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YOUTUBE BEAUTY GURUS AND THE EMOTIONAL LABOUR OF TRIBAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP

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Abstract

Tribal entrepreneurship valorises emotional bonds between consumers and entrepreneurs, yet this emotional dimension is little understood. Drawing from a netnographic study of YouTube Beauty Gurus as tribal entrepreneurs, and uniting the concept of emotional labour with theories of moral emotions, we demonstrate the importance of emotional labour to tribal entrepreneurship's success. We observe novel forms of emotional labour performed by tribal entrepreneurs, relating to the expression of self-conscious and other-praising moral emotions, in addition to new technology-enabled forms of emotional censorship that silence the expression of other-condemning moral emotions in central tribal gathering spaces. Furthermore, we highlight the emotional labour performed by the broader tribe, as their compassion for the entrepreneur stimulates tribal defense via the suppression of other-condemning emotions. We extend theories of tribal entrepreneurship by theorising the role and importance of emotional labour. Our findings also extend broader theories of emotions and contribute to discussions of immaterial labour.

Keywords: *Consumer Tribes, Tribal Marketing, Tribal Entrepreneurship, Moral Emotions Emotional Labour*

INTRODUCTION

Online spaces facilitate the formation and congregation of consumer tribes surrounding various consumption-related practices and passions (Cova, Kozinets, & Shankar 2007; Hamilton & Hewer, 2010; Kozinets, 2007). Such tribes present opportunities not only for established commercial organisations (see Canniford, 2011; Goulding, Shankar, & Canniford, 2013; Kozinets, Hemestsberger & Schau, 2008), but also for entrepreneurial tribe members. Tribal entrepreneurship is theorised as the leverage of collective knowledge to introduce new products and services (Cova et al., 2007; Goulding & Saren, 2007; Guercini & Cova, 2015), emphasising the *intellectual* labour necessary for such undertakings. However, whilst research notes tensions between an individuals' commitment to a tribe and their desire to profit from entrepreneurial ventures (Kozinets, De Valck, & Wilner, 2010; Langer, 2007), the complex *emotional* transactions required to translate tribal bonds into market exchange have been largely overlooked. This paper addresses this theoretical gap by considering the emotional labour that is integral to the success of tribal entrepreneurship. Specifically, we unite Hochschild's (1983) concept of emotional labour with Haidt's (2003) work on moral emotions in order to theorise the emotional dynamics surrounding this unconventional form of entrepreneurship.

We present the findings of a netnographic study of the 'BeautyTube' tribe, an online consumer tribe centering around beauty-related vlogs (video blogs) on YouTube. Specifically, we document the emotional dynamics surrounding the commercial activities of entrepreneurial 'Beauty Gurus' within the tribe. Our findings demonstrate that existing emotional bonds within the tribe introduce a moral dimension to tribal entrepreneurship, which may evoke negative tribal emotions if improperly managed. We find that successful tribal entrepreneurship consequently requires the performance of significant and novel forms of emotional labour by both the tribal entrepreneur and the tribe. We highlight the distinct risks and challenges presented by tribal entrepreneurship's emotional dimension, and the emerging strategies of emotion management that can contribute to its success.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

We first highlight a limited emphasis on emotions in existing work on consumer tribes and tribal entrepreneurship, before introducing theories that may enable us to better understand tribal entrepreneurship's emotional dimension.

Consumer Tribes and Tribal Entrepreneurs

Contemporary business research is punctuated with references to 'subcultures of consumption' (Schouten & McAlexander, 1995), 'brand communities' (Muniz & O' Guinn, 2001), and 'consumer tribes' (Cova et al., 2007). Collectively these studies acknowledge that a desire for belonging may be satisfied through social interaction surrounding products or services. Yet in drawing from Maffesoli's (1996) neo-tribalism discourse, such work also highlights their unstable and transient nature, as they form, disperse, and reform over time (Cova & Cova, 2002; Cova et al., 2007; Goulding et al., 2013; Maffesoli, 1996). Tribes are bound together by "shared emotions, styles of life, new moral beliefs and consumption practices" (Cova & Cova, 2001:67), rather than geography, and online platforms increasingly provide the anchoring locations through which tribe members experience a collective identity (Cova et al., 2007; Hamilton & Hewer, 2010; Kozinets, 1999, 2006).

Scholars have further acknowledged the potential for tribe members to become entrepreneurs, leveraging insider knowledge of their tribe's consumption rituals, related needs and desires, and the deficiencies of existing market offerings, in order to introduce new products and services (Cova et al., 2007; Goulding & Saren, 2007; Guercini & Cova, 2015; Martin & Schouten 2014). Such instances of tribal entrepreneurship illustrate Toffler's (1981) notion of prosumption, as producer and consumer blur, and Goulding et al. (2013:816) therefore propose that tribal entrepreneurship "alter[s] the power balance between marketers and consumers, as tribal members take the lead in dictating procedures of co-production."

However, these developments may produce tensions between the market and cultural

purpose of a tribe. Bengtsson, Östberg, and Kjeldgaard's (2005) study of the tattooing subculture indicates that commercialisation may be resisted where there is a perceived boundary between the 'sacred', non-commercial sphere of the subculture, and the contrasting 'profane' aspects of the market. Similarly, Langer (2007) proposes that marketers to the fetish community risk alienation from the community if members loose feelings of exclusivity following commercialisation. However, prior research is limited by its focus on niche tribes that actively position themselves in opposition to mainstream markets (e.g. goths, tattoo enthusiasts, the fetish community, tabletop game players) (Bengtsson et al., 2005; Cova & White, 2010; Goulding & Saren, 2007; Langer 2007), which might partly explain the observed resistance to commercialisation. Tribal entrepreneurship that emerges from more conventional markets (e.g. mainstream fashion and beauty products) has received less attention, and it is possible that such tensions may be less prominent, or may take different forms.

Whilst prior work acknowledges broader tensions between consumer tribes and commercial activities, the complex *emotional* dimension of tribal entrepreneurship has been largely overlooked. While entrepreneurship itself is acknowledged to be an emotional 'journey' (Cardon et al, 2012), tribal entrepreneurship is unconventional in that it also stems from *existing* emotional bonds between consumers and entrepreneurs. Tribal entrepreneurs must find ways to maintain their emotional bonds with the tribe whilst simultaneously finding ways to commercialise them. Despite acknowledgement of the importance of emotional bonds within consumer tribes (e.g. Cova & Cova, 2002; Hamilton & Hewer, 2010), prior research lacks an explicit examination of the emotions that surround tribal entrepreneurship. For instance, whilst Kozinets et al. (2010) observe communal-commercial tensions experienced by bloggers involved in a product seeding campaign, their analysis focuses on the bloggers' narratives, rather than emotional exchanges between the actors involved. We address this theoretical gap by exploring the complex and dynamic emotional interplays surrounding tribal entrepreneurship. In order to enrich our understanding of these emotional dynamics, we draw

from established theories of emotion in sociology and social psychology.

Emotional Labour and Moral Emotions

First, we draw from the concept of emotional labour. According to Hochschild (1983) we all engage in *emotion work*, managing and regulating our feelings in order to enrich our interpersonal relationships. However, she proposes that feelings have long been commodified as *emotional labour*. Employees are encouraged to display emotions according to integrative display rules that suit the particular market task, under- or over-performing emotions to make customers feel a certain way (Hochschild, 1983; Wharton & Erickson, 1993). Flight attendants, for instance, are expected to 'wear a smile' and be 'happy to help' regardless of how they feel about passengers, managing their emotions so that customers feel cared for and valued (Hochschild, 1983). The extent to which emotions are actually felt by the employee may vary, however Diefendorff and Gosserand (2003) argue that emotional labour involves the monitoring and self-regulation of emotions that may be deeply felt and not simply for display. Thus, emotional labour is not merely a mask to maintain happy customers, but the regulation and experience of emotion for profit.

The emotional labour of tribal entrepreneurship has not been studied. However tribal entrepreneurs' existing emotional bonds to the tribe introduce an interesting moral dimension. Prior research indicates that tribal entrepreneurship, which aims to capitalise on existing tribal bonds, may be seen as morally transgressive by the tribe (e.g. Kozinets, 2010; Langer, 2007). In order to better understand the moral dimension of emotional labour we also draw from Haidt's (2003) theory of moral emotions. In contrast to Hochschild's (1983) own classification of emotions, Haidt's work specifically considers the moral aspects of emotions directed towards others. According to Haidt (2001, 2003, 2007) moral emotions are instinctively felt when something is perceived as good or bad, indicating when acts violate accepted norms, or are worthy of praise and emulation. We perceive value in uniting Hochschild's (1983) concept of emotional labour with Haidt's (2003) theory of moral emotions in order to better understand

how moral emotions are laboured upon in the context of tribal entrepreneurship, where deep emotional bonds are coupled with moral tensions surrounding commercialisation.

Haidt (2003) discusses four families of moral emotions: the other-condemning family, the self-conscious family, the other-suffering family, and the other-praising family, each containing closely related emotions (summarised in Table 1). *Anger, disgust* and *contempt* are *other-condemning* emotions, involving negative feelings about the actions or character of others, where they violate moral codes. *Shame, embarrassment*, and *guilt* - the *self-conscious* emotions - are an adaptive response to other-condemning emotions and stem from a need to fit within a social group, provoke individuals to hide/escape, change their behaviours, or apologise and make amends. *Compassion* and *sympathy* are *other-suffering* emotions, related to humans' tendency to feel bad when others suffer and their desire to alleviate that suffering. Finally, *gratitude, awe* and *elevation,* the *other-praising* emotions, drive pro-social behavior; observing good deeds encourages emulation and reciprocation.

Insert Table 1 here

As illustrated by Table 1, moral emotions have been explored in a range of business contexts (e.g. Choi & Lin, 2009; Grappi, Romani, & Bagozzi, 2013; Lwin & Phau, 2014; Romani, Grappi, & Bagozzi, 2012). However, these studies typically focus on the presence of one or a small number of discrete emotions and their correlation with specific outcomes. Our approach presents a departure from the more usual emphasis on the measurement of discrete emotions, in that we explore the *interrelation* of moral emotions in order to identify recurring emotional dynamics surrounding the commercial activity of tribal entrepreneurs. Since we are concerned with the emotional labour surrounding tribal entrepreneurship, our interest is the way in which the expression of certain moral emotions may elicitemotions in others, and the implications of these emotional dynamics for entrepreneurs' commercial ventures. How do tribal entrepreneurs, and the broader tribe, labour upon moral emotions in ways that influence the success of tribal entrepreneurship?

RESEARCH CONTEXT: YOUTUBE BEAUTY GURUS & THE BEAUTYTUBE TRIBE

To address this question we draw from a netnographic study of the BeautyTube tribe, an online consumer tribe centering around beauty-related YouTube vlogs. Some BeautyTube tribe members upload regular vlogs, typically reviews and tutorials, whilst a larger portion of the tribe views and comments upon them. Although YouTube is the tribe's primary anchoring space, the tribe also gather on social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram, on Beauty Gurus' blogs, on online forums, and at offline YouTube conventions such as VidCon and BeautyCon. Despite its dispersed nature, the tribe is distinguishable from other fluid social formations on social media, such as brand publics (Arvidsson & Caliandro, 2016), because of the direct interaction between tribe members and the active discussion of the focal topic of beauty.

A number of Beauty Gurus have emerged within the BeautyTube tribe; beauty vloggers who have risen in prominence, and whose YouTube channels now attract hundreds of thousands, even millions, of subscribers. These Beauty Gurus are increasingly recognised as 'micro-celebrities' (Marwick, 2013) in their own right (Cocker and Cronin, 2017). They sign autographs, hold 'meet and greets' and regularly feature in the mainstream media. For these Beauty Gurus, YouTube has become a full-time career. Beauty Gurus initially earned the respect and adoration of the tribe by offering impartial, often critical, reviews of beauty products, however as their popularity has grown they have proceeded to commercialise their tribal bonds via advertisements and sponsored content on their YouTube channels, blogs and social media profiles, as well as own-brand beauty and non-beauty (e.g. books, stationary, clothing) merchandise directly targeting tribe members. The challenge facing Beauty Gurus, and tribal entrepreneurs more broadly, is the need to commercialise their existing emotional bonds with the tribe, whilst simultaneously maintaining them.

Beauty Gurus present a relevant context for our exploration of emotional labour for

several reasons. First, unlike the niche, often anti-mainstream tribes that have been the focus of previous studies (e.g. Langer, 2007; Goulding & Saren, 2007), the BeautyTube tribe focuses upon purchasing, reviewing, using and discussing mass-produced beauty products, enabling us to explore tensions and emotions surrounding commercialisation in a more mainstream tribe. Second, tribal entrepreneurship within the BeautyTube tribe is a widespread phenomenon, enabling us to explore the emotional dynamics surrounding a range of tribal entrepreneurs, and to identify recurring patterns. Finally, many Beauty Gurus appear to have succeeded in commercialising their emotional bonds (leading UK Beauty Gurus reportedly earn upward of £50,000 per month from their various commercialisation strategies [Forrester, 2016; Lumsden, 2016]) and this provides the potential for insight into the techniques of emotion management that aid the successful transition from tribe member to tribal entrepreneur. Below we detail and justify the procedures of data collection and analysis.

METHOD

We employed non-participatory netnographic methods, involving the interpretation of archival data (data pre-existing online) and produced data (reflexive researcher field notes), as opposed to the generation of elicited or co-created data through direct interaction with tribe members. Netnography involves the naturalistic qualitative analysis of online communities, gaining insight into a cultural group through observation of their social interactions in situ (see Kozinets 2015). While earlier netnographies often studied bounded online locations such as specific forums (e.g. Cova & Pace, 2006; Nelson & Otnes, 2005), defining the research field by platform is increasingly problematic as online communities and tribes become delocalised, interacting across multiple online spaces (see Kozinets, 2015; Weijo, Heitanen, & Mattila, 2014). Consequently, in line with more recent studies (e.g. Kozinets, Patterson, & Ashman, 2017; Seregina & Weijo, 2017), we avoided confining our netnography to a single platform (e.g. YouTube) and instead extended our enquiry to a range of online spaces where the tribe interact.

Our analysis of the BeautyTube tribe occurred in two phases. In the first phase the lead

author engaged in extensive netnographic fieldwork (September 2012 – December 2015), exploring Beauty Gurus' emerging celebrity status, their evolving commercialisation strategies, and the response of the tribe. During this exploratory phase the researcher watched a total of 5,989 YouTube videos by UK Beauty Gurus (over 949 hours of video footage), taking detailed field notes. Prolonged immersion within the tribe facilitated a rich understanding of its structure, norms and terminology, as well as sensitivity to shifts in tribal relations over time as Beauty Gurus negotiated their transition from tribe members to tribal entrepreneurs. Furthermore, this immersion familiarised the researcher with leading UK Beauty Gurus and central tribal gathering spaces beyond the YouTube platform, including Beauty Gurus' blogs, social media profiles, and gossip forums.

Following this initial phase it became apparent that interactions within the tribe contained frequent expressions of emotions, particularly surrounding Beauty Gurus' commercialisation strategies. Whilst emotions such as anger and contempt were easily visible in the heated discussions emerged surrounding early shifts in commercialisation strategies, closer inspection of the data indicated further complex emotional exchanges. The importance of these emotional dynamics to the tribe's ongoing cohesion in the face of Beauty Gurus' entrepreneurial activities became apparent, and we therefore sought to better understand these emotional dynamics. Iteration between our existing data and literature on emotions, specifically Hochschild's (1983) articulation of emotional labour and Haidt's (2003) work on moral emotions, facilitated the formation of more focused research questions that guided a second phase of data collection and analysis: What moral emotions are expressed by the tribe in response to tribal entrepreneurship? What moral emotions are expressed by the tribal entrepreneur in relation to their own commercial activities? Does the expression of certain moral emotions surrounding tribal entrepreneurship appear to elicit or suppress other moral emotions within the tribe? And, finally, what are the implications of these emotional interplays for the success of tribal entrepreneurship?

In 2016 all authors embarked on a second phase of netnographic study, narrowing our focus to 25 of UK's leading Beauty Gurus selected based on the number of subscribers to their primary YouTube channel (many run additional YouTube channels, typically broader lifestyle channels, that were also included in our analysis, see Table 2). We focused our analysis on the emotional interplays surrounding these tribal entrepreneurs in the tribal gathering spaces identified in the immersive phase of the study, as locations of discourse surrounding commercialisation. Our dataset in this second phase is summarised in Table 3. We analysed videos, blog posts and social media posts by our 25 focal Beauty Gurus that involved or included reference to commercialisation (e.g. sponsored videos, promotion of merchandise, inclusion of PR samples, attending PR events, reflections on commercial success or struggles). For each Beauty Guru we ensured to represent their full range of commercialisation strategies, and to encompass changes in commercialisation strategies throughout their career. The number of videos/blog posts/social media posts analysed varied between Beauty Gurus, depending upon how long the Beauty Guru had been posting, how frequently they posted, and the range of commercialisation strategies that they employed. In order to capture the tribe's response to tribal entrepreneurship, we included vlog, blog, and social media comments or replies that related to the tribal entrepreneur's commercial activities or responded directly to the tribal entrepreneur's expression of moral emotions. Additionally, the immersive phase of data collection identified two forums dedicated to discussing Beauty Gurus, with a significant focus on UK Beauty Gurus – gurugossiper.com (which boasts over 2.5 million posts from 120,000 users) and youtalktrash.com (a newer, smaller forum with 280,000 posts from over 18,000 users). Within these forums we selected threads dedicated to discussing our focal Beauty Gurus, and within these threads we focused our analysis on posts relating to their commercial activities or responding to their expression of moral emotions. All online social interactions observed were archived, publically available messages, and any private forums or social media accounts were avoided.

Insert Table 2 here

Insert Table 3 here

Consistent with interpretive approaches we aimed to understand and represent the emotional dynamics surrounding tribal entrepreneurship, rather than to measure the degree of emotion felt, or propose correlations to specific outcomes. All authors engaged in established techniques of hermeneutic analysis (Arnould & Fischer, 1994; Belk, Fischer, & Kozinets, 2013; Thompson, Pollio & Locander, 1994), following in particular the guidance of Thompson (1997). Hermeneutic analysis involves "an iterative [process] in which a 'part' of the qualitative data (or text) is interpreted and re-interpreted in relation to the developing sense of the 'whole'" (Thompson et al., 1994:433), with repeated iterations required in order for a holistic understanding to be developed over time. First, we conducted an intratextual analysis, treating each piece of collected content (a video, a blog post, or a comment, etc.) independently, establishing which, if any, of Haidt's moral emotions were expressed. We considered what may have elicited the expressed emotion, and, where relevant, identified any moral emotions expressed in direct response (e.g. in YouTube comments, replies to comments on social media, or forum-based discussions of a YouTube video). We then conducted an intertextual analysis looking for recurring emotional dynamics surrounding each Beauty Guru, and then within our dataset as a whole. Moving from part to whole in this way enabled the identification of recurring emotional dynamics, the ways in which certain moral emotions appeared to suppress or elicit others within the tribe, and the implications of these emotional exchanges for tribal entrepreneurs' commercial activities. The research team then discussed and compared their independent interpretations until a sufficient level of interpretive convergence and theoretical saturation was achieved (Belk et al., 2013), eventually arriving at an interpretation that all researchers accepted as an authentic representation of the BeautyTube tribe data.

We now present our theorisation of the emotional dynamics surrounding tribal

entrepreneurship, demonstrating the recurring emotional interplays that emerged within our dataset as a whole, and providing illustrative examples, following the guidance of Kozinets (2015) regarding the anonymity of the online posters studied. Our focal Beauty Gurus as public figures are subject to an uncloaked representation in the presentation of our findings, using their online pseudonym and/or real name (where widely known). Other tribe members, however, are subject to a cloaked representation, whereby the site of their contribution is mentioned but the individual's name, online pseudonym and other identifying information is excluded. Since that data is perceived to be of low risk to participants (Kozinets, 2015), quotes are edited only for length to ensure the emotions expressed are not obscured or distorted.

FINDINGS

Our analysis documents the significance of the moral emotions that surround tribal entrepreneurship, and specifically the role of emotional labour in securing entrepreneurial success. We begin with technology-enabled emotional censorship, as Beauty Gurus silence the expression of other-condemning emotions. We then explain instances where tribe members' other-suffering emotions encourage defense of the entrepreneur. Finally, we document tribal entrepreneurs' expression of self-conscious and other-praising emotions as a form of emotional labour that stimulates positive moral emotions within the tribe.

Moral Betrayals, Other-Condemning Emotions and Emotional Censorship

Loyalty has a fundamental moral foundation (Haidt, 2012), particularly within communities or tribes (Muniz & O'Guinn, 2001) and Beauty Gurus were perceived to betray that loyalty where they appeared to prioritise their financial interests over the broader interests of the tribe. Recurring moral betrayals, (including a lack of transparency surrounding sponsorship, the production of sub-standard content or merchandise, and declining interaction with non-Guru tribe members) often eliciting other-condemning emotions of anger and contempt amongst tribe members.

For example, in December 2016 Beauty Guru Tanya Burr posted a 'daily vlog' (a common vlog format that provides insights into Beauty Gurus' daily lives) showing Tanya shopping for a Christmas gift for her sister:

> *You know how much I love my Clinique Sonic Brush, it's amazing, it's basically a real skin changer, you'll see instant results. It just makes your skin really clean and clear and glowing. So I really want to get one for my sister.* […] *I thought it would be fun to vlog it and give you guys ideas of what to get for your friends and family as well. So, yeah! I hope they have one, I hope they haven't sold out!*

Tanya proceeds to film her exchange with a Clinique sales assistant, who is apparently oblivious to Tanya's Beauty Guru status, as she chooses and purchases her gift, extolling its virtues.

> *Maybe this is what I should get my sister. £79, which is usually how much just the brush is on its own, but here you get a free travel case, which would be SO useful, and extra skincare! I think that's really good value, and a really gorgeous gift as well. Also the lady* [Clinique sales assistant] *has just told me this is limited edition, so I think that makes it even cooler!*

There is no indication within the video itself that this footage is sponsored by a brand, however the video thumbnail features the word 'AD' in the bottom right corner, behind the video length (see Figure 1), whilst the phrase "This video contains a paid for advertorial by Clinique" is included in the information box below the video. Both are required by the Advertising Standards Authority in the UK (ASA, 2015), but despite Tanya's self-regulatory compliance, some tribe members felt she had not done enough to make the company's involvement clear.

Insert Figure 1 here

When Clinique later shared Tanya's video on its own Facebook page. Comments on this post were suggestive of a moral judgment of betrayal. For example:

> *How can anyone trust Tanya's reviews anymore when she is quite OBVIOUSLY being paid by Clinique for this video. Really sad*
>
> *Her video on YouTube made it look like she bought it ... But this shows it was just another advert!*
>
> *She's the last person I'd rely on for a true review she says anything you like while they're paying her to!*

Similar criticism emerged on Beauty Guru gossip forums. For example one poster on gurugossip.com posted *"I see her* [Tanya's] *3rd vlog was a sponsored ad for Clinique!! And she never put 'ad' in the title. It's such a sneaky thing to do. And pretending it was just about a present for her sister!"* Tribe members expressed the other-condemning emotion of contempt, with commenters adopting a stance of moral superiority and questioning Tanya's morality. Furthermore, anger is exhibited in commenters' attempts to expose Tanya's betrayal to the tribe and to the wider public. Notably, these other-condemning emotions are not directed at Clinique, the brand, but at Tanya as a fellow tribe member who is bound by the moral rules of the tribe.

Also important here are the locations in which other-condemning emotions are expressed. Despite criticism in other online locations, the comments on this video on Tanya Burr's own YouTube channel remain wholly positive. Indeed, over the course of our study comments on some of our focal Beauty Gurus' videos became increasingly positive – on many recent videos we could not find a single critical comment, despite criticism emerging in other online spaces. For these Beauty Gurus we further observed a decreasing ratio of video comments to views. For instance, whilst the video discussed above has to date received over 450 thousand views, only 317 comments had been posted (all immediately following the video's upload). This indicates a high level of moderation beyond the simple removal of spam and abuse. Indeed, in addition to removing, reporting or hiding posted comments, YouTube now enables vloggers to 'hold comments for approval', with only approved comments becoming publically visible. Many (though not all) Beauty Gurus now routinely employ this practice. Here we therefore observe the role of technology in aiding new forms of emotional censorship, allowing Beauty Gurus to silence the expression of other-condemning emotions such as anger and contempt rather than responding to them using traditional forms of emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983).

These emotions do not disappear entirely, however. Some tribe members have shifted

to alternative platforms to express their otherwise silenced emotions. Online forums have emerged that are dedicated to discussing Beauty Gurus, with an emphasis on the expression of negative emotions that are censored elsewhere. Within such spaces, observed emotional censorship by Beauty Gurus is highlighted as a further moral betrayal, and other-condemning emotions are renewed:

> S*etting her comments to approval was madness to me.* […] *Youtubers have such humongous egos, that they think they should be excused from any criticism*" (post on gurugossiper.com)
>
> *They can shut down all the negative attention* […] *hire someone, put the comments on approval, and let that poor soul select all the kiss ass comments and delete everything else* (post on youtalktrash.com).

Thus emotional censorship does not entirely suppress other-condemning emotions, but displaces them elsewhere, distancing them from central tribal gathering spaces, and in particular from the Beauty Guru's commercial activity. This ensures that such work is not associated with these other-condemning emotions.

Other-Suffering Emotions and Tribal Defense

Beauty Gurus are not the only tribe members to suppress other-condemning emotions surrounding tribal entrepreneurship. Where actors both inside and outside the tribe expressed other-condemning emotions toward Beauty Gurus, this elicited compassion within the tribe and motivated a form of tribal defense.

For instance, in June 2016 Beauty Guru Samantha Maria uploaded a video titled 'My Hygiene Routine', sponsored by toothbrush brand Oral-B. The statement "Thank you to Oral B for sponsoring this video :)" was included at the very bottom of the video's information box (although the video's comments indicate that this was initially omitted, and added following the video's initial upload). However unlike Tanya's video above, neither the video thumbnail nor its title disclosed this sponsorship. Instead '#ad' appeared in the bottom right hand corner of the screen during Samantha's presentation of the Oral-B Genius toothbrush. Again, some tribe members interpreted this as a deliberate attempt to obscure the video's commercial nature,

and this perceived lack of transparency evoked anger and contempt, manifested in video comments that questioned the Beauty Guru's morality:

> *I clicked to see your hygiene routine, I ended up watching an ad. It's getting annoying how beauty gurus are just uploading videos to promote stuff all the time.*

> *No mention of it being sponsored anywhere even in the description box, are you kidding me?!!* […] *The rules in the UK are that has to be* [disclosed as a sponsored video] *in the title (not sure if that's changed) AND the description box. It's not in either, it's incredibly insincere because it's like fooling people into watching the video for money because generally AD videos get fewer views. It's not hard to disclose it but choosing not to is very cheeky.*

Following these attacks other tribe members expressed the other-suffering emotion of compassion, responding directly to this criticism in the video comments:

> *I honestly can't comprehend why it matters to so many people that this video had one bit of it as an ad. This is how Sam earns a living. You go out everyday and go to your job to get money, and nobody complains about it to you. So why should Sam earning money matter to everyone? This is her job. She has a baby on the way. If she enjoys a product why fucking not get paid to use it! I would love if I got paid to talk about products I loved! Everyone would. And that is the problem here. Everyone is jealous and rude. There is no need to comment hate about a few minutes of an ad. FAST FORWARD!!*

> *She literally wrote "#ad" from 1:38 to 4:00 in the video, but you were too blinded by your negativity to notice that. Additionally, why should it matter? It was an interesting video to a lot of people and if you had the opportunity to be paid by a well-known company for advertising their products I can guarantee that you would do it. :)*

Here tribe members' compassion for Samantha prompted them to actively work to defend the Beauty Guru, acknowledging and appreciating her need to profit from her YouTube channel. In many of these comments the expression of other-condemning emotions toward Samantha was itself condemned, with critics deemed unnecessarily negative and their comments dismissed as 'hate'.

A similar instance of tribal defense can be observed on Beauty Guru Lauren Luke's 2014 video titled 'Contour & Define Look with Seventeen Falsifeye HD Mascara'. There is no disclosure that the video is sponsored, however every product used in the video is produced by

the makeup brand Seventeen. Some tribe members commenting on the video concluded that it was therefore an undisclosed sponsored video. For example:

> *Lauren, if Seventeen are paying you to advertise them, at least be honest about it. It's really sad to see you doing the hard sell on us. I hate the way it looks so very nearly like a normal video but is clearly an advert. Can't believe you would try to trick your viewers like this, very disappointing. Even if you genuinely like the mascara, it's not ok to pretend that you're not being paid to promote Seventeen.*

However, again, the tribe defends the Beauty Guru. For instance, one commenter responded:

> *Lauren has always been extremely upfront about anything that she's promoted. She's always very truthful with her opinions and suggestions. She would NEVER purposely trick or mislead her viewers. If she is being paid by them, I don't think she purposely left that information out. Seventeen might have very well just sent her these products and she liked them and decided to do a video about them. Lauren is an extremely sensitive and sweet person. I've been watching her for seven years. I've never known her to behave like that. Until you know for sure, please don't judge her in that way.*

This tribal defense stems from an acknowledgement of the Beauty Guru's established relationship with the tribe. Lauren may be an entrepreneur and a profitable brand, however she is also acknowledged as a fellow tribe member with feelings that may be hurt by the expression of other-condemning emotions.

Similarly to the tribal entrepreneurs' more direct practices of emotional censorship, here the broader tribe also works to suppress negative emotions surrounding tribal entrepreneurship. Notably, it is where Beauty Gurus do not engage in emotional censorship, and enable other-condemning emotions to be expressed, that such tribal defense can occur. Unlike emotional censorship, which simply removes other-condemning emotions from certain locations, tribal defense can serve to manage emotions in a more enduring way as criticism or 'hate' is countered with condemnation - a form of emotional work - and therefore discouraged. As we shall discuss below, Beauty Gurus, in turn, encourage and foster tribal compassion and subsequent defense by engaging in novel forms of emotional labour.

Tribal Entrepreneurs' Self-Conscious and Other-Praising Emotional Labour

Tribal entrepreneurs' expressions of self-conscious and other-praising emotions can be understood as novel forms of emotional labour that elicited positive emotions within the tribe (compassion, awe, elevation) and thus strengthened emotional bonds.

First, we observed Beauty Gurus' open expression of the self-conscious moral emotions of guilt and embarrassment in relation to potential moral betrayals. For example, in 2014 leading UK Beauty Guru Zoe Sugg, also known as Zoella, uploaded a video titled 'Sometimes It All Gets A Bit Too Much,' in which she openly expressed her guilt at not producing the high quality video content she felt her viewers deserved. Her face red from crying, mascara smudged, she sobbed:

> *I'm not too sure why I'm filming this* [sobs] *I think maybe because* [sobs] *this is part of my day and I want you guys to know that* [sobs, wipes away tear] *I'm a real person, my life isn't perfect, and sometimes this all gets too much* […] *I don't cope with it very well because I'm, I don't know, a sensitive soul* [sighs] *I now feel bad that this is my vlog for the day,* […]. *I just feel like a failure today, a big old failure* […] *But I love you and I'm going to try really hard to get my shit together because I don't want to disappoint people.*

Insert Figure 2 here

Zoe labours on the self-conscious emotion of guilt. Whilst neglect of one's YouTube channel can be seen as moral betrayal by the tribe, particularly where Beauty Gurus are perceived to prioritise other commercial projects over the satisfaction of their viewers, Zoe's emotional outpouring was met with tribal compassion. For instance, one beauty blogger responded with an acknowledgement of the challenges involved in Zoe's YouTube career.

> *I think it's sad how little recognition that YouTubers get for the amount of work they put into their videos and in Zoe's case her own blog. It's often seen as an easy job but in reality, a lot of effort time and creativity goes into making even one video. Anyone who has ever made a YouTube video can tell you that. Just remember we're all human, and no matter our situation or our lifestyle, we all get upset sometimes. It's what makes us human.*

Here, the self-conscious emotional labour of the Beauty Guru and the resultant compassion elicited amongst tribe members enables the tribal entrepreneur to pursue commercial opportunities whilst maintaining existing emotional bonds. By highlighting her human and emotional side Zoe elicits other-suffering emotions in other tribe members as they jump to defend their favourite Beauty Guru in the same way that they might defend rather than condemn the transgressions of a friend or family member. This contrasts starkly with the emotional labour presented by Hochschild (1983), where employees are *prohibited* from such emotional outbursts. Yet, we have seen that the elicited outcome of tribal compassion serves to not only discourage compassionate tribe members from expressing other-condemning emotions toward the tribal entrepreneur, but also motivates them to discourage others by condemning the expression of 'hate' toward Beauty Gurus.

In addition to guilt, we also observed instances of Beauty Gurus expressing embarrassment in the context of commercial activity. For example, Samantha Chapman, who runs the YouTube channel pixiwoo with her sister Nicola Chapman, launched her own brand of makeup brushes, 'Real Techniques', in 2011. In a makeup tutorial uploaded by Samantha shortly following the launch of her brush range, she commented candidly on the use of her own merchandise within her makeup tutorials:

> *This one* [brush] *is a Real Techniques* [her brand] *base shadow brush. I feel like I probably shouldn't- You know when I'm gonna use the Real Technique ones 'cause you know colours of them, right? Um...so I don't know if I always need to mention that it's my brush 'cause...um...I feel a little embarrassed. I don't know why.* [Pause] *That probably sounds silly, but...I don't want it to seem like I'm like trying to sell them to you. Because I do think they are good brushes, I think they speak for themselves, but...I feel uncomfortable.*

Here Samantha expresses recognition that she may be violating a norm in her videos, eliciting embarrassment. The way in which embarrassment is managed and openly expressed constitutes a form of emotional labour. Embarrassment motivates reparation (Haidt, 2003), which in this instance involves vocalising this moral emotion to the tribe. Such expressions of embarrassment

are uncommon within corporate communications, or in customer service, and therefore in tribal entrepreneurship we see distinct forms of emotional labour emerging based on self-conscious emotions. We see from the comments on this video that Samantha's explicit vocalisation of embarrassment invites not only compassion, but also awe and elevation:

> *Of course mention your brush every time, same as others* [other brands]. *What if you have a new viewer? You should not be embarrassed but PROUD!*
>
> *You can mention your brushes whenever you want, because we know that you mean what you say and, as you said, the brushes DO speak for themselves. Do NOT feel uncomfortable or embarrassed, you have so much talent and the right to be a little promotional about your awesome products.*
>
> *I like how you are so humble about your Real Techniques collection, especially since all I have seen are rave reviews! Thank you for being concerned that you are "selling" to us, it shows you care about the integrity of your videos.*

The tribe acknowledged and accepted Samantha's expression of self-conscious emotion, and in response showed compassion, attempting to reduce the Beauty Guru's suffering by offering reassurance. Furthermore, tribe members expressed the other-praising emotions of awe and elevation, praising Samantha's candidness and integrity. Here emotional labour accompanying commercial behaviors that might be perceived as moral betrayals serves to maintain the emotional bonds that are under threat.

In addition to self-conscious emotional labour involving expressions of guilt and embarassment, Beauty Gurus performed other-praising emotional labour by repeatedly expressing their gratitude to the tribe for their commercial success. For instance, in September 2016 Beauty Guru Fleur De Force published a blog post entitled '7 Years Online'. In the post, she shared highlights from her YouTube career, and concluded by emphasising her gratitude to the broader tribe:

> *I wanted to thank you all. If you're reading this, you've had such a huge impact on my life. In teaching me all the things I've mentioned above, in allowing me to pursue what I love doing as a career and also just being a great support and positive force in my life.*

The tribe's role in the Beauty Guru's success is explicitly recognised in this expression of

gratitude, while Fleur also expresses awe and elevation by highlighting the tribe's positive qualities. Other-praising emotions encourage emulation and reciprocation (Haidt, 2003), and the tribe reciprocated within the blog comments, and the YouTube comments on the corresponding '7 Years on YouTube' video, with the expression of the other-praising emotions of awe and elevation towards Fleur:

> *Your success is a true testament to how hard you've worked and your true passion for what you do. An inspiration.* (Blog comment)
>
> *Congratulations Fleur! I hope you feel really proud of yourself for everything you've achieved. Don't forget you've probably changed loads of people's lives too in so many ways!* (Blog comment)
>
> *I respect you so much in the way that you've navigated your career throughout these changes. You are a great role model for young girls watching and I wish you all the best in the future!!* (Video comment)

This gratitude isn't reserved only for these occasional reflective and detailed celebratory posts. Indeed, Beauty Gurus' social media feeds are punctuated with expressions of gratitude toward the broader tribe, for instance:

> *Reading the comments on my last vlogmas vlog and feeling so very, very thankful to have such a supportive, loving community <3 :)*
>
> (Louise Pentland, Twitter post, 2014)

> *2016 has been quite the year!* 🎉 *So many incredible things have happened to me because of your support and I am so thankful for everything. From publishing my first book #BloomBook* 📚🎉*, to reaching 1 million subscribers on YouTube* 💻 *it really has been humbling. Here's to another year of reaching goals and growing together.* 💕
>
> (Estee Lalonde, Facebook Post, 2016)

> *The biggest thank you to all of you for following and supporting my crazy journey this year with so much love! I can't tell you how much your supportive comments and heart button likes do for my inspiration to carry on creating content. I just want to be even more creative and inspired in 2017 and I have you guys to thank for the motivation! You're all seriously awesome! Thank you so much*
>
> (Victoria McGrath, Instagram Post, 2016)

By regularly vocalising the other-praising emotion of gratitude towards the tribe, Beauty Gurus strengthen emotional bonds and elicit in return the other-praising emotions of awe and elevation. In strengthening these emotional bonds compassion is further increased (Haidt, 2003), enhancing the likelihood of the positive reception of their entrepreneurial activities.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Our research extends theories of tribal entrepreneurship in several ways. Tribal entrepreneurship is distinct from conventional entrepreneurship, since it involves managing and commercialising existing emotional bonds. This is the first study that explicitly considers the emotional dimension of tribal entrepreneurship, and our findings highlight the role of emotions in shaping its success. Building upon prior work that explores the tensions between communities/subcultures/tribes and brands (e.g. Cova & White, 2010; Langer, 2007), we highlight tensions that develop when commercialisation relates not to an external brand but to a tribal entrepreneur that has emerged from within the consumer tribe. Our findings demonstrate that pre-existing emotional bonds introduce a moral dimension to tribal entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurs must carefully balance their tribal bonds with their commercial interests in order to avoid perceptions of betrayal that prompt other-condemning tribal emotions that – if improperly unmanaged – may be detrimental to the entrepreneur's commercial ventures. Prior work has explored negative responses to commercialisation within more niche, often anti-mainstream tribes (Langer, 2007; Goulding & Saren, 2007), however we demonstrate that even in the BeautyTube tribe, with its mainstream, highly commercial focus, tribal entrepreneurship may elicit negative moral emotions. However, our research demonstrates that tribal responses to commercial activities can be managed through emotional labour, highlighting the significant and ongoing emotional labour required by tribe members and tribal entrepreneurs in order to co-produce successful instances of tribal entrepreneurship (see Figure 3).

Insert Figure 3 here

We observed novel forms of emotional labour performed by tribal entrepreneurs

themselves, which differ from both established marketing and entrepreneurship practices, and from emotional labour by service professionals in other fields. These Beauty Gurus do not work in an organisation with established 'feeling rules' by which they must abide (Hochschild, 19833). The moral and emotional rules to which the entrepreneur must respond emerge within the tribe itself in response to tribal entrepreneurship. Where tribal entrepreneurship is perceived to present a moral transgression that elicits other-condemning emotions, the tribal entrepreneur must find ways to manage the tribe's emotions. We have documented three strategies employed by tribal entrepreneurs in order to do this: emotional censorship, self-conscious emotional labour, and other-praising emotional labour.

The first of these strategies attempts to suppress negative emotions. New practices of technology-enabled emotional censorship can silence other-condemning tribal emotions within online spaces controlled by the entrepreneur. This method of dealing with consumer emotions was absent in Hochschild's (1983) original work, and has been enabled by subsequent technological developments. Such emotional censorship does not entirely manage away other-condemning emotions. Although negative emotions are distanced from commercial activity, they often resurface on other, less moderated platforms. Indeed, new and increasingly popular tribal gathering spaces in the form of gossip forums emerged as outlets for emotions suppressed elsewhere. Furthermore, emotional censorship may be seen as a further betrayal, eliciting renewed condemnation. The implications of emotional censorship for the tribe may be significant. According to Haidt (2003:859) "only anger motivates direct action to repair the moral order and to make the violators mend their ways". Where tribe members are unable to express and act on anger due to emotional censorship, this may create obstacles to addressing injustices. Emotional censorship therefore holds implications for power distribution within the tribe. Where conversations within the BeautyTube tribe take place in online spaces controlled by tribal entrepreneurs, they are able to shape the emotional dimension of conversations in new ways that are not recognised in the consumer tribes literature. Thus whilst Goulding et al. (2013)

propose that tribal entrepreneurship re-balances power in favour of consumers, we see the potential for emotional censorship by tribal entrepreneurs to regain power in ways that benefit the entrepreneur but may have negative consequences for the broader tribe.

In addition to emotional censorship, we identified two new forms of emotional labour at the heart of Beauty Gurus' entrepreneurial activity: self-conscious and other-praising emotional labour. Rather than suppressing negative emotions, these strategies elicit positive moral emotions surrounding commercial activity, thus protecting established emotional bonds. Self-conscious emotional labour, involving vocalising feelings of embarrassment and guilt surrounding tribal entrepreneurship, is met with compassion as tribe members empathise with, reassure, and defend the entrepreneur, and also by expressions of awe and elevation as the tribe praise their candidness and integrity. Tribal entrepreneurs' other-praising emotional labour, involving the expression of gratitude, awe and elevation toward the tribe, is met with reciprocal expressions of awe and elevation by tribe members. Emotional labour typically aims to produce feelings of contentment and security (e.g. flight attendants, healthcare professionals, customer service staff) (e.g. Cho, Rutherford and Park, 2013; Hochschild 1983), rather than compassion, awe and elevation. However, in the context of tribal entrepreneurship labouring to elicit these positive moral emotions deepens tribal bonds, strengthening the tribe's compassion for the entrepreneur in ways that motivate tribe members to also labour on emotions in ways that contribute to the success of tribal entrepreneurship.

Indeed, emotional labour is not only performed by the tribal entrepreneur. Our analysis highlights the blurring of emotion work and emotional labour as defined by Hochschild (1983), as tribe members' work on their moral emotions may too become a form of emotional labour that produces exchange value. In contrast to prior research on brand/tribe tensions (e.g. Cova & White, 2010), we found that tribe members exhibited compassion for the entrepreneur as a fellow tribe member. This compassion not only reduces the likelihood of tribe members expressing other-condemning emotions themselves, but also motivates tribe members to defend

and justify the entrepreneur's actions, and to express other-condemning emotions towards those criticising the entrepreneur. As with emotional censorship, negative emotions are suppressed. Here we see that the tribe labours to maintain tribal bonds in ways that contribute to the commercial success of tribal entrepreneurship ventures. Thus whilst the expression of other-condemning emotions toward the tribal entrepreneur can unproblematically be understood as emotion work, since it is directed against commercial activity, in contrast tribal compassion for, and resulting defense of, the tribal entrepreneur presents a form of emotional labour since it results in exchange value for the entrepreneur. Indeed, the success of tribal entrepreneurship largely hinges upon maintaining tribal bonds in a way that will stimulate this form of emotional labour. The tribal entrepreneur's emotional labour alone is not sufficient – successful tribal entrepreneurship ventures are co-produced in the joint emotional labours of both tribal entrepreneurs and the broader tribe.

Whilst prior work emphasises the *intellectual* labour involved in tribal entrepreneurship, as tribal *knowledge* is translated into commercial ventures (Goulding & Saren, 2007; Guercini & Cova, 2015; Langer, 2007; Martin & Schouten, 2014), we emphasise the importance of *emotional* labour as tribe members must carefully and tactfully balance their existing emotional bonds with the tribe and their own commercial interests. The implication is that although entrepreneurs might explicitly recognise the intellectual dimension of their success, they might also become more sensitive to the forms of emotional management that we have described. The success of these new forms of entrepreneurship demands a sensitivity to tribal emotions.

Our analysis draws from and extends theories of emotions in commercial contexts. Work on emotional labour typically explores the expression and emphasis of certain emotions by employees, typically in retail and service environments, in their daily roles (e.g. Hochschild, 1983; Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003). We extend literature on emotional labour by exploring new forms that involve the expression of Haidt's (2003) moral emotions. Our analysis provides insight into the distinct forms of *moral* emotional labour that surround tribal entrepreneurship

– specifically self-conscious and other-praising emotional labour. Exploring the capacity for moral emotions to elicit or suppress certain moral emotions in others enabled us to map out the broader emotional dynamics surrounding tribal entrepreneurship.

In uniting Hochschild's (1983) concept of emotional labour with Haidt's (2001, 2003, 2007) families of moral emotions, we further provide a fruitful lens for understanding the emotional dynamics that emerge in a range of contexts where business activities might be seen as morally transgressive. Studies of moral emotions within business research primarily correlate business practices with elicited consumer emotions, and/or correlate consumers' moral emotions with consumer actions (e.g. Grappi et al., 2003; Romani et al., 2012). Such research helps to explain consumer behaviours. However, our approach provides insight into the ways new forms of entrepreneurship involve a broader range of moral emotions in ways that shape the emotional responses, and thus the actions, of stakeholders. Indeed it is possible that these new forms of tribal entrepreneurship emerge from the ability to manage the complex emotional bonds that are built within online communities.

Finally, we contribute to broader discussions of immaterial labour (Hardt & Negri, 2000; Lazzarato, 1996) in online environments. Scholars have previously acknowledged the blurring of intellectual work and labour in digital spaces, as consumers work on online content and platforms in ways that produce financial revenue for companies (e.g. Bonsu & Darmody, 2008; Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2010; Terranova, 2000). However, literature exploring immaterial labour in online environments has typically explored cognitive labour, at the expense of affective labour. The potential for consumers to work on emotions in ways that contribute to corporate profits has not been acknowledged or explored, and indeed theories of emotional labour as proposed by Hochschild (1983) are constrained to firm employees. However our study demonstrates that tribe members' emotion work may too become a form of emotional labour that produces exchange value. Thus we extend discussions of immaterial labour within business research by exploring the often-overlooked role of affective labour (Hardt & Negri, 2000),

highlighting its important role in sustaining tribal markets in instances of tribal entrepreneurship. With this comes new issues of responsibility, for example about who and which emotions might be produced, and to what end, i.e., the degree to which tribal emotional bonds may be a source of commercial profits.

LIMITATIONS & FUTURE RESEARCH

Our netnographic data collection drew from expressions of moral emotions within publically accessible online spaces. Whilst this provided insights into recurring emotional interplays surrounding tribal entrepreneurship, we also observed practices of emotional censorship. Whilst some tribe members found alternative outlets for the expression of other-condemning emotions, not all will have been able or motivated to do so. Furthermore, our netnographic approach did not capture the potential for other-condemning emotions to prompt tribe members to quietly and inconspicuously leave the tribe or distance themselves from the tribal entrepreneur. Emotions that are felt, but are not expressed within public online spaces, are not captured and call for direct interaction with tribal entrepreneurs and broader members. Participatory netnographic research or interview methods may therefore provide additional insight into the moral emotions experienced during tribal entrepreneurship.

The focus of our paper was the emotional dynamics surrounding commercialisation, and thus we have centered our analysis on moral emotions elicited by moral transgressions, rather than the transgressions themselves. There is therefore potential for a more complete exploration of those circumstances where commercial activities are perceived as a moral betrayal of the tribe, and this may provide useful insights into the 'moral codes' within the tribe, by which entrepreneurs are bound, or which then may seek to influence. Our netnography identifies the management mechanisms apparent within entrepreneurial activity, but we are unable to quantify either the extent or intensity of emotions experienced by either entrepreneurs or tribe members and therefore the full significance of emotional labour, including the potential negative effects on individuals or commercial actors.

Such an analysis would be useful in guiding future tribal entrepreneurial efforts, and may also provide guidance on public policy by identifying behaviours considered unethical or damaging to individuals. For instance, our discussion of deception as tribal betrayal raises issues of advertising literacy in the context of the rapidly evolving digital media landscape. Despite increased guidance offered to vloggers and bloggers (by the Advertising Standards Authority in the UK, and equivalent bodies elsewhere), little is known about the extent to which consumers are able to identify sponsored YouTube content as marketing communications. This is particularly concerning given that many YouTube users are under 18, and may have a lower level of advertising literacy (Nairn & Hang, 2012). As tribal entrepreneurship practices come to present new ethical dilemmas, a need for public policy research emerges.

Finally, although space restrictions prevented us from fully exploring the role of online platform infrastructure and functionality in this article, we observed that their structure (e.g. type of content, length/size of content, modes of interaction, moderation mechanisms) and their established norms shaped the expression of moral emotions, as well as tribal interactions more broadly. As research documents shifting forms of consumer sociality online (e.g. Arvidsson and Caliandro, 2016), we call for further research that explores the role of online platforms in structuring entrepreneurial relations.

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Table 1 – Summary of Haidt's (2003) moral emotions, with illustrations from business practice

	Moral emotion	Elicitors	Action tendencies	Examples from business practice
Other-Condemning Family	Anger	Frustration, betrayal, insults and injustice. Can be triggered on behalf of others.	Attack, humiliate or get revenge.	Concerns that consumers or other stakeholders are being treated unfairly result in anger at irresponsible business practice (Choi & Lin, 2009). Common action tendencies include negative word of mouth, protest behaviour (Grappi et al., 2013), and activism (Waldron, Navis & Fisher, 2013). ***E.g. protests at Starbucks' tax avoidance in the UK, with demands for justice (Escobales & McVeigh, 2012)***
	Disgust	Objects that revolt the senses. People who violate local, cultural rules for how to use their bodies.	Avoid contact with the offending entity. Wash and purify.	Disgust when business practices break cultural taboos (Kallio, 2007) resulting in boycott. ***E.g. Disgust at Tesco's horsemeat scandal, in a culture where eating horse is considered taboo, resulted in a boycott of the retailer (Tse et al., 2016).***
	Contempt	Perceptions of moral superiority.	Mockery, disregard, treatment with lack of respect, and consideration.	Managers' contempt for stakeholders (Choi and Lin, 2009) may result in a lack of consideration. ***E.g. Philip Green's lack of respect towards BHS workers, whereby money were removed from their pension funds for personal gain, putting thousands of workers' and pensioners' pension payments at risk (Butler, 2017).***
Self-Conscious Family	Shame	Perception that your core self is defective since you have failed to meet standards of morality, aesthetics or competence.	Hide, or withdraw, signaling recognition of violation (thus reducing likelihood of attack by others). Attempts at reparation.	Managers and employees may feel embarrassed as a result of publicity surrounding corporate wrongdoing, sometimes resulting in resignation. (Cohan, 2002; Lange &Washburn, 2012) ***E.g. A collective sense of embarrassment following the collapse of Enron, leading to attempts at reparation via the (temporary) suspension of bonuses and acceptance of policy of stricter control (Cohan, 2002),***
	Embarrassment	Perception that you have violated a norm in an observable way within a social interaction.		
	Guilt	Perception that you have caused harm, loss or distress to another, particularly where this threatens your relationship with this person.	Apologise, confess, or make-up for transgression.	Consumer's guilt at the recognition of suffering in others as driver of cause-related marketing campaigns or philanthropic activities (Lwin & Phau, 2014), or admission of guilt over corporate scandals resulting in attempts to 'make good'. ***E.g. Six executives from VW admit guilt and company pays $4.3bn emissions scandal penalty (Lynch, 2017).***
Other-Suffering Family	Compassion and Sympathy	Perception of sorrow or suffering in another, particularly for those with whom one has a close, communal relationship.	Help, comfort, or otherwise alleviate the suffering of the other.	Compassion and empathy in corporate philanthropy decision-making (Muller, Pfarrer & Little, 2014), resulting in CSR and related activity. ***E.g. Tesco's long-term support and compassion for cancer patients, which raised millions to fund Cancer Research's lifesaving research (Tesco, 2017).***
Other-Praising Family	Gratitude	Perception that someone has done a good deed that benefits you, both intentionally and of their own volition	Expressions of thanks, reciprocation towards benefactor, and engaging in more pro-social behaviours in general	Charities and vulnerable groups, or other stakeholders' perception of corporate philanthropy or other societal initiatives as doing good leads to gratitude (Romani et al., 2013) that results in positive word of mouth. ***E.g. Stakeholders' gratitude towards Unilever's Sustainable Living Plan that aims to reduce negative environmental impact (Confino, 2013).***
	Awe and Elevation	Acts of kindness, generosity, loyalty and self-sacrifice.	Bettering of oneself, following the example of the moral exemplar (e.g. helping others)	Awe/elevation as a response to inspirational figures in corporations (Sosik, Chun & Zhu, 2014) or at positive impact of a business (e.g. protecting environment), resulting in increased support and loyalty. ***E.g. Awe and elevation at Apple products and especially the creation of Steve Jobs as technology guru (Robinson, 2013).***

Table 2 – Focal Beauty Gurus

	Beauty Guru	YouTube Channel(/s)	YouTube Subscribers	Personal Website/Blog	Instagram Profile	Twitter Profile	Facebook Page (Public)
1	Zoe Sugg	zoella morezoella	12.0m 4.7m	zoella.co.uk	@zoella	@zoella	@zoe.zoella
2	Tanya Burr	tanyaburr	3.7m	tanyaburr.co.uk	@tanyaburr	@tanyaburr	@officialtanyaburr
3	Lindy Tsang	bubzbeauty bubzvlogz	3.0m 1.0m	bubzbeauty.com	@itsbubz	@bubzbeauty	@itsbubz
4	Wayne Goss	gossmakeupartist gossmakeupchat	2.8m 0.5m	gossmakeupartist.com	@gossmakeupartist	@gossmakeupartis	@officialgossmakeupartist
5	Louise Pentland	sprinkleofglitter sprinkleofchatter	2.6m 1.2m	sprinkleofglitter.blogspot.co.uk	@louisepentland	@louisepentland	@louisepentland
6	Samantha & Nicola Chapman	pixiwoo pixiwoomadness realtechniques	2.1m 0.3m 0.3m	pixiwoo.com	@pixiwoo(Nic) @pixiwoos (Sam)	@pixiwoo(Nic) @pixiwoos (Sam)	@officialpixiwoo
7	Samantha Maria	samanthamaria thesammimariashow	1.8m 0.5m	samanthamariaofficial.com	@samanthamaria	@samanthamaria	@sammimaria
8	Niomi Smart	niomismart	1.7m	niomismart.com	@niomismart	@niomismart	@niomismart
9	Kaushal Beauty	kaushalbeauty	1.8m	kaushalbeauty.com	@kaushalbeauty	@kaushalbeauty	@kaushalbeauty
10	Lisa Eldridge	lisaeldridge	1.7m	lisaeldridge.com	@lisaeldridgemakeup	@Lisa_Eldridge	@lisaeldridgedotcom
11	Fleur De Force	fleurdeforce fleurdevlog bridedeforce	1.4m	fleurdeforce.com	@fleurdeforce	@fleurdeforce	@fleurdeforce
12	Patricia Bright	britpopprincess britpoplife	1.4m	patriciabright.co.uk	@thepatriciabright	@pattyolovesu	-
13	Estee Lalonde	esteelalonde everydayestee	1.2m 0.4m	esteelalonde.com	@esteelalonde	@esteelalonde	@estee.lalonde
14	Gabriella Lindley	velvetgh0st planetgabb	0.9m 0.5m	gabulous.co.uk	@velvetgh0st	@velvetgh0st	-
15	Klaire de Lys	klairedelysart klairedelysdotcom	0.9m 0.2m	klairedelys.com	@klairedelys	@klairedelys	@klaire-de-lys-128984429746
16	Shirley Eniang	shirleybeniang	0.7m	shirleyswardrobe.com	@shirleybeniang	@shirleybeniang	@shirley.b.eniang
17	Dina Torkia	dinatokio sidndina	0.7m 0.3m	dinatorkia.co.uk	@dinatokio	@dinatokio	@dinatokio
18	Emma Pickles	euphoriccreation	0.6m	emmapickles.uk	@emmapickles	@emma_pickles	@euphoricCreation
19	Jennie Jenkins	beautybyjj	0.6m	jenniejenkins.co.uk	@thejenniejenkins	@thebeautybyjj	@beautybyjj-184104001613332
20	Victoria Magrath	inthefrow	0.6m	inthefrow.com	@inthefrow	@inthefrow	@inthefrow
21	Freddy Cousin-Brown	freddymylove	0.6m	freddymylove.co.uk	freddycousinbrown	@freddymylovee	@freddycousinbrown
22	Lauren Luke	panacea81	0.5m	-	@panacea81	@panacea81	@panacea81
23	Anna Gardner	theannaedit	0.4m	theannaedit.com	@theannaedit	@theannaedit	@theannaedit
24	SunbeamsJess	sunbeamsjess extrasunbeamsjess	0.4m 0.1m	-	sunbeamsjess	sunbeamsjess	-
25	Lily Pebbles	lilypebbles	0.4m	lilypebbles.co.uk	@lilypebbles	@lilypebbles	@lilypebbles

Table 3 – Summary of Data Sources

Source	Collected Data
Beauty Guru YouTube Channels	974 videos (153 hours of footage) with 7,652 video comments
Beauty Guru Blogs	642 blog posts with 1,720 blog comments
Beauty Guru Social Media Profiles	654 Instagram Posts with 1354 comments 856 Twitter Posts, with 1760 replies 324 Facebook Posts, with 632 comments
Beauty Guru Discussion Forums	436 Gurugossiper.com threads 26 YouTalkTrash.com threads

Figure 1 – Thumbnail of Tanya Burr's vlog, sponsored by Clinique

Figure 2 – Screenshot from Zoella's YouTube Video 'Sometimes It All Gets A Bit Too Much'

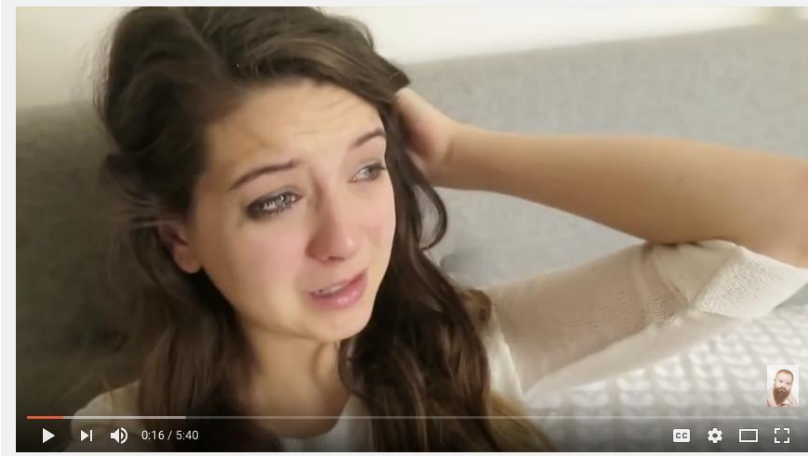
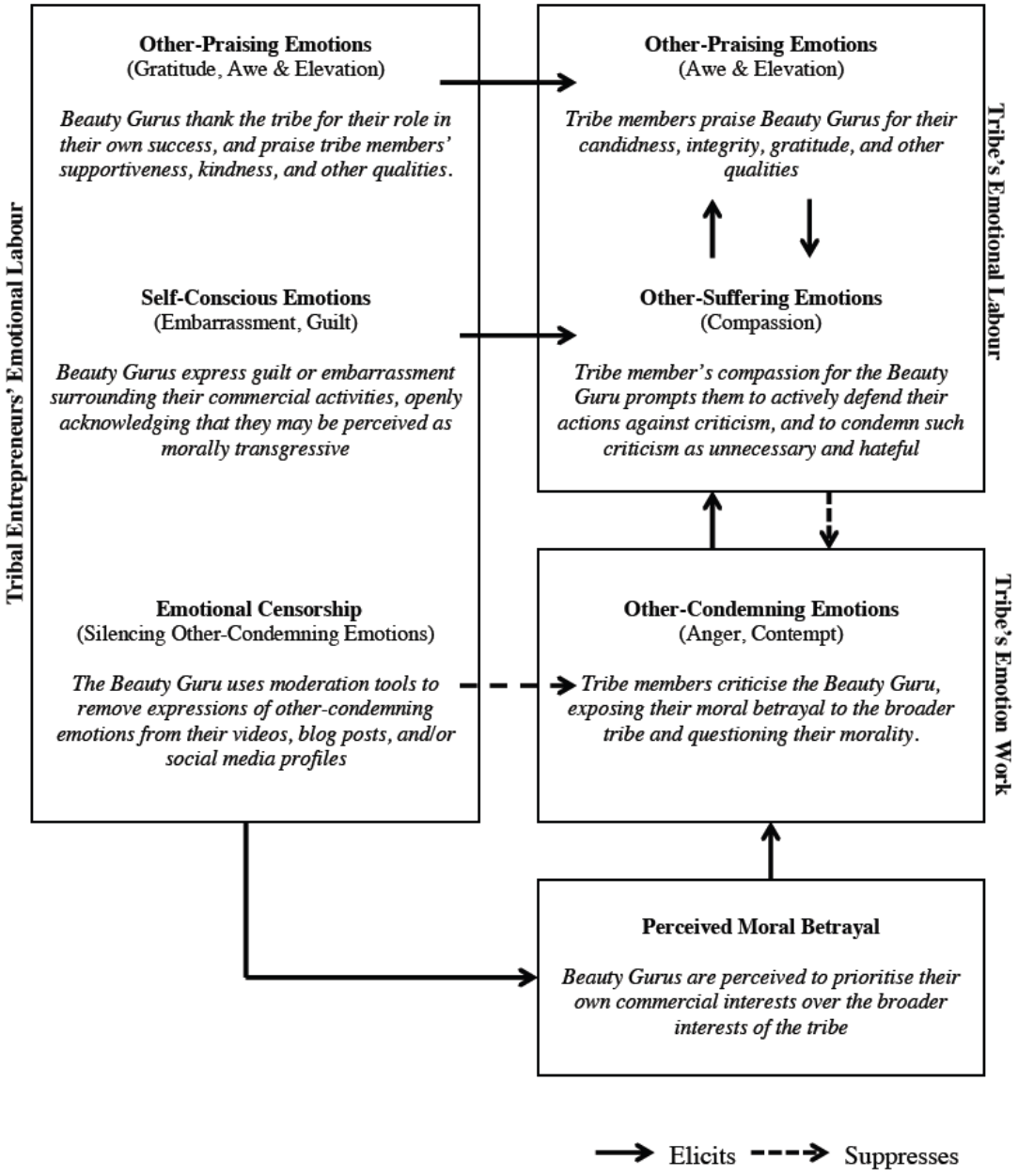
Figure 3 – The emotional labour of tribal entrepreneurship