 5:18 | 5,1 K/430 | 1 034 |
| 65. Qui veut vraiment lutter contre l'évasion fiscale ? (Who really wants to fight tax evasion?) | 12-Apr-17 | 6:08 | 6,3 K/855 | 1 332 |
| 66. Si vous hésitez à voter Macron, regardez ça (If you're not sure about voting Macron, take a look at this) | 16-Apr-17 | 5:06 | 23 K/5.2K | 4 678 |
| 67. Que faire dimanche ? Notre avis (What to do on Sunday? Our opinion) | 21-Apr-17 | 5:59 | 15 K/4.8K | 4 748 |
| 68. À ceux qui hésitent entre Mélenchon et Hamon (To those who are hesitating between Mélenchon and Hamon) | 21-Apr-17 | 13:49 | 10 K/3.1K | 3 036 |
| 69. 3 intox sur Mélenchon : Alba, Poutine, Europe (3 intox on Mélenchon: Alba, Poutine, Europe) | 22-Apr-17 | 6:31 | 4.7 K/1.5 K | 1 517 |

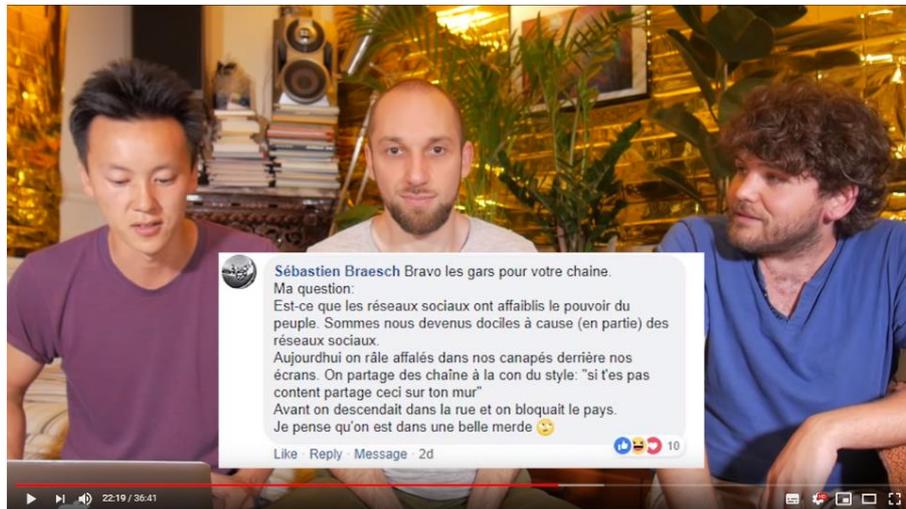
| | | | | |
|--|-------------|------|-----------|-------|
| 71. Réforme des impôts : Macron président des ultra [<i>sic</i>] riches (Tax reform: Macron president of the ultra-rich) | 19-Jul-17 | 8:24 | 9.9 K/1K | 1 523 |
| 78. Révélation climat : Macron a menti. Hulot doit choisir (Climate revelation: Macron lied. Hulot has to choose) | 07-Oct-17 | 5:27 | 11 K/586 | 1 080 |
| 87. Sarkozy élu en trichant, des témoins assassinés ? (Sarkozy elected by cheating, murdered witnesses?) | 29-March-18 | 7:06 | 8,4 K/473 | 1 161 |

Table 6.1. Videos with the highest number of "likes" and comments. An English translation of the video title has been provided.

In Table 6.1, which summarizes, at a specific point in time, the data from certain videos - data that will have changed as a result of reading this article - there is a significant number of "likes", from 1,000 to 23,000, as well as a significant number of comments, up to over 4,000. This willingness to communicate with peers is not only made possible by the interactive platform, but is also clearly stated by the "Osons Causer" team:

"Finally, to break the asymmetry of the device, we try to make it as horizontal as possible, to give a lot and to build a relationship with our audience. We respond to comments in the most constructive way possible. And let's organize (soon) regular joyful debate meetings [*sic*] with our audience and radio broadcasts."

The weaving of this relationship occurs through the addresses and thanks to their audience in the videos, the written answers of "Osons Causer" in the comments thread of each video or on their Facebook page, but especially in the FAQ videos, in which the three vloggers work together and answer a panel of questions asked by Internet users, as can be seen in Figure 6.5.



OSONS CAUSER FAQ 3 ANS + CHAÎNES QU'ON AIME

16 479 vues

992 42 PARTAGER ENREGISTRER ...



Osons Causer
Ajouté le 20 juin 2018

S'ABONNER 203 K

VIDÉO FAQ D'ANNIV + CHAÎNES QU'ON AIME. On a 3 ans ! :) 3 ans de vidéos Osons Causer, d'analyses, de coups de gueule, de "wesh wesh les amis", 3 ans à 3 colocs et avec vous ! Et grâce à vous on est maintenant plus de 700.000 sur Facebook et bientôt 200.000 sur Youtube. Pour fêter ça on a fait une vidéo FAQ ! Ça faisait longtemps :) On vous y parle de ce qu'on a appris pendant ces 3 ans, de comment on fonctionne, de nos projets, de plein de chaînes et de gens qu'on aime bien, et de plein d'autres choses :) Bisous !

Figure 6.5. Question asked on social networks and video answer (video 91 "Osons Causer FAQ 3 years + channels we love")

Darth 42 il y a 7 mois
 Ok sans doute que tout est vrai, mais dans ce cas je me pose plein de questions: Pourquoi Kadhafi aurait autant financé la campagne de Sarkozy ? Est-ce le seul président français à avoir eue ce genre de financement? Pourquoi on n'en a rien su avant et surtout pendant son mandat et sa candidature en 2012? Y-a-t-il d'autre dictateur ou homme influent qui ont pu financés des élection française?

70 RÉPONDRE

Masquer les réponses ^

Osons Causer il y a 7 mois
 Très bonnes questions. Qques réponses rapides - y'en a qui méritent des bouquins.

Kadhafi a financé Sarko, d'après ce qu'on sait, pour 3 raisons principales. 1) gagner de la respectabilité internationale. Rappelle toi Kadhafi avec ses tentes dans les palais parisiens. D'ailleurs, Sarko a aussi accueilli en grande pompe Bachar Al Assad à un défilé du 14 juillet. 2) Sarko a signé av la Libye, peu de temps après son élection, un accord sur du nucléaire
 Lire la suite

94 RÉPONDRE

Ady Tech il y a 7 mois
 Bonne reponse "Osons Causer"

3 RÉPONDRE

Alpagaa il y a 7 mois
 Osons Causer Merci pour cette question ainsi que cette réponse, ça m'a permis d'éclairer ma compréhension de la situation.

2 RÉPONDRE

zenox1000 il y a 7 mois (modifié)
 y a chirac aussi qui était un bon gros pourri
<http://www.lejdd.fr/Politique/Actualite/L-avocat-Robert-Bourgi-raconte-comment-il-a-convoye-jusqu-a-l-Elysee-les-millions-des-chefs-d-Etat-africains-interview-387001>

@ludo si je me permette une remarque, ça me tue de vous entendre utiliser le terme "démocratique", alors qu'on a aucun réel pouvoir politique et que tous les politiques susceptibles d'avoir un pouvoir important sont corrompus. la france est une république (de type aristocratique pour reprendre montesquieu), si on finissait par l'admettre et l'assumer y aurait peut-être moyen d'envisager de réels changements.
 d'ailleurs vu le niveau de pourriture qu'on ne peut plus nier depuis des années, et vu que malgré ça rien ne change, il serait peut-être temps de se demander s'il ne serait pas préférable de les chasser nous-mêmes du pouvoir, comme l'ont fait nos ancêtres. pour le bien du pays et de notre avenir à tous...
 Moins

9 RÉPONDRE

Figure 6.6a. Excerpt from a polylog with 47 answers including one from "Osons Causer" (video 87)

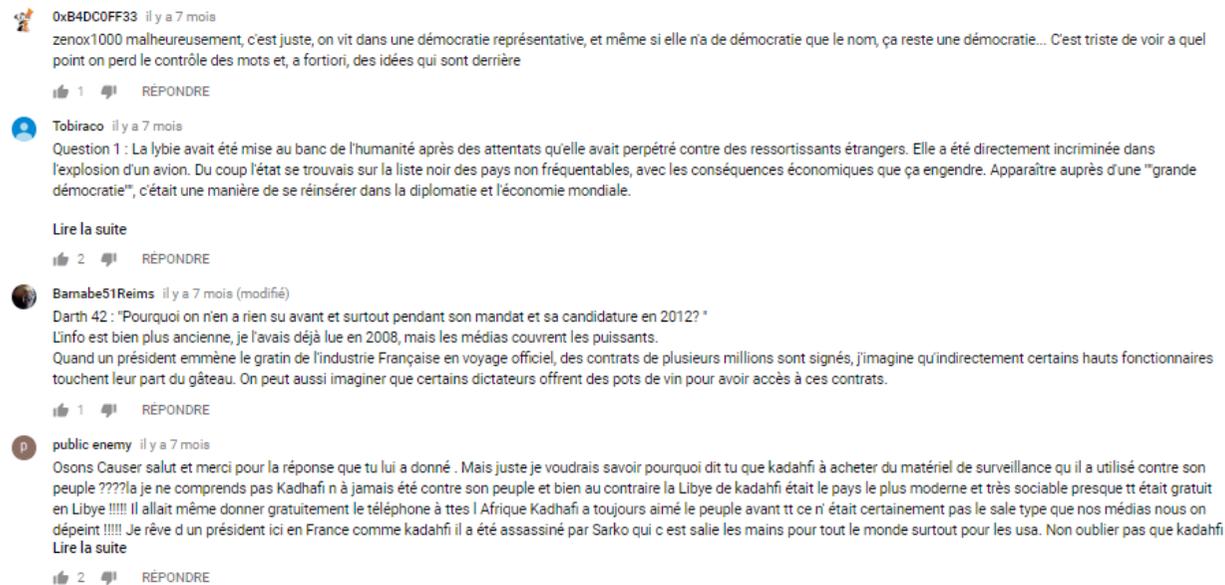


Figure 6.6b. Excerpt from a polylog with 47 answers including one from "Osons Causer" (video 87) (continued)

Moreover, to use the example of video 87 on the election of Sarkozy and Libyan financing, we can observe, for example, more than 8,400 likes and 1,161 comments. And while there are many isolated or trolling comments, there are 88 comments that themselves generate a dialog or a polylog (up to 18, 37, 47 or 52 responses) and whose content is an exchange around the questions raised in the video and which lead Internet users to ask themselves other questions. Figure 6.6 illustrates this type of exchange, where we see "Osons Causer" responding, but also Internet users responding to each other.

Vlogging can therefore be a space for exchanges about politics not only with vloggers, but also between Internet users.

6.4. Conclusion

During this analysis, we observed that characteristic elements of the "vlog" techno-genre discourse (such as an initial self-starring video, *pseudonymity* in the context of a YouTube channel, inter-network relationality or between Internet users) allow the construction of a multimodal and intermediate discursive ethos of a pro-am who wants to be competent, accessible and engaging and that they are used here to try to reconfigure political education and citizen debate between internet users. Based on a multimodal digital discourse adapted to a composite audience, we notice that, on this new stage, several discourses intersect, discourses strongly imbued with *didacticity* in the explanatory introduction, but also videos from vloggers that leave room for debate in the comments between Internet users and with vloggers.

From a friendly mini collective of three young students emerges a collective pseudonym that becomes an incentive to action, and then the brand image of a broader, committed collective. The intrinsic relationality of digital discourse allows discourse to spread not only between Internet users, but also between networks, thus extending the audience and developing the original project, with each network playing its part in reaching as many people as possible and defending the initial idea: exhibition on the site, distribution on Facebook and Twitter, financing on Tipee. In addition to relationality, there is also intermediality: the Web is the starting point for other actions, such as physical information during public debates, broadcasting in other media, or even in newspapers, on the radio, on other YouTube channels and even through a book project. Breaking with the traditional media system, these expert amateur Internet users are taking political information and disseminating it to the general public, paving the way for an alternative form of citizen journalism in political education.

Whereas in the 18th century, Beaumarchais made Figaro his spokesman on a theater stage to awaken his fellow citizens to a form of political consciousness, in the 21st century, a vlog could play a similar role and serve as a new stage for political education. The engagement with climate of a collective of youtubers¹² with the #IIEstEncoreTemps (there is still time) initiative and around ecological challenges with the #onestpret (we're ready) initiative are very recent French examples.

6.5. Bibliography

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¹² Osons Causer (2018). [Vidéo 92] *IL EST ENCORE TEMPS – COMMENT AGIR POUR LE CLIMAT (MAXI COLLAB)* [Online]. Available at: <https://youtu.be/XKgKsJnHarw>

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