

**CELEBRITY PRACTICE IN NETWORKED MEDIA:
A case study of Lady Gaga and Twitter**

Master's thesis

Lari Myrskog

University of Jyväskylä
Department of Languages
English
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Tiivistelmä – Abstract <p>Tutkielman tarkoitus oli selvittää, millä tavoin poplaulaja Lady Gaga käyttää yhteisö- ja mikroblogipalvelu Twitteriä aktiiviseen julkisuuden harjoittamiseen. Aineisto koostui 207 Lady Gagan julkaisemasta tweetistä eli mikroblogimerkinnästä, jotka kerättiin Twitteristä valitsemalla satunnainen kahden kuukauden mittainen ajanjakso, joka oli tässä tapauksessa marras-joulukuu 2012. Tutkielman tavoite oli tutkia, mihin tarkoituksiin Lady Gaga käyttää Twitteriä, eli mitä eri funktioita hänen julkisuuden harjoittamisensa toteuttaa. Toisena tavoitteena oli selvittää, millaisia keinoja Lady Gaga käyttää näiden funktioiden toteuttamisessa, ja mitkä ovat hänelle tyypillisiä piirteitä julkisuuden harjoittamisessa. Tutkielma toteutettiin aineistolähtöisesti siten, että aineisto jaettiin kategorioihin, jotka muodostettiin aineistossa yleisimmin esiintyvien teemojen perusteella. Tällä tavoin saatiin selville, mitkä julkisuuden harjoittamisen funktiot olivat valittuna ajanjaksona tärkeimpiä Lady Gagalle, sekä mitkä olivat hänelle tyypillisiä tapoja toteuttaa näitä.</p> <p>Tutkimustulokset osoittivat, että Lady Gagan tapauksessa Twitter on pääasiallisesti työkalu, jonka avulla hän ylläpitää ja hoitaa suhteita faneihinsa, sekä vahvistaa faniyhteisön sisäistä yhteenkuuluvaisuuden tunnetta. Muita tutkimuksessa esiin nousseita julkisuuden harjoittamisen funktioita olivat oman julkkisstatuksen painottaminen, kulutustuotteiden mainonta ja markkinointi, sekä aktivismi, joka koostui poliittisten mielipiteiden ilmaisemisesta ja sosiaalisten epäkohtien esiin nostamisesta. Kiinnostava lisätutkimuksen aihe olisi tarkastella sitä, kuinka fanit suhtautuvat Lady Gagan julkisuuden harjoittamiseen, sekä millaisia merkityksiä he liittävät omaan faniuteensa ja Lady Gaga faniyhteisöön.</p>	
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1. INTRODUCTION

A celebrity is someone who is widely recognized, celebrated. Few of those who recognize a celebrity know them personally, but rather as an image constructed by various media like television, the press and the growing amount of online located media. For most people, their impression of a celebrity figure is largely based on representations, various statements and images that create a version of what he or she is like. New communication technologies in the form of different networked media applications have brought new possibilities for celebrities as well as the non-famous in the achievement and maintenance of fame. Applications like Twitter and Facebook have affected the roles of media, celebrity, and audience, enabling the latter two to have a more direct relationship in which both parties are more active.

Celebrity can refer to someone who is famous, but it can also refer to a pattern of acting, a practice. In this study, celebrity will be examined as a *performative practice*, as laid forth by boyd and Marwick (2011) in their article *To See and Be Seen: Celebrity Practice on Twitter*. Using mobile phones, laptops, and similar devices celebrities can be in direct contact with their fans, maintain their celebrity image, and attempt to increase their fame using methods adapted from practitioners of *micro-celebrity* (boyd and Marwick 2011). This is a term coined by Theresa Senft (2008) which refers to fame that is achieved by non-famous individuals who maintain an active online presence and are able to build a fan base through the use of live-webcams and blogs.

In addition to creating new possibilities and sites for the famous to practice celebrity, the rise of networked media has also influenced the practices of media audiences and fans. Fandom and fan-culture have received increased attention among researchers in recent years, a trend largely influenced by Henry Jenkins. His research on fandom (Jenkins 1992; 2006a; 2006b) has shown that fans have taken a more active role than before, having discussions with other fans, giving more feedback to the production teams and even producing their own cultural content that is set in the world of the original cultural artifact they are fans of. Thus a much more participation-oriented attitude toward consuming culture has emerged. Fans are no longer considered couch-potatoes that passively consume the culture that is fed to them, but active participants who reinvent, remodel and modify culture. This new development has been termed *participatory culture* by Jenkins (2006).

The aim of this thesis study is to investigate the pop star Lady Gaga, one of the most followed Twitter users of all time, to find out what purposes her practice of celebrity serves, and what are some typical elements it consists of. This is done by examining all of the tweets she has tweeted during a period of two months, and categorizing these thematically to get an idea of the different functions she uses Twitter for in her celebrity practice. This will also clarify the importance of these functions in relation to each other. The present study aims to further the study of celebrity practice on Twitter initiated by boyd and Marwick (2011), by focusing more on one of its most important functions: the maintenance of fans. Whereas boyd and Marwick presented fan maintenance as one element of celebrity practice among many, this study views fan maintenance as the single most important element, that did not receive enough attention in boyd and Marwick's original study.

2. WHY STUDY CELEBRITY?

Celebrity culture as an academic field of study is definitely not among those that are most well established and prestigious. As Kristine Harmon (2005: 99) notes in her article 'Celebrity Culture: Bibliographical Review', few scholars study celebrity culture over their whole career, choosing rather to 'dabble' in it. The importance of celebrities and the permeation of celebrity culture into society's layers have, however, grown rapidly in the past decade, resulting in an increased amount of research within the field recently. This has also been referred to as a "boom period in the academic analyses of celebrity" (Holmes 2005: 8), apparent especially when looking at the last decade.

According to Holmes, "...while the intellectual and popular fascination with fame has a long history (...), it was not really until the 1970s, and in film studies in particular, that the subject was given real academic consideration" (Holmes and Redmond ed. 2007: 5).

The increased significance of celebrity and the number of studies dealing with it has been discussed among others by Holmes (2005; 2007). She states that "Stars and celebrities are consumed and appropriated by fans in ways which have a profound effect on their identity, self-image and sense of belonging" Holmes (2007: 4). Holmes is arguing here that celebrity figures are important to their fans, because they aid in the construction of the fans' identities, helping them make sense of who they are.

Celebrities can thus help fans understand themselves better as they act as a mirror in the form of a public figure against which fans can reflect themselves. Thurlow, Lengel and Tomic (2004: 98) refer to Holmes, D. (1997), who discusses the role of the media in constructing identities. This is a topic that is closely linked to effect of celebrities on fans' identities, because to the majority, traditional celebrities become well-known and gain their celebrity status through their presence in different media. Very few of those who know a celebrity have ever seen that celebrity as something besides a mediated image. Referring to Holmes, Thurlow et al. write:

Previously, most people lived in communities more strictly defined along national, ethnic, religious and class lines. Consequently, identity didn't seem like such an issue and people just took their identities for granted on the basis of nationality, gender, religion, occupation and so on. More recently, however, most of us are lucky enough to live in much more exciting, multi-ethnic, international environments. People also move about a lot, whether by choice (e.g. tourists and business travelers) or by force (e.g. economic migrants and refugees). One upshot of all this is that we've increasingly turned to the media as a resource for constructing our identities. Television, movies, magazines, radio, music and so on all offer a million different role-models and lifestyle choices. (Holmes 1997, as referred by Thurlow et al. 2004: 98)

In essence, as a result of increased movement across social, national, religious and ethnic boundaries, traditional means of constructing identity and situating oneself socially into the world have diminished in strength. In the current age, the different social communities and reference groups that people can feel belonging to, are increasingly forming around celebrities and cultural products present in the media. This can at least partly explain why celebrity seems to be so important in the current age, why so many people seem to have a yearning to become someone famous (as shown by the popularity of the myriad of star-making programs on television as well as the appearance of a mass of micro-celebrities in different online environments) and why there exists a constant demand for new celebrities that can be consumed as pictures, music, news-stories and other similar artifacts. People can no longer 'find themselves' in their immediate surrounding communities as these have become so fractured, so they are turning to celebrities and other mediated constructions that can be accessed through various media. The link between celebrity following and identity has been written about already in the 1970s by Richard Dyer in *Stars*, as noted by Sean Redmond who writes,

Dyer's work emphasized how stars could be understood as cultural or ideological 'signs' – investigated using the tools of semiotics and contextual and historical analysis. In playing and influential role in mapping the cultural functions of stardom, Dyer placed a particular emphasis on how stars articulated ideas about personhood, and individualism in capitalist society. Although this idea permeates the work of

different scholars in different ways, many agree that the cultural and political functions of stardom and celebrity are intimately intertwined with the concept of identity in modern society.

(Dyer 1998, as referred by Holmes and Redmond 2007: 7)

Thus, to summarize and to answer the question in this section's title explicitly, celebrity should be studied because famous individuals and celebrity culture have come to play such strong roles in today's developed world in terms of identity construction, sense of community, and sense of belonging. By studying celebrity it is possible gain a better understanding of people living in modern societies; what they value and how they make sense of themselves and the world around them.

3. LADY GAGA

This section focuses on the pop music/fashion celebrity that is Lady Gaga. First, her significance as a modern celebrity is discussed. After this, a brief history of her will be given, followed by a discussion of her career and achievements. The end of the section is devoted to discussion of how Lady Gaga has harnessed the social media as a tool in helping charities and activist efforts, and mobilizing her fans to take action along her for these causes.

Lady Gaga is currently something of a hot topic in a wide range of academic circles, namely those concerned with celebrity studies, gender studies, fan studies, and studies related to social media. She has recently been studied from various different angles, including celebrity activism (Bennett 2013), fan-celebrity interactions (Bennett 2013), queer performativity, pop intertextuality and camp (Horn 2010), and fashion theory (Edmond 2010). She has also inspired an online academic journal devoted to her, called *Gaga Stigmata: Critical writings about art and Lady Gaga*, which contains articles such as "Hair Textiles and Gaga" (Hermanson 2011), which deals with feminist theory and surrealism. All this academic interest toward Lady Gaga implies that she is not just another pop-star, but rather a more generally representative symbol of our culture and society in this period of time. She can be seen as the embodiment of some current Western values and ideals, and by studying her it is possible to find out more about these. In an interview by Margaret Eby, the two main writers behind *Gaga Stigmata*, Kate Durbin and Meghan Vicks, give their account of why Lady Gaga is important and

worth studying (www.salon.com/2010/05/28/lady_gaga_academic_journal). Durbin states,

We needed a pop star who could simultaneously celebrate the spirit of pop — the spirit that makes everyone, no matter who or where they are in the world, stand up and start dancing when “Billie Jean” comes on the jukebox — and deconstruct, and ultimately shift, the static notion of the pop star as a figure of blind worship and untouchable-ness. Gaga has put the glitter wand back into the hands of the audience. She’s made the audience responsible for what they are viewing. No other pop singers are doing that, at least not on the level that Gaga is. No pop singer has done it on that level, ever, period. (http://www.salon.com/2010/05/28/lady_gaga_academic_journal/)

Lady Gaga can be seen as a traditional pop star, someone who inspires dancing, hysteria, and continues in the line of those pop stars before her, like Michael Jackson or Madonna, but simultaneously she is deconstructing, or breaking down the whole construct of the pop star to show people the elements that make it up and the manufactured nature of it. By engaging her fans in a seemingly direct contact via social media and by showing glimpses of the 'ordinary' aspects of her life, she is showing people that she is quite a regular person who is not so different from her fans, and that the pop star side of her is not an inherent trait, but a manufactured construction. On the topic of deconstruction of the pop star and fame, Vicks states,

Gaga is engaging in a deconstructive performance of the pop star, but this doesn't amount to Gaga erasing the pop star. Rather, she demonstrates how fame is something created and costumed and declared, just like many aspects of contemporary identity. I think her performance is more of a commentary on contemporary society and the role of the spectacle therein, rather than a destroying of anything within that society. Lady Gaga doesn't announce the death of the pop star; she demonstrates the strength of the spectacle in our culture. (http://www.salon.com/2010/05/28/lady_gaga_academic_journal/)

This quote gives some indication to the reason Lady Gaga is resonating with people so strongly in contemporary society. Vicks' statement about contemporary identity being in many ways like fame, “...something created and costumed and declared...”, coincides with Thurlow's (2004) view, mentioned in the previous section. As identity in modern society is less fixed and less determined by what type of conditions one is born to, the individual has more freedom and even obligation to declare who they are and create an identity of their choosing. Viewed in this light, Lady Gaga can be seen as having chosen to pursue the career of a pop star, her current fame and status are not seen as the result of an inherent talent or lucky break, but hard work and determination. She is not presenting herself as a god-like figure standing on a pedestal above her fans, but someone who pays constant homage to them and seems grateful for her position, as is evident in numerous tweets in the data which contain displays of affection and gratitude. Lady Gaga's attitude toward fame as being something self-proclaimed and performed is

also addressed in *Just Dance*, a biography of Lady Gaga written by Helia Phoenix (2010). Phoenix (2010: 48) writes that Lady Gaga and her friends became obsessed with fame culture early in her career, and felt famous even before achieving widespread recognition and popularity. Lady Gaga states in *Just Dance* that “You have the ability to self-proclaim your own fame” and “You have the ability to experience and feel a certain amount of self-worth that comes from a very vain place, by your choices – your opinions about fashion, about music, about politics, the way you walk down the street, the way you carry yourself at parties – you can literally choose to have fame.”(Phoenix 2010: 52)

3.1 Biography

Lady Gaga is the stage name of Stefani Joanne Angelina Germanotta, born on 28 March 1986 in Yonkers, New York (Phoenix 2010: 1). In this thesis the name Lady Gaga will be used when referring to her, as this study deals more with the widely recognized pop music entity than the person behind it. As brought out by her biographer Helia Phoenix in her book *Just Dance*, Lady Gaga comes from a well off family that lived in New York's Upper West Side, with her father working as an Internet entrepreneur and her mother in telecommunications (Phoenix 2010: 2). Lady Gaga attended Convent of the Sacred Heart, a famous catholic high school that is the oldest independent girls' school in Manhattan. After graduating she started to study at New York University's Tisch School of the Arts, where she became acquainted with musical theater, art history and design, all of which taught her skills that she would put to use many years later as a performing artist (Phoenix 2010: 6, 22-23). Lady Gaga dropped out of NYU before finishing a degree, and started to focus on building a career as a musician (Phoenix 2010: 26).

By the beginning of 2009, Lady Gaga's hard work started to produce concrete results: her first hit single 'Just Dance' reached the number one spot in the US Billboard chart as well as in the UK charts (Phoenix 2010: 160). Before this accomplishment, Lady Gaga's music had already been used on numerous television shows and as a result of a countless performances on her own and opening for acts such as The New Kids on the Block, she had started to gain wide recognition and was rapidly breaking into the mainstream (Phoenix 2010). After gaining success on the US and UK charts in the beginning of 2009, Lady Gaga's popularity started to increase drastically and her ascent

to the top cast of performing artists was happening at full speed. Only some months later, by the end of July 2009, two of Lady Gaga's songs were in the Top 10 of the Top 50 Digital Songs of All Time list, making them some of the most downloaded songs in the history of digital music. Her debut album, *The Fame*, was the third album in American history to include three songs that rose to number one in the US charts. By this time, *The Fame* had also managed to achieve sales worthy of Platinum status in Australia, the UK and the US (Phoenix 2010: 214).

Lady Gaga's status as one of the most active and followed social media users has not been achieved overnight. Even before achieving notable fame, or having adopted the name Lady Gaga, Stefani Germanotta had a MySpace page under the name of Stefani Music. This page can be seen to mark the beginning stages of Lady Gaga's celebrity practice in networked media environments, since at this time Germanotta was already using MySpace as a tool for engaging and communicating with her fans as well as promoting her live shows (Phoenix 2010: 31). Phoenix (2010: 31) states that she was “trying to create a small community and a buzz around her performances”. This same process of creating and maintaining a community of fans and creating a buzz around live performances can be observed in Lady Gaga's current activity many times amplified. As Lady Gaga's popularity increased and fan base grew, she also started to experience problems in using networked media. As a result of increased traffic to her Facebook page, she stopped updating it because she did not want to expose all of her private photographs posted there by her friends and family (Phoenix 2010: 156). At one time the most followed Twitter user, as of February 25th 2014, Lady Gaga is the fourth most followed tweeter after fellow pop-stars, Katy Perry and Justin Bieber, and the President of the US, Barack Obama (www.twitaholic.com).

3.2 Activism

Lady Gaga is a celebrity practitioner with a tendency for social and political activism. She has embraced the power of social media in spreading her political views and drawing attention to different charity causes and humanitarian projects. Lady Gaga is not alone in these endeavors, for according to Chris Rojek (2012: 9), this inclination of the famous to work toward helping charity causes has recently developed within celebrity culture in general. Rojek (2012: 9) states that many celebrities such as Bono,

Angelina Jolie, and Bob Geldof have expanded their working territory from areas of entertainment into charity investment and humanitarian work.

Lady Gaga's activism and harnessing of social media such as Twitter and Facebook for political causes has been researched by Lucy Bennett (2013), who is a co-founder of the Fan Studies Network. Bennett refers to Lady Gaga as a “timely example of how social media can be used as a tool by modern celebrities in an effort to connect and mobilise their fan base toward activist causes” (Bennett 2013). Lady Gaga is connected to several activist campaigns and foundations, like the Born This Way Foundation, an effort against homophobia and bullying. She is also known for speaking out against *Don't Ask, Don't Tell* (a law that prohibits openly homosexual people serving in the military), furthering HIV/AIDS awareness and helping spread healthy body images (Bennett 2013). Via the dissemination of healthy body images, she has worked with her fans via Twitter and littlemonsters.com by encouraging fans to send photographs of themselves, with most exposure given to fans with physical disabilities and bodies not considered stereotypically beautiful or normal, like amputees and fans with difficult skin conditions.

Bennett's article is not only concerned with the different forms of activism practiced by celebrities in social media environments, but also with how fans are reacting to this activism and plea to join a cause (Bennett 2013). Evidently, in some cases Lady Gaga has been able to mobilize some of her fans to take action beyond ‘liking’ and ‘re-tweeting’, the effortless forms of activity in social media like Twitter (Bennett 2013). A good example of celebrity-inspired fan activism has to do with a video posted on YouTube by Lady Gaga that shows her trying to reach her own senator by telephone, in an attempt to repeal the Don't Ask, Don't Tell policy which prevented openly gay individuals from serving in the military. She was not successful in her phoning attempt, but she encouraged and inspired a large group of her fans to follow her example and try to reach their senators by telephone. Some of these attempts were, in fact, successful, resulting in at least one senator's video reply on YouTube, in which he proclaimed to aid in repealing the policy. The Don't Ask, Don't Tell law was eventually repealed in 2011, an effort that was at least partly helped by the activities of Lady Gaga and her fans (Bennett 2013). As Bennett argues, joint efforts like these between celebrities and their fans in social media environments are indicators of the power of activism in social media. Activity like this is “...working to reshape our traditional understandings of the

possibilities of engagement and action. Communication and motivation are now able to flow directly and horizontally between celebrity and fans, rather than through the filtered and vertical, primarily top-down manner evident pre-social media” (Bennett 2013).

One of the main elements of Lady Gaga's activist efforts is The Born This Way Foundation, which was founded in 2011 and is led by Lady Gaga and her mother Cynthia Germanotta, to “...foster a more accepting society, where differences are embraced and individuality is celebrated.” (<http://bornthiswayfoundation.org/pages/our-mission/>). The goal of the foundation is to create “a kinder, braver world”, by “creating a safe, useful place to celebrate individuality”, by “teaching advocacy, promoting civil engagement, and encouraging self-expression”, and by “identifying ways to implement solutions and impact local communities” (<http://bornthiswayfoundation.org/pages/our-mission/>). In essence, the Born This Way Foundation is about accepting diversity among people and trying to get individuals to become active in an effort against segregation based on sexual orientation, physical and mental disabilities, and causes of bullying. The website of the foundation encourages visitors to join the movement and help the foundation's cause in many ways. On every page of the website there is a banner asking to “join us”, by entering e-mail address, cell phone number and zip code. In addition, there is a page titled “get involved”, which collects the different ways one can be involved in supporting the foundation. Visitors to this page are encouraged to “enlist others”, “tell your story”, “share your ideas”, “add a resource”, “get inspired”, and “donate”(<http://bornthiswayfoundation.org/pages/our-mission/>). The website aims to activate visitors for their cause in many different ways, and seems to use this input from new volunteers to produce new material for the foundation's purposes.

This encouraging and activating discourse is very similar to the activism Lady Gaga practices through Twitter and littlemonsters.com, the home of her internet fan community. The idea seems to be to get the fan or follower to become active and start participating in producing content by sharing things about themselves, their life stories, experiences and emotions. Lady Gaga is able to get her audience members to be open about intimate and sensitive topics by setting an example, and revealing these things about herself. As more members of the Lady Gaga community start participating in this activity, an environment is created where fans feel they can safely share intimate information.

To summarize, Lady Gaga has made social and political activism one of the cornerstones of her practices as a celebrity figure. This is made evident by the numerous charity organizations she has helped create, as well as by the fact that she has spoken openly several times about social injustices and attempted to encourage people to take action and help in solving problematic issues, as was the case with repealing the Don't Ask, Don't Tell law. Lady Gaga's tweets have an enormous reach due to the large number of Twitter followers she has, which is why it would be interesting to inspect in another study how effective these tweets are in terms of how well they manage to increase fan participation in charity work and political events.

4. TWITTER

This section will outline the basic characteristics, purposes and language use conventions that make up Twitter, a currently very popular, web-based application, that is situated somewhere between blogs and social media sites (boyd 2010: 2). As Zappavigna (2012: 2) clarifies, Twitter is an instance of the social web, or Web 2.0, which refers to a change in the internet from an information network into an interpersonal resource that allows people to enact relationships, create and publish their own content, and form networks of social interaction with other internet users.

Twitter is a microblogging service that lets registered users post *tweets*— messages that are up to 140 characters in length – onto their account (boyd 2010: 1). These tweets can then be read and commented on by other Twitter users, who “follow” (subscribe to) that account. Twitter can be used for several communicative purposes. As boyd writes, it can be used to “...converse with individuals, groups, and the public at large...” (boyd 2010: 1). Twitter is used by individuals and groups across a very wide range of domains.

Twitter users include political figures like President Barack Obama, religious figures like Pope Benedict XVI, various famous athletes, academics and celebrities from all imaginable areas of media (<https://twitter.com>). Famous people make up just a section of twitter users, though, as a large part of those with a Twitter account are not well-known persons, but rather ordinary people who use Twitter to communicate with friends and follow the tweets of the famous as well as non-famous.

Twitter is in many ways similar to other social media applications, but it has its own conventions regarding language use in specific situations. The 140-character limit of tweets has to do with the length of a text message, or SMS. Twitter was originally designed so that it could be easily used and accessed using mobile phones, but although phones are currently only one tool for tweeting and reading tweets, the 140-character limit has stuck with the application and become one of its defining features, that is actually seen to influence creative message composition (boyd 2010: 2). Zappavigna (2012: 27) refers to the limited length of posts as “...interesting data to observe how meaning can be made in constrained environments”.

What differentiates Twitter from social media applications like Facebook is that it allows asymmetrical relationships between users of the application. While Facebook requires the consent of both parties to form a relationship, or become 'friends', on Twitter it is possible to 'follow' any user and enter a relationship where there is no expectation of reciprocation (Zappavigna 2012: 27). This aspect of Twitter probably explains why it has become such a popular tool among the famous for celebrity practice. Compared to Facebook, which feels more intimate as it requires users to become 'friends', Twitter automatically puts more distance between the users and makes performing the asymmetrical relationship between celebrity and fan in an online environment more natural. After all, no celebrity wants to be friends with all of his or her fans.

The following section briefly describes the most fundamental language conventions that are characteristic to Twitter.

4.1 Language conventions of Twitter

This section deals with some conventions of language use associated with Twitter, namely *addressing* and *@mentions*, *retweeting* and *hashtags*. These are used by Twitter users for several different communicative purposes, and are such complex set of issues that a separate study would be necessary in being able to describe these elements in Lady Gaga's tweets accurately. Because of this, the present study is not concerned with examining specifically these in tweets, and the description of each convention is quite brief. Nevertheless, some description is in order because these language conventions are

part of nearly every tweet, making them a fundamental part of Lady Gaga's celebrity practice.

Addressing another user by beginning a tweet with the @character followed by the user's name is a way of directing a tweet directly to someone specific, as discussed by Zappavigna (2012: 34). The following is an example of an address chosen from the data of the present study.

10. Princess Die ♥ @KilledTheBlonde 27 December

@ladygaga I'm doing my Gaga wall now ;) it has to be perfecttttt

Retweeted by Lady Gaga

This tweet (10) by an apparent Lady Gaga fan begins with the marker @ladygaga, meaning that it is directed at her, and she will receive notification of this message. This tweet was clearly well received by Lady Gaga, as she decided to tweet it again as part of her own Twitter feed. In tweet (10) the linguistic marker @user is located in the beginning of the clause, but in some tweets the marker lies in another part of the clause, in the middle or very end. These instances are called @mentions, and they are "...a kind of amplified reference and potential tool for self-promotion..." (Zappavigna 2012: 35). As Zappavigna (2012: 35) mentions, these boost the visibility of the mentioned user among his/her Twitter followers, and draw attention to them.

Retweeting is another linguistic convention that is an integral part of Twitter. It refers to the practice of tweeting again a message previously tweeted by another user, and is a way of amplifying the reach of a liked tweet, and in the case of celebrities, "...a means of aligning with their audience." (Zappavigna 2012: 36). Retweeting is an aspect of Twitter that was previously signified by adding the marker **RT** to the beginning of a tweet, as was the case when boyd and Marwick (2011) and Zappavigna (2012) collected the data for their studies. Since then, retweeting has become an official feature of Twitter (<https://support.twitter.com>), and retweeted messages are followed by the clause "Retweeted by @user". The visual style of a retweet can be observed in the following example.

70. Yoyo Blackfire @YoyoBlackfire 27 November

I'm putting together a binder of all the songs I've written thanks to @ladygaga. I'm going to stalk her in AZ so she'll look at it #followme

Retweeted by Lady Gaga

This tweet (70) was originally tweeted by user @YoyoBlackfire, and it contains an @mention referring to Lady Gaga as an attempt to draw her attention to the tweet. The clause “Retweeted by Lady Gaga” at the end of the tweet marks tweet (70) as a retweet. By retweeting @YoyoBlackfire's micropost Lady Gaga boosts the user's visibility on Twitter tremendously, since all of her followers can potentially see this tweet by a fan. Because of this, retweeting can be viewed as a type of favor to the composer of the original tweet, be it fan or other celebrity practitioner.

Hashtags are primarily a way of marking tweets topically, so that other users can search for and find tweets that deal with specific subjects (Zappavigna 2012: 36-37).

Hashtagging allows users to converse with each other via tweeting about certain topics marked with the symbol #. Below is an example of a tweet containing a hashtag chosen from the data of the present study.

2. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 30 December

AHhh! The #bornbravebus is looking amazing! Check it out :) pic.twitter.com/8UBCW6f7

In tweet (2) Lady Gaga refers to the Born Brave Bus, which is a bus that travelled around the United States as part of her tour in 2012 and 2013. Because she made this reference in the form of a hashtag, any Twitter user who wants to search for tweets marked with this #bornthisway -tag will find Lady Gaga's tweet (2). In this way, users can follow conversations related to the Born Brave Bus as they can easily find all the tweets marked with the hashtag.

Regarding this study, the most interesting of these linguistic conventions of Twitter is the retweet. The reason why retweeting is so important regarding this present study is because it has a significant role in her celebrity practice. These retweets serve many functions, namely in showing connections and giving exposure to other Twitter users such as fans, other celebrity practitioners and people Lady Gaga works with. Since

addresses, @mentions, and hashtags are less directly linked to Gaga's practice of celebrity, they are not investigated here in greater detail.

5. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This section contains a discussion of the theoretical framework that has been compiled for the purposes of the present study. In this study, celebrity is viewed as *a practice*, a performance, rather than a set of qualities of an individual. This view has been put forth by researchers Alice Marwick and danah Boyd, whose study (boyd and Marwick 2011) of the Twitter activity of a group of celebrities has been a great inspiration for this thesis paper.

First, I will clarify what is meant by celebrity as practice, and describe the elements it consists of. Then, a brief history of the concept of *celebrity* is given, tracing the origins of the word and describing how its definition has changed over time. After this brief history, there is a discussion of the effects that networked media has had on celebrity culture, specifically the relationship between celebrity and media, as well as the relationship between celebrity and fan/audience. These changes are well characterized by P. David Marshall's concept (Marshall 2010) of *presentational media*, which are social media that are centered around the presentation of the self. After this, there is a section discussing *micro-celebrity*, a term coined by Theresa Senft (2008), which refers to a pseudo-celebrity status that can be achieved by people who engage in various online activities of self-presentation, thus boosting their social status. Micro-celebrity is relevant in terms of this study, because many of the methods used in the practice of celebrity have initially been developed by practitioners of micro-celebrity, and later adapted by traditional celebrities (boyd and Marwick 2011). The final part of this theoretical section deals with concepts related to fandom: it discusses how developments in networked media technologies have affected fan practices. Fans and media audiences have been researched in great depth by Henry Jenkins (1992, 2006a, 2006b), who has coined many concepts that are useful and necessary in terms of this thesis. This part clarifies concepts such as *participatory culture* and *media convergence*, which are used to describe changes that have occurred concerning the roles played by fans/audiences in relation to different media products and celebrities.

5.1 Celebrity as practice

In this study celebrity is viewed as a practice, a theory set forth by researchers Alice Marwick and danah boyd in their article “To See and Be Seen: Celebrity Practice on Twitter” (boyd and Marwick 2011). In their research, boyd and Marwick investigated the Twitter behavior of roughly 300 active and famous Twitter-users, including politicians, music stars, actors and television personalities. Marwick and boyd's main argument in the article is that they view celebrity as a *performative practice*, rather than a set of characteristics or qualities that an individual possesses. This means that celebrity and fame can be seen as a continuum, along which individuals are placed according to how well they are known, rather than a clear line separating the famous from the non-famous (boyd and Marwick 2011: 141).

The practice of celebrity on Twitter consists of several elements, or actions that are performed by tweeting (posting on one's Twitter account) and re-tweeting (tweeting a message already tweeted by someone else). Tweets can consist of text, pictures, videos or a combination of these. Tweets also often contain links to other sites on the internet. According to boyd and Marwick, the practice of celebrity “involves ongoing maintenance of a fan base, performed intimacy, authenticity and access, and construction of a consumable persona” (boyd and Marwick 2011: 140). The researchers also mention an additional element of celebrity practice: showing affiliation to other celebrity practitioners (boyd and Marwick 2011: 147). The practice of celebrity on Twitter gives fans and celebrity followers so called *backstage-access*: they are allowed see glimpses of the daily life and routines of the person behind the celebrity-practitioner, in other words what is happening 'behind the scenes' (boyd and Marwick 2011: 143-144).

Here is a clarification of the different elements that make up *celebrity practice*. This is my interpretation of the elements proposed by boyd and Marwick (2011):

Maintenance of a fan base: This includes communication with fans, replying to fan messages and postings, as well as showing gratitude toward fans. (This is interesting in terms of Lady Gaga's practice of celebrity, because she has her own social media site, littlemonsters.com, which is a space devoted solely to her fans and an important tool for the maintenance of her fan base. Littlemonsters.com acts very much in co-operation

with Twitter, with Gaga's Twitter-feed containing links to littlemonsters.com and vice versa.

Performed intimacy: I interpret this mainly as the showing of affection and 'proximity' to followers, a celebrity practitioner's way of acting on Twitter, that resembles the way close friends or relatives communicate with each other. This can be referring to followers using terms of endearment, and articulating displays of affection, like tweeting 'I love you'. This also includes showing followers glimpses of the personal life of the celebrity practitioner, giving fans and followers access to intimate details and facts concerning the celebrity practitioner. This aspect of tweeting has to do with the concept of *backstage-access*: by showing fans intimate pictures (such as pictures of Lady Gaga not wearing make-up, or dressed in underwear), and sharing details about personal life (for instance, her tweets describing how she is spending Christmas with her family), Lady Gaga is revealing things about the 'real-life' person behind her manufactured pop-star image. This can be compared to 'behind-the-scenes' footage of a movie, which shows actors and other people in the movie's production crew exposed and out of costume.

Authenticity and access: This refers to practices that verify the authenticity and sincerity of the celebrity practitioner, and is also related to the concept of *backstage-access*. For example, pop stars are often of similar age with their fans, so this must be represented somehow, for instance in the language choices of the celebrity practitioner, so that fans recognize him/her as authentic and "one of their own". More specifically, this can be aspects like using specific slang words or jargon that echo the language used by what is perceived to be a typical fan of the celebrity practitioner. On the level of Lady Gaga's tweets, this aspect manifests as an abundance of spelling errors, punctuation errors and in general a very haphazard, rushed writing style. This writing style relays the impression that individual tweets are not carefully planned and molded, but rather written in spur of the moment, reflecting Gaga's true feelings at that moment. This lack of planning and spell-checking the messages also makes the tweets seem authentic in the sense that they feel like they are non-mediated, and have been written by the actual Lady Gaga rather than a member of her management crew. The language of Lady Gaga's tweets resembles the casual style of communication that can be observed for instance in text messaging between friends.

Construction of a consumable persona: This element works on many levels, and in some ways encompasses everything that is posted on Twitter by a celebrity practitioner. A celebrity on Twitter can be seen as a consumable entity, one that is created through posting text, pictures, videos and sounds, either as part of Twitter, or as links to other media that is located online. Consuming that celebrity can be observing a recorded performance or song, or just simply reading a tweet that reports an event in that celebrity's daily life. A consumable persona also consists of artifacts that can be purchased and consumed, like music recordings – purchasable as physical compact discs or in purely digital form as mp3-files – as well as tickets to concert performances. These artifacts can be referred to by a celebrity practitioner, and act as promotion of these goods.

Showing affiliation to other celebrity practitioners: This is a practice that involves showing connections to other famous individuals, and thus strengthening one's status as a true celebrity among other celebrities. This can include aspects like drawing attention to a recording or performance that has been done with another celebrity practitioner. In Lady Gaga's case, an example of this is a string of tweets in which she refers to a televised performance she participated in with the *Rolling Stones*. She emphasizes the widely recognized celebrity status of the band, and shows her connection to it by reporting of the mutual performance and posting links to a recording of the show online, thus emphasizing her own status as a celebrity.

Celebrity as a practice that consists of the elements described above is largely a result of advancements in communications and networked media technologies. As the practice of celebrity takes place mostly in online environments, it is something that is heavily reliant on the wide availability of the internet, as well as the rapid spreading of networked media applications, such as Twitter and Facebook that make it possible for an individual to reach millions of people at any time. The following sections briefly outline how the concept of celebrity has developed through time, and describe in more detail the developments and new ways of using existing technologies that have made celebrity practice possible.

5.2 The concept of celebrity

This section discusses the development of the concept of celebrity. This is especially important in current times, because the development of networked media and the wide spreading of different reality-type formats on television have made celebrity attainable to a wider segment of population. It is no longer the case that celebrity can be achieved only by being successful and doing something notable, be it sports, entertainment or politics. Currently, celebrity culture is in a state where entertainment industries, via formats such as Big Brother and American Idol, are able to produce celebrities from ordinary people who do not necessarily possess any inherent talent or notable merits (Rojek 2012: 10). This has led to a situation, where reality television stars and those with mediocre talent can be seen on a tabloid newspaper cover next to traditional stars, who have achieved their status through success and achievements for instance in the field of sports or cinema.

According to Daniel Boorstin, the term ‘celebrity’ has previously referred to a condition, rather than a person that has achieved fame, and the word has been used in this sense starting in the early 17th century (Boorstin 2006: 79). The current use of the word, referring to a person who is famous, has emerged at the time of the Graphic Revolution, as early as 1850 (Boorstin 2006: 79). As Boorstin clearly defines, “The celebrity is a person who is known for his well-knownness” (Boorstin 2006: 79). This statement clearly defines what is at the core of the celebrity status: a celebrity is someone who widely recognized and considered to be a celebrity; that person’s occupation or path to fame is less important than the fact that they have ‘made it’.

The core of the celebrity/star -construct is formed from the mixture of the “ordinary” and “extraordinary”. Here the words “celebrity” and “star” are used interchangeably, although traditionally “star” has been used in the domain of cinema while “celebrity” has referred to a famous individual in general. Noted by Richard Dyer already in the 1970s in his frequently cited book *Stars*, he states:

Stardom is an image of the way stars live. For the most part, this generalized life-style is the assumed backdrop for the specific personality of the star and the details and events of his or her life. As it combines the spectacular with the everyday, the special with the ordinary, and is seen as an articulation of basic American/Western values, there is no conflict here between the general life-style and the particularities of the star. (Dyer 1998: 154)

Sean Redmond also argues along the same lines by stating: “Definitions of stars in film studies have emphasized that the concept of stardom is sustained by a contrast between the performing presence and what happens ‘off-stage’ ” (Holmes and Redmond 2007: 98). As celebrity is constructed mainly in the extra-textual stories that occupy the space between an entertainment entity, such as a movie or pop star and the real-life person behind it, the different media have always had an important role in the circulation of these stories. As P. David Marshall explains, by the 1980s a “modern” celebrity had emerged. This refers to a maturing of the celebrity promotion system, in which print and entertainment television had a relatively stable and established role (Marshall 2006: 634). Up until roughly the beginning of the 21st century, celebrities have strongly relied on the exposure they have gotten in the different media, with little control over what type of stories and images of them have been circulated. This concept of “modern” celebrity views celebrities as cultural commodities that are created by the media industry and around which audiences possessing economic power are organized (Marshall 2006: 634). The modern celebrity is not limited to any single medium, but is rather characterized by movement across different media. As Sean Redmond writes,

Mass, digital and narrowcast media outlets, often in a synergetic relationship, enable the famous to be pictured, photographed, broadcast, pod cast and filmed in a real-time, offering a 24/7 relay across the globe. Celebrities are now rarely restricted to a single medium, and the commercial and cultural value of the modern star or celebrity is seen to be predicated on their inter- and cross-textual appeal. (Holmes and Redmond 2007: 6)

Redmond's characterization of the modern celebrity is very accurate when considering Lady Gaga, as she is a presence that can be heard on the radio, seen in magazines and television, as well as sensed through numerous web-based applications and media sites. In some ways Lady Gaga is a prime example of a modern celebrity described in the above sections, but I argue that she also represents a type of celebrity that has evolved a step forward, a celebrity that has developed beyond being merely a cultural commodity that is created and maintained by the media industry into an entertainment entity that has more control over her fame and the surrounding audiences. While it is true that different print media and entertainment television institutions have probably had a vital role in lifting Lady Gaga to fame and making her familiar among the consuming public, she is not utterly dependent on these in maintaining her stardom.

5.3 Celebrity culture meets networked media

As Rojek (2012: 10) states, in modern times celebrity value has often been produced in an industrial manner: a team of people, such as media experts and public relations personnel, working together in a setting resembling a factory have turned natural resources, in this case people and their talents, into commodities with market value. Rojek argues that in recent years there has emerged the *domestic system of fame*, which utilizes the power of the internet in producing celebrity value. This system can be characterized as a “do-it-yourself approach to fame acquisition”, as it relies less on the teamwork of public relations personnel and media specialists, and more on the work of the individual in achieving and maintaining fame (Rojek 2012: 10-11). Thus, with the help of tools such as the computer and the mobile phone, celebrity production and maintenance has become something in which the star itself has a more active role, something in which celebrity can be seen less as an achieved status of recognizability, and more as an ongoing process, or a practice.

Celebrity as practice is linked to developments in new media technologies and ways in which these technologies are being used. These developments have caused changes to the relationship between celebrity and traditional media institutions. As P. David Marshall writes, “The symbiotic relationship between media and celebrity has been ruptured somewhat in the last decade through the development of new media” (Marshall 2006: 634). Whereas previously celebrities depended on different media industries in to gain exposure and market themselves to a wide public, the possibilities brought by new media applications allow celebrities to take control of these processes and actively participate in the construction and maintenance of their celebrity persona. The change in media and celebrity culture can be described as a shift from a *representational* media culture to a *presentational* one (Marshall 2006, 2010). As part of the wide range of new media applications, there have emerged applications that are centered around the presentation of the self. These have been accordingly termed by Marshall as *presentational media*, and include popular applications like Facebook and Twitter (Marshall 2010: 38). These new media applications for the presentation of the self have come to exist along more traditional forms of media like television and magazines, which traditionally rely on representation. An important point worth mentioning about these recent developments is that new media and presentational media have not come to replace traditional media with its representations, which still play an important role in

the production and circulation of celebrity stories and images. It is evident, though, that the impact of traditional media on social structures is not as powerful and omnipresent as it used to be, and in many cases material that is broadcast through traditional media is re-mediated and processed in online environments (Marshall 2010: 38).

According to Redmond,

Generally, then, the model for work on stars and their audiences has been that of an unstable and contradictory figure, constructed both intertextually (across different films) and extratextually (across different types of material). The relationship between the audience and the star is deemed to be best figured the fan whose knowledge comes from a wide variety of sources and who reworks the material in the interests of working through contradictory questions of identity. This emphasis on the duality of the film star and the relationship with the fan has also become established for work in popular culture more generally. In music, television, sport and beyond, the model is one of a relationship between the public sphere of performance and work and the private sphere of personal lives, of the home and personal relationships as 'revealed' through the media. (Holmes and Redmond 2007: 99)

As the practice of celebrity on social media sites such as Twitter has become increasingly common, the relationship between the public and private spheres of a celebrity has been reworked to operate in a shared domain located online. By using Twitter a celebrity can, or is expected to, expose private aspects of their life, like eating habits, but he or she can also use the social media site to report about public performances, television appearances and promotional material. This has diminished the role of other media in reporting about the 'behind the scenes' life of a celebrity, as celebrities are adapting this role for themselves with the help of social media services like Twitter.

It can be argued that one of the main changes to media that have been brought about by the introduction of networked media have to do with a shift in the *model of communication* they rely on. This change has been discussed by several theorists (Holmes 2006, Marshall 2006). Traditionally, there has existed a broadcast model of communication in which information is sent by one and received by many, as is the case for a print media article or television show (Marshall 2006: 637). In this model information flows in one direction, from the sender to the receivers. In the new model of communication that has emerged along with new media forms, information flows in both directions, as any internet user can both download and upload information from their computer (Marshall 2006). To give another example, the user of an internet message forum can read the messages there, as well as reply to and post new messages. This shift in communication has been noted also by Jill Retterberg who writes:

Blogs are part of a fundamental shift in how we communicate. Just a few decades ago, our media culture was dominated by a small number of media producers who distributed their publications and broadcasts to large, relatively passive audiences. Today, newspapers and television stations have to adapt to a new reality, where ordinary people create media and share their creations online. We have moved from a culture dominated by mass media, using one-to-many communication, to one where participatory media, using many-to-many communication, is becoming the norm. (Retterberg 2008: 31)

The development of networked media has caused significant changes to the ways in which celebrities are produced, promoted and consumed. When the ‘modern’ celebrity emerged in the 1980s, it was promoted by media institutions such as the tabloid press and entertainment television, as argued by P. David Marshall in his article “New Media – New Self, The changing power of celebrity” (Marshall 2006: 634). At that time, the role of the audience and fan was more passive than today, in terms of the production of cultural content. In the current age, the carefully controlled systems of celebrity production and promotion have become more malleable and prone to change, as information flow has increased and diversified through the increased use of networked media like mobile phones and internet applications (Marshall 2006: 634). What is important here is the shifting of power to produce and control celebrity, away from the established media institutions like print press and television, which were originally responsible for creating and maintaining celebrities, and into the hands of the audience and fan, whose role was originally merely to consume the created celebrity. The modern relationship between celebrity production and consumption has changed from a traditional broadcast model of communication, in which there is a one-way flow of information from a single sender to many receivers, to a model in which information flows in both directions between multiple senders (Marshall 2006: 637). To give concrete examples, in the broadcast model of communication, a medium, like a printed newspaper or television program, conveyed information to a large number of people, who in turn had very limited means of sending information back and affecting the conveyed information. In the more modern model of communication, there exists a plethora of new communication channels, which allow a freer flow of information between people and media institutions. This allows audiences to have more control over the culture they consume, as well as creates possibilities for audiences to create and distribute their own cultural productions.

To summarize, the developments in networked media technologies and new ways of using these described above have made it possible for individuals like Lady Gaga to take a more active role in increasing and managing their fame, and be less reliant on the

courtesies of entertainment media institutions. These developments have also given celebrities the chance to be in more direct contact with their fans, to communicate with them in real-time, and generally to have more control over the celebrity image they wish to convey to their audiences. The way in which these new possibilities for online self-presentation have evolved into a set of behaviors that make up celebrity practice is linked to micro-celebrity, a term discussed in the following section.

5.4 Micro-celebrity

Micro-celebrity is a concept discussed by Theresa M. Senft (in her book *Camgirls: Celebrity & Community in the Age of Social Networks*) (Senft 2008). It is also a phenomenon that is linked to developments in communications and networked media technologies and the ways in which people are using these. Micro-celebrity is a kind of celebrity that can be obtained through participating in various internet activities. Although one can achieve traditional fame and become a celebrity with the help of the internet, the internet alone cannot produce old-fashioned stars, not yet at least (Senft 2008: 25). Micro-celebrity is thus defined as "...a new style of online performance that involves people 'amping up' their popularity over the Web using technologies like video, blogs and social networking sites" (Senft 2008: 25). Senft clarifies an important aspect of micro-celebrity by stating that it "...destabilizes ideologies of publicity by emphasizing responsiveness to, rather than distancing from, one's community" (Senft 2008: 116). The online practice of celebrity many traditional celebrities are engaging in recently can, in fact, be seen to correspond with this statement, as online environments like Twitter are characterized by interaction; they act as an open channel of communication through which account followers can comment on individual posts as well as post their own content. Micro-celebrity as discussed by Theresa Senft appears as celebrity that is obtained through certain online activities; it is a process in which an unknown individual makes him/herself known on the internet, largely by relying on him/her own assets, engaging in self-branding for example (Senft 2008: 26).

The concept of micro-celebrity is important in terms of this study for a reason that is discussed by danah boyd and Alice Marwick in their article "To See and Be Seen: Celebrity Practice on Twitter" (boyd & Marwick 2011). Boyd and Marwick (2011: 141) argue that 'traditional' celebrities who have started practicing celebrity in online environments like Twitter, have adopted methods developed and employed by micro-celebrities. These methods include the performance of backstage access, viewing friends

and followers as fans and constructing an image of self that can be consumed by others. In this thesis paper, celebrity as practice is also viewed as using the methods of micro-celebrities, for it helps in making a distinction between the creation of traditional celebrity and the practice of celebrity in online environments that has emerged in recent years.

In relation to the present study, micro-celebrity is also important because it can be used to understand why so many fans feel motivated enough to post content onto Lady Gaga's social networking site, content which is often highly personal in nature. From time to time, Lady Gaga chooses to draw attention to certain fan posts by retweeting them, which then causes other fans to view that post and possibly comment on it or be in contact with the fan responsible for publishing the original post. This can potentially make that fan known to all other followers of Lady Gaga's Twitter account literally within a few hours, resulting in a very rapid acquisition of micro-celebrity status with relatively minimal effort. In this mechanism, a fan is thus turned into a micro-celebrity with the help of a real, traditional celebrity. The type of micro-celebrity that motivates fans to participate in culture production on Lady Gaga's social networking site, *littlemonsters.com*, is created differently in the sense that it relies on an endorsement by a real, traditional celebrity. A specific fan becomes well-known to other fans of the Lady Gaga fan community only with the help of Lady Gaga, who chooses to draw attention to that fan.

What follows is a more detailed description of the methods of celebrity practice that have been adopted by celebrities from the practitioners of micro-celebrity. These are not the *functions of celebrity practice* which is the more specific topic of this thesis, but a more general way of acting and positioning oneself in relation to one's audience.

The first method to be discussed is the *performance of backstage access*. This method refers to a performative practice employed by celebrities in online environments that creates the illusion that followers are being given uncensored glimpses into the private life of the celebrity, comparable to a behind-the-scenes feature of a movie. This performance aims to give the impression that it is unscripted, unrehearsed, and informal in nature. It is self-presentation with heavy emphasis on authenticity. Boyd and Marwick (2011: 144) write about the distinction between frontstage and backstage in terms of their content: "...intimate details about one's life are understood as part of the 'backstage' while professional communications can be seen as a 'frontstage'".

performance. However frontstage and backstage are always relative as they depend on audience, context, and interpretation.”(boyd and Marwick 2011: 144). It is of less importance whether a celebrity practitioner is truly revealing intimate details about their life to fans, as long as they are able to create a sense of intimacy and authenticity through their performance.

Viewing followers as fans, rather than as friends or family, is another aspect of celebrity practice 'traditional' celebrities have adopted from practitioners of micro-celebrity. This is said to reinforce the existing inequality characteristic of the relationship between celebrity and fan, and requires for the fans to recognize this and act according to their 'lesser' status (boyd and Marwick 2011: 144). The payoff for this recognition of unequal status in fan-celebrity relationships is the possibility of rising above parasocial interaction, toward communication that is more intercommunicative in nature (boyd and Marwick 2011: 144). Parasocial interaction is “...the illusion of a 'real', face-to-face friendship with a performer created through watching television shows or listening to music” (boyd and Marwick 2011: 144, referring to Horton and Wohl 1956). As discussed previously, Twitter allows the formation of asymmetrical relationships between users of the application, as one can 'follow' a Twitter user without an expectation of reciprocation.

Finally, the *ongoing maintenance of fans* refers to activities in which celebrity practitioners publicly acknowledge fans and show affiliation to their audience. Boyd and Marwick (2011: 145) state that by mentioning their fans, for instance in the form of @replies, famous individuals are able to “...perform connection and availability, give back to loyal followers, and manage their popularity.” This is probably an important factor in encouraging active fandom and maintaining fan interest in the celebrity practitioner, as the fans are made to feel that the object of their fandom is present and responsive toward them.

To summarize, this section has discussed a set of methods of increasing and managing one's popularity online, which famous individuals have started adopting from micro-celebrities. As fans and audiences are spending more time in various online environments and are taking a more active stance in their fandom, these methods of celebrity practice bring not only possibilities, but also responsibilities to the famous as fans come to expect a certain level of reciprocation. Boyd and Marwick (2011: 156) refer to this by stating that “...celebrity practitioners must expend emotional labor

maintaining a network of affective ties with their followers”, instead of seeming “...uncaring or unavailable.” In the following sections the perspective is shifted from the famous to the fans, as they contain discussion of some developments and changes that have affected fandom in recent years as a result of fans' migration to online environments, and advancements in networked media technologies and ways of using these.

5.5 Fandom 2.0

What follows, is a relatively extensive discussion of fans and fandom, and what these concepts have come to mean in a contemporary, digital environment. The thoroughness of this discussion may seem odd, considering the fact that this study is mainly concerned with the *performative practice of celebrity*, and less with fan activity and how they are reacting to this practice. The data for this study consists only of what is being communicated by a celebrity person, and the communication of the fans is not accounted for. The reason for the extensiveness of discussion about the changes in fandom-related topics is as follows: I argue that the *practice of celebrity* has been greatly influenced by, and formed precisely as a reaction to *new ways of practicing fandom*, that have emerged as the result of new technologies and new ways of using existing technologies. This is why it is important to thoroughly understand the recent developments behind fandom, so that it is possible to gain a better understanding of the developments behind the practice of celebrity.

Fans enjoy an elevated, much more accepted status today than they did twenty years ago. Now it is possible to proclaim fandom, show deep devotion and enthusiasm toward a cultural product without sounding overly geeky and feeling stigmatized. A wonderful example of this is *bronies*: a brony is traditionally an adolescent or older male, who is a self-proclaimed fan of *My Little Pony: Friendship is magic*, the fourth animated series stemming from the *My Little Pony* franchise developed in the early 80s and targeted mostly to young girls. The term *brony* can currently also refer to older female fans of the series, preferring the term over *pegasister*. It is very likely that there have been male fans of *My Little Pony* since the dawn of the franchise, but especially among older male fans this must have been something of a guilty pleasure, since the franchise in question is mainly targeted toward female children. As of today, there have been three BronyCons, with the fourth one being held in Baltimore, Maryland in August 2013.

These are conventions held specifically to bring the male and female fans of the show together to meet each other and celebrate their mutual affection for the series.

This cultural shift toward the acceptance and better understanding of fans and fandom has been investigated by cultural theorists like Henry Jenkins (1992, 2006a, 2006b), who has helped establish fandom as a respectable recreational activity and academic field of study since the late 80s and early 90s. In *Textual Poachers* (Jenkins 1992), a defining work of fan culture studies, Jenkins notes that the attitudes portrayed in mainstream media toward fans and fandom were generally very derogatory in nature at the time, as Star Trek fans were labeled by the press as people "...obsessed with trivia, celebrity, and collectables; As social inepts, cultural misfits, and crazies;" (Jenkins 1992) Through his research, Jenkins sought to give an alternate view of fandom he felt was more representative, the view of an insider, a declared academic fan. Fandom is presented as something less passive and less connoted with negative aspects. It is seen more as a cultural activity that includes active participation and interaction with other fans and producers of the cultural content. Instead of seeing fans as geeks with too much time on their hands and social outcasts, Jenkins (1992) describes them as producers of content, who rewrite and re-imagine using the settings, relationships and plots of original, company produced material, like the *Star Trek* television series. This active sharing of self-produced content was happening through letter exchange, zine-publishing and interaction at various conventions, even at the risk of prosecution for infringement of copyright laws. (Jenkins 1992)

Currently, fandom has been studied extensively from many different angles. It is an area of research which is connected to many other areas, as Booth (2010: 18) clarifies, "Fan studies invokes and participates in an ongoing discussion with, among others, popular culture studies, audience analysis, communication studies, psychology, media studies, and technology studies." Fan studies is also connected to "...ongoing academic dialogues about the nature of identity, the concept of the text, and issues of community" (Booth 2010: 18). Thus, the studying of fans and fandom does not bring information only about these topics, but also information about changes that are taking place in society more generally. Booth (2010: 12, 17) argues, that what fans do with media texts explicitly, is what most contemporary people do with them implicitly: active reading and engagement.

As Jenkins discusses in *Fans, Bloggers, and Gamers: Exploring Participatory Culture* (2006a: 141), fan communities that shared knowledge and created content existed well before the introduction of networked media, but networked media has affected fan culture and participation, greatly increasing the rate at which information can be exchanged between fans. It can be argued, that the increased rate of communication and easy-to-use interfaces characteristic of networked media technologies have lowered the barrier for fans take part in the activities of a fan community, to transform from passive consumers of culture to more active participants, interacting with other fans and their shared object of admiration. Jenkins (2006b: 3) states

The term *participatory culture* contrasts with older notions of passive media spectatorship. Rather than talking about media producers and consumers as occupying separate roles, we might now see them as participants who interact with each other according to a new set of rules that none of us fully understands. Not all participants are created equal. Corporations – and even individuals within corporate media – still exert greater power than any individual consumer of even the aggregate of consumers. And some consumers have greater abilities to participate in this emerging culture than others.

This can also be seen as a movement toward the mainstream, with the increased amount of online fandom resulting in "...an enormous proliferation of fan Web sites and discussion lists...As fandom diversifies, it moves from cult status toward the cultural mainstream, with Internet users engaged in some sort of fan activity." (Jenkins 2006a: 142) This new participatory culture, influenced by information flow across different networked and traditional media, is characterized by the following three trends:

1. New tools and technologies enable consumers to archive, annotate, appropriate, and recirculate media content;
2. a range of subcultures promote Do-It-Yourself (DIY) media production, a discourse that shapes how consumers have deployed those technologies; and
3. economic trends favoring the horizontally integrated media conglomerates encourage the flow of images, ideas, and narratives across multiple media channels and demand more active modes of spectatorship.

(Jenkins 2006a: 135-136, quoted)

The link between new digital technologies and fans has existed for a relatively long time, since the first adapters of the internet, employees at scientific and military institutions, were using mailing lists to have conversations about fan-related topics such as science fiction, in addition to communication centered around work-related topics (Jenkins 2006a: 138).

As Jenkins (2006a: 141) describes, new digital communication technologies have made it possible for fan communities to grow larger, since these communities are not tied to a

specific geographical area, and fans can be active participants of a fan community as long as they have access to the internet. Networked media has also speeded up the flow of information between members of a community, with practically no delay between sending and receiving messages. This has been termed “just in time fandom” by Matthew Hills (Jenkins 2006a: 141).

As Jenkins (2006a: 147) explains, corporations of the entertainment industry have portrayed different and constantly fluctuating attitudes toward the more active, participatory role of media fans and their productions. In an effort to protect their intellectual property, entertainment companies have taken action, and shut down fan-maintained websites and filed lawsuits against individuals for copyright infringement issues. This has led to confusion among fans regarding what type of participation is allowed, and what is unwanted, or downright criminal activity in relation to a commercial product. On the other hand, much of the popular culture today is spread across many different media, requiring the audience/fan to be *active*, and able to move fluently between these in order to get a comprehensive cultural experience.

5.5.1 Digital fandom

Although studies regarding media fandom in the digital age, like Jenkins' research on participatory culture and media convergence, have been crucially important for the development of both fan/audience studies as well as media studies, as Paul Booth argues in his book *Digital Fandom* (2010), it can no longer adequately describe the ways in which fans/audiences are treating media products in our contemporary environment. According to Booth (2010: 12-13), in order to understand the phenomena taking place among fans and audiences operating in digital media environments, it is necessary to pay attention not only to new media technologies and the possibilities they bring to active audiences, but also to the new ways in which these technologies are being used by fans. Booth describes these new ways of media use as being characterized by a “philosophy of playfulness”. What is common to the different fan-produced works like fan-fiction and fan-videos, is that they have all been created because fans “...derive some playful pleasure from the act or existence of their fandom” (Booth 2010: 12). Although the fandom-related research by Booth (2010), as well as Jenkins (1992; 2006a; 2006b), is focused mainly on fans' work with media artifacts such as television series, movies and video games, I argue that Booth's “philosophy of playfulness” also applies to the fan activities that take place on sites where celebrity practice happens. This is also

hinted at by boyd and Marwick who write “Although there is no way to determine the 'authenticity' of any celebrity practice, this uncertainty appeals to some audiences, who enjoy the *game playing* intrinsic to gossip consumption”(boyd and Marwick 2011: 140, italics added). Active reading of media texts by fans extends beyond writing fan-fiction and creating something new out of an existing media product. Booth (2010: 39) refers to this by writing “Fans use digital technology not only to create, to change, to appropriate, to poach, or to write, but also to share, to experience together, to become alive with community”. Fans' participatory activity on sites of celebrity practice seems to echo this notion well, as much of the activity is not re-writing or re-mixing a celebrity's productions, but coming together as a community to share and discuss a mutual passion for the celebrity as product, to gain acceptance and strengthened identity through being visible and active in a community of like-minded individuals.

Related to the concept of digital fandom are the concepts *Web Commons* and *Digi-Gratis Economy* (Booth 2010: 22-27). Central here is the idea that none of these concepts refer to any new technologies or new types of media that are being used by fans, but rather a new way of looking at these, a new perspective.

Firstly, previous research on fandom has taken into account the utmost importance of fan-communities to fans, but the perspective has been on how the *individual* contributes to the whole, that is, the shared goals of the community. In Digital Fandom, the perspective is rather on how the *community* contributes to the whole (Booth 2010: 22).

Secondly, Booth (2010: 23) uses the term Web Commons, to draw attention to a shifted perspective to how people see and use the web. This is an evolved version of “the web as a source of information”, which is essentially an extension on print media: collections of text, connected to each other through hyper-links, but essentially “...static and non-interactive” (Booth 2010: 23). Web Commons is a “mind-set” shared by people using the web that takes into account the collaborative nature of current web-usage and attitude to information. People who have adapted this mind-set see the networked nature of the web, and have learned to utilize its potential in upholding communities and fluid communications.

Finally, closely linked to the concept of Web Commons Booth (2010: 24-27, 130-135) has suggested the notion of Digi-Gratis Economy. This refers to a combination of market and gift economies, where both of these exist alongside each other“...both

separated and conjoined”. As Booth (2010: 130-135) clarifies, traditional models of both market economy and gift economy are based on the notion that there exists a limited amount of goods, and exchange in these economies results in the loss, or consumption of that which is sold or given. In other words, if an individual sells or gives away a possession, that individual no longer owns that possession. In market economy, the attainment of a product results in the loss of money that is paid in compensation. In a gift economy, the attainment of a gift results in an obligation to reciprocate, by giving a gift of equal or better value at a later time, with failure to return the gift resulting in loss of face or social capital in the community. What differentiates these two is that gift economy has more social implications: the giving of gifts strengthens social ties within the community. What these economies share is the fact that the attainment of a commodity comes with a price, either in the form of money or a counter-gift. As we look at these economies operating in a digital environment, the picture is somewhat changed. The market economy still works largely in the same way as it has previously, since goods are sold and purchased online with money between individuals and companies. These goods can be concrete objects, like cd-recordings, or in digital form, like mp3 files. The gift economy has, instead, experienced a fundamental shift in the way it operates. The key element here is the fact that the gift is digital. Booth (2010: 134) argues, that “...the new gift, the digital gift, is a gift without an obligation to reciprocate. Instead of reciprocity, what the gift in the digital age requires for “membership” into the fan community is merely an obligation to reply”. This is because a digital artifact can be *reproduced*, or copied many times over, so that giving such a gift does not result in loss of the artifact on the giver's behalf. Thus, the receiver of a digital gift is only asked to respond to the gift in some, to acknowledge that they have received it. What is similar in this to traditional gift economy, though, is the fact that the giving and receiving of digital gifts still acts in favor of the social community, by strengthening ties between individuals.

Digital Fandom is separated from previous research on fandom, in that it does not embrace the production/consumption metaphor adapted from market economics, that has inspired various terms that describe fan activities as a type of productive consumption, such as “prosumption” (Booth 2010:22). The reason why the word “consumption” is not very accurate in the digital age, is that consumption also implies *destruction*, whereas the goods being shared in a digital environment are mainly

reproductions, and not consumable goods in the traditional, market-sense (Booth 2010: 23).

The rapid expansion in the use of new media has caused changes to the relationship between celebrity and media, but it has also caused changes to the relationship between celebrity and audience. As Marshall (2006: 640) points out, the distance between celebrity and fan is shrinking, as some celebrities are setting up their own sites of communication online, and even replying to individual fan blogs and postings. This is precisely the case with this study, since Lady Gaga has set up a social media site, *littlemonsters.com*, which is an environment dedicated solely to her audience. It is an online space where Lady Gaga fans can upload their own content, like pictures and stories, and reply to content uploaded by other 'little monsters'. It is evidently also a space that is frequently visited by Lady Gaga herself, as she regularly posts some of these fan postings on her Twitter account, drawing attention to individual fans. In essence, *littlemonsters.com* seems to be a social media that brings Lady Gaga fans closer to their object of admiration, as well as closer to each other. It is a community of internet users and music fans that have a shared passion and a site for expressing themselves. It gives the fans a sense of importance, that they matter and that they are paid attention to, which may bear some relation to why Lady Gaga has gained such popularity.

The study of celebrity culture has primarily focused on fans as separate from celebrities, but the ability of famous people to read and reply to fans has given rise to new sets of practices and interactions. Celebrity practitioners must harness this ability to maintain ongoing affiliations and connections with their fans, rather than seem uncaring or unavailable. Thus, Twitter creates a new expectation of intimacy. Rather than handing off fan management to an agent or fan club, celebrity practitioners must expend emotional labor maintaining a network of affective ties with their followers. Thus, even the famous must learn the techniques used by 'regular people' to gain status and attention online. Twitter demonstrates the transformation of 'celebrity' from a personal quality linked to fame to a set of practices that circulate through modern social media. (boyd and Marwick 2011: 156)

As of 25.4.2014, Lady Gaga's Twitter profile is followed by over 41 million people. Although some of her tweets are directed to individual followers, and although she may occasionally even engage in a short exchange with a fan/follower, it would be exaggeration to say that Lady Gaga is connected to 41 million friends via Twitter. Most of those who are her followers, will never engage in an exchange of information with her, only read what she communicates, an event more resembling a broadcast model of communication. How is it then possible to account for the social exchange that does

occur occasionally between Lady Gaga and her followers? And how is it that an application, like Twitter, can be called a social medium, something that is more based on a networked model of communication? P. David Holmes has coined a concept to answer these questions, something he calls *the parasocial self*. This concept refers to “a pragmatic understanding that it is impossible to communicate individually with thousands and millions; and yet in this shifted on-line culture some effort has to be made“(Marshall 2010:43). At least on a superficial level, a celebrity practitioner has to maintain some type of relationship with his/her fans. In the case of Lady Gaga, her Twitter profile and the official Lady Gaga social medium, littlemonsters.com, are populated by Lady Gaga fans that have formed an extensive social network of peers who celebrate a shared interest and are passionate about the same performing artist. It would seem odd if the object of fandom, Lady Gaga, would completely remove herself from this network of communication, like it is odd if the person with the birthday is absent from the party. At least it is very unlikely that the popularity of Lady Gaga would be so prevalent in online environments, if she had not created such a strong implication that she is actively and personally present in these environments and, at least in theory, possible to reach and communicate with. Although celebrity practitioners presenting themselves via applications like Twitter may often use third-person register in their tweets, or employ press agents to help with this task of creating and maintaining an online celebrity persona, this age of presentational media emphasizes self-presentation and involvement with fans on a personal level. Fans are prone to feel betrayed if the person, whose tweeting they have been following, turns out to be someone else posing as a celebrity, even if the tweeter is someone from the management team of the celebrity (Marshall 2010:44).

To summarize, this section has discussed fandom and how it has been affected and changed as a result of developments in networked media technologies. At least on a superficial level, the relationship between the celebrity practitioner and fan has changed quite significantly. There now exist different channels of communication that offer room for performing fandom more actively and allow fans to be in direct contact with the famous and engage in exchanges that are not merely parasocial and in the fan's mind, but actual exchanges that are public and visible. Whether these changes in communication technologies and fandoms actually contain the potential for a deeper, more reciprocal relationship between celebrity practitioner and fan, or merely an

illusion of one, is something that will hopefully become clarified during the course of this study, and will be discussed more in the DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION - section.

6. THE SET-UP OF THE STUDY

This section describes the set-up of my study. First, I will describe the aims of this study and provide by research questions along with their rationale. After this, I will describe how the data were collected and selected, as well as give a general characterization of the data. In the final part of this section, I will describe the methods of analysis and their rationale.

6.1 Research questions

The main aim of this study is to find out how celebrity is practiced in a modern, networked media environment that is Twitter, by a contemporary celebrity, Lady Gaga, who has been operating in such environments since the beginning of her career. The purpose is to find out *what is typical for Lady Gaga* in her practice of celebrity on Twitter. Her tweeting activity is investigated to discover what different *functions* Lady Gaga's celebrity practice on Twitter fulfills, and to examine these in relation to each other in order to get an idea of their relative importance and distribution. In other words, functions of celebrity practice in this context refer to the purposes it serves, or what Lady Gaga wishes to accomplish by performing certain actions. These different functions are then examined on the level of individual Tweets, to find out what are the various ways of each performing each function. Thus, this study has one main research question, which consists of three secondary, or sub-ordinate questions. The questions are as follows:

1. What is typical in Lady Gaga's celebrity practice on Twitter?

1.1 What functions does Lady Gaga's celebrity practice fulfill?

1.2 What are the various ways of performing these functions?

1.3 What is the importance of these functions in relation to each other?

Answering these research questions and examining Lady Gaga's tweets from this perspective will hopefully shed light on what are her motives for practicing celebrity on Twitter. I believe that by examining a number of her consecutive tweets as a whole and inspecting for frequent themes and characteristics will provide the most interesting results and explain what elements make up the core of celebrity practice.

In terms of this thesis paper and Lady Gaga's celebrity practice, I am especially interested in the role of the fans and Lady Gaga's methods of maintaining her fan base. I believe that one of the biggest changes that has happened to celebrity culture as a result of the migration of celebrity practitioners and fans to new media environments, has to do with the changing relationship between celebrity practitioner and fan. Networked media environments like Twitter have opened up a whole new channel of communication between a star and his/her fans, and this has created new possibilities and demands regarding fan maintenance. Also, fan maintenance seems to be one of the most important aspects of celebrity practice when looking at the tweets of Lady Gaga, since roughly half of them seem to fit into this category.

6.2 Data collection

For this study, I have collected the tweets of Lady Gaga from a period of two months, the November and December of the year 2012. Before choosing to investigate the tweets from these two months, I examined the tweets she had tweeted between August and December of 2012. From this examination I concluded that Lady Gaga's tweeting behavior was fairly consistent, in that the content of her tweets was quite similar from month to month. Thus, I decided to choose a period of two consecutive months randomly. The reason for choosing consecutive months was a practical one, as it seemed easier to interpret tweets in a continuous, chronological order, since the events of Lady Gaga's life described in the tweets often flowed from one month to the next. The time-period of two months was chosen because I felt it was a long enough time to be able to draw some accurate conclusions regarding her practice of celebrity, but not too long to become overly cumbersome to analyze within the scope of a master's thesis.

Prior to looking at the tweets from November and December, thematic categories were formed based on the elements of celebrity practice described by boyd and Marwick (2011). Also, two additional categories were formed, on the basis of the data collected, which did not feature in boyd and Marwick's approach. The category titled "setting a

story straight” was formed based on the notion, that early in the fall of 2012 Lady Gaga had commented on a story circulating in another media, leading me to assume that she might repeat this activity later on. The category titled *Celebrity as an ordinary person* was formed based on Dyer's (1998: 43) concept of 'ordinariness'.

After this, the tweets were investigated to see how well they fit into the different categories, and to get an idea of how the tweets were distributed, i.e. which categories contained the most tweets. The following is a list of the categories that were formed prior to investigating the tweets. Here each category is only briefly described, as I hadn't yet fully decided the criteria for tweet categorization. The categories that were chosen for the actual analysis are explained in more detail later on.

- **Celebrity status:** Category for emphasizing 'extraordinary aspects' of the celebrity practitioner, like showing affiliation to other celebrity practitioners, displaying wealth and large fan base.
- **Fan maintenance:** Category for general acknowledgement of fans, retweets of fan tweets, instances of boyd and Marwick's (2011) 'backstage-access' and 'performed intimacy'.
- **Promotion of live shows and recordings:** Category for mentioning or endorsing celebrity practitioner's commercial products, like concerts, music recordings, and other commodities related to him/her. This is mainly related to boyd and Marwick's (2011) 'construction of a consumable persona'.
- **“Setting a story straight”:** This is a category for tweets that are the celebrity practitioner’s reactions to a news-story or other feature that has emerged in other media, like a magazine or television show. The motivation for including a category such as this comes from Marshall's (2006; 2010) concept of 'presentational media' as a development from 'representational media'. The purpose is to see if celebrity practice in this case includes using a 'presentational media' to correct or comment on a story circulated in 'representational media'.
- **Celebrity as an ordinary person:** This is a category for tweets that emphasize the ordinariness of the celebrity practitioner, and show that he/she is in some ways fundamentally still a regular person, akin to his/her audience or fans, despite having gained popularity and success. This category stems from the celebrity theories (Holmes and Redmond 2007; Dyer 1998), which describe

celebrity and stars as consisting of both 'ordinary' and 'extraordinary' elements. In this sense, this category forms one half of the space, in which celebrity is created, with the *Celebrity status* -category forming the other half.

After these categories were formed, the data tweets were examined and placed into the categories. The purpose was to see which categories contained the most tweets, and also to see if all the categories were necessary, and if there was need for any additional categories. This preliminary analysis did indeed lead to a few conclusions, and affected the final list of categories chosen for analysis. Firstly, the category labelled *Setting a story straight* did not come to include any Tweets, so it was removed as redundant. Secondly, a new category, labelled *Activism and political views*, was introduced in response to an abundance of tweets in the data, which contain references to activist causes or articulations of political opinions. It was also noted that the *Fan Maintenance* -aspect of Lady Gaga's celebrity practice is a very prominent feature in many of the data tweets. This led to the conclusion that the corresponding category would be treated with special attention paid to showing all the different ways in which Lady Gaga practices fan maintenance on Twitter.

6.3 Data analysis

The following is a more detailed description of each chosen category, with a clarification of the criteria for placing tweets and examples.

6.3.1 Celebrity Status

This category includes tweets that somehow expose the 'extraordinary' aspects of Lady Gaga, and highlight her celebrity status. In this context, 'extraordinary' aspects refers to things that are exclusive to celebrity practitioners, and out of the ordinary for typical fans. In other words, these are elements of the celebrity practitioner's life that portray her as different compared to her fans, as having achieved a higher status. This includes tweets that show affiliation to other celebrity practitioners, illustrate Lady Gaga's wealth/wealthy life-style, and emphasize her achievements and popularity. These tweets can be viewed as declarations of fame, proof of an achieved celebrity status. This category contains tweets like the following example.

22. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 21 December

then @brandonvance @tarasavelo i went to another store + this guy was pushing a 20,000 dollar purse on me telling me it was "iconic." as if

In this tweet (22) Lady Gaga reports of a visit to a store with @brandonvance (stylist) and @tarasavelo (make-up artist), where 'this guy', apparently a salesperson, tried to sell her a purse costing 20,000 dollars. Here she is emphasizing her celebrity status by referring to her stylist and make-up artist, 'extraordinary' luxuries that are connected to performing artists and such. Lady Gaga's wealth and familiarity are also emphasized, as she is recognized in the store to be someone, who can afford a 20,000 dollar purse. She is also drawing attention to her expertise in fashion, being able to shrug off a 20,000 dollar purse being sold as "iconic" by stating "as if". Here are two more examples of tweets that emphasize Lady Gaga's celebrity status.

199. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 2 November

OMG there's Internet on the PLANE. THIS IS MY PLANE IT HAS INTERWEBULAR features. Monsters :(i cant believe this sometimes.

197. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 2 November

There's even custom seats!! pic.twitter.com/NL1WApf

The two example tweets above have both been tweeted on the same day, on the 2nd of November, apparently by Lady Gaga onboard her private plane. In tweet (199) Lady Gaga tells her followers that she has her own plane, a luxury often attributed to the rich and famous, i.e. celebrities. Not only does she say that she has a private jet, but a jet with something extra, an internet access. She continues this tour of her private jet in tweet (197), by stating that her plane also has custom designed seats. This tweet is accompanied by a link to a picture of these personalized Lady Gaga -seats.

6.3.2 Fan maintenance

This category is for tweets that are used acknowledge fans, show appreciation to them, and to manage fans in real-time. Also included are tweets that aim to strengthen the sense of community among Lady Gaga fans. Lady Gaga frequently addresses and refers to her fans using the second-person plural pronoun 'you', without explicitly stating who she is referring to. This is one element of celebrity practice that has been adapted from the practitioners of Senft's (2011) micro-celebrity: the treating of followers as fans. As a follower and reader of Lady Gaga's Twitter feed, one is constantly addressed with the

'you' pronoun, mostly in very positive contexts, such as "I love you", "Can't wait to see you tonight", "You are the most important". As this can be understood to refer to fans of Lady Gaga, it is presumed that anyone following Lady Gaga on Twitter is a fan and that the function of Twitter is to act as a channel of communication connecting Lady Gaga to her fans. Each instance where Lady Gaga expresses affection or gratitude toward her fans will be counted as a type of 'fan service', and thus treated as an instance of Fan Maintenance.

In addition to often referring to fans/followers by using the singular pronoun 'you', Lady Gaga very frequently refers to them as 'little monsters' or 'monsters'. I interpret this as an affectionate term for Lady Gaga fans, a term of endearment. Thus, each post that contains the words 'monster' or 'little monsters' is considered to contain an element of Fan Maintenance.

This category also contains fan tweets that have been retweeted by Lady Gaga as part of her Twitter feed. These retweets can be seen to indicate that Lady Gaga also follows her fans' tweeting activities and gives the impression of both-ways communication that flows from Lady Gaga to her fans, but also the other way around. These retweets also act as visibility-boosting favours to those fans whose tweets are retweeted, for they suddenly gain increased attention from other fans. This activity raises the fan to a micro-celebrity status, if only for a short while: a retweet by Lady Gaga means that a single tweet by a fan is potentially seen by all those following Lady Gaga, a group of over 30 million people. In some cases, it can be difficult to determine whether a tweeter is a fan of Lady Gaga or not, but mostly it seems that those tweeters retweeted by Lady Gaga are self-proclaimed fans of her, as indicated by their chosen Twitter nickname. For example, tweet (63) in the data is retweet posted by Lady Gaga, and the original message was tweeted by user @PeterTheMonster. Many fans seem to have incorporated the word 'monster' or 'littlemonster' into their nickname, showing connection to the Lady Gaga fan-community.

Lastly, every tweet that contains a link to the official Lady Gaga fan site, littlemonsters.com, will be counted as belonging to the category of Fan Maintenance. These links are interpreted as attempts by Lady Gaga to direct her Twitter followers to the official fan site, where fans can post their own creative efforts and interact with each other as well as Lady Gaga. This, as well as referring to fans as 'little monsters', can be

seen as ways of strengthening the sense of community within fans. Here are some example tweets belonging to the fan maintenance -category:

3. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 28 December

Im counting down the days till the Ball starts up again. ONLY 3 MONTHS LEFT OF TOURING, what will I do!!!!?? I love seeing you every night!

In the end of this tweet (3) is a phrase containing the 'you' pronoun typical to Lady Gaga's tweets. Gaga is showing appreciation to fans who come to see her live performances.

10. Princess Die ♥ @KilledTheBlonde 27 December

@ladygaga I'm doing my Gaga wall now ;) it has to be perfecttttt

Retweeted by Lady Gaga

This is a typical retweet of a fan tweet. The original tweet is addressed to Lady Gaga, as indicated by the tag @ladygaga in the beginning of the message. Fan management in Lady Gaga's case mainly consists of thanking and acknowledging fans in general, as well as giving individual fans exposure by retweeting their tweets and by drawing attention to their persona or artistic creations on littlemonsters.com.

As shown in the data, Twitter makes possible the management of fans in real-time if the need arises. Lady Gaga has used Twitter to communicate messages to fans waiting outside her hotel, as in this example:

143. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 8 November

my lil Rio Babies PIZZA is coming downstairs. I feel like i slept in bed w you last night. every time i woke up i could hear you screaming!

Apparently Lady Gaga was staying in a Brazilian hotel during her tour, and decided to send pizza to her fans gathered outside the hotel. Lady Gaga announced the arrival of the pizzas in real-time via Twitter. The data also contains another similar tweet with the purpose of informing fans in real-time:

155. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 7 November

Im sending you hamburgers, fries, and coke. I love you monsters.

In addition to exhibiting an element of real-time fan maintenance, this tweet (155) also contains another element of Fan Maintenance, as Lady Gaga proclaims her love toward her fans using the term 'monsters', which in her case is a term of endearment. The two

previous examples demonstrate how Twitter can be used for real-time fan maintenance in a way that serves fans in a positive way. The following two examples show another application of real-time fan maintenance, more as a way to control disturbing fan activity.

94. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 23 November

to any little monsters trying to get in my house at the moment IF YOU SEE A LARGE ITALIAN MAN yelling about sleep IT IS NOT JOE GERMANOTTA

In this example, tweet (94), Lady Gaga is trying to reach fans who are apparently trying to enter her home or her parents' home uninvited. She says that the man yelling about sleep is not her father, Joe Germanotta, possibly as an attempt to preserve her family member's dignity and prevent media exposure. The next example, tweet (98), is very likely related to the same incident, since it was tweeted during the same day.

98. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 23 November

#MONSTERFACT when gaga is asleep try to break into the garage, sing loud as possible, + ring the doorbell repeatedly #happeningnow #badkids

In this tweet (98) Lady Gaga describes what is happening at the moment, as indicated by the hashtag #happeningnow, and sarcastically implying that she does not approve of this type of fan activity, as indicated by the hashtag #badkids. Perhaps Lady Gaga is trying to get these 'bad kids' to stop their disturbing behavior by publicly tweeting a message of disapproval that has the potential to reach these culprits as well as over 40 million other Lady Gaga followers.

6.3.3 Promotion of consumable products

This category includes tweets that are used to promote the products Lady Gaga is selling. This includes the promotion of live shows, upcoming recordings and additional products like Lady Gaga's signature perfume. Thus, any tweet that mentions a live show, recording, or other Lady Gaga -related commodity, is placed in this category. Here is an example tweet from this category:

15. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 25 December

Thank you for being so patient waiting for my new album ARTPOP I hope this gets u excited for things to come. I love you with all my heart!

In example, tweet (15), Lady Gaga is promoting her upcoming album, titled ARTPOP. This soon-to-be released album is quite frequently referred to in Gaga's Twitter feed. Gaga seems to employ a sort of pre-marketing strategy to build hype and get fans ready for the new album much prior to its actual release. Here again, fans are referred to as 'you' and 'u', they are thanked and shown affection. For these reasons, tweets like this are considered to contain elements of Fan Maintenance, as well as the Promotion of Consumable Products. Although Lady Gaga's promotional activities are mainly focused around the promotion of her own products like live shows, recordings and perfume, (or promoting one of the charities she is working for), the data also contained a few tweets where she promotes someone another artist. Here is an example of one such tweet:

49. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6 December

K I NEVER PROMOTE ARTISTS but if u want your mind blown check @tamarbraxtonher "Love & War" She's Toni Braxton sister + her voice is BEYOND

In tweet (49) Lady Gaga stresses the fact that it is not usual for her to promote other artists but here she is nevertheless doing it. Her motives for tweeting this tweet are discussed in the ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS -section.

6.3.4 Activism and political views

This is a category for tweets that are related to activist causes and campaigns promoted by Lady Gaga. This includes tweets that draw attention to a cause/campaign, tweets that attempt to mobilize Gaga's fans and tweets that expose fans who are participants of an activist cause promoted by Lady Gaga. As discussed in the previous section titled **Lady Gaga and Activism**, this type of socially aware and politically inclined activity is a large aspect of Lady Gaga's celebrity persona. She is the spokesperson for many activist causes, especially those geared toward solving social problems, and she is very encouraging toward fans to also participate and be active. Thus, all tweets that refer to one of the many activist foundations Lady Gaga promotes are placed in this category. Also, tweets that refer to other political topics, like the 2012 presidential elections, are placed here. The following two example tweets are from this category, and both of them draw attention to the Born Brave experience, an extension of the Born This Way Foundation:

1. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 30 December

this is a computer rendering of the full setup for the BornBrave experience. The only thing it's missing is you! pic.twitter.com/kXgtMXQ3

2. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 30 December

AHhh! The #bornbravebus is looking amazing! Check it out :) pic.twitter.com/8UBCW6f7

The first example, tweet (1) encourages fans to see a computer rendering of the BornBrave experience, which is essentially a bus and spaces constructed around the bus, where people can come and participate in the activities of the Born Brave Foundation. The second example, tweet (2) is quite similar to tweet (1), but in this case Lady Gaga refers explicitly to the Born Brave Bus in the form of a hashtag.

6.3.5 Celebrity as an ordinary person

This category is for tweets that bring out the 'ordinary' aspects of Lady Gaga. In this category are tweets that remind readers that Lady Gaga, or at least a part of her, is an ordinary person, who has achieved celebrity status and as a result is doing some extraordinary things. The tweets in this category play an important function, because they show Lady Gaga in a light that is easier for fans to relate to, making her more accessible. Thus, the criteria for placing tweets here is that they must display an element of Lady Gaga's celebrity persona that contains nothing spectacular or special compared to average people. In other words, these are tweets that could have been tweeted by anyone, and in no way emphasize Gaga's heightened status as a celebrity person. These tweets have to do with boyd and Marwick's (2011) concept of *backstage-access*, in that they show glimpses about the 'real-life' person behind the performing artist.

Here are some example tweets:

23. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 21 December

why do people look at me like I'm crazy when i use coupons at grocery or try bargaining at retail, IM FROM NEW YORK WHERE IS THE SALE RACK

In this example, tweet (23), Lady Gaga reports about the baffled reactions she has received when using coupons at a grocery store and bargaining at a retail store. This tweet belongs to the Celebrity as an ordinary person -category, because Lady Gaga is describing ways in which she is trying to save small amounts of money, something that is usually associated to ordinary people, especially those living on a tight budget. Using coupons at a grocery store is not a practice usually associated to millionaires. Because

of the baffled reactions of the clerks/other shoppers Gaga is also reporting about, this tweet is regarded as also belonging to the Emphasizing Celebrity Status -category. She is stating: "I am ordinary because I use coupons at the grocery store (like 'you'), but also extraordinary because of the baffled reactions it causes (unlike 'you')."

28. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 19 December

that awkward moment when you realize you JUST took off last christmas' holiday weight and it is indeed now christmas AGAIN can i get an amen?

This is a tweet that is seen to perform only the function of bringing out the 'ordinariness' of Lady Gaga. Nothing in tweet (28) implies that it was tweeted by a celebrity practitioner, as there is no emphasizing of celebrity status and no promotional text. It is a tweet that could have been written by just about anyone using Twitter. This tweet works to distance Lady Gaga from the typical celebrity pop-star and bring her closer to the average fan, for she is openly describing her weight fluctuation brought on by the Christmas holidays, something that most people are quite familiar with.

7. ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

In this section, the analysis of the material, and the results of the analysis are presented. First, Table 1 shows the number of tweets in the data that belong to each of the corresponding categories, or functions of celebrity practice described in the previous section. The table also includes percentages showing the number of tweets in these categories in relation to the total number of tweets in the data, making it easier to evaluate the significance of each function and display the total distribution between the categories. Several tweets serve more than one function, thus the percentages do not add up to a 100 percent total. Following this table is a qualitative analysis of the results of each category along with examples showing the typical instances of each celebrity practice function.

Table 1: Functions of celebrity practice

Function of Celebrity Practice	Number of tweets	% of total number of tweets
Fan maintenance	87	42
Emphasizing celebrity status	43	21
Celebrity as an ordinary person	8	4
Promotion of consumable products	37	18
Activism and political views	31	15

Table 1 shows that the Fan Maintenance is clearly the most frequently appearing function of Lady Gaga's celebrity practice, with 42 percent of the tweets in the data containing at least one element of it. The function of Emphasizing Celebrity Status is also quite notable, with 21 percent of tweets displaying an instance of it. To a slightly lesser extent, two other functions of celebrity practice were also quite consistently represented in the data, namely the Promotion of Consumable Products with 18 percent and Activism and Political Views with 15 percent of tweets containing occurrences. The function titled Celebrity as an Ordinary Person did not show a significant number of occurrences compared to the other functions, since only 4 percent of the data contained a performance of this function.

The finding that the function of Fan Maintenance is present in over forty percent of the tweets that were examined in this study is not surprising when considering how much emphasis Lady Gaga has placed on the acknowledgement of fans in the past. The fact that Lady Gaga's fans already have an active fan site and community, littlemonsters.com, and that she frequently refers to them using this 'monster' -moniker, implies a certain degree of devotion to aspects of fan management. Although the other functions of celebrity practice are also notably well represented in the data and doubtlessly of importance, in Lady Gaga's case the main objective seems to be to keep her fans feeling content, acknowledged, and appreciated.

7.1 Fan Maintenance

This section describes the aspects of Lady Gaga's celebrity practice that serve the function of Fan Maintenance. Lady Gaga maintains her fan base through Twitter in several different ways, which in itself is an indication of the importance of this function in her celebrity practice. Because of this, as well as the fact that Fan Maintenance is present in such a large number of data tweets, this function is examined in greater detail compared to the others.

In maintaining her fan base, Lady Gaga uses various different methods, or what I have termed manifestations of her Fan Maintenance. She retweets fan tweets, displays affection toward fans, attempts to strengthen the fans' sense of community by referring to them using the endearing term 'little monsters' or simply 'monsters', and by posting links the official Lady Gaga fan site, littlemonsters.com. In addition, occasionally Lady Gaga attempts to communicate something to fans in real-time via Twitter. Based on these different manifestations of Fan Maintenance, I have divided the tweets into four categories, and Table 2 shows the distribution of these tweets. Once again, a single tweet may contain more than one element of fan maintenance, and thus the percentages do not add up to hundred percent.

Table 2: Manifestations of fan maintenance

Manifestation of fan maintenance	Number of tweets	Percentage of total fan Maintenance
Retweeting fan tweets	16	18
Displaying affection or gratitude to fans	23	26
Strengthening sense of community	50	57
Real-time fan maintenance	5	6

Table 2 shows that 57 percent of the tweets classified as fan maintenance aim to *strengthen the sense of community* among Lady Gaga fans, either by directing them to the official fan site or by referring to them endearingly as 'little monsters', making it the most common manifestation of the function. *Retweeting fan tweets* as a way of

acknowledging fans was present in 18 percent and *displaying affection or gratitude to fans* in 26 percent of the tweets serving the function of fan maintenance. Only six percent of the fan maintenance tweets contained an occurrence of *real-time fan maintenance*.

Judging by the relatively high frequency at which Lady Gaga refers to her fans as 'little monsters' and mentions the name of the official fan site, littlemonsters.com, it seems that she is quite motivated in strengthening her fan community, as she attempts to encourage more people to join and become more active as fans. This is a project of fan management, in which Twitter may actually play a secondary role, its purpose being to direct people to the official fan site, where 'real' fandom happens. Nevertheless, in the data there are also notable numbers of tweets in which Lady Gaga acknowledges individual fans and displays appreciation toward them, indicating that Twitter is an important site of Fan Maintenance for her, and not merely a signpost to the official fan site.

The following is a closer look at the different manifestations of Fan Maintenance with examples and discussion of their typical features.

7.1.1 Retweeting fan tweets

When Lady Gaga retweets a tweet originally posted by a fan, that tweet is potentially seen by everyone following Gaga on Twitter, potentially over 40 million people. This serves as a huge visibility-boosting favor to the fan that gets retweeted, as well as creates the impression that Lady Gaga not only posts tweets of her own, but also pays attention to what her fans are tweeting. What is typical of these fan tweets chosen to be retweeted, is that in them fans recognize Lady Gaga as an object of admiration, a source of inspiration for creative work, or importance as a pioneering artist. Here are examples of tweets that portray general admiration and respect toward Lady Gaga:

10. Princess Die ♥ @KilledTheBlonde 27 December

@ladygaga I'm doing my Gaga wall now ;) it has to be perfecttttt

Retweeted by Lady Gaga

182. oscar ulate @oscar_ulate 4 November

@ladygaga was amazing, as simple as that, my sons and I enjoyed together, and it doesn't have price. thank you. From Costa Rica.

Retweeted by Lady Gaga

Both of these example tweets contain the marker @ladygaga, meaning that they are directed at Lady Gaga and are more likely to be noticed by her. The same applies for all of the retweeted fan tweets in the data. In tweet (10), user @KilledTheBlonde has decided to report on her project, a wall dedicated to Lady Gaga, which is an obvious gesture of admiration to the celebrity. Tweet (182) is apparently from a grateful fan who attended Gaga's concert in Costa Rica with his sons. It is one of three tweets tweeted by Lady Gaga on November 4th, all of which refer to her recent performance in the country. The following two examples represent retweets of fan tweets, which portray Lady Gaga as a source of inspiration for fan creations.

12. Highway Sarah @LILMNSTR1125 25 December

My completely irrelevant but super kickass @ladygaga Christmas cookies!!!
pic.twitter.com/fB8LsCPE

Retweeted by Lady Gaga

70. Yoyo Blackfire @YoyoBlackfire 27 November

I'm putting together a binder of all the songs I've written thanks to @ladygaga. I'm going to stalk her in AZ so she'll look at it #followme

Retweeted by Lady Gaga

In tweet (12) Twitter user @LILMNSTR1125 reports about having baked Lady Gaga - inspired Christmas cookies, and has included a link to a picture showing these cookies. This is not necessarily fan produced content comparable to traditional fan fiction and such, but a celebrity-inspired creative effort nevertheless. Tweet (70) originally sent by user @YoyoBlackfire portrays Lady Gaga as an inspiration in a fan's songwriting work. This Tweet also contains a humorous reference to a stereotypical behavior attributed to obsessive fans: stalking. The next example represents Lady Gaga as a pioneering artist.

63. Lady Gaga @PeterTheMonster 30 November

@ladygaga How does it feel to be the first female act to perform a whole concert in Soccer City?

Retweeted by Lady Gaga

This tweet (63) refers to Lady Gaga's performance in First National Bank stadium, also known as Soccer City, located in Johannesburg, South Africa. This tweet by a fan has been phrased as a question, an apparently successful choice that has possibly been made to improve chances of receiving a reply or acknowledgement from Lady Gaga. Some tweets aimed for Lady Gaga by fans seem to have been tweeted with the purpose of merely eliciting a response or acknowledgement from the celebrity practitioner, as in this next example tweeted by @JustDaNceGeorge.

129. GAGAS CANNABIS KING ☯ @JustDaNceGeorge 12 November

@ladygaga has a 1 in 31,166,163 chance of seeing this tweet, if you see it then..

HI

GAGA! <3

Retweeted by Lady Gaga

I believe that this single tweet (129), and the fact that it has been noticed and retweeted by Lady Gaga, is a good representation of the reason why Lady Gaga consistently retweets fan tweets as part of her celebrity practice on Twitter. Despite the massive number of fans she has on Twitter, and the vast information flow they generate toward her, she notices and chooses to make public individual tweets. It is not really important whether it is actually her personally, or a member of her staff, who takes the time read through and pick out these fan tweets, but what is important is that it creates the illusion of communication that is flowing both ways between Lady Gaga and her fans, that she pays attention to what individual fans are saying, as in a relationship between two equal people, although the other party of this relationship consists of over 40 million individuals. This seemingly social behavior is a textbook example of *parasocial interaction*.

7.1.2 Displaying affection and gratitude to fans

A total of 23 tweets in the data contain a phrase displaying affection or gratitude toward Lady Gaga's fans. These tweets typically contain language features that resemble the kind of language used in communication between close friends, or even lovers. It seems as if Lady Gaga is trying to linguistically construct a relationship to her fans that is like a love affair, as she portrays feelings of love, longing and gratitude toward them. Here are three examples:

3. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 28 December

Im counting down the days till the Ball starts up again. ONLY 3 MONTHS LEFT OF TOURING, what will I do!!!!?? I love seeing you every night!

15. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 25 December

Thank you for being so patient waiting for my new album ARTPOP I hope this gets u excited for things to come. I love you with all my heart!

18. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 25 December

MERRY XMAS TWITTERLAND! I hope all having a beautiful day Thank those who gave my perfume FAME to someone i love your twitpics w the bottle!

In the first of these examples, tweet (3), Lady Gaga states in a way typical of her, “I love seeing you every night!” This is an interesting display of affection and reference to the fans in general, as it sounds like she is seeing the same 'person' or group every night, but obviously the referent is largely a different group of people each night, as Lady Gaga travels from one city and country to the next during her tour. In this tweet (3) she even displays a sense of despair by stating “ONLY 3 MONTHS LEFT OF TOURING, what will I do!!!!??” It sounds like she is trying to convey a feeling of panic resulting from the approaching end of her tour, as if it was the end of a love affair. The three example tweets above are interesting and similar in that they all include also another element of celebrity practice, the Promotion of Consumable Products. Tweet (3) contains a reference, 'the Ball', referring to the Born This Way Ball, which is the name of Lady Gaga's tour of live shows. Tweet (15) refers to Gaga's upcoming album, titled *ARTPOP*, and tweet (18) mentions her signature perfume, *FAME*. This feature of also including an element of promotion is prominent in nearly half of the Tweets that contain a display of affection or gratitude toward the fans. Here are two more examples of tweets that display affection, but do not contain an element of promotion.

75. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 27 November

Im so happy that I was able to see my fans at the Airport in South Africa, thank u for all the time you waited, I appreciate and love you. x

141. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 8 November

i'll never forget Rio, you lit my heart into flames
<http://littlemonsters.com/post/509c100dccaec4a2a00332a> ...

In tweet (75), Lady Gaga displays affection and gratitude toward her fans who apparently came to the airport hoping to get a glimpse of their idol. In tweet (141), Lady Gaga uses the pronoun 'you' without a specific referent, but I interpret this, again, as referring to her fans in Rio. The phrase “...you lit my heart into flames” is a way of displaying affection, comparable to “I love you”.

Displays of affection and gratitude to fans are quite frequent and consistently appearing in Lady Gaga's celebrity practice. There is no large variation in the ways these displays are performed, with most displays consisting simply of phrases like “I love you” and “thank you” or very slight variations of these.

7.1.3 Strengthening sense of community

There is a total of 50 tweets in the data the function of which is to support and strengthen the sense of community within Lady Gaga fans. Lady Gaga performs this function in two different ways: By referring to her fans endearingly as 'Little Monsters' or 'Monsters', and by tweeting tweets that contain a link to the official Lady Gaga fan site littlemonsters.com. The following sections contain a detailed description of these two ways of strengthening sense of community.

7.1.3.1 Referring to 'Little Monsters' or 'Monsters'

There is a total of 27 tweets in the data that contain the phrase 'little monster' or alternately 'monster'. These are terms of endearment, which Lady Gaga uses in referring to her fans. The phrase 'little monster' can be seen as the official term for fans of Lady Gaga, as exemplified by the name of the official Lady Gaga fan site, littlemonsters.com. These terms of endearment are used by Lady Gaga, but also by some of the fans to refer to themselves. Tweet (12), originally tweeted by user @LILMNSTR1125, and Tweet (63), originally tweeted by user @PeterTheMonster, are examples of tweets by these self-proclaimed 'monsters'.

In addition to being a term of endearment, 'little monster' is also a term that suggests a sense of community or social group, that ties people together based on their mutual love of Lady Gaga. As the following example illustrates, some fans can even view this group of fellow fans as a family.

92. EyeLiner&Cigarettes♡ @GagaGetInMyBed 23 November

my 24,000th tweet goes to @ladygaga and my monster family, i love you all, thanks for making me strong <3

This example is a fan tweet retweeted by Lady Gaga, in which the fan is displaying affection and gratitude toward her and fellow fans. The tone of this tweet (92) is similar to the one used by Lady Gaga in her tweets that display affection toward fans. Here is another example portraying a similar sense of viewing the fans as a community.

8. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 28 December

For those wondering about the "counseling" at the BTWBall BornBrave pre-show, it will be a fun tailgating experience for monsters to unite

In this tweet (8) Lady Gaga describes the "pre-show" of her concert as a "...fun tailgating experience for monsters to unite". Viewed in this light, Lady Gaga is promoting her concerts as not only events where fans can come to see her perform, but places where fans can meet and interact with each other and be a part of the community. Most of the tweets in which Lady Gaga refers to her fans as 'little monsters' generally contain positive messages and, again, displays of affection and gratitude. The following are typical examples.

17. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 25 December

Theres a little SantaGaga present waiting for little monsters on <http://littlemonsters.com>

19. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 24 December

Merry Christmas Eve little monsters. Thank you for blessing my life the way you have.

84. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 26 December

that was so much fun, i appreciate you so much Paraguay Hotel Monsters, SEE YOU AT THE SHOW GET READY

Tweets (17) and (19) have been tweeted during Christmas and, accordingly, they contain a greeting and a "present" in the form of a link to littlemonsters.com. I interpret this as a type of digital gift to the fans. Although the content of this gift is unclear since littlemonsters.com has been updated countless times since Christmas, I am assuming it is an artifact such as a photograph, audio recording or digital Christmas card. In tweet (84) Lady Gaga shows appreciation toward fans gathered at her hotel in Paraguay. As already mentioned, these types of tweets containing positive messages directed for 'monsters' are very typical in the data. What is interesting is that the data also contains

tweets in which Lady Gaga refers to her fans endearingly as 'monsters', even though they are exhibiting behavior that is generally considered undesirable and even disturbing. As the following examples illustrate, even fans invading Lady Gaga's home does not discourage her from referring to them using the designated terms of endearment.

94. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 23 November

to any little monsters trying to get in my house at the moment IF YOU SEE A LARGE ITALIAN MAN yelling about sleep IT IS NOT JOE GERMANOTTA

97. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 23 November

thanksgiving story: woke up for leftovers in kitchen (naked)- stumbled on security camera revealing 35 monsters in my garage #why #iloveu

98. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 23 November

#MONSTERFACT when gaga is asleep try to break into the garage, sing loud as possible, + ring the doorbell repeatedly #happeningnow #badkids

All three of these example tweets have been tweeted during the same day, on November 23rd, hence they all refer to the same incident. Chronologically the first of these examples, tweet (98), contains a sarcastic comment by Lady Gaga referring to fans trying to break into her garage and causing a disturbance. This tweet (98) refers to the culprits as “badkids”, as shown by the hashtag, signaling some understandable annoyance on Gaga's behalf. Tweeted after this, tweet (97) is considerably more light-hearted and less annoyed in tone. In this tweet, Lady Gaga tells a “thanksgiving story”, in which '#badkids' has changed to the endearing term 'monsters', and the tweet is embellished with the hashtags “#why #iloveu”. Lady Gaga continues in the same manner in tweet (94), as she refers to people trying to get into her house uninvited as 'little monsters'. It seems as if she wants to portray her gratitude and appreciation toward all of her fans in spite of a group of them behaving very disruptively and invading her family's home during Thanksgiving. In her tweets, she treats the whole incident as an amusing story and chooses to keep referring to the invaders as 'little monsters' instead of something less respectful and endearing.

Yet another typical feature of Lady Gaga's tweets containing a reference to 'little monsters' or 'monsters' to be discussed, is the fact that many of these tweets draw

attention to fan creations, usually by containing a link to littlemonsters.com. Here are some examples of this feature.

68. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 28 November

i can't believe a monster already drew this!! Outfit: CUSTOM VERSACE by. Donatella
#littlemonsters <http://littlemonsters.com/post/50b59f614f5cf1d532004735> ...

73. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 27 November

look how amazing this little monster is who made this, i wore that outfit 24 hrs ago! look at
fozzi!!! #littlemonsters <http://littlemonsters.com/post/50b51a824f5cf14c07002091> ...

In these tweets Lady Gaga is giving exposure to a fan that made a drawing and posted it on littlemonsters.com. She praises the fan as well as provides a link to the original work. In both of these examples Lady Gaga emphasizes the fan's quick reaction, the fact that the fan has created and made public a drawing based on an outfit she wore very recently. What is noteworthy, is that Lady Gaga likewise tweeted a reaction to this fan creation quickly after it had been posted, as made evident by her comment "...i wore that outfit 24 hrs ago!". I view this as a way for Lady Gaga to create the impression that she is present for her fans, and more or less constantly pays attention to what they are communicating and creating in networked media environments like Twitter and littlemonsters.com. This can act as powerful encouragement for her fans to engage in creative efforts and communications relating to Lady Gaga, since there is always a slight chance that she might notice and comply with visibility boost in the form of a tweet. The previous examples, tweets (68) and (73), are related to a single fan's creation that garnered attention from Lady Gaga, but the data also contained instances of the fans being active and creating something as a larger group in response to Gaga's encouragement. This is illustrated by the next two examples.

89. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 23 November

what happens when monsters are in charge of my hair.
#NeverShouldHaveGivenOutThoseWands pic.twitter.com/2SPokJOt

91. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 23 November

i love watching monsters go at it about my hair, THE SOONER U SUBMIT TO MOTHERS
HAIR THE LESS IT WILL HURT *stares at u w peroxide & a comb*

These two examples, tweets (89) and (91), are apparently associated with an activity, where Lady Gaga asked fans to participate in creating new hairstyles for her through a

type picture or photo manipulation. As these tweets are the only ones in the data about this topic, I'm assuming that this activity was initialized on some site other than Twitter, like littlemonsters.com. This case of 'monsters' participating in a shared activity centered on their idol enforces a sense of community and no doubt strengthens feelings of connection between the fans of Lady Gaga.

To summarize, Lady Gaga refers to her fans as 'little monsters' or 'monsters' in order to acknowledge her fans, give them visibility-boosting favors, and to strengthen the fans' sense of community. The following section describes another way in which Lady Gaga performs this manifestation of Fan Maintenance that is related to fan community reinforcement.

7.1.3.2 Link to littlemonsters.com

In the data there are 23 tweets containing a link to the official Lady Gaga fan site, littlemonsters.com. Since the content of this official Lady Gaga website for her fans is not a part of this study, there will be no in-depth analysis of what is behind these links. Nevertheless, I believe it is worth noting that Lady Gaga has chosen to include relatively many links to littlemonsters.com. This is interesting especially because most of these links seem to lead to pictures and photographs. Since it is also possible to upload pictures directly to Twitter, why does Lady Gaga choose to post a picture on littlemonsters.com and place a link on Twitter connecting to this external site? I believe this is because her purpose is to direct her fans from Twitter to littlemonsters.com, where it is possible connect with other fans, post one's own pictures and creative efforts, and to generally participate in a more active type of fandom. I also argue that fans who are more active and connected to each other in online environments like littlemonsters.com, are likely to have a stronger sense of community compared to those who practice fandom alone or only within local communities. For this reason, tweets that contain a link to Lady Gaga's official fan site are seen as attempts strengthening the fans' sense of community.

In addition, by regularly including links to littlemonsters.com as part of her tweets, Lady Gaga is reminding her Twitter followers, as well as notifying new followers, that this type of official fan site exists. Thus, including these links is also a type of promotional activity for giving visibility to the site.

In the previous section there are two examples, tweets (68) and (73), which give exposure to a fan and his/her drawing via a link to littlemonsters.com. Although these are the only tweets in the data that draw attention to a specific fan post on the website, the preliminary investigation of Lady Gaga's Twitter feed prior to choosing the data tweets showed that this feature was much more prevalent during other times of her tweeting history. In addition to giving exposure to fans and creative efforts they have posted, the links to littlemonsters.com seem to lead to pictures of Lady Gaga performing on tour and spending leisure time, as well as pictures of fans and other people she has met while on tour. Here are some examples.

71. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 27 November

i love this photo so much, i cry so many tears of joy when i see it. this is the feeling hrs before show <http://littlemonsters.com/post/50b5732d1654492607003e5f> ...

112. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 18 November

me with my leather Destroyer in Argentina. i love the born this way ball (& yes i play w press-ons) #littlemonsters <http://littlemonsters.com/>

135. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 9 November

PIC onstage RIO <http://littlemonsters.com/post/509df6764f5cf1bd4100418c> ...

201. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 2 November

me on the beach today. i have a fear of swimwear. but beer is ok.
<http://littlemonsters.com/post/50942cdfccaec7a1b0002da> ...

As well as linking to pictures of herself, her fans and their creations, some of the links to littlemonsters.com draw attention to causes related to political activism in the form of charities and organizations Lady Gaga is a part of. Here are some examples of this.

50. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 5 December

HERE IT IS: The Lady Gaga UN/UNICEF webpage. Follow my personal visits and get involved <http://littlemonsters.com/unicef>

54. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 3 December

I will be continuing my work with UN/UNICEF and a <http://Littlemonsters.com> page documenting our progress will up shortly pic.twitter.com/kfqlNO7J

157. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 7 November

A letter and a gift to New York and the American @RedCross
<http://littlemonsters.com/post/509a7675ab3389160f0000ca> ...

203. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 1 November

#VOTE2013 #littlemonsters <http://littlemonsters.com/post/5092b19d222766646c001db7> ...

Linking the littlemonsters.com website with Lady Gaga's involvement in charities and political causes is a way for her to encourage her fans to also become active and participate in these efforts. This plea for participation is clearly communicated in tweet (50), in which Lady Gaga asks for her followers to “Follow my personal visits and get involved”. Tweet (203) is interesting, because it does not contain any message except two hashtags, #VOTE2013 and #littlemonsters, as well as a link to littlemonsters.com. I interpret these hashtags as an encouragement for 'little monsters' to vote in the 2012 presidential elections which took place on November 6th, the year 2013 likely being a misnumbering on Lady Gaga's behalf. The ambiguity of this tweet combined with the link to littlemonsters.com, again, acts as a type lure for directing followers from Twitter to the official fan website, where a more active fandom and participation can take place.

To summarize, Lady Gaga frequently includes links to littlemonsters.com in her tweets in order to direct her fans to this official fan site, where they can practice fandom more actively and interact with other fans from around the world. I believe this is an attempt at strengthening the fans' sense of community, and increasing the fans' level of involvement within the community.

7.1.4 Real-time fan maintenance

The final aspect of Fan Maintenance to be discussed here is real-time fan maintenance. There are a total of five tweets in the data which are interpreted as belonging to this category. Although this is not quantitatively a very significant number, I feel this feature is worth discussing as a phenomenon, since it shows a creative and novel way of using Twitter by a celebrity practitioner for Fan Maintenance. The tweets in the data that are classified as real-time fan maintenance serve two specific purposes. Three of the tweets are directed at fans of Lady Gaga gathered outside her hotel in a location where she is performing, their purpose being to inform these fans that she will be coming to meet them shortly, or that she is sending food to them. The other two tweets are related to the aforementioned incident that took place during Thanksgiving in 2012, during which several fans of Lady Gaga broke into her home and caused a disturbance. First, I will discuss the following tweets directed at fans outside Lady Gaga's hotel.

85. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 26 November

PARAGUAY!! I'm coming down in a moment to say hello to you at hotel don't worry!!

143. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 8 November

my lil Rio Babies PIZZA is coming downstairs. I feel like i slept in bed w you last night. every time i woke up i could hear you screaming!

155. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 7 November

Im sending you hamburgers, fries, and coke. I love you monsters.

Tweet (85) contains no specific referent, but it is seemingly directed at fans of Lady Gaga, who have come to her hotel in Paraguay hoping to see a glimpse of her. This is another example of Lady Gaga using the pronoun 'you' without a specific referent to refer to her fans, this time specifically those gathered outside her hotel. The next two examples, tweets (143) and (155), are likewise seemingly directed for fans outside of Lady Gaga's hotel, but in these tweets she is reporting about her intentions of sending food to them shortly. In addition, both of these tweets also contain characteristically intimate or affectionate phrases: In tweet (143) "I feel like i slept in bed w you last night" and in tweet (155) "I love you monsters". In my view, these tweets containing real-time fan maintenance function on two levels. Superficially, all of these three tweets seem like they are directed for Lady Gaga's fans gathered outside her hotel or in the lobby. The purpose of these tweets seems to be to communicate to these fans that Lady Gaga, or alternately food sent by her, will arrive shortly, and that she has feelings of affection toward them. However, I believe that the purpose of these tweets is not merely to inform the fans outside the hotel, but also to communicate something to all of Lady Gaga's Twitter followers and fans at large. Real-time reports of Lady Gaga going to meet her fans and sending them gifts in the form of food work to construct an image of her as someone who cares about her fans and feels affectionately toward them. Thus by sending food to a few fans and reporting about it on Twitter works toward reinforcing a positive picture of her in the minds of the rest.

The following examples are related to the incident of domestic disturbance that took place during Thanksgiving in 2012.

94. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 23 November

to any little monsters trying to get in my house at the moment IF YOU SEE A LARGE ITALIAN MAN yelling about sleep IT IS NOT JOE GERMANOTTA

98. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 23 November

#MONSTERFACT when gaga is asleep try to break into the garage, sing loud as possible, + ring the doorbell repeatedly #happeningnow #badkids

Of these examples, tweet (94) is more explicitly directed at the fans causing the disturbance at Lady Gaga's house, as made clear by the phrase “to any little monsters trying to get in my house at the moment...” It is difficult to interpret why Lady Gaga wishes to clarify to them that the Italian man is not Joe Germanotta, her father, but nevertheless she uses Twitter to try to get this message communicated in real-time. Tweet (98) has been tweeted chronologically earlier, and seems to be directed to Gaga's Twitter followers more generally. In spite of this, I feel that it is also meant to convey her feelings of annoyance indirectly to those causing the disturbance, perhaps in an effort to get them to cease their activity.

In summary, despite the small number of tweets that are classified as real-time fan maintenance, this method of a celebrity practitioner using Twitter to communicate with fans in real-time is interesting because it is an example of a new way of communicating that has become possible due to developments in networked media technologies and how these are used. Namely this refers not only to the development of Twitter and tweeting, but also to the fact that today masses of people, or in this case Lady Gaga fans, have access to it constantly via mobile phones. Lady Gaga cleverly exploits this knowledge, and uses Twitter as a sort of tool for broadcasting messages to her public in real-time.

7.2 Emphasizing celebrity status

This section describes the tweets in the data the function of which is to emphasize Lady Gaga's celebrity status. There are a total of 43 tweets that fulfill this function, amounting to 21 percent of the total number of tweets in the data. As such, Emphasizing Celebrity Status is the second most frequently appearing function of Lady Gaga's celebrity practice, surpassed in frequency only by the function of Fan Maintenance. As described previously, Lady Gaga emphasizes her celebrity status on Twitter via tweets that expose the 'extraordinary' aspects of her life, those that set her apart from and are unattainable to the vast majority of her followers. These tweets emphasize her celebrity status in a few different ways, but most fall into one of three categories: tweets that show affiliation to other celebrity practitioners, tweets that emphasize wealth or other material

achievements, and tweets that draw attention to immaterial achievements such as Lady Gaga's familiarity and popularity. The following sections describe in greater detail these different ways of emphasizing celebrity status.

7.2.1 Showing affiliation to other celebrity practitioners

In the period of two months from which the data tweets have been collected, Lady Gaga shows affiliation to several other more or less well known celebrity practitioners such as the *Rolling Stones*, jazz musician Brian Newman, and photographer Terry Richardson. These tweets that show Lady Gaga's affiliation to other celebrity practitioners not only boost her status as someone famous and successful, but also give exposure to and draw the attention of potentially millions of Twitter users to those she affiliates herself with, making this type of tweeting mutually profitable. What is typical of these tweets is that they usually describe some type of production or performance that Lady Gaga is working on or has completed in collaboration with another celebrity practitioner. As these tweets often refer to a collaboratively produced product such as a song, performance or upcoming film, they contain a dimension of promotion as they advertise something the fans can purchase immediately or in the future. The following are a few examples of tweets that emphasize Lady Gaga's celebrity status by showing affiliation to other celebrity practitioners.

14. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 25 December

i love you @Terry_World thank you for believing in me and my fans, I have looked up to you and your work for so long, its a dream come true!

16. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 25 December

Merry Christmas little monsters! Terry Richardson @Terry_World is making a #LadyGagaMOVIE documenting my life, the creation of ARTPOP + you!

In these tweets (14) and (16) Lady Gaga is showing affiliation to Terry Richardson, a fashion and portrait photographer known for his controversial photo-shoots and work he has done for magazines such as *Vogue*, *Rolling Stone*, *GQ*, and *Vanity Fair* (Davies 2010). Tweet (16) also contains a promotional aspect, as Lady Gaga informs her followers of an upcoming “#LadyGagaMOVIE” as well as mentions her upcoming album, *ARTPOP*. It is interesting how both of these tweets also mention the fans in a way that make them seem an important part of the Lady Gaga phenomenon and movie project. In tweet (14) Gaga thanks Terry Richardson for “...believing in me and my

fans...” and in tweet (16) she refers to the movie as “...documenting my life, the creation of ARTPOP + you!”. In a sense it seems as if she is extending her affiliation with this famous photographer to her fans, trying to make them feel a type of connectedness to Terry Richardson via Lady Gaga.

In these next two examples Lady Gaga shows affiliation to jazz musician Brian Newman.

29. Brian Newman @BrianNewmanNY 17 December

@ladygaga Do you remember the blindfolded take we did of that, babe?!! Hahaha!!! Lets do it again soon! Always a pleasure!! Love ya!

Retweeted by Lady Gaga

30. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 17 December

"You and I" the jazz version after too many whiskies with Newman

<https://soundcloud.com/hausofdima/lady-gaga-you-and-i-full-jazz> ...

The first of these examples, tweet (29), is a tweet by Brian Newman directed at Lady Gaga, in which he fondly recollects their shared experience of recording a song together. This has been retweeted by Lady Gaga after her previous tweet (30), which contains a link to the song they recorded. I view tweet (29) as an affirmation from Brian Newman, in which he expresses his positive feelings toward their collaborative effort.

This next example is a retweet of a tweet originally by Tyra Banks, a well-known former model who has recently worked as a television personality and actress.

32. Tyra Banks @tyrabanks 16 December

.@ladygaga had on serious cray high heels last nite jumping all over Rolling Stones stage putting all vet runway models to shame.

Retweeted by Lady Gaga

In this retweet Lady Gaga is not showing affiliation to another celebrity practitioner in the traditional sense of them completing a project or doing something together, but rather demonstrating how another widely recognized and experienced celebrity practitioner is acknowledging Lady Gaga and praising her talent by comparing her to veteran runway models. This retweet clearly refers to Lady Gaga's performance with the *Rolling Stones*, one she also refers to in several other tweets. These tweets provided as examples on the following page.

33. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 16 December

The Rolling Stones and Lady Gaga "Gimme Shelter" performance in HD

http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=FZzXH2DJZjI ...

35. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 16 December

I'll post our performance of "Gimme Shelter," PAY PER VIEW did a stellar job with the SOUND, the mix was insane on TV they sounded immortal!

36. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 16 December

I had a life dream to be transported in a time machine to 1973 NJ, beer + badboys. Someone heal me it happened + then I sang with the Stones

37. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 14 December

Me with the boys. When rock n' roll gets you wet in 6. PAY PER VIEW "One More Shot" Tomorrow night 9PM Eastern. pic.twitter.com/YtP2EfPM

38. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 13 December

Gimme Shelter. It just two nights away!! :) Can't wait to sing with the Rolling Stones on Saturday Night. In 2007 i was stripping to them.

39. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 10 December

He had me at "hello, it's Mick."

40. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 10 December

I am so honored and excited to announce I will be performing with @rollingstones on Dec15 for their 50th Anniversary Concert "One More Shot"

This performance with the *Rolling Stones* was apparently an event of great importance to Lady Gaga, since she refers to it in some way in a total of 9 individual tweets, one of which is the retweet of Tyra Banks' tweet and one which is not included here, in which Lady Gaga refers to the glamorous dress she wore during the performance. This string of tweets begins with tweet (40), in which Lady Gaga announces five days in advance of the performance. This Tweet is followed by tweet (39) which is, although very short and fairly inconspicuous, a strong statement in emphasizing Lady Gaga's status as a celebrity practitioner, since it implies that she was contacted via telephone by none other than the singer of the *Rolling Stones*, Mick Jagger. This is a merit that not only sets Lady Gaga apart from her followers but also from other celebrity practitioners, since the *Rolling Stones* are a recognized, high profile band with a long history and likely quite careful in choosing who they want to perform and be associated with. In

tweet (38) Lady Gaga shows her enthusiasm toward the upcoming performance and in tweet (37) she promotes the event by mentioning it is on pay-per-view and providing the airing time. In tweet (36) Lady Gaga expresses how the performance has been a dream come true for her, tweet (35) contains more promotion as it mentions how well pay per view was able to broadcast the event, and finally, tweet (33) contains a link to YouTube showing the one song Lady Gaga and the Rolling Stones performed together. Without discrediting Lady Gaga's achievement of performing a song together with a group of rock music legends like the *Rolling Stones*, she truly does make most of the event and more publicity wise, using this public performance to boost and emphasize her status as an exceptional celebrity practitioner. In addition to the seven tweets in which she mentions her affiliation to the Rolling Stones, she also retweeted Tyra Banks' tweet (32), in which Banks praises Lady Gaga's performance and talent.

Thus, by showing connections to other celebrity practitioners Lady Gaga is able to emphasize her own credibility and high status as a famous individual. Lady Gaga shows these connections to other celebrity practitioners by describing mutual efforts and artistic collaborations she has taken part in with them. These types of tweets often contain a link the finished product, such as an audio recording or captured video of a concert performance that acts as proof of the collaboration, and can also be viewed as a type of digital gift to the fans. It seems that if the celebrity practitioner whom Lady Gaga shows affiliation to is highly famous and well established, Lady Gaga places more emphasis displaying on the connection, as is the case with the long string of tweets related to her performance with the *Rolling Stones*.

7.2.2 Material Merits - Emphasizing wealth or other material achievements

A notable portion of the tweets that emphasize Lady Gaga's celebrity status do so by portraying her material possessions, such as wealth or luxuries she has accumulated. These can be references to owning items previously owned by other well-known celebrity persons, items associated with expensive designer brands, or possessions that are typically associated with successful celebrity practitioners or exceptionally rich individuals, possessions such a private jet. The following are some examples of such tweets.

57. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 2 December

The 55 pieces I collected today will be archived & expertly cared for in the spirit & love of Michael Jackson, his bravery, & fans worldwide

62. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 30 November

& yes I cut a hole in my bush hat so my pony could stick out #SafariBarbie #Glambi my scarf was a gift from the Princess of Monaco, thanku!

Both of the above examples refer to possessions that Lady Gaga has acquired, and that previously belonged to other well-known individuals. Tweet (57) refers to an auction where some of the possessions of the late 'King of Pop', Michael Jackson, were auctioned. Lady Gaga acquired 55 of these pieces, among them Jackson's jacket which was used in the music video for the song "Bad", costing her 240,000 dollars, and a crystal glove, with a price of over 100,000 dollars (Douglass 2012). The fact that Lady Gaga is able to purchase a substantial number of collectible items at prices like these makes quite a strong statement about her wealth. The second example, tweet (62), contains a casual remark about how her scarf "...was a gift from the Princess of Monaco..." This possession is not something that draws attention to Lady Gaga's wealth, but rather her extraordinary status as someone who can receive gifts from other highly well-known persons such as the Princess of Monaco.

The next example contains a reference to Versace, an Italian fashion company and trade name known for manufacturing costly clothing and being popular among well-known celebrity practitioners.

128. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 13 November

THE BORN THIS WAY BALL is getting a face-lift for America. I heard rumors @VERSACE IS CUSTOM DESIGNING ALL THE CLOTHES AND NEW LOOKS.

The fact that one owns Versace garments or other products does not necessarily imply that one is exceptionally wealthy or well-known. On the other hand, if the fashion company designs the clothes and looks for the tour a performing artist, it can be argued that the artist is likely both relatively wealthy and well-known. As such, the above tweet (128) is a strong statement for the celebrity status of Lady Gaga.

The two final examples in this section have been chosen from a string of tweets in which Lady Gaga displays her luxurious private jet through verbal descriptions and photographs that show details of the aircraft and its attendant crew.

199. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 2 November

OMG there's Internet on the PLANE. THIS IS MY PLANE IT HAS INTERWEBULAR features. Monsters :(i cant believe this sometimes.

200. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 2 November

So apparently LIVE NATION gave us a 757 I just cried on the tarmac. We tried to take a pic but its too big #waitress pic.twitter.com/qYI1OGNM

In these examples Lady Gaga is emphasizing the great size and advanced technical qualities of the private jet, also stressing the fact that the plane is hers. Although she flaunts this material achievement in several subsequent tweets, one can also sense a tone of humility through the phrases “i cant believe this sometimes” and “...I just cried on the tarmac”, indicating that this luxury is not something she is accustomed to or something taken for granted.

7.2.3 Immaterial Merits - Emphasizing popularity, familiarity, and other immaterial achievements

In addition to emphasizing her celebrity status and success as a celebrity practitioner by tweeting displays of wealth and material achievements, Lady Gaga brings to light achievements that are more immaterial in nature. These are merits that give exposure to Lady Gaga's popularity, familiarity, and position as a pioneering female performer. In the data there are more instances of these types of tweets that emphasize immaterial merits than those which emphasize material achievements. What is typical in these tweets emphasizing immaterial merits is that they contain descriptions of Lady Gaga as someone who is the first to perform at a specific venue, or as someone who is able to draw exceptional crowds of people to a concert or other location. In the data there are also instances where Lady Gaga situates herself among other performers and celebrity practitioners by comparing her achievements to theirs, thus strengthening her own status and location among a group of 'stars' who are recognized on a global scale. The following is an example tweet which portrays Lady Gaga as a pioneering female artist.

63. Lady Gaga @PeterTheMonster 30 November

@ladygaga How does it feel to be the first female act to perform a whole concert in Soccer City?

Retweeted by Lady Gaga

This is a retweet of a tweet by an apparent fan, as indicated by the username @PeterTheMonster. It is interesting how in this tweet (63) Lady Gaga chooses to portray her position as a pioneering female artist via a fan, by retweeting his question. Perhaps this choice, rather than tweeting in a more direct manner '*I am the first female act to perform a whole concert in Soccer City!*', reflects a wish to express the message in a more humble tone. The following two examples refer to Lady Gaga's performance in Costa Rica, and in them she displays her popularity among concert-attending population of the city.

181. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 4 November

the second biggest show to the BTWBALL in Costa Rica was Metallica. @LadyStarlightNy are we dreaming

183. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 4 November

Thank you Costa Rica, they told me it was the biggest show and turnout they've ever had. means so much to me. luckiest girl alive

Both of these tweets (181) and (183) were tweeted during the same day, on November the 4th 2012. In the previously tweeted tweet (183) Lady Gaga informs her followers that the concert she performed in Costa Rica was "...the biggest show and turnout they've ever had." After this tweet (183), Lady Gaga emphasizes her popularity even further by tweeting a message in which she compares her accomplishment to the concert of *Metallica* at the same venue. She notes that her show surpassed *Metallica's* in size, despite the fact that *Metallica* is one of the most recognized and long-standing music groups in the world that is still performing, and has been for a much longer time than Lady Gaga. Both of these tweets (181) and (183) also contain phrases which express humility and gratitude amidst the flaunting, phrases such as "...are we dreaming", "means so much to me", and "luckiest girl alive". In the data there is also another example, tweet (86), in which Lady Gaga emphasizes her popularity by drawing

comparison to other celebrity practitioners, although this time the manner is more subtle and less direct.

86. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 26 November

and FYI there is a full on monsterpit outside my window. last night there was live newscast.
#WhenWillYourFans

This example was chosen from a string of tweets reporting about a large group of fans gathered in Paraguay outside of the hotel in which Lady Gaga was staying. In this case the comparison is made in the form of a hashtag, which seems to be a question addressed to other celebrity practitioners, inviting them to reflect on the commitment and initiative of their fan base.

The following examples are tweets in which Lady Gaga emphasizes her celebrity status by drawing attention her familiarity. This is done by describing situations where it is evident that she is recognized by people based on her appearance, usually while shopping at store.

23. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 21 December

why do people look at me like I'm crazy when i use coupons at grocery or try bargaining at retail, IM FROM NEW YORK WHERE IS THE SALE RACK

This tweet (23) describes the baffled reactions Lady Gaga has received while trying to use coupons or bargaining at a retail store. This bafflement naturally arises from the fact that the 'people' in this case recognize her, and celebrity practitioners such as Lady Gaga are generally considered to possess such wealth, that saving small amounts of money while shopping should not be an issue to them. The next example, tweet (22), contains two different ways in which Gaga's status as celebrity practitioner is emphasized.

22. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 21 December

then @brandonvance @tarasavelo i went to another store + this guy was pushing a 20,000 dollar purse on me telling me it was "iconic." as if

Firstly, this tweet contains references to Brandon Vance, Lady Gaga's choreographer, and Tara Savelo, her make-up artist. These names appear quite frequently in the data, and act to emphasize Lady Gaga's status as celebrity practitioner, since a personal choreographer and make-up artist are commodities that are not affordable or necessary for the majority of her followers. Secondly, the fact that a salesperson is trying to sell a

purse costing 20,000 dollars to Lady Gaga indicates that he recognized who she was and realized she could likely afford it.

All of the tweets classified as displays of material and immaterial merits are similar in that in them Lady Gaga places herself away from the ordinary, and into the realm of celebrity. They remind her followers and fans that she has reached a special status, in the sense that she can affiliate with other famous individuals and achieve pioneering accomplishments in a way that very few people ever get a chance to.

7.3 Celebrity as an ordinary person

In this section, exposure is given to those tweets in the data, which portray Lady Gaga as an ordinary person, as someone who is similar to her fans and thus easy to relate to. The number of tweets in the data fulfilling this function of celebrity practice is not great, only 8 tweets amounting to 4% of the total amount of tweets, but nevertheless important. In these tweets Lady Gaga shows that she experiences situations and thoughts that can be described as commonplace, and similar to those experienced by her followers. What is typical of these tweets is that they portray Lady Gaga adopting roles that differ from her role as a performing artist and celebrity practitioner. These are roles such as the New Yorker and the family member. What is also typical of some of these tweets is that although they portray Lady Gaga as an ordinary person in a commonplace role, they also contain an element that indicates her extraordinariness. This is manifested as a juxtaposition of the ordinary and extraordinary within an individual tweet. The following are two examples of tweets that are focused only on the ordinary, with no extraordinary aspects.

13. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 25 December

I'm listening to @MariahCarey 's christmas album dancing in my room with my weed xmas sweater. all i need now is my box wine #bestdayever

28. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 19 December

that awkward moment when you realize you JUST took off last christmas' holiday weight and it is indeed now christmas AGAIN can i get an amen?

In the first example, tweet (13), Lady Gaga mentions another celebrity practitioner, Mariah Carey, but in a context that does not imply affiliation with her. Instead of emphasizing her own celebrity practitioner status by showing affiliation to Mariah Carey, in this tweet (13) Lady Gaga assumes the role of a fan. She portrays herself as

someone dancing in her room, listening to a singer she likes and fantasizing about box wine. The image constructed is that of a youthful fan, such as a teenager still living with her parents, as indicated by the location 'my room'. This tweet (13) seems similar to the kind that could be sent by a fan of Lady Gaga, in which the fan describes how he/she is dancing and enjoying her music.

In the next example, tweet (28), Lady Gaga comments on a topic that is no doubt familiar to the majority of people living in the Western world: gaining weight during the Christmas holidays. In this tweet (28) Lady Gaga is again assuming the role of an ordinary person, someone who does not remain unaffected by excessive holiday eating. The following three examples are tweets that contain a juxtaposition of ordinary and extraordinary elements; in them Lady Gaga describes herself partaking in ordinary activities, but reminds her followers of her celebrity practitioner status.

23. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 21 December

why do people look at me like I'm crazy when i use coupons at grocery or try bargaining at retail, IM FROM NEW YORK WHERE IS THE SALE RACK

26. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 19 December

im a vision shittily wrapping xmas presents getting blunt ashes on everything while everyone calls me "stephanie." my family is so eighties

97. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 23 November

thanksgiving story: woke up for leftovers in kitchen (naked)- stumbled on security camera revealing 35 monsters in my garage #why #iloveu

In the first example, tweet (23), Lady Gaga assumes the role of a New Yorker, and uses this role to explain her economical behavior of using coupons, bargaining and searching for sale racks. As Gaga reports of the baffled reactions she receives while doing this, she reminds her followers that although a New Yorker, she is also a recognized celebrity practitioner acting in a way that defies expectations. In tweet (26) one can witness yet another role, this time the role of a Germanotta family member, "Stephanie". In this tweet (26), the ordinariness arises from the fact that Lady Gaga is spending time with her family during Christmas, calling them old-fashioned and wrapping gifts. The extraordinary element in this case is that she points out how people around her are calling her "Stephanie", which is her given name. This implies that she is more accustomed to being called Lady Gaga, the name associated with her celebrity persona.

In the final example, tweet (97), Lady Gaga does not assume any implicit role, but describes her nocturnal journey to the kitchen for leftovers. This is another activity that can be described as ordinary and commonplace; what is not so commonplace is to see security camera footage during this journey and discover 35 fans that have broken into the garage. This detail is yet another remainder to the followers of Lady Gaga of her position as an extraordinary individual, someone who is at times easy to relate to but also very different from her fans and followers.

In general, these tweets that portray Lady Gaga also as an ordinary individual aim to emphasize her humanity, relatability and even vulnerability. Also, by exposing seemingly private and intimate information about her family life or a shopping trip, she provides her followers with what boyd and Marwick (2011: 143-144) describe as *backstage-access*, as fans are allowed to 'see' some scenes from her daily life. Although few in number, I believe that these tweets are an integral part of what makes Lady Gaga's celebrity practice successful. They make her decidedly more approachable, open, and easy to relate to, all traits that in my opinion are likely to increase positive reactions and responses from fans.

7.4 Promotion of consumable products

This section contains discussion of tweets in the data, the function of which is to promote the different products Lady Gaga is offering to her audience. This includes products such as live shows, broadcasts of shows, music recordings, an upcoming motion picture and signature perfume. As well as featuring tweets which promote Lady Gaga's own products, this category of celebrity practice also includes tweets in which Lady Gaga promotes others artists and their products, although these tweets are very few in number.

The data contains a total of 37 tweets in which Lady Gaga promotes her own or another artist's products, amounting to 18 percent of all the tweets in the data. As this is nearly one-in-five tweets, this function of celebrity practice is quite prevalent in the case of Lady Gaga. What is typical of these promotional tweets is that in most of them the promotion is done in a fairly discreet and indirect manner. The majority of these tweets in the data contain a reference to a specific product, such as a live show or an upcoming album, but very few include a direct request to purchase a product. The exception to this characteristic way of tweeting arises when observing tweets in which Lady Gaga

promotes another artist; these tweets contain more direct means of promotion, than those in which Lady Gaga promotes her own products.

Here are some examples of tweets in which Lady Gaga promotes her own products.

These first examples are typical tweets used to promote Lady Gaga's live shows during the tour, *Born This Way Ball*, which was in progress at the time.

88. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 23 November

ok ready to go onstage i love you guys! Born this way ball in Peru tonight!!!! send them your love we miss you!!

185. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 3 November

In costa rica tonight for stadium show. Thank you so much to everyone for buying a ticket to the BTWBALL. I will leave my heart on the stage

Both of these two examples contain similar elements associated with this type of promotional tweet: Lady Gaga mentions the *Born This Way Ball*, as well as the city in which she is performing. In addition, she expresses gratitude toward her fans by using phrases “...i love you guys!” and “Thank you so much to everyone for buying a ticket to the BTWBALL.” This behavior of thanking fans for a purchase they have already made is a typical element that can be witnessed in many of the promotional tweets in the data. This is a method Lady Gaga can use to mention a product she is selling and give exposure to it, without explicitly advertising it and requesting fans to make a purchase. Here are two more examples of this characteristic in Lady Gaga's promotional tweets.

18. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 25 December

MERRY XMAS TWITTERLAND! I hope all having a beautiful day Thank those who gave my perfume FAME to someone i love your twitpics w the bottle!

101. Born This Way @BTWFoundation 22 December

OMG! This weekend, @Macy's is donating \$10 to @BTWF for each bottle of Lady Gaga's FAME perfume sold there! Thanks for the support, Macy's!

Retweeted by Lady Gaga

The first of these examples, tweet (18), begins with a Christmas greeting, continues with another greeting “I hope all having a beautiful day...”, and concludes with Lady Gaga thanking those who purchased her signature perfume as a gift. The next example, tweet (101), is perhaps slightly more explicit its attempt at increasing the sales of the

perfume, but this tweet also concludes with a gesture of gratitude directed this time at the store, Macy's.

Lady Gaga thus seems to be quite careful regarding the way she composes her promotional tweets, emphasizing gratitude and positive emotions toward those who purchase her products, and avoiding direct strategies of marketing her products. The image of Lady Gaga that is constructed in the data tweets, is that of a celebrity practitioner who is grateful for the fans supporting her by attending concerts and purchasing products, but indifferent toward economic success and achieved wealth. This attitude portrayed by Lady Gaga can also be observed in these following two examples of tweets, in which she promotes her album *ARTPOP*, which was still unreleased at the time.

9. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 28 December

I try to sell myself but I am really laughing, because I just love the music not the bling -
ARTPOP 2013

15. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 25 December

Thank you for being so patient waiting for my new album ARTPOP I hope this gets u excited for things to come. I love you with all my heart!

In tweet (9) Lady Gaga states that, although she makes an effort to market herself, she is not very concerned with the results, since for her the music itself is the most important aspect. The reference she makes to the upcoming album, *ARTPOP 2013*, could indicate that this tweet (9) contains lyrics that will be on the album, but this is difficult to determine. Another way to interpret this is that Lady Gaga's aim was to post a Tweet promoting her upcoming album, and that she decided to only mention the album's name and year of release, along with a message stating how difficult it is for her to relate to marketing herself seriously. The next example, tweet (15), is similar to the previously discussed promotional tweets, as it contains phrases in which Lady Gaga thanks her fans and shows affection toward them, although in my view the main function of tweet (15) is to mention the upcoming album and thus promote it.

The following examples are tweets in which Lady Gaga promotes another celebrity practitioner, singer Tamar Braxton.

47. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6 December

Buy "Love And War" <http://itunes.com/tamarbraxton> It would mean a lot to me monsters if u would support her. Its her turn to shine. #2 on iTunes!!

48. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6 December

MYSELF AND @tamarbraxtonher have been the best of friends since her husband Vincent discovered + signed me when I was 20. SHE IS INCREDIBLE

49. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6 December

K I NEVER PROMOTE ARTISTS but if u want your mind blown check @tamarbraxtonher "Love & War" She's Toni Braxton sister + her voice is BEYOND

As mentioned previously, the style in which Lady Gaga promotes this fellow celebrity practitioner is much more direct and explicit, than the style in which she promotes her own products. In these three tweets, Lady Gaga is not trying to conceal her objective of marketing another artist, but rather adopts a quite straightforward approach. The chronologically first tweet in this string of promotional tweets, tweet (49), begins with Lady Gaga's statement "...I NEVER PROMOTE ARTISTS but if u want your mind blown..." This statement seems quite accurate, considering the fact that these three tweets are the only examples in the data, where Lady Gaga openly promotes another artist. In my view, this statement has two possible interpretations: either Tamar Braxton's song made such a deep impression on Lady Gaga that she decided to deviate from her principle of not promoting other artists, or alternately, Lady Gaga was requested by someone else to use her immense digital reach and influence to boost another artist and help them gain visibility among a crowd of potential fans. My own presumption is that in this case the latter scenario applies. I came to this conclusion because of the direct and explicit style of promotion that can be observed in these tweets, especially in tweet (47), which is a direct request to Lady Gaga's followers to buy Tamar Braxton's song, with a link to iTunes where the purchase can be made. Also, in tweet (48) Lady Gaga mentions that Tamar Braxton's husband is Vincent, who "...discovered + signed me when I was 20...", a piece of information which could explain why Lady Gaga might feel obliged to use her achieved influence and status to return a favor.

The potential to reach tens of millions of followers with a few keystrokes and for free is such a powerful marketing possibility that it is difficult to imagine Lady Gaga and her support team not treating it as such. Although explicit advertisements are practically

non-existent in Lady Gaga's tweets, the references to the products she is selling are so frequent that they are probably part of a deliberate marketing plan that is understandably executed in order to attract as many potential concert attendees or perfume buyers as possible.

7.5 Activism and political views

This section is concerned with those tweets in the data, the function of which is to draw attention to one or more of the numerous causes related to social activism and political events, which Lady Gaga is affiliated with. The number of tweets in the data fulfilling this function of celebrity practice is 31, amounting to 15 percent of the total number of tweets.

Although social and political activism seem to be prominent and consistent elements of Lady Gaga's celebrity practice, the fact that the data for this research were gathered during the 2012 presidential election of the United States has likely made a notable impact on the amount of tweets in this category, since Lady Gaga observed the election and attempted to influence her followers to be active and vote in several of her tweets. Thus, the number of tweets in this category would probably be smaller if the data were gathered during another time-period.

Roughly one half of the tweets in the data that belong to the activism and political views -category are related to one of the foundations or charities that Lady Gaga has established. These causes, like the Born This Way Foundation, are usually focused on preventing and solving problems related to social injustices and inequality issues, such as bullying that is based on sexual orientation or physical disability. The other half of the tweets in the Activism-category deal with topics that are more political in nature, as in the case of this study mainly tweets that are related to the 2012 presidential election of the United States. First, I will discuss the tweets which have to do with social activism and give exposure to Lady Gaga's charity organizations.

These tweets that are focused on topics of social activism are typically informative and descriptive; they mention the name of the charity or one of its manifestations and describe what its purpose is. Many of these tweets also contain a link to the website of that specific charity, which can be seen as an attempt to activate followers and get them to become involved with the charity. As a typical aspect of Lady Gaga's general

tweeting behavior, these tweets also form strings of consecutive tweets which deal with the same topic. The following are examples of tweets in this category.

5. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 28 December

#BornBraveBus Is a place where mental health + depression are taken seriously w/ no judgement, FREE real help available to all #BraverWorld

7. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 28 December

At the #BornBraveBus you have access to professional private or group chats about mental health, depression, bullying, school & friends.

These examples describe the Born Brave Bus, which is a bus that travels to the performance locations of Lady Gaga's tour and is open to her fans before each show. The function of these tweets (5) and (7) is to raise awareness of the bus and likely to lower the threshold for fans to participate and visit it. Thus, these tweets can be seen as attempts at activating fans and getting them involved in the activities of the Born Brave Bus, which is a manifestation of the Born This Way Foundation. The next examples are not related to Lady Gaga's own charity, but her involvement with the United Nations and UNICEF.

50. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 5 December

HERE IT IS: The Lady Gaga UN/UNICEF webpage. Follow my personal visits and get involved <http://littlemonsters.com/unicef>

53. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 3 December

Teaming with the United Nations I can continue breeding our Born This Way message of compassion. #KinderAndBraverWorld pic.twitter.com/wJnqYSU8

54. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 3 December

I will be continuing my work with UN/UNICEF and a <http://Littlemonsters.com> page documenting our progress will up shortly pic.twitter.com/kfqINO7J

Each of these three examples refers to Lady Gaga's work with UNICEF. Two of the examples also contain a link to The Lady Gaga UNICEF webpage, with tweet (50) also containing Lady Gaga's encouragement to "Follow my personal visits and get involved..." This is another attempt at activating the fans to take part in a charity cause of Lady Gaga. What is interesting about Lady Gaga's UNICEF webpage, is that it is located on the littlemonsters.com fan site, which is the official webpage for Lady Gaga fans. This will no doubt provide the UNICEF webpage with ample visibility, but will

also direct fans to other parts of littlemonsters.com, away from the causes linked to activism. Because Lady Gaga has made her causes of social activism such an integrated part of her celebrity practice, the activist causes are in danger of becoming overshadowed by all the other elements of her celebrity practice, making them seem slightly like hypocritical decorations of her celebrity image. This next example is an instance of Lady Gaga's activism that is somewhat problematic in nature.

101. Born This Way @BTWFoundation 22 November

OMG! This weekend, @Macy's is donating \$10 to @BTWF for each bottle of Lady Gaga's FAME perfume sold there! Thanks for the support, Macy's!

Retweeted by Lady Gaga

This example is a retweet originally tweeted by the Born This Way Foundation, in which followers are indirectly encouraged to support the charity foundation by purchasing Lady Gaga's signature perfume, FAME. In this way, the tweet (101) works to fulfill two functions of celebrity practice; on one hand it gives exposure to the Born This Way Foundation and Lady Gaga's agenda of social activism, on the other hand it is an instance of marketing as it promotes the FAME perfume as well as its retailer, Macy's. Although this is certainly not the first instance of a big brand using a charity cause in marketing their product to consumers, it difficult to view this as something else than a form of bluewashing: a business's attempt to be perceived as upholding a degree of social responsibility when in truth it is merely trying to increase its revenue. This same feel of bluewashing applies also to Lady Gaga's other endeavors of social activism, as most of these causes seem to be linked to commercial prospects, as is the case with the Born Brave Bus being an integrated part of the pre-show on her Born This Way Tour.

This following section deals with tweets that show activism that is more political in nature. In some of these tweets Lady Gaga comments on a political topic and makes it clear where she stands regarding a specific issue, in others tweets she attempts to activate her followers and get them to become involved in a political event such as voting in the presidential election. It is typical of Lady Gaga to express her opinions on political matters rather explicitly, whether these topics concern the presidential election or even more controversial and sensitive topics such cannabis legislation. Here are two examples of tweets in which Lady Gaga expresses her opinion regarding a political issue without any clear attempts at increasing her fans' involvement.

45. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 7 December

Thank You Prime Minister Medvedev for not standing by your party's anti gay propaganda law & instead supporting my show+fans all over Russia

158. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6 November

And to @TammyBaldwinWI for being elected the first openly gay senator in the HISTORY of The United States. #inspiring #brave #courageous

159. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6 November

And #congratulations DENVER on your cannabis legislation. shante YOU STAY.

In the first example, tweet (45), Lady Gaga expresses gratitude to the Russian prime minister Medvedev for his opposition against the country's anti-gay law. It is difficult to determine the details of prime minister Medvedev's actions and their effect on Lady Gaga's show in Russia, but in the tweet Lady Gaga openly supports Medvedev's position regarding the law, thus making clear her own opinion on the acceptance of homosexuality. This same theme is present in the next example, tweet (158), in which Lady Gaga extends her congratulations from her previous tweet (159) to Tammy Baldwin on becoming the first openly gay senator in the history of the United States. In the third example, tweet (159), Lady Gaga congratulates the Colorado city of Denver on its liberal cannabis legislation, thus publicly expressing her approval of this development.

The following section addresses those tweets in the data that have to do with the 2012 presidential election of the United States. Among these tweets Lady Gaga clearly expresses her opinion on who is the candidate she supports, but also emphasizes the importance of voting and attempts to activate her followers to vote and report about their area's general voting behavior. Here are three examples of tweets in which Lady Gaga emphasizes the importance of voting.

166. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6 November

If you're old enough to vote for the first time, exercise your right today! It matters & can change the world. Go vote: <http://ofa.bo/Lookup>

177. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6 November

I voted! Did you? Also did some radio interviews about it here's one if your interested: <http://zhiphopclevel...sive-interview/>

178. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6 November

Happy Election Day everyone. IF ANYONE NEEDS ASSISTANCE FINDING YOUR POLL LOCATION GO TO: <http://www.GottaVote.com> very easy to use

Tweet (166) contains a rather straightforward admonition to exercise one's right and vote in the election. In addition, Lady Gaga provides a link to a website showing the voting locations for people living in different areas. In the next example, tweet (177), Lady Gaga tells her followers that she has voted and asks a question in another attempt to get her fans to participate in voting as well. This tweet also contains a link to her radio interview that is evidently concerned with voting as well. As she reports of her own voting behavior, Lady Gaga aims to activate her fans by setting an example and acting as a role-model. Tweet (178) is similar to tweet (166) in that it also contains directions for Lady Gaga's followers who need help finding their voting poll location. This next tweet (176) is a prime example of the effectiveness of networked media such as Twitter in the effectiveness of reaching masses of people and influencing them to take a certain course of action.

176. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6 November

Daddy said theres lines AROUND THE BLOCK to vote in NY way more than 4 years ago!
This is so great. Anyone else's state see a lot of voters?

In this example tweet (176) Lady Gaga posts a simple question to her followers, asking them about their impressions on the amount of voting activity in their state. What makes this tweet powerful is that it is followed by a long string of retweets, that are replies to Lady Gaga's question tweeted by followers. By retweeting these tweets as part of her profile Lady Gaga creates the impression that she acknowledges and appreciates these fan replies. Below are examples of these fan-tweeted replies.

169. Bradley @Bradley_martins 6 November

@ladygaga wow its amazing to see how many Americans there are voting here in South Africa!
Its stirring up quite a vibe!

Retweeted by Lady Gaga

170. 🌀PsychoticMusicHead† @iSpeakMusicX 6 November

@ladygaga Usually a lot of people here in Louisiana dont take the time out to go vote but not today! People are even car-polling the elderly

Retweeted by Lady Gaga

171. A\$AP † @thebody3lectric 6 November

@ladygaga lots and lots of people are voting here in Miami :D

Retweeted by Lady Gaga

Each of these three examples conveys a similar message of voters being active and voting in abundant numbers, and the data contains even more of these, a total of six consecutive tweets. In this case the effectiveness of the message arises from the large number of consecutive tweets in a way that a single tweet could not accomplish. As Lady Gaga encourages her followers to vote and continues this with several tweets from fans that report of high level voting activity in their area, undoubtedly many of those who have not yet voted are starting to become familiar with feelings of peer pressure. Thus, through her tweeting Lady Gaga has likely had an effect on the voting activeness of her followers. She has made clear in her tweets that using one's constitutional right and taking the time to vote is an important act and something that she as well as her fans value. In this way Lady Gaga makes voting a question of identity and belonging, as something that defines her and her followers. It is noteworthy that in her tweets Lady Gaga emphasizes the importance of voting, but she does not explicitly advertise who she will vote for or try to influence her followers' choices. It is only after the winning president is chosen, that she tweets this enthusiastic message below.

164. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6 November

I JUST GOT OFF STAGE IN COLUMBIA!! CONGRATULATIONS MR. PRESIDENT

@BarackObama We are so proud to be American tonight! YES!!! YES! YES!!

Without being more familiar with Lady Gaga's charity work and its scope or effectiveness, it is difficult to determine whether these tweets are genuine efforts that make a positive impact on people's lives, or something less noble in the form of merely wanting to seem charitable and generous. Nevertheless, tweets that encourage political involvement and attempt to activate fans are easy to consider positive and beneficial to society in general, as they probably have the potential to have a positive effect on things like the voter turnout of the US presidential election of 2012.

To summarize the findings and analysis of this study as a whole, it should be stated that after the categories representing the functions of celebrity practice were formed, the distribution of the data tweets into the categories was a relatively painless process. This indicates that boyd and Marwick's (2011) original study, which acted as a starting point

for formulating this study, was able to describe the phenomenon of celebrity practice quite successfully. Practically all of the aspects related to celebrity practice that were mentioned in boyd and Marwick's study can also be found in the Lady Gaga's tweets, namely aspects such as the maintenance of a fan base, performed intimacy, showing affiliation to other celebrity practitioners, and the construction of a consumable persona. The consistency of the themes that are present in the data also indicates that Lady Gaga's celebrity practice on Twitter is a consciously executed effort that serves a few established purposes.

It was surprising to discover that there were so many tweets in the data, the function of which is the maintenance of fans. In my opinion, Lady Gaga's heavy emphasis of fan maintenance as a part of her celebrity practice is representative of her values as a celebrity practitioner in general. She wishes to portray herself as someone who values her fans greatly, acknowledges them rather constantly, and aims to give fans something back in compensation for their fandom. It truly seems that a more active way of performing fandom that has been made possible by developments in networked media technologies, has created the possibility and even expectation of a more active performance of celebrity by the famous individual. The successfulness of this performance may even ultimately determine the popularity and longevity of the individual in the domain of stardom.

8. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Lady Gaga's Twitter activity can be characterized as something quite consistent in the sense that it seems to serve the same established purposes during the time period represented in the data. Although important events like the US presidential election of 2012 expectedly impacted what and how Lady Gaga tweeted at a given time, the most notable functions of her celebrity practice were present in her tweets regularly throughout the time period of two months from which the data tweets were collected. These notable functions are *fan maintenance*, *emphasizing celebrity status*, *promotion of consumable products*, and *activism and political views*, all of which showed numerous occurrences in the data.

The image that is conveyed of Lady Gaga through her tweets is one of polarities. Her image seems to consist of opposing elements: ordinary vs. extraordinary, wealthy

vs. thrifty, famous vs. down-to-earth, and so on. These are elements that may seem stereotypically contradictory, but act in deconstructing the pop star and emphasizing the staged, performative and manufactured nature of it. By investigating the data one gets the sense that Lady Gaga's status as a widely recognized celebrity practitioner, as well as her wealth and luxurious lifestyle are something she has achieved through her hard work determination, not something she has inherited or been born into. In her tweets, she expresses this by showing a humble attitude toward her fame, wealth and success. Lady Gaga frequently expresses gratitude and appreciation of her position, constantly thanks her fans and followers for their support, as well as portrays emotions of surprise, even astonishment at the amount of success and popularity she has achieved. Her story of being someone who has ascended from normality to mega-stardom is also illustrated in many tweets by the juxtaposition of her ordinariness with extraordinariness, showing her fundamentally as an accessible, regular person with a commonplace background, who is leading an extraordinary life of wealth, success and popularity.

Continuing to inspect Lady Gaga's celebrity practice on a general level shows that a common trend in her celebrity practice on Twitter is the tweeting of multiple subsequent or proximal tweets concerning the same topic. Investigating the data, it is not uncommon to see three or four tweets tweeted within the span of one to two days that basically each communicate the exact same thing. Perhaps Lady Gaga attempts to enforce her message in this way, to give it more significance and increase its reach.

Also, an interesting difference arose from comparing the data of this thesis paper to the findings of P. David Marshall, who states: "What is emerging is a first-person and third-person relationship to posts." (Marshall 2006:44), and gives examples of the tweets of Mariah Carey and singer Rob Thomas, that are often written either in first- or third-person. The data for this thesis paper shows that a large amount of tweets by Lady Gaga are written in second-person, with the implication that the recipient of the message is a fan of her. The use of this register creates a sense of intimacy or closeness, because the recipient is being addressed directly by Lady Gaga.

Despite the fact that all notable functions of celebrity practice that were investigated in this study were consistently represented in the data, there was one function that clearly stood out from the rest, as it was at least twice as common as any other function. This is the function of *fan maintenance*. Judging from this as well as from the content of the investigated tweets, it is clear that in the case of Lady Gaga, Twitter is first and foremost

a channel of communication between her and her fans, and the intended recipient of the tweets is a Lady Gaga fan. These elements of *fan maintenance* are the first aspect of Lady Gaga's tweets that caught my attention when planning this study, which is not surprising when taking into consideration how frequently Lady Gaga acknowledges her fans on Twitter in one of various ways. It is the single most outstanding and consistent element of her celebrity practice.

From a fan's point of view, all this attention from an admired celebrity practitioner is probably welcomed and greatly appreciated. Lady Gaga's fans are regularly praised and thanked by the person they admire. They are presented with gifts such as free food outside Lady Gaga's hotel. They have the possibility of communicating with her, and there is a chance that she will acknowledge this and publicly reply. The fans also have a sort of digital playground, littlemonsters.com, where they can interact with other fans, display creative efforts, and attempt to catch the attention of Lady Gaga. In other words, Lady Gaga has provided her fans with an environment that allows and encourages active fandom, as well as promotes a strong sense of community and attempts to connect fans from around the world.

Although it is easy to view Lady Gaga's practice of celebrity on Twitter as something laden with very positive connotations, as something empowering, charitable and altruistic, there is also present an underlying sense of dread that has to do with exploitation of fans and their affection toward Lady Gaga. On one hand, Lady Gaga supports many activist causes and charities, gives exposure to her fans by retweeting their tweets, displays affection toward her fans, provides 'backstage-access' by giving glimpses of her 'private life', and presents fans with digital gifts in the form of pictures, music and video clips. On the other hand, there is a lot of implicit *promotion of consumable products* in her tweeting, as Lady Gaga frequently mentions her concerts, her upcoming new album, and other products she is selling, like her signature perfume. In the data there are also a few tweets in which she promotes products by another artist. This promotional activity should be nothing shocking or surprising, since Lady Gaga makes a living as a popular music star, and the promotion of her products can be thought of as a vital part of her work, just as movie actors are expected to promote their movies in the form of interviews and such. The reason why Lady Gaga's practice of celebrity on Twitter seems somehow thought-provoking is that amidst all of this performed intimacy and affectionate discourse lies an abundance of profit to be made.

Lady Gaga is very keen to constantly remind her fans that they matter, that she loves them and her 'little monsters' are the most important thing in the world, when in reality she stands to gain enormous profits by gaining their affection. In this sense, Twitter can be seen as a very powerful marketing tool that is partly disguised as a channel of communication between Gaga and her fans, and a channel through which she can draw attention to various charities and seemingly make the world a better place.

While it is true that applications like Twitter have brought new possibilities to interactions between fan and celebrity practitioner, it still seems that these interactions take place only slightly above a parasocial level. Although the communicative exchanges between Lady Gaga and her fans are actual in the sense that they are public and visible, and not only in the fan's mind, I feel that Lady Gaga's main purpose in engaging in these exchanges with fans is usually not to communicate on an intimate, personal level, but to display to other fans and followers that these communications take place. In other words, these communications often seem like performances of intimacy and closeness rather than the real thing.

In terms of expanding this study and investigating an aspect Lady Gaga's celebrity practice more closely, it would be interesting to examine her practices relating to fan maintenance in greater detail, as this seems to be the function that she emphasizes the most. Especially compelling would be a study that was focused on the experiences of Lady Gaga fans, how they feel about her celebrity practice, what sort of values they associate with their fandom and the digitally networked fan community. It would also be interesting to study the official fan site, littlemonsters.com, in more detail to find out what type of performances of fandom and celebrity occur there.

The contradictory elements that constitute to the image of the star, that are the characteristics of famous individuals, appear largely the same as the ones described by Dyer (1998) decades ago, before the wide spreading of the internet, mobile phones, and digital applications that allow people from around the world to connect to each other. As this study has shown, the image of Lady Gaga conveyed through her tweets is composed from a mixture of ordinary and extraordinary, hard work and lucky breaks, as well as the fact that she seems to have remained humble and unchanged by her fame. Thus, the developments in networked media technologies and ways of using these that have resulted in celebrity becoming something that can be practiced have not fundamentally changed nature of fame and stardom. What has changed as a result of

these developments is that fame has become available to a wider segment of population, individuals are expected to be more active in the maintenance of their fame, and the rate at which stars are born and consumed has become more rapid than previously. Also, these developments give more power and control to the celebrity practitioners and their fans, as the roles of the different entertainment media institutions and public relations personnel as mediators of information and gossip have become less significant.

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APPENDIX 1: THE TWEETS

1. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 30. joulukuuta

this is a computer rendering of the full setup for the BornBrave experience. The only thing it's missing is you! pic.twitter.com/kXgtMXQ3

2. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 30. joulukuuta

AHhh! The #bornbravebus is looking amazing! Check it out :)
pic.twitter.com/8UBCW6f7

3. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 28. joulukuuta

Im counting down the days till the Ball starts up again. ONLY 3 MONTHS LEFT OF TOURING, what will I do!!!!?? I love seeing you every night!

4. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 28. joulukuuta

I feel like most kids don't look for help because they feel embarrassed so mom + I wanted to break the stigmas around "help" and make it fun

5. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 28. joulukuuta

#BornBraveBus Is a place where mental health + depression are taken seriously w/ no judgement, FREE real help available to all #BraverWorld

6. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 28. joulukuuta

#BornBraveBus there will also be food and games, @djws and @ladystarlightny will DJ with host @BREEDLOVENYC to keep the experience fun

7. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 28. joulukuuta

At the #BornBraveBus you have access to professional private or group chats about mental health, depression, bullying, school & friends.

8. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 28. joulukuuta

For those wondering about the "counseling" at the BTWBall BornBrave pre-show, it will be a fun tailgating experience for monsters to unite

9. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 28. joulukuuta

I try to sell myself but I am really laughing, because I just love the music not the bling - ARTPOP 2013

10. Princess Die ♥ @KilledTheBlonde 27. joulukuuta

@ladygaga I'm doing my Gaga wall now ;) it has to be perfecttttt

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

11. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 27. joulukuuta

Lady Gagas Made Of Lego: <http://ow.ly/gmXPH> this is awesome Thanku @thatericalper

12. Highway Sarah @LILMNSTR1125 25. joulukuuta

My completely irrelevant but super kickass @ladygaga Christmas cookies!!!
pic.twitter.com/fB8LsCPE

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

13. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 25. joulukuuta

I'm listening to @MariahCarey 's christmas album dancing in my room with my weed xmas sweater. all i need now is my box wine #bestdayever

14. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 25. joulukuuta

i love you @Terry_World thank you for believing in me and my fans, I have looked up to you and your work for so long, its a dream come true!

15. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 25. joulukuuta

Thank you for being so patient waiting for my new album ARTPOP I hope this gets u excited for things to come. I love you with all my heart!

16. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 25. joulukuuta

Merry Christmas little monsters! Terry Richardson @Terry_World is making a #LadyGagaMOVIE documenting my life, the creation of ARTPOP + you!

17. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 25. joulukuuta

Theres a little SantaGaga present waiting for little monsters on <http://littlemonsters.com>

18. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 25. joulukuuta

MERRY XMAS TWITTERLAND! I hope all having a beautiful day Thank those who gave my perfume FAME to someone i love your twitpics w the bottle!

19. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 24. joulukuuta

Merry Christmas Eve little monsters. Thank you for blessing my life the way you have.

20. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 21. joulukuuta

I'm telling you, if your in a christmas pinch go to vintage shops, most have archive jewelry from the fifties + affordable! great presents!

21. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 21. joulukuuta

so i set my kelly bag on the counter+said no THIS IS ICONIC it's 1/2 the cost vintage + the bag your trying to sell me was patterned off it

22. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 21. joulukuuta

then @brandonvance @tarasavelo i went to another store + this guy was pushing a 20,000 dollar purse on me telling me it was "iconic." as if

23. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 21. joulukuuta

why do people look at me like I'm crazy when i use coupons at grocery or try bargaining at retail, IM FROM NEW YORK WHERE IS THE SALE RACK

24. Steven Klein @SKstudly 19. joulukuuta

@ladygaga

Great pix of us having a great time. #fame pic.twitter.com/18YTpdE0

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

25. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 19. joulukuuta

"um mom, my name is gaga" she told me I changed my name every year since i was 4 +
to please take the ends off the string beans #NYmoms

26. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 19. joulukuuta

im a vision shittily wrapping xmas presents getting blunt ashes on everything while
everyone calls me "stephanie." my family is so eighties

27. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 19. joulukuuta

corn pudding or couture? @BrandonVance i found an open faced tofu cup in the shape
of roast beast @tarasavelo steevia? #HELP #itstheholidays

28. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 19. joulukuuta

that awkward moment when you realize you JUST took off last christmas' holiday
weight and it is indeed now christmas AGAIN can i get an amen?

29. Brian Newman @BrianNewmanNY 17. joulukuuta

@ladygaga Do you remember the blindfolded take we did of that, babe?!! Hahaha!!!
Lets do it again soon! Always a pleasure!! Love ya!

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

Näytä keskustelu

30. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 17. joulukuuta

"You and I" the jazz version after too many whiskies with Newman
<https://soundcloud.com/hausofdima/lady-gaga-you-and-i-full-jazz> ...

31. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 17. joulukuuta

When Ron Wood gave me his pick and said I really love that song about you Hair, is that not every girls dream. Get me my AquaNet

32. Tyra Banks @tyrabanks 16. joulukuuta

.@ladygaga had on serious cray high heels last nite jumping all over Rolling Stones stage putting all vet runway models to shame.

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

33. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 16. joulukuuta

The Rolling Stones and Lady Gaga "Gimme Shelter" performance in HD
[http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=FZzXH2DJZjI ...](http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=FZzXH2DJZjI)

34. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 16. joulukuuta

Thanku for my beautiful suit @RayBrownFashion the stretch velvet combinations summoned the glam gods I felt like a star pic.twitter.com/XtUa9ijk

35. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 16. joulukuuta

I'll post our performance of "Gimme Shelter," PAY PER VIEW did a stellar job with the SOUND, the mix was insane on TV they sounded immortal!

36. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 16. joulukuuta

I had a life dream to be transported in a time machine to 1973 NJ, beer + badboys. Someone heal me it happened + then I sang with the Stones

37. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 14. joulukuuta

Me with the boys. When rock n' roll gets you wet in 6. PAY PER VIEW "One More Shot" Tomorrow night 9PM Eastern. pic.twitter.com/YtP2EfPM

38. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 13. joulukuuta

Gimme Shelter. It just two nights away!! :) Can't wait to sing with the Rolling Stones on Saturday Night. In 2007 i was stripping to them.

39. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 10. joulukuuta

He had me at "hello, it's Mick."

40. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 10. joulukuuta

I am so honored and excited to announce I will be performing with @rollingstones on Dec15 for their 50th Anniversary Concert "One More Shot"

41. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 9. joulukuuta

Monster Q&A: Why do I always look completely different? I think it's because I've never seen myself in the mirror. Not sure what I look like

42. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 9. joulukuuta

St. Petersburg, I have been waiting for this moment for a long time. The Born This Way Ball is 3 hrs away! Grab your friends and some vodka!

43. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 7. joulukuuta

Just arrived in St. Petersburg Russia. Im so delighted to see so many monsters at the airport. Take me to the ballet! pic.twitter.com/nKmGfk9g

44. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 7. joulukuuta

Prime Minister Medvedev please accept my gratitude I am looking forward to performing in RUSSIA & celebrating our cultures coming together

45. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 7. joulukuuta

Thank You Prime Minister Medvedev for not standing by your party's anti gay propaganda law & instead supporting my show+fans all over Russia

46. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6. joulukuuta

Ok Norway I can hear you screaming I'm COMING!!! #BTWBall #Oslo

47. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6. joulukuuta

Buy "Love And War" <http://itunes.com/tamarbraxton> It would mean a lot to me monsters if u would support her. Its her turn to shine. #2 on iTunes!!

48. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6. joulukuuta

MYSELF AND @tamarbraxtonher have been the best of friends since her husband Vincent discovered + signed me when I was 20. SHE IS INCREDIBLE

49. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6. joulukuuta

K I NEVER PROMOTE ARTISTS but if u want your mind blown check @tamarbraxtonher "Love & War" She's Toni Braxton sister + her voice is BEYOND

50. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 5. joulukuuta

HERE IT IS: The Lady Gaga UN/UNICEF webpage. Follow my personal visits and get involved <http://littlemonsters.com/ununicef>

51. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 5. joulukuuta

I had the most incredible show in Capetown. It's been a complete blur since the show finished you were wild and beautiful. Thank you SA!

52. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 5. joulukuuta

i have never felt such a surge of inspiration, #NorwegianSongwritingMachine

53. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 3. joulukuuta

Teaming with the United Nations I can continue breeding our Born This Way message of compassion. #KinderAndBraverWorld pic.twitter.com/wJnqYSU8

54. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 3. joulukuuta

I will be continuing my work with UN/UNICEF and a <http://Littlemonsters.com> page documenting our progress will up shortly pic.twitter.com/kfqlNO7J

55. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 3. joulukuuta

On Dec. 1 I visited Isibindi Safe Park in Naledi to speak w the children about Youth Empowerment on behalf of UN/UNICEF pic.twitter.com/yQa1EYa0

56. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 3. joulukuuta

CAPETOWN I slept the ENTIRE day to energize & get my head in the game for tonight, I can't wait for the show! See u in a few! #startdrinking

57. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 2. joulukuuta

The 55 pieces I collected today will be archived & expertly cared for in the spirit & love of Michael Jackson, his bravery, & fans worldwide

58. Hayden Williams @Hayden_Williams 1. joulukuuta

“Study the greats and become greater.” —Michael Jackson

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

59. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 2. joulukuuta

PADDLE 462 pic.twitter.com/jPXsfYFR

60. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 30. marraskuuta

All your kind words about the show on my timeline are really making me smile :) Im so happy you felt how much we appreciate you. x gaga

61. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 30. marraskuuta

Johannesburg was so wonderful, i can't really put it into words. Im so happy, I haven't slept yet. Laying in bed dreaming of the next tour.

62. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 30. marraskuuta

& yes I cut a hole in my bush hat so my pony could stick out #SafariBarbie #Glambi my scarf was a gift from the Princess of Monaco, thanku!

63. Lady Gaga @PeterTheMonster 30. marraskuuta

@ladygaga How does it feel to be the first female act to perform a whole concert in Soccer City?

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

64. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 30. marraskuuta

SAFARI PICTURES: i took this one about 5 feet away from her, isn't she beautiful!
pic.twitter.com/NwtVU0St

65. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 30. marraskuuta

SAFARI PICTURES: the lion pride even woke up at one point and let us come closer :)
(on the left) pic.twitter.com/dqstspT1

66. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 30. marraskuuta

SAFARI PICTURE: in this photo I'm about 10 feet from 13 lions, 2 cubs. I spent about
30 minutes w them and took a nap! pic.twitter.com/VKpXVmgV

67. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 28. marraskuuta

Here's a video of my arrival to South Africa. You can see the Haus plane and all my
beautiful SA fans!

[http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=iksrZfbrmaE ...](http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=iksrZfbrmaE...)

68. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 28. marraskuuta

i can't believe a monster already drew this!! Outfit: CUSTOM VERSACE by. Donatella
#littlemonsters [http://littlemonsters.com/post/50b59f614f5cf1d532004735 ...](http://littlemonsters.com/post/50b59f614f5cf1d532004735...)

69. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 27. marraskuuta

nanny poppins @emmaadaoui tells me how it is. asked her why my body hurt 2day. "13
hr flight, 2.3 hr show, You're a wreck." thanks nanny :P

70. Yoyo Blackfire @YoyoBlackfire 27. marraskuuta

I'm putting together a binder of all the songs I've written thanks to @ladygaga. I'm
going to stalk her in AZ so she'll look at it #followme

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

71. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 27. marraskuuta

i love this photo so much, i cry so many tears of joy when i see it. this is the feeling hrs
before show [http://littlemonsters.com/post/50b5732d1654492607003e5f ...](http://littlemonsters.com/post/50b5732d1654492607003e5f...)

72. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 27. marraskuuta

what a beautiful night, I'm sleepy. Goodnight South Africa.

73. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 27. marraskuuta

look how amazing this little monster is who made this, i wore that outfit 24 hrs ago!

look at fozzi!!! #littlemonsters

<http://littlemonsters.com/post/50b51a824f5cf14c07002091> ...

74. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 27. marraskuuta

Since I never got to come here until now, I wanted monsters to feel like it was the first time we met. Such a happy day pic.twitter.com/byGScANx

75. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 27. marraskuuta

Im so happy that I was able to see my fans at the Airport in South Africa, thank u for all the time you waited, I appreciate and love you. x

76. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 27. marraskuuta

To celebrate this day @faspiras and I are bringing back THE FAME BALL hair, my first professional club tour. blond bangs, glasses, leather

77. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 27. marraskuuta

Today is the bday of THE MONSTER BALL! I remember i was broke, living show to show. Then LiveNation gave me a contract that changed my life

78. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 27. marraskuuta

I never imagined that i would tour every continent, to have fans so far away from home is such a blessing. I'll cherish this moment forever.

79. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 27. marraskuuta

pic.twitter.com/qTYAHOFK

80. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 27. marraskuuta

ALSO BECAUSE I SELF-MEDICATE ON PLANE RIDES I SOMETIMES SEE THINGS *gonna go sit by the pilot and ask 'are we there yet'

81. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 27. marraskuuta

I AM IN AFRICA WE HAVE NOT LANDED YET BUT I THINK I SAW A GIRAFFE
ALTHOUGH IM PRETTY SURE IM SEEING THINGS BECAUSE IM SO
EXCITED!!!! ahh!!!

82. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 26. marraskuuta

I'm so excited to have the last leg of tour be in Canada + America!!! It feels like a
victory lap! I CAN'T WAIT!!

83. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 26. marraskuuta

usually 9 months into tour I start getting tired, I'm more excited tonight than ever. Then
leaving for Africa..Norway...Russia..before US!

84. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 26. marraskuuta

that was so much fun, i appreciate you so much Paraguay Hotel Monsters, SEE YOU
AT THE SHOW GET READY

85. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 26. marraskuuta

PARAGUAY!! I'm coming down in a moment to say hello to you at hotel don't worry!!

86. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 26. marraskuuta

and FYI there is a full on monsterpit outside my window. last night there was live
newscast. #WhenWillYourFans

87. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 26. marraskuuta

IM IN PARAGUAY PLAYING A SHOW!! people bought tickets!! I'm so excited
coming to places i've never been #5YearsofWorkInOneNight

88. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 23. marraskuuta

ok ready to go onstage i love you guys! Born this way ball in Peru tonight!!!! send them
your love we miss you!!

89. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 23. marraskuuta

what happens when monsters are in charge of my hair.

#NeverShouldHaveGivenOutThoseWands pic.twitter.com/2SPokJOt

90. Δ EW Hector Δ @Bloody_Hooker 23. marraskuuta

I am my weave.

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

91. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 23. marraskuuta

i love watching monsters go at it about my hair, THE SOONER U SUBMIT TO MOTHERS HAIR THE LESS IT WILL HURT *stares at u w peroxide & a comb*

92. EyeLiner&Cigarettes♡ @GagaGetInMyBed 23. marraskuuta

my 24,000th tweet goes to @ladygaga and my monster family, i love you all, thanks for making me strong <3

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

93. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 23. marraskuuta

pic.twitter.com/vz0KqFlu

Näytä kuva

94. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 23. marraskuuta

to any little monsters trying to get in my house at the moment IF YOU SEE A LARGE ITALIAN MAN yelling about sleep IT IS NOT JOE GERMANOTTA

95. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 23. marraskuuta

i should be mad i guess except i tried to figure out how to slide stuffing under the door, but theres no cat-flap

96. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 23. marraskuuta

then found Nanny Poppins @emmaadaoui trapped in basement between the fans and food. i rescued her, she's ok now.

97. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 23. marraskuuta

thanksgiving story: woke up for leftovers in kitchen (naked)- stumbled on security camera revealing 35 monsters in my garage #why #iloveu

98. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 23. marraskuuta

#MONSTERFACT when gaga is asleep try to break into the garage, sing loud as possible, + ring the doorbell repeatedly #happeningnow #badkids

99. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 23. marraskuuta

hope monsters are happy today, night everyone have sweet dreams. show for 50,000 in PERU 2moro night (NO VACAY FOR GI GI) #whocares #iloveit

100. Africas Finest Bitch @beyonka_Fierce 23. marraskuuta

Whoop whoop! RT @HausOfAsh: Only one week left until @ladygaga is in South Africa. † Who else is going to the Cape Town #BornThisWayBall?

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

101. Born This Way @BTWFoundation 22. marraskuuta

OMG! This weekend, @Macy's is donating \$10 to @BTWF for each bottle of Lady Gaga's FAME perfume sold there! Thanks for the support, Macy's!

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

102. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 23. marraskuuta

i had a wonderful Thanksgiving in Peru this year. my family was able to come & was so special to share the holiday with new friends in Peru

103. Nate @mychefnate 22. marraskuuta

Thankful to share food, time & tradition with the orphaned youth of beautiful Peru @ladygaga @TaraSavelo @faspiras pic.twitter.com/hIKO4UWB

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

104. Tara Savelo @TaraSavelo 22. marraskuuta

Today is the anniversary of the first monster ball theatre tour. I'm so thankful 2 have made amazing friends who have become my family xoxo

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

105. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 22. marraskuuta

Happy Thanksgiving Twitter! I'm thankful for all of you, the messages of positivity u send me everyday lift me & make me stronger. #GAGALOVE

106. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 21. marraskuuta

Off to Peru, i love touring so much. I wake up smiling everyday. I hope you know I'm thankful for u this thanksgiving. pic.twitter.com/jqrbVIGr

107. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 20. marraskuuta

ARTPOP <http://littlemonsters.com/post/50ab6fa9adec87a63e0011dd> ... is that also my signature tattooed on your arm? we meet again

108. QuoteHive @QuoteHive 20. marraskuuta

"A record deal doesn't make you an artist; you make yourself an artist." -Lady Gaga

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

109. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 20. marraskuuta

was in Chicago for the weekend making rekkids, happy to be back w 40,000 in Chile tonight. i love you so much, thanks for buying tickets

110. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 20. marraskuuta

I've been dubbed the BRIDE OF SATAN @ladystarlightny any copyright ramifications for a name change scenario or is THE DEVIL public-domain?

111. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 19. marraskuuta

#HappyBirthdayTheFameMonster a special day when you were born, your techno raver little sister is in my uterus she says hello in glowsticks

112. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 18. marraskuuta

me with my leather Destroyer in Argentina. i love the born this way ball (& yes i play w
press-ons) #littlemonsters <http://littlemonsters.com/>

113. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 16. marraskuuta

THATTTT SHOW WASSS AWESOMME I LOVE MYY JOB!!!!!!

114. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 16. marraskuuta

Playing for 43,000 in Argentina tonight, stadium show in BUENOS AIRES. Today little
monsters tried to tip my van over, COMPLETELY WONDERFUL

115. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 15. marraskuuta

The real CAKE isn't HAVING what you want, It's DOING what you want. -lady gaga
photo by terry richardson pic.twitter.com/5bQzcDE1

116. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 15. marraskuuta

it is my LIFE DREAM to be in a Disney movie...im one step closer!!! :) this is a short
film they did for BARNEY'S
http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=jU01jBw9HB4 ...

117. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 14. marraskuuta

its amazing how small films i made became cult gems for you and even made there way
to countries I've never been to. SA really is inspiring

118. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 14. marraskuuta

good story: monster in brazil gave me a necklace engraved with lyrics from The
Manifesto of Little Monsters. Have never toured there :)

119. Αμαηδα @HausOfManda 14. marraskuuta

@ladygaga hmm I think you have a lotta stuff cooked up in ur lil gaga brain.....

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

120. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 14. marraskuuta

whats everyone doing tonight?

121. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 14. marraskuuta

i usually fall asleep to slasher flicks, there's a pic of Che Guevara over my bed in hotel room, i should be sleeping like a baby.#cantsleep

122. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 14. marraskuuta

un petit fours OR *very good for making gifs*

<http://littlemonsters.com/post/50a3e2764f5cf1ce1c001c55> ...

123. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 14. marraskuuta

ask my man Hedi at Yves about Emi, ask anybody i'm rich homie i got plenty

124. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 14. marraskuuta

preview coming

125. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 13. marraskuuta

The Haus of Gaga and Terry Richardson have a surprise for you, almost ready for you to TASTE

126. €€MargielaStallion @HarukoAurora 13. marraskuuta

I'm tryna cake like @ladygaga. She not smokin on that Reggie bitch.

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

127. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 13. marraskuuta

#BTWBALL in America will have a tailgate gypsy party being thrown by @BREEDLOVENYC and @ladystarlightny EVERYDAY pre-show in parking lot

128. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 13. marraskuuta

THE BORN THIS WAY BALL is getting a face-lift for America. I heard rumors @VERSACE IS CUSTOM DESIGNING ALL THE CLOTHES AND NEW LOOKS.

129. GAGAS CANNABIS KING☯ @JustDaNceGeorge 12. marraskuuta

@ladygaga has a 1 in 31,166,163 chance of seeing this tweet, if you see it then..

HI

GAGA! <3

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

130. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 12. marraskuuta

Someone on Twitter asked me what my favorite Michael video was yesterday. This is it:
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mkP_ODA6ezA ...

131. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 12. marraskuuta

50,000 in Sao Paolo last night. HOW IS THIS HAPPENING I ONLY HAVE 3
 ALBUMS AND SOME PEOPLE THINK ITS 2 AND A HALF. i love being a popstar

132. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 12. marraskuuta

we missed you last night @RICHYSQUIRREL. Just wish you could see the tears and
 laughters of all the monsters at the show. see u soon!

133. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 10. marraskuuta

the font was derived out of the signatures of three fans, all from different neighborhoods
 and ages. Represents how music brings us 2gether.

134. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 10. marraskuuta

R†O. Monsters, all over the world you continue to inspire me everyday, your like an
 endless ocean of possibilities.

<http://littlemonsters.com/post/509ec48c222766737e000234> ...

135. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 9. marraskuuta

PIC onstage RIO <http://littlemonsters.com/post/509df6764f5cf1bd4100418c> ...

136. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 9. marraskuuta

tonight in RIO <http://littlemonsters.com/post/509dec0fb11c7a767f00655f> ...

137. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 9. marraskuuta

Tonight, the love we made set Rio in Flames. I'll never forget that show Brazil. You ARE the City of God.

138. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 9. marraskuuta

Stadium show tonight in RIO. GALERA ARE YOU READY!?!?!?! Im so excited! i can't wait to show you all my love through the music!!

139. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 9. marraskuuta

Don't forget to vote for ema's!! <http://tv.mtvema.com/artists/lady-gaga> ... and good luck to beliebers, we love you too!

140. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 8. marraskuuta

we even played football, they were SO GOOD IT WAS CRAZY
<http://littlemonsters.com/post/509c183fb11c7a99210006bb> ...

141. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 8. marraskuuta

i'll never forget Rio, you lit my heart into flames
<http://littlemonsters.com/post/509c100dccaee4a2a00332a> ...

142. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 8. marraskuuta

today was the best day i've ever had, had so much fun
<http://littlemonsters.com/post/509c06112f11b30165004423> ...

143. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 8. marraskuuta

my lil Rio Babies PIZZA is coming downstairs. I feel like i slept in bed w you last night. every time i woke up i could hear you screaming!

144. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 8. marraskuuta

this is so funny <http://littlemonsters.com/post/509bab37ccaee561c001402> ...

145. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 7. marraskuuta

I'm sorry the internet is slow and i didn't think the tweets were working!

146. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 7. marraskuuta

And here is the artwork. love you bad kids. pic.twitter.com/AjJguxyh

147. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 7. marraskuuta

DJWSVISION no.2 feat BITCH DONT KILL MY VIBE (THE LG MIX)

<https://vimeo.com/53053348>

148. Chicago Fire @NBCChicagoFire 7. marraskuuta

Thanks so much! #ChicagoFire RT @ladygaga I love this show.

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

149. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 7. marraskuuta

DJWSVISION No.2 in 10 minutes #trendit #DJWSVISION

150. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 7. marraskuuta

i love this show

151. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 7. marraskuuta

#THEVOICE

152. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 7. marraskuuta

ahhhhhhhhhhh!!!!!!! can someone record this please!!!

153. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 7. marraskuuta

will be watching The Voice and Chicago Fire tonight, they're on right after eachother!

Anyone else fangurling tonight?

154. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 7. marraskuuta

Brazil, there's hundreds @ hotel and this is what the f*ck its all about, revolution through music. Get ready to party at the show in 2 days

155. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 7. marraskuuta

Im sending you hamburgers, fries, and coke. I love you monsters.

156. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 7. marraskuuta

OI GALERA! In Rio + My beautiful fans are wearing leather & bandanas in the sun, bad asses, gorgeous smiles & fists in the air! I HEAR U!

157. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 7. marraskuuta

A letter and a gift to New York and the American @RedCross
<http://littlemonsters.com/post/509a7675ab3389160f0000ca> ...

158. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6. marraskuuta

And to @TammyBaldwinWI for being elected the first openly gay senator in the HISTORY of The United States. #inspiring #brave #courageous

159. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6. marraskuuta

And #condragulations DENVER on your cannabis legislation. shante YOU STAY.

160. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6. marraskuuta

Omg help @RuPaul #condragulations on the tweet of the night. *dead* you're a legend

161. RuPaul @RuPaul 6. marraskuuta

Now @MittRomney Sashay Away!

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

162. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6. marraskuuta

we just couldn't be happier my goodness, the joy when freedom prevails
pic.twitter.com/Z1ARSGWT

163. Reese Melchior @ReeseGermanotta 6. marraskuuta

@ladygaga 4 MORE YEARS OF PROGRESS IN THE FIGHT FOR EQUALITY

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

164. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6. marraskuuta

I JUST GOT OFF STAGE IN COLUMBIA!! CONGRATULATIONS MR. PRESIDENT @BarackObama We are so proud to be American tonight! YES!!! YES! YES!!

165. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6. marraskuuta

AAAAAAAAAAAAAHHHHHRHRGRGRGRRRRGURBHJB
EORWPSOJWPJORGWOIRGWSGODEWPGOHEPW09GJEDPOKSD!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!09
24QU8T63095JRGHWPE09UJ0PWHRGW

166. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6. marraskuuta

If you're old enough to vote for the first time, exercise your right today! It matters & can change the world. Go vote: <http://ofa.bo/Lookup>

167. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6. marraskuuta

another election interview i did today!

<http://www.kisscleveland.com/pages/kasper.html?article=10552766> ...

168. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6. marraskuuta

So great to see everyone so involved today, going to say some political prayers and take a nap. #GodBlessAmerica

169. Bradley @Bradley_martins 6. marraskuuta

@ladygaga wow its amazing to see how many Americans there are voting here in South Africa! Its stirring up quite a vibe!

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

170. ☯PsychoticMusicHead† @iSpeakMusicX 6. marraskuuta

@ladygaga Usually a lot of people here in Louisiana dont take the time out to go vote but not today! People are even car-polling the elderly

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

171. A\$AP † @thebody3lectric 6. marraskuuta

@ladygaga lots and lots of people are voting here in Miami :D

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

172. Gerard Mignone @gerardmignone 6. marraskuuta

@ladygaga yes there are as on E 12th St off 1st Ave I had to wait 45 minutes. that has never happend. hoping and praying. tks for all you do

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

173. K @loveneedsfaith_ 6. marraskuuta

@ladygaga just saw a bunch of people going in to my high school in PA to vote!

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

174. vīctøria @kittymeeowcat 6. marraskuuta

@ladygaga California has got ALOT OF VOTERS!! My street is packed with parked cars!!

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

175. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6. marraskuuta

Another radio interview i did today for the election

<http://cbsq104.files.wordpress.com/2012/11/gaga-interview2.mp3> ...

176. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6. marraskuuta

Daddy said theres lines AROUND THE BLOCK to vote in NY way more than 4 years ago! This is so great. Anyone else's state see a lot of voters?

177. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6. marraskuuta

I voted! Did you? Also did some radio interviews about it here's one if your interested:

<http://zhiphopclevel...sive-interview/>

178. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 6. marraskuuta

Happy Election Day everyone. IF ANYONE NEEDS ASSISTANCE FINDING YOUR POLL LOCATION GO TO: <http://www.GottaVote.com> very easy to use

179. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 5. marraskuuta

So excited, will be on the radio today and tomorrow to talk about the election and how important it is to Vote. #YouthEmpowerment

180. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 4. marraskuuta

Fantastico

181. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 4. marraskuuta

the second biggest show to the BTWBALL in Costa Rica was Metallica.
@LadyStarlightNy are we dreaming

182. oscar ulate @oscar_ulate 4. marraskuuta

@ladygaga was amazing, as simple as that, my sons and I enjoyed together, and it doesn't have price. thank you. From Costa Rica.

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

183. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 4. marraskuuta

Thank you Costa Rica, they told me it was the biggest show and turnout they've ever had. means so much to me. luckiest girl alive

184. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 4. marraskuuta

here new york, i sang a song for you tonight.
<http://littlemonsters.com/post/509632ea72f3d98e69004e45> ...

185. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 3. marraskuuta

In costa rica tonight for stadium show. Thank you so much to everyone for buying a ticket to the BTWBALL. I will leave my heart on the stage

186. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 3. marraskuuta

i'll be there as soon as i can to help my old neighborhood. I'm on tour + can't let my fans down. I want to help with my hands with all of u

187. Barbara @BarbBeloved 3. marraskuuta

@ladygaga We're picking up the pieces and building our city back to where it belongs, it all comes down to is that we have eachother.

Käyttäjän Lady Gaga uudelleentwiittaama

188. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 3. marraskuuta

i wrote this song when i was 16. so weird to hear it now because of hurricane. "NO FLOODS" hope this will cheer u up http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gIV_dPpJqrQ
...

189. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 3. marraskuuta

east coast how are you holding up? How are you New York? Staying strong i hope, thinking of you all the time. Can't even watch news feed.

190. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 2. marraskuuta

beautiful portrait of princess high
<http://littlemonsters.com/post/5094069eb11c7aa510003700> ...

191. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 2. marraskuuta

Love monsters night night

192. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 2. marraskuuta

She's back!!! Ahh dessert! pic.twitter.com/0tqABVVu

193. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 2. marraskuuta

face palm “@DaraziFadi: @ladygaga @hausofkath omg gaga u replied to the wrong person lmao!”

194. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 2. marraskuuta

THERE'S MULTIPLE COURSES and multiple Joanna's (these girls are serving it)
pic.twitter.com/ZEkondVe

195. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 2. marraskuuta

Her name is Joanna :) maybe another sign from my aunt. look at the cart Shirley
@brandonvance there's free prosciutto pic.twitter.com/oboV4RRg

196. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 2. marraskuuta

Thanks for believing in Born This Way. Thank you Live Nation and monsters. hope u
feel like I'm sharing this w u pic.twitter.com/fAEL1Ivv

197. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 2. marraskuuta

There's even custom seats!! pic.twitter.com/NL1WApf

198. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 2. marraskuuta

I just sang bad romance in the aisle and Tara's doing Kristen Wig Bridesmaids
impressions on the intercom.

199. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 2. marraskuuta

OMG there's Internet on the PLANE. THIS IS MY PLANE IT HAS INTERWEBULAR
features. Monsters :(i cant believe this sometimes.

200. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 2. marraskuuta

So apparently LIVE NATION gave us a 757 I just cried on the tarmac. We tried to take
a pic but its too big #waitress pic.twitter.com/qY11OGNM

201. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 2. marraskuuta

me on the beach today. i have a fear of swimwear. but beer is ok.
<http://littlemonsters.com/post/50942cdfcace7a1b0002da> ...

202. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 1. marraskuuta

where's my stache? cannabis? high princess? @zedd OUR REMIX CAME TO LIFE
LAST NIGHT!!!! missed u when i got home so i ate chicken

203. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 1. marraskuuta

#VOTE2013 #littlemonsters

<http://littlemonsters.com/post/5092b19d222766646c001db7> ...

204. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 1. marraskuuta

Here's our photos!!!! HAPPY HALLOWEEN #littlemonsters

<http://littlemonsters.com/post/5092b1092227665e6c001e04> ...

205. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 1. marraskuuta

and NO 'shortly' is not the new 'SOON.' *searches for camera USB in hotel robe with bad hair and hangover.* last night was paradise

206. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 1. marraskuuta

So i was weed for halloween. BEST COSTUME EVER ITS SO FUN. Princess High the Cannabis Queen. Photos of party on <http://littlemonsters.com> shortly

207. Lady Gaga @ladygaga 1. marraskuuta

I love you guys so much. had such a blast tonight. the show, the rumba afterward. Puerto Rico knows how to have fun. I love my fans.