

I KNOW WE SHOULD BE RUNNING BUT THE SONG PLAYS ON:
A THEORY OF ASCRIBED PERSONA

BY

JULIANNE HARPER GRUENHAGEN

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of

WAKE FOREST UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Communication

May, 2016

WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

Approved By:

R. Jarrod Atchison, Ph.D., Advisor

Ron Von Burg, Ph.D., Chair

Len Neighbors, M.A.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

So many thanks to so many people. My advising committee gets first billing for never letting me go Down With The Ship, and especially Jarrod Atchison for the many inspirational lectures on staring down the blinking cursor ahead of all the Blank Space. Jay Key, Christine Reed, and Jamie Grzybowski for always Believing and being the best set of cheerleaders a person can have. Both of my families for always being there, but also knowing when to Let Me Go.

Special thanks also goes to Ashley Brown for going to so many concerts with me over the years, practically being co-enablers for each other in Twirling Towards F[an]dom. Finally, Brian, Bruce, Craig, Mark, and Trevor (and James!): y'all are too sweet. I can't even throw a joke in here. Pseumoustophy.

One Last Drink before we dive into some Letters? I've got No More Stones to throw.

— your Minstrel Girl.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Abbreviations	iv
Abstract	v
Chapter 1. Introduction	1
Literature Review	2
Critical Approach	21
Justification	25
Chapter Previews	29
Chapter 2. Enter the Haggis	31
Background	31
What Happened: From the Band's Perspective	34
What Happened: From the Audience's Perspective	41
What It Means for Ascribed Persona	45
Conclusion	47
Chapter 3. Taylor Swift	51
Background	53
What Happened: From the Audience's Perspective	57
What Happened: From Taylor's Perspective	61
Taylor and the Tabloids	66
What It Means for Ascribed Persona	67
Chapter 4. Cher	70
Background	70
Cher and Her Audience	74
Ascribed Persona	78
Chapter 5. Discussion	80
Notes	82
References	96
Appendix	116
Curriculum Vitae	123

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

MOGAI Marginalized Orientations, Gender Assignments, and Intersex

ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses the problem that current iterations of persona theory fail to consider the perspective or role of the audience in communication studies when communication is largely a dialogic process. Ascribed persona is one way of beginning to fill that gap, by describing a persona that an audience creates in their minds for a rhetor in place of the first persona the rhetor provides. Three case studies are considered, all within the realm of music: indie band Enter the Haggis/Jubilee Riots, country and pop star Taylor Swift, and all-around icon Cher. In each case, the audience is found to play a major role in the artist's continued economic success. An artist's interactions with their audience and responses to any ascribed personas can be strategically planned and used to further their artistic as well as economic ambitions.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

On September 8, 2014, the indie band Enter the Haggis changed their name to Jubilee Riots. Although this was a decision that had been long in the works, to many fans it came thoroughly out of the blue. The announcement caused an uproar in the fan community: while many fans were supportive of the change and—as is to be expected—some people did not completely love it, there were also a good number of fans who seemed to view the change as a betrayal and chose to respond by betraying the band right back. They maintained that even though the band may be going by a new name, they, the fans, would refuse to use it (“don’t hate us if we still call you ‘Haggis’”¹) and expect the band to stick to their old music (“I’ll still fly the ETH stuff with Pride ... I am sure you will still play your old stuff”²).

What does it mean when the audience rejects the persona a rhetor puts forth and uses their own in its place? In past studies, we have seen the persona itself, the second (that of the audience), third (any populations being left out by the rhetor), fourth personas (an audience that recognizes that a rhetor passes as a certain group he may not actually be a part of, and allows the pass to occur), and even the null persona (the rhetor's silence about himself).³ This thesis posits another aspect of persona: an *ascribed* persona, occurring when the audience ascribes to the rhetor a persona more to their own liking, which may or may not coincide with the persona the rhetor means to send out.

Ascribed persona could be used to analyze how audiences react to any rhetor. Persona as a lens for rhetorical analysis has already been proven to be a broadly applicable and highly useful theory, but its nuances are still being explored. For example, the rhetor is supposed to be the person in charge of establishing their ethos and persona. However, social media and other factors continually make it easier and easier to facilitate discussion between rhetors and audiences, with the result that the creation of messages and ethos and persona is no longer a one-way street. With this in mind, then, the question that this thesis answers is *who owns a persona?*

I chose this topic because Jubilee Riots, in addition to being my favorite band, are also friends of mine. It was troubling to them that fans reacted to their name change in such a negative way—while they expected some fans not to like it, they never would have guessed that people would outright reject it.

The rest of this introduction includes a review of the existent communication literature on ownership of persona. I then explain my critical approach to the texts in question, and expound upon what contributions this study will make to persona studies and performance art, as well as communication theory in a broader sense.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This thesis focuses on audience studies, in particular those to do with music. The first half of this literature review will cover audience studies, especially the aspects of parasocial relationships and persona. The second half will cover music as a form of communication and persuasion, and the interactions between musicians and their audiences.

Audience

Parasocial Relationships

Parasocial relationships operate in many of the same ways as other social relationships, with the main exception that one half of the relationship does not know the other person exists.⁴ Originally, PSRs were thought to compensate for a lack of social interaction, but this has been disproven.⁵ However, the need for social contact and the formation of PSRs with television personalities have been shown to be correlated.⁶ This indicates that fans view the objects of their PSRs as a part of their social circle, in one way or another.

From a theoretical standpoint, Giles defines four aspects of an interaction in order to define it as a parasocial interaction (or not): number of persons involved, physical distance between interactants, social conventions, and potential relationship between the interactants. He also identifies three levels of PSR. First-order PSR involves an authentic-seeming media personality addressing the audience member directly. Second-order PSR involves less authenticity, for example, an actor playing a character in a sitcom. Third-order PSR concerns completely fictional characters with no real-life counterpart, for example, Mickey Mouse.⁷

There has been little research thus far on parasocial relationships to do with music groups. The research on those to do with the characters in music videos has shown the related PSRs to be limited, possibly because of their brevity.⁸ Whereas a reoccurring television show or literature series would foster a more in-depth (parasocial) relationship,

Auter et al. speculate that music videos, which generally last around 3 to 5 minutes, simply lack the opportunity to do so.

While PSRs have been demonstrated among fans of stand-alone literature, Schmid and Klimmt found that audiences' PSRs were noticeably strengthened when those audiences were fans of the associated movies as well as the books, possibly because of the 'real people' aspect of live-action movies.⁹ This suggests that PSRs with regards to media that prominently feature 'real people,' such as music, would be even stronger, since band members generally do not present themselves as characters, but simply as their own selves.

On one hand, Hartmann et al. showed that fans' PSRs with Formula 1 racing drivers—another example in the 'real people' category—are less close or intimate and more a “distanced acknowledgement” or “respectful interest.”¹⁰ However, sports figures have a limited platform in which to express their personal views and cultivate PSRs—self-disclosure unrelated to sports would most likely be seen as a genre violation and thus rejected by the audience. On the other hand, television programs involving 'real people' performers who address the audience directly (as opposed to not addressing the audience at all) foster greater feelings of parasocial interaction.¹¹ In addition, Savage and Spence showed that radio hosts who share information about themselves over the air increased both their credibility and the strength of the PSRs experienced by the audience.¹² Bands often use these techniques of direct address and self-disclosure as a means of connecting with their audiences, which reinforces the above notion that PSRs with band members will be stronger.

Parasocial Relationship Breakups

The field of PSR breakups is another that has not yet been researched thoroughly. PSR breakups have been shown to cause the same distress as interpersonal relationship breakups, even when that breakup is temporary.¹³ While an ongoing PSR does not necessarily prompt consumers to seek out additional access to the target of their relationship, fans who are heavily invested in the relationship are far more likely to do so after a PSR breakup, while those less invested are more likely to move on to another media altogether.¹⁴ This leads to the conclusion that the more heavily invested a person is in his PSR, the more intense his reaction would be to a breakup of the PSR.

Band breakups are fundamentally different from television shows going off the air, though. Even though Netflix and DVDs make it possible to re-watch a show for a favorite character, that character will never again appear in any other media, except in the relatively rare occurrence of a spin-off series. The characters effectively cease to be. When a band breaks up, though, none of its members disappear from existence. Oftentimes they may strike out on solo careers, form other bands, or even venture into other arenas such as acting. In short, there are generally many more opportunities for fans to connect with band members even after a band breaks up—the band breakup does not necessitate the breakup of a PSR. A substantial means of that communication is social media.

Social media and semi-parasocial relationships

It is becoming almost a requirement that bands be active on social media in order to promote their music. Not to mention, with corporate labels falling out of style and

crowdfunding becoming a more attractive option for established bands, band members need to forge relationships with their fans in order to gain trust and credibility. One way of doing this is to stay after concerts and meet fans in person, but social media reaches farther than handshakes do. Several bands have started going further than simply having a Page on Facebook for fans to Like, by accepting individual friend requests and responding to each and every post or comment. Thus, if such a band were ever to break up, those connections with fans would still exist—the individual members would still have a means of contacting the fans in order to promote a new project. The connection works in the opposite direction as well: fans could still contact members of the former band to inquire about what they're currently working on.

A shift thusly has been observed in parasocial relationships in that fans are now able to be active participants in a PSR as opposed to mere passive consumers. Ebersole and Woods identified “personal identification with real characters” as the top motive for watching reality television, which indicates that viewers watch television in order to forge PSRs, although they may not be aware of the term, or even the existence of the relationship as such.¹⁵ Kassing and Sanderson demonstrated that fans actively seek to form PSRs with athletes through social media.¹⁶ This interaction via social media begins to resemble more closely an interpersonal relationship rather than parasocial, although not yet fully constituting an interpersonal one. This in-between status has been labeled a semi-parasocial relationship.¹⁷ There has been little research on this phenomenon since its recognition.

Demographics

Gender has minimal effect on a person's likelihood to develop a PSR in the first place,¹⁸ although it does affect the motivations behind those PSRs. Women use media to fulfill their perceived lack of family relationships; men to dissipate enduring lonely feelings. Men's use of parasocial interaction, however, decreases as romantic loneliness increases, whereas women's use thereof shows no relationship thereto.¹⁹ Possibly for this reason, gender does have an effect on the intensity of the PSR and the reaction to its breakup, in that women report higher levels of involvement in PSRs and more intense reactions to their breakups.²⁰

It has been shown that younger people are more likely to develop PSRs than older.²¹ In addition, people with low self-esteem or who base their self-esteem on external qualities (e.g., appearance or the approval of others) are more likely to develop parasocial relationships.²² Given that these attributes are more common in teenagers than adults, we can hypothesize that teenagers' PSRs will be more developed than those of adults.

Persona

Persona is a fundamental aspect of rhetorical criticism.²³ Every work can be said to have an authorial persona in some form. One study found that readers even ascribed personality attributes to certain fonts used in a work.²⁴ However, the amount of research done on persona studies is still small, and largely centers around case studies. One of the best summaries of persona studies available is Marshall's 2014 article, which calls for the further development of the area.²⁵

Persona can be used to great effect. Park's 2004 case study looked at the television personality Dr. Phil, who "relates to the audience not so much as an expert who is 'above' the audience, but as someone whose commonality with the audience puts him above all other experts."²⁶ It can also become a detriment when a persona is found to be inauthentic by the audience, such as when Sarah Palin subverted her mother-like persona "by joining the RNC's celebration of hegemonic masculinity," or when Lana Del Rey, who had promoted her music under a persona of the 'everyman,' so to speak, "was revealed to be bankrolled by a wealthy father and worked with professional songwriters and managers."²⁷

When considering the junction of authenticity and persona, both rhetors and audiences tend to run into some roadblocks. As author John Green posted on his blog, "I'm very lucky to have an audience that will care about what I say, but that also means trying to wait until I actually know what I think before I say anything, because it's very difficult to change your mind in public online, because everyone can forever access what you used to think and argue that you must still think it."²⁸ The fact of the matter is, though, that people do change their minds as they encounter new information. What's more, people themselves change throughout time.

Persona is an apt example of this, especially as the concept is used in drama.²⁹ We may have a work persona, a school persona, a church persona, a home persona. All may differ in some ways, but in the end all come back to the core values that make us who we are. As Hyde says on the subject, we can think of ethos as a sort of "dwelling-place"—a place that we both come back to after a long day and create about and for ourselves.³⁰

Along this same vein, Mezo suggested that “writers create a fictional persona to communicate to their audience, and that the audience itself is also a fictional creation.”³¹

In speaking of persona, we must also consider the other facets of persona that have been previously explored. Black described the second persona as the audience at whom the work is being aimed, or, to put it another way, the worldview of a work.³² The third persona, as described by Philip Wander, is any audience that appears to be ignored by a work, or excluded from its second persona.³³ The fourth persona has to do with a rhetor who is not part of a certain group but can successfully ‘pass’ as part of that group. “Similar to its counterpart, the second persona, the fourth persona is an implied auditor of a particular ideological bent, presumably one who is sexually marginalized, understands the dangers of homophobia, acknowledges the rationale for the closet, and possesses an intuition that renders a pass transparent.”³⁴ There is also the null persona, which “refers to the self-negation of the speaker and the creation in the text of an oblique silhouette indicating what is not utterable.”³⁵ Finally, the transcendent persona’s “persuasive force hinges on one’s ability to balance distance from audiences with similarities to them. Striking such a balance creates a platform for rhetors to promote transformative visions of society.”³⁶

Creating a persona for oneself is no longer limited to public address rhetors or celebrities. The proliferation of social media and the internet in general has made of each of us a rhetor, which led Marshall to identify a phenomenon he calls ‘micropublics.’³⁷ The term refers to the followers or friends one has on Facebook or Twitter, or on a blog or other website. In a sense, the concept of celebrity is being diluted: anyone can now have

access to a ‘public’ to listen to their views. These publics are simply smaller than they used to be: hence, micropublics.

Creating a persona is no longer limited to the words we say or write, either. By listing on a user’s profile page of their chosen social network things that the user is interested in (say, movies, books, or music, among other things), the user pieces together the persona they wish to show on that website.³⁸ These representations of ourselves are not far off from the mark, either— du Preez and Lombard found that “although a social networking user tries to portray him/herself in an idealised manner, ... there is not much difference between the user's online and offline personae.”³⁹ Some social networks in particular seem to encourage authenticity in persona building. Teenage girls feel more confident on Twitter than on Facebook, “but were more likely to agree their Facebook personas were ‘the real me.’”⁴⁰ Another study agrees that Facebook profiles are more authentic than not.⁴¹

As previously mentioned, though, as much as we may value consistency, human beings are rather subject to change—something which is aptly described by the idea of the ‘postmodern self’, to get a little philosophical. Rather than considering oneself as one list of attributes that never changes throughout life, this way of thinking considers people as a collection of various “roles, habits, and conventions.”⁴² “From the postmodern perspective, there simply is no ‘real’ or ‘essential’ character that can be embodied in rhetoric; we continually create and recreate ourselves, or engage in an ongoing process of ‘self-fashioning,’⁴³ through our discursive practice.”⁴⁴ This view certainly endorses the idea of ‘multiple personalities.’⁴⁵ For example, a person might act completely differently

at work rather than at home: a work personality and a home personality. In another case, a person's personality might change over time if they, for instance, undergo counseling and learn to be a more kind and caring person—in this case, a former personality and a later personality. As Jasinski puts it, an “individual not only exists *in* a subject position but also exists as a *flow* or *movement between* such positions.”⁴⁶ In other words, personality is not a fixed attribute: it remains constantly in flux.

Aristotle's sense of ethos existing only within the rhetorical act is simply not viable in the modern world. With celebrities—and the rest of us, too—living our lives online, everyone is aware of everyone's past movements, and continually judges everyone on them.

Music

Music is a form of communication that has been largely overlooked in communication and media studies, particularly in the shadows of movies and television. Music and persuasion, though, are two fields of study that are highly linked. Music composed as early as the 16th century was influenced by rhetorical theory.⁴⁷ The link between music and persuasion is largely a moderating one, since the main messages in persuasion are, in general, textual or visual. Music that accompanies these messages has the power to facilitate or hinder them, depending on many factors such as familiarity or musical style.⁴⁸ It has been shown that engaging in a pleasant activity like eating fosters a mood of compliance in a message receiver.⁴⁹ This finding has also been extended to listening to instrumental music.⁵⁰ In addition, music as a vehicle for a persuasive message is an excellent option for messages aimed at audiences who may be resistant, given

popular music's narrative rhetorical style and the incremental evolution a message can have throughout a song.⁵¹ Music has also been shown to be able to manipulate people's behavior and moral⁵² — clearly, such a powerful tool of persuasion is worth of consideration. There has been some research along the vein of music and persuasion, although there are still many gaps yet to be filled. This section covers the extant research thereof.

How Should We Look at Music?

There have been several methods proposed as to how researchers ought to consider music itself. Springer introduced his CAAMP model, consisting of context, audience expectations, artist image, music, and production.⁵³ This method of separating individual components of music allows researchers to find and isolate communicative functions, rather than only considering music as a whole. Sellnow and Sellnow also take an individualistic approach: they argue that lyrics (which they term 'virtual experience') and music ('virtual time') must both exist in order for music to function rhetorically.⁵⁴ Walker and Bender demonstrated that music videos should be thought of as persuasive arguments, while van Leeuwen maintained that music is a form of discourse.⁵⁵ Scott proposed that, rather than overlooking the consumer's judgment and interpretation of music, research ought to be done considering music as more meaningful and language-like.⁵⁶ Finally, Louchouart viewed music as a "moment-to-moment handling of a stream" of both sensory and mental information.⁵⁷

Live Music Performance

Live music performances in particular should also be included in the study of music and persuasion.⁵⁸ It has been demonstrated that resistance to a message is decreased while a consumer nods his head⁵⁹ — a movement that occurs often and naturally at live music performances. The visual aspect of live performances is also crucial for analysis. Listeners enjoy a live show more when the performer makes eye contact with the audience.⁶⁰ Attendees base their judgment of the show more on its visual components than auditory, be that the performer's style of dress, eye contact, or other aspects of the stage.⁶¹

Live music performances are also inherently rather emotional experiences. Performers convey emotion through music just as effectively as through words, and listeners react just as emotionally.⁶² Even though a song may be composed and written down, each live performance of that song has the potential to be different, and thus to convey different emotions: “endless re-formations and re-presentations create new kinds of powerful experiences on each occasion and for each listener.”⁶³ In addition, although a song may be written with the intent to convey a certain emotion, five different listeners may hear in the song five different emotions.⁶⁴ Music in any sense—but especially when heard performed live—is a highly affective experience, opening listeners up to the possibility of emotional vulnerability.

Studies on Music

What put music's role in persuasion on the academic map was Gorn's 1982 study on the effects of music in advertising on product choice.⁶⁵ Subjects saw an ad for an

either blue or beige pen while listening to music they either liked or disliked. 78% of those who listened to the liked music chose the advertised color over the non-advertised color, while 70% of those who heard the disliked music chose the non-advertised color over the advertised color—which appears to show that listening to the liked or disliked music affected their product choice. In 1989, however, Kellaris and Cox demonstrated that there was no link between exposure to liked or disliked music and product choices.⁶⁶ Still, the study of music and persuasion took off.

Several studies have been done about individual aspects of music and its relation to advertisements. In 1991, MacInnis and Park examined the fit of a piece of music with the advertisement it was featured in, as well as its indexicality — the extent to which it brings back emotional memories—which may affect whether a consumer processes the message in a high- or low-involvement way. They found that both fit and indexicality have marked effects upon consumers.⁶⁷ Webster and Weir found in 2005 that “major keys, nonharmonized melodies, and faster tempos were associated with happier responses, whereas their respective opposites were associated with sadder responses.”⁶⁸ The first few seconds alone of a song or piece of music can cue a genre schema that can affect perception of other, subsequent information.⁶⁹ Juslin et al. demonstrated empirically that music does evoke certain emotions in people most of the time, while Kivy stated that the only music that can emotionally move a listener is music that the listener considers great or beautiful.⁷⁰ Another qualification is the congruency between a film or advertisement’s mood and the mood of the music featured in it. Constable and Terman showed that viewers experience the greatest transportation into a film when a

congruent soundtrack was heard, as opposed to an incongruent one or no music at all. Under the same conditions, viewers also reported higher agreement with beliefs relevant to the film.⁷¹

Advertising

By far the greatest body of research to do with music and persuasion, though, is that directly related to advertising. In one of the earliest examples, Hecker published a guide for advertisers using music in 1984, stating among other things that music should be used in advertisements with a purpose, not randomly or without consideration.⁷² Since then, research has tackled many aspects of music, such as whether the presence of vocals in an ad's song is a higher stimulant of advertising effects than songs without vocals, or no music at all (it is⁷³), or the 'chills' effect that some songs give listeners. On this fascinating topic, Vermeulen et al. found that such music-induced chills did increase participants' attitude toward the ad, but not toward the brand.⁷⁴

Most of the research to do with music and persuasion in advertising can be grouped in three categories: those having to do with an audience's familiarity with a song, the audience's level of involvement with the ad and the music, or the congruence between the tone of the ad or the ad's message and the choice of song used with it.

Familiarity

Familiarity is an aspect of music deserving of study because if a song is already known to a consumer, it likely also already holds associations and denotations that an advertiser might want to capitalize on.⁷⁵ Interestingly, for music that is familiar to the consumer, there is a \cap -shaped relationship between the music's tempo and message

recall, which does not exist in relation to unfamiliar music.⁷⁶ Message recall is greatest among consumers who hear an instrumental version of a familiar song because they generate the lyrics — and thus the message — themselves.⁷⁷ This is obviously less effective for consumers who are unfamiliar with the song, as they must be given the lyrics or else the message will not be present at all.

Familiarity also interacts with other variables such as audience involvement. For viewers with low involvement, hearing a familiar song in an ad is more likely to influence ad effects. For those with high involvement, though, familiarity took a back seat to congruency between the product and the song choice.⁷⁸

Fraser looked at what she termed music-evoked images (MEIs), which involve “both private, personal images, and connoted images common to multiple listeners.” She speculated that among consumers with high involvement, personal MEIs may interfere with the consumer's processing of the ad message, although over time they might also facilitate longer-term associations between the song and the ad message. On the other hand, connoted MEIs “may reinforce brand and message elements, improving brand message integration and recall, and avoiding processing interference,” but also come with the drawback of briefer processing, which makes it less likely that the consumer will create long-term brand associations.⁷⁹

Audience involvement

The amount to which a consumer is involved in processing an ad or the music within that ad can have an effect on message and ad recall, as well as other advertising aspects. Park and Young distinguished between viewers who processed an ad with low or

high involvement, and within the high involvement, cognitively or affectively.⁸⁰ For those who processed with low involvement, music had a facilitative effect on brand attitude. Under the high involvement umbrella, music had a distracting effect on brand attitude for participants who processed cognitively, and an unknown effect on those who processed affectively. Sullivan found that ads played on a radio station requiring a higher level of audience involvement had greater message recall, intent to purchase, and attitude toward the ad.⁸¹ In 1994, Hitchon et al. found that ads that are highly ambiguous—thus requiring more involvement—foster lower attitudes toward both the ad itself and the brand, and that higher complexity in ads leads to higher arousal, but also means less enjoyment.⁸² Zhu and Meyers-Levy showed that participants who had low involvement did not pick up on an advertisement's song's embodied or referential meaning, that is, the meaning expressed explicitly by the song (embodied), or any meaning the song might have to the listener personally (referential). When the ad required high resources to process, those with high involvement relied on the embodied meaning, but when it only required low resources, deferred to its referential meaning.⁸³ Dillman Carpentier showed that simple music can make a message more memorable and enjoyable to the consumer, but complex music can lead to less involvement and enjoyment, presumably distracting the consumer from the message.⁸⁴ Dillman Carpentier then extended this finding in 2012 with Parrott, showing that “highly complex music hinders cognitive processing of the content immediately following.”⁸⁵ However, Ziv et al. showed that such an “effect is a consequence of [music’s] emotional valence, and not its distracting qualities.”⁸⁶

Music may not always be the best option for ads. Sharma considered ads played during radio programs that were either high- or low-involvement, plus whether the ads included music or not. In this instance, message recall was highest for participants who listened to ads with no background music during the high-involvement program.⁸⁷ Fraser and Bradford showed that viewers who saw an ad for an unfamiliar brand that involved music recalled less of the ad message than those who saw similar ads for familiar brands.⁸⁸ This suggests that music might be a wise choice for an already-established brand looking to cement their place in consumers' minds, rather than a new brand trying to cement their place in the market.

Congruence

Congruence between an advertisement's message and the music that it uses is a more recent concern. Hung's 2000 study focused on the congruency between ad message and music, and showed that music in congruent situations helped to convey a meaning from ad to consumer.⁸⁹ Oakes speculated that congruity between ad message and music creates “associative linkages that enhance the probability of successful advertising content retrieval.” He also found that partially incongruous-relevant but unexpected-stimuli are more effective than either totally incongruous or totally congruous stimuli.⁹⁰

The relationship between congruency and the level of involvement of viewers has also been explored, although inconclusively. Shen and Chen found that an incongruity between ad music and message can increase a consumer's memory of the ad — especially for high-processing participants —, but at the same time can decrease their attitude toward the ad.⁹¹ Lavack et al. showed that for ads requiring high processing, congruent

music increases the consumer's attitude toward both the ad and the brand, as compared to incongruent music or none at all. This effect was not present for ads that did not require high processing, though.⁹² However, in 2009, Lalwani et al. demonstrated that highly involved consumers were less influenced by congruent message and music.⁹³

Applications

There is also already literature on several real-world examples of music's persuasive power. For example, as in many African rebel movements, protest songs served to mobilize listeners during Zimbabwe's struggle for liberation from Rhodesia.⁹⁴ Radwan analyzed the song "Jesus Freak" and discussed how it persuades "its teen audience to develop shared definitions of self and other."⁹⁵ Toynbee and Vis considered how the BBC changed which music was chosen to be featured on its programs, particularly non-European music, and how that conflicts with its British ethnocentric agenda.⁹⁶ In a more extreme example, music is often used during torture, and Amnesty International is leading an investigation into the use of music during interrogation.⁹⁷

A new strategy happening in recent years has been advertisers working with music artists directly to create songs that promote their brands. There has been a shift lately to brands wanting to appear more authentic and identify with the consumer's identity⁹⁸ — what better way than to start at the source? In a content analysis, Burkhalter and Thornton found that "over 93% of all hip-hop videos contained some reference to branded products."⁹⁹ Politicians in Israel have also adopted this method, working with rap artists to promote their propaganda both inside as well as outside of the country.¹⁰⁰ Other

ad agencies choose to work with up-and-coming artists who may not yet be in the public eye, as a way of growing both their brand and the artist together, synergistically.¹⁰¹

Music in advertisements is already ubiquitous. A content analysis by Allan in 2008 found that of the ads aired during prime time of one week of programming, 94% used music in some way.¹⁰² It can be a powerful persuasion tool, as evidenced in the 2012 study by Ziv et al., which showed that music can reduce a listener's awareness of an unethical message while increasing their acceptance of the product.¹⁰³ Clearly, such an influential means of persuasion only warrants more study in future, both to iron out the inconsistencies in the research thus far and to learn about other ways in which music might be able to persuade.

Contributions

Audience studies and music, as well as their intersection, are fields that require further research. In audience studies, parasocial relationship breakups remain largely unresearched, as does the more recent phenomenon of the semi-parasocial relationship. Music as a form of communication in and of itself, rather than being linked to advertising, certainly provides endless opportunities for research. Parasocial relationships to do with music groups have not been very well researched at all. While much research has been dedicated to the study of other forms of media, music has often been overlooked. This thesis will only begin to fill in these gaps.

CRITICAL APPROACH

The theoretical lens I will be using to examine texts in this thesis is one of my own design, which I call *ascribed persona*. This lens is obviously based on and derived from the idea of *persona* as used in communication studies. This section explains the background of persona studies and how they lead to the theory that I propose in this thesis.

The concept of celebrity used to connote ideas of loftiness or other-worldliness. A celebrity was something more than human, possibly *better* than human. As the Internet and social media grow in their ubiquity, though, this pedestal finds itself being lowered. Websites like YouTube and SoundCloud allow anyone to publish and promote content, meaning that fame is no longer held behind lock and key by corporations built upon manufacturing stars. Social media minimizes the distance between fan and celebrity (no matter what sort of a definition you choose to ascribe to the word) by allowing anyone to share details of their everyday life. This humanizes the once-fabled starlet, bringing the aspects of her stage persona and her true personality closer into concord.

Any rhetor, writer, or performer—in short, any person with whom an audience has only a brief, generally one-sided interaction—chooses to present certain aspects of herself to that audience, be those traits positive or negative. Of course, in everyday life, we are constantly choosing how to present ourselves, so as to be viewed as good people, or for any number of other reasons. For a public figure and his audience, however, the dichotomy between created persona and true personality is exacerbated by the brevity of the interaction between the two.

As Jasinski describes in his *Sourcebook on Rhetoric*, a persona is “both a type of controlling consciousness *behind* the text (so to speak) and an image of a person speaking or writing that surfaces *in* the text.”¹⁰⁴ No one person ‘wrote’ per se the idea of persona; it simply grew out of Greek drama originally, and subsequently through rhetorical tradition. Aristotle himself wrote about persona, that “it adds much to an orator’s influence that his own character should look right and that he should be thought to entertain the right feelings towards his hearers.”¹⁰⁵

Jasinski goes on to clarify that “ethos, understood as the speaker's character as it appears in the speech, and the real character of an author or speaker is different from the persona that organizes and appears in a text.”¹⁰⁶ Even though they are separate entities, however, the amount that a rhetor's persona and her true personality coincide contributes to her authenticity, a trait that audiences find favorable.¹⁰⁷ This theory of authenticity tries to answer the question of whether we should trust the orator. Establishing a persona is one method of establishing ethos. Whether an orator chooses to use a persona that mirrors her own personality or one that differs from it, she makes a conscious decision as to how to present herself to her audience. The aspect of authenticity in persona studies is a currently emerging—and vital—focus of study, growing in interest as social media continues to facilitate both transparency and accessibility between producer and consumer.¹⁰⁸

Gibson's 1969 book on persona provides the best introduction available on how to consider persona as a concept. Just as Jasinski distinguished earlier between ethos and persona, Gibson clarifies that “this persona may or may not bear considerable

resemblance to the real author. ... In any case, the created speaker is certainly less complex than his human inventor. ... He is a made man, he is artificial.”¹⁰⁹ This sentiment also appears in Ware and Linkugel's 1982 article, as they specified that “the rhetorical *persona* is not the rhetor qua person but is an attributed character created by the auditor's symbolic construction (and implied assessment) of the rhetor. We draw a sharp distinction here between the rhetor's personal ethos and the ethos represented by the rhetorical *persona* the speaker assumes when he reminds the listeners of its archetypal hero.”¹¹⁰ It is clear that the *persona* in a text should not be regarded as equivalent to the ‘true person,’ but then again, this discussion may be a moot point. Gibson argues:

It is natural that we should be troubled by expressions like “putting on an act” or “taking on a character.” Can't we simply speak and write as ourselves, honestly and candidly? Of course we can, as long as we realize that *even our most 'honest' acts are indeed acts*, in at least two senses of that word. They are acts in the sense that they are forthright and affirmative actions, calculated to bring order into a situation. They are also acts in the sense of play-acting, since the means of communication we choose, the roles we play, the language we use, are creative decisions we make, even though we usually make them quite unconsciously. When we call someone a phony or a hypocrite, we usually mean not that he is playing a role, but that he is playing (in our judgment) a wrong role, an inappropriate or misleading one. We make such judgments about people all the time, as we must and should. But we should do so with a vivid sense that in our own performances there is an inevitable element of play-acting.¹¹¹

This is an important point to keep in mind as we continue our discussion of *persona*, that every facet of ourselves that we present to other people is a *persona*, even if those people are the closest people to us in our lives. When Ware and Linkugel discuss a “rhetor's personal ethos” as opposed to “the rhetorical *persona* the speaker assumes,” they are merely referring to two different *personas*, one of which is meant to appear in the text and the other of which is not.

“But is there *any* relationship between the persona and the person?”¹¹² As Elliott found, “to what degree the mask is equivalent to the true person—or *whether* ‘*true person*’ has any meaning in this context—is unresolved.”¹¹³ From Gibson’s perspective, the answer must be no. Everything we do is constructed. Even if we speak completely honestly, we still constantly commit lies of omission. There is a proverb that says that what defines you is not the first thing that pops into your head, but rather your reaction to that first thing. Garver pointed out that even Aristotle argued that “ethos is artificial.”¹¹⁴ Back to Jasinski: “If we adopt the *constructivist* position [that both ethos and persona are constructed by way of language and action], then we need to give up the attempt to look behind or underneath the persona that appears in a text. Why? Because what is behind is no different from what is in the text; it is something constructed.”¹¹⁵ That is, nothing—with regards to human nature, at least—is real.

In addition, we must retain the ability and willingness to recognize that people change over time, be that change for the better or worse; “a rhetoric not of being but of becoming,” as Farrell put it.¹¹⁶ In Larson and Oravec’s examination of Garrison Keillor’s persona over the years in *Prairie Home Companion*, they found that “the weekly monologues portray Keillor’s persona moving from nostalgia and bitterness to acceptance of the conditions of community as they are. Consequently, they reflect and encourage a passive and uncritical approach toward community life in an audience that has outgrown activism and is searching for an alternative.”¹¹⁷ In this case, the rhetor and his audience grow and change together in harmony over time.

With there being no point in talking about the ‘true person’, the persona presented to the audience is all that audience has to go on. Unless we have reason to believe that a certain persona should not be trusted, perhaps because of some inconsistencies in character, or even by straight-up admission by the rhetor, the persona is all that we have. In this situation, therefore, consistency and the aforementioned authenticity are key.¹¹⁸

How, then, do audiences resolve the discrepancy when a rhetor behaves in one way for a length of time and then, as humans do, decides to make a change? As Garver wrote, “the lack of consistency is not *always* a reliable *sign* of ethical or moral failure; individuals need to conduct and construct themselves differently in different situations.”¹¹⁹ However, with the popularity of the value of consistency, this idea is rarely heeded. Rather, when confronted with a rhetor who has made a grand change in his life, the audience will do one of two things: either they will immediately brush off the rhetor as a person undeserving of their time any longer, having been judged to be a person of inconsistent character, and thus untrustworthy; or they will decide that the rhetor is simply incorrect or misguided, or even perhaps just lying, and thus ascribe a persona of their own liking onto the rhetor instead.

JUSTIFICATION

Persona itself is fascinating in how an audience uses it to justify or excuse otherwise deplorable actions, whether those actions are performed under the guise of a persona or as a true person. For example, Stephen Colbert, on his political infotainment show *The Colbert Report*, employed the (false) persona of a ridiculously far right-wing pundit, using what amounts to an extended *reductio ad absurdum* argument to

demonstrate the outlandishness of conservative media. Fans of the show excuse the many offensive things he says because they understand that he says them in jest—he doesn't actually believe them.

On the flip side, there are people like Alton Brown, who appears on television as a lovable, understanding character, phenomenally gifted at teaching you about the chemistry of cooking through his show *Good Eats*. In real life, however, Brown makes jokes such as “Look! A real live Negro!” followed up by “Okay. Remind me not to make African-American jokes in Iowa.”¹²⁰ David Rheinstrom, on whose blog this account appears, goes on to say:

I told Dave, my old roomie, about it, and he said, “There's a simple lesson here: never meet your heroes.” I think he might be right. What I failed to do here, and what I'll be doing in the future with Alton, is separate the televised persona from the man himself—I had expected Real Life Alton to be as genial and friendly as Television Alton. He's not— he's a good deal more cynical and curmudgeonly.¹²¹

Is it right, however, to excuse such backward thoughts and actions, simply because a person has an amiable stage presence? Should we not shun the person who actually does believe these offensive things? Clearly Rheinstrom subscribes to the idea that *Even If This Person Is Offensive To Other People, As Long As They Are Not Harming Me, It Is Okay For Me To Continue Consuming The Media They Produce.*

While questions such as these may not lead us very far in the analysis of *Good Eats*, they do hold importance for orators who mean to up their credibility through the use of authenticity, by making their stage persona as similar as possible to their true personality. One grand example of this is Oprah, who has managed to maintain an authentic-seeming persona despite being ridiculously famous and wealthy by being open

about the struggles she faced on her way to acquiring that fame and wealth.¹²² This authenticity creates an air of trustworthiness, which leads in turn to effective communication.

Another reason why this theory is worthy of study is simply because it applies in any and every context. In every text, an implied rhetor or authorial persona can be identified—every rhetor sets out to establish his credibility and ethos, thus creating this persona. Yet another reason is because of its evolution currently in progress, particularly with respect to social media. What does the virtue of authenticity in persona mean for a public figure with Facebook and Twitter in the picture? Can a public figure ever not be public anymore? Even the term ‘public figure’ is slowly becoming less relevant. While celebrities may find themselves trapped within the spotlight, ordinary people clamor for that same spotlight—and indeed can get it—through social media.

Drawbacks

At first glance, it seems hard to come up with a negative side to a theory with such universal applications. There are nearly no texts where this theory would not apply. At the same time, though, that in itself is a potential drawback, in that we as humans may forget—or perhaps be simply unwilling—to apply it in certain circumstances. For all we are reminded not to imagine someone as more than a person, we often forget the other side, that we must also never imagine someone as less than a person. What about a situation where the negative accusations leveled against someone are not proven?

There has been a shift emerging lately in an effort to stop the culture-wide tendency to blame the victim when bad things happen to someone. This victim-blaming

tendency is ultimately detrimental to victims of any sort of abuse, and should be discouraged in every way— but this shift also has a dark side. If we continually lay blame and believe every accusation without question, this makes us vulnerable to false accusations and wrongfully punishing the wrong people. We must remember that justice is based on ‘innocent until proven guilty.’ In short, we must remember to imagine the accused complexly, just as we do the accusers.

For example, on YouTube, the video-based social media website, there exists a close-knit community of people who have gotten to know each other through their videos and in person at conventions and other such venues. This community has been in existence and growing since roughly 2007. In March 2014, a girl named Olga came forward and said that Tom Milsom, a prominent YouTube musician, had raped and emotionally abused her. While there had been a couple of scattered such accusations before this happened, Olga’s accusation, for whatever reason, opened the floodgates. Other victims drew from her bravery and came forward with their own experiences, until—at the time of this writing—no less than thirty-five different YouTubers have been accused of some sort of abuse, many by more than one victim.

The YouTube community is generally one of the most progressive communities on the internet, and as such, victim-blaming is highly shunned. While there were some people who did make an effort to say that we ought to wait until we hear all the facts and both sides of the story, those voices were quickly silenced by people who believe that someone who was even accused of such terrible things deserves no say in the community at all in the future. This view, of course, neglects the fact that there are people who accuse

people falsely. It happened in the midst of this brouhaha that someone accused YouTubers Dan Howell and Phil Lester along the same vein, and then shortly after, confirmed that those allegations were fake. In this instance, we need to remember that there are not only people who are capable of doing terrible things behind closed doors and expecting to get away with it, but also people capable of slander.

In short, the shortcomings of persona theory are more to do with our unwillingness to consider that some people might actually be right than with any deficiency in the theory itself. Whether we are more predisposed to blame an alleged victim or an alleged attacker, we need to remember that all people are complex. Persona is definitely a theory well worth studying and using as a lens through which to assess texts. Its potential for applicability is broad, but we must remember to apply it equally and without restraint, rather than cherry-picking who we want to give the opportunity of complexity.

CHAPTER PREVIEWS

This thesis will consider the henceforth overlooked aspect of persona in the case of a persona that an audience ascribes onto a rhetor, whether or not that ascribed persona aligns with the one the rhetor himself puts forth. This introduction provides a background to persona studies as done so far and justification for the study.

Following this are three case studies: one in which these original and ascribed personas align and two in which they differ. For the sake of simplicity, all three case studies are on musical artists: though research on ascribed personas in other venues is certainly warranted, it is not within the scope of this thesis.

The first is on Enter the Haggis/Jubilee Riots, the aforementioned inspiration for this thesis. When Enter the Haggis shifted genres and changed names, their audience stayed mostly the same. The next is Taylor Swift, an artist who decided to change her musical style after an already successful career as a country-western-pop princess to an electronic-dance-pop diva. With this change came a change in audience as well, which will factor into this analysis. The last is on Cher, who has long been viewed by her audience as a positive force for the marginalized orientation, gender alignment, and intersex (MOGAI) community, even though she has never explicitly aligned herself with this cause. Since she has also never denied it, though, it can be said that this ascribed persona aligns with the one she herself puts forth.

The final chapter will show how all three case studies work together to illustrate the concept of ascribed persona and discuss the implications therein. I will briefly discuss other ways this theory could be applied for analysis and end with a call for more research on the subject.

CHAPTER 2

ENTER THE HAGGIS

Enter the Haggis is a band that is no stranger to change. In roughly 2000, four of the band's five members left and were replaced by four new people. In 2010, the band's drummer left and another stepped in. Their musical style has changed over the years, both with the lineup changes and simply as they have grown in their musical tastes. Not to mention, the band have grown as people throughout the time they have spent touring. Rather than fall apart because of all this change, Enter the Haggis have learned to thrive off of it, and in 2014, decided to make the grandest change of all: they changed their name. This was both a result of their previous changes in musical style and a cry to listeners who continued to categorize them as their old genre to recognize that they have grown from that. This chapter will provide a more detailed introduction to the rhetorical situation before analyzing both the name change and the fans' reactions.

BACKGROUND

Enter the Haggis first started touring in Toronto, Ontario on March 18, 1995. Back then, they performed traditional Celtic songs updated to fit more of a pop-folk genre, as well as some original songs in the same gimmicky style. Despite this 'updated' aspect, though, all their music remained definitively Celtic in nature. To add to this assessment, most of the members would wear kilts during concerts and bagpipes were featured in nearly every song. Of course, the band's name played a large part in defining their genre, too. Their first studio album *Let the Wind Blow High* only solidified their

place in this genre with “tweaked, fun versions of Celtic jigs” like “Bagpipes on Mars” and “The Mexican Scotsman.”¹

The band’s first major change occurred after this first album was released, when their roster changed significantly. Four of the members left for various reasons and were replaced by guitarist Trevor Lewington, percussionist James Campbell, fiddler and pianist Brian Buchanan, and bassist Mark Abraham — piper and multi-instrumentalist Craig Downie is the only original member still in the band. With this lineup change came also a shift in their musical style: their next album, the 2002 *Aerials*, featured far more electric guitar and exuded an overall more ‘rock’ feel than the previous album. The band also took itself more seriously with this album than they did in *Let the Wind Blow High*: the songs on *Aerials* left behind the kitschy feel of “Bagpipes on Mars,” opting this time to update the traditional Irish airs and reels to a modern rock genre (see the songs “Aerials” and “Star of the County Down,” among others). It also included original songs (such as “December Ends” and “Half a Hero”) inspired by the angst and emotion ever-present in traditional Irish music.

As the band grew in popularity over time, they eventually signed to the label United For Opportunity, which produced four of their albums from 2005’s *Casualties of Retail* to 2009’s *Gutter Anthems*. The label encouraged the band to continue playing Celtic-inspired music as music within a niche is, in general, easier to sell than generic rock music or, even worse, an album that spans several genres. Not to mention, Celtic and Irish festivals are easy for such bands to book and bring in lots of ticket and merchandise sales. However, the band had been dabbling in rock music since *Aerials* in 2002, and

Downie's bagpipes had been making less of an appearance on each successive album. In an effort to break out of the mold and do more world-inspired music with a rock base rather than Celtic, in 2010 they went rogue and split from the label.

Their next three albums were produced entirely through crowdfunding—the band only worked with a label for production of physical CDs, and had no creative ties with them. The first of these, *Whitelake* (2011), had only one song with bagpipes (“The Basket or the Blade”). The overall feel of this album was different from anything they had done before. It explored the many directions the band had been wanting to try, such as combining “mandolin, accordion, trumpet, and ukulele to the usual compliment of fiddle, bagpipes, harmonica, and a roots-rock rhythm section. [This] result[ed] in an album which is timeless and familiar while being undeniably contemporary.”² This also meant that the album traversed several genres rather than pigeonholing itself, as their previous albums had done. While some fans had picked up on the fact that the band had wanted to try new things, and as a result found this change to be a relief, others thought the album suffered “a bit from a lack of direction.”³

Such changes continued in their next two albums, *The Modest Revolution* (2013) and *Penny Black* (2014), both concept albums, as the band continued to grow and diversify their sound. Every song on *The Modest Revolution* was based off of stories found in the March 30, 2012 issue of the Toronto newspaper *The Globe and Mail*. For *Penny Black*, the band issued a call for stories “that the world needs to hear,” to which fans responded in droves.⁴ Each song was based on one of those stories that the fans shared. In both of these albums, again, the only musical theme was diversity. An

Amazon.com reviewer under the screen name “wine country” posted, “Don't think that because you have heard this CD that you know this band's music, because NONE of their music ‘sounds the same’ like it does with other bands, ETH's music is all so different, all original.”⁵ Another reviewer said “*The Modest Revolution* is at once folk, celtic, rock pop, bluesy, and melancholy.”⁶ By this point, the band had undeniably shifted from being definitively one genre to spanning multiple.

Before releasing *Penny Black*, Enter the Haggis finally made the decision to change their name to reflect their changing music style. They settled on “Jubilee Riots” as an homage both to their Celtic roots and their Toronto hometown.⁷ This caused much unrest amidst the fans, who were largely divided in their reactions. This disparity between the two groups of fans is fascinating, and will be explored more later in this chapter. The rest of this chapter will focus first on the letter the band wrote to their fans announcing the name change, as well as the name change itself. After that, I will discuss the audience’s reaction to the name change, and finally what all this means for ascribed persona.

WHAT HAPPENED: FROM THE BAND’S PERSPECTIVE

On September 8, 2014, fiddler Brian Buchanan posted a link to the Enter the Haggis Facebook page with the caption, “Ok everyone. Here goes nothing.”⁸ That link led to the letter written by the members of the band to their fans introducing and explaining their name change (see appendix for full text). In the letter, the band attempted to show the changes in the band over time that justified and called for the name change,

asserted that they (Jubilee Riots) did not operate within the Celtic genre anymore, and assured fans that this decision was not made lightly.

First, the letter made clear that the only thing about the band that is changing *right now* is the name, since the major changes had already happened. It would be disastrous for the band to simply say ‘We’re a completely different band now’—fans would desert left and right. They might read it as a betrayal of their support and commitment. Rather, a more diplomatic way to put this is to say ‘Look, we’ve already changed, and this is how. You’ve already accepted that and supported us through it, so we trust that you’ll be able to support us through this, too.’ Near the beginning of the letter, the band took this tactic by stating that “During this time, we’ve tried to push ourselves to continue learning and improving as musicians, songwriters and hopefully, as people.”⁹ Shortly later, they followed this up with an assertion of trust in the fans: “We’ve faced many difficult decisions over the years, but have always been empowered to move forward with them thanks in large part to your strong belief in us. Your loyalty and support have allowed us the freedom to take musical risks and make tough career choices, such as the one we’re announcing today.”¹⁰ This persuasive tactic used the human mind’s need for consistency to convince the reader that since they’ve supported the band in the past, they ought to remain consistent and continue supporting them in the future.

This tactic was also at work in the band’s attempt to use language that points out the changes the band has undergone, as well as language that downplays those changes. They started out by saying that “Enter The Haggis is a different band today than it was [in 1995], with Craig remaining as the only original member. Most of us were teenagers

when we joined Enter The Haggis and today some of us are married and have kids of our own. Many of you have witnessed this transformation before your very eyes.”¹¹ The word “transformation” in particular directed attention to the fact that the members of the band had changed over the years. Near the end of the letter, though, the band reassured the reader that they hadn’t changed *too* much: “Rest assured that when you come to a show you’ll find the same five guys pouring their hearts and souls out on the stage, playing all of your favourite ETH songs, happy to say hello and share a pint with new and familiar faces.”¹² Rather than negating the earlier contentions of change, this sentence served more to demonstrate that although people *do* change, they are *still the same people*. Fans had already been witnessing this change in motion, whether they had realized it or not.

The next major aim of the letter was directed at those who hadn’t realized the changes for whatever reason. “We’re very proud of our history as Enter The Haggis, but the legacy of that name no longer fits our identity. While it does convey the Celtic side of what we do, it also paints a one-dimensional picture that doesn’t represent our varied musical influences.”¹³ They also made this inescapably clear with a definition of their new musical style—“As for our new music, we describe it as ‘Northern Roots Rock.’ We feel that that speaks to our Canadian spin on American roots music and our use of traditional instruments with a rock edge”¹⁴—as well as by addressing directly the issue of fans bringing up old songs that the band no longer plays. This appeared in the more light-hearted ‘questions’ section of the letter: “YOU: Will you continue to play my favorite ETH songs? / US: Yes! / YOU: Great, I want to hear “Donald, Where’s Yer Troosers?” / US: No. / YOU: But - / US: NO.”¹⁵ They drove the point home by mentioning that they

have “been wrestling with the idea since 2004,” and that “this debate has come up with every new album.”¹⁶ All this served to bring back on board the fans who were less accepting of the name change because of their out-of-date perception of the band, while also having the secondary effect of congratulating those who had kept up. In an effort to soften the blow for the first group, though, the band also mentioned the common thread through all their music which has never changed: folk music. “Folk music focuses on the power of meaningful lyrics, which continues to be a focus in our writing.”¹⁷ The use of the word “continues” in particular showed that those fans from the band’s Celtic era have not been forgotten.

As another point of reconciliation for fans who may have felt left behind, the band asserted that this decision was not made on a whim. An entire paragraph was devoted to affirming the band’s devotion to their fans:

We know that our music has been a part of many of your lives for a long time and that you have special memories associated with coming to our shows over the years, so we did not make this decision lightly. You were instrumental in the creation of the forthcoming album, Penny Black. You wrote us the letters that inspired the lyrics, you gave us your hard-earned money to pay for the recording expenses, and some of you even lent us your voices in the studio. With that in mind, we're asking for your understanding and support for our decision.¹⁸

In the ‘questions’ section, they took a lighter tone in confessing that they were afraid of how the fans might have reacted. “YOU: This is a great decision and I support you 100%! / US: That’s not a question but THANK GOD!!! We thought you were going to hate us.”¹⁹ As for those fans who had gone so far as to get tattoos of the band’s symbol or lyrics, the band said that Buchanan was “collecting the names of everyone with ETH

ink - once he's confident he has a comprehensive list, he's going to design a tattoo for himself with all of your initials, so we can carry all of you forward with us."²⁰

The band wanted the fans to know that they cared about them and weren't trying to ditch them, disappear, or leave anyone behind. They simply wanted to be forthcoming and clear about who they were "as musicians and as people"²¹—something they could not do with a name that did not truthfully describe them as they were.

The name change was a rhetorical act in that it had serious real-world implications. Although a name change might sound like a career killer to marketing or business executives, for Jubilee Riots, it was a necessary drastic measure to make it clear to the world that they had changed. As Burke noted, "to begin with 'identification' is, by the same token ... to confront the implications of *division*."²² Hear, hear.

Two main marketing concepts that the change affected were name recognition and branding. The band had already spent nineteen years building up a fanbase under the name "Enter the Haggis." As one fan said on Facebook, "You spent all this time building a brand...I don't get it."²³ From a marketing perspective, the change made no sense. Changing the band's name meant that they lost all name recognition, along with the brand loyalty that came with that recognition. Consider the fans who hadn't kept up with Enter the Haggis for a few years: if they now were to come across a new album by the band, rather than recognizing the name Enter the Haggis, remembering the good memories they have associated with that band, and therefore choosing to buy the album, they might instead not give it a second thought since they would not recognize the band name.

Changing the name meant losing a significant amount of the more casual fanbase, which in turn meant a significant loss of revenue.

The change also caused problems from a branding standpoint. With a name like “Enter the Haggis” came the connotation of Celtic and Irish music, which is a gold mine for a band. Celtic and Irish music is easy to sell—the genre is alive and well among Americans who enjoy exploring their familial roots and heritage. Celtic and Irish festivals are also thriving. For example, the Milwaukee Irish Fest, “the world’s largest celebration of Celtic music and culture,” featured over 100 different Celtic entertainment acts in 2015.²⁴ As Enter the Haggis, the band played several different Celtic and Irish festivals every year. Booking these festivals was as easy as calling them up and saying, “Hello, we’re Enter the Haggis and we’d like to play your festival.” One can almost hear the operator saying delightedly, “Yes please; you’ll fit right in.” The name “Jubilee Riots,” though, doesn’t have an attached genre. As such, things wouldn’t be so simple in the future.

The easy way to make money in the music industry is to find a niche and exploit it. The British band Mumford & Sons are an excellent example of this: they found and exploited the niche of acoustic-rock. Their first two albums consist of twenty-four different recordings that each use the same formula: slow, angsty opening; lyric-driven, moving mid-section; furious, erratic banjo climax; and finally Marcus Mumford lamenting his sorrows and/or hope. They became a band in 2007, signed to a label in 2009, were nominated for two Grammy awards in 2010, produced a sophomore album that debuted at number one on the US Billboard 200 in 2012, went on hiatus for two

years, then came back to headline the 2015 Bonnaroo Music Festival.²⁵ If only things could be so easy for a band that knows how to play more than one song.²⁶

This is certainly an effective business strategy, but for Jubilee Riots, one of the main reasons behind the name change was to *stop* being pigeonholed into the Celtic music genre. Enter the Haggis had already been working on slowly changing their musical style for years, which the aforementioned Celtic festivals had begun to notice. For example, the Dayton, Ohio Celtic Festival last booked Enter the Haggis in 2012 and had not renewed that booking since. Taking the easy way out would be retaining the pigeonholing name and exploiting the niche as much as they could. For this band, though, that simply wasn't possible anymore.

In this case, Irish festivals choosing to drop the band was not necessarily a bad thing: at least they *noticed* that the band was changing. While festivals may have picked up on the fact that Enter the Haggis were not a gimmicky Celtic band anymore, many listeners weren't hearing it. In comparing their earlier music to later, though, the shift becomes clear. Their earlier albums such as *Let the Wind Blow High* and *Aerials* involved lots of unaltered bagpipes and fiddle as lead parts, instruments often heard in traditional Celtic music. Their later albums still used these instruments, but in very different styles and in addition to lots of other instruments with various origins. The bagpipes still made an appearance once or twice on each later album, but more as a supportive instrument, not leading. During more recent live shows, Downie would often use his electric bagpipes rather than uilleann or Highland pipes. The fiddle was also still used in most songs, but Buchanan altered its sound using distortion pedals, which gave it a more 'rock'

feel than ‘traditional.’²⁷ The band has also experimented lately with a wide variety of instruments such as brass instruments, pianorgans, and African drums.

Despite all these changes, many fans either failed to or chose not to notice the band’s evolution. As one fan said in a Facebook comment, “As long as you remain a Celtic Rock band, or at least a heavily influenced Celtic Rock band- which is how I fell in love with your music -I think I can survive a name change.”²⁸ This situation of people ascribing a persona onto the band led to their having to act according to that persona, even though it was not what they wanted to do.

The band consisting of Mark Abraham, Brian Buchanan, Craig Downie, Trevor Lewington, and Bruce McCarthy was not a Celtic band anymore. They no longer played the gimmicky Scottish “Donald Where’s Your Troosers.”²⁹ The name change was a both drastic and necessary measure, an effort to scream at the world to listen, to please acknowledge that this band is *not what you say it is*. Breaking from their label wasn’t enough: the new name represented the freedom the band had finally found to explore all the music they wanted to without being tied down to one single genre by fans, label, or name.

WHAT HAPPENED: FROM THE AUDIENCE’S PERSPECTIVE

While the name change came as a welcome surprise to many fans, there were, inevitably, many who did not take it well. In an effort to mitigate this, the first Facebook post the band made about the name change featured a picture of the message “Exit the Haggis” and read, “Our biggest announcement ever,” leading fans to think that the band might be breaking up.³⁰ The band's drummer, Bruce McCarthy, commented on this post,

saying, "WHAT?!!! WHEN DID WE DECIDE THIS?!!!", which injected some much-needed humor into the situation.³¹ For some insight into the fans' reaction to the name change, this section will consider the comments made on this post by various fans.

The Good

For fans who had seen the change coming, it was exciting to hear about the new phase in the band's evolution. "I lost a ton of sleep last night worrying that you guys might continue to evolve as musicians and human beings, might continue to make complex and interesting music, and might actually make a few dollars along the way. Wait, no, I slept really well."³² Many found humor in the misdirection: "Did you give us a scary headline and a long lead-in just so people would be so relieved you're not splitting up that they would be okay with the name change? I'm onto you. But seriously, full support, guys! I'm happy for you. I notice your visual style is changing and I look forward to watching it develop for sure."³³ A common theme throughout such comments was fans reassuring the band that they had in fact noticed the changes: "Brave decision. Happy for you guys! You're growing and continuing to push the envelope."³⁴ Some took it upon themselves to admonish and guide other fans who might not be as happy with the situation:

For those of us who are fans (I assume if you're reading this you likely are) we've fervently and devotedly promoted the music, the name, and the ETH experience for a long time. Whether it's been 6 months, 6 years, or a decade, we've spread the word. As a largely word of mouth and "shared file" band, this support is priceless. I might suggest that now more than ever would be a very good time to redouble your efforts. Tell people about the name change, tell people about the band, share the music, share updates, invite people to shows, post links and videos. That's how this whole thing works. I saw many a panicked post from people who thought the band was calling it quits when they read the headlines. So what's

going to keep them going? You. Me. Us. Everyone. Don't let the name change slacken your commitment if you love the music and the band. Matter of fact, let it rejuvenate it! Bring on the Riots!³⁵

The Bad

There were some fans to whom the new name simply didn't appeal. "I am very disappointed Enter the Haggis is such a better and much much cooler name then Jubilee Riots."³⁶ "Not sure if I can openly admit that I went to see Jubilee Riots!"³⁷ Some were up-front about not liking change in general: "I fear change so I don't like it," and some thought the whole idea was ludicrous: "Your choice to abandon the name is a poor one. I like the music but as a fan I don't support this decision."³⁸

One running theme throughout the negative comments was fans who said that the change was okay as long as they wouldn't have to alter their own behavior: "I can live with this. But excuse me if I continue to refer to the band as just Haggis."³⁹ Others accepted it, but reluctantly: "Trying to be supportive, but this does hurt my heart a little."⁴⁰ "It'll take some getting used to, but as long as you still play the same music and stay together, that's all that matters to me."⁴¹ Another interesting subset was those fans who tried to give the band advice on the name change from either a music industry or a marketing perspective. These fans presented themselves as "concerned": "I'm concerned, as are others, about the brand equity you've already built up. ... The other issue is the new name you've chosen. I almost deleted Mark's invitation to Like your new page ... don't know how that's going to go over with new fans and venues. Hope it all works out for you guys."⁴²

The Ugly

From there, it only got worse. Some fans hoped that the change wasn't real ("What is this, some sort of Monty Python skit?"⁴³), succinctly expressed their dislike ("Really dumb."⁴⁴), or flat-out rejected the change completely ("Meh. You will always be ETH."⁴⁵). Some decided that the band simply wasn't worth any more of their time: "Lame. I hope this is a stupid prank. I won't be a fan anymore."⁴⁶ One even predicted that this would be the end of the band for good: "So disappointed. ETH used to rock, now they play vanilla pop music befitting a name like Jubilee Riots. Enjoy ETH's old music, they are gone and soon forgotten. I recommend The Glengarry Bhoys for good Irish music!"⁴⁷

By far the most common theme amongst these highly negative comments was one of perceived ownership over the band and their decisions: "This random new name doesn't truly mean anything to me."⁴⁸ For some of these fans, the change itself was a betrayal: "[T]his is so sad, ... Enter the Haggis has changed their name. Now it's Jubilee Riots...sounds like some old Hebrew children gone rogue...ick! ... I read the blurb but it's just SAD!"⁴⁹ For others, though, their sense of perceived ownership was so high that they felt slighted at not being involved in the change: "You could have asked our input for a name change. It's not like we all haven't thought 'anything else' since you started ETH."⁵⁰ The parasocial relationship between these fans and the band, which usually serves to help the band, in this case created a negative situation.

This concept of ownership and interactivity is a defining aspect of ascribed persona. Who has the control over the band's creative license, the band or the fans?

Although at the end of the day the band always made their own decisions, the fans felt a sense of control from having been granted a glimpse behind the curtain through the band treating them like people rather than the typical hierarchical band-fan relationship. When the band gave an inch, the fans took a mile.

WHAT IT MEANS FOR ASCRIBED PERSONA

Throughout all of the changes Enter the Haggis had been through, one constant had always been their interaction with their fans. Most of the members of the band come out into the audience after each show to say hello to any fans who want to talk to them. They use Twitter and YouTube in order to keep in touch with fans, but mostly Facebook, where they regularly post updates on their page and, on their personal profiles, accept friend requests from fans. They also often offer free early entrance to shows to a couple fans who agree to run the merchandise table for them, which also involves a bit of hangout time with the one of the members who manages their merchandise sales. The band clearly wanted not only to keep in touch with their fans, but create personal connections as well.

This had benefitted them in several ways, too. In the most obvious, when the band left their label and began crowdfunding their albums, their fans were ready and willing to step up and fund the album straight away—their first crowdfunded album hit its target in 12 hours and doubled it in 24. In another, as the band tours in areas far away from home, fans-turned-friends often offer to let the band stay at their homes rather than having to pay for hotel rooms.

With this in mind, it seems surprising that there were any fans who had not seen the name change coming. Many fans had already recognized the shifts in musical style and personal taste that the band members exhibited leading up to the decision and therefore accepted the name change gladly, feeling that it fit the band far better than the old, Celtic-sounding name did. As the band themselves said, they had been considering the change since 2004—it was not a new idea.⁵¹ For others, though, the change came as a complete shock and, in some cases, turned fans away from the band.

Ascribed persona was a major force at work in this situation. On the one hand, some fans ascribed a persona onto the band that matches the one the band projected. For these fans, since their idea of what the band was like aligned with the band's real-world actions, their parasocial relationships with the band were affirmed and possibly strengthened by the name change. For others who still thought of the band as Celtic, though, the sudden disconnect between their ideas and the band's actions left them feeling left behind or betrayed.

If there had been no ascribed persona in play here, fans would have had no presuppositions about what the band was like—they would simply have accepted the band's current status as a 'Northern roots rock' band. Thus, they would have their own opinions on the change, to be sure, but no one would have felt any negativity over it. The fact that some fans demonstrated a sense of ownership over the band and their decisions indicates that there were certainly parasocial relationships at work. The fact that some of those fans experienced feelings of betrayal shows both that they had had a certain idea in

their minds of what the band was like, and that that idea was wrong. This false idea is the ascribed persona.

As it is, the ascribed persona had various real-world effects. For some fans who had the ‘correct’ ascribed persona in mind, their sense of connection with the band was heightened, which meant that they would continue following the band in future. For others who had a different persona in mind, some said that they would stop coming to shows or buying the band’s music because of their sense of betrayal following the change. Keeping in mind the extent to which Enter the Haggis/Jubilee Riots goes to connect with their fans, it is difficult to say what the band could have done differently to minimize the disconnect between personas.

CONCLUSION

In the case study of Enter the Haggis/Jubilee Riots, there was tension between fans who held the ascribed persona of the band as a strictly Celtic one—and therefore for whom the name change was a dealbreaker—, and other fans who didn’t care what the band was called but simply felt loyalty toward the band and enjoyed the music they played. What makes these fans unique is the sense of ownership over the band’s decisions that they feel they have. What makes this band unique is their willingness to share some of the ownership of their artistic license with their fans—perhaps unwittingly through engaging with them.

I say ‘unwittingly’ because before the name change there had never been so large a shift on the Enter the Haggis horizon. While a precedent had been set, albeit loosely, of the band making decisions and asking fans’ opinions on those decisions both over social

media and in person, the fanbase had never before encountered a situation where they would feel the need to make their voices heard so vehemently. When the name change happened, though, the band simply writing a letter made the fans feel as though this decision wasn't a dialogue or a conversation, but left their voices out entirely. Of course, the fans were able to make their voices heard on social media, but the point is that *the decision had already been made without their input.*

The band may not have had much choice as to how to approach this, though. Telling people about the change in person at concerts would be out of the question since it wouldn't be fair—not all fans would hear the news at the same time, and even then, only a small percentage of all their fans are able to make it to shows. Additionally, one could argue that social media is simply too complex and multifaceted for the band to adequately respond to fans about such a huge decision. There were simply too many replies, comments, and emails for each to be addressed individually. There is also the possibility that the band suddenly realized the fans' ownership over their artistic license and left the fans out of the decision in reaction to this. All of this led the band into abandoning the it-takes-a-village-to-raise-a-band approach and making the standalone announcement instead.

For what it's worth, the band did make an effort. Members responded to select Facebook comments here and there, but their responses were by no means all-encompassing. They chose mainly to respond to positive comments in support of the name change, thanking people for their continued support, rather than discussing with

people who did not like it.⁵² One of the few instances of the latter was a response from Brian Buchanan, the usual social media user of the group, to a long-time fan's confusion:

P. W. Fenton: It doesn't make any sense. You didn't need to change your name. You're not changing personnel. You're not changing your musical style. You're not entering the witness protection program. You are not in a legal battle over its use. I'm a long time fan, and fervent promoter, but I find this move baffling.

Brian Buchanan: @P.W. Fenton - the thing is, the music HAS changed. Drastically. The question isn't why we're doing this now, it's why we didn't do it years ago. We've heard over and over throughout the years that people loved our music but only because a friend forced them to listen - that they never would have given a band with that name a chance. We want the music to stand on its own without being coloured by a niche specific name OR our own legacy - we aren't ashamed of our past but you have to admit it's confusing to hear Can't Trust The News on the radio, then search on Pandora and see "Top Tracks: Bagpipes on Mars". ;)⁵³

It's easy to imagine that continually having to explain oneself to people who simply will not agree with you would become tiring. The band already explained their decision in the letter—why keep repeating themselves to people who just don't see things the same way?

An Update, and the Real Conclusion

So should the band have done more? Absolutely, yes. With such a huge decision as this one, there is no being wishy-washy about it—a rhetor must commit and commit fully, or it won't work. In addition, with the precedent of fans being able to share their input, it's no wonder that many fans saw this as a betrayal.

The perfect-world scenario from the fans' point of view is that the band would have posted online that they were considering changing their name, had the fans vote on it, and *then*, if it was approved, ask the fans for suggestions for the new name. But this is

a perfect world only for the fans, and leaves the band's agency out entirely. If the band had engaged with their fans more in-depth on social media and not put up a brick wall about the situation, it's possible that they could have won more fans over to their side, even though the decision had already been made. As it is, fans were left to stew over the purported injustice of it all.

All this is evidenced by the fact that, roughly a year after switching to Jubilee Riots, the band changed their name *back* to Enter the Haggis. Of course, it's possible that other factors played a role as well: perhaps there was pressure from venues the band regularly played at, maybe from festivals, maybe from fans who are regular major financial backers. But it's also possible that this indicates that they ought to have engaged more with their fans about the name switch.

The authenticity with which Enter the Haggis present themselves to their fans, including their willingness to meet every fan and share with them their thoughts, stems from their commitment to being genuine and relatable with their fans, even to the point of forfeiting commercial success in favor of authenticity. This has created something of a feedback loop, though: the fans' expectation of authenticity from the band means that they must always be authentic, which leads to them being *too* authentic, and culminates in their authentic selves clashing with ascribed personas created by fans.

CHAPTER 3

TAYLOR SWIFT

Taylor Swift used to market greeting cards.¹ One of them features a list of “13 happy things” superimposed over a picture of daisies in a jar. The list includes things such as “worn in boots” and “kittens.”²

So much has changed since 2009.

Well, not the kittens. One constant in Taylor Swift’s life is her love of cats, which she posts about often on her Instagram and Tumblr accounts.³

Taylor Swift was very young when she started making country music in her bedroom using a guitar that seemed too big for her. We could say here that ‘the rest is history’—Swift’s success is record-breaking.⁴ As Ben Sisario at the *New York Times* put it, “one of the few certainties in the music business these days is that if Taylor Swift puts out a new album, it will sell by the truckload.”⁵ After growing up in country music, though, a flutter of pop music started edging its way into her albums, making itself definitively heard for the first time on a few songs in her 2012 album *Red*, and coming to a head in her 2015 album *1989*, which is completely pop and not at all country.

Swift’s switch from country to pop really did not come as a surprise⁶—many people had previously said that she ‘wasn’t really country,’ and a common review of *1989* was that it is a “symbolic rebirth severing the umbilical link to Nashville and the stylistic trappings of country.”⁷ The switch did not do much to hamper her success, anyway. In 2014, only one album prior to *1989* sold more than a million copies at all (the soundtrack

to the Disney movie *Frozen*), while *1989* sold 1.287 million physical copies in its first week alone, making it the fastest-selling album in twelve years without even counting digital sales.⁸

Another aspect of Taylor Swift that warrants mention is the way the media and tabloids seem to be fascinated with her love life. It seems that on any given day, some news outlet or other has released the “truth” about who Taylor Swift is dating today. In an interview, Swift talked about the “fictional character” the press describe and how it is truly nothing like her.⁹ This persona is important because it highlights the disparity between how Swift communicates with her fans online (in a highly relatable and authentic-seeming manner) and what people *want* to think of her—or, what will sell newspapers or garner views online.

The prevailing ascribed persona of Taylor Swift is that she was always a pop singer who was just pretending to be country, or ‘using’ country. Originally her ascribed persona and first persona differed, but after she shifted her style, they aligned. This chapter will follow much the same track as the last: I will begin with a background of Taylor Swift’s career before describing how the events surrounding her genre change happened from both her point of view and her audience’s. I will then take a slight detour to discuss in more detail how she handles the ascribed persona the media give her, and close with what this case study means for ascribed persona.

BACKGROUND

Evolution As An Artist

2012: *Red*

In 2012, Swift's album *Red* came out, which featured three songs that were comparatively more pop than country: "22," "I Knew You Were Trouble," and "We Are Never Ever Getting Back Together." Each of these is followed on the track listing by a song indicative of a return to her country roots.¹⁰ Swift described the album as a "patchwork quilt of different sounds and different emotions" on which "each song stands on its own."¹¹ The fact that there were going to be genre changes was known ahead of time; according to one journalist, "country purists" were "foaming at the mouth ever since rumors began to circulate about how Swift's new album would include a dubstep track."¹²

While fans may not have been happy about the changes and the album may not have impressed critics as much as her previous efforts, *Red* was an immediate success, as all Taylor Swift albums are.¹³ It sold 1.208 million copies in its first week, more than any other since 2002.¹⁴ One reviewer said that even though *Red* "is ultimately too uneven to be a truly great pop album, its highlights are career-best work for Swift, who now sounds like the pop star she was destined to be all along."¹⁵ *Red* seems to be the turning point at which, if fans hadn't recognized Swift as pop before, they certainly would now. "The bulk of *Red* only confirms what 'We Are Never Ever Getting Back Together' first hinted at: that Swift is eager to embrace her status as a pop star. Considering that her material

has almost always been better when she loses the ill-fitting country signifiers and focuses on her uncanny gift for writing pop hooks, it's a smart, if overdue, move for Swift."¹⁶

A theme that continued from her earlier music to this album is her authenticity and relatable quality. Reviewers said that her “remarkable ability to be relatable and personable within her songwriting will keep her at the top—whether there’s a banjo or an electric guitar playing along.”¹⁷ Some reviewers lauded her moxie in leaning into pop music, saying that she “is showing maturity less as an adult — though there is some of that—than as a strategist.”¹⁸

Even though *Red* clearly had one foot on either side of the country/pop border, country fans—though they are a territorial bunch—did not exile Swift just yet. In fact, she said that one of the things that she was happiest with in 2012 was “the acceptance level in country music for me experimenting and for me trying to evolve and challenge myself musically. ... I think it’s never felt better to be on that stadium stage performing knowing that everyone’s been so welcoming of change.”¹⁹

Well, it was fun while it lasted.

2015: 1989

In stark contrast to the patchwork quilt of *Red*, *1989* was Swift’s “most sonically cohesive album [she has] ever made.”²⁰ *Red* was a country album featuring three pop songs—*1989* is a pop album with no country songs at all.

The theme of this album (and, indeed, of this era in Swift’s career) seems to be *unapologetic*. According to Swift, when she first sent the album in, the head of her label asked her if she could just add in three country songs, to which she responded: “This is

how it's going to be."²¹ Swift said about the conversation: "I was trying to make the most honest record I could possibly make, and they were kind of asking me to be a little disingenuous about it: 'Let's capitalize on both markets.' No, let's not. Let's choose a lane."²²

When Swift announced the album to the public, she introduced it as her "very first documented official pop album"²³—what one reviewer called "some pre-emptive damage control."²⁴ Such damage control proved to be unnecessary, though: *1989* sold 5 million copies in 36 weeks—the fastest any album has done so in ten years.²⁵ While *Red* kept a foot on each side of the fence, *1989* makes no such concessions: Swift's "transition from crossover country phenomenon to unqualified pop star" is complete.²⁶

Another thing that changed in *1989* is the point of view, or mindset, of Swift's songs. In older songs such as 'Should've Said No' or 'Forever & Always' (among others), Swift portrayed "herself as the victim in all the relationship dynamics, a passive way of getting revenge."²⁷ This reviewer claims that the shift is "a benefit of ditching country parochialism for pop's female-dominated fracas."²⁸ It is true that country music is currently dominated by men, although this is more of a recent phenomenon, while pop, on the other hand, is experiencing its phase of being female-led.²⁹ With Swift, though, this is far less likely to be a side effect of anything than it is forethought and planned out. As Swift herself said, "You can be accidentally successful for three or four years. Accidents happen. But careers take hard work."³⁰

Taylor Swift has always kept control of her own career. As early as 2006, she notably refused to sell the rights to any of the about 250 songs she had already written

when her first album, *Taylor Swift*, was released.³¹ Instead of letting other artists use them, she chose to “stockpile” them to use in her own future records.³² And lest any fans think that Swift was helicopter-parented into stardom, “my parents have never pushed me. It’s always been [my] desire and love to do this.”³³

With all the agency Swift demonstrates about her career, it is surprising that it did not make itself known in her lyrics until her fifth studio album (*1989*). Even though she may not have written about or acknowledged her feminist side, though, Swift has always been a feminist role model. Lena Dunham, creator of the television show *Girls*, said of Swift: “She runs her own company, she’s creating music that connects to other women instead of creating a sexual persona for the male gaze, and no one is in control of her. If that’s not feminism, what is?”³⁴

Indeed, Swift’s more recent “friendships with young feminists like Lorde, *Rookie* editor Tavi Gevinson, and ... Lena Dunham are clearly, as she’s often said lately, broadening her concepts of female potential.”³⁵ Such friendships are role models in and of themselves for young girls, demonstrating young women building each other up, being positive for each other rather than gaining popularity by tearing each other down. Although at times, these friendships can seem like a ploy for popularity in their own right, with Swift, calculation and authenticity go hand in hand.

Authenticity And Cultivating A Fanbase

In many different genres of the music industry, authenticity is a necessary quality. Singer Lana del Rey was attacked by critics online after it came out that del Rey, who had risen to popularity based on her every-girl, trailer park past, was actually Elizabeth Grant,

a woman whose wealthy father paid professional songwriters and managers to create her image.³⁶

Taylor Swift has no such problems. Within her music, her “lyrical naturalism” is an aspect often lauded by critics and fans.³⁷ “Swift writes about her life so directly that the listener is forced to think about her persona in order to fully appreciate what she’s doing creatively.”³⁸ Outside of her music, though, Taylor Swift uses social media to interact with her fans and maintain her authenticity. She often comments on fans’ Instagram posts.³⁹ Her Tumblr often includes birthday wishes to fans and small updates on her life such as: “My home phone is ringing. I did not know I had a home phone. Interesting development.”⁴⁰ This has built her a “fan coalition” that transcends genre lines.⁴¹

With all the calculation a “fan coalition” necessitates, it seems like Swift’s authenticity might be negated by its very orchestration. By all accounts, though, this is not the case: “her entire ethos is based on experiencing (and interpreting) how her insane life would feel if she were exactly like the type of person who’d buy a ticket to this particular concert,” referring to a concert on the *1989* tour at which Justin Timberlake was a surprise guest.⁴² “It’s less about reputation management and strategy and vanity than it is about trying to desperately preserve self-awareness, since that seems to be the first thing to go out the door when people find success,” she said.⁴³

WHAT HAPPENED: FROM THE AUDIENCE’S PERSPECTIVE

Maintaining a façade of authenticity, though, often comes across as just that: a façade. While there are many fans who accept whatever she says without a second

thought, there are also those who believe there is a more sinister force behind the superstar. And then there are those who cannot voice what they truly think, just in case it gets back to Swift and she writes a song about you.

One consultant to country radio stations said after the release of *1989* that “a lot of folks wished that she would have done some songs that would be more compatible with country radio, but she hasn’t.”⁴⁴ A director of a country music radio station said that “Taylor is one of us, one of our children. . . . You’re there for them along the way, and then they need to go to what they are going to do. She’s gotten to where she is through country music, and if she goes on to be the next pop sensation around the world, we are behind her 100 percent.”⁴⁵ It would seem that country music still cares about Taylor, but does Taylor care about country music? One jaded reviewer had the following to say:

Then Scott Borchetta tells *Rolling Stone*, “*But when she comes to town, her friends at country radio will come and see her.*” This seems to allude that Borchetta and Taylor Swift don’t think they even really need country radio anymore, they’re planning without it, and can trump radio politics with the strength of Taylor’s touring might. They care so little about the acceptance of Taylor’s music by country, they’re downright flippant, unconcerned about it.⁴⁶

Some fans pair their distaste with a sense of inevitability. “What are the two biggest criticisms Taylor has faced over her career? That she can’t sing, and she’s not country. . . . Taylor has at least reined in her singing problems to some extent. And if she leaves country, this will put this long-suffering debate about if she’s country or not to bed for good.”⁴⁷

This debate about Swift’s musical orientation seems to be mostly a one-sided one. Genius.com forum user UOENOA said, “I feel like the change [from country to pop] was gradual, but this new stuff was the point that Taylor stopped trying to act country

anymore.”⁴⁸ A fan called Tessa left this comment to the article “Taylor Swift is Leaving Country. But Will Country Let Her?”: “To me she was never 100% country. I always thought she was more pop.”⁴⁹ One reviewer calls *Red* a “survey course in contemporary pop,” saying that Swift’s “material has almost always been better when she loses the ill-fitting country signifiers and focuses on her uncanny gift for writing pop hooks.”⁵⁰ Swift “has always been a pop star in a country context more than a country star. ... [Her] country membership has never been that firm.”⁵¹ For these fans, “it was never a question of whether Ms. Swift would become a pure pop star; the only question was what sort.”⁵²

The prevailing ascribed persona is that Taylor Swift was always a pop musician waiting in the wings of country. One interpretation of the title of *1989* is that it has two counterbalancing meanings: “the ’80s framing story helps sustain the thread of quaintness and small-town nostalgia to which many of her long-term fans are attached. But the personal meaning is utterly about living in the big old city, about ‘someday’ becoming *now*.”⁵³ Another interpretation of *1989* being promoted by Swift as an “’80s album” is that Swift is trying to

nominate herself as the new Madonna—the multiple-threat female performer defined by her command of both destiny and zeitgeist. She’s a business, man. In the very act of switching genres, she’s emulating Madonna’s mutability, her multiple opportunistic identities. Again, like Madonna, she’s hinting, “Taylor Swift” is in many ways both corporation and constructed character.⁵⁴

But of course the “Taylor Swift” fans know is a constructed character. In order to further her ‘corporation,’ Swift has to consider everything she does before she does it. Whether this has affected her music, though, is another question. *1989* can be “difficult to hear as music as much as career maneuver, with [Swift’s] personal life as a kind of sub-

metafiction within that career. In this sense *1989* is about making hits about hits, money out of money—about compounding interest and deriving derivatives.”⁵⁵

Is this not more authentic than ever, though? As she said of *1989*, “I was trying to make the most honest record I could possibly make.” this *is* her life.⁵⁶ Swift’s life consists of making hits. Her life *is* unbelievable encounters with famous people, touring all over the world, being recognized everywhere you go. Authenticity, clearly, does not equal *relatable*. *1989*, to many fans, is “selling herself out,” a “real tragedy.”⁵⁷

Of course, it’s possible that these decisions weren’t even Swift’s at all, but an overarching manager’s or other investor’s. For example, the decision to bring Max Martin, a noted pop-hit producer, into the mix for the pop songs on *Red* and most of *1989*

is arguably the most important, most defining moment in Taylor Swift’s entire career up to this point, and interestingly enough, it wasn’t instigated by her. It was Scott Borchetta that made the decision to bring Max Martin in, and the result has been a big shift from substantive songwriting with country pop flavor, to the pop-only, vapid stylings of Max Martin, bringing in dub-step and other influences completely foreign to country music, and resulting in shallow compositions like “We Are Never Ever Getting Back Together.” Of course Taylor Swift is not completely innocent in this dramatic, and defining career shift, but its origination point is undoubtedly Borchetta.⁵⁸

Some reviewers even go far enough to accuse the first song on the album, ‘Welcome to New York,’ of being a “commercial,” rather than honest excitement about moving to a new city.

Today, in addition to being release day for Swift’s new album, *1989*, is also the day New York City’s tourism department announced Swift as the city’s new “Global Welcome Ambassador.” Surprise! That wasn’t a single we were all listening to last week—it was a commercial.⁵⁹

Another fan points out that

If you're young and hungry, moving to New York takes a leap of faith and an acceptance that life will be difficult and finding your way won't come easily. Swift's New York is passive; it's a city that's 'been waiting for you,' which is a completely unrecognizable aspect of a place that's the Grave Digger of naive kids who come here to make it. New York waits for no one—that's supposed to be why when you get here, you hustle or you die. Well, maybe not die, but you do wind up moving to St. Louis.⁶⁰

The problem with this interpretation is that, as we have already seen, Swift's life is not like that of the "naive kids who come here to make it." Taylor Swift is already an unmitigated success: she can go where she wants and do what she wants. Unlike for the rest of us, New York *does* wait for Taylor.

The same reviewer goes on to say that "Taylor Swift has written an anthem not for the city, not even for its hopeful transplants, but for its transient oligarch class."⁶¹ Perhaps Swift has lost touch with her everygirl roots. Perhaps her songs are outgrowing her target audience, becoming more and more for the 'one-percent.' As one bitter reviewer wrote, "If Taylor Swift is truly leaving country, it's hard to declare a victory for country music here, or for Taylor Swift. Without the support of country, and with the presence of Max Martin, there's likely going to be a lot less trophies adorning Taylor's mantle."⁶²

But *1989*'s success might beg to differ.

WHAT HAPPENED: FROM TAYLOR'S PERSPECTIVE

When she first turned in the record, she says the head of her label, Scott Borchetta, told her, "This is extraordinary – it's the best album you've ever done. Can you just give me three country songs?"

"Love you, mean it," is how Swift characterizes her response. "But this is how it's going to be."⁶³

Back in 2008, Taylor Swift had no pop superstar aspirations. Country music was always going to be the first priority, and if a pop hit came out of that, all the better. Pop seemed like a far-off goal, a “moving target.”⁶⁴ If anything, Swift paved the way for country stars to be pop stars too—far from staying in her own lane, Swift seemed poised to use the synergy of the two together to create something bigger than the sum of its parts.⁶⁵

Taylor Swift did a lot for country music. A self-proclaimed “kid of the Internet,” “growing up MySpace was all the rage in middle school and going into junior high ... [social media] is the way you communicated with each other.”⁶⁶ Where pop, rap, and other genres’ artists had already begun to take their fanbases online, this was a new phenomenon for country music, and Swift did it without even trying. Not to mention, social media inherently brings with it a younger audience, which means more and more young people got into country music with every Tweet, Facebook, and Instagram post that Swift made.⁶⁷ It’s easy to see why country music wouldn’t want to lose someone so influential. In addition, changing from country to pop means leaving behind country radio stations, an important part of maintaining her popularity.⁶⁸ Country music is growing: in 2014, country music “displaced Top 40 as America’s most popular musical format.”⁶⁹ ““But at a certain point,’ [Swift] says, ‘if you chase two rabbits, you lose them both.’”⁷⁰

As Carl Wilson of *Slate* points out, the move seems backwards.⁷¹ Country is a genre that reeks of down-home, everyday music about down-home, everyday people. For an artist who has built her fanbase on her authenticity and relatability, country would be a natural home. Not to mention, Swift is growing up: moving from country, an adult-

dominated genre, to pop, with its tweens and teenyboppers, seems like a regression. But Swift has always had to act older than her age: in meetings with songwriters throughout her career, “I knew every writer I wrote with was pretty much going to think, ‘I’m going to write a song for a 14-year-old today.’ ... So I would come into each meeting with 5 to 10 ideas that were solid. I wanted them to look at me as a person they were writing with, not a little kid.”⁷² Moving to pop lets Swift “act her actual age and, frankly, her stratospheric social class—more urbane and sharp-edged but also Instagram-filtered.”⁷³ The title of *1989* hits this home: since it’s the year of her birth, listeners cannot help but be reminded that they are listening to a (then-)25-year-old, and that she is more successful at that age than you likely ever will be.

“Shake It Off,” the first single released from *1989*, “reached No. 1 on Billboard’s pop charts even though it was largely ignored by country radio stations, once her biggest promoters.”⁷⁴ Her success makes her all the less relatable as she becomes less and less of an everygirl with every record sold, something of which she is very aware. One of the most stark examples of this is when she pulled her music from the online streaming service Spotify in 2014 because she made significantly less money from Spotify than from streams of her videos on Vevo. Scott Borchetta, the head of her label, said that “the music industry was much better off before Spotify ... What about the rest of the artists out there struggling to make a career?”⁷⁵

What, indeed? Taylor Swift has the name recognition necessary for listeners to want to buy an album before they even hear it; most up-and-coming bands have no such luxury. In pulling her support for Spotify entirely, she eschewed the paradigm that most

small artists use, which seems as though she also pulled her support from the artists. If she had used her power for good—for example, perhaps to get Spotify to increase the amount that they pay artists for streaming rights, as she did when Apple planned not to pay artists for streams of their music during the three-month free trial period of Apple Music⁷⁶—Swift might have come out on the top side of this situation.

With all the foresight Swift has about her career, though, she is well aware that her relatability is dwindling. Her plan of action, as it always has been, is social media: “All I can do is put up a MySpace video where I don’t have any makeup on and am wearing a periodic table of the elements T-shirt.”⁷⁷

Taylor In Charge

1989 was by no means a burning of bridges, or houses.

I feel no need to burn down the house I built by hand. I can make additions to it. I can redecorate. But I built this. And so I’m not going to sit there and say, “Oh, I wish I hadn’t had corkscrew-curly hair and worn cowboy boots and sundresses to awards shows when I was 17; I wish I hadn’t gone through that fairy-tale phase where I just wanted to wear princess dresses to awards shows every single time.” Because I made those choices. I did that. It was part of me growing up. It wasn’t some committee going, “You know what Taylor needs to be this year?” And so with *1989*, I feel like we gave the entire metaphorical house I built a complete renovation and it made me love the house even more—but still keeping the foundation of what I’ve always been.⁷⁸

1989 is more than anything an evolution, a coming-of-age. Unlike many of her contemporaries who “claim their self-determination by aggressively projecting sexuality,” Swift has no need “to assert her autonomy so wildly—as a singer-songwriter, Taylor’s always seemed to be in charge of Taylor. The problem was who Taylor was.”⁷⁹

Do we really know Taylor? Does Taylor, even?

Well, here's what we know: To start with, Taylor Swift didn't want to "exploit an entire genre" for the sake of keeping feathers unruffled. "A big goal of mine was to make this album very sonically cohesive. ... So if I were to put a fiddle on a version of 'Shake It Off' and service it to country radio, that would've completely shattered the entire idea I had that this album was going to have its own sound."⁸⁰ In other words, better to keep the album consistent with her vision for it than to go against it for the sake of pleasing a few other people, or a significant portion of her fanbase. Taylor is self-absorbed and unwilling to make concessions for her fans—or, Taylor is sure of herself, confident that her ideas will work, true to her art.

Taylor drops to the floor in the middle of a concert, letting her hair fall over the edge of the stage as fans pat her head, consoling her. She's just finished singing a song about a boy who cheated on her. She later tells a reporter that "Intimidation isn't what [she's] going for."⁸¹ She wants you know what her songs are about, to think of her albums as diary entries.⁸² Taylor is going through the motions, telling fans what they want to hear to make them think she's relatable when there's no way she could really be—or, Taylor does what she can to connect with her audience, opening her heart to her fans in an effort to keep herself grounded.

Taylor hates it when you have a song stuck in your head and don't know what it's about. "We wanted to keep this pop clean and good and right," Taylor said of *1989*.⁸³ Taylor is elitist—or, Taylor wants to jump into pop by doing it the right way, rather than resting on her laurels.

It's all in what you want to see.

TAYLOR AND THE TABLOIDS

*“It’s ironic that Swift, who has often spoken of having lived through a miserable middle-school experience ... now finds herself at the center of a celebrity culture infused with all the meanness of junior high.”*⁸⁴

Taylor Swift didn’t start out as such a teddy bear. Her earlier albums were full of the same meanness and slut-shaming currently being thrown at her—see “You Belong with Me” or “Better than Revenge” for examples. But as we’ve already seen, Swift has made great strides in her journey towards becoming a feminist. She’s surrounded herself with friends who are good role models not only for her, but also for her fans.⁸⁵ *1989* features only one song that is (allegedly) about another girl (Katy Perry), ‘Bad Blood,’ but even then, it’s about a feud between the two girls, not about the other girl stealing Swift’s boyfriend or being a slut.⁸⁶ Swift told a journalist that Katie Couric is one of her favorite people “because she said to me she had heard a quote that she loved ... that said, ‘There’s a special place in hell for women who don’t help other women.’”⁸⁷

No matter how progressive Taylor becomes, though, there will always be a “media hailstorm” of gossip websites stuck in the past—and she knows it.⁸⁸ “Everybody in these tabloidy gossipy blogs, ... they think they have you pegged, like ‘Taylor’s boy-crazy.’ And it’s why I have to avoid the tabloid part of our culture, because they turn you into a fictional character.”⁸⁹ In truth, Taylor has dated “exactly two people” since 2010.⁹⁰ She even addressed the disparity between her ascribed persona and her first persona head on via the song ‘Blank Space’ on *1989*: “If I separate myself from it, it’s actually a pretty complex character and she’s actually kind of exciting and interesting,” implying that her own life is neither, which, as we’ve already seen, is nowhere near true.⁹¹

That song [Blank Space] started out as a joke. I wrote it from the perspective of, just kind of being very well aware of the things that have been said about my personal life in the last couple of years ... so seeing that kind of take place and seeing how much these media sites were just reveling in it, I mean, they loved it, just like, “Look at the slideshow of Taylor’s ex-men!” And it was like I’d look at it, you know, and you click on it and it just drives you crazy! I don’t even know half of them, and that was one time we went to lunch, and we were friends or whatever.⁹²

Of course, there were some reviewers who didn’t get it and called the song one of her most “solipsistic,” but as Taylor herself said, “if you don’t get the joke, you don’t deserve to get the joke.”⁹³

Like the role model she is, though Taylor has her ways of keeping herself grounded. “You know what I always do? ... I have my sanity button that I push. I push this button that’s like ‘Stop complaining, your life’s great, stop, do not complain about this life, stop, this life is amaaaazing.’ Sanity button.”⁹⁴

WHAT IT MEANS FOR ASCRIBED PERSONA

When Taylor Swift was still releasing country music, there were many people — fans and critics alike — who believed that her goal was actually to make it in the pop genre, that she was just using country as a stepping stone. This situation seems on its face to be a bad one — if the audience feels that an artist is being untrue by releasing in the ‘wrong’ genre or worse, ‘using’ that genre, it seems that that should be seen as less authentic and thus result in lowered sales and less success. Swift seems to be impervious to this, though. She’s been successful; there’s no question about that. This group of fans had an ascribed persona of Swift as a pop artist which began as one that did not align with her first persona as a country artist. After she switched genres, though, the personas aligned. Thus for these fans, the switch was a positive thing.

On the other hand, there were also fans within the country genre who were very protective of it and wanted to keep Swift for their own.⁹⁵ These people held an ascribed persona of Swift that she is a country artist, which aligned with her original first persona. Because of this, when she switched genres, their ascribed personas no longer aligned. In some cases, this resulted in ill will towards Swift, believing that she ‘sold out’ or was becoming *less* authentic as an artist.

So what?

Taylor Swift is certainly aware of the ascribed personas held to her by people based on depictions of her in the media via paparazzi and gossip websites, as well as the ones held to her based on music genre. Her artistic choices in *1989* certainly reflect the first ascribed persona. As she said in an interview, she wrote the song ‘Blank Space’ as a response to that — an effort to take control of that ascribed persona and make it her own, to show people who think of her that way that that idea is not accurate, but comical.⁹⁶ This is fortified by her not changing her writing style throughout the entire album — other songs still follow her old pattern of writing about love interests and romantic relationships. In other words, Swift addresses the ascribed persona, but does not allow it to change who she is or what sort of art she wants to make.

As for the ascribed personas of her genre, that there is no way Swift is not aware of the conflicting views of where her music ‘belongs’. Her label head’s wish for three country songs on *1989* is certainly a moneymaking move (albeit an unnecessary one), and could be seen as a means of appeasing the country fans — a way of making Swift successfully fit into both ascribed personas.⁹⁷

However, if Swift had made another album like *Red*, which was a crossover album between pop and country, it would have been seen by both sides as a ‘sell-out’ move. Fans on both sides would see the album as being part of their genre, and would resent the songs in the other genre as only being present on the album in order to appease those fans.

1989’s decisiveness made it a success. Rather than trying to please everyone, Swift decided to shake everyone off and do what she wanted to do. This pleased the fans who saw her as pop and were happy to see her release an all-pop album. While some country fans were disappointed by the move, there were some who were won over by the album, and most who were disappointed by it had stopped listening to her music at *Red* anyway. With this album, Swift has proven that she does not need country music/radio to continue her success. Indeed, she may not need anyone apart from herself.

With this in mind, it’s possible that Swift could do anything she wants in the future. One thing is certain, though: wherever Taylor Swift ends up next, we can at least be sure that there will be cats.

CHAPTER 4

CHER

In thinking of famous musicians who have made drastic changes, one does not have to go far before coming to Cher. The singer and actress, currently 69 years old, has a long and storied career which still continues today.

While Cher has made many musical departures throughout her career along the lines of Taylor Swift and Enter the Haggis, this chapter will focus on the ascribed persona held by the public of Cher as being a gay icon and part of the gay community. This chapter will begin with a brief overview of Cher's background before considering Cher's persona from her perspective and from the audience's perspective, and then what the whole situation means for ascribed persona as a theory.

BACKGROUND

Cher knew from a young age that she wanted to be famous. She dropped out of school at 16 and moved to Los Angeles, where she started introducing herself to anyone and everyone who might help her achieve her goal. One of the people she met was Sonny Bono, whom, of course, she eventually married.

Sonny and Cher rose to fame with their first hits, "Baby Don't Go" (1964) and "I Got You Babe" (1965). Their *Wondrous World Tour* of 1966 also went over well, as did 1967's "The Beat Goes On" and "Little Man," but by that point, their luck had begun to run out. Their first feature film, *Good Times* (1967), was a commercial failure, as was their second film, 1969's *Chastity*. They began testing out Las Vegas shows and

eventually found their way onto television with *The Sonny and Cher Comedy Hour*, which began in 1971. The show was an immediate success and remained that way until Sonny and Cher divorced in 1974, when the show had to be canceled since they could no longer work together.¹

After the divorce, Cher released a few records which were largely unsuccessful. It wasn't until 1979 that her album *Take Me Home* became her musical comeback, though it did not spell continued success for her. Her next few projects, including a rock band she started called Black Rose, were all devoid of the success she had previously known.

Since music wasn't working out, Cher transitioned back into film. By 1987, she had made enough of a name for herself as an actress to have three starring roles that year, one of which earned her a Golden Globe and an Academy Award. Also in that year, after finding success in other arenas, she decided to try music again, and this time, succeeded. She has continued doing music and films successfully since then, and is especially known for pioneering the use of Auto-tune in her 1998 song "Believe." In addition to this, Cher has become a fashion icon through her constant pushing the envelope of style. Bette Midler said in talking about her tour, "Cher has 55 wigs; why can't I?"² In every aspect of her work, Cher has become a standard against whom others are judged.

Allies

Cher is a gay icon, but she is not gay herself—that is, she is not a card-carrying member (so to speak) of the Marginalized Orientations, Gender Assignments, and Intersex (MOGAI) community. She is very close to that community, and that community

is most likely very close to her heart — not least because of her son Chaz, who is transgendered — but she is not MOGAI herself.

It is difficult to be a good ally to the MOGAI cause, but there are some guidelines, of sorts, for where to begin. The organization PFLAG National, which advocates for MOGAI individuals in the US, has a project called Straight for Equality which aims for just that: to recruit and educate straight people for and on the cause of equality. They provide on their website a publication called “the guide to being a straight ally,” which says that “in the beginning, there were lists” about what allies had to do: “Allies had to challenge homophobia and transphobia every single time they encountered it. Allies had to vote in a very specific way. Allies [needed] to acknowledge and work to subvert their heterosexual privilege.”³ The definition has changed over time to reflect the process of becoming an ally, now consisting merely of some qualities that people who are allies generally possess: “Allies want to learn,” “address their barriers,” “are people who know that support comes in many forms,” and “are diverse.”⁴ Allyship has also been studied in academia: the literature review of the 2014 article detailing the creation of the LGBT Ally Identity Measure gives a comprehensive overview of characteristics common to allies in general and highlights four of those in particular that lead to ally identification, much along the same lines as the PFLAG publication: “(a) knowledge about the experiences and history of LGBT groups, (b) awareness of the experiences of LGBT groups, (c) skills and confidence to assist LGBT persons if they are in need, and (d) engaging in social action efforts to promote change.”⁵

No matter an ally's outlook, though, as comedian Samuel Killermann wrote on his website, being a straight ally can seem like working between a rock and a hard place.⁶ Negative messages come in at allies from both sides: from people who oppose the movement as a whole, as is to be expected, but also from people within the community you're trying to advocate for, which can feel like a betrayal. It can often feel as though anything you do accidentally steps on someone's toes.

But not without good reason: straight allies can easily do things unwittingly that hurt their cause without having any idea about the potential consequences of their actions simply because their place of privilege means they have never experienced those consequences firsthand. It is also tempting for straight allies to use their voices or places of power to speak on behalf of the cause (often referred to as erasure or intersectional appropriation), when a better option would be to use what they have to amplify the voices of those who are actually part of the community. Acts of erasure like this happen far too often, which causes the MOGAI community to be wary of allies, however well-intentioned they might be.

For example, the same comedian referenced earlier, Samuel Killermann, has a darker side to his story. Killermann, who is a cisgender, heterosexual ally, published an infographic he created called "The Genderbread Man" as a means of explaining gender identity, gender expression, biological sex, and sexual orientation. After the graphic, which has been criticized by MOGAI individuals for various reasons, went viral, Killermann published a book based around the idea. Writers at the website Cisnormativity researched the history of the "Genderbread Man" and found that not only

was the idea plagiarized from a copyrighted infographic, but the version of the graphic that Killermann used to create his own had actually been updated by MOGAI community members over time on Reddit and Tumblr.⁷ The fact that he discarded the input from actual community members and replaced it with his own out-group ideas is the essence of intersectional appropriation.⁸

This is the point that this chapter makes is that Cher is indeed a gay icon — there are few who would dispute that — *even though* she is not gay herself. In this way, the public's ascribed persona of her and her own persona misalign slightly, but do not clash. While the previous two chapters of this thesis covered situations in which the first and ascribed personas are completely and obviously at odds, Cher's situation is different in that the public has an ascribed persona of her that is, for the most part, accurate.

CHER AND HER AUDIENCE

In this section, I will analyze a series of quotations from Cher from an Ask Me Anything (AMA) thread. /r/IAmA is a forum on the website Reddit where celebrities will, every now and then, make an appearance to answer questions from Reddit users.⁹ Cher did her AMA on September 28, 2013 to promote her *Dressed to Kill* tour.¹⁰ This text was chosen because of the breadth in scope of the topics discussed as well as its convenient access to both fan discussion of Cher and comments made by Cher herself. Due to the nature of these exchanges, this section will consider both Cher's and the audience's perspectives at the same time, rather than splitting them up as the preceding chapters did.

Cher As Part Of The Mogai Community

The MOGAI community is one with many gatekeepers.¹¹ Within its boundaries are many different orientations and alignments, many of which the community accepts without question, some of which are not. Some members of the community feel that the community should be inclusive of ‘anything but straight.’ Within those, some even feel that supportive allies, particularly family and friends of MOGAI individuals, should be included under the umbrella. On the other hand, other members feel that only those orientations that are not ‘invisible’ (that is, asexual people, bisexual individuals whose current partner is of the opposite sex, etc.) should count.

With this in mind, it is easy to see why Cher, a person who has only ever been romantically involved with persons of the opposite sex and never insinuated that she herself might be gay, would not want to proclaim herself part of the gay community. Rather, she skirts around saying such things directly. Reddit user /u/mrmagooonthe5 asked, “What's your favorite story involving you being a Christ-like figure to the gay community? Also, praise be unto you.” Cher: “Oh my god there are so many. I can't pick just one. I'm gay catnip.” At the same time, though, Cher does refer to herself as a gay icon: when Reddit user /u/divinelyfab asked, “What’s your favorite Bette Davis movie? Are you a fan of hers?” Cher responded, “OH MY GOD!!!! I'd have to turn in my gay icon card if I wasn't a huge fan of hers.” In this way, Cher aligns herself with the community without overstepping any boundaries.

For the audience’s part, though, many fans do talk about Cher as though she is part of the gay community. User /u/slivington32 said in a comment that it is “such a

pleasure to have a strong, brilliant and driven woman to back up the Gay community! It can be tiring just being out in this world as a lesbian.” The tabloid website Ratter named the “current gay community spokesperson” as “either Cher or Vin Diesel, depending on who you ask.”¹² While this mindset certainly cannot be applied to all members of the community, it is rare to see any straight person so readily accepted into the community. One reason for this may be Cher’s son Chaz and her advocacy for MOGAI rights following Chaz’s coming out.

Cher, Chaz, And Parent-Advocating

Cher’s son Chaz (born Chastity Bono) came out as lesbian in 1995 and transgender in 2009. When Chaz first came out to Cher at age 18, Cher first reacted more negatively than she intended: “I had a very un-Cher-like reaction to finding out that Chaz was gay. I mean, I thought I was cool, but I wasn’t.”¹³ In 1997, Chaz said of Cher’s reaction, “Now, I’m glad she reacted badly. People can more easily relate to it. They can say, ‘Well, even Cher had a hard time.’ But she was able to get past it.”¹⁴ In Chaz’s 1998 book *Family Outing*, he said that Cher’s reaction “actually strengthened her support in the gay community, because her response was so primal and almost textbook for the parent of a gay child—and she got past it.”¹⁵

Despite this initial reaction, though, the community accepts Cher in her role as parent-advocate. Cher had this to say in the AMA about the subject:

/u/hcazary: Your support of the GLBT community is amazing ... What was your reaction, as a parent, to having a transgender child? What can other parents do to support their children who identify as transgender or as members of the GLBT community in general?

Cher: Well - I'm not sure if it's scary to all parents. What I've realized, just lately, in the beginning I think I was afraid of losing a child before I got the new one. Of losing the old one before I got the new one. But we have such a great time now, and I realize that there is no loss. In the beginning, you're just not sure. As parents, it's a little bit scary. Maybe, what people need to do is just CHILL and not be frightened. It's not all about you, or it wasn't about me.

Many of Cher's fans are members of the gay community. It even seems as though some fans feel that, in order to be a fan of Cher, you have to be gay. /u/Keisaku told Cher "I am not gay. I find you absolutely adorable and would enjoy your concerts," to which Cher replied, "I won't hold not being gay against you."

Another reason why Cher stands out as an inspiration to people in the MOGAI community is her perseverance and dedication to being true to herself. /u/KPDBfan asked Cher about her inspiration in music:

/u/KPDBfan: Hello Cher, my queen. Who were your biggest inspirations when you started in music and who are your biggest inspirations now?

Cher: Well, Elvis was really my biggest inspiration, because my voice was so not girly (first record I put out was called Ringo, I love you, and they wouldn't play it because they thought I was a guy). He was the only artist I could really identify with.

Now, I'm inspired by the creativity of young artists today, some young artists today. I just find it fascinating that they don't have to fight to be who they are.

When I was young we got beaten up for looking the way we looked. No one even dared to look different. The Beatles had nice hair cuts and were in suits. The Stones were kind of on the fringe.

Cher has never been anything less than authentic. She has changed her image and focus several times, always focusing on what she wanted to focus on. As she said in response to /u/Mousejunkie, "I've been Cher since I was 3. But [Sonny] focused the energy." She tried for years to make it as a rock star while the industry and her fans continued to pigeonhole her as a folk-pop singer, and eventually, many years down the line,

succeeded. When she decided that she wanted to be an actress, she worked at it until she made it as an actress. An important aspect is that none of this came easily for her — Cher faced many obstacles along the way, but pushed through and eventually, sometimes many years later, overcame them. Such a person would naturally be an inspiration to marginalized people trying to overcome their own obstacles.

ASCRIBED PERSONA

In Cher’s case, the persona she projects and the one her audience ascribes to her align. This is a good thing in that the audience has not been misinformed in any way about who she is.

There are, of course, many parts of Cher’s life that the public may not be so well-informed on, or may choose to ignore, which would illustrate divergent ascribed personas. For example, the author’s mother, a life-long Cher fan, has long believed that Cher never stopped loving Sonny. While Sonny and Cher’s messy divorce in 1975 and Cher’s many insults directed towards him in the press may seem to indicate that my mother’s suggestion was not entirely true, a major section of the *Dressed to Kill* tour in 2014 was a ‘duet with’ Sonny on ‘I Got You Babe’ accomplished via video recordings, and Cher herself said that “No one is ever going to understand our relationship but Sonny and Cher. I have a bond that’s close to Sonny, nothing will ever break it.”¹⁶

With respect to Cher and the MOGAI community, though, Cher and her audience agree for the most part on her progressive, supportive persona. In fact, the MOGAI community seems to have bestowed upon Cher an authenticity that she did not create herself. With what we’ve learned about allies, appropriation, and erasure, though, it

seems that the only way a straight woman could ever have become a gay icon is through an ascribed persona. Had Cher set out to become a gay icon, she would have been shunned by the MOGAI community; her motives would have been called false. For example, singer Sam Smith — who *is* gay — announced that he “want[s] to be a spokesperson” for the gay community and immediately received backlash for it.¹⁷ If even an in-group person could not successfully accomplish this, it would be utterly impossible for an out-group person.

Thus the gay icon that is Cher had to be created by the MOGAI community rather than by Cher herself. Once that happened, of course Cher embraced it, but it simply could not have happened by her power. In this way, ascribed persona is an integral part of understanding Cher’s popularity and status. Without ascribed persona (and auto-tune), Cher would never have become the icon she is today.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

As we have seen, the way we currently think about persona does not consider the perspective or role of the audience. All of our efforts to do with persona thus far have had to do purely with the rhetor: the rhetor's mindset, what the rhetor misses, the text of what the rhetor says, but never any of those with respect to the audience. In reality, though, the communication process is more of a dialogue rather than a lecture, especially when taking new technology and social media into account. A gap in the literature would be filled by a theory of persona that rests on an interactive basis.

Authenticity is an integral aspect of ascribed persona. In the case of Jubilee Riots, the band was *too* authentic with their fans, creating a spiral in which their generous authenticity created for the fans an expectation of complete authenticity, which backfired when their personal changes did not align with what the fans expected. In essence, their own authenticity worked against their ascribed persona, eventually forcing them to return to their ascribed persona by changing their name back to Enter the Haggis (which in itself is a move away from authenticity). For Taylor Swift, who tries her best to be authentic and relatable with her fans, authenticity is taken away when fans can no longer relate to her because of her meteoric success. Finally, for Cher, being open and authentic about her experience with her son paved the way for her ascribed persona.

In all of the case studies we've seen here, there has been a back-and-forth dialogue element between the "celebrity" and their audience not only in the texts

analyzed, but in the broader sense of the first persona versus the ascribed one. Ascribed persona provides a new way of analyzing this dialogic type of text without having to focus solely on texts that come from one rhetor. In this thesis, I have focused on texts that involve the voices of both the celebrity and their fans for the purpose of describing what an ascribed persona is. In future, though, ascribed persona could be used to analyze any text, whether or not the text itself is interactive. For example, the name change of Jubilee Riots back to Enter the Haggis could be analyzed this way as a standalone rhetorical act. Taking into account the events leading up to the second name change detailed earlier, it is clear that the ascribed persona was at work in pushing the band to go back to what they had previously presented themselves as.

For for the broader study of rhetoric, we can take away from these case studies that the audience has a bigger role to play than we previously considered. A band can do everything in their power to connect with their audience and still inadvertently cause a backlash. An audience can give a singer authenticity we would not traditionally say she had earned, or even take it away when she rises too high. Additionally, we have seen that for scholars who study artists, it is crucial to consider the artist's fans in an examination of persona. This could be generalized out to other areas of study as well: politicians, professors, any public figure could consider a persona ascribed to them.

The question this thesis asked was *Who owns a persona?* Simply put, different people own different aspects of a persona. While a rhetor certainly owns his first persona, an audience can choose whether to accept that one or to ascribe another onto the speaker instead.

NOTES

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1. Williams, "I Was Conflicted about The..."
2. Stone, "I'll Still Fly the ETH..."
3. "Personae in Rhetoric."
4. Horton and Wohl, "Mass Communication and Para-Social Interaction."
5. Rosengren and Windahl, *Mass Media Consumption as a Functional Alternative*; Wang, Fink, and Cai, "Loneliness, Gender, and Parasocial Interaction."
6. Finnerty and Reynolds, "The Effect of Viewer Motivation on the Development of Parasocial Relationships with Reality Television Contestants."
7. Giles, "Parasocial Interaction."
8. Auter, Ashton, and Soliman, "A Study of Egyptian and American Young Adult Parasocial 'Relationships' with Music Video Personae."
9. Schmid and Klimmt, "Goodbye, Harry?"
10. Hartmann, Stuke, and Daschmann, "Parasocial Relationships with Drivers Affect Suspense in Racing Sport Spectators."
11. Cummins and Cui, "Reconceptualizing Address in Television Programming."
12. Savage and Spence, "Will You Listen?"
13. Lather and Moyer-Guse, "How Do We React When Our Favorite Characters Are Taken Away?"
14. Ramasubramanian and Kornfield, "Japanese Anime Heroines as Role Models for U.S. Youth."; Schmid and Klimmt, "Goodbye, Harry?"
15. Ebersole and Woods, "Motivations for Viewing Reality Television."
16. Kassing and Sanderson, "'You're the Kind of Guy That We All Want for a Drinking Buddy.'"
17. Giles, "Parasocial Interaction."

18. Spitzberg and Cupach, "Fanning the Flames of Fandom."
19. Wang, Fink, and Cai, "Loneliness, Gender, and Parasocial Interaction."
20. Eyal and Cohen, "When Good 'Friends' Say Goodbye."
21. Jansz, Avis, and Vosmeer, "Playing The Sims2."
22. Ho, "That Could Be Me."
23. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms*.
24. Brumberger, "The Rhetoric of Typography."
25. Marshall, "Persona Studies."
26. Park, "Intimate Expertise."
27. Gibson and Heyse, "'The Difference Between a Hockey Mom and a Pit Bull.'"; Lena, "A Visit From the Credibility Squad."
28. Green, "Is This the Real John Green or Is This Fake....?"
29. Campbell, "Agency."
30. Hyde, *The Ethos of Rhetoric*.
31. Mezo, "A Note on Audience."
32. Black, "The Second Persona."
33. Wander, "The Third Persona."
34. Morris, "Pink Herring & the Fourth Persona."
35. Cloud, "The Null Persona."
36. Jensen et al., "Theorizing the Transcendent Persona."
37. Marshall, "Persona Studies."
38. Liu, "Social Network Profiles as Taste Performances."
39. du Preez and Lombard, "The Role of Memes in the Construction of Facebook Personae."
40. Binns, "Twitter City and Facebook Village."

41. Back et al., "Facebook Profiles Reflect Actual Personality, Not Self-Idealization."
42. Jasinski, *Sourcebook on Rhetoric*.
43. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*.
44. Jasinski, *Sourcebook on Rhetoric*.
45. Mead and Morris, *Mind, Self, and Society*.
46. Jasinski, *Sourcebook on Rhetoric*.
47. LeCoat, "Music and the Three Appeals of Classical Rhetoric."
48. Shevy and Hung, "Music in Television Advertising and Other Persuasive Media."
49. Dabbs and Janis, "Why Does Eating While Reading Facilitate Opinion Change?"
50. Galizio and Hendrick, "Effect of Musical Accompaniment on Attitude."
51. Sellnow, "Music as Persuasion."
52. Ziv, Hoftman, and Geyer, "Music and Moral Judgment."
53. Springer, "Society's Soundtrack."
54. Sellnow and Sellnow, "The 'Illusion of Life' Rhetorical Perspective."
55. Walker and Bender, "Is It More than Rock and Roll?"; van Leeuwen, "The Critical Analysis of Musical Discourse."
56. Scott, "Understanding Jingles and Needledrop."
57. Louchouart, "I. Moment to Moment."
58. Hobbs and Hobbs, "Music and Persuasion: The Impacts of Musical Performance on Persuasive Communication."
59. Wells and Petty, "The Effects of Overt Head Movements on Persuasion."
60. Alessandro Antonietti, "Looking at the Audience Improves Music Appreciation."
61. Tsay, "Sight over Sound in the Judgment of Music Performance."

62. Juslin and Laukka, "Communication of Emotions in Vocal Expression and Music Performance."
63. Leech-Wilkinson, "The Emotional Power of Musical Performance."
64. Robinson, *Deeper than Reason*.
65. Gorn, "The Effects of Music In Advertising On Choice Behavior."
66. Kellaris and Cox, "The Effects of Background Music in Advertising."
67. MacInnis and Park, "The Differential Role of Characteristics of Music on High- and Low-Involvement Consumers' Processing of Ads."
68. Webster and Weir, "Emotional Responses to Music."
69. Shevy, "Music Genre as Cognitive Schema."
70. Juslin et al., "An Experience Sampling Study of Emotional Reactions to Music."; Kivy, *Antithetical Arts*.
71. Costabile and Terman, "Effects of Film Music on Psychological Transportation and Narrative Persuasion."
72. Hecker, "Music for Advertising Effect."
73. Allan, "Effects of Popular Music in Advertising on Attention and Memory."
74. Vermeulen, Hartmann, and Welling, "The Chill Factor."
75. Wise, Callison, and Bradley, "Alternative Rock Music in Radio Advertising."
76. Hahn and Hwang, "Effects of Tempo and Familiarity of Background Music on Message Processing in TV Advertising."
77. Roehm, "Instrumental vs. Vocal Versions of Popular Music in Advertising."
78. Hyun Hee Park, Jai Kwan Park, and Jung Ok Jeon, "Attributes of Background Music and Consumed Responses to TV Commercials."
79. Fraser, "Music-Evoked Images."
80. Park and Young, "Consumer Response to Television Commercials."
81. Sullivan, "Music Format Effects in Radio Advertising."

82. Hitchon, Duckler, and Thorson, "Effects of Ambiguity and Complexity on Consumer Response to Music Video Commercials."
83. Zhu and Meyers-Levy, "Distinguishing Between the Meanings of Music."
84. Dillman Carpentier, "Innovating Radio News."
85. Dillman Carpentier and Parrott, "Effects of Music Beds in Radio News on Recall of Surrounding Promotional Content."
86. Ziv, Hoftman, and Geyer, "Music and Moral Judgment."
87. Sharma, "Does Background Music Really Help Radio Commercials?"
88. Fraser and Bradford, "Music to Your Brain."
89. Hung, "Narrative Music in Congruent and Incongruent TV Advertising."
90. Oakes, "Evaluating Empirical Research into Music in Advertising."
91. Shen and Chen, "When East Meets West."
92. Lavack, Thakor, and Bottausci, "Music-Brand Congruency in High- and Low-Cognition Radio Advertising."
93. Lalwani, Lwin, and Ling, "Does Audiovisual Congruency in Advertisements Increase Persuasion?"
94. Moore, "Rebel Music."
95. Radwan, "Music and Mediated Religious Identity."
96. Toynebee and Vis, "World Music at the BBC World Service, 1942-2008."
97. Smith, "How US Interrogators Use Music as a Tool of Torture."
98. Meier, "Promotional Ubiquitous Musics."
99. Burkhalter and Thornton, "Advertising to the Beat."
100. Ibid.
101. Willens, "Agency Music Specialists Look Past the Big Score."
102. Allan, "A Content Analysis of Music Placement in Prime-Time Television Advertising."

103. Ziv, Hoftman, and Geyer, “Music and Moral Judgment.”
104. Jasinski, *Sourcebook on Rhetoric*.
105. Aristotle and Roberts, *Rhetoric*.
106. Jasinski, *Sourcebook on Rhetoric*.
107. Hart and Woldemariam, “Oprah Winfrey as Melodramatic Actress.”
108. D’Cruz, “Darkly Dreaming (in) Authenticity.”
109. Gibson, *Persona*.
110. Ware and Linkugel, “The Rhetorical Persona.”
111. Gibson, *Persona*.
112. Jasinski, *Sourcebook on Rhetoric*.
113. Elliott, *The Literary Persona*.
114. Garver, *Aristotle’s Rhetoric*; as cited in Jasinski, *Sourcebook on Rhetoric*.
115. Jasinski, *Sourcebook on Rhetoric*.
116. Farrell, *Norms of Rhetorical Culture*.
117. Larson and Oravec, “A Prairie Home Companion and the Fabrication of Community.”
118. Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction*.
119. Garver, *Aristotle’s Rhetoric*; as cited in Jasinski, *Sourcebook on Rhetoric*.
120. Rheinstrom, “The Taste of Disillusionment.”
121. Ibid.
122. Hart and Woldemariam, “Oprah Winfrey as Melodramatic Actress.”

CHAPTER 2: ENTER THE HAGGIS

1. Houle, “Enter the Haggis: Whitelake | PopMatters.”
2. “Enter The Haggis Music, Lyrics, Songs, and Videos.”

3. Houle, “Enter the Haggis: Whitelake | PopMatters.”
4. Buchanan et al., “Jubilee Riots.”
5. wine country, “You Need This CD.”
6. bookworm_girl, “ETHaggis.”
7. Jubilee Riots, “Exit the Haggis.”
8. Buchanan, “Ok Everyone. Here Goes Nothing:”
9. Jubilee Riots, “Exit the Haggis.”
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives*.
23. Farragher, “You Spent All This Time...”
24. Paltzer, “Milwaukee Irish Fest Announces 35th Anniversary Entertainment Lineup.”
25. Adams, “Mumford & Sons Have Taken Australia by Storm”; Caulfield, “Mumford & Sons’ ‘Babel’ Scores Biggest Debut of Year, Bows at No. 1 on

Billboard 200 Chart”; Boardman, “Mumford and Sons Officially Not Breaking Up, Added to Bonnaroo Lineup.”

26. B, “The Modest Revolution by Enter The Haggis | Grinning Beggar’s Paddy Rock.” I’m not the only one who feels this way: “It’s about time the world takes notice that the Mumford & Sons are a watered down version of this already stellar band.”

27. See “The Death of Johnny Mooring” on *Gutter Anthems*, 2009, for what is essentially a toccata for the distorted electric fiddle.

28. Hansen, “As Long as You Remain...”

29. Ingraham, “Only If You’ll Play Me...”; Beaty, “Have You Been Practicing The...”

30. Enter the Haggis, “Our Biggest Announcement Ever.”

31. McCarthy, “WHAT?!!! WHEN DID WE DECIDE THIS?!!!”

32. Elvin, “I Lost a Ton Of...”

33. James, “Hey Now. Did You Give...”

34. Cooper, “Brave Decision. Happy for You...”

35. Treadwell, “For Those of Us Who...”

36. Cataldo, “I Am Very Disappointed Enter...”

37. Finegan, “This News Is Disappointing. And...”

38. Smith, “I Fear Change so I...”; Wheeler, “Your Choice to Abandon The...”

39. Fath, “Well, I Was Hoping It...”

40. Bishop, “Trying to Be Supportive, But...”

41. McLean Gordon, “It’ll Take Some Getting Used...”

42. Weaver, “Not Angry, Just Pondering ... And...”

43. Michael, “What Is This, Some Sort...”

44. McCuin, “Really Dumb.”

45. Bly, “Meh. You Will Always Be ETH.”

46. Haxton, “Lame. I Hope This Is...”
47. Myers, “So Disappointed. ETH Used To...”
48. Lynn, “I’m Not Fond of This...”
49. O’Mahony, “This Is so Sad, Sean...”
50. Terrill, “You Could Have Asked Our...”
51. Jubilee Riots, “Exit the Haggis.”

52. There were a couple of responses to people who did not like it, but these were less discussion and more ‘thanks for your opinion that we didn't need.’ For example:

53. Buchanan, “The Thing Is, the Music...”

CHAPTER 3: TAYLOR SWIFT

1. Bromberg, “American Greetings Launches A New Section Of Their Web Site For Taylor SwiftTaylor Talk.”
2. “Taylor Swift Birthday & Everyday Card Set.”
3. Swift, “So How Do You Spend...”
4. Sisario, “Taylor Swift’s ‘1989’ Carries High Hopes.”
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Wilson, “Contemplating Taylor Swift’s Navel.”
8. Sisario, “Taylor Swift’s ‘1989’ Carries High Hopes;” Wyatt, “Taylor Swift’s *1989* Topples The Eminem Show to Become Fastest-Selling.”
9. Sales and Diehl, “Taylor Swift’s Telltale Heart.”
10. Caramanica, “No More Kid Stuff for Taylor Swift.”
11. Garibaldi, “Taylor Swift Calls *Red* A ‘Patchwork Quilt’ Of Emotions.”
12. Keefe, “Taylor Swift *Red* | Album Review.”
13. Ibid.

14. Caulfield, “Taylor Swift’s ‘Red’ Sells 1.21 Million; Biggest Sales Week for an Album Since 2002.”
15. Keefe, “Taylor Swift *Red* | Album Review.”
16. Ibid.
17. Vinson, “Taylor Swift Says Thanks to Country Music for Letting Her Evolve.”
18. Caramanica, “No More Kid Stuff for Taylor Swift.”
19. “Taylor Swift Thanks Country Music for Remaining Loyal to Her the Past Year.”
20. ABC/Yahoo! News, *Taylor Swift*.
21. Eells, “The Reinvention of Taylor Swift.”
22. Klosterman and Thompson, “Taylor Swift on People Who Call Her ‘Calculating.’”
23. ABC/Yahoo! News, *Taylor Swift*.
24. McKinney, “The Problem with Taylor Swift’s New Pop Song: It’s Perfect”
25. Caulfield, “Taylor Swift’s ‘1989’ Hits 5 Million in U.S. Sales, Is the Fastest-Selling Album In Over 10 Years.”
26. Sisario, “Taylor Swift’s ‘Out of the Woods’ Lives Up to The Hype, Soaring to No. 1 on iTunes.”
27. Wilson, “Contemplating Taylor Swift’s Navel.”
28. Ibid.
29. Wilson, “Country Music’s Bro Problem;” Newman, “From Taylor Swift to Megan Trainor, Female Artists Are Ruling the Charts – Can It Last?”
30. Klosterman and Thompson, “Taylor Swift on People Who Call Her ‘Calculating.’”
31. King, “Taylor Swift - A Place In This World.”
32. Morris, “When She Thinks ‘Tim McGraw,’ Taylor Swift Savors Payoff.”
33. Ibid.

34. Eells, “The Reinvention of Taylor Swift.”
35. Wilson, “Contemplating Taylor Swift’s Navel.”
36. Lena, “A Visit From the Credibility Squad.”
37. Wilson, “Contemplating Taylor Swift’s Navel.”
38. Klosterman and Thompson, “Taylor Swift on People Who Call Her ‘Calculating.’”
39. Yahr, “Taylor Swift Has Been Writing Personal, Inspiring, Sometimes Hilarious Comments All over Instagram.”
40. Swift, “Taylor Swift - My Home Phone Is Ringing...”
41. Wilson, “Contemplating Taylor Swift’s Navel.”
42. Klosterman and Thompson, “Taylor Swift on People Who Call Her ‘Calculating.’”
43. Ibid.
44. Sisario, “Taylor Swift’s ‘1989’ Carries High Hopes.”
45. Ibid.
46. Trigger, “Taylor Swift Is Leaving Country. But Will Country Let Her?” The Rolling Stone article in question is unable to be found on the internet, by the way. I tried.
47. Ibid.
48. “Has Taylor Swift Abandoned Country?”
49. Trigger, “Taylor Swift Is Leaving Country. But Will Country Let Her?”
50. Keefe, “Taylor Swift *Red* | Album Review.”
51. Caramanica, “No More Kid Stuff for Taylor Swift.”
52. Ibid.
53. Wilson, “Contemplating Taylor Swift’s Navel.”
54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.
56. Klosterman and Thompson, “Taylor Swift on People Who Call Her ‘Calculating.’”
57. Trigger, “Taylor Swift Is Leaving Country. But Will Country Let Her?”
58. Ibid.
59. Stuart, “Taylor Swift’s ‘Welcome to New York’ Is Literally a Tourism Campaign Disguised as a Single.”
60. Colon, “Why Taylor Swift’s ‘Welcome to New York’ Is Bullshit.”
61. Ibid.
62. Trigger, “Taylor Swift Is Leaving Country. But Will Country Let Her?”
63. Eells, “The Reinvention of Taylor Swift.”
64. Caramanica, “Taylor Swift, Nashville’s One-Woman Youth Movement.”
65. Ibid.
66. Gonzalez, “Taylor Swift Comes to VanAndel Arena This Week on Fearless Tour.”
67. Caramanica, “Taylor Swift, Nashville’s One-Woman Youth Movement.”
68. Sisario, “Taylor Swift’s ‘1989’ Carries High Hopes.”
69. Sisario, “Young, Rich and Ruling Radio, Country Walks a Broader Line.”
70. Eells, “The Reinvention of Taylor Swift.”
71. Wilson, “Contemplating Taylor Swift’s Navel.”
72. Caramanica, “Taylor Swift, Nashville’s One-Woman Youth Movement.”
73. Wilson, “Contemplating Taylor Swift’s Navel.”
74. Sisario, “Taylor Swift’s ‘Out of the Woods’ Lives Up to The Hype, Soaring to No. 1 on iTunes.”
75. Dickey, “Exclusive: This Is How Much Taylor Swift Really Makes From Spotify”

76. Lipshutz, "Taylor Swift: Apple Music will Stream '1989' For Free"
77. Caramanica, "Taylor Swift, Nashville's One-Woman Youth Movement."
78. Gevinson, "ELLE Cover Girl Taylor Swift Has No Regrets."
79. Wilson, "Contemplating Taylor Swift's Navel."
80. "Taylor Swift on New Album '1989,' Leaving Country Music and Dating."
81. Caramanica, "Taylor Swift, Nashville's One-Woman Youth Movement."
82. White, "Taylor Swift Slams Brainless 'Evil Pop' (But Which Singers Is She Calling Out?"; Gonzalez, "Taylor Swift Comes to VanAndel Arena This Week on Fearless Tour."
83. White, "Taylor Swift Slams Brainless 'Evil Pop' (But Which Singers Is She Calling Out?"
84. Sales and Diehl, "Taylor Swift's Telltale Heart."
85. Wilson, "Contemplating Taylor Swift's Navel."
86. Eells, "The Reinvention of Taylor Swift."
87. Sales and Diehl, "Taylor Swift's Telltale Heart."
88. Gevinson, "ELLE Cover Girl Taylor Swift Has No Regrets."
89. Sales and Diehl, "Taylor Swift's Telltale Heart."
90. Ibid.
91. "Taylor Swift on New Album '1989,' Leaving Country Music and Dating."
92. Ibid.
93. Molanphy and Olen, "Why Is Taylor Swift's 'Blank Space' No. 1?"; Klosterman and Thompson, "Taylor Swift on People Who Call Her 'Calculating.'"
94. Sales and Diehl, "Taylor Swift's Telltale Heart."
95. Sisario, "Taylor Swift's '1989' Carries High Hopes."
96. "Taylor Swift on New Album '1989,' Leaving Country Music and Dating."
97. Eells, "The Reinvention of Taylor Swift."

CHAPTER 4: CHER

1. Ingram, “Sonny and Cher Shows.”
2. Azzopardi, “Divine Intervention.”
3. PFLAG, *the guide to being a straight ally (Third Edition)*.
4. Ibid.
5. Jones, Brewster, and Jones, “The Creation and Validation of the LGBT Ally Identity Measure.”
6. Killermann, “Being an Ally Between a Rock and a Hard Place.”
7. cisnormativity, “The Genderbread Plagiarist (with Images, Tweets).”
8. This doesn’t even touch on the fact that a heterosexual “ally” monetized an idea that was originally created by people trained to work with the MOGAI community and updated by people within that community. See cisnormativity, “The Genderbread Plagiarist (with Images, Tweets)” for more details.
9. Individual forums, called Subreddits, are styled “/r/[subreddit name],” just as Reddit usernames are styled “/u/username.”
10. Cher, “I Am Cher. Ask Me Anything.”
11. Ockydub, “The Gay Gatekeepers.”
12. Stecklow, “Sam Smith Announces Candidacy For Gay Community Spokesperson.”
13. Golojuch, “PFLAG’s Newest Mom.”
14. Witchel, “Growing Up In Public.”
15. Bono and Fitzpatrick, *Family Outing*; as cited in Bego, *Cher: If You Believe*.
16. Bego, *Cher: If You Believe*.
17. Nicolson, “Sam Smith – Our Exclusive Cover Interview With The Man With The Golden Lungs;” Stecklow, “Sam Smith Announces Candidacy For Gay Community Spokesperson.”

REFERENCES

- ABC/Yahoo! News. *Taylor Swift: Yahoo Live Stream 08/18/2014*, 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7vnyTvJMnmQ>.
- Abrams, M. H. *A Glossary of Literary Terms*. 6th ed. Harcourt Brace and Company., 1993.
- Adams, Cameron. "Mumford & Sons Have Taken Australia by Storm." *HeraldSun*. Accessed May 3, 2015. <http://www.heraldsun.com.au/entertainment/mumford-sons-have-taken-australia-by-storm/story-e6frf9hf-1225845393954>.
- Allan, David. "A Content Analysis of Music Placement in Prime-Time Television Advertising." *Journal of Advertising Research* 48, no. 3 (September 2008): 404–17. doi:10.2501/S0021849908080434.
- . "Effects of Popular Music in Advertising on Attention and Memory." *Journal of Advertising Research* 46, no. 4 (December 2006): 434–44.
- Altemeyer, Bob, and Bruce Hunsberger. "Authoritarianism, Religious Fundamentalism, Quest, and Prejudice." *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion* 2, no. 2 (April 1, 1992): 113–33. doi:10.1207/s15327582ijpr0202_5.
- Antonietti, Alessandro, Daniela Cocomazzi, and Paola Iannello. "Looking at the Audience Improves Music Appreciation." *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior* 33, no. 2 (June 2009): 89–106. doi:10.1007/s10919-008-0062-x.
- Aristotle, and W. Rhys Roberts. *Rhetoric*. Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 2004.
- Auter, Philip J., Erica Ashton, and Mohamed R. Soliman. "A Study of Egyptian and American Young Adult Parasocial 'Relationships' with Music Video Personae." *Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research* 1, no. 2 (July 2008): 131–44. doi:10.1386/jammr.1.2.131/1.
- Azzopardi, Chris. "Divine Intervention: Bette Midler Talks Early Gay Support, 'Diva' Degradation & Twerking ('Girls, Please!')." *PrideSource*, November 13, 2014. <http://www.pridesource.com/article.html?article=68984>.
- B, John. "The Modest Revolution by Enter The Haggis | Grinning Beggar's Paddy Rock." *PaddyRock.com*, February 18, 2013. <http://www.paddyrock.com/home/the-modest-revolution-by-enter-the-haggis/>.
- Back, M. D., J. M. Stopfer, S. Vazire, S. Gaddis, S. C. Schmukle, B. Egloff, and S. D. Gosling. "Facebook Profiles Reflect Actual Personality, Not Self-Idealization."

- Psychological Science* 21, no. 3 (March 1, 2010): 372–74. doi: 10.1177/0956797609360756.
- Beauty, Damon. “Have You Been Practicing The...” Wall post. *Facebook*, August 31, 2014. <https://www.facebook.com/enterthehaggis/posts/10152676677409173>.
- Bego, Mark. *Cher: If You Believe*. New York; [Lanham, Md.]: Cooper Square Press ; Distributed by National Book Network, 2001.
- Binns, Amy. “Twitter City and Facebook Village: Teenage Girls’ Personas and Experiences Influenced by Choice Architecture in Social Networking Sites.” *Journal of Media Practice* 15, no. 2 (July 2014): 71–91. doi: 10.1080/14682753.2014.960763.
- Bishop, Kristina. “Trying to Be Supportive, But...” Comment. *Facebook*, September 8, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/enterthehaggis/photos/a.126490834172.99232.8027594172/10152694492184173/?type=3&comment_id=10152695533704173&comment_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R9%22%7D.
- Black, Edwin. “The Second Persona.” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 56, no. 2 (April 1970): 109–19.
- Bly, Jaye. “Meh. You Will Always Be ETH..” Comment. *Facebook*, September 8, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/enterthehaggis/photos/a.126490834172.99232.8027594172/10152694492184173/?type=3&comment_id=10152694720444173&comment_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R9%22%7D.
- Boardman, Madeline. “Mumford and Sons Officially Not Breaking Up, Added to Bonnaroo Lineup.” *US Magazine*. Accessed May 3, 2015. <http://www.usmagazine.com/entertainment/news/mumford-and-sons-not-breaking-up-added-to-bonnaroo-lineup-2015141>.
- Bono, Chaz, and Billie Fitzpatrick. *Family Outing*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1999.
- bookworm_girl. “ETHaggis.” Review. *Amazon*, September 11, 2014. http://smile.amazon.com/gp/customer-reviews/R1APVBOU7VRK16/ref=cm_cr_pr_rvw_ttl?ie=UTF8&ASIN=B00C0176GS.
- Booth, Wayne C. *The Rhetoric of Fiction*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.
- Bromberg, Adam. “American Greetings Launches A New Section Of Their Web Site For Taylor Swift.” *Taylor Talk: The Taylor Swift Podcast*, September 30, 2011. <http://>

taylor-talk.org/american-greetings-launches-a-new-section-of-their-web-site-for-taylor-swift/.

- Brumberger, Eva R. "The Rhetoric of Typography: The Persona of Typeface and Text." *Technical Communication* 50, no. 2 (May 2003): 206.
- Buchanan, Brian. "Ok Everyone. Here Goes Nothing:" Status update. *Facebook*, September 8, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/brianhaggis/posts/10152230610451150?comment_id=10152231699121150&offset=0&total_comments=73.
- . "The Thing Is, the Music..." Comment. *Facebook*, September 8, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/brianhaggis/posts/10152230610451150?comment_id=10152230920056150&offset=0&total_comments=73.
- Buchanan, Brian, Trevor Lewington, Mark Abraham, Bruce McCarthy, and Craig Downie. "Jubilee Riots: THE PENNY BLACK PROJECT." *PledgeMusic*. Accessed April 29, 2015. <http://www.pledgemusic.com/projects/enterthehaggis>.
- Burke, Kenneth. *A Rhetoric of Motives*. California ed., [Nachdr.] Berkeley, Calif.: Univ. of California Press, 2013.
- Burkhalter, Janée N., and Corliss G. Thornton. "Advertising to the Beat: An Analysis of Brand Placements in Hip-Hop Music Videos." *Journal of Marketing Communications* 20, no. 5 (October 2014): 366–82. doi: 10.1080/13527266.2012.710643.
- Campbell, Karlyn Kohrs. "Agency: Promiscuous and Protean." *Communication & Critical/Cultural Studies* 2, no. 1 (March 2005): 1–19. doi: 10.1080/1479142042000332134.
- Caramanica, Jon. "Taylor Swift, Nashville's One-Woman Youth Movement." *The New York Times*, November 7, 2008. <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/11/09/arts/music/09cara.html>.
- Caramanica, Jon. "No More Kid Stuff for Taylor Swift." *The New York Times*, October 24, 2012. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/28/arts/music/no-more-kid-stuff-for-taylor-swift.html>.
- Cataldo, Peter. "I Am Very Disappointed Enter..." Comment. *Facebook*, September 12, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/enterthehaggis/photos/a.126490834172.99232.8027594172/10152694492184173/?type=3&comment_id=10152700060944173&comment_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R9%22%7D.

- Caulfield, Keith. "Mumford & Sons' 'Babel' Scores Biggest Debut of Year, Bows at No. 1 on Billboard 200 Chart." *Billboard*, October 2, 2012. <http://www.billboard.com/articles/news/474818/mumford-sons-babel-scores-biggest-debut-of-year-bows-at-no-1-on-billboard-200>.
- Caulfield, Keith. "Taylor Swift's '1989' Hits 5 Million in U.S. Sales, Is the Fastest-Selling Album In Over 10 Years." *Billboard*, July 8, 2015. <http://www.billboard.com/articles/columns/chart-beat/6620398/taylor-swifts-1989-5-million-fastest-selling-album-decade>.
- Caulfield, Keith. "Taylor Swift's 'Red' Sells 1.21 Million; Biggest Sales Week for an Album Since 2002." *Billboard*, October 30, 2012. <http://www.billboard.com/articles/news/474400/taylor-swifts-red-sells-121-million-biggest-sales-week-for-an-album-since-2002>.
- Cher. "I Am Cher. Ask Me Anything." /r/IAmA, September 28, 2013. https://www.reddit.com/r/IAmA/comments/1nc4sk/i_am_cher_ask_me_anything/.
- cisnormativity. "The Genderbread Plagiarist (with Images, Tweets) · Cisnormativity." *Storify*, 2013. <http://storify.com/cisnormativity/the-genderbread-plagiarist>.
- Cloud, Dana L. "The Null Persona: Race and the Rhetoric of Silence in the Uprising of '34." *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 2, no. 2 (Summer 1999): 177–209.
- Colon, David. "Why Taylor Swift's 'Welcome to New York' Is Bullshit." *Village Voice*, October 23, 2014. <http://www.villagevoice.com/music/why-taylor-swifts-welcome-to-new-york-is-bullshit-6637015>.
- Cooper, Jami Putney. "Brave Decision. Happy for You..." Comment. *Facebook*, September 8, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/enterthehaggis/photos/a.126490834172.99232.8027594172/10152694492184173/?type=3&comment_id=10152694841614173&comment_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R9%22%7D.
- Costabile, Kristi A., and Amanda W. Terman. "Effects of Film Music on Psychological Transportation and Narrative Persuasion." *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 35, no. 3 (May 2013): 316–24. doi:10.1080/01973533.2013.785398.
- Cummins, R. Glenn, and Boni Cui. "Reconceptualizing Address in Television Programming: The Effect of Address and Affective Empathy on Viewer Experience of Parasocial Interaction." *Journal of Communication* 64, no. 4 (August 2014): 723–42. doi:10.1111/jcom.12076.

- Dabbs, James M. Jr., and Irving L. Janis. "Why Does Eating While Reading Facilitate Opinion Change? An Experimental Inquiry." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 1, no. 2 (1965): 133–44. doi:10.1016/0022-1031(65)90041-7.
- D’Cruz, Glenn. "Darkly Dreaming (in) Authenticity : The Self/persona Opposition in Dexter." *M/C Journal : A Journal of Media and Culture* 17, no. 3 (June 1, 2014): 1–10.
- Dickey, Jack. "Exclusive: This Is How Much Taylor Swift Really Makes From Spotify." *Time*, November 12, 2014. <http://time.com/3581487/taylor-swift-spotify-borchetta/>.
- Dillman Carpentier, Francesca R. "Innovating Radio News: Effects of Background Music Complexity on Processing and Enjoyment." *Journal of Radio & Audio Media* 17, no. 1 (May 2010): 63–81. doi:10.1080/19376521003719375.
- Dillman Carpentier, Francesca R., and Scott Parrott. "Effects of Music Beds in Radio News on Recall of Surrounding Promotional Content." *Conference Papers—International Communication Association, Annual Meeting 2012*, 1–20.
- du Preez, Amanda, and Elanie Lombard. "The Role of Memes in the Construction of Facebook Personae." *Communicatio: South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research* 40, no. 3 (July 3, 2014): 253–70. doi:10.1080/02500167.2014.938671.
- Ebersole, Samuel, and Robert Woods. "Motivations for Viewing Reality Television: A Uses and Gratifications Analysis." *Southwestern Mass Communication Journal* 23, no. 1 (September 2007): 23–42.
- Eells, Josh. "The Reinvention of Taylor Swift." *Rolling Stone*, September 8, 2014. <http://www.rollingstone.com/music/features/taylor-swift-1989-cover-story-20140908>.
- Elliott, Robert C. *The Literary Persona*. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1982.
- Elvin, Kelly. "I Lost a Ton Of..." Comment. *Facebook*, September 9, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/enterthehaggis/photos/a.126490834172.99232.8027594172/10152694492184173/?type=3&comment_id=10152696960604173&comment_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R9%22%7D.
- Enter the Haggis. *Aerials*. Audio CD. United for Opportunity, 2002.
- . *Casualties of Retail*. Audio CD. United for Opportunity, 2005.
- . *Gutter Anthems*. Audio CD. United for Opportunity, 2009.

- . *Let the Wind Blow High*. Audio CD. Rel, 1999.
- . *Northampton*. Audio CD. United for Opportunity, 2007.
- . *Soapbox Heroes*. Audio CD. United for Opportunity, 2006.
- . *The Modest Revolution*. Audio CD. Firebrand Entertainment, 2013.
- . *Whitelake*. Audio CD. Firebrand Entertainment, 2011.
- . “Our Biggest Announcement Ever.” *Facebook*, September 8, 2014. <https://www.facebook.com/enterthehaggis/photos/a.126490834172.99232.8027594172/10152694492184173/?type=3>.
- “Enter The Haggis Music, Lyrics, Songs, and Videos.” *Reverb Nation*. Accessed April 28, 2015. <http://www.reverbnation.com/enterthehaggis>.
- Eyal, Keren, and Jonathan Cohen. “When Good ‘Friends’ Say Goodbye: A Parasocial Breakup Study.” *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 50, no. 3 (September 2006): 502–23. doi:10.1207/s15506878jobem5003_9.
- Farragher, Mike. “You Spent All This Time...” Comment. *Facebook*, September 9, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/brianhaggis/posts/10152230610451150?comment_id=10152231699121150&offset=0&total_comments=73.
- Farrell, Thomas. *Norms of Rhetorical Culture*. New Haven: Yale Univ Press, 1995.
- Fath, Tim. “Well, I Was Hoping It...” Comment. *Facebook*, September 8, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/enterthehaggis/photos/a.126490834172.99232.8027594172/10152694492184173/?type=3&comment_id=10152694733509173&comment_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R9%22%7D.
- Fenton, P. W. “It Doesn't Make Any Sense. ...” Comment. *Facebook*, September 8, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/brianhaggis/posts/10152230610451150?comment_id=10152230775286150&offset=0&total_comments=73.
- Finegan, Ryan. “This News Is Disappointing. And...” Comment. *Facebook*, September 8, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/enterthehaggis/photos/a.126490834172.99232.8027594172/10152694492184173/?type=3&comment_id=10152695674654173&comment_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R9%22%7D.
- Finnerty, Keli, and J. Reynolds. “The Effect of Viewer Motivation on the Development of Parasocial Relationships with Reality Television Contestants.” *Conference Papers -- International Communication Association, Annual Meeting 2004*, 1.

- Fraser, Cynthia. "Music-Evoked Images: Music That Inspires Them and Their Influences on Brand and Message Recall in the Short and the Longer Term." *Psychology & Marketing* 31, no. 10 (October 2014): 813–27. doi:10.1002/mar.20736.
- Fraser, Cynthia, and J. Andrew Bradford. "Music to Your Brain: Background Music Changes Are Processed First, Reducing Ad Message Recall." *Psychology & Marketing* 30, no. 1 (January 2013): 62–75. doi:10.1002/mar.20580.
- Galizio, Mark, and Clyde Hendrick. "Effect of Musical Accompaniment on Attitude: The Guitar as a Prop for Persuasion." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 2, no. 4 (October 1972): 350–59. doi:10.1111/j.1559-1816.1972.tb01286.x.
- Garibaldi, Christina. "Taylor Swift Calls Red A 'Patchwork Quilt' Of Emotions." *MTV News*, October 22, 2012. <http://www.mtv.com/news/1696018/taylor-swift-red-emotions/>.
- Garver, Eugene. *Aristotle's Rhetoric: An Art of Character*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Gass, Robert H. *Persuasion, Social Influence, and Compliance Gaining*. 5th ed. Boston: Pearson, 2014.
- Gevinson, Tavi. "ELLE Cover Girl Taylor Swift Has No Regrets." *ELLE*. Accessed May 20, 2015. <http://www.elle.com/fashion/a28210/taylor-swift-elle-june-cover-2015/>.
- Gibson, Katie L., and Amy L. Heyse. "'The Difference Between a Hockey Mom and a Pit Bull': Sarah Palin's Faux Maternal Persona and Performance of Hegemonic Masculinity at the 2008 Republican National Convention." *Communication Quarterly* 58, no. 3 (July 2010): 235–56. doi:10.1080/01463373.2010.503151.
- Gibson, Walker. *Persona: A Style Study for Readers and Writers*. Random House Inc, 1969.
- Giles, David C. "Parasocial Interaction: A Review of the Literature and a Model for Future Research." *Media Psychology* 4, no. 3 (2002): 279–305. doi:10.1207/S1532785XMEP0403_04.
- Goldstein, Susan B., and Denise S. Davis. "Heterosexual Allies: A Descriptive Profile." *Equity & Excellence in Education* 43, no. 4 (November 11, 2010): 478–94. doi:10.1080/10665684.2010.505464.
- Golojuch, Carolyn. "PFLAG's Newest Mom." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, November 9, 1996, sec. View Point. <http://archives.starbulletin.com/96/11/14/editorial/viewpoints.html>.

- Gonzalez, John. "Taylor Swift Comes to VanAndel Arena This Week on Fearless Tour." *MLive.com*, September 27, 2009. http://www.mlive.com/entertainment/grand-rapids/index.ssf/2009/09/taylor_swift_comes_to_vanandel.html.
- Gorn, Gerald J. "The Effects of Music In Advertising On Choice Behavior: A Classical Conditioning Approach." *Journal of Marketing* 46, no. 1 (Winter 1982): 94–101.
- Green, John. "Is This the Real John Green or Is This Fake....?" Blog. *John Green's Tumblr*, March 23, 2015. <http://fishingboatproceeds.tumblr.com/post/114465959053/is-this-the-real-john-green-or-is-this-fake>.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Grinning Beggar. "Enter The Haggis! So Long, Farewell, Good Luck... | Grinning Beggar's Paddy Rock." *PaddyRock.com*, September 10, 2014. <http://www.paddyrock.com/home/enter-the-haggis-so-long-farewell-good-luck/>.
- Hahn, Minhi, and Insuk Hwang. "Effects of Tempo and Familiarity of Background Music on Message Processing in TV Advertising: A Resource-Matching Perspective." *Psychology & Marketing* 16, no. 8 (December 1999): 659–75.
- Hansen, Eric. "As Long as You Remain..." Comment. *Facebook*, September 8, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/brianhaggis/posts/10152230610451150?comment_id=10152230659411150&offset=0&total_comments=73.
- Hart, Kylo-Patrick R., and Metasebia Woldemariam. "Oprah Winfrey as Melodramatic Actress: Contributions of Winfrey's Feature-Film Performances to the Authenticity of Her Star Persona." *Quarterly Review of Film and Video* 25, no. 3 (April 16, 2008): 183–95. doi:10.1080/10509200601091425.
- Hartmann, Tilo, Daniela Stuke, and Gregor Daschmann. "Parasocial Relationships with Drivers Affect Suspense in Racing Sport Spectators." In *Conference Papers — International Communication Association*, 1–25. International Communication Association, 2005. <http://go.libproxy.wakehealth.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ufh&AN=18655557&site=ehost-live>.
- "Has Taylor Swift Abandoned Country?????" *Genius*. Accessed February 1, 2016. <http://genius.com/discussions/115551-Has-taylor-swift-abandoned-country>.
- Haxton, Christopher. "Lame. I Hope This Is..." Comment. *Facebook*, September 8, 2014. <https://www.facebook.com/enterthehaggis/photos/a.126490834172.99232.8027594172/10152694492184173/?>

type=3&comment_id=10152695860474173&comment_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R2%22%7D.

Hecker, Sidney. "Music for Advertising Effect." *Psychology & Marketing* 1, no. 3/4 (Fall/Winter 1984): 3–8.

Hitchon, Jacqueline, Peter Duckler, and Esther Thorson. "Effects of Ambiguity and Complexity on Consumer Response to Music Video Commercials." *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 38, no. 3 (1994): 289–306.

Ho, Helen. "That Could Be Me: Parasocial Identification, Reality Television, and Viewer Self-Worth." In *Conference Papers—International Communication Association*, 1–27. International Communication Association, 2006. <http://go.libproxy.wakehealth.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ufh&AN=27204602&site=ehost-live>.

Hobbs, Hannah, and Lauren Hobbs. "Music and Persuasion: The Impacts of Musical Performance on Persuasive Communication," 2014.

Horton, Donald, and Richard Wohl. "Mass Communication and Para-Social Interaction." *Psychiatry: Journal for the Study of Interpersonal Processes* 19 (1956): 215–29.

Houle, Zachary. "Enter the Haggis: Whitelake | PopMatters." *PopMatters*, April 26, 2012. <http://www.popmatters.com/review/156135-enter-the-haggis-whitelake/>.

Hung, Kineta. "Narrative Music in Congruent and Incongruent TV Advertising." *Journal of Advertising* 29, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 25–34.

Hyde, Michael J., ed. *The Ethos of Rhetoric*. Studies in Rhetoric/communication. Columbia, S.C: University of South Carolina Press, 2004.

Ingraham, JD. "Only If You'll Play Me..." Comment. *Facebook*, September 10, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/enterthehaggis/posts/10152698759089173?comment_id=10152699139839173&offset=0&total_comments=11.

Ingram, Billy. "Sonny and Cher Shows." *TVparty!* Accessed January 24, 2016. <http://www.tvparty.com/sonnycher.html>.

James, Annie. "Hey Now. Did You Give..." Comment. *Facebook*, September 8, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/enterthehaggis/photos/a.126490834172.99232.8027594172/10152694492184173/?type=3&comment_id=10152694763269173&comment_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R9%22%7D.

- Jansz, Jeroen, Corinne Avis, and Mirjam Vosmeer. "Playing The Sims2: An Exploratory Survey Among Male and Female Gamers." In *Conference Papers -- International Communication Association*, 1–1. International Communication Association, 2007. <http://go.libproxy.wakehealth.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ufh&AN=26950680&site=ehost-live>.
- Jasinski, James. *Sourcebook on Rhetoric: Key Concepts in Contemporary Rhetorical Studies*. Rhetoric & Society. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 2001.
- Jensen, Robin E., Erin F. Doss, Claudia I. Janssen, and Sherrema A. Bower. "Theorizing the Transcendent Persona: Amelia Earhart's Vision in The Fun of It." *Communication Theory* 20, no. 1 (February 2010): 1–20. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2885.2009.01353.x.
- Jones, K. Nicole, Melanie E. Brewster, and Jacob A. Jones. "The Creation and Validation of the LGBT Ally Identity Measure." *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity* 1, no. 2 (June 2014): 181–95. doi:10.1037/sgd0000033.
- Jubilee Riots. "Exit the Haggis," September 8, 2014. <http://enterthehaggis.com/exithehaggis>.
- . Penny Black. Audio CD. Firebrand Entertainment, 2014.
- . "Jubilee Riots - BIO/PRESS." Firebrand Entertainment, 2014. <http://jubileeriots.com/bio-press>.
- Juslin, Patrik N., and Petri Laukka. "Communication of Emotions in Vocal Expression and Music Performance: Different Channels, Same Code?" *Psychological Bulletin* 129, no. 5 (September 2003): 770–814.
- Juslin, Patrik N., Simon Liljeström, Daniel Västfjäll, Gonçalo Barradas, and Ana Silva. "An Experience Sampling Study of Emotional Reactions to Music: Listener, Music, and Situation." *Emotion* 8, no. 5 (2008): 668–83. doi:10.1037/a0013505.
- Kassing, Jeffrey W., and Jimmy Sanderson. "'You're the Kind of Guy That We All Want for a Drinking Buddy': Expressions of Parasocial Interaction on Floydlandis.com." *Western Journal of Communication* 73, no. 2 (April 2009): 182–203. doi:10.1080/10570310902856063.
- Keefe, Jonathan. "Taylor Swift Red | Album Review." *Slant Magazine*, October 22, 2012. <http://www.slantmagazine.com/music/review/taylor-swift-red>.
- Kellaris, James J., and Anthony D. Cox. "The Effects of Background Music in Advertising: A Reassessment." *Journal of Consumer Research* 16, no. 1 (June 1989): 113–18.

- Killermann, Samuel. "Being an Ally Between a Rock and a Hard Place." *It's Pronounced Metrosexual*. Accessed March 31, 2016. <http://itspronouncedmetrosexual.com/2013/05/being-an-ally-between-a-rock-and-a-hard-place/>.
- King, Jackie Lee. "Taylor Swift - A Place In This World." *Unrated Magazine*, July 2007. http://www.unratedmagazine.com/Document.cfm?Page=Articles/index.cfm&Article_ID=495.
- Kivy, Peter. *Antithetical Arts : On the Ancient Quarrel Between Literature and Music*. Oxford, GBR: OUP Oxford, 2009. <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/alltitles/docDetail.action?docID=10288404>.
- Klosterman, Michael, and Chuck Thompson. "Taylor Swift on People Who Call Her 'Calculating.'" *GQ*, October 15, 2015. <http://www.gq.com/story/taylor-swift-gq-cover-story>.
- Lalwani, Ashok K., May O. Lwin, and Pee Beng Ling. "Does Audiovisual Congruency in Advertisements Increase Persuasion? The Role of Cultural Music and Products." *Journal of Global Marketing* 22, no. 2 (April 14, 2009): 139–53. doi: 10.1080/08911760902765973.
- Larson, Charles U., and Christine Oravec. "A Prairie Home Companion and the Fabrication of Community." *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 4, no. 3 (September 1987): 221–44.
- Lather, Julie, and Emily Moyer-Guse. "How Do We React When Our Favorite Characters Are Taken Away? An Examination of a Temporary Parasocial Breakup." *Mass Communication & Society* 14, no. 2 (March 2011): 196–215. doi: 10.1080/15205431003668603.
- Lavack, Anne M., Mrugank V. Thakor, and Ingrid Bottausci. "Music-Brand Congruency in High- and Low-Cognition Radio Advertising." *International Journal of Advertising* 27, no. 4 (November 2008): 549–68.
- LeCoat, Gerard G. "Music and the Three Appeals of Classical Rhetoric." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 62, no. 2 (April 1976): 157–66.
- Leech-Wilkinson, Daniel. "The Emotional Power of Musical Performance." In *The Emotional Power of Music: Multidisciplinary Perspectives on Musical Arousal, Expression, and Social Control.*, edited by Tom Cochrane, Bernardino Fantini, Klaus R. Scherer, Tom (Ed) Cochrane, Bernardino (Ed) Fantini, and Klaus R. (Ed) Scherer, 41–54. Series in Affective Science. New York, NY, US: Oxford University Press, 2013.

- Lena, Jennifer C. "A Visit From the Credibility Squad." *Pacific Standard* 6, no. 1 (February 1, 2013): 32–35.
- Lipshutz, Jason. "Taylor Swift: Apple Music Will Stream '1989' For Free." *Billboard*, June 25, 2015. <http://www.billboard.com/articles/columns/pop-shop/6612586/taylor-swift-1989-apple-music-streaming-decision>.
- Liu, Hugo. "Social Network Profiles as Taste Performances." *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 13, no. 1 (November 2007): 252–75. doi:10.1111/j.1083-6101.2007.00395.x.
- Louchouart, Bruno. "I. Moment to Moment: An Interdisciplinary Meditation on the Emergence of the Musical Experience. II. Time Pieces for Orchestra (original Composition)." ProQuest Information & Learning, 2003. (2003-95023-092).
- Lynn, Crystal. "I'm Not Fond of This..." Comment. *Facebook*, September 8, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/enterthehaggis/photos/a.126490834172.99232.8027594172/10152694492184173/?type=3&comment_id=10152695359259173&comment_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R9%22%7D.
- MacInnis, Deborah J., and C. Whan Park. "The Differential Role of Characteristics of Music on High- and Low-Involvement Consumers' Processing of Ads." *Journal of Consumer Research* 18, no. 2 (September 1991): 161–73.
- Marshall, P. D. "Persona Studies: Mapping the Proliferation of the Public Self." *Journalism* 15, no. 2 (February 1, 2014): 153–70. doi: 10.1177/1464884913488720.
- McCarthy, Bruce. "WHAT?!!! WHEN DID WE DECIDE THIS?!!!" Comment. *Facebook*, September 8, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/enterthehaggis/photos/a.126490834172.99232.8027594172/10152694492184173/?type=3&comment_id=10152694885039173&comment_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R9%22%7D.
- McCuin, Stacey. "Really Dumb." Comment. *Facebook*, September 9, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/enterthehaggis/photos/a.126490834172.99232.8027594172/10152694492184173/?type=3&comment_id=10152695971564173&comment_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R7%22%7D.
- McKinney, Kelsey. "The Problem with Taylor Swift's New Pop Song: It's Perfect." *Vox*, August 19, 2014. <http://www.vox.com/2014/8/19/6033483/taylor-swift-new-single-shake-it-off-video>.

- McLean Gordon, Kasey. "It'll Take Some Getting Used..." Comment. *Facebook*, September 8, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/enterthehaggis/photos/a.126490834172.99232.8027594172/10152694492184173/?type=3&comment_id=10152694833569173&comment_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R9%22%7D.
- Mead, George Herbert, and Charles William Morris. *Mind, Self, and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1967.
- Meier, Leslie M. "Promotional Ubiquitous Musics: Recording Artists, Brands, and 'Rendering Authenticity.'" *Popular Music & Society* 34, no. 4 (October 2011): 399–415. doi:10.1080/03007766.2011.601569.
- Mezo, Richard E. "A Note on Audience." *Rhetoric Review* 28, no. 1 (January 2009): 88–90. doi:10.1080/07350190802540799.
- Michael, Patrick. "What Is This, Some Sort..." Comment. *Facebook*, September 9, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/enterthehaggis/photos/a.126490834172.99232.8027594172/10152694492184173/?type=3&comment_id=10152695976074173&comment_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R8%22%7D.
- Moore, Will H. "Rebel Music: Appeals to Rebellion in Zimbabwe." *Political Communication & Persuasion* 8, no. 2 (July 1991): 125–38.
- Morris, Charles E. "Pink Herring & the Fourth Persona: J. Edgar Hoover's Sex Crime Panic." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 88, no. 2 (May 2002): 228–44. doi:10.1080/00335630209384372.
- Morris, Edward. "When She Thinks 'Tim McGraw,' Taylor Swift Savors Payoff." *CMT News*, December 1, 2006. <http://www.cmt.com/news/1546980/when-she-thinks-tim-mcgraw-taylor-swift-savors-payoff/>.
- Myers, Russ. "So Disappointed. ETH Used To..." Comment. *Facebook*, September 8, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/enterthehaggis/photos/a.126490834172.99232.8027594172/10152694492184173/?type=3&comment_id=10152695872769173&comment_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R3%22%7D.
- Newman, Melinda. "From Taylor Swift to Megan Trainor, Female Artists Are Ruling the Charts – Can It Last?" *Billboard*, October 17, 2014. <http://www.billboard.com/articles/business/6288913/female-artists-chart-lorde-taylor-trainor-iggy-katynicki-charli-jessie-ariana-ora>.

- Nicolson, Barry. "Sam Smith – Our Exclusive Cover Interview With The Man With The Golden Lungs." *NME.COM*, October 23, 2015. <http://www.nme.com/music/blogs/sam-smith-our-exclusive-cover-interview-with-the-man-with-the-golden-lungs>.
- Oakes, Steve. "Evaluating Empirical Research into Music in Advertising: A Congruity Perspective." *Journal of Advertising Research* 47, no. 1 (March 2007): 38–50.
- O'Mahony, Tevis. "This Is so Sad, Sean..." Comment. *Facebook*, September 8, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/enterthehaggis/photos/a.126490834172.99232.8027594172/10152694492184173/?type=3&comment_id=10152695845914173&comment_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R9%22%7D.
- Ockydub. "The Gay Gatekeepers." *Cypher Avenue*, January 18, 2014. <http://cypheravenue.com/the-gay-gatekeepers/>.
- Paltzer, Kristin. "Milwaukee Irish Fest Announces 35th Anniversary Entertainment Lineup." Milwaukee Irish Fest, January 27, 2015. <http://irishfest.com/Media/Media-Center/News-Releases/Milwaukee-Irish-Fest-Announces-35th-Anniversary-Entertainment-Lineup.htm>.
- Park, C. Whan, and S. Mark Young. "Consumer Response to Television Commercials: The Impact of Involvement and Background Music on Brand Attitude Formation." *Journal of Marketing Research* 23, no. 1 (February 1986): 11–24.
- Park, David. "Intimate Expertise: Authority, Anti-Professionalism, and the Personal in Dr. Phil's Public Persona." *Conference Papers—International Communication Association*, Annual Meeting 2004, 1.
- Park, Hyun Hee, Jai Kwan Park, and Jung Ok Jeon. "Attributes of Background Music and Consumed Responses to TV Commercials." *International Journal of Advertising* 33, no. 4 (November 2014): 767–84. doi:10.2501/IJA-33-4-767-784.
- "Personae in Rhetoric." The University of Texas at Austin, College of Liberal Arts, 2010. <http://wikis.la.utexas.edu/theory/page/personae-rhetoric>.
- PFLAG. *the guide to being a straight ally (Third Edition)*. PDF Publication. <http://www.straightforequality.org/document.doc?id=1023>.
- Powers, Ann. "No Blank Space, Baby: Taylor Swift Is The Soul Of Ryan Adams." *NPR.org*. Accessed March 30, 2016. <http://www.npr.org/sections/therecord/2015/09/24/442580677/no-blank-slate-baby-taylor-swift-is-the-soul-of-ryan-adams>.

- Radwan, Jon. "Music and Mediated Religious Identity: 'Jesus Freak.'" *Journal of Media & Religion* 5, no. 1 (January 2006): 1–23. doi:10.1207/s15328415jmr0501_1.
- Ramasubramanian, Srividya, and Sarah Kornfield. "Japanese Anime Heroines as Role Models for U.S. Youth: Wishful Identification, Parasocial Interaction, and Intercultural Entertainment Effects." *Journal of International & Intercultural Communication* 5, no. 3 (August 2012): 189–207. doi: 10.1080/17513057.2012.679291.
- Rheinstrom, David. "The Taste of Disillusionment." Blog. *The Clean Platter*, September 18, 2011. <https://cleanplatter.wordpress.com/2011/09/18/the-taste-of-disillusionment/>.
- Robinson, Jenefer. *Deeper than Reason: Emotion and Its Role in Literature, Music, and Art*. Oxford : New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Roehm, Michelle L. "Instrumental vs. Vocal Versions of Popular Music in Advertising." *Journal of Advertising Research* 41, no. 3 (June 5, 2001): 49–58.
- Rosengren, Karl Erik, and Sven Windahl. *Mass Media Consumption as a Functional Alternative*. University of Lund, Department of Sociology, 1971.
- Sales, Nancy Jo, and Jessica Diehl. 2013. "Taylor Swift's Telltale Heart." *Vanity Fair*, March 15. <http://www.vanityfair.com/hollywood/2013/04/taylor-swift-cover-story>.
- Savage, Maureen E., and Patric R. Spence. "Will You Listen? An Examination of Parasocial Interaction and Credibility in Radio." *Journal of Radio & Audio Media* 21, no. 1 (January 2014): 3–19. doi:10.1080/19376529.2014.891214.
- Schmid, Hannah, and Christoph Klimmt. "Goodbye, Harry? Audience Reactions to the End of Parasocial Relationships: The Case of 'Harry Potter.'" *Conference Papers -- International Communication Association, Annual Meeting 2010*, 1.
- Scott, Linda M. "Understanding Jingles and Needledrop: A Rhetorical Approach to Music in Advertising." *Journal of Consumer Research* 17, no. 2 (September 1990): 223–36.
- Sellnow, Deanna D. "Music as Persuasion: Refuting Hegemonic Masculinity in 'He Thinks He'll Keep Her.'" *Women's Studies in Communication* 22, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 66–84.
- Sellnow, Deanna, and Timothy Sellnow. "The 'Illusion of Life' Rhetorical Perspective: An Integrated Approach to the Study of Music as Communication." *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 18, no. 4 (December 2001): 395–415.

- Sharma, Andrew. "Does Background Music Really Help Radio Commercials? The Effect of Involvement on Ad Recall." *Journal of Radio & Audio Media* 18, no. 2 (July 2011): 158–75. doi:10.1080/19376529.2011.615773.
- Shen, Yung-Cheng, and Ting-Chen Chen. "When East Meets West: The Effect of Cultural Tone Congruity in Ad Music and Message on Consumer Ad Memory and Attitude." *International Journal of Advertising* 25, no. 1 (February 2006): 51–70.
- Shevy, Mark. "Music Genre as Cognitive Schema: Extramusical Associations with Country and Hip-Hop Music." *Psychology of Music* 36, no. 4 (October 2008): 477–98. doi:10.1177/0305735608089384.
- Shevy, Mark, and Kineta Hung. "Music in Television Advertising and Other Persuasive Media." In *The Psychology of Music in Multimedia*, edited by Siu-Lan Tan, Annabel J. Cohen, Scott D. Lipscomb, Roger A. Kendall, Siu-Lan (Ed) Tan, Annabel J. (Ed) Cohen, Scott D. (Ed) Lipscomb, and Roger A. (Ed) Kendall, 315–38. New York, NY, US: Oxford University Press, 2013. <http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199608157.001.0001/acprof-9780199608157-chapter-14>.
- Sisario, Ben. "Taylor Swift's '1989' Carries High Hopes." *The New York Times*, October 22, 2014. <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/23/business/media/taylor-swifts-1989-carries-high-hopes-but-no-country-music.html>.
- Sisario, Ben. "Taylor Swift's 'Out of the Woods' Lives Up to The Hype, Soaring to No. 1 on iTunes." *ArtsBeat*, October 14, 2014. <http://artsbeat.blogs.nytimes.com/2014/10/14/swifts-new-single-lives-up-to-her-hype-soaring-to-no-1-on-itunes/>.
- Sisario, Ben. "Young, Rich and Ruling Radio, Country Walks a Broader Line." *The New York Times*, April 6, 2014. <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/07/business/media/losing-a-few-hay-bales-country-music-goes-mainstream.html>.
- Smith, Brent. "I Fear Change so I..." Comment. *Facebook*, September 8, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/enterthehaggis/photos/a.126490834172.99232.8027594172/10152694492184173/?type=3&comment_id=10152694717039173&comment_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R9%22%7D.
- Smith, Clive Stafford. "How US Interrogators Use Music as a Tool of Torture." *The Guardian*, June 18, 2008. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/jun/19/usa.guantanamo>.
- Spitzberg, Brian, and William Cupach. "Fanning the Flames of Fandom: Celebrity Worship, Parasocial Interaction, and Stalking." In *Conference Papers—International Communication Association*, 1–35. International Communication

- Association, 2007. <http://go.libproxy.wakehealth.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ufh&AN=26950182&site=ehost-live>.
- Springer, Craig M. "Society's Soundtrack: Musical Persuasion in Television Advertising." ProQuest Information & Learning, 1992. (1994-70618-001). <https://wfu.illiad.oclc.org/illiad/ewf/pdf/504142.pdf>.
- Stecklow, Sam. "Sam Smith Announces Candidacy For Gay Community Spokesperson." *Ratter*, October 23, 2015. <http://ratter.com/ratter/all/archive/213885-sam-smith>.
- Stone, Rich. "I'll Still Fly the ETH..." Comment. *Facebook*, September 14, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/jubileeriotsband/photos/a.736954743032800.1073741827.736672416394366/754371717957769/?type=1&comment_id=758310000897274&offset=0&total_comments=8.
- Stuart, Tessa. "Taylor Swift's 'Welcome to New York' Is Literally a Tourism Campaign Disguised as a Single." *Village Voice*, October 27, 2014. <http://www.villagevoice.com/news/taylor-swifts-welcome-to-new-york-is-literally-a-tourism-campaign-disguised-as-a-single-6672401>.
- Sullivan, Gary L. "Music Format Effects in Radio Advertising." *Psychology & Marketing* 7, no. 2 (Summer 1990): 97–108.
- Swift, Taylor. 1989. Audio CD. Big Machine Records, 2014.
- Swift, Taylor. "Taylor Swift - My Home Phone Is Ringing..." *Taylor Swift*, August 26, 2014. <http://taylorswift.tumblr.com/post/95868708570/my-home-phone-is-ringing-i-did-not-know-i-had-a>.
- Swift, Taylor. Red. Audio CD. Big Machine Records, 2012.
- Swift, Taylor. "So How Do You Spend..." *Taylor Swift (@taylorswift) • Instagram Photos and Videos*, January 29, 2016. <https://www.instagram.com/p/BBGrFe7DvBf/>.
- "Taylor Swift on New Album '1989,' Leaving Country Music and Dating." *CBS News*, October 29, 2014. <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/taylor-swift-on-new-album-1989-leaving-country-music-and-dating/>.
- "Taylor Swift Thanks Country Music for Remaining Loyal to Her the Past Year." *Examiner.com*, June 25, 2013. <http://www.examiner.com/article/taylor-swift-thanks-country-music-for-remaining-loyal-to-her-the-past-year>.

- Terrill, Margaret. "You Could Have Asked Our..." Comment. *Facebook*, September 8, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/enterthehaggis/photos/a.126490834172.99232.8027594172/10152694492184173/?type=3&comment_id=10152694812739173&comment_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R9%22%7D.
- Toynbee, Jason, and Farida Vis. "World Music at the BBC World Service, 1942-2008: Public Diplomacy, Cosmopolitanism, Contradiction." *Media, Culture & Society* 32, no. 4 (July 2010): 547–64. doi:10.1177/0163443710367691.
- Treadwell, James. "For Those of Us Who..." Comment. *Facebook*, September 8, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/enterthehaggis/photos/a.126490834172.99232.8027594172/10152694492184173/?type=3&comment_id=10152695399199173&comment_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R9%22%7D.
- Trigger. "Taylor Swift Is Leaving Country. But Will Country Let Her?" *Saving Country Music*, June 11, 2014. <http://www.savingcountrymusic.com/taylor-swift-is-leaving-country-but-will-country-let-her/>.
- Tsay, Chia-Jung. "Sight over Sound in the Judgment of Music Performance." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 110, no. 36 (September 3, 2013): 14580–85. doi:10.1073/pnas.1221454110.
- van Leeuwen, Theo. "The Critical Analysis of Musical Discourse." *Critical Discourse Studies* 9, no. 4 (November 2012): 319–28. doi:10.1080/17405904.2012.713204.
- Vermeulen, I, T Hartmann, and A Welling. "The Chill Factor: Improving Ad Responses by Employing Chill-Inducing Background Music." *Conference Papers — International Communication Association, Annual Meeting 2011*, 1–6.
- Vinson, Christina. "Taylor Swift Says Thanks to Country Music for Letting Her Evolve." *Taste of Country*, June 29, 2013. <http://tasteofcountry.com/taylor-swift-thanks-country-music/>.
- Walker, Gregg B., and Melinda A. Bender. "Is It More than Rock and Roll?: Considering Music Video as Argument." *Argumentation & Advocacy* 31, no. 2 (Fall 1994): 64.
- Wander, Philip C. "The Third Persona: An Ideological Turn in Rhetorical Theory." *Central States Speech Journal* 35 (1984): 197–216.
- Wang, Qi, Edward L. Fink, and Deborah A. Cai. "Loneliness, Gender, and Parasocial Interaction: A Uses and Gratifications Approach." *Communication Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (February 2008): 87–109. doi:10.1080/01463370701839057.

- Ware, B.I, and Wil A. Linkugel. "The Rhetorical Persona: Marcus Garvey as a Black Moses." *Communication Monographs* 49, no. 1 (March 1982): 50–62.
- Webster, Gregory D., and Catherine G. Weir. "Emotional Responses to Music: Interactive Effects of Mode, Texture, and Tempo." *Motivation and Emotion* 29, no. 1 (March 2005): 19–39. doi:10.1007/s11031-005-4414-0.
- Wells, Gary L., and Richard E. Petty. "The Effects of Overt Head Movements on Persuasion: Compatibility and Incompatibility of Responses." *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 1, no. 3 (September 1980): 219–30. doi:10.1207/s15324834basp0103_2.
- Wheeler, Thomas. "Your Choice to Abandon The..." Comment. *Facebook*, September 11, 2014. https://www.facebook.com/enterthehaggis/photos/a.126490834172.99232.8027594172/10152694492184173/?type=3&comment_id=10152702227444173&comment_tracking=%7B%22tn%22%3A%22R9%22%7D.
- White, Caitlin. "Taylor Swift Slams Brainless 'Evil Pop' (But Which Singers Is She Calling Out?)." *MTV News*, October 27, 2014. <http://www.mtv.com/news/1976083/taylor-swift-evil-pop/>.
- Willens, Max. "Agency Music Specialists Look Past the Big Score." *Advertising Age* 85, no. 21 (October 13, 2014): 1–1.
- Williams, Skip. "I Was Conflicted about The..." Wall post. *Facebook*, September 9, 2014. <https://www.facebook.com/enterthehaggis/posts/10152697825829173>.
- Wilson, Carl. "Contemplating Taylor Swift's Navel." *Slate*, October 29, 2014. http://www.slate.com/articles/arts/music_box/2014/10/taylor_swift_s_1989_reviewed_could_the_secret_to_the_pop_star_s_world_conquering.html?wpsrc=fol_tw.
- Wilson, Carl. "Country Music's Bro Problem." *Slate*, June 5, 2014. http://www.slate.com/articles/arts/music_box/2014/06/miranda_lambert_s_platinum_reviewed.single.html.
- wine country. "You Need This CD." *Amazon*, April 3, 2013. http://smile.amazon.com/gp/customer-reviews/RYA1RXG5R257E/ref=cm_cr_pr_rvw_ttl?ie=UTF8&ASIN=B00C0176GS.
- Wise, Wes, Coy Callison, and Samuel Bradley. "Alternative Rock Music in Radio Advertising: The Effects of Familiarity on Message Recognition, Purchase Intent, and Attitudes Toward the Ad." *Conference Papers — International Communication Association*, Annual Meeting 2008, 1.

- Witchel, Alex. "Growing Up In Public: From Babe In Arms To Gay Advocate." *The New York Times*, July 9, 1997, sec. Home & Garden. <http://www.nytimes.com/1997/07/09/garden/growing-up-in-public-from-babe-in-arms-to-gay-advocate.html>.
- Wyatt, Daisy. "Taylor Swift's 1989 Topples The Eminem Show to Become Fastest-Selling." *The Independent*, November 5, 2014. <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/music/news/taylor-swifts-1989-becomes-fastest-selling-album-in-12-years-9840220.html>.
- Yahr, Emily. "Taylor Swift Has Been Writing Personal, Inspiring, Sometimes Hilarious Comments All over Instagram." *The Washington Post*, June 16, 2014. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/arts-and-entertainment/wp/2014/06/16/taylor-swift-has-been-writing-personal-inspiring-sometimes-hilarious-comments-all-over-instagram-2/>.
- Zhu, Rui (Juliet), and Joan Meyers-Levy. "Distinguishing Between the Meanings of Music: When Background Music Affects Product Perceptions." *Journal of Marketing Research* 42, no. 3 (August 2005): 333–45. doi:10.1509/jmkr.2005.42.3.333.
- Ziv, Naomi, Moran Hoftman, and Mor Geyer. "Music and Moral Judgment: The Effect of Background Music on the Evaluation of Ads Promoting Unethical Behavior." *Psychology of Music* 40, no. 6 (November 1, 2012): 738–60. doi:10.1177/0305735611406579.

APPENDIX

JUBILEE RIOTS' LETTER TO FANS ANNOUNCING THE NAME CHANGE

In March, 1995, Craig had just secured a gig and although the songs had been written, he didn't actually have a band or even a band name. Amazingly, within a matter of weeks, Craig had a kilt-rocking band of Canadians ready to take the Toronto pub scene by storm. Looking back to those early days, one could say that the world was a different place than it is today. By the same token, Enter The Haggis is a different band today than it was then, with Craig remaining as the only original member. Most of us were teenagers when we joined Enter The Haggis and today some of us are married and have kids of our own. Many of you have witnessed this transformation before your very eyes.

During this time, we've tried to push ourselves to continue learning and improving as musicians, songwriters and hopefully, as people. Ultimately, we feel like every bit of growth we've achieved has been realized honestly, organically and always with the best interest of the music at heart - but nothing can grow and thrive as we have without an incredible support system and for us, that support system is you: our fans, friends and supporters.

We've faced many difficult decisions over the years, but have always been empowered to move forward with them thanks in large part to your strong belief in us. Your loyalty and support have allowed us the freedom to take musical risks and make tough career choices, such as the one we're announcing today:

After almost twenty years as Enter The Haggis we have decided to change our name.

Truth be told, we've been wrestling with the idea since 2004, when we released our album, *Casualties of Retail*. This debate has come up with every new album and we feel that now is the right time to take this next step on our musical journey. We're very proud of our history as Enter The Haggis, but the legacy of that name no longer fits our identity. While it does convey the Celtic side of what we do, it also paints a one-dimensional picture that doesn't represent our varied musical influences. Since Craig is the only original member of Enter The Haggis, a new name also gives a common start for something that we're all creatively invested in.

As for our new music, we describe it as "Northern Roots Rock." We feel that that speaks to our Canadian spin on American roots music and our use of traditional instruments with a rock edge. Folk music focuses on the power of meaningful lyrics, which continues to be a focus in our writing.

We know that our music has been a part of many of your lives for a long time and that you have special memories associated with coming to our shows over the years, so we did not make this decision lightly. You were instrumental in the creation of the forthcoming album, *Penny Black*. You wrote us the letters that inspired the lyrics, you gave us your hard-earned money to pay for the recording expenses, and some of you even lent us your voices in the studio. With that in mind, we're asking for your understanding and support for our decision.

Rest assured that when you come to a show you'll find the same five guys pouring their hearts and souls out on the stage, playing all of your favourite ETH songs, happy to say hello and share a pint with new and familiar faces. We're super excited for what the

future holds and we hope that you will allow us to continue to bring you the very best of what we have to offer as musicians and as people.

We celebrate our last show as Enter The Haggis on October 11th, 2014, at the Westcott Theater in Syracuse, NY.

— Your friends, Jubilee Riots (Brian, Bruce, Craig, Mark and Trevor)

Any questions? Yes? Okay, shoot:

YOU: This is a great decision and I support you 100%!

US: That's not a question but THANK GOD!!! We thought you were going to hate us.

YOU: How can I help?

US: The best thing you can do is purchase a ticket for one of our upcoming shows in your area. And if you want to take it one step further, you can contact the venue in your area that we'll be performing at and let them know that you continue to support us and you will be attending the show.

YOU: I'm a card carrying Haggis Head. Can I keep my card?

US: Well... we never printed cards but for sure!

YOU: What is Jubilee Riots' official bird?

US: The African Swallow.

YOU: Can I still buy a Haggis Head t-shirt?

US: Yes, but we aren't printing any more so order them online or come to a show before they're gone!

YOU: What does Jubilee Riots mean?

US: The Jubilee Riots are an integral part of Toronto's Irish cultural history. You can find it on "The Google." They came at a cost but the positive outcome was greater freedom of expression. Our band formed in Toronto and we've been influenced by Celtic music, so our new band name is a nod to both our geographic and musical roots. This new name also reflects our many contrasts: the celebration and sorrow found in many of our songs (One Last Drink for example), our use of traditional and modern instruments, and our story as a Canadian band finding love and affection in the USA.

YOU: I have a Haggis Head tattoo and have devoted my entire life to your teachings. I'm now spiraling in a spiritual vortex of confusion. What do you recommend?

US: Your unbelievable devotion isn't something we take lightly. You've chosen to carry us with you - both in your hearts and ON YOUR BODIES through all your life's twists and turns, and it's humbling. That's why Brian is collecting the names of everyone with ETH ink - once he's confident he has a comprehensive list, he's going to design a tattoo for himself with all of your initials, so we can carry all of you forward with us.

YOU: Will you continue to play my favorite ETH songs?

US: Yes!

YOU: Great, I want to hear "Donald, Where's Yer Troosers?"

US: No.

YOU: But—

US: NO.

YOU: If I'm not a Haggis Head, what am I?

US: You guys are amazingly creative so we'll leave this up to you. Let us know when you figure it out!

YOU: Will www.enterthehaggis.com and social media sites continue running?

US: Yes, but we'd love you to join us at www.jubileeriot.com, and get active in our new social media communities: <http://www.facebook.com/jubileeriotband> <http://www.twitter.com/jubileeriot> <http://jubileeriot.tumblr.com>

YOU: What other names did you consider?

US: Today's Modern Camel, The Strolling Drones, Lewd Reeds, Early Machines, A Portrait of Penguins, Schmenter the Shmaggis, Whaggis, Trevor Lewington and The Shipwrecks... it was so hard to choose.

YOU: Can I use the name Enter The Haggis for my band now?

US: No, this is like an ex-girlfriend situation where we don't want to be with them but don't want anyone else to have them either.

YOU: When is Jubilee Riots' "Penny Black" being released?

US: November 1st at Port City Music Hall in Portland, ME - and November 4th worldwide!

YOU: When is the band's first show as Jubilee Riots?

US: October 15th and 16th at Hugh's Room in Toronto. We thought it fitting as the first Enter The Haggis show was in Toronto.

YOU: Can we expect anything different at a Jubilee Riots show or will it basically be the same as an Enter The Haggis show?

US: We've got a few things up our sleeves to make the live experience even more exciting, and of course we'll be featuring music from Penny Black. We've also ordered a massive Stone Henge-looking set piece that will be lowered down behind us during our shows - it'll be at least 18" tall.

YOU: In a fight between Batman and Superman who would win?

US: According to Trevor's 3-year-old, Superman would win. More specifically he would use his super strength and throw Batman into the garbage then he would make a fort out of the couch cushions and hide there because there are moose coming.

YOU: If I wear my Haggis Head garment to a show can I have something for free?

US: Ummm... sure. How about a free copy of the new CD?

YOU: Can I have a free domestic beer or well drink too?

US: No.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Julianne Harper Gruenhagen

grueja14@wfu.edu

EDUCATION

Wake Forest University

M.A. Communication

August 2014 - May 2016

Hope College

B.A. Classical Studies

August 2007 - May 2011

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Teaching Assistant, Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina

COM 220 Empirical Research in Communication

Spring 2016

- Planned and graded assignments and projects
- Led lab groups to teach and help students understand new concepts

COM 225 Rhetorical Theory and Criticism

Fall 2015

- Wrote exams with the professor
- Helped students work through and understand concepts

COM 110 Public Speaking

Fall 2014 - Spring 2015

- Kept track of attendance
- Planned and graded assignments
- Led a weekly lab group in discussion and speeches

Teaching Assistant, Hope College, Holland, Michigan

MUS 117 Women's Chamber Choir

Fall 2010 - Spring 2011

- Kept track of attendance
- Led and taught sectional groups when learning new music
- Assisted with pronunciation of lyrics in other languages

UNIVERSITY SERVICE

Wake Forest University

Graduate Representative to the Faculty

August 2015 - May 2016

- Attended monthly faculty meetings, reported on graduate students' concerns
- Shared news and announcements from the faculty with other graduate students

Hope College

Latin Lab Group Coordinator August 2009 - May 2010

- While taking beginning Latin, started and ran unofficial labs for other students also in the class
- Helped other students with homework and understanding grammar concepts

HONORS AND AWARDS

Wake Forest University

- Poster presentation at Graduate School Research Day 2016

Hope College

- Graduated Magna Cum Laude 2011
- Classics Faculty Award 2011
- ΗΣΦ, Classics Honor Society 2010 - 2011
- Dean's List 2008 - 2011
- Presidential Scholarship 2007 - 2011

OTHER PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Website Designer

Dashpop Music Festival, Winston-Salem, North Carolina August 2014 - May 2015

- Created, designed, and maintained a website to represent the brand new Dashpop Music Festival

Production Engineer

Virginia Voice, Richmond, Virginia January 2014 - August 2014

- Imported and managed audio book files
- Edited files for broadcast, including cutting for time slots and adding bumpers

Front Desk Representative / Night Auditor

Hyatt house, Richmond, Virginia January 2014 - July 2014

Holiday Inn Express, Holland, Michigan March 2012 - January 2014

- Represented the Hyatt house and Holiday Inn Express brands to potential guests and corporate contracts
- Oversaw the property while on third-shift night audit, solved problems such as overbookings
- Managed cash drawers at the front desk, processed guest payments, created daily financial reports

Student Blogger

Admissions Office, Hope College, Holland, Michigan August 2009 - May 2011

- Blogged, tweeted, and made videos representing life at Hope College
- Met with prospective students, discussed experiences at Hope

Office Intern

Academic Support Center, Hope College, Holland, Michigan

August 2008 - May 2011

- Organized office affairs
- Met with new tutored students to discuss and explain the tutoring process
- Kept track of lists of tutors, students being tutored, and pairings thereof

LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE

Classical Languages

Koine Greek	Proficient
Attic Greek	Basic
Latin	Basic

Modern Languages

German	Proficient
Dutch	Proficient
French	Basic
Irish Gaelic	Basic
American Sign Language	Basic
Old English	Basic

TECHNICAL SKILLS

- Opera PMS
- Microsoft Office
- HTML, CSS, PHP, WordPress
- Mac fluent
- Audacity
- Adobe Photoshop, Premiere, Lightroom
- FinalCut Pro