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Article:

'Unboxing' videos: co-construction of the child as cyberflâneur

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This paper draws on data from a study of a four-year-old child, Gareth, in his first year of formal schooling in England. The aim of the study was to identify the nature of Gareth's literacy practices across home and school spaces. The focus for this paper is an analysis of one aspect of Gareth's home digital literacy practices: his repeated viewings at home of 'unboxing' videos on YouTube. These include videos that feature the unpacking of commercial products. It is argued that the child viewer/reader is co- constructed in these practices as cyberflâneur and that this mode of cultural transmission is a growing feature of online practices for this age group in the twenty-first century. The paper addresses issues concerning young children's online practices and their relationship to material culture before analysing the growth of interest in peer-to-peer textual production and consumption in the digital age.

Keywords: unboxing; digital literacy; popular culture

The online lives of children

This paper draws on data from a study of a four-year-old child, Gareth, in his first year of formal schooling in England. The aim of the study was to identify the nature of Gareth's literacy practices across home and school spaces in the digital age.

Young children's lives are increasingly played out in online as well as offline spaces. Ofcom (2014) reports that 38% of three- and four-year-olds and 69% of five- to seven- year-olds access the Internet from home. In a recent study that was part of a European project undertaken across seven countries, Livingstone, Marsh, Plowman, Ottovordem-gentschenfelde, and Fletcher-Watson (2014) undertook interviews with children aged under eight years and their parents in 10 families across the UK. The data indicated that the children regularly accessed a range of online sites, but the most popular site across families was YouTube, which is of little surprise, given that YouTube is 1 of the 10 most popular sites globally (Burgess & Green, 2009, p. 2). YouTube provides a range of textual

pleasures that are multimodal in nature (Kress, 2010), offering short films of a diverse range of genres. Previous studies of this age group have suggested that children enjoy watching videos on YouTube that are related to their favourite films or television programmes, and they also watch music videos and short films related to eclectic and sometimes rather idiosyncractic interests (Marsh, Hannon, Lewis, & Ritchie, 2015). Given the significance of YouTube in young children's lives it is, perhaps, inevitable that some of the films and figures encountered on the site have become household names. The concept of the 'YouTube celebrity' has been much touted in recent months in the media (e.g. Ellis-Peterson, 2014; Precey, 2014). This study explores the extent to which engagement with YouTube celebrities was a part of the online activities of Gareth, the four-year-old child who is the focus of this case study.

The material culture of childhood

This case study considers not just the digital literacy practices of a young child but also his engagement with material culture. It is generally assumed that it is only in modern childhoods that we can identify the presence of consumption, yet the production of purchasable goods for children is a practice that is centuries old. Buckingham (2011), in a review of the history of the emergence of the child consumer, points out that as early as the sixteenth century, instructional primers and playthings for children were sold, although it was not until the eighteenth century that products designed for children, including books and toys, were produced on a large scale.

It is now commonplace for children to own a range of goods related to a particular interest, such as a television programme, or animated character, and popular culture is a feature of the everyday cultural lives of children (Marsh et al., 2005). As Raymond Williams (1958) noted, 'Culture is ordinary'. The cross-media nature of popular cultural interests offer children creative spaces for transmedia play (Herr-Stephenson, Alper, Reilly, & Jenkins, 2013). Children may own numerous texts and artefacts connected to a single narrative and engage with that narrative across various media. Carrington (2013) suggests that the concept of 'new media assemblages' can be useful in considering how such transmedia play operates. This is a useful metaphor, given that an assemblage is, 'A kind of chaotic network of habitual and non-habitual connections, always in flux, always reassembling in different ways' (Potts, 2004, p. 19) and, as Deleuze and Guattari (1987) contend, is both content and expression, consisting of a machinic assemblage of bodies, of actions and passions, and a 'collective assemblage of enunciation' (pp. 88–89). Viewing children's engagement with new media texts and artefacts as an encounter with assemblages enables a conceptualisation of transmedia play to emerge which acknowledges its complex, laminated and constantly changing nature. No one text or artefact is consistently at the centre of such an amorphous structure, and the relationship of each element within this network may change according to context.

There are those who rail against children's transmedia play with commercial

goods as being 'toxic' in nature, in contrast to less commodified practices (cf. Palmer, 2006). However, as Miller (2009–2010) suggests:

The idea that stuff somehow drains away our humanity, as we dissolve into a sticky mess of plastic and other commodities, is really an attempt to retain a rather simplistic and false view of pure and prior unsullied humanity. (p. 5)

Instead, Miller exhorts us to develop a more profound understanding of materiality, in which we acknowledge how fundamental material goods are in the construction and conduct of human relationships. Thus, branded products may provide a framework for children's play and literacy practices, but they do not limit them. Drawing on a theoretical tradition emerging from Latour (2005), actor network theory, which emphasises the agency of material objects, Woodyer (2010, p. 204) suggests that branded toys can be viewed as network objects that generate a network space through which they can move, spaces which are established and managed by the brands through their sharp policing of copyright. The materiality of branded objects offers a touchstone that can be returned to as users navigate the network space, but users' actions are not constrained by this materiality. Woodyer offers the example of a girl she observed who played with Bratz dolls, but incorporated Barbie accessories into this play. As such, it is shown that brandscapes may have a core and periphery and, Woodyer (2010, p. 221) contends, be characterised through the concept of 'fractionality', which suggests that different elements of the brand may play specific roles and have variable weightings. In positing this, Woodyer draws on the work of Law (2002), who argues that fractals are 'coherences that cannot be caught within or reduced to a single dimension' (p. 3). This is a model arising from mathematics, in which fractals are phenomena that exhibit self-similarity across different scales. So, whilst fractals are not singular, neither are they multiple. If this is applied to toys, then, as Woodyer suggests, a single toy/brand may have self-similar patterns across various layers/components, and these layers and components might be differently weighted as well as intimately connected.

Adding a further layer of complexity to the analysis of transmedia play and literacy practices involving new media assemblages, it is the case that the relationship between online and offline practices needs to be considered, given the way in which young children's multimodal practices move fluidly across these domains (Marsh, 2014). Burnett, Merchant, Pahl, and Roswell (2014) argue for a conceptualisation of literacy as (im)material, which acknowledges the way in which the material (physical world) and immaterial (e.g. online spaces, emotions) are related and become enmeshed in meaning- making practices. Enquiries into children's engagement with (im)material culture should acknowledge the relation between the spaces in which that engagement takes place, the mediated nature of the world seen on screens, the 'stuff' involved in meaning-making practices and the embodied nature of the practices (Burnett et al., 2014).

The process of consumption in children's lives demands an approach to analysis which enables some of this complexity to be unpacked. Woolgar (2012) identified

three categories of consumption: (1) naive consumption, in which a straightforward relation- ship is assumed between the consumer and the consumed; (2) consumption in context, in which the situation surrounding the act of consumption is taken into account; and (3) ontological enactment, that is in which the practices of consumption bring into being the entities involved in those practices. In order to illustrate this, Woolgar refers to the example of a child playing with a toy soldier and argues that whilst on one level the toy can be viewed as childlike, it at the same time is related to violence and war. Woolgar (2012) suggests that, 'In this perspective, the existence, identity, and status of the entities involved, whether they be children or objects, emerge in the course of consumption rather than simply preceding consumption' (p. 39).

Viewing consumption as ontological enactment with (im)material, fractal artefacts and brands enables us to broaden the focus of consumption so that we can begin to trace other elements that are significant in this process, such as affect and emotion. This is also reflected in Sparrman, Sandin, and Sjoberg's (2012, p. 9) notion of the 'situated child consumer', in which the context of the consumptive act needs to be taken into consideration. In many instances in contemporary culture, consumption is social in nature and takes place in collaboration with peers who are located both within physical proximity and online.

Peer-to-peer textual practices

In this case study, the digital and (im)material cultural practices of one child are analysed in relation to the consumption of texts and artefacts produced by, or featuring, peers. Online spaces offer multiple opportunities for children to consume texts and products produced by other children (Dowdall, 2009). Whilst the uploading of content to the web is still undertaken only by a minority of children (Livingstone, Mascheroni, Olafsson, & Haddon, 2014), this is a growing area of interest and, increasingly, young children are seeking out online texts created by their peers in what is a burgeoning peer-to-peer cultural industry (Grimes & Fields, 2012; Marsh, 2015).

In considering this phenomenon, it is possible to trace the dialogic nature of the construction of the viewer/reader in contemporary online, multimodal practices. In its reflections on co-construction, the paper draws on the concept of dialogism as developed by Bakhtin (1986), who suggested that all language is dialogical, part of a chain in which former utterances inform present words, which in turn shape future utterances. Our words are shaped, therefore, by the words of others. Bakhtin (1986) stated that, 'These words of others carry with them their own expression, their own evaluative tone, which we assimilate, rework, and re-accentuate' (p. 89). This is also the case with multimodal communication. Taylor (2012), in a study of secondary pupils' multimodal practices, introduced the concept of 'postural intertextuality', which she used to refer to those gestures and movements the pupils adopted from a range of sources, including music videos, films and television programmes. In the present study, the tracing of dialogism is extended into the multimodal practices of a young child as he watches films

featuring other children.

The study is informed by an understanding of the three areas of significance in young children's lives discussed thus far: online practices, (im)material culture and peer-to-peer textual production. These three elements are increasingly related in contemporary cultural practices but there are, as yet, few explorations of their articulation in the everyday lives of many young children. The aim of the paper is to engage in critical reflection on a contemporary cultural phenomenon whilst recognising that, 'Realities are not flat. They are not consistent, coherent and definite' (Law, 2003, p. 11). All we can do is to offer tentative answers to the question, 'What is going on?'

Methodology

This study focuses on Gareth, who is in his first year of school. He was randomly chosen from a list of children whose parents had indicated willingness to participate in the study. Gareth was aged four years and seven months at the start of the study and was white British. He lives with his mother, father, and three-year-old sister. The family live in a city in the north of England, in a neighbourhood that consists of publicly funded and privately owned houses on a sprawling estate, built just before and immediately after the Second World War. Gareth's father is an engineer who works in a local factory and Gareth's mother works part-time as a receptionist for a music school. The fact that they are both in employment means that they are relatively comfortable financially compared to many people who live on the estate, which constitutes an area that has one of the highest indicators of socio-economic deprivation in the city.

Over a period of four months, I undertook observations during five days of school, observing from the start of the school day until its end. At the end of four of these days, I visited Gareth in his home for visits lasting one to two hours and on the fifth day, I observed Gareth, his mum and sister taking part in a world book day event after school, in which they read books together in the school hall. Field notes were written during the observations and I also took photographs of key events and practices. I avoided talking to Gareth during the school day unless he approached me, which he did, occasionally. During the home visits, I filmed Gareth and his sister as they used a tablet computer and took photographs of his toys- and media-related artefacts. I talked to Gareth and his mum as they showed me particular artefacts, or engaged in joint practices. Data were thus co- constructed as we explored together the digital literacy life of a young child.

Data were analysed using thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Data were coded inductively and then codes were grouped into broader categories. The categories that are discussed in this paper are 'online activities', '(im)material culture' and 'peer-peer textual practices'. An analysis of these themes enabled me to address a question that emerged as significant in relation to Gareth and his online practices, that is: what meanings can be attributed to the viewing of

videos that focus on the unwrapping of commercial goods? This, I suggest, is an important question in terms of the insights that might be gained into a multimodal practice that is popular in contemporary society. The analysis of meaning-making in relation to textual practices is at the heart of much of the scholarship on young children's reading habits, and I contend that this study can be placed within this tradition. Just as it is important to understand the attraction of particular genres of children's literature, the digital interests of children today need to be examined if we are to comprehend the responses they motivate and their significance in children's textual pleasures.

Online activities and (im)material culture

On my first visit to Gareth's home, it was clear that LEGO was a passion of his. LEGO bricks were strewn across the floor and underneath the television was ranged a series of models of aeroplanes and other vehicles made from LEGO. Gareth's mum informed me that Gareth's Dad had liked playing with LEGO from being a child and now participated in LEGO play with his son. This longevity in the use of LEGO can be attributed to a number of factors, as discussed in Marsh and Bishop (2014), which include the processes of participation, socialisation and mobilisation. LEGO has kept up to date with technological changes and developments in social media, such that LEGO fans can now participate in online communities through their uploading of videos produced of their play with LEGO, or films made in LEGO computer games using screen-capture software. They may socialise through the use of YouTube comments, chat rooms and/or fan-produced wikis and blogs. Finally, mobilisation is made possible through the use of LEGO apps on tablets and smartphones. These factors mean that LEGO continues to be relevant to the communicative practices prevalent within contemporary society and thus the product maintains a strong presence in many children's lives.

In Gareth's life, LEGO was an important cultural artefact. Drawing on Woodyer's (2010) notion of 'fractionality', it appeared from conversations with Gareth and his mother that at the core of his LEGO play was the physical activity with the plastic bricks, but around the periphery of this action were the LEGO apps and LEGO-themed vidoes on YouTube that Gavin accessed regularly on a tablet. It is of note that children use the Internet on a range of devices, but the tablet is becoming increasingly popular with this age group. According to Ofcom (2014), 34% of five- to seven year olds and 11% of three- to four year olds across the UK own their own tablets. This may be because of the ease of the touch-screen interface, which certainly afforded Gareth a certain independence in the use of the tablet.

Given the relationship between children's online and offline practices (Burnett et al., 2014; Marsh, 2014, 2015), it was of little surprise that Gareth enjoyed viewing videos on YouTube related to LEGO. He showed me his YouTube channel, which contained dozens of videos he had marked as favourites, some of which were animations featuring LEGO models. It is relatively easy for young children

to personalise their use of YouTube in this way. Once signed in to their accounts, YouTube users can click on the '+Add to' icon underneath videos and then add those videos to a favourites list or create specific playlists. Previous studies have indicated how young children can navigate such on- screen commands even if they cannot decode the relevant written text (Marsh et al., 2005). In curating (Potter, 2012) his own digital collections, Gareth was developing independence in his use of the Internet, able to find videos quickly that he liked to watch repeatedly. Gareth's mum informed me that her son loved to watch 'EvanTubeHD' repeatedly and there were a number of these films in his YouTube Channel. This signalled Gareth's interest in films which were either produced by children or prominently featured children, as discussed in the following section.

Peer-to-peer textual practices

On learning of Gareth's passion for 'EvanTube HD', I asked him to show me one of the videos:

> *A young boy appears on the screen.[1] The film is of high quality and it appears it has been shot from a camera on a tripod in front of Evan, who is standing at a table. Evan is a young Asian boy, who appears to be aged around seven or eight. He is unwrapping a new LEGO set, and talks straight to the camera as he does so. The camera pans to close-ups now and again, there is a musical backing track, and the whole product appears to be professionally produced. The child audience is directly addressed by Evan throughout. After looking at the outside of a LEGO set box for the NinjaCopter, he says, 'Ok, let's unbox this. So here's what you get. You get a cockpit piece ...'. Evan continues narrating as he takes out all of the constituent parts, then suggests, 'OK, let's build this thing!' Following the building of the NinjaCopter (obviously speeded up), Evan discusses in detail each of the LEGO minifigures that come with the set, taking off their weapons, or clicking parts together and beginning to play with them, with accompanying sounds e.g. 'Jaaaarrgghhh!' and dialogue, saying 'No, don't put me in there—eeeeaggh, oh, my hand!' as he forces a minifigure into a small compartment. He then says, 'Oh, that's kinda violent' and covers his eyes with his hands. He concludes the video by stressing his ongoing relationship with his audience: 'So that's the NinjaCopter set, it's pretty cool and I highly recommend it. Stay tuned brovs and I've more cool Lego sets to show you guys. See you next time, bye!'. Gareth put the Samsung tablet aside and went to play with his own Lego sets, which were arranged on the floor. I asked Gareth's mum if he asked for the Lego products that he saw Evan unbox and she said that he didn't, but he asked for sets that were related to his other interests, such as the computer game 'Angry Birds'. She also informed me that her three-year-old daughter liked to watch Evan's younger sister, Jillian, who had recently started to appear in the videos also.*

> (Field notes, 10 January 2013)

Following the visit, I attempted to find out a little more about EvanHD. A search using 'Google' turned up a 'Newsweek' article featuring, 'The most popular kid you've never heard of' (Harrington McCoy, 2013), which appeared to be an apposite title in this context. The article outlines how Evan began making stop-motion animations of 'Angry Birds' a few years ago, which he asked his father to post to YouTube for him. Posting one video a month at first, they realised they had gained an audience when the animations were getting a million views and viewers began to ask Evan to talk about toys. Evan then began to produce reviews of new toys and the videos have gained over 270 million views. Evan's father collaborates with Maker Studios, an advertising company that works with other YouTube 'stars' such as PewDiePie, a gaming expert, and the father–son team have recently launched a range of EvanHD merchandise.

EvanHD can, therefore, be linked to the growing popularity of YouTube celebrities, people who have become well known through their production and uploading of videos to YouTube. The growth of popularity of videos for children and young people made by other children and young people can be seen in the launch of 'AwesomenessTV', a YouTube channel for tweens and teens, with over 38 million subscribers (Stanley, 2014). Whilst children's interest in this peer-to-peer cultural industry appears to be growing (Marsh, 2015), there is, as yet, little analysis of why this might be the case.

One argument that could be proffered is that these videos reflect an imagined life back to the child, which is not dissimilar to her/his own. Gareth owned LEGO sets, although not on the scale of EvanHD's engagement with LEGO. He could, therefore, connect to the passion that EvanHD obviously displays for these goods. Smith argues, drawing from Durkheim (1964), that the YouTube celebrity is 'a sacred object in a secular age' and, suggests that this is indicative of the cult of the individual in which, 'we are all fans of our own lives' (p. 260). The logical argument, therefore, is that individuals are both believers and gods as they watch the YouTube celebrity:

Captivation comes from the ability to ensure that the recipients are able to see some semblance of their own capacities as an agent in the video. Showing us an agency of which we are all capable demonstrates that the audiences are both believer and god as they watch the god who is also a believer. (Smith, 2014, p. 261)

Whilst religion-based notions of celebrity have been subject to critique (see Duffett, 2014), this may offer one explanation for the popularity of the child presenter. Other children can identify with the child producer and celebrate the vindication the video offers their own lives and interests. This relates to numerous studies which suggest that viewers of media texts identify with characters that share aspects of their own identities, including gender and age (Cohen, 2001; Hoffner & Cantor, 2011; Maccoby & Wilson, 1957).

There may also be a vicarious pleasure in watching another child open a new toy

or artefact, as can be frequently observed when children watch others open birthday presents. EvanHD is one example of what are known as 'unboxing' videos. These are videos in which commercial goods are unwrapped and they have become very popular, with the most frequently viewed channels attracting billions of views. Those aimed at children focus on the unwrapping of toys or artefacts such as collectible cards and surprise/Kinder eggs. Whilst some showcase child presenters, such as EvanHD, others feature adults. The videos are a potentially lucrative business. Silcoff (2014) suggests that the creator of one of the most popular unboxing channels for children, DisneyCollector, could be accruing between 2 and 13 million dollars a year in advertising revenue. On the surface, the viewing of unboxing videos may appear to be a straightforward consumerist practice, which is focused on the desire for goods—a form of vicarious consumption.

Kirkwood (2014) suggests that vicarious consumption is often viewed as a negative, passive activity, in which aspiration for goods or services one cannot afford is the key motivator. However, in a study of the viewers of the reality television show 'MasterChef Australia', she found that the programme had a positive and empowering impact, enabling viewers to engage in a 'foodie culture' even though their everyday circumstances may otherwise have precluded this. Therefore, rather than assuming that the viewing of such videos by children is negative in that it creates in them a desire for material goods, it might be considered as a practice that enables them to participate in a particular 'affinity space' (Gee, 2005)—in EvanHD's case, that is the LEGO-fan affinity space. In this space, the child is constructed as a 'cyberflâneur' (Goldate, 1997; Hartmann, 2004) rather than a serious consumer; that is, someone who surfs the web, as the flâneur might have strolled the streets of nineteenth-century Paris, enjoying the sights but not necessarily purchasing goods. However, whereas Baudelaire (1863), who developed the concept of the flâneur, suggested that they liked both to see and be seen, in this context Gareth was not interested in being made visible to EvanHD or other online peers, but was content to consume. This was not a project of vanity, the accusation sometimes made regarding flâneurs (Steinberg, 2011, p. 52), but a participation in an affinity space in which Gareth's own 'ruling passions' (Barton & Hamilton, 2012) could be reflected back to him.

In an analysis of the 'ontological enactment' (Woolgar, 2012) of this particular consumerist practice, it was clear from the dialogue contained in the video, and Gareth's responses to it, that this was not a one-way, didactic form of advertising. The child viewer was co-constructed in this video as belonging to this particular affinity space, being knowledgeable about the various LEGO minifigures and their relationships to each other. As he picked up the NinjaCopter and pretended to fly it, making accompanying sounds, Evan's actions could be seen to embed both dialogism (Bakhtin, 1986) and 'postural intertextuality' (Taylor, 2012). These were the sounds and sights of play with LEGO all over the world. In this way, the child viewer is co-constructed as a cyberflâneur who, rather than needing to rush out to buy the model being advertised, can enjoy the vicarious pleasure he or she may get from viewing the playing of another child with the toy. Whilst Evan stated

on the video that the set was highly recommended, Gareth did not ask for these toys, as noted by his mother, but asked for LEGO sets that related to his own interests. The 'situated child consumer' (Sparrman et al., 2012) in this context was, therefore, not so much a consumer of the goods on display as a consumer of the consumer and play practices of Evan.

It is also of note that in some of the other popular unboxing video channels, such as that produced by 'DisneyCollector', the focus is not on consumer goods that have great economic value. In the case of the 'DisneyCollector', the producer of the films is a woman who unwraps surprise eggs that contain a toy inside. The plastic eggs themselves are relatively cheap products, bought from local supermarkets; unboxing videos do not always relate to high-end goods. In addition, it is often that the case that very little can be seen in these films other than the cheap products themselves and the hands that 'unbox' them. In these cases, the child viewer does not observe a peer mirroring her/his interests, so we must look to other possible explanations for their allure. One of the most obvious attractions could lie in the mystery involved in the process—who knows what is going to emerge from the egg that is unwrapped? Children, as is the case with adults, enjoy mystery and suspense, especially when that is embedded in contexts which are likely to have safe, predictable outcomes (Zillmann, 1991). This of course is the case with a surprise egg, which is always likely to contain a toy, in children's experiences. These unboxing videos, therefore, contain structural elements common to popular media genres, such as mystery fiction.

Many of these videos also offer close-ups of hands and fingers prising things open, and it may be the case that the activities of hands could be of particular interest to a young viewer, given that adults' hands frequently operate at the eye level of many young children. In addition, the videos have accompanying sounds, which include the clicking open of the eggs and the crackle of plastic as the toy is unwrapped. It could be the case that these dialogic, multimodal practices resonate with the everyday lives of children, and the noise of the clicking open of surprise eggs may offer a comforting and familiar soundtrack. The aesthetic experience of viewing the video and/or the emotional responses this triggers could be the driving forces for young children's participation in this practice. The affinity space (Gee, 2005) created by these unboxing videos might, therefore, be more aligned to a child's embodied experiences of opening presents or observing parents open goods than her or his commercial interests. The (im)materiality of this particular embodied, multimodal practice thus articulates with the 'ordinary' culture (Williams, 1958) of everyday life. It remains the case that this is a case study of one child only and these reflections are at best speculative, therefore it is not possible to discern the attraction of unboxing videos for the millions of viewers who watch them. What is certain, however, is that for Gareth, such videos were an important part of his digital textual diet and, as such, deserve attention in any analysis of his multimodal practices.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have suggested that in Gareth's viewing of unboxing videos, he was co- constructed as a cyberflâneur through dialogic practices that included the movements and sounds associated with LEGO play. What is of interest in this particular case is the attraction for Gareth of videos featuring other children. This resonates with other studies conducted in which, for example, children seek out child/youth-produced machinima (animations made in a real-time virtual 3D environment) made in virtual worlds (Marsh, 2015). Whilst children no doubt have always produced texts for other children (indeed, this was a well- documented feature of the Brontes' childhoods, for example), the online world now enables this peer-to-peer sharing of texts to be more global and instantaneous in nature.

The case study also emphasises the significance of 'new media assemblages' (Carrington, 2013) in children's lives. In this transmedia play world, the iconic figures in children's lived imaginations may now be self-made YouTube celebrities, rather than the traditional celebrities of the past. It is certainly the case that StampyLongNose, an adult who creates films of his play in Minecraft, has become a famous figure for many children, and for Gareth, EvanHD played this celebrity role. This development is of interest to those who are interested in the cultural interests of children. For those concerned about the apparent hold that multinational global companies have on children's mediascapes (Appadurai, 1996), the growth of interest in home-grown celebrities may be of some reassurance, although in practice, the pleasures gained through engagement in these disparate kinds of products may not be so different in nature. It may be the case that what distinguishes these discourses is their longevity in children's lives. The place of unboxing videos in children's textual pleasures may not be long-standing. That remains to be seen. It is, however, a feature of the early twenty-first-century landscape that will remain of interest in the next few years, as the popularity of, and possibilities for, this genre grow.

Note

1. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xGF3GL77sSw.

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