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One Direction and the Marketing Machine

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement
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by

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Acknowledgements

This project was very special to me for many reasons—first and foremost because I am a young, female fan of One Direction. I hope that this work (at the very least) makes others think about the social implications behind "crazy fangirls" and see young women in their complex reality.

This project means the world to me, but I couldn't have done it without some key people. Lisa Szykman encouraged me to pursue this thesis from the very beginning and acted as my unofficial advisor for a year and a half. Her guidance was crucial to keeping me on track and giving me the confidence to persevere, even when it looked like everything was going to end before it even began. Charles McGovern (an extremely busy and intelligent man) took me under his wing because of his passion for popular music and subverting the patriarchy, and I couldn't be more grateful. Talking with him over the course of the year kept me inspired, and his ability to put my scattered ideas into a cohesive thought led to several eye-opening revelations. Sarah Glosson was generous enough to serve on my committee while finishing her PhD. and understood what I was trying to do like only a true fangirl could.

My friends and family gave me all the support and encouragement I needed to make it through to the very end. Thanks to my parents for always pushing me but loving me no matter what. Thanks to anyone who said they thought of me after listening to a One Direction song and to those who offered their condolences when Zayn left the band.

One Direction will always be the soundtrack to my college experience, not only because of this paper, but also because of my own OT5 that 1D helped strengthen. Thanks to 1E and Biebz for all the midnight memories. You make me strong.

Lastly, thank you to the One Direction fandom. This project is also for you. This is my toast to the girls almighty.

Introduction

Catchy music alone does not generate the amount of love, dedication, and personal connection that fans feel towards the boy band One Direction. Major marketing strategies over the band's five-year existence have facilitated and encouraged a strong emotional attachment between consumers and the band. The intense support from One Direction fans has made the group one of the most successful musical acts in the past five years as evidenced by consistently high *Billboard* rankings and numerous record sales numbers.[1]

By understanding its audience so thoroughly, monitoring fandom reactions through social media, and engaging with a group of proactive consumers, One Direction has achieved things no other band has been able to achieve. *Billboard* recorded the group as the first artist to debut four albums at No. 1, in 2015 *Forbes* cited the band as the fourth highest earning celebrities, and One Direction was the most successful band in 2014.[2] These achievements were enabled by dedicated fandom (an active community of fans) consumption and feedback from their target market.

One Direction's target demographic throughout its career has been adolescent girls, a demographic segment that society does not take seriously in most regards. Young women are considered by many critics and reporters to be mindless, lust-crazed consumers who will wholeheartedly buy anything with the right logo stamped across it.

[1] "Top 25 Tours of 2013," *Billboard*, December 13, 2013, accessed April 14, 2016, http://www.billboard.com/articles/list/5820092/top-25-tours-of-2013; Ray Waddell, "Live Music's $20 http://www.billboard.com/articles/news/6805333/top-boxscores-2015-power-healthy-touring-industry.
[2] Keith Caulfield, "One Direction's 'Four' Makes Historic No. 1 Debut on Billboard 200 Chart," *Billboard*, November 26, 2014, accessed April 10, 2016, http://www.billboard.com/articles/columns/chart-beat/6327789/one-direction-four-no-1-debut-billboard-200; Zack O'Malley Greenburg, "The World's Highest-Paid Musicians Of 2015," *Forbes*, December 8, 2015, accessed April 14, 2016, http://www.forbes.com/sites/zackomalleygreenburg/2015/12/08/the-worlds-highest-paid-musicians-of-2015/; "2014 Year End: Top Artists Chart," *Billboard*, accessed September 15, 2015, http://www.billboard.com/charts/year-end/2014/top-artists.

Society often portrays them as wild, uncontrollable, and obsessed with the objects of their desire.[3] The discomfort in this depiction can be traced to a fear of young women's public sexual expression.[4] More academic perspectives have begun to take teens more seriously, but passionate, young, female fandom threatens the status quo by providing a space in which to cultivate a strong, independent identity and to rebel against the patriarchal structure and sexual repression enforced by society.[5]

It is important to note that the idea for this work did not come from a purely academic perspective, but rather it formulated through my own participation in the One Direction fandom. In this work, I aim to evaluate the external environmental factors that developed over the past century to help to set the stage for One Direction's success, the marketing strategies used by the band itself, and the ways in which fans used the framework the band provided to shift the focus of their devotion from the band to the fandom itself. I argue that One Direction's success was built from its ability to meet fan expectations through performance, the One Direction fandom exercised more agency over time, and social media played an instrumental role in both the band's marketing and the fans' ability to foster a cohesive, autonomous community.

Methods

This analysis is supplemented by an anonymous survey that was distributed online among One Direction fans active on the social media website, Tumblr. I chose Tumblr because both the structure of its platform and the relative distance from One Direction (band members do not have official Tumblr accounts) allows more in-depth

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[3] Susan J. Douglas, *Where the Girls Are: Growing up Female with the Mass Media* (New York: Times Books, 1994), 115.
[4] Ibid.,, 120.
[5] Ibid., 116.

analysis and sharing among fans than does Twitter or Instagram. Therefore, I hypothesized fans on Tumblr would be more willing to complete an open-ended survey. I posted the link to the survey on my personal Tumblr and personally sent it to prominent One Direction fan blogs, requesting that they share it with their followers. Defying all likelihood, the post received considerable attention, and the link was accessed over 1,000 times in 24 hours. All respondents were over the age of 18 and left blank any question they did not feel comfortable answering.[6] The survey contained 31 questions, most of which were free response to allow participants to elaborate as much as possible. There were 661 total respondents, 95 percent of whom identified as female, 2 percent as male, and 4 percent identified another way. [Appendix 1] The age of survey participants ranged from 18-62, with the majority falling between 18-19. [Appendix 2] The qualitative free-response data was coded based on the first two items listed if participants elaborated with multiple points.

Though this sample cannot be perceived as perfectly representative of the One Direction fandom population, the data collected offer valuable insight. While the majority of respondents were adults (18 and up) when they entered the fandom, 43 percent were teenagers. [Appendix 3] Additionally, these data provide us with the important (but often neglected) perspective of slightly older One Direction fans. As the band matured, so did their target market and subsequent marketing strategies, which is reflected in the findings. Although I was unable to survey younger fans, judging from my research and applied theories, I do not think the data would show significantly different results. The cohesive environment of the fandom is a result of, and additionally perpetuates, relatively

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[6] This age requirement was set by the ethics committee at the College of William & Mary. Although it does result in an incomplete age representation, we should consider that as One Direction has aged, so has their target demographic.

homogeneous themes that I discuss later on. The goal of this survey was to receive

specific feedback about the One Direction fandom experience on topics that I discuss in

this work. A more in-depth questionnaire and analysis would reveal many additionally

interesting things, but even still, the data I reference from this survey adds color and

detail to the points I seek to make.[7]

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[7] Due to time constraints I was unable to do any in-depth analysis, but I am confident that such an analysis would reveal valuable relationships.

Sounds of Consumerism

Over time, Americans have steadily increased the number of goods purchased instead of making products themselves or going without.[8] The twentieth century saw a "significant shift toward recognizing the centrality of consumers to the nation's economy."[9] Consumerism in the 1900s started with the incorporation of new goods into existing behaviors and routines, and expanded into an all-pervasive symbol of a generation.[10] While mass consumption is not new, the economic boost provided by World War II made consumption central to American life. Ronald Bettig and Jeanne Lynn Hall argue in their book *Big Media, Big Money,* that modern day consumerism is not about acquiring wealth, it is about acquiring "stuff."[11] In the late nineteenth, brand name advertisers filled material magazines with images and narratives praising the consumption of goods. These ads continually linked consumption with identity, self-definition, and self-creation, encouraging more people to consume goods and to seamlessly integrate them into Americans' daily lifestyle.[12] After WWII, the Baby Boomers were placed in a position of consumer power like no generation before them; due to the economy, a huge amount of affordable products were available. Consumers had the disposable income to spend, and as a whole, Baby Boomers are described by Regina Lee Blaszczyk in *American Consumer Society, 1865-2005* as, "affluent customers

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[8] Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Knopf, 2003), 21.

[9] Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic*, 21.

[10] Ibid., 94,

[11] Ronald V. Bettig, and Jeanne Lynn Hall, *Big Media, Big Money: Cultural Texts and Political Economics* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 80

[12] Regina Lee Blaszczyk, *American Consumer Society, 1865-2005: From Hearth to HDTV* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 2009), 94.

with heterogeneous tastes."[13] In the late 1940s, the Cold War era saw the introduction of the "purchaser as citizen" whose spending in self-interest served the public good.[14] Mass consumption then stood for what historian Lizbeth Cohen calls, "economic abundance and democratic political freedom."[15] Advertisers held direct influence over media content, beginning with radio and newspaper and then television and the Internet; these outlets of mass media further encouraged consumers to embrace American buying culture. Media outlets also allowed for a greater deal of market segmentation: targeting homogenous buyers within heterogeneous market segments. Advertisers shaped the media industry and emphasized segmentation further by selectively supporting outlets with the highest consuming audience demographics.[16]

The primary goal of most media outlets is to make a profit, which only happens by either charging consumers for the service, or by running advertisements.[17] In turn, the advertisers serve the specific clients' needs, no matter the product. Music outlets, such as radio, were no exception. Radio broadcasters in the 1920s saw substantial economic value in selling large audiences to advertisers and by 1930, 40 percent of American households had radios.[18] Along with this newfound profit also came newfound restrictions; in the late 1930s, major commercial stations only played songs that were consistently determined to have the largest audience appeal.[19]

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[13] Blaszczyk, *American Consumer Society, 1865-2005*, 180.

[14] Timothy Dean Taylor, *The Sounds of Capitalism: Advertising, Music, and the Conquest of Culture* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2012), 102.

[15] Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic*, 127.

[16] Taylor, *The Sounds of Capitalism*, 58.

[17] Non-profit media outlets such as Public Broadcasting Service or educational radio do not seek to make profit, but still need some advertisements to provide operational funding.

[18] Elena Razlogova, *The Listener's Voice: Early Radio and the American Public* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 75.

[19] Ibid., 138. John Gary Peatman and Richard Himber compiled "hit sheets," or lists of the most popular radio songs, that were published in *Variety* and *Billboard*.

Soon thereafter, radio music appeared in radio advertisements themselves, starting with the jingle. As television entered, music in filmed commercials was used as well. Music addresses listeners emotionally, making it a powerful tool for advertisers; it cuts through logic and intellectualism, gives products emotional memorability, and forges a bond with consumers that eventually leads to brand preferences.[20] Furthermore, marketing through music is an effective strategy to reach specific demographics since different music taste provides natural audience segmentation.

In the 1980s and 1990s, cable television's new Music Television channel solidified the integration of music with meaningful video. Music videos encouraged the pairing of fantasy experiences with popular music, creating an opportunity for advertisers to create abstract and emotional commercials that remained accessible to viewers. According to Timothy Taylor, these commercials were known as "atmospheric advertising" due to their softer and more artistic presentation.[21] At this point, music was a tightly controlled commodity that was accessible through only certain distribution channels. Shortly thereafter, however, music consumption and the ways we *discover* music completely changed.

The Internet Age

For the past 25 years, mass media has evolved around one central innovation: the Internet. In the 1990s, the Internet, with the help of personal computers, opened a new set of doors for advertisers and changed everything for the music industry. In less than a decade, traditional trendsetters in popular music culture such as "commercial radio, MTV, retail stores, and record companies lost their exclusive tastemaker status," and the

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[20] Taylor, *The Sounds of Capitalism*, 110.
[21] Ibid., 186.

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power was shifted to the consumers themselves.[22] Now, with a click of a button,

consumers could access an endless quantity of music at their discretion.

In the '90s, the music industry consolidated into a handful of multinational record

conglomerates, commercial-radio conglomerates, and one sole company dominating the

touring industry.[23] This business structure was great for the industry's bottom line, but

horrible for customers. Music prices spiked—CDs, which were fairly inexpensive to

produce, were sold in stores for nearly $20.[24] The industry was growing, but the demands

of Wall-Street investors for consistent, annual growth proved difficult for a creative

industry to provide. Artists were no longer signed for long-term record deals, but for only

two or three albums at a time with little room for error, growth, or artistic development.[25]

Songs made for Top 40 radio were the desired product as far as record companies were

concerned; at that time, radio play determined whether or not consumers noticed a record,

album, or artist.

Due to the concentrated power held by radio stations and the non-music content

that dominated MTV's programming by that point, these prominent music discovery

platforms were incredibly competitive. Artists at the top of the charts "were marketing

triumphs more than creative ones."[26] This environment was ideal for teen pop stars and

boy bands like The Backstreet Boys and 'NSync, because their success was not

determined by the quality of their music, but the amount of money spent promoting them.

In the '90s, labels did not hesitate to spend over $1 million to promote a single by a major

artist and $14 million for multiplatinum albums, most of which went to radio

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[22] Greg Kot, *Ripped: How the Wired Generation Revolutionized Music* (New York: Scribner, 2009), 2.
[23] Ibid., 7.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid., 8.
[26] Ibid., 9.

companies.[27] This expensive and competitive system meant there was only a narrow range of sound that record companies were willing to invest in.

Promoting artists through radio became outdated the second file sharing over the Internet was accessible to young technology users. In 1999 Napster became the easiest and most widely used file-sharing site in existence; that same year revenue from all music sales reached a record $14.6 billion.[28] However, thanks to Napster and other subsequent file-sharing sites, by the end of 2001 the number of home-burned CDs worldwide was equal to the number of CDs sold in retail stores, and by 2002 music industry revenue had already fallen 13.7 percent since 1999.[29] [Appendix 4] Unfortunately, due to the growth that stemmed from the success of radio and CD sales leading up to 1999, it took the industry a considerable amount of time to recognize and appropriately respond to the threat that was file sharing.

According to Greg Kot, the steep decline in album sales came from both online sharing *and* the high price of albums in stores that offered homogeneous Top 40 sound.[30] Instead of utilizing the Internet as a direct communication channel to reach consumers (using the email addresses of downloaders to advertise tours or to track music consumption for example) labels fought against music sharing and downloading. The industry resisted evolution by prosecuting file-sharing sites and individual downloaders while the Internet began to make traditional music distributors, vendors, and other middlemen obsolete. It was not until 2003, when iTunes produced a legal and affordable online music buying system (songs for 99 cents each and albums well under the $20

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[27] Kot, *Ripped*, 16.
[28] Ibid., 28.
[29] Ibid., 42.
[30] Ibid., 45.

mark) and a new innovative storage device (the iPod), that the music industry embraced the Internet as a music distribution platform.

By 2008, radio listening had declined 14 percent since 1998 and iTunes accounted for 70 percent of worldwide online digital music sales.[31] At this point, global digital music sales reached $4 billion, which accounted for over one-fifth of the global industry revenue.[32] These trends prevailed; from 2010-2015, Americans who used the Internet to find new music increased to reach 44 percent of the population while radio users decreased to only 32 percent. [Appendix 5] Since 2008, international digital revenue (including that from streaming platforms) has grown to almost $7 billion, which proves that digital consumption is here to stay. [Appendix 6]

Utilizing New Strategies

The Internet, and the new platforms of communication it provides, created new marketing opportunities for musicians to utilize on a large scale. The Internet made it possible for more people to create, share, and consume music with ease. Bands were more independent in their ability to self-promote and connect with fans, and consumers were more powerful than ever before. Instead of being limited to heavily promoted acts that were played on rotation on the radio, Internet users found and distributed a new, wider range of music. The nature of both file sharing and CD burning also placed a heavy importance on peer opinion; users shared what they thought was good, either online or by distributing home-burned CD to their friends. This began to shift the tastemaker power away from radio and television to consumers with personal computers.

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[31] Kot, *Ripped*, 10, 48.

[32] Music industry revenue worldwide from 2002 to 2014, by sector (in billion U.S. dollars), *IFPI*, accessed March 17, 2016, http://www.statista.com/statistics/272306/worldwide-revenues-of-the-music-industry-by-category/.

When Radiohead's *Kid A* album was intentionally streamed online in 2000, the band worried that the innovative action would result in a loss of sales revenue.[33] Surprisingly, the online sharing community built a feverish anticipation for the album instead; word traveled to those outside the fandom, lyrics were typed up and shared, and listeners eagerly awaited more content and explanation from the band.[34] In essence, online streaming played the promotional role that had typically been that of controlled distribution centers such as radio and MTV. The transition of that influence into the hands of independent consumers laid the foundation for the increased power of online fandoms. Now, streaming music online is more popular than ever; with multiple streaming sites established to allow users to stream music for a subscription fee or exposure to advertisements, the industry makes money from consumers' desire to listen to music without downloading it, while providing an alternative to piracy. Streaming sites such as Pandora, Spotify, and more recently Apple Music are helping the industry regain its lost momentum.

Since 2011, streaming has provided a source of digital growth while album and single downloads have started to decline.[35] [Appendix 7] The growth in streaming demand is the combined result of young, technologically savvy consumers who are less attached to traditional music distribution entering the market (the early adopters), and technological advances that make devices bigger and cheaper, phone service more consistent, and car and speaker integration which all encourage people to use their cell phones as their portable music device. [Appendix 8] At this point in time, streaming is in

[33] Kot, *Ripped*, 220.
[34] Ibid., 220.
[35] "Digital music revenue in the United States from 2008 to 2014, by type (in million U.S. dollars)," *RIAA*, accessed March 17, 2016, http://www.statista.com.proxy.wm.edu/statistics/186710/digital-music-revenue-in-the-us-since-2008/.

the growth stage of the product lifecycle and in the five years leading up to 2014, "subscription revenues have grown more than six-fold to US$1.6 billion," and in four years, the number of people who subscribe to streaming services is five times that of 2010.[36] [Appendix 9] As younger generations continue to come into the consumer market, evidence predicts that digital streaming will continue to grow and eventually dominate the revenue generated from digital downloads. In 2015 the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry (IFPI) reported that, over the course of six months, the percentage of people in the U.S. who used either free or paid music streaming sites was greater than the percentage of those who used download services, demonstrating this new trend in music consumption.[37] [Appendix 10] These trends confirm that appealing to young consumers and capitalizing on new technological advances are proactive ways to make a profit in a fast-paced industry.

After its initial resistance, the music industry scrambled to use the Internet to regain the success and control it possessed in 1999. A greater number of labels are embracing technological advancements such as social media platforms and digital streaming in an attempt to tame what is still a relatively new innovation. As a result, while global music industry revenue has been on the decline for the past several years, the growth seen in digital music is beginning to slow the spiraling industry.[38] [Appendix 11]

The Internet also broke many of the barriers that stood between artists and their fans (or potential fans). In 2004, MySpace was the first social media platform known for

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[36] "Digital Music Report 2015," *IFPI*, accessed April 6, 2016, 15.
[37] Ibid., 14.
[38] "Music industry revenue worldwide from 2002 to 2014, by sector (in billion U.S. dollars)," *IFPI*, accessed March 17, 2016, http://www.statista.com/statistics/272306/worldwide-revenues-of-the-music-industry-by-category/.

its music streaming capabilities. It was the perfect platform for new artists to share music

with fans, attract new listeners, and build a following. British pop star Lily Allen built her

fandom on MySpace by posting personal photos, videos, and comments. She

enthusiastically responded directly to the fan messages she received on the site and used

her unfiltered personality to connect with a global audience. As a result, she played sold

out clubs in North America before her album was even released in the U.S. MySpace was

the sole driver of the success of her brand awareness, without any help from radio or

MTV.[39] Social media, much like streaming, took power away from traditional music

sources and put it directly in the eager hands of consumers.

In 2005, YouTube surfaced as the perfect platform to house music videos online.

Canadian band OK Go uploaded a homemade music video for their song "Here It Goes

Again," featuring the band doing a choreographed dance routine on treadmills. Because

of its sharable format, the video went viral online. The low-quality but captivating video

proved that artists no longer needed a multi-million dollar budget to gain attention. Now,

YouTube is consistently used to listen to music or watch music videos. Over 50 percent

of the total U.S. population use YouTube for this purpose, and, specifically, about 90

percent of millennials do as well. [Appendix 12]

Now that consumers have more influence in the industry, they are eager to use it.

IFPI's 2015 Digital Music Report says the "use of social media platforms is partly driven

by music, with users regularly swapping recommendations about bands or posting

videos."[40] Interestingly, 50 percent of Twitter users follow at least one musician, and six

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[39] Kot, *Ripped*, 212.
[40] "Digital Music Report 2015," *IFPI*, accessed April 6, 2016, 33.

musicians make up the top 10 most followed Twitter accounts.[41] As of 2016, Katy Perry heads the list with over 84 million followers.[42] This illustrates that music consumers want to integrate music *and* the musicians into their daily lives, and they have found a way to do that with the new tools of social media.

Social media is not only a perfect place for fans to connect with their favorite artists, but also a valuable source of revenue for advertisers. Revenue in the digital advertising market is set to steadily increase over the next five years, and the percentage of that revenue coming from social media is also set to grow. [Appendix 13] In fact, between 2015 and 2020, revenue from social media advertising alone is slated to more than double to reach over $21 million. [Appendix 14]

<div align="center">Emotional Marketing</div>

Along with the Internet came the introduction of online shopping, which made purchasing all products more convenient than ever—not just music. Online distributors such as Amazon and Ebay provide goods quickly and competitively to customers all over the country and around the world. Now that the United States is digital, it is easier than ever for marketing campaigns to reach their target audience, which means it also is more difficult for products and advertisements to distinguish themselves from everything else. In the wake of this feared homogeneous marketing landscape came a strategy that music was already tapping into: Emotional Marketing.

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[41] "Digital Music Report 2015," *IFPI*, accessed April 6, 2016, 33.
[42] "Twitter accounts with the most followers worldwide as of March 2016 (in millions)," Twitaholic, accessed March 18, 2016, http://www.statista.com/statistics/273172/twitter-accounts-with-the-most-followers-worldwide/.

Emotional Marketing creates a powerful association between impactful meaning and a product or brand in order to foster customer loyalty.[43] This style of advertising places less emphasis on what the product itself does, and more on its emotional significance for the consumer. This strategy aims to fully understand the customer, to speak directly to her needs, and to place as much value in marketing communications as in the product or service itself. In an age when anyone can reach a wide breadth of consumers, customer loyalty is extremely important to companies. In fact, retaining five percent more customers can result in a 95 percent profit increase.[44] The *Frontline* special, "The Persuaders," stresses, "Brands that can create loyalty beyond reason are going to be the brands where premium profits lie."[45] Loyal customers purchase more and spread more positive (and free!) word-of-mouth referrals, bolstering the perceived quality and trustworthiness of a brand.

Emotional Marketing provides a bridge between satisfaction and loyalty. In return, loyalty helps customers feel a sense of belonging to the brand. The drive to belong and make sense of the world with others is a powerful one. Scott Robinette and Claire Brand, authors of *Emotion Marketing*, recognize that emotionally loyal consumers interact with brands as they might with other people—with feelings of affection, a history, and a sense of trust that goes beyond just the satisfaction of a specific need.[46] This theory contributes to the idea that mass media has replaced some of the traditional roles provided by family, friends, and religion. Media often prescribes consumption as a

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[43] Scott Robinette, Claire Brand, and Vicki Lenz, *Emotion Marketing: The Hallmark Way of Winning Customers for Life* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2001), 4.
[44] Ibid., 8.
[45] Frontline, "The Persuaders," *Public Broadcasting Service* video, posted November 9, 2004, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/persuaders/.
[46] Robinette, Brand, and Lenz, *Emotion Marketing*, 24.

fix for the destruction that capitalism itself brings: loss of community, nature, and craftsmanship.[47] Emotional Marketing takes advantage of the need for new ways to fill those traditional roles.

Emotional Marketing is not simply an advertising gimmick, however; it provides results. Emotions stimulate the brain to act approximately 3,000 times faster than rational processes, and emotionally made decisions have greater influence on future behavior.[48] Paul Treacy affirms, "The most affective experiences are the most effective experiences."[49] Emotional Marketing works because of how effectively emotional connections motivate people. Richard Maddock and Richard Fulton, authors of *Marketing to the Mind: Right Brain Strategies for Advertising and Marketing*, sketch out a motivational continuum and postulate that the two emotions that provide the strongest impulse to act are spiritual emotions (love, passion, acceptance) and personal emotions (self-esteem, self-image), two types of emotion that Emotional Marketing seeks to target.[50]

Spiritual and personal emotions are commonly used to create brand equity. Brand equity, or the value and trust consumers place in a brand, is a result of how similar consumers feel the brand's identity is to their own personal identity.[51] When constructing a brand's image, the messages and values must be consistent at all times to reinforce a consumer's sense of belonging. From the early twentieth century, companies have separated their range of target consumers into a few specific clusters in order to appeal to

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[47] Bettig and Hall, *Big Media, Big Money*, 81.
[48] Robinette, Brand, and Lenz, *Emotion Marketing*, 29, 31.
[49] Ibid., 76.
[50] Richard C. Maddock, and Richard L. Fulton, *Marketing to the Mind: Right Brain Strategies for Advertising and Marketing* (Westport, CT: Quorum Books, 1996), 27.
[51] Robinette, Brand, and Lenz, *Emotion Marketing*, 44.

as many customers as possible. Sub-brand identities are then designed for each

demographic cluster to appeal to each group of consumers as much as possible.

Emotional marketing encourages each sub-brand identity to emphasize different values

that fall under the brand's core essence. This allows many somewhat different types of

people to all feel a strong personal connection with the same brand. While this strategy

typically applies to products, it was also famously implemented by a noteworthy British

boy band: the Beatles.

The Beatles' Public Image

Coming to stardom in the 1960s, The Beatles were introduced to the United States

in a time of uncertainty. President John F. Kennedy was assassinated merely months

before, and the country was at a standstill. After achieving fantastic success in Britain,

the group was highly touted and presented to a new American audience on the Ed

Sullivan Show in 1964.

The Beatles had a very powerful and appealing image that earned them

recognition and acceptance in the hearts of the United States public with ease. The

Beatles had a defining characteristic in their British-ness, but their image also "validated

the core value of the American myth of success," with an emphasis on their "modest

backgrounds, success through hard work, talent, perseverance, and luck."[52] The group's

core promotional elements included intriguingly contradictory features such as their clean

style, shaggy hair, sense of humor, and their origins from a tough, working-class town.[53]

A quick look at the young group reveals nothing more threatening than a clean,

sharp, boy-next-door band. The Beatles' manager Brian Epstein transformed the grungy

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[52] Michael R. Frontani, *The Beatles: Image and the Media* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007), 68.
[53] Ibid., 25.

look of the band from when it first was formed into something considerably more palatable.[54] The Beatles that came to America wore matching suits and nice sweaters, eliminated the smoking and drinking on stage, and stopped aggressively hit on girls in the audience.[55] The band stepped onto the Untied States stage as gentlemen. In interviews they came across as well adjusted, amiable, and polite, which allowed them to win the hearts of parents and their adolescent children.[56] The members' friendly dispositions tempered their more rebellious side, but without it they would not have been accepted into mainstream media culture.

One acceptable form of rebellion was their infamously long, shaggy hairstyles that distinguished them from other rock stars at the time. While the look was nothing abnormal in European countries, it was a shock to the American populace where men predominantly hosted shorter styles.[57] Their hair not only set them apart as distinctly British, but it also contributed to an androgynous image. While everyone else had short crew cuts or was slicking their hair back, the Beatles brushed their long hair forward. By sporting a more feminine, nontraditional look, the band defied gender norms and sent the message that femininity is congruent with all the other tougher and more rebellious qualities the Beatles also possessed.[58] This use of Emotional Marketing bolstered their connection with young women as it made them more accessible and less overpoweringly masculine and intimidating.

The tough edge of the band stemmed from their hometown of Liverpool; a working-class, rough town in England. Even as the band's popularity increased, it fought

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[54] John McMillan, *Beatles vs Stones* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013), 28.
[55] Ibid., 29.
[56] Ibid., 2.
[57] Frontani, *The Beatles: Image and the Media*, 39.
[58] Millard, *Beatlemania*, 134.

to preserve its modest, working-class image. The Beatles did not want their fans to think that fame and fortune changed them and made them less relatable. Besides using the members' backgrounds to emphasize a rags-to-riches story, it was also used to create a counterculture around the band. "To emulate the Beatles in dress, speech, or worldview was to place oneself at odds with the adult world and the establishment."[59] Rebellion was one of the main draws of Beatlemania, for male fans but also female fans who were tired of being limited by society. To many young women, the Beatles projected a relatable image that defied society in ways that appealed to them because they, too, wished to go against the status quo.

The fourth major aspect of the Beatle's image focused on the bandmates' sense of humor. Their cheeky and entertaining irreverence made them down-to-earth and, according to Michael Frontani in *The Beatles: Image and the Media,* "helped extend their appeal across generational and class lines."[60] During their concerts they engaged in unrehearsed banter that was described as, "refreshingly different from the stale platitudes that were the norm for pop concerts."[61] Despite their more unruly jokes, they still managed to charm everyone from the Queen of England to the greater American public. The Beatles' joking attitude reinforced their down-to-earth vibe and showed fans (particularly young women) how to resist the establishment and get away with it.[62]

The characteristics of the band as a whole were well known, but so were the personas of the separate members. Epstein was the strict enforcer of uniformity among

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[59] Frontani, *The Beatles: Image and the Media,* 8.
[60] Ibid., 41.
[61] A. J. Millard, *Beatlemania: Technology, Business, and Teen Culture in Cold War America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 126.
[62] Susan J. Douglas, *Where the Girls Are: Growing up Female with the Mass Media* (New York: Times Books, 1994), 117.

the members' individual styles, but he saw the importance in accentuating the personality difference between them as well.[63] Within the overarching image of the band, each member had a distinct public persona. John Lennon was clever and intellectual, Paul McCartney was romantic and charming, George Harrison was quiet and mysterious, and Ringo Starr was easygoing and goofy.[64] These distinct characteristics encouraged individual connections between the public and each member. "Epstein let them be themselves while gently constructing an image reflecting the group dynamic."[65] The sub-branding of the band helped its image to come across as authentic and genuine, which was a significant part of the group's appeal.

The image, personalities, and music of the Beatles were all centered around cultivating a bond with their fans.[66] The contradictory elements of the band's image gave young women a group of idols to see themselves in, and gave them the confidence to come together in resistance of sexual repression, as I will discuss in the next chapter. The characteristics of each member upheld the broader brand of the group and created the opportunity for fans to personally identify with and see themselves reflected in a Beatle. The resulting emotional connection kept the Beatles in the hearts of Americans for years to come.

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[63] This is a parallel with One Direction that I will later discuss.
[64] McMillan, *Beatles vs Stones*, 88.
[65] Millard, *Beatlemania*, 109.
[66] Ibid., 129.

Social Implications

The Adolescent Consumer and Rise of Mass Media

Presently, there is just as much emphasis placed on the adolescent consumer as anyone else (perhaps even more), but that was not always the case. Research psychologist G. Stanley Hall isolated the development phase between the onset of puberty and the arrival of adulthood in 1904 and identified the adolescent. By the 1950s, teenagers were treated as a new demographic of consumers, urged on by an accompanying unprecedented spread of wealth to the middle class of the United States.

Their generational status gave teenagers a new sense of group identity, which was cultivated and reinforced by the adult institutions that surrounded them. With the rise of psychological recognition came the conclusion that teenagers, as a collective, were socially unique and should be treated as such. The resulting family help-books frequently encouraged parents to treat their teens in a standardized manner. Coupled with an increased uniformity in public schools and a new homogenous marketing appeal, the collectivism of the adolescent demographic was solidified. The special and relatively uniform treatment of adolescents created a generational divide between teens and adults, and unified and strengthened adolescents as a demographic.

Due to economic growth in the middle class, teenage Baby Boomers served an "economic function as consumers whose leisure vicariously validated their parents' affluence."[67] The increase in teenage buying power led to a rise in teenagers' influence over popular culture. In the film industry, the teenpic was one of the most familiar and lucrative genres of film in the 1950s and dug Hollywood out of the economic rut brought

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[67] Thomas Patrick Doherty, *Teenagers and Teenpics: The Juvenilization of American Movies in the 1950s* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1988), 41.

about by newly established industry regulations. Hollywood focused the majority of its energy on creating cheap, culturally relevant films that appealed to teenagers. According to Thomas Doherty, author of *Teenagers and Teenpics,* even today, "without the support of the teenage audience, few theatrical movies break even, fewer still become hits, and none become blockbusters."[68] The film industry clearly began to cater to the palate of the teenage audience, and it was not alone.

By 1956, teenagers were defining American popular music as well. The demographic accounted for $75 million in yearly pop record sales and additional millions for the products that became associated with the teen-targeted genre of rock and roll.[69] Advertisers took advantage of this and used pop music in commercials to appeal to adolescents. Coke-a-Cola and Pepsi, for example, both used hip music to target young audiences and intensify their rivalry.[70] Companies saw this as money well spent not only because of teen buying power, but also because it was easier to establish new buying habits among young demographics than older generations.[71] Because adolescents are in a transitory phase of their lives, they are more open to trying new products and brands.

By 1960, numerous teen magazines were in circulation and addressed adolescents in a new, peer-to-peer tone of voice. Driven by the need to fit in with their peers and the desire to establish themselves outside of their family, adolescents value peer opinion over the opinion of adults. Thus, high school often determines the course of teenage groupthink. Companies realized this and sponsored popular students in high schools to

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[68] Doherty, *Teenagers and Teenpics*, 1.
[69] Ibid., 44.
[70] Timothy Dean Taylor, *The Sounds of Capitalism: Advertising, Music, and the Conquest of Culture* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2012), 148.
[71] Ibid., 158.

wear certain clothes or order certain drinks while on dates.[72] High school was a "battleground of clashing values and customs," as older generations saw school as the environment in which children should be exposed to traditional cultural values instead of the new peer culture that became dominant.[73]

As new trends of consumerism and behavior emerged within the teenage demographic, the adolescent generation became associated with counterculture. The free and defiant nature of their children, influenced by the morally ambiguous mass media, had parents and other adults in a panic; older generations simply did not understand this new culture and thus, feared it.[74] Frenzied dance music, rebellions against family, and new slang insinuated a looming serious social problem. Adults felt that adolescents now walked a blurred line between good fun and delinquency.[75] New spending power, new independence, and new products specifically for teens made them seem almost unreachable to adults. Coupled with the unprecedented size of the teenage Baby Boomer demographic, the magnitude of power adolescents now held in the market meant that teen culture was becoming popular culture.

As juvenile delinquency seemingly rose in the mid 1950s, blame was laid at the doorstep of mass media. "Parents could no longer impress their value systems on children who were influenced as much by a new peer culture," James Gilbert states in *A Cycle of Outrage*.[76] Modern mass communications were blamed for widespread fads that took advantage of the rising junior consumer and furthered the isolation of teen culture. The

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[72] Doherty, *Teenagers and Teenpics*, 41.
[73] Ibid., 18.
[74] James Burkhart Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage: America's Reaction to the Juvenile Delinquent in the 1950s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 12.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid., 3.

popular trend to blame the expansion of mass media for delinquency stemmed from the notion that misbehavior was the result of a hostile cultural environment.[77] Media and advertising were perceived to be against the promotion of traditional family, community, and religious institutions. Furthermore, the youth culture that mass media encouraged was considered lower class and uneducated (contributing to the delinquency concern).

Intellectuals who commented on the phenomenon were mainly concerned with the destruction of high culture. Frankfurt intellectuals criticized popular culture in reference to art, heavily. Culture that is popular includes anything with "immediate and widespread appeal," and is, "something that ordinary people can understand and appreciate."[78] The Frankfurt school intellectuals claimed that mass culture was no longer in congruence with the historical purpose of art, or an outlet through which to critique society. These thinkers concluded that popular culture "affirmed the contemporary social order and it amused rather than instructed," due to the repetitiveness and ubiquity of popular content.[79] To investigate the fears that popular culture betrays its history, market researcher Paul Lazarsfeld conducted a study in which he found that mass media is actually not a source for new experiences, "but for a repetition and an elaboration of old experiences." In fact, media and advertisements are most successful when they utilize ideals and cultural traits that are already in place. We seek and positively respond to the imitations of originals we have already accepted.

Advertising as a cultural phenomenon does influence decision-making behavior. There are two primary functions of an advertisement. The first purpose is to create

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[77] Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage* 4.
[78] Arthur Asa Berger, *Manufacturing Desire: Media, Popular Culture, and Everyday Life* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1996), 23.
[79] Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage*, 112.

awareness for a product, service, or information within an appropriate demographic. The second is to inspire the audience to actually do something—to complete a call to action. But besides this overt message, Arthur Asa Berger, author of *Manufacturing Desire,* claims that advertisements promote "tacit enculturation": the presence of an additional covert message that conveys societal attitudes, values, expectations, and behavioral norms.[80] In this way, regardless of whether or not they achieve their overt mission, advertisements play a massively influential role in the shaping of society, culture, and behavior.

Adults in the 1950s were not wrongfully concerned with the emergence of new popular culture. Some intellectuals find it easy to dismiss teenage culture on the grounds that it is traditionally seen as less worthy or prestigious as the "elite arts," but all culture has consequences.[81] When analyzing media or media culture, one must look at both its aesthetic value and its social and political impact—toward both, popular culture and mass media contribute to greatly. According to Gilbert Seldes in *The 7 Lively Arts,* (1924) because pop substitutes for traditional arts are so seamlessly integrated into our daily lives, "we fail to recognize them as decent contributions to the richness and intensity of our lives."[82] Due to its seamless integration and strong influence on decision-making behavior, parents were right to take this new wave of culture seriously, even if they did not understand it.

This historical look at the rise of mass media and adolescent culture demonstrates two important points. First, mass media is an influencer and communicator of culture and

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[80] Berger, *Manufacturing Desire,* 63.
[81] Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage*, 112.
[82] Gilbert Seldes, *The 7 Lively Arts: The Classic Appraisal of the Popular Arts* (New York: Sagamore Press, 1957), 29.

ideas, just like a peer group or family. Second, the development of adolescent culture secured the placement of teenagers in the consumer world as the most influential demographic over American popular culture. The trend of adults misunderstanding teen interaction with mass media is still seen today, especially since the rise of the Internet. The Internet not only gives teenagers a greater degree of consumer independence (now, even distance is no obstacle) but also gives them the space to develop an even faster changing, wider-reaching adolescent culture.

<div align="center">Mass Media and Women</div>

In addition to new content created for adolescents, mass media featured deliverables that appealed to adult women, too. Magazines, newspaper articles, and television shows that targeted the adult female consumer broadened their subject matter to include more professional and intellectual subjects. Appeals to women did more than just sell products, however. According to Betty Friedan, author of *The Feminine Mystique,* the images and portrayals of women in mass media plays a very influential role in women's sense of identity.[83]

In the 1950s, the role of women in the U.S. slowly started to change from dependent, subservient housewives to something more independent and modern. This shift began during World War II, when women were needed to replace male workers (then, soldiers) in the factories to keep up with production demand. It was then seen, not as female strides for financial independence and a greater individual purpose, but as a patriotic act. Some women, to the shock of society at large, found that they *liked* working, and sought to pursue work outside of the home even when the war ended.

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[83] Patricia Bradley, *Mass Media and the Shaping of American Feminism, 1963-1975* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2003), 17.

In addition to an increase of women in the workforce, educational opportunities for all genders expanded in the 1950s as the United States fought to compete with Soviet Russia's successful education programs.[84] In addition to increased education, political sentiment encouraged all Baby Boomers to go out and impact the world. As Susan Douglas writes in *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with the Mass Media,* "The spirit of the times invited, even urged, girls to try to change the world too."[85] Adolescent buying power magnified the political encouragement of youth participation in society; the special attention, advertisements, and products targeting teenage girls gave them new feelings of significance and power.

The vague support for women's independence as both consumers and members of society that surfaced at this time, however, was not enough to overturn the traditional discouragement of female pursuit of power and influence. Instead, it fostered a sense of conflict within adult females who went to work during and after WWII, and within their daughters.[86] During the war, women kept the U.S. factories open, but in 1946, 4 million women were fired in order to make sure there were enough jobs available for returning soldiers.[87] Psychiatrist Marynia Farnham and sociologist Ferdinand Lundberg stated that women who wanted work outside the home were, "neurologically disturbed," and "afflicted with penis envy."(1947)[88] Healthy women, on the other hand, did not desire work because they gave up independence and control for a happy household.

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[84] Susan J. Douglas, *Where the Girls Are: Growing up Female with the Mass Media* (New York: Times Books, 1994), 22.

[85] Ibid., 23.

[86] Ibid., 26.

[87] Ibid., 47.

[88] Ibid.

Mass media actively tried to reinforce what Douglas calls traditional, "suffocating sex-role stereotypes for boys and girls."[89] Disney movies are a perfect example. In Disney films, princesses, or "good girls," are virtuous, beautiful, warm, effortlessly perfect, and hardworking without a need for appreciation. Villains, or "bad girls," wear heavy make up, are too powerful and vain, and use men as pawns. Douglas points out that these portrayals create a clashing dynamic between the "powerless but beloved masochist" (princess) and the "powerful but detested narcissist" (villain).[90] Disney makes it very clear which character young girls should emulate, but the deeper implications against female power can often stay subconscious.

Some media outlets reflected the confused identity of younger female generations by capitalizing on society's contradictory expectations. The *Ladies Home Journal* published both progressive advice columns written by Eleanor Roosevelt and advertisements perpetuating traditional feminine thinking, simultaneously.[91] Some television shows, such as *I Love Lucy* and *The Honeymooners,* "often defied the compliant, womb-centered housewife stereotype," by using slap stick comedy (a masculine form of humor) and women in positions of domestic conflict.[92] Admittedly, episodes still resolved with women in their traditional place, but the acknowledgement of a changing female perspective within the home was the most accurate representation women saw on television.

Conversely, the introduction of the laugh track in T.V. shows seemingly succeeded in further removing characters from reality, especially when shows such as

[89] Douglas, *Where the Girls Are*, 29.
[90] Ibid.,
[91] Ibid., 51.
[92] Ibid., 50.

Leave It to Beaver and *The Jetsons* emphasized cookie-cutter mothers who endlessly served their families with smiles on their lips but not a returned "thank you" in sight.[93] In the late 1960s, shows like *Bewitched* and *I Dream of Jeanie* gave women magic, and therefore power, but only to use in limited circumstances (cleaning, cooking, getting into trouble, and helping their husband). These women were still ladylike, and still played a subservient role to their less competent husbands.[94] Jeanie, from *I Dream of Jeanie,* had magical powers but was hyper-feminized to a childlike extent, was blatantly dumb, and was obviously not meant to be a prototype for a normal woman.[95] Film also contributed to the conflicting dynamic surrounding women's place in society. In the late 1950s, films meant to portray women fighting sexual restrictions feminized the desirable males in some way: male love interests were brooding, sensitive, or just had long wavy hair.[96]

These conflicting portrayals of women centered on oxymoronic themes of powerless independence or a dependent power. Douglas writes that these contradictions came about in part because, "America's consumer culture was predicted on the notion that women were the major consumers of most goods—that was their job after all—and that, to sell them, you had to emphasize their roles as wives and mothers," because that was the reason for a woman's consumer needs.[97] Women were given a limited amount of power within their roles as consumers, but ultimately the reasoning behind it continued to reinforce the same patriarchal structure. The system relied on the employment of women to give them income and buying power, but adamantly refused to admit it.

Music and Female Identity

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[93] Douglas, *Where the Girls Are*, 26.
[94] Ibid., 126.
[95] Ibid., 134.
[96] Ibid., 73.
[97] Ibid., 56.

Certain genres of music and certain artists had a more positive impact on women at the time than did other forms of mass media. The music of all-female rock groups in the early 1960s were especially powerful because, "it gave voice to all the warring selves inside [young women]," as they tried to forge their conflicted identities.[98] Several girl groups sang about the blossoming sexual revolution where young women struggled to find their place, as well as a desire for freedom from the lives their mothers were forced to lead.[99]

Despite the positive influence female musicians had on other women, female rock musicians have long been undervalued and underestimated by the dominant men in the genre.[100] Oftentimes, men viewed them as posers and not true rock musicians. On female rock groups of the early 1960s, *The Rolling Stone History of Rock and Roll* says, "this genre represents the low point in the history of rock 'n' roll… [they] served to drive the concept of art completely away from rock 'n' roll."[101] Patricia Kennealy-Morrison, one of the first female rock critics, voiced the pointed observation that, "the role of groupie seems to be the only one that most rock musicians are willing to allow females to fill." (1970)[102]

The Beatles

The Beatles received substantially more credit for their contribution to music and still contributed greatly to the development of the new female identity. 73 million people

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[98] Douglas, *Where the Girls Are*, 87.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Margot Mifflin, "The Fallacy of Feminism in Rock," In *Rock She Wrote*, edited by Evelyn McDonnell and Ann Powers (New York: Delta, 1995), originally published in *Keyboard* (1990), 76.
[101] Cited in Douglas, *Where the Girls Are*, 86.
[102] Patricia Kennealy-Morrison, "Rock Around the Cock," In *Rock She Wrote*, edited by Evelyn McDonnell and Ann Powers (New York: Delta, 1995), originally published in *Jazz and Pop* magazine (Jazz Press Inc., 1970), 359.

watched the Beatles rebel against adult authority, defy traditional gender roles, and stoke a sexual rebellion within young women on the Ed Sullivan show in 1964.[103]

Since then, there has been much written about the band's passionate following of young women. Most of what is said cites the young women to be possessed by some irrational, sexual drive that manifests in fainting, screaming, and hair pulling.[104] Generally, female fans are referenced en masse, not as individuals, especially when fans are adolescents; in effect, they are seen as lacking in individuality and personal identity, and are easily manipulable.[105] Most rock critics are male and, "don't understand teenage females," wrote the co-founder of the women's rock magazine, *Bitch*, Lori Twersky, "Unfortunately, this doesn't stop many critics from making irritating generalizations."[106] Douglas says that, despite those that made Beatlemania look foolish and derogatory, it "marked a critical point in the evolution of girl culture that wasn't foolish at all, and was particularly dangerous to the status quo."[107] The Beatles entered the U.S. market at a time of budding societal unrest; young women were looking for a way to rebel, and the Beatles provided them with the framework within which to do so.

The Beatles did something that males (and often critics) did not: took young female audiences seriously. Members of the band had an androgynous vibe about them that American audiences were not used to, but spoke to young women. Their hair, boots, and even their goofiness made them seem less threatening than the hyper-masculine star that Elvis Presley had been. According to the American Beatles' Fan Club, the average

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[103] Douglas, *Where the Girls Are*, 112.
[104] Ibid., 115.
[105] Berger, *Manufacturing Desire*, 23.
[106] Lori Twersky, "Devils or Angels? The female teenage audience examined," in *Rock She Wrote*, ed. Evelyn McDonnell and Ann Powers (New York: Delta, 1995), 177.
[107] Douglas, *Where the Girls Are*, 116.

fan was a white female between the ages of 13-17 in the year 1963.[108] Due to their youth,

fans were more comfortable relating to idols that personified traditionally feminine

features, but still found them sexy. Fans did not just see The Beatles as feminized men,

but as a reflection of women. With their appearance, song content, and demeanor, The

Beatles demonstrated how to get away with going against the status quo. Women

identified with different members of the band—not just as an idealized object of

romance, but also as an ideal version of themselves.[109] To many, the band members were

acting out roles that were desirable to young women, but not quite attainable.

The enthusiasm young women showed for these young men did not go without

criticism, however. Beatlemania, the common term for the intensely passionate behavior

of the Beatles' fans, was referred to as a religion, cult, and disease. "Fans were seen as

mindless, pitiable victims, hypnotized by their grotesque idols."[110] These notions came

from fear of the enthusiasm with which young women consumed anything connected to

the Beatles' commercial phenomenon and used their fandom as an outlet to express their

sexuality. Andre Millard affirms that, "Beatlemania was one of the largest and most

successful merchandising campaigns in American history."[111] While some academics saw

mass entertainment as a ploy to integrate "consumers into capitalism," and in doing so

undermine the individuality and independence of the American consumer, young women

embraced the mass consumer culture surrounding the Beatles because it also gave them

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[108] A. J. Millard, *Beatlemania: Technology, Business, and Teen Culture in Cold War America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 121.
[109] Douglas, *Where the Girls Are*, 119.
[110] Millard, *Beatlemania*, 29.
[111] Ibid., 23.

new freedom.[112] Purchasing Beatles merchandise allowed fans to display their devotion to the band and publicly embrace the uprising it stood for, simultaneously.

Sexual maturity in women was stifled in the 1960s, and Beatlemania was a way for "good girls" to rebel against sexual repression and gender inequality in society.[113] They screamed, fainted, chased cars, snuck into hotels, and threw bras on stage. What set this fan behavior apart from others was that it was not restricted to the concert setting. Fans followed the band everywhere, even between performances. They climbed onto the wings of the Beatles' airplane and caved in the roof of a limousine. "Instead of being courted and pursued by the male, the female Beatle fan could turn passivity into aggression, actively and loudly pursuing the object of her sexual fantasies rather than vice versa."[114] The assertiveness and sexuality that teen girls were showing shocked adults all over the U.S.; many saw it as a primitive regression, but the young women saw it as liberating and empowering.[115]

The crux of Beatlemania lies within the fans' desire to demonstrate their emotional connection with the band members they idolized and aspired to imitate. "The screaming had little to do with the music, but it was a critical part of the performance- a measure of empathy between musicians and fans."[116] Fans got close to the Beatles by mimicking them: looking like them, talking like them, and memorizing their lyrics. Beatlemania created a community among young women that transcended even high school social hierarchies.[117] Like any information community, updates, details, photos,

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[112] Millard, *Beatlemania*, 29.
[113] Ibid., 133.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid., 38.
[116] Ibid., 131.
[117] Ibid., 134.

and opinions were shared among young women, cementing bonds not only with the band, but also with each other. The consumption of the group's records, merchandise, and magazines also "bolstered feelings of belonging."[118]

The popularity of the Beatles among teens and young adults made them leaders of a demographic rising to power. The contradiction between the group's good-guy likeability and its "opposition to tradition, the establishment, and its institutions," defined the band's image.[119] The Beatles' boy-next-door appearance tempered the concern held by many parents, but fans described them with a variety of conflicting adjectives such as tough, sexy, safe, and wholesome.[120] The band personified contradictions that American teens themselves felt, especially as young women struggled to find their place in society. Besides sex appeal, the Beatles gave a vibe of independence, strength, and freedom—all characteristics young women wanted to emulate.

Folk Music

In addition to certain rock groups, folk music also played an influential role in young women fitting themselves into society during the 1960s. More women went to college and were exposed to progressive political ideology; disjointed societal expectations and the strengthening Civil Rights movement spurred the desire for social change.[121] They were also exposed to a genre of political music that became a voice for many of the young generations at the time. According to Douglas, folk music was a source of "authenticity, relevance… and iconoclasm," because it addressed prevalent

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[118] Millard, *Beatlemania*, 135.
[119] Michael R. Frontani, *The Beatles: Image and the Media* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007), 17.
[120] Ibid., 48.
[121] Douglas, *Where the Girls Are*, 140.

issues such as labor organizations, civil rights, and the injustice of war.[122] Supporting folk music gave younger generations a way of peripherally participating in movements for change. Folk music also provided a platform that was more welcoming to and supportive of women and the struggles they faced than that of rock.

According to Douglas, two folk singers that significantly influenced numerous young women were Joan Baez and Mary Travers of Peter, Paul, and Mary. Despite her refusal to conform to gender norms and traditional feminine appearance, in three years Baez "sold more records than any female folk singer in history."[123] This was revolutionary because until this point women who were prominent in the entertainment industry were commonly valued for their beautiful feminine appearance, and women who rejected gender norms were unable to meet any high level of success. While Travers was not radical in appearance, she "embodied the contradictory position of the young woman committed to fight for social justice," and spoke out about women's rights to "express and act on [their] sense of political outrage."[124] Instead of her band's visibility restricting her freedom, she used it as a platform to model the behaviors of a progressive woman. Travers demonstrated that, in order to change gender norms and other societal components, girls had to be vocal and they had to get political.

Artists like the Beatles, Joan Baez, and Mary Travers were especially important because they were taken seriously by society at large. They provided females with new, progressive representation and were highly successful even when challenging societal structure. These musicians articulated the confusing struggles young women were facing and motivated them to turn their frustration into action.

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[122] Douglas, *Where the Girls Are*, 146.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid., 148.

Ultimately, this newly championed mentality led to a feminist shift in the Baby

Boomers' social and political identity in 1968.[125] Once feminism gained popularity,

however, the media quickly turned it into a dirty word and used it to its own advantages.

Feminist protesters were painted as narcissists, hysterical, cultists, and not worth taking

seriously.[126] In the 1970s, Douglas says the news broadcasters stereotyped feminists as,

"hairy-legged, karate chopping commando with a chip on her shoulder the size of

China… and a complete inability to smile."[127] At the same time, entertainment media

sought to capitalize on the movement by including feminist characters in sitcoms and

television shows, but made them too ridiculous to be relatable.[128] Advertisements also

utilized the benefit of appropriating and transforming feminist ideals into sales pitches.

Douglas points out that slogans such as, "You're worth it," indicate that women are only

actually worth it if they have the right product.[129] Women can be confident and sexually

assured, but only as a result of male approval.

Much of this anti-feminism sentiment exists today, although there are some

current campaigns attempting to change the negative perception.[130] Media portrayals of

women as the sexual objects of men are still dominant, as well as products that exist

solely to profit from that concept. It is substantially more acceptable (and expected) for

women to lead professional careers, but they are still paid less than men by an average of

21 percent.[131] We have progressed in some regards, however. Women have a strong

presence in many different types of occupations, and there is a growing amount of

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[125] Douglas, *Where the Girls Are*, 160.
[126] Ibid., 156.
[127] Ibid., 165.
[128] Ibid., 197.
[129] Ibid., 250.
[130] The Always "Like A Girl" campaign is one example.
[131] "Pay Equity & Discrimination," *Institution for Women's Policy Research*, accessed April 1, 2016, http://www.iwpr.org/initiatives/pay-equity-and-discrimination.

diverse representation of what a progressive, modern woman looks like in entertainment and media. [Appendix 15] The Internet also creates spaces for women to dominate and claim as their own, and given them a platform on which to be heard.

<center>Fandom and Society</center>

Social Media

Over the past 10 years or so, social media has transformed how we interact with one another. No generation is more affected by this innovation than millennials and Generation Z. Due to a variety of social and cultural factors, "social media has become an important public space where teens can gather and socialize broadly with peers in an informal way."[132] An informal social space is especially important to adolescents and young adults because they need to explore their identity but they are unable to be fully independent. Most cannot drive, they have curfews and busy schedules, and there are few public spaces that allow them to experiment with their identity without major social repercussions. Other platforms, such as email, instant messaging, and forums, are used to communicate, but social media has the structure that allows for communication ecosystems.[133] Social media platforms are one-of-a-kind communication structures that allow users to develop a social network as well as their own identities.

Dannah Boyd defines social media as the "sites and services that emerged during the early 2000s, including social network sites, video sharing sites, blogging and micro-blogging platforms, and related tools that allow participants to create and share their own content."[134] The earliest social networking sites (Friendster and MySpace) offered the

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[132] Danah Boyd, *It's Complicated: The Social Lives of Networked Teens* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 5.
[133] Ibid., 6.
[134] Ibid.

primary ability to meet similar people based on friends users were already connected

with, and then additionally suggested people to connect with based on mutual interests.

Now there are social media sites with varying degrees of personalization and different

types of organization. Facebook is used to connect with people we know, while sites like

Tumblr and Twitter are often used to connect to people (often strangers) within interest-

driven communities, such as fandoms.

Adults often associate the rise of digital technology with social, intellectual, and

moral decline (as older generations did with pop culture and mass media). In the U.S., the

media often portrays teens who avidly use technology, "in dark bedrooms with only the

glow of the screen illuminating their faces, implying that there's a generation of

zombified social media addicts who are unable to tear themselves away," from their

social networking sites.[135] Boyd disagrees with this depiction, and suggests instead that

technology is the current scapegoat for the social and cultural issues at large in today's

society.[136] Even though it is not traditional face-to-face peer interaction (which might be

impossible to achieve in many circumstances), social media provides users with a way to

be involved with a social community and develop thusly.

Networked Publics

Boyd's theory of Networked Publics describes a framework within which online

fandoms can be categorized. Networked Publics are: "The space constructed through

networked technologies and the imagined community that emerges as a result of the

intersection of people, technology, and practice."[137] Adolescents and other vulnerable

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[135] Boyd, *It's Complicated*, 78.
[136] Ibid., 79.
[137] Ibid., 8.

groups are drawn to Networked Publics because of their desire to feel part of community larger than themselves, while still claiming and developing independence and agency.

There are four characteristics that separate Networked Publics from traditionally physically public spaces: persistence, visibility, spreadability, and searchability.[138] Persistence is the durability of online expression and content—once something is posted online, it can never truly be removed. Visibility accounts for the potential audience that can bear witness to the content one uploads or shares. Spreadability is the ease with which content can be shared (one of the reasons for the persistence of content), and searchability is the ability to find content. All of these characteristics make the creation and maintenance of information communities like fandoms easier than ever before.

With access to Networked Publics, adolescents have the freedom to find a space within which to grow. The variety in social platforms is helpful for teens going through this transitory phase in their lives as they look for ways to fit into society. Social media encourages intimacy and control over the user's online social situation and fandom creates a space for teens to feel accepted, valued, and part of a greater whole. Before the Internet, there were public places such as drive-ins during the 1950s and malls during the 1980s in addition to sock-hops, parking lots, and phone lines. With the increased danger and regulation of the public world, however, there are now fewer spaces within which adolescents can safely meet up and casually socialize.[139] Teenagers seek to be defined independently of familial ties, and online social interactions allow them to engage in social learning and develop that identity. This is especially crucial for young women

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[138] Boyd, *It's Complicated*, 11.
[139] Ibid., 20.

who, despite the strides that have been made for feminism, are still continuously bombarded with conflicting expectations.

Social media also places an emphasis on sharing thoughts and opinions with a large number of like-minded individuals. Sharing turns individual experience and interpretation into a collective response and thus strengthens the bond between fans, cultivating friendships and unity. This is obviously not only beneficial for adolescents, but for anyone wishing to find a place to develop and grow as a fan and an individual. Discussions that take place in this safe space create a comfortable environment for self-exploration, important and topical issues, and information gathering.[140] This makes social media sites the perfect platforms on which to house fandoms, especially those that include younger participants.

Negative Fan Stereotypes

Society's perception of fans, across the board, is generally a negative one. The word "fan" comes from "fanatic," which originally was associated with excessive religious enthusiasm, as if the person in question was possessed or divinely inspired. Presently, fanaticism indicates excessive excitement or intense uncritical devotion.[141] The original, strongly negative connotations of the word have never fully left. To this day, critics portray fans of numerous forms of media culture as crazy, possessive, jealous, or unsatisfied.

Fandom expert Henry Jenkins cites in *Textual Poachers* the example of the late-night comedy show "Saturday Night Live" and the publication *Newsweek* making fun of

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[140] Henry Jenkins, *Textual Poachers: Television Fans & Participatory Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 84.
[141] "Definition of FANATICISM," *Merriam Webster*, accessed April 14, 2016, http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/fanaticism.

Star Trek fans. Jenkins criticizes *Newsweek* especially for their serious portrayal of fans as, "people who have little or no 'life' apart from their fascination with this particular program."[142] He illustrates how female *Star Trek* fans are stereotyped to be crazy, fat, divorced spinsters and male fans are degendered, antisocial, pathetic virgins.[143] While specific example referenced in the article are not necessarily dishonest, extreme fan representations are misleading. To cite choice references that reinforce stereotypes already held by the majority of society, regardless if they are accurate representations of the fandom as a whole, encourages readers of such articles retain a one-sided, negative view of fan culture.

One Direction fans are also unsurprisingly familiar with reductive generalizations. When journalist Jonathan Heaf wrote a full spread about One Direction for *Gentleman's Quarterly*, he was blatant in his criticism of One Direction fan behavior. "By now we all know the immense transformative power of a boy band to turn a butter-wouldn't-melt teenage girl into a rabid, knicker-wetting banshee who will tear off her own ears in hysterical fevour when presented with the objects of her fascinations," he wrote.[144] The misogynistic article went on to diminish concert-goers to, "a dark-pink oil slick that howls and moans and undulates with every impish crotch-thrust from their idols' plinths," echoing a similar sentiment expressed by the Beatles' official biographer, Philip Norman, when he recounted that after concerts there was always hundreds of pairs of wet underwear left behind.[145] This graphic language associates fan desires and reactions with primal, uncontrollable sex drives instead of identity or admiration. It implies that female

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[142] Jenkins, *Textual Poachers*, 11.

[143] Ibid., 11, 13.

[144] Jonathan Heaf, "This One Direction Interview Got Us Death Threats," *British GQ*, accessed February 4, 2016, http://www.gq-magazine.co.uk/article/one-direction-gq-covers-interview.

[145] Heaf, "This One Direction Interview Got Us Death Threats."; Millard, *Beatlemania*, 27.

sexual expression is dirty, inappropriate, and submissive. The fear of young female empowerment seeks distance fans from any significant position in society by labeling them as crazy and out of control.

Jenkins postulates that the narrow factual bases from which stereotypes of the fan are created result from, "a projection of anxieties about the violation of dominant cultural hierarchies."[146] In embracing what authorities belittle, fans resist cultural hierarchy. Unlike academics or the classic elite, they fail to keep their distance from works and texts. Instead, they embrace and integrate text into their own experiences. Fans frequently treasure popular media and give it as much status and reverence as the societal elite gives "serious" works. Negative representations of fans of mass media put distance between the fanatics and others.

Commentators marginalize fans through two dominant stereotypes: the obsessed individual and the hysterical crowd.[147] The obsessed loner typically has an intense fantasy relationship with a celebrity that manifests into stalking, threatening, and even killing. These extreme cases are brought to public fame, painting a violent picture of fans in the public eye due to the intensity with which they are covered in news outlets.[148] The hysterical group most lends itself to music and sports fans. Sports fans showcase mob mentality in the form of riots and violent behavior as a result of sporting event outcomes. Inappropriate music-fan mass mobs have included groups of metal heads and Beatles' fans. If the frenzied mob is made up of females, Joli Jenson writes in "Fandom as Pathology: The Consequences of Characterization, their behavior, including sobbing,

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[146] Jenkins, *Textual Poachers*, 17.

[147] Joli Jenson, "Fandom as Pathology: The Consequences of Characterization," in *The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media*, ed. Lisa A. Lewis (London: Routledge, 1992), 9.

[148] Ibid., 11. This includes people such as Mark David Champan who murdered John Lennon and John Hinckley who attempted to assassinate President Ronald Reagan for Jodie Foster's attention.

screaming, and fainting, "assumes that an uncontrollable erotic energy is sparked by the chance to see or touch a male idol."[149]

Jenson concludes that regardless of their gender and behavior, "the fan is seen as being irrational, out of control, and prey to a number of external forces," such as mass media, a narcissistic society, hypnotic music, and crowd contagion.[150] Past literature has gone so far as to connect the extreme cases with the norm. A model developed by John Caughey claims that, "pathological fandom is simply a more intense, developed version of more common, less dangerous fan passion."[151] News outlets' desire to attract consumers unfortunately encourages the extreme cases to be publicized over the average ones; this helps entrench and normalize these two extreme fan types in popular consciousness.

To discuss fandom as psychosis or maladjustment casts fans as outsiders in society. Jenson points out that in the past, fandom authorities claimed that "excessive" fandom demonstrated psychological compensation in order to fill in the gaps of modern life.[152] Fandoms are also cited as inadequate surrogates for normal relationships. Horton and Wohl hypothesized in the 1950s that obsessed fans, unable to facilitate typical social interactions, sought celebrity contact in order to psychologically fulfill unmet social needs brought about by modern society.[153] Additionally, in 1985 Richard Shickel claimed that fans, in order to compensate for a lack of autonomy, community, power, recognition, and identity, lived vicariously through the celebrity of their obsession.[154] Therefore,

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[149] Jenson, "Fandom as Pathology," 15.
[150] Ibid., 13.
[151] Ibid., 11.
[152] Ibid., 16.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Ibid., 17.

fandom was a compensatory mechanism made more dangerous by the hypothesized thin line between normal and excessive behavior.

Such stereotypes reveal more about our beliefs on modern society than actual fan-celebrity relations. Modern fears of alienated individuals (like the obsessed loner) and vulnerable, irrational victims of mass persuasion (frenzied crowd) were created by mass society. These portrayals reflect individuals' fear that society is spiritually and systemically threatened by the new modern age.

Fans vs. Academics

To devalue fans and separate them into an "other" category maintains the privilege and status enjoyed by the wealthy, educated, and powerful. As previously mentioned, fans champion the common media while academics and aficionados value works of high culture. Fandoms evaluate works in a social manner; single perspectives are altered or reinforced through discussion with other fans that result in meanings that are thoroughly integrated into the fans' lives.[155] This is a starkly different process than an academic's sterile, relatively independent and fleeting analysis. Jenkins claims that female fans especially are described as so close to a work that, "she is unable to view it with critical distance and hence is less capable of resisting its meanings."[156] Male fans, however, are often seen as removed with appropriate academic distance when evaluating works. For example, male science fiction fans critically analyze works for clues indicative of what will happen next, while females focus on more abstract components such as character relationships.[157] The negative view of female fans comes from

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[155] Jenkins, *Textual Poachers,* 45.
[156] Ibid., 61.
[157] Ibid., 48.

academic discomfort with proximity and reinforces the idea that female fans play a submissive role in their relationship with mass culture.

Historically, and most certainly in academia, a detached point of view is more proper than an emotional or passionate one; traditionally this was what distinguished the educated from the uneducated. Fandom "is thus associated with the cultural tastes of subordinated formations of the people…particularly with those disempowered by any combination of gender, age, class, and race," according to John Fiske.[158] However, Jenkins argues that with distance from a text also comes a lack of agency.[159] Because fans are thoroughly integrated with the text, when they take bits and pieces and interweave them with their own personal experience they display an impressive amount of agency within their relationship to the media. Media fans are not just an inactive audience; the ways in which they interact and manipulate texts makes them active participants in the construction and circulation of textual meanings. This is especially relevant in the context of social media fandoms because information is closely shared. By imparting their own context onto works that they appropriate, fans claim ownership over the work and make it reflective of them.

Scholarly criticism and theory are built on years of training and use a complex professional vocabulary that contributes to the separation between scholars and others. When it comes to evaluating pop culture, however, fans are the true experts.[160] The attention to detail, data compilation, and in-depth analyses that are all key aspects of fandom are executed with a drive that many scholars aspire to. Fans collect information

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[158] John Fiske, "The Cultural Economy of Fandom," in *The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media*, ed. Lisa A. Lewis (London: Routledge, 1992), 30.

[159] Jenkins, *Textual Poachers*, 63.

[160] I say "expert" primarily because fans devote an extensive amount of time and energy to amass as much knowledge on the subject of their fandom as possible.

without the same context and knowledge that scholars have, but they use their own experiences and perspectives to create their own personal context. As members of society that pop culture reflects, this does not make their subjective perspectives and analyses less worthy of merit.

Despite the depths of fandom knowledge, fans are still not considered to have opinions or focuses of value. Some fans are easier to dismiss than others. Sports fans, for example, have a different status than fans of other aspects of media; primarily due to gender as the majority of dedicated sports fans are men. Jenkins points out that most *Star Trek* fans are middle aged, well-educated adults.[161] This requires the separation of these specific adults (hence the fat single female and degendered male stereotype) before society can devalue their perspective.

The Status of Sports Fans

One way to discern how pop culture fans are marginalized is to compare them with sports fans. Part of sports fans' elevated standing is due to their sheer numbers, which are mostly men. According to Gallup poles conducted over the past 15 years, an average of 60 percent of Americans in 2015 considered themselves sports fans, 66 percent of which were male.[162] The series *Masculinities, Gender Relations, and Sport* describes sport as a microcosm of our current societal structure that revolves around the superiority of masculinity.[163] The authors, Jim McKay, Michael Messner, and Don Sabo, postulate that when women became increasingly present in the public and working world

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[161] Jenkins, *Textual Poachers*, 18.

[162] Jeffery M. Jones, "As Industry Grows, Percentage of U.S. Sports Fans Steady," *Gallup Inc.*, June 17, 2015, accessed January 24, 2016, http://www.gallup.com/poll/183689/industry-grows-percentage-sports-fans-steady.aspx.

[163] Jim McKay, Michael A. Messner, and Donald F. Sabo, *Masculinities, Gender Relations, and Sport* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2000), 49.

at the start of the twentieth century, men popularized sports that were overly aggressive and competitive to respond to the rising masculinity crisis.[164] Sport reiterated the existing societal power imbalance between men and women and was used as "a means for white middle-class men to reaffirm symbolically their physical and moral superiority over women and socially subordinated men."[165] Already this puts sport in a different position than popular culture because, while both play off of traditional cultural structures, popular culture intentionally appeals to women as rising economically independent consumers.

According to Brian Pronger, "athletics is traditionally understood as a masculine pursuit," and, "women who do become athletes are often considered unfeminine," which emphasizes the divide sports (as a representation of social structure) creates between physical power and status, and femininity.[166] For centuries in the West, male athleticism has symbolized power and moral superiority, and sport provides young boys with "a feel for masculinity, a sense of how they are different from girls." [167] Because physical power is so heavily emphasized in organized sport, violence is often a result. "The violence of sports is often considered a metaphor for the violence of war," Pronger points out, "In 1972, Richard Nixon called for a new bombing assault on North Vietnam, naming it "Operation Linebacker"."[168] In a stereotypically masculine institution such as sport, it is easy to see how women are made outsiders and thereby associated with opposing traits: weak, delicate, mild, and submissive.

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[164] McKay, Messner, and Sabo, *Masculinities, Gender Relations, and Sport*, 1.
[165] Ibid., 49.
[166] Brian Pronger, *The Arena of Masculinity: Sports, Homosexuality, and the Meaning of Sex* (New York: St. Martin's, 1990), 3.
[167] McKay, Messner, and Sabo, *Masculinities, Gender Relations, and Sport*, 49; Pronger, *The Arena of Masculinity*, 19
[168] Pronger, *The Arena of Masculinity*, 20.

The display of power and dominance in sports (especially in very aggressive contact sports such as American football, hockey, and rugby) typically results in trauma, injury, or death, but can also encourage violence and aggressive behaviors in fans. Research shows that, "spectators like the aggressive content of sports," and sometimes high excitement, group mentality, and unique sport environment encourages fans to participate in aggressive and violent behavior themselves. [169] Some argue that watching or participating in violent activities provide participants with a cathartic release, but Kevin Young, author of *Sport Violence and Society,* points out that there is in fact no evidence to support this claim; participating in sport (either directly or indirectly) may actually enhance aggressive drives rather than reduce them. [170] The well known Goldstein and Arms (1971) study, "Effects on Observing Athletic Contests on Hostility," demonstrated that, when men and women were exposed to aggressive sports (ice hockey and wrestling) compared to sport without aggression (swimming), spectator hostility increased only after exposure to the aggressive display. [171]

Jerry Lewis, a sociology professor at Kent University, conducted a study among college students to look at gender differences in the perceptions of collegiate fan violence. He found that many college students perceive fan violence to just be an illustration of the phrase "boys will be boys." [172] This attitude reflects two complementary things. Firstly, it shows that illegal and potentially life-threatening violence is acceptable

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[169] Daniel L Wann, et al., *Sport Fans: The Psychology and Social Impact of Spectators* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 52.

[170] Kevin Young, *Sport, Violence and Society* (London: Routledge, 2012), 7. In the 1970s, numerous studies were conducted to test the catharsis perspective with a nearly "unanimous lack of empirical support."

[171] Jeffrey H. Goldstein, and Robert L. Arms, "Effects of Observing Athletic Contests on Hostility," *Sociometry* 34 (1971): 83–90, accessed April 13, 2016 doi:10.2307/2786352.

[172] Jerry M. Lewis, *Sports Fan Violence in North America* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007), 60.

due to its associations with masculinity. Secondly, it reinforces that such aggressive behavior is suitable only for males; society will not forgive females who act so nonchalantly disruptive. It is important to keep in mind that there are other, nonviolent ways to demonstrate devotion and support in sport fandom (knowledge of statistics or participation in brackets or fantasy sports leagues), but society still accepts violence in sports fandom. This reemphasizes the separation of sports fandom from media fandoms that are predominantly female. The tolerance of sports fan violence reinforces the theory that female fans receive flack from critics, not for the extremity of their behavior, but for the status of their gender.

Fandom & Self-Identity

Despite the different ways in which society views sports fans and boy band fans, the two groups share similarities. The authors of *Sports Fans: The Psychology and Social Impact of Spectators,* point out that, "highly identified fans often view their team's performances as a reflection of themselves… the team's wins are experienced as personal victories, while losses are perceived as personal defeats."[173] One Direction fans rejoice together at the arrival of good news: the band won a prestigious award, a highly anticipated televised appearance aired, or an exceptionally complimentary interview was published. On the other hand, fans experience strong negative affects when bad news arises.[174]

Research shows, though, that not all fans are affected equally. Consider sports fans as an example: fair-weather fans have psychological distance from a teams' performance, and thus the can decrease their association with the team if the team plays

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[173] Wann, et al., *Sport Fans*, 167.
[174] This will be discussed to a greater extent in the following section.

poorly. Fans who strongly identify with the subject of their fandom, however, are unable to distance themselves because the subject is crucial to the fans' self-identity. Thus, when a team loses a match (or a band loses a member), the negative event can threaten the psychological well being of high-identifying fans.[175] According to Daniel Wann, Merrill Melnick, Gordon Russell, and Dale Pease, highly identifying sports fans, "may experience depression and an intense negative affective state and adopt a poor outlook on life subsequent to their team's defeat."[176] In the following section I will discuss the extreme negative reaction One Direction fans had when Zayn Malik left the band to further illustrate this point.

Since high-identifying fans are unable to protect their self-esteem by distancing themselves from any negative events that directly affect their self-identity, they must find other ways to defend themselves. Fans typically participate in "blasting": they act in hostile ways towards individuals or groups that are seen as the opposition in order to regain psychological health.[177] For sports fans, this may manifest by yelling at the referee who made a detrimental call or in heckling the opposing team. In a sample of over 500 sports fans, "approximately three-fourths had shouted insults at players, coaches, or officials."[178] Some One Direction fans send nasty tweets to women they feel are potential love interests of the band members, to celebrities who make rude comments regarding the band, or fans of other artists to defend their psychological well being.

Fans justify this hostile behavior with self-serving bias. "The self-serving bias implies that fans will often use internal attributions to explain their team's victories, but

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[175] Wann, et al., *Sport Fans*, 170-171.
[176] Ibid.,, 172.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Ibid., 98.

assign external causes to account for their team's defeats."[179] When a team wins, fans claim it was due to the team's hustle or superior skill, but when a team loses, external factors such as poor refereeing, injuries, or bad sportsmanship (from the other team) are likely to be cited instead. "In this manner, fans can enhance their well-being after victories and protect their well-being after defeats."[180] It is important to note, though, that this behavior is unique to high-identifying fans because fair-weathered fans' well being is not directly tied to the subject of their fandom.

Fandoms as Information Communities

Fandom activity certainly existed before the Internet (through meetings, fanzines, letters, or conferences), but online fandoms only magnify the ability of fans to painstakingly analyze and share details that, previously, individual fans conducted alone. Through collaborations with others, fans compare notes and refine theories more quickly and with a greater number of perspectives than before the Internet.[181] In this way, fandoms are also information communities. Fans relate to one another through their desire to gain and share information; the fans who demonstrate extensive knowledge or who are the first to reveal and share new information gain high status. When evaluating *Star Trek* fandoms, Henry Jenkins found that, "a missed episode means loss of information shared by others, making it harder to participate in discussions of the program and weakening their mastery over the series."[182] Missing out on new information results in fans' inability to fully participate and contribute to fandom discussion and appropriation.

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[179] Wann, et al., *Sport Fans,* 173.
[180] Ibid., 174.
[181] Henry Jenkins, *Fans, Bloggers, and Gamers: Exploring Participatory Culture (*New York: New York University Press, 2006), 122.
[182] Jenkins, *Textual Poachers*, 58.

Perry Levy theorizes in *Collective Intelligence* that information communities are created under the basis of common intellectual pursuits and emotional investments.[183] These groups are flexible; in their membership, their length of existence, and their expectations. What holds them together, Levy argues, is the, "mutual production and reciprocal exchange of knowledge."[184] The Internet, allowing fandom interaction to be more timely and relevant than ever before demands that "true fans" are constantly up to date on all new information.

Social media fan Update Accounts (UAs) are frequently used to meet fans' demand for a constant stream of new information. UAs are fan-run social media accounts that serve to share major new pieces of information in real time with the rest of the fandom. UAs always must try to be among the first (if not *the* first) to share information, as their reputation as a good update account relies on both timeliness and accuracy. The One Direction fandom has many of these accounts of Twitter, because Twitter is typically used for short, quick notifications.

A special characteristic of a good UA is the frequency with which the account is fed insider information. This is a big component of their reputation; if a self-declared update account amasses enough followers and positive fandom credit, they may receive official information from sources close to the band. UAs are especially useful tools for the band's management team. They can be used to spread rumors or direct fandom attention; sometimes this is even more effective than sending information to a gossip magazine because fans are more likely to influenced by someone they see as a

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[183] Pierre Levy, *Collective Intelligence: Mankind's Emerging World in Cyberspace* (Cambridge: Perseus, 1997), 217.
[184] Ibid.

trustworthy peer. It is rumored that fans that run highly influential UAs get perks like free show tickets or opportunities to meet and take photographs with the band.

Information communities provide ways for fans to fill the holes of cultural capital left by an unsupportive society. The categorization of young female fans as overly emotional and invested, submissive to culture, and unable to engage in critical evaluation certainly reinforces women's "otherness" and separates them from spheres of traditional male dominance. When fans are inspired by their idols to defy their repression, society discredits them in ways that are not experienced by many male fans. However, within fandoms females can achieve social prestige and bolster their self-esteem with peers of a like-minded community.[185] Fandoms give women and adolescents a chance to build relationships around the agency that they are denied in other aspects of life. Communities that form online foster a wide-reaching culture within which female fans are able to contribute "without encountering the entrenched power of long-time male fans."[186] Within fandoms, they are allowed and encouraged to express their love and identification for commodities that were made *specifically* to elicit these feelings.

Young female fans have proven their worth to artists that can use Emotional Marketing strategies to connect with them, and their embrace of social media platforms is only set to increase their profitability. Over the past century adolescent girls' power as consumers has become even more potent, especially in the music industry. This growth in identity prompts desire for reflective societal change, but as young women are denied societal empowerment, they turn to bands like the Beatles and One Direction to find a framework that reflects their aspirations.

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[185] John Fiske, "The Cultural Economy of Fandom," 33.
[186] Jenkins, *Textual Poachers*, 48.

One Direction

Rise to the Top (2010-2016)

Since One Direction's start in 2010, its climb to the top has been nothing less than explosive. Over the course of five and a half years the band accomplished unprecedented achievements with the help of its fans. The members of the band originally auditioned separately on the United Kingdom's live talent competition television show, the *X Factor.* Harry Styles was 16, Niall Horan, Liam Payne, and Zayn Malik were 17, and Louis Tomlinson was 18. Early in the competition, the five individual singers were put together to compete as One Direction. After coming in third place on the show in December, *Digital Spy* reported that the band signed to Simon Cowell's Syco Records label (a division of Sony Entertainment) for 2 million euros.[187] The band started recording almost immediately, taking a break to tour through the U.K. on the *X Factor* Live Tour from February to April of 2011.

The young group's debut single, "What Makes You Beautiful," was released in the U.K. in September 2011. It was the most pre-ordered single in Sony Music Entertainment history, entered at No. 1 on the U.K. Singles Chart, and proceeded to win Best British Single at the BRIT awards the following February.[188] The accompanying first album, *Up All Night,* was released in the U.K. in November 2011. "What Makes You Beautiful" was released in the United States on Valentine's Day in 2012 after the band signed an American record deal with Columbia Records. The single debuted on the

[187] Mayer Nissim, "One Direction 'Get £2m Syco Investment,'" *Digital Spy*, January 28, 2011, accessed October 16, 2015, http://www.digitalspy.co.uk/music/s103/the-x-factor/news/a300729/one-direction-get-gbp2m-syco-investment.html.
[188] Lewis Corner, "One Direction's 'What Makes You Beautiful' Breaks Pre-Order Sales Record," *Digital Spy*, August 19, 2011, accessed October 16, 2015, http://www.digitalspy.co.uk/displayarticle.php?id=335956.

Billboard Hot 100 chart at No. 28, the highest debut any British act has achieved since 1998.[189] Shortly after the single's release, the group opened for Big Time Rush's sold out Better With U Tour and appeared on numerous radio shows for its first big U.S. promotion spree. Big Time Rush was an American boy band with its own television show on Nickelodeon and a similar target demographic to One Direction; the pairing helped the British group increase brand awareness among their target market in the U.S.[190]

One Direction's first televised appearance took place on NBC's "Today" morning talk show on March 12, 2012, the day before the release of their debut album in America. According to *Billboard,* once it was announced that the boy band was performing on the show, "a deluge of fan emails flooded the show's inbox, forcing NBC to relocate the appearance to Rockefeller Plaza," instead of the traditional in-studio setup.[191] About 15,000 fans came out into the New York City streets to see the new British band.[192] For a musical act that had yet to release an album in North America it was an unprecedented turnout.

Up All Night was released in the states a week earlier than originally planned, "due to overwhelming demand," according to Columbia Records.[193] The album topped the *Billboard* 200 Chart upon release and made One Direction the first British band to

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[189] Keith Caulfield, "One Direction Has Highest Hot 100 Debut For New U.K. Act Since 1998," *Billboard*, February 22, 2012, accessed October 16, 2015, http://www.billboard.com/articles/news/504475/one-direction-has-highest-hot-100-debut-for-new-uk-act-since-1998.

[190] Grady Smith, "One Direction and Big Time Rush Unite for North American Tour," *Entertainment Weekly,* February 3, 2012, accessed October 16, 2015, http://www.ew.com/article/2012/02/03/one-direction-big-time-rush-exclusive-photo.

[191] Steven Horowitz, "One Direction & The Wanted: The Billboard Cover Story," *Billboard*, March 27, 2012, Accessed October 16, 2015, http://www.billboard.com/articles/news/499360/one-direction-the-wanted-the-billboard-cover-story.

[192] Horowitz, "One Direction & The Wanted."

[193] Ibid.

reach No.1 with a debut album. Shortly after the release, the band performed on the well-known live late-night television show, "Saturday Night Live."

The subsequent Up All Night Tour began in the U.K. during December 2011, and then continued in Australia and the United States as the band gained popularity across the globe. Some shows sold out in less than a minute, and the whole New Zealand leg of the tour sold out within ten.[194] A tour DVD, *Up All Night: The Live Tour,* as well as the band's first book, *Dare to Dream: Life as One Direction,* was released to monumental success; the autobiography was number one on *The New York Times* Best Seller list. In June of 2012, Sony Music U.K. chairman Nick Gatfield revealed that One Direction "already represent[s] a $50 million business."[195] That same year, the singers performed at the prestigious closing ceremony of the 2012 Summer Olympics and won the 2012 MTV Video Music Award for Best New Artist.[196]

The band's second album, *Take Me Home*, was released in November of 2012 and topped the charts in the U.K. A single off the album, "Little Things," reached No. 1 on the U.K. charts at the same time as the album, which had never been done by such a young group.[197] The single "Live While We're Young" also broke records by entering at No. 1 and earning the highest one-week opening sales for a song in the U.S. by an artist

[194] Lars Brandle, "One Direction Live: Shriek Show in Australia," *Billboard*, April 19, 2012, accessed October 17, 2015, http://www.billboard.com/articles/photos/live/492534/one-direction-live-shriek-show-in-australia; Bridget Jones, "One Direction's NZ Tour Sold Out," *Stuff,* March 2, 2012, Accessed October 17, 2015, http://www.stuff.co.nz/auckland/whats-on/6512032/One-Directions-NZ-tour-sold-out.

[195] Jocelyn Vena, "One Direction Set To Become Booming $100 Million Business," *MTV News*, June 15, 2012, Accessed October 17, 2015, http://www.mtv.com/news/1687496/one-direction-hundred-million-dollar-business/.

[196] Amelia Butterly, "One Direction Win Three MTV Video Music Awards in LA," *BBC Newsbeat,* September 7, 2012, accessed October 17, 2015, http://www.bbc.co.uk/newsbeat/article/19515754/one-direction-win-three-mtv-video-music-awards-in-la.

[197] "End of Year Album Chart Top 100 – 2012," *Official Charts Company,* accessed September 15, 2015, http://www.officialcharts.com/charts/end-of-year-artist-albums-chart/20120108/37502/.

outside the states.[198] The album topped the charts in 37 countries, and earned the fourth

best-selling album worldwide in 2012 (right after *Up All Night* at number three), selling

over 5 million copies.[199] That winter, One Direction performed for the Queen of Britain

and the Duke of Edinburgh at the Royal Variety Performance before going back to the

States to headline a sold-out show at Madison Square Garden.

In 2013, the five bandmates went on the road for their Take Me Home Tour. This

time, the band played over 100 arenas and stadiums across Europe, North America,

Australia, and Japan, and sold out six shows at London's famous O2 Arena. In August, a

3D documentary and concert film about the group, *One Direction: This Is Us,* was

released and topped the U.K. and U.S. box offices, earning over $60 million worldwide

to become the fourth highest grossing concert movie of all time.[200]

The band's third studio album, *Midnight Memories,* was released worldwide in

November of 2013 to great success. This record made One Direction the first British

group to have its first three albums top the charts in the states. To boost promotion and

anticipation for the record, the band members hosted "1D Day," a seven-and-a-half hour

event dedicated to entertaining and thanking their fans. The event was live-streamed over

YouTube and Google+ Hangout, and fans were encouraged to interact and participate

directly through social media.[201] The subsequent release of *Midnight Memories* was a

success; the album debuted at number one in both the U.K. and the U.S. One Direction

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[198] Tina Hart, "One Direction Achieve Fastest-Selling Single by a UK Act in the US," *Music Week*, October 10, 2012, accessed October 17, 2015, http://www.musicweek.com/news/read/one-direction-have-fastest-selling-single-by-a-uk-artist/052114.
[199] "Modest Management: One Direction," *Modest Management*, accessed April 14, 2016, http://www.modestmanagement.com/one-direction.
[200] "Music Concert Movies at the Box Office," *Box Office Mojo*, accessed October 20, 2015, http://www.boxofficemojo.com/genres/chart/?id=musicconcert.htm.
[201] Beth Hilton, "One Direction '1D Day' Live Stream – Watch," *Digital Spy*, November 23, 2013, accessed October 20, 2015, http://www.digitalspy.co.uk/displayarticle.php?id=533434.

was the first band to be so successful since The Monkees in 1967.[202] In December, DVD sales of its concert film broke the U.K.'s sales record formally held by Michael Jackson.[203] At the end of the year, the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry named the young group Top Global Artists of 2013 due to its strong numbers.[204]

To perform its new material, One Direction hit the road yet again for its Where We Are Tour in 2014. The tour spanned North and South America and Europe, was attended by 3.4 million fans, and ended with a gross earning of $290 million.[205] The band stopped by Las Vegas for the iHeartRadio Music Festival and filmed its second concert film, *One Direction: Where We Are- The Concert Film,* in Milan, Italy. According to *Contact Music,* the film, "smashed global box office records during its one weekend only run in cinemas worldwide."[206] It was screened in 78 countries and sold 1.2 million tickets in October to set the record for the Event Cinema film before it was released on DVD in November.[207]

In the midst of the boy band's concert movie success, a second autobiography was released, entitled *Who We Are*, as well as an announcement for their upcoming fourth album. *Four* was released on November 17, 2014 after the release of a 24-hour free

[202] Keith Caulfield, "One Direction Scores Historic Third No. 1 Album on Billboard 200 Chart," *Billboard*, December 4, 2013, accessed April 14, 2016, http://www.billboard.com/articles/news/5812384/one-direction-scores-historic-third-no-1-album-on-billboard-200-chart.

[203] "One Direction Beat Michael Jackson's Chart Record," *Official Charts,* December 23, 2013, accessed April 14, 2016, http://www.officialcharts.com/chart-news/one-direction-beat-michael-jackson-s-chart-record__3646/.

[204] Adam Sherwin, "One Direction Named Top Global Recording Artist in New Award," *The Independent*, January 30, 2014, accessed October 22, 2015, http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/music/news/one-direction-named-top-global-recording-artist-in-new-award-9093917.html.

[205] "AMAs 2014: Why One Direction Really Are the Artists of the Year," *Metro*, November 24, 2014, accessed April 9, 2016, http://metro.co.uk/2014/11/24/amas-2014-why-one-direction-really-are-the-artists-of-the-year-4960324/.

[206] Ed Biggs, "One Direction's New Film Sets Global Box Office Record," *Contactmusic*, October 16, 2014, accessed October 22, 2015, http://www.contactmusic.com/one-direction/news/one-direction-film-box-office-record_4414472.

[207] Ibid.

download track as well as two singles. The album was No. 1 in the U.S., breaking the band's own record to become the only group to debut its first four albums at No. 1 on the Billboard charts.[208] *Four* also topped the charts in 13 other countries, including the U.K.[209] At the fan-voted 2014 American Music Awards, One Direction won Artist of the Year, Favorite Group, and Favorite Album, and 10 additional awards at the *Teen Choice Awards*.[210]

Proceeding *Four,* the boy band went on its fourth headlining tour, the On The Road Again Tour, from February to October of 2015. The singers traveled to Australia, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, North America, multiple locations in Europe, and several countries in Asia. On March 25th, Zayn Malik announced that he was leaving One Direction, and the rest of the band continued the tour without him. Despite Zayn's departure, the On The Road Again Tour grossed over $158 million and was the third grossing tour of 2015.[211] One Direction was named Top Touring Artist and Top Group at the Billboard Music Awards that year, and the first single from its fifth album, released without Zayn, reached No.1 in six countries.[212]

The four remaining bandmates soldiered on to release a fifth album in November of 2015 entitled *Made in the A.M.* The record sat at No. 1 in eight countries and was No.

[208] Keith Caulfield, "One Direction's 'Four' Makes Historic No. 1 Debut on Billboard 200 Chart," *Billboard*, November 26, 2014, accessed April 10, 2016, http://www.billboard.com/articles/columns/chart-beat/6327789/one-direction-four-no-1-debut-billboard-200.

[209] "Four by One Direction - Music Charts," *Acharts,* accessed April 10, 2016, http://acharts.co/album/89457.

[210] Joe Lynch, "British Invasion: One Direction Conquer 2014 American Music Awards," *Billboard*, November 23, 2014, accessed April 10, 2016, http://www.billboard.com/articles/events/amas-2014/6327571/one-direction-2014-american-music-awards-domination.

[211] "The most successful music tours worldwide in 2015, based on gross revenue (in million U.S. dollars)," *Pollstar*, accessed April 10, 2016, http://www.statista.com/statistics/278378/the-most-successful-music-tours-worldwide/.

[212] "Billboard Music Awards 2015: See the Full Winners List," *Billboard*, accessed April 10, 2016, http://www.billboard.com/articles/news/bbma/6568580/billboard-music-awards-2015-winners-list. "Made In The A.M. by One Direction - Music Charts," *Acharts,* accessed April 14, 2016, http://acharts.co/album/96306.

2 in the U.S. to Justin Bieber's No. 1 album *Purpose.*[213] Before the album was released, however, the singers announced that they were going on hiatus after the release of the fifth album. The length of the break is undetermined; rumors range from several months to two years. The rest is clearly well deserved—after a grueling five-year schedule of album releases, touring, and other promotion, the members of One Direction achieved monumental success around the world. The band is a global phenomenon that has shaped the terrain of pop culture since its origin. Behind its success, however, is something bigger than just a stack of records.

<div align="center">Target Audience</div>

The target audience of One Direction has changed very minimally over the past five years. When the group first started, it primarily appealed to British girls from preadolescence to young adults (11-17), and to parents of teen girls secondarily.[214] In 2012 it shifted its scope slightly to target a global audience, and as the members have matured, so have their fans and their marketing efforts. Female young-adult consumers are one of the most lucrative market segments in the music industry. [Appendix 16] Because of their youth they are easy to reach on mobile devices and social media platforms, and they use technology to find most of the music they consume. They are considered early adopters in music-related technology, and therefore were some of the first to use new streaming sites such as ITunes and Spotify, which, as previously discussed, generates the bulk of the music industry's revenue.

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[213] "Made In The A.M. by One Direction - Music Charts," *Acharts,* accessed April 14, 2016, http://acharts.co/album/96306.

[214] "One Direction: The Movie," Powerpoint presentation, *Sony Pictures*, shared by *WikiLeaks*, April 16, 2015, accessed April 17, 2015, https://wikileaks.org/sony/docs/01/Market/MP_MARKET/MKT Columbia/PPTs/LAS VEGAS 2013/Final Vegas 2013 Big Ideas Powerpoint.pdf.

As previously mentioned, over the past century teenagers have been recognized as an incredibly profitable market segment. Mass media now targets adolescents relentlessly and, due to their purchasing power, they significantly help define the terrain of popular culture. With the introduction of the Internet, this phenomenon is even more prevalent. More and more, today's adolescents and even older children are more autonomous consumers than the generations before them.[215] Due to a swift adaptation and increased usage of technology, the marketing industry views teens as a primary market instead of simply a demographic that influences older consumers.[216] One difference between the early 1900s and the 2000s is that teen consumers have more purchasing information available to them through new technology. The ability to research products and brands online results in brand preferences that form significantly earlier than what was seen before the Internet and personal technological devices.

This gives One Direction the opportunity to sell more merchandise, concert tickets, and music directly to young fans instead of to their parents. The importance of maintaining a lively online presence when attempting to reach the adolescent age demographic cannot be stressed enough. Since the Internet is where teens are getting their information on what is cool, popular, and desirable, bands like One Direction need to occupy that space. But not only does the Internet allow direct targeting of customers, it also gives consumers the opportunity to share their opinions of brands and commodities with peers, especially on social media. The impactful influence of peer opinion is magnified by the hyper-social awareness of teenagers. As youth look to their peer group to determine what is socially acceptable and encouraged, social media provides a 24/7

[215] Dina H. Bassiouni and Chris Hackley, "Generation Z Children's Adaptation to Digital Consumer Culture: A Critical Literature Review," *Journal of Customer Behaviour*, 13/2 (2014): 113.
[216] Ibid.

window through which adolescents can observe and participate. Social media allows One Direction to directly appeal to, communicate with, and integrate itself into the lives of its teenage target audience.

Due to the age of the band members and the pre-existing script assigned to teen idols, upon One Direction's creation in 2010 the band's market presence was modeled after the then-new American music sensation, Justin Bieber. In 2009, Bieber's debut album went platinum and broke several *Billboard* records after the 15-year-old singer was discovered playing covers on YouTube.[217] Bieber was known for his youth, adorable looks, and distinctively long hair, and took advantage of the lucrative female teen market. From the start, One Direction aimed to be the British answer to this U.S. phenomenon. Upon the band's formation *The Telegraph* bluntly pointed out that, "Simon Cowell has now created five Bieberettes in the shape of One Direction."[218]

<div align="center">The X Factor</div>

Performing on the *X Factor* placed One Direction in a unique position right at the beginning of the group's career. The show automatically provides contestants with exposure and promotion that they would otherwise never have, and for a group to receive that level of support immediately upon formation is a huge advantage. The *X Factor* itself is cited as the "new paradigm in TV talent shows," due to creator and judge Simon Cowell's implementation of story arcs, the character development of contestants, and

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[217] "Justin Bieber Fever Hits Miami," *CBS News*, February 5, 2010, accessed March 13, 2016, http://www.cbsnews.com/news/justin-bieber-fever-hits-miami/.

[218] Bryony Gordon, "Justin Bieber: I Love the New Boyband Generation," *The Telegraph*, November 23, 2010, accessed March 13, 2016, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/music/rockandpopmusic/8155011/Justin-Bieber-I-love-the-new-boyband-generation.html.

emotional drama.[219] Along with these elements, the talent show fosters a community among viewers by fulfilling a need for social connection and engagement with the potential for transformation.

Chris Hackley, Stephen Brown, and Rungpaka Amy Hackley apply Victor Turner's theory of liminality to the popular television show in order to describe its appeal. Liminality is described as a realm that is "rich in the possibility of infinite change and renewal of individuals, ideas, and relations."[220] C. Hackley, Brown, and R. A. Hackley point to the *X Factor*'s ability to transform the contestants' social status to demonstrate this theory: "the show gives a platform to individuals who would never achieve fame and renown by any other means."[221] The theme of transformation is one that is ingrained in society, and the *X Factor* structures the contestants' story arcs to capitalize on the appeal of subversion of traditional social structure. Watching everyday people navigate the social disparity between their humble backgrounds and sudden relative stardom draws viewers into the beloved rags-to-riches story of success and makes them feel connected to these potential celebrities. Although the show is watched by individuals in their own homes, there is also a community built around the collective experience of voting for certain contestants, participating in online discussion, and other acts signifying active participation and identification with the show and its contestants.

In order to further encourage audience participation, Cowell places an emphasis on the story lines of each participant by showing interview clips in addition to the contestants' performances on-air. On the *X Factor*'s webpage, participants film exclusive

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[219] Chris Hackley, Stephen Brown, and Rungpaka Amy Hackley, "The X-Factor Enigma: Simon Cowell and the Marketization of Existential Liminality," *Marketing Theory*, 12 (4) 2012: 452, accessed April 13, 2016, doi: 10.1177/1470593112457738.
[220] Ibid., 455.
[221] Ibid., 458.

and personal content, interact with fans on social media, and feature in behind-the-scene footage. The online extensions of the show heavily influence the reach of the *X Factor* brand and deepen "the fans' collective sense of personal engagement."[222] The Emotional Marketing strategy is to use each contestant's journey and struggle to capitalize on their personalities and personal backgrounds in order to connect with the audience. The emphasis placed on transformation is reflected in the dramatic nature of interviews and the emphasis on the emotional struggles and dreams of the contestants. C. Hackley, Brown, and R. A. Hackley recognize that an important root of the pleasure gained from participation in the *X Factor* community is the, "para-social identification with the finalists as quasi-soap opera characters."[223] The *X Factor* model is one that invests in building relationships between the show and its viewers, as well as between its viewers and its individual contestants. Now I will illustrate how these strategies and theories were used to kick-start One Direction's mass appeal.

When the five members of One Direction auditioned for the *X Factor* across the U.K. and Ireland, they never imagined what an impact the talent show would have on their lives. 2010 saw the seventh season of the show, which premiered with its highest first episode viewership of 11.3 million viewers.[224] With millions of fans watching, the then-solo members went through the initial audition process and boot camp, where cuts were made based on the judges' opinions alone. Already the teenagers were garnering viewer support. Lisa McGarry wrote an article about Harry Styles for *Unreality TV* saying, "He really has something going for him. His voice was strong and he is just so

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[222] C. Hackley, Brown and R. A. Hackley, "The X-Factor Enigma," 458.
[223] Ibid., 457.
[224] Paul Miller, "12m Peak for 'X Factor' Launch," *Digital Spy*, August 22, 2010, accessed September 9, 2015, http://www.digitalspy.co.uk/tv/s103/the-x-factor/news/a265589/12m-peak-for-x-factor-launch.html.

cute we could eat him!"[225] McGarry proceeded to refer to Liam Payne as a "teenager dreamboat." Niall Horan was championed as, "the U.K.'s answer to Justin Bieber," in an article published by *Digital Spy*, and in his audition, guest judge Katy Perry described him as "adorable" and "charismatic."[226]

Judge and producer Simon Cowell gets credit for recognizing the potential in putting the five green contestants together, despite them not having the talent to make it past the boot camp round on their own. However, the five singers had characteristics that fit in well with the *X Factor*'s theme of transformation: most members came from modest backgrounds, their ages (16-19) placed them in a transitory stage of their lives, and their underdog status in the competition left them with plenty of room for growth. Besides that, the singers' appearance, charisma, and youth made it easy for them to garner a strong following. From the moment each contestant stepped onto the *X Factor* stage they displayed distinctive character strengths and qualities. We can assume that Cowell matched them together based on his knowledge of group dynamics that were successfully marketed in the past. With millions of viewers watching, the band One Direction was strategically created.[227]

From that point on in the show, it was the viewers' responsibility to vote for the contestants they believed should move on to the next round. Votes from the audience kept One Direction consistently in third or fourth place throughout the competition until

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[225] Lisa McGarry, "X Factor 2010: Simon Cowell Tells Harry Styles 'This Show Is Designed to Find Someone like You'," *Unreality TV*, September 19, 2010, accessed March 12, 2016, http://www.unrealitytv.co.uk/x-factor/x-factor-2010-simon-cowell-tells-harry-styles-this-show-is-designed-to-find-someone-like-you-video/.

[226] McGarry, "X Factor 2010"; Alex Fletcher, "'X Factor' Niall Wants to Be New Bieber," *Digital Spy*, August 31, 2010, accessed March 12, 2016, http://www.digitalspy.com/tv/the-x-factor/news/a270395/x-factor-niall-wants-to-be-new-bieber/.

[227] The first two episodes after One Direction had been formed garnered 13.5 and 15.41 million views. "Weekly Top 30 Programmes," *Broadcasters' Audience Research Board*, accessed March 13, 2016, http://www.barb.co.uk/viewing-data/weekly-top-30/.

the band was eliminated in the final, coming in third place overall. In the last round the group received 18.54 percent of the votes that night—a record best for the band.[228] Over 19.4 million viewers tuned in to see the final results and to hear Cowell declare that, despite One Direction's loss, this was, "just the beginning for these boys."[229]

Even before the final results were announced, One Direction started to mold the image that captured the hearts of millions. On-air, contestants displayed their singing capabilities, but online they were given the opportunity to showcase their personalities as well. During the *X Factor,* contestants recorded weekly video diaries to update viewers on what they were doing, how they were feeling about their performances, and to answer questions sent in by fans. One Direction shone in this regard, always full of energy and silly banter in front of the camera. Each video diary was only a couple of minutes long, but they served as seemingly unscripted platforms through which fans observed genuine interaction among the band and learned more about each member individually. Similarly, the group also filmed "Quick Fire" trivia episodes, in which two members of the band (or one band member and another contestant) asked each other questions submitted by fans as quickly as possible. This game was done in mock-seriousness with band member Louis Tomlinson acting as a theatrical judge; questions were answered in funny accents, silly wigs, or faux intensity.

It is important to note, however, that just because this video content (and all public interactions to follow) was improvisational, we cannot view it as anything less

[228]Alex Fletcher, "In Full: 'X Factor' Weekly Voting Results," *Digital Spy*, December 12, 2010, accessed September 10, 2015, http://www.digitalspy.co.uk/tv/s103/the-x-factor/news/a292859/in-full-x-factor-weekly-voting-results.html.

[229] Neil Wilkes, "'X Factor' Final Peaks with 19.4 Million." *Digital Spy*, December 13, 2010, accessed September 10, 2015, http://www.digitalspy.co.uk/tv/s103/the-x-factor/news/a292894/x-factor-final-peaks-with-194-million.html; "The Final: 3rd Place- The X Factor Live Final (Full Version)," YouTube video, 3:43. From X Factor Season 7, posted by "The X Factor UK," December 12, 2010, accessed March 6, 2016, https://youtu.be/wUxzio-3j-4.

than a performance. Although their interactions *seem* unscripted, the new stars are in fact playing out a narrative that is already built into the show. Aware of the prescribed behavior for a successful contestant (humanity, humility, and vulnerability) by watching previous seasons or similar talent shows, they knew how best to behave. Although each member had the aggressive ambition and drive to pursue celebrity, they only presented themselves as modest and star-struck in order to perform as the audience expects. Thus, although no one was handing them a physical script, the members of One Direction knew the framework within which they were working, and how to play to their strengths to interact (or perform) in ways that maximized their success.

From the beginning, Cowell and the band's other handlers emphasized certain characteristics that were seen in each of the contestants. Louis was always very loud and rambunctious, and as the oldest seemed to take a leadership role in the young group. Liam, who was often touted as the most musically gifted, took things a bit more seriously. Niall laughed constantly and Harry was full of clever jokes and charismatic charm. Zayn was the quietest of the five, but was easily drawn out of his shell with help from his friends' silly antics. By stressing certain aspect of each member with the intent to maximize the economic success of the band, Cowell turned the singers into commodities. These characteristics displayed early on, in their videos and on Twitter, were later cemented and elaborated on when the band developed official public personas.

Video Diaries

The online videos undoubtedly showed the band's depth and encouraged identification among viewers. The bandmates came across as typical teenage guys who could just as easily live down the street as become celebrities. Fans avidly watched the

content on the *X Factor* website and sent in questions for the band to answer every week in order to more actively participate in the community that was beginning to form around One Direction. Fans even sent the band members gifts that referenced earlier video content. In the ninth installment of the video diaries, Louis Tomlinson jokes that, since mentioning he had a "love for women who have a taste for carrots," in the first video, "I have received plenty of carrots… I also have a keen interest in women who like Lamborghinis."[230] Simon Cowell, the group's mentor on the show, said the members were, "cheeky, funny, respectful, all in one."[231] The videos showcased the unprompted, energetic chemistry of the group; fans latched onto the easy and frequent laughter, the mutual teasing, and the overall goofiness of the band's conversation.

These video diaries became so cherished by fans that even after the *X Factor*'s webpage took them down after season seven ended, they were complied onto YouTube by several different users—some compilations received over one million views. A year after One Direction was on the *X Factor,* Louis (@Louis_Tomlinson) tweeted that video diaries were "finally coming back." and the fandom responded with 27 thousand retweets and 11 thousand likes to show its enthusiasm.[232]

We can think of the video diaries as the ultimate courtship, both in the creation of the bond between the band members and in the creation of the initial bond between the band and its fans. Fans compiled the videos, create gifs from them, and even used the content to create memes internal to the fandom. They also circulate specific quotes or

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[230] "One Direction Video Diaries (ALL)," YouTube video, 34:38, from X Factor Season 7, Posted by "Fatima Payne," April 1, 2013, accessed April 6, 2016, https://youtu.be/9B4nbsTdMGg.

[231] Colin Daniels, "Cowell: 'One Direction Have Achieved so Much,'" *Digital Spy,* December 12, 2010, accessed September 9, 2015, http://www.digitalspy.co.uk/tv/s103/the-x-factor/news/a292796/cowell-one-direction-have-achieved-so-much.html.

[232] Louis Tomlinson, Twitter post, December 10, 2011, 8:14a.m., https://twitter.com/louis_tomlinson/status/145536951959830529?lang=en.

features of the videos (such as clothing and location) on Tumblr and Twitter with a sense of fond nostalgia.

Fans immortalize certain aspects of the video diaries as fandom inside jokes and reference quotes to establish both credibility and community among other fans. In relation to the theory of information communities, to reference the One Direction video diaries indicates that one is a "true fan" who cares enough about One Direction to ingrain in their memory even the earliest content related to the band. These videos were great attributes to the marketing of the group, both during the *X Factor* competition and after, as many fans refer to the band's portrayed openness and rambunctious nature as the reason they fell in love with the band in the first place.

Twitter

The Twitter accounts of each band member supplemented the videos. Each singer tweeted almost daily from his account about what he was doing, his thoughts on the music he was listening to, and how he felt that day. This performance created a public image of the band that was genuine, relatable, and down to earth. The bandmates regularly said "good morning" and "good night" to their followers and asked how their followers' days were going. Simple questions started conversations with their fans and made their fans feel like the singers cared about them. Each member had a different style of tweeting and tweeted about different things to accentuate the differences in their personalities and convince fans that it was really them sending messages from their social media accounts (and not a computer or a PR intern). Even as the number of users who followed them rose, the up-and-coming celebrities kept a silly and relatable tone to their accounts.

Fans felt in the loop and connected with the band in ways that were impossible before social media. Never before in history did fans have the ability to receive daily, personalized updates straight from the source of their fandom. With social media mobile applications and specialized notifications, fans can even receive a notification when specific accounts tweet or post a photo to Instagram to ensure immediate awareness of account activity. This way, whenever Niall tweets, "thank you," it directly shows up on his follower's phones, as if he was messaging them personally. Social media allows fans to feel part of the group they so admire.

The five singers also went on following sprees during which they selected random Twitter accounts of fans that had recently tweeted at them to follow. Fans often put the ratio of band members who follow them in their Twitter biography section to show that their love and dedication to One Direction was validated by the band members themselves. Boasting of a 5/5 mutual following status (a fan's account is followed by each of the members) makes it clear to other fans that the account has special access to the band; the account has the ability to direct-message the members and a chance of them interacting with its tweets.

The singers' rigorous use of social media in the beginning of their careers certainly paid off. Before they left the *X Factor,* Niall acquired over 50 thousand Twitter followers and the official band account reached 1 million followers by December of 2011. While some fans rejoiced at this accomplishment, others demanded more: they decided that the best way to support the band in its entirety would be to ensure that each individual member also had a million followers. One user (@Emily_Maex) wrote that, "if everyone following the one direction account was a true fan, then all of the members

would easily have over one million followers. [sic]"[233] It was likely this belief and their growing name recognition that led to each member having at least one million followers by the end of the month.

After the *X Factor,* One Direction continued making videos, either on YouTube or the Twitter streaming service, Twitcam. The group recorded a variety of content, some of it (especially in the case of Twitcam content) seemingly unsupervised. The members of the band filmed at all hours of the day in their homes, with each other or with friends, and always in the silly, fun way their fans came to expect. While the Twitcam recordings were too numerous and lengthy to become memorialized by the fandom, at the time they provided the perfect platform to directly communicate with fans in real time, gave fans the viewing experience they loved, and kept One Direction fresh in the minds of its audience in between the *X Factor* and the release of its first album. Video's ability to convey One Direction's group dynamic in ways that other social media platforms could not made it a crucial component to the band's breakneck rise to popularity.

To further encourage fans to interact with the band on Twitter, during their first tour the singers read off select tweets in a question-and-answer style. The tweets asked the members fun questions or offered fun challenges to perform on stage, like to sing covers, imitate accents, or dance. Not only did this provide the band with something to fill the time (One Direction had only released one 13-track album by that point), but because they only read tweets that were sent from inside the stadium, it also incentivized fans to inadvertently advertise to all of their friends on Twitter that they were currently at a One Direction concert. Live Twitter Q&As provided the fans with proof that the band valued what its fans had to say, and additionally provided a fun, interactive experience

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[233] Emily Maex, Twitter post, December 17, 2011, 5:53a.m., https://twitter.com/Emily_Maex/.

that helped fans feel included in the band's most significant performance: the live concert.

In addition to Twitter, One Direction also created an official Facebook page, but Facebook was not as instrumental to developing relationships between the band and fans because the individual members of the band did not have public pages. The band's page was still successful, however, quickly gaining 10 million likes in 2012. Between April and May of 2012, all the members of One Direction created Instagram accounts to utilize an image-based communication channel. Instagram does not have the same reach as Twitter, but even so, Louis and Liam have about 9 million followers, Niall has 15 million, and Harry has almost 17 million.[234] The band created an official One Direction account in August of 2012 and now retains about 15 million followers.[235] Many fans have Instagram accounts dedicated to photo and video edits of the band and they interact in the comment section of photos, but there is less direct communication between fans and band members than there is on Twitter.

Social media is an important tool for brands and companies to use; a high number of followers not only indicates popularity but also an opportunity to connect with consumers "in more personal ways and build stronger and smarter relationships."[236] Brands on social media are valued based on perceived personality, trust, and authenticity,

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[234] "Harrystyles's Instagram Feed," *Iconosquare*, accessed April 14, 2016, http://iconosquare.com/harrystyles; "Louis Tomlinson's Instagram Feed," *Iconosquare*, accessed April 14, 2016, http://iconosquare.com/louist91; "Niall Horan's Instagram Feed," *Iconosquare*, accessed April 14, 2016, http://iconosquare.com/niallhoran; "Liam Payne's Instagram Feed," *Iconosquare*, accessed April 14, 2016, http://iconosquare.com/fakeliampayne; Zayn's account was deleted and then recreated when he left the band in 2015.

[235] "One Direction's Instagram Feed," *Iconosquare*. Accessed April 14, 2016, http://iconosquare.com/onedirection.

[236] "Social Media Marketing: A Guide for Business," *I-SCOOP*, January 14, 2014, accessed March 15, 2016, http://www.i-scoop.eu/social-media-marketing-guide/.

which is why Emotional Marketing is so important.[237] By performing on Twitter as fans

expect and want, the bandmates reinforce the fun personalities demonstrated on other

platforms while building trust and rapport with their fans. Not only does this strong

connection increase loyalty among current fans, but it also increases the likelihood that

fans will pass their favorable impression onto their friends. Word-of-mouth

recommendations are extremely influential among all consumers, teens especially, and

with the popularity of social media, word-of-mouth marketing "has grown at an explosive

rate."[238] We previously discussed how word-of-mouth marketing led to OK Go's

YouTube viral music video, and we can consider peer and reference groups on social

media to be just as influential as those groups in real life. With that in mind, it is easy to

see why the number of Twitter followers One Direction has is an important implication of

both current and potential success.

Five years after the start of their careers, Harry, Niall, Liam and Louis have the

29th, 37th, 43rd, and 46th most followed Twitter accounts in the world, respectively, and

the official band account is the 27th largest account with almost 28 million followers.[239]

[Appendix 17] The members' Internet popularity, started by the *X Factor,* allowed them

to break into the United States more easily in 2012 before their first album was released.

One Direction's emphasis on social media platforms facilitated growth and interaction in

the fandom, which in turn brought great to success to the band's promotional efforts.

Fan-Appreciation Promotional Events

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[237] Ibid.
[238] Ibid.
[239] "Twitter Top 100 Most Followed," *Twittercounter*, accessed March 16, 2016, http://twittercounter.com.
These numbers are as of March 2016.

One Direction implemented several marketing campaigns and promotional events to take advantage of its eager and influential fandom. Many of these promotional events were presented under the excuse of (genuine) fan appreciation. I will discuss two major events: Bring Me To 1D and 1D Day.

Bring Me To 1D

Bring Me To 1D was a promotional event for the group's performance at Madison Square Garden in New York City in December of 2012. The performance and promotional event took place less than a month after the release of the band's second album, *Take Me Home,* and was the last performance of One Direction's first headlining tour. To play at such a notoriously impressive venue so early in its career was impressive but daunting—therefore, the band came up with a global fan contest to maximize its impact and success on the New York City stage.

The contest Bring Me To 1D offered the juicy prize of an all-expenses paid trip to NYC for the winners, a friend, and a guardian to see the Madison Square Garden show as well as an intimate live fan event. Winners went to a Q&A session, watched the premiere of One Direction's new music video, took photos with the band, and attended an acoustic performance. Golden tickets to the event were available all over the world, with requirements for winning dependent on location. *Sugarscape* reported that in the U.K., fans "need to listen in to Capital FM every day," during the week of the contest to "get a chance to show that [they are] the biggest 1D fan around."[240] Once the winners were

[240] "One Direction Launch 'Bring Me To 1D' Golden Ticket Competition." *Sugarscape*, October 9, 2012. Accessed April 13, 2016. http://www.sugarscape.com/lads/news/a773549/one-direction-launch-bring-me-to-1d-golden-ticket-competition/.

chosen, their experiences were documented with a miniseries on One Direction's YouTube channel that was watched by millions of other fans.[241]

In the videos, several winners were interviewed to explain how they won the contest. One girl from Costa Rica said she had to answer trivia questions and send photos of her room full of paraphernalia to a local radio station in order to prove that she "was the biggest One Direction fan!"[242] One winner from South Africa made a video in which she shaved "1D" into the side of her head, and a winner from Germany wrote a 30-second rap (modeled off of the Fresh Prince of Bel Air theme song) about her love for One Direction. Several fans expressed how excited they were to see the band and to meet other girls like them from all over the world. "We have a huge family here, like a 1D family," one fan said.[243]

Throughout the videos, fans were shown enthusiastically expressing their excitement. Many brought gifts from their native countries and homemade crafts like scrapbooks, blankets, art, and photoshopped pictures to give to the bandmates. Some talked about how this was the best day of their life, and others cried. By showing the behavior and attitudes of the "biggest fans," these videos sent behavioral cues to other fans. Emphasizing certain actions (crying, giving devotional gifts, etc.) encouraged more

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[241] "Bring Me To 1D: The Mini-Series," YouTube playlist: "One Direction- Bring Me to 1D: Winners Arrival," (4:25), "One Direction- Bring Me to 1D: The Boat Trip," (3:19), "One Direction- Bring Me to 1D: From Cupcakes to Questions," (3:46), "One Direction- Bring Me to 1D: Kiss You Premiere," (3:29), "One Direction- Bring Me to 1D- Meeting 1D," (3:47), "One Direction- Bring Me to 1D: Guitars and Goodbyes," (4:10), "One Direction- Bring Me to 1D: The Best Bits," (4:53), posted by "OneDirectionVEVO," June 29, 2014, accessed April 6, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLbatIuSsTsirj8D9oZWRMn-emqmfgSE1S.

[242] "One Direction- Bring Me to 1D: Winnders Arrival," YouTube video, 4:25, posted by "OneDirectionVEVO," June 29, 2014, accessed April 6, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NX1NWAGPaqA.

[243] "One Direction- Bring Me to 1D: The Boat Trip," YouTube video, 3:19, posted by "OneDirectionVEVO," June 29, 2014, accessed April 6, 2016, https://youtu.be/fX5O6VhZ7C8?list=PLbatIuSsTsirj8D9oZWRMn-emqmfgSE1S.

of that behavior; it set the criteria for what a true One Direction fan *should* do to be noticed by their idols.[244] This can be interpreted positively or negatively; stories of fans breaking into hotels might spark more socially unacceptable behavior while stories of girls who have made giant scrapbooks of every relevant magazine article to be found encourages fans to act in an acceptable (and encouraged) consumerist fashion. In the case of Bring Me To 1D, fans were rewarded for extensively supporting the band and were encouraged to think of the other winners as family, creating a reference group for the rest of the fandom to mimic and emulate.

Thus, fan contests such as Bring Me To 1D achieve several marketing objectives while staying congruent with the narrative that One Direction was created for and by the fans. Fan contests not only provide promotion for the target event and a chance for fans to consummate their relationship with One Direction by interacting with them in an intimate setting, but they also demonstrate to other fans the correct consumer behavior of the ultimate fan.

1D Day

1D Day was a promotional event created to simultaneously thank One Direction fans for their support and promote the band's third album, *Midnight Memories.* The live, interactive event was streamed from the YouTube studio in California on November 23, 2013.[245] The program was streamed for over seven hours despite numerous technical difficulties.[246] The event incorporated many guest celebrities such as Piers Morgan,

[244] A. J. Millard, *Beatlemania: Technology, Business, and Teen Culture in Cold War America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 131.

[245] Jason Lipshutz "One Direction Announces Massive '1D Day' Live Stream." *Billboard*, October 2, 2013. Accessed March 29, 2016. http://www.billboard.com/articles/columns/pop-shop/5740757/one-direction-announces-massive-1d-day-live-stream.

[246] Actually, the event was only supposed to take seven hours but *because* of technical difficulties it ran over.

Cindy Crawford, Jerry Springer, and Simon Cowell. The band tried (and failed) to break multiple Guinness World Records, performed several songs from the new album, and partnered with Office Depot to raise money and awareness for anti-bullying education, among many other things. The number of celebrities, along with Office Depot's official sponsorship, lent a certain amount of credibility to the whole affair, even though there were several technical difficulties such as loading lag, production issues, and some planned events that downright failed. However, for all its struggles, the 1D Day campaign was a success.

1D Day involved the fans as much as possible. A handful of excited fans sat in the studio and watched the event in person, but the band had plenty of ways for fans at home to participate as well. For several weeks leading up to the livestream, fans were given challenges with the winners to be announced during the stream. The challenges included creating a One Direction invention, photographing 1D lookalikes, writing a One Direction theme song, and making a music video.[247] Some challenges were global, but others were country-specific and the event tried to incorporate cultural and geographical diversity to include One Direction fans from all over the world. One Direction's Twitter account announced a different challenge every week prior to the event and regularly tweeted out updates and teasers, regularly emphasizing that this event was for the fans.

This event would not have been effective without the vigorous use of social media. One Direction posted content relating to 1D Day across all of its social media platforms (receiving thousands of interactions as a result) and encouraged fans to do the same. A downloadable picture was even created for fans to use as their profile picture

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[247] Brenna Ehrlich, "Which 1D Day Challenge Entrants Will Win? We Hand-Pick Our Faves," *MTV News*, November 21, 2013, Accessed March 29, 2016, http://www.mtv.com/news/1717896/1d-day-challenges/.

across social media accounts for the event. Of course, this not only provided a symbol of solidarity for the fandom, but also advertised the event to people who were unaware. Fans were encouraged to be active during the event primarily on Twitter, Google+ Hangout, and the Zappar mobile application.

On Twitter, the event used several hashtags that allowed fans to share content and tweet things at the band in an organized way. For example, if fans used the hashtag #OnTheSpot1Ddaylive, they could have their question answered during the livestream. #1DDay was used for tweets before the event took place, and #1Ddaylive was used during the stream, as well as many others. At different points throughout the seven hours, the band read out tweets that fans sent and looked at tagged photos of fans watching the stream. In a creative twist, guest performers (rappers and gospel choirs to name a couple) rapped or sang tweets that included the #1DDay hashtag. There were also raffles to pick Twitter users for the members to follow as a further incentive for fandom participation both before during the event itself.

1D Day also encouraged viewing parties among fans. Fans that watched the livestream through Google+ Hangout had the chance to be in a live Hangout with the band and talk to them directly over video call (using the hashtag #OneBigDropIn). In a post on One Direction's Google+ page, the group prompted fans to celebrate big in "fancy dress, face paints, amazing backgrounds and you celebrating your own towns and countries in incredibly cool ways."[248] The Zappar mobile application fans were asked to download contained exclusive content that viewers could access whenever a new Zap code was displayed during the stream throughout the event.

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[248] One Direction, Google+, https://plus.google.com/+onedirection.

1D Day also put an emphasis on the global reach of the One Direction fandom. Several fan-made videos were played featuring large groups of Directioners from different countries such as Italy, Poland, and Spain. Zayn and Louis attempted to learn a Bollywood style dance, successfully learned how to throw ninja throwing stars, and all the members sampled foods from south Asia. This inclusivity is especially important considering the bandmates spend most of their time in between the U.K. and the U.S. which limits the amount of direct contact they have with fans in other parts of the world.

1D Day was a masterful synchronization of social media platforms, entertaining idols, and die-hard fans. This promotional event reinforced the One Direction brand as one that was based off of goofy band interaction and the importance of the band-fan performance. Such a level of fan service for a band that already had achieved a considerable amount of international success showcased just why fans loved One Direction so much. Once again, the band found a way to tell its primarily young female fanbase that they were important, valued, and appreciated. Any shortcomings, awkward camera angles, or bad teleprompter reading was forgiven when, in the following year, fan support made One Direction the highest performing *Billboard* artist.[249]

One Direction's Public Personas

Following the blueprint laid out by the Beatles, One Direction used fashion and style to highlight characteristics of the band, but One Direction took individual differentiation one step further. In the beginning, each member's clothing reflected the emphasized difference in their personality instead of wearing matching suits or sweaters like the Beatles were known for. In 2015, the media organization WikiLeaks published

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[249] "2014 Year End: Top Billboard 200 Artists Charts." *Billboard*. Accessed September 15, 2015. http://www.billboard.com/charts/year-end/2014/top-billboard-200-artists.

emails and files that were leaked from Sony Pictures Entertainment, a subsidiary that shares a parent company with One Direction's record label, Syco Records. Included among the leaked documents was a promotional presentation including the band's 2013 movie *One Direction: The Movie.* The PowerPoint included slides for each band member in which they are associated with a handful of personality characteristics and complimentary fashion elements. These slides demonstrate the extent to which each singer was assigned a specific and unique persona for fans to individually identify with, but while still supporting the overall One Direction brand. [Appendix 18]

One Direction's head stylist Caroline Watson spoke about the persona and individual branding of each member when she left the One Direction team in the spring of 2015. Watson reportedly pitched the initial idea to style each member differently unlike boy bands in the past that wore the same stereotypical outfit or dressed, "all in black or all in leather."[250] She elaborates that Niall Horan was always the "sporty boy" while Zayn Malik was the "cool, mysterious one" with both street cred and high fashion sophistication.[251] Liam Payne fulfilled the boy-next-door role, Harry Styles looked sharp in bowties and blazers, and Louis Tomlinson was known for his sailor aesthetic of stripes and suspenders.

Such distinctions were highly beneficial when the group was first gaining traction and gave new fans an easy way to identify different members. These associations were reinforced again and again in the beginning. "If Louis was going out seven times on stage, he would wear seven different pairs of [suspenders]. He would be known for that,"

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[250] Brodie Lancaster, "Behind the Boy Band: Q&A with Caroline Watson, One Direction's Stylist," *The Muse*, March 2, 2015, Accessed October 1, 2015, http://themuse.jezebel.com/behind-the-boy-band-q-a-with-caroline-watson-one-dire-1687594935.
[251] Ibid.

Watson explains.[252] It also helped fans understand that within the band unit, each member played a distinct role in the group's dynamic chemistry. Fans saw the personality of the bandmates (as well as their own personality) reflected in the members' style choices.

Watson admits to picking styles that matched up with each individual's personality, and every One Direction member's closet certainly corresponded with the dominant traits assigned to them. The 2013 movie promotional presentation clearly displays both notable style elements and personality characteristics. Liam's "sensible and caring" persona matched with plain shirts and smart vibe; Niall's "giggly and cute" characteristics were reflected in sporty polo shirts and hoodies; Harry, the most recognizable, was seen as "beautiful and adorably 'slow'" with his curly, feminine hair and blazer-bowtie combination.[253]

The initial overall preppy style of the band fit right in with the then-popular fashion trends of 2011, and has evolved since. From the beginning, Watson claims she wanted them to, "eventually become more like models and rock stars, as opposed to being that cheesy pop boy band."[254] This transition is clear in fans' perception of each member's style. When I asked fans on Tumblr to describe each member's style in one word, some of their descriptors were different than those Watson used to originally label the singers. While Zayn's fashion retained its "edgy," "stylish," and "cool" association and Niall's wardrobe is still known for its "casual" and "sporty" vibe, the others have branched out from their original styles. [Appendix 19] Harry's style was most frequently referred to as "unique," shortly followed by adjectives such as "flamboyant" and "eccentric." Louis ditched the semi-formal suspenders for a look that is "sporty" and

[252] Lancaster, "Behind the Boy Band."
[253] "One Direction: The Movie," *Sony Pictures Entertainment*.
[254] Lancaster, "Behind the Boy Band."

"comfortable," and is now known for his apparent love for the Adidas brand. Liam matured his boy-next-door look by dressing "casually" but with a distinctly "masculine" and "classic" feel. The style transformation that the singers underwent over the past five years is very important to maintaining their relatable and maturing image. Their change in fashion provides visible evidence that "the boys" are changing and growing into their own sense of selves, just like their aging fans.

Harry Styles' Fashion Evolution

The evolution of Harry Styles' look provides a particularly useful demonstration of the ways in which fashion impacts how fans perceive and identify with idols. In the beginning, Harry was recognized by his bow ties, blazers, and mop of curly hair. In 2013 he was voted British Style Icon at the British Fashion Awards by fans as they took notice of his shift in appearance, and in 2015 he was included on *GQ*'s list of the 20 Most Stylish Men Alive.[255] Now, the articles of clothing fans associate him with include Chelsea boots (sometimes in gold or other extravagant colors and patterns), floral blouses and suits, and the Yves Saint Laurent brand. Harry maintained his "posh" look in the eyes of the fans, but he also developed a style that is traditionally more "feminine" than his old blazer-and-bow-tie combination.

While Harry's hair has always been longer than his colleagues, currently it is at a record length, curling to a point well below his shoulders, enabling him to pull it into a bun. Fans frequently refer to his hair when defining his appearance to others who are unfamiliar with One Direction. One survey respondent said, "I describe Harry as the

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[255] Stephanie Chan, "One Direction's Harry Styles Wins Britain's 'Style Icon' Award," *Billboard*, December 3, 2013, accessed April 5, 2016, http://www.billboard.com/articles/news/5812324/one-directions-harry-styles-wins-britains-style-icon-award; Will Welch**,** "Who Made GQ's List of the 20 Most Stylish Men Alive?" *GQ,* June 22, 2015, accessed April 8, 2016, http://www.gq.com/story/most-stylish-list-ryan-gosling-kanye-west.

long-haired one to those who have no clue who [he is]." His long hair combined with his taste for floral prints, women's-styled shirts, and occasional nail polish leads fans to perceive him as, "more feminine in his image." He often wears several rings, necklaces, and loose button-up shirts that remain mostly unbuttoned. Several fans interpret this as an expression of confidence and self-acceptance: he is "open and free to be himself and that's evident in the clothing he choses to wear," and "we often say he dresses how he wants and doesn't care what others think." Much like how female fans in the 1960s saw the Beatles as a androgynous, rebellious force of success, fans of Harry Styles look up to him and his gender-bending style.

Harry's propensity for gender-bending clothing not only makes him easy to distinguish, but also more relatable to certain fans, especially those who identify as LGBTQ+ or do not feel comfortable with the gender binary. "His willingness to break gender stereotypes with his clothing is inspiring," and significant to many fans who see their own desire for unconventional self-expression reflected in Harry's fashion choices. Regardless of how Harry himself identifies, some fans view him as a great "LGBTQ+ role model." One fan stated, "Harry made me realize I wasn't strange for not being cisgender," and another enthused, "He makes me feel so much more free, he makes me want to believe in myself and love myself and not live my life for other people." Harry's unique and bold style not only makes him the easiest figure in the band to physically identify, but also, for many young women looking to break out of the gendered roles society has placed them in, to identify *with*.

We can view Harry's androgynous appearance as not only a vessel for self-expression, but as an imitation of other rock stars he seeks to emulate. Based on his

expressed fondness for the Rolling Stones, many fans compare Harry's appearance to that of a young Mick Jagger. One fan admitted, "I've described Harry as the one who looks like the love child of Stevie Nicks and Mick Jagger," and others create Tumblr posts comparing photos of Harry with other less-traditionally masculine rock stars. This is no coincidence; the role Harry finds himself performing (a rock star that appeals to young women) is one that has been filled several times before. In his fashion and self-expression, Harry looks to emulate his own idols that were successful in a similar context.

Song Lyrics

The effort the band put forth to connect with fans on a personal basis did not end with social media. The band also used its song lyrics to emphasize its appreciation and love for its fans. In the first chapter, I discussed how music became integrated with advertising, first with the radio jingle and later in television commercials. We established music's emotionality and the influence it can have on purchasing decisions. When it comes to artists especially, their music makes all the difference. When considering One Direction, a group that has never had a No.1 hit and thrives off of the dedication of its fans, we can look at music as a promotional aspect instead of the main commodity. The central product, of course, is the band itself.

Many people are critical of music with mass appeal: the authenticity of pop lyrics, the artistry and musicality of pop songs, and the credibility of pop artists. Rockism is defined as an aesthetic that reflexively dismisses any music that seems as if it is calculated or contrived to generate mass enthusiasm.[256] The Beatles especially were subject to rockism in the start of their careers, and critics frequently regarded the Beatles'

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[256] John McMillan, *Beatles vs Stones*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013), 84.

music with contempt due to their untraditional appearance and the attention they paid to young women.[257] However, music as simple and feel-good as pop has its benefits; it is easy to relate to, it is non-threatening, and it provides listeners with comfort and the promise of a more optimistic outlook. One Direction's music was just another way to reflect the audience's desires and expectations and reinforce the group's brand. One Direction's brand image is friendly, fun, and irresistible. Bubblegum pop, with its catchy choruses and easy-to-learn hooks, perfectly fits that brand image. Besides the sound, the lyrics also fit the simultaneously carefree but caring vibe of the group. Thus, the band has several songs referencing summertime, dancing, and letting loose, but also love, broken hearts, and friendship.

While it is easy to think of boy bands in reference to their love songs, One Direction also has several songs that emphasize friendship and companionship through struggle. Songs such as "Diana," "Act My Age," "History," "Midnight Memories," "Through the Dark," and "Walking in the Wind" meet fans' needs for comfort as they struggle to grow and push through in life. Songs such as these echo the bond and sense of camaraderie One Direction is known for.

Romantic songs typically address girls specifically, much in the way popularized by the Beatles, using "you" instead of a named love interest. By speaking directly *to* listeners, instead of about an "other" figure, it allows fans to envision that the song is about them. Speaking directly to the female fans also creates a feeling of emotional empathy. The Beatles did this by using themes such as returning home to a loved one, writing to them daily, and referring to love as powerful and ever lasting.[258] One Direction

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[257] McMillan, *Beatles vs Stones*, 154.
[258] Millard, *Beatlemania*, 129.

commonly sings about love overcoming obstacles, love as finding one's home, and romance incorporating sexual physicality. These topics are not revolutionary, but when they are presented by a non-threatening, sensitive source in a catchy, lighthearted style, these themes become accessible to teenage girls. Fans who use One Direction's music to explore their own thoughts and feelings about love add a layer of growth and exploration to their fandom experience. The feeling of personalization and direct connection to the band as a result, fits in perfectly with the rest of One Direction's image. This method of song writing is just another way of meeting consumer demand for the main commodity: a personal connection between listeners and their idols.

Emphasizing Camaraderie

One of the biggest competitive advantages One Direction held over other artists was the organic camaraderie and friendship displayed among the five members. From video diaries to banter on social media, in group interviews, and in live concert interactions, the chemistry between the singers was undeniable.

The band's image revolved around the perception of the members as a regular group of guys and included an emphasis on friendly interaction between members. Especially for groups coming into America, "the quality of 'ordinariness' is a necessary prod to audience identification in the U.S."[259] For example, Zayn regularly mentioned that he did not need a passport before joining One Direction because he never thought he would go anywhere.[260] The goal was to come across as any typical group of friends— they joke around, play pranks on each other, laugh a lot, and get into trouble—but with

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[259] Michael R. Frontani, *The Beatles: Image and the Media* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007), 59.
[260] "15 Things You Probably Didn't Know about Zayn Malik," *Metro*, May 8, 2014, Accessed April 12, 2016, http://metro.co.uk/2014/05/08/15-facts-you-probably-didnt-know-about-one-directions-zayn-malik-4715135/.

the added appeal of being musicians. This made them attainable and understandable, yet exotic; girls felt comfortable with them because they were just like the boys at school except *these* boys actually paid attention and cared about their female fans. For fans in the U.S., the fact that the band was British added another layer of romantic exoticism; the boys were not rough and macho like so many popular American male artists, but more androgynous and safe (much like how the Beatles and Justin Bieber were perceived), and their unabashed closeness with one another played a major part in that. One Direction's infamous bond also created an image of a friendship to aspire to. Girls found inspiration and a model to emulate within their own friendships and fandom relationships; after all, One Direction was having so much fun, who would *not* want to be like them?

By performing camaraderie, the members signaled that they were not a bunch of moody artists who were taking things too seriously, but a bunch of lads who were there to enjoy the ride. The interactions were attractive to fans because each singer emphasized different aspects fans see within themselves. The possibility of a fan finding a relatable connection in five different people is more significant than the possibility of finding it in one. An example of the extent to which fans enjoyed group interaction and cohesion is found in the term "OT5". The term is derived from the abbreviation "OTP" which stands for "one true pairing". OTP is used to refer to one's favorite (often romantic) combination of characters in a fandom, so the use of OT5 indicates that fans love situations in which all five members are together.[261] "OT5" is commonly used to label band photos or interviews, or any occasion in which all members are performing the interaction the fans treasure.

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[261] Aja Romano, "How to Speak Fangirl," *The Daily Dot*, August 6, 2012, accessed April 12, 2016, http://www.dailydot.com/society/how-to-speak-fangirl/.

Fashion

One simple way the group's synchronization was signified was in the way the members dressed. Similarities in style, color, or type of clothing provide our brains with physical cues that help us group people together. As previously mentioned, while the individual members did not wear the same identical outfit, they did match with each other in an unobtrusive way. In One Direction's first music video, "What Makes You Beautiful," they singers are dressed in very plain, casual clothes for a stroll on the beach. They all wore baggy pants (no denim), sneakers, short sleeves, and complimentary red, white, and grey (a color scheme that comes back later). [Appendix 20] The next video featured multiple layers, sweaters, and pea coats, but more variation in tasteful autumn colors. Finally, in the group's third video "One Thing," the singers showed their most coordinated outfits yet: all were dressed in semi-formal attire with button-down shirts and nice slacks, but each with their own unique take. Prominent colors included maroon, white, grey, and navy blue. [Appendix 21]

By showcasing different styles of clothing between videos but retaining a similar level of homogeneity within each video, the band projected a sense of unified growth. As the group got older and baggy pants turned into skinny jeans and button-downs turned into stylish tee shirts, the basic continuity remained. Although each member has kept a style distinct and separate from the others, it is clear that they belong together. [Appendix 22]

Physical Contact

In Europe, it is more common for males to be physically affectionate towards one another, but in the United States and other parts of the world, it is seen much more

infrequently. Male celebrities especially often fit the bill of a stereotypical rugged, muscular, tough-guy who is dominant and aggressive. One Direction, with its youth, silliness, and British origin, was the exact opposite. The affectionate ways in which the members interacted also did not seek to move their image any closer to that of a typical American male celebrity. The bandmates showed no hesitation to sling an arm around another's shoulder, affectionately ruffle another's hair, or place a kiss on another's cheek. This level of physical openness communicated an amount of emotional accessibility that appealed to young females. The singers' seemingly constant physical contact with each other served to show a level of familiarity, friendliness, and support that was unmatched by other male groups and boy bands at the time, and unattainable by solo artists.

Tour

Fans were also first-hand witnesses to the band's playful interactions on stage. For its first tour, the group played in clubs and smaller venues than the sport stadiums it would play in on later tours. In the center of the stage was a large leather couch matching the maroon *Up All Night* color scheme. The couch was a central point of focus for the audience as well as interaction for the band. All five of them squished together on the couch or draped themselves over the side to come together at one central point on stage. Even though most of the show was spent singing in front of the couch or walking around it, the couch was a sort of home base for the performers. Because it was a singular piece of furniture (that matched the color scheme of the band's outfits, no less), it also provided a physical symbol of the band's unity and togetherness in an intimate and familial way.

One Direction's tours also were well known for the joking and goofing around that went on between members. Once the band started performing on large stages in

stadiums the singers ran around, threw water at each other, tackled each other to the ground, and generally teased one another. The physical teasing and snarky comments were just as much part of the entertainment as the music itself. Fans showed their approval of the behavior by encouraging it with loud cheers or through prompting suggestions sent on Twitter. The theatrics on stage were even livelier than those in interviews or in some videos making the concert experience the pinnacle of the One Direction experience.

The theatrics of the members on stage were the ultimate performance: energetic, full of fun and goofiness, uninhibited by an interviewer or manager, but still a performance. Even if the members of the band genuinely enjoyed it, the pranks and jokes were not planned, and their responses were sincere, there was still an element of their interactions that was dictated by fan expectations. One Direction used the natural camaraderie between members to cultivate a performance that was tailored to meet the needs and expectations of its audience.

<div align="center">Identification</div>

As I previously mentioned, cultivating individual personas for each of the singers was an important feature of the One Direction brand. The unique attributes that each member displayed at the beginning of the *X Factor* competition were magnified and emphasized in order to create a relatable group of individuals with dynamic and relatable interactions between them. Much like how a feeling of identification contributed to the attraction of the Beatles, One Direction fans saw themselves in their idols.[262] The

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[262] Barbara Ehrenreich, Elizabeth Hess, and Gloria Jacobs, "Beatlemania: Girls Just Want to Have Fun," in *The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media*, ed. Lisa A. Lewis, (London: Routledge, 1992), 103.

emphasis of distinct personas in the five members increased the likelihood that a fan could identify with someone in the band.

Fans exhibit their identification and devotion to the specific band members in different ways. Fans dress like and compare themselves to members to indicate affiliation. One survey respondent said, "I will describe my look when I'm wearing comfortable but fashionable clothing as 'very Louis'." Fans run blogs that are focused primarily on their favorite member, or create content that is member-specific. This includes behaviors like sharing or making videos or gif sets, creating art, and editing photos primarily of the singer a fan most identifies with. Artists send artwork that they are particularly proud of to members over Twitter in the hopes that the subject of their work will acknowledge it.

From the perspective of the band, identification among fans is desired; strong identification with a band member keeps fans engaged and involved. Fans enjoy it because they see an idol as a reflection of themselves. Unfortunately, this relationship is more precarious than it initially seems. By connecting with a persona fans view as congruent with their own self-identity, fans then attach certain expectations about how the idolized persona is supposed to behave. Actions outside of the behavioral range that fans deem acceptable are difficult to accept.

When contradictory information creates great imbalance between what we expect and what we experience, an uncomfortable shift in belief occurs. This is an emotionally charged event filled with disappointment, pain, and revelation, especially for highly identifying fans as we discussed earlier. This kind of mental shock occurred for countless One Direction fans on March 25, 2015 when it was announced that Zayn Malik was

leaving One Direction. In breaking the holy quintet, Zayn went off-script, ruined the performance of camaraderie, and fundamentally deviated from the expected role that he and the band as a cohesive unit were expected to play. In the days following Zayn's departure, a plethora of news articles were written about the level of shock and grief expressed by fans.[263] Many uploaded videos of themselves crying to social media that, despite being mocked by the public at large, served as an expression of devotion to Zayn and the OT5 relationship that fans loved so dearly.

When survey respondents were asked if they still considered themselves fans of Zayn since he left One Direction, about 64 percent said yes. [Appendix 23] However, most of the respondents indicated that they liked Zayn less than they had before. [Appendix 24] To investigate further, I asked how strongly fans felt they identified with Zayn; while a slight majority at 57 percent indicated that they identified with Zayn on a level that was equal to or less than the other members, a definitive majority of fans had difficulty accepting that he had left the band. [Appendix 25, Appendix 26] On a scale from 1-10, with 1 indicating happiness at Zayn's departure and 10 indicating a high difficulty of acceptance, the average score was 6.7. We can draw a couple of conclusions from this data. Although many liked him less for it, a majority of fans continued to support Zayn after his departure. This suggests that, despite being unhappy with his decision, fans recognize his independence and appreciate him for it. On average, fans

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[263] Tahlia Pritchard, "Tumblr Reacts To Zayn Malik Leaving One Direction," *Buzzfeed,* March 25, 2015, accessed November 10, 2015, http://www.buzzfeed.com/tahliapritchard/goodbye-sweet-angel#.bsdxMNr4jl; Ellie Woodward, "Zayn Malik Has Left One Direction And The Internet's Lost Its Mind," *BuzzFeed*, March 25, 2015, accessed November 10, 2015, http://www.buzzfeed.com/elliewoodward/zayn-malik-has-left-one-direction-and-the-internets-lost-its; "5 Most Insane Reactions to Zayn Malik Quitting One Direction," *Rolling Stone*, March 25, 2015, accessed November 10, 2015, http://www.rollingstone.com/music/news/5-most-insane-reactions-to-zayn-malik-quitting-one-direction-20150325.

reported that it was hard to accept Zayn's exodus, even if they did not strongly identify with him. These combined findings suggest that it was the unanticipated and uncharacteristic breaking of the OT5 bond that was most difficult for fans to come to terms with. This conclusion reinforces that the performance of camaraderie is extremely important to meeting fans' expectations.

One Direction as Performers

Despite the authentic characteristics of each member of One Direction, the nature of celebrity requires a certain lack of genuine persona. Personas allow us to project what we think others want to see in us in order to accomplish our natural desire to please others. This is especially pertinent for celebrities; actors, musicians, politicians, and numerous other public figures cannot be successful without being likable to their target audience. One Direction is no different. Whether or not one likes its music, the pop band was not built on supreme musical skill or an edgy, counterculture mentality. One Direction was created upon the crux of many rising environmental factors as a mainstream, mass appeal boy band. Its ability to speak to and represent important aspects of the young, female experience was its differential advantage; there had not been a young, majorly successful boy band since the early 2000s, and the Justin Bieber experience failed to offer the camaraderie and diversity that a multi-person group could.

In *Cities of the Dead,* Joseph Roach argues that, when a role in society is unfilled, other people reinvent themselves in order to fill it.[264] They do this through performance: the attempt to embody and replace an original.[265] From the start, One Direction acted out a set of roles that are long established in our memories—roles "into which different

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[264] Joseph R. Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 1.
[265] Ibid., 3.

people may step according to circumstances and occasions."[266] In this case, the original

of One Direction's effigy includes key societal values such as transformation,

camaraderie, and success, much like that of the Beatles. These ideals have been reiterated

again and again in different surrogates throughout time. This is not to say, however, that

One Direction is a carbon copy of the artists that have come before it. One Direction is

not an original, but its imitation is not perfect. According to Roach, performance,

"operates as both quotation and invention, as improvisation on borrowed themes."[267]

Therefore, while the members of One Direction are younger and got their start on a

television show, we can see One Direction and the Beatles as two surrogates of the same

role.

Liminality is the framework within which One Direction emerged. Simon Cowell

recognized the individuals' natural appeal to adolescent girls on the *X Factor* as their

video diaries gained popularity and their fans consistently picked up the phone to vote.

The band appealed to young women because they, too, are in a liminal state. The band

mirrored their liminality in a safe way and demonstrated that, despite going through a

transitory phase in life, one can still be beloved and successful. With its music, the band

helped listeners through difficult times of liminality and reassured them that everything is

all right in the end. Lyrics provided comfort and encouraged the fandom mentality to be

one of support. The group's fashion progression over time showed that the band was

constantly changing and Harry exemplified how to stay true to oneself, regardless of what

society demands. One Direction also constantly thanked its fans and in doing so, implied

that the fans were the catalyst of the band's liminality. By acknowledging this, the band

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[266] Roach, *Cities of the Dead*, 36.
[267] Ibid., 33.

invited fans to take credit for what they did and to feel more connected with One Direction's liminal experience. Again, this created a mirror effect: when fans looked at the band, they saw their own fandom experience and personal context reflected back at them.

When the band released its first album in 2012, it targeted teenage girls who were too young to have connected strongly with the boy bands of the '90s and had no experience with anything as expansive as Beatlemania. The fans of One Direction accepted the band as a suitable surrogate because the band members mirrored the fans in the ways they mattered most. Before the band was formed, it is likely that Cowell, with his many years of experience, understood the roles the singers would later fill simply based on how each individual contestant presented themselves in the competition. The members of One Direction performed according to the script present on the *X Factor,* and then continued to do so according to the script many musicians that appealed to young women followed before them.

It is important for us to view the band's interactions in such a way, not to take away from the experience of the fans, but to acknowledge that performance is a direct result of the band's status as a commodity. As altruistic and caring as the beloved musicians are (or seem to be), their job as a band is primarily to sell a performance that their audience wants to relate to. Each member emphasizes different aspects and qualities that the fans see within themselves, like a mirror. We see exponentially more possibilities in the interactions of five people than in one, thus interaction among the members is the most important performance.

The members of One Direction stepped into roles that had already been created. Fans, in entering a relationship with a commoditized celebrity, know that the interactions are performances but are willing to enter into a suspension of disbelief in order to accept that "the boys" are actually the persona they project. We do this because we are anxious to find performers who adequately fill the gaps in our lives. Before One Direction, there were the Beatles, and Frank Sinatra, and Franz Liszt all reiterating our values.[268]

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[268] Frank Sinatra was well known for the appeal he held for women in the 1900s and Franz Liszt was a German piano player who incited women with "Lisztomania" (akin to Beatlemania) in the 1800s.

One Direction Fandom

Fandom Agency

For the band, connecting with millions of fans all over the world resulted in more than just ticket sales and hearing loss. The One Direction fandom comes together online in ways that were impossible before the age of social media. Instagram, Twitter, and Tumblr are three sites that see the most action from these invested fans. Fans take to these sites to share pictures from shows, news articles, artwork, stories, rumors, and opinions. Up until this point, we have investigated external environmental factors and specific marketing strategies that contributed to the band's success. However, to exclusively examine the One Direction-fan relationship from the perspective of the band's promotion does not paint a complete picture of the dynamics that have unfurled over the last five years. Although the initial success of One Direction stemmed from the group's ability to predict and meet its audience's needs, this does not negate space for fandom agency. We can think of the development of fandom agency as a process in which the focus of the fandom shifts from the band to the fans themselves.

While many fans were originally drawn to the One Direction online fandom by the members' social media presence, the fandom space that was created was more focused on the regular interactions among fans than the less frequent interactions with the band. Consider this example about a One Direction fan whose school friends were uninterested in the band from *It's Complicated: The Social Lives of Networked Teens* by Danah Boyd:

> She didn't hide her passion for One Direction from her friends, but she didn't turn to them to discuss the band members' haircuts or their latest music video. Instead, she turned to Twitter, where she was able to gush about the band with other fans. She first turned to Twitter because the members of One Direction were using that

platform to engage with their fans, but as she engaged with the broader fan community, she spent more time talking with other fans than replying to the musicians' tweets. Through this fan community, she began interacting on Tumblr and posting fan-oriented posts on Instagram…She wasn't hiding her interests, but she had created a separate context—and thus a separate digital persona—for talking with fellow fans.[269]

Let us consider the "separate context" within which Boyd says online fandoms operate. I argue that, in the case of One Direction, the framework of online fandom is the liminality that makes the band so appealing to its fans. As illustrated by Boyd, when the bandmates joined Twitter, it encouraged fans to use that social media platform to be closer to their idols performances and interactions. In fact, survey respondents most frequently cited the appeal of the band members and their interactions as their reason for joining the fandom. However, as the fandom grew, the fandom context expanded to social media sites that the band did not occupy at all. This demonstrates that sharing one's devotion to the band among *other fans* is more important and relevant in some ways than sharing that devotion with members of the band.

Fandom discussion and critical analysis is one example of this. The information sharing community created by fandom does not only circulate information from official outlets or gossip magazines, but also the opinions and analyses of other fans. Everything from rumored girlfriends to public outings is scrutinized and fit into a larger web of the fandoms own construction. Some fans tweet at the band to seek confirmation, but speculation and theories are formed and elaborated upon among fans, with or without comment from the performers. While constant gossip about "the boys" within the fandom is beneficial for official marketing efforts, the fandom also takes its analysis one step further by attempting to predict the motives behind certain publicity efforts. For example,

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[269] Danah Boyd, *It's Complicated: The Social Lives of Networked Teens*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 40.

some fans hypothesize that the highly publicized relationship between Harry Styles and Taylor Swift was inorganic and emerged from a desire to bring more attention to Swift and One Direction proceeding One Direction's 2013 Take Me Home Tour. One fan with the Tumblr blog wheresyourpippinnowbitch notes that, "Taylor claims she's 'only had three real relationships'. Seeing as she's had more than three publicized relationships, this could be her subtly hinting that some of these relationship were just for PR, [sic]" and the Tumblr user lourryetc jokes: "the year is 2027 and taylor swift is still writing songs about a 2 week fake relationship that happened in 2012. [sic]" Fans look at elements such as magazine rumors, interviews, photos, statements from friends, family, or employees of the band, timelines, social media activity, and more to craft hypotheses about why things happen and what will happen next. All of this detective work is still centered on the band, but crafting a narrative that is unconfirmed by an official source is a showcase of agency and tightens bonds between the fans that agree. In-depth analyses do not necessarily detract from the marketing goals of such strategies (if there are any), but they do show a critical perspective that goes against the notion that fans are mindless consumers.

The second layer of fan agency is a form of Jenkins' "textual poaching" discussed earlier: the fictional representation of the band members through art or stories.[270] Fan art is an extremely common method of performing devotion and showing appreciation. Artwork ranges from realistic to fictionalized, and fan fiction typically includes some elements of reality within an alternate universe setting. Fan art and fan fiction are the appropriation and then regeneration of material by fans, not necessarily for money, but for reciprocity and collectivism.[271] While art is occasionally shared with members of the

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[270] Jenkins, *Textual Poachers*, 63.
[271] Ibid., 279.

band through social media, that is not always the case. Many works are circulated on Tumblr where (theoretically) no band member will see it. Fan fiction is almost never intended for the singers' consumption. The creation and distribution of such works allow fans to further project their own contexts onto the band and explore different aspects of their own identity within a community of like-minded people. In this way, fans that feel at odds with the prevailing social structure can actively manipulate their reality into a personalized utopia. The fans' focus on Harry's perceived resistance of traditional gender norms is evidence of this need. In fact, as fan fiction is dominated by female writers, it "represents a way of rethinking and rewriting traditional masculinity."[272] The use of fandom space to actively meet fans' needs that lie outside the realm of One Direction illustrate a level of agency greater than that of just a consumer. Fans use self-generated stories to satisfy their expectations and desires, but because they are created and shared primarily for the benefit of other fans, this shifts the center of focus away from the band itself and onto the fandom community.

While fan fiction is typically accessed for free, some creators sell fan art and other fan-made content online for profit. By using distribution websites such as Etsy and Society6, creators can sell organic content to other fans without infringing on copyright or paying any fees to the official One Direction brand. Fans sell everything from shirts to mugs to cell phone cases and in doing so, exercise both their legal agency in the production of such goods and consumer agency in the purchasing of such goods. Fans potentially even choose fan-organic content over official merchandise. The production and consumption of physical fan-made goods adds a new market dimension to the fandom space. By adding a market dimension to the fandom, fans generate their own

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[272] Jenkins, *Fans, Bloggers, and Gamers*, 43, 71.

competitive power with the official One Direction brand. They no longer have to go through official distribution channels to acquire One Direction-themed goods, can financially support members of their community, and channel some of their economic power internally. Sometimes goods are sold among fans to fund other fan-driven activity. The sale of fan-made goods creates an independent supply-and-demand loop that is internal to the fandom, thus giving fans autonomy over the products that are produced and the fandom a new level of agency in the consumption of merchandise. This is yet another way in which the fandom has redefined what One Direction means to them.

Some internally generated funds are used to support charitable causes. One Direction as a band is particularly vocal about the causes and charities they support. Just this past summer, Louis Tomlinson, his mother, and Liam Payne hosted a charity ball for the Believe in Magic charity organization, and the band as a whole called for the fandom's support for its Action/1D campaign in association with Save the Children.[273] This emphasis on charity and helping others is one that members of the fandom adopted and made their own. One fan-driven organization called 1D Fans Give was started in 2013 with the goal of raising money for worthy causes, and its Twitter biography says it has raised about $176,500 thus far. Charities include One Direction-supported causes such as Eden Dora Trust, and Believe in Magic, and others such as Doctors Without Boarders, British Asian Trust, Women's Aid, and London Lesbian and Gay Switchboard. The organization sells fan-made items such has hairbands, bracelets, and fan art to raise

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[273] Dusty Baxter-Wright, "Louis Tomlinson Announces He's Holding a 'Cinderella Ball' in Aid of Believe in Magic Charity," *Sugarscape*, July 29, 2015, accessed April 7, 2016, http://www.sugarscape.com/lads/news/a1080388/louis-tomlinson-cinderella-ball-charity/; Carl Smith, "Harry Styles Talks Education for All in One Direction's Latest action/1D Campaign Video," *Sugarscape*, July 27, 2015, Accessed April 7, 2016, http://www.sugarscape.com/lads/videos/a1080350/harry-styles-action-1d/.

money in addition to donations. For each member's birthday, 1D Fans Give designates a charity and sets a fundraising goal to be met in honor of that bandmate. Other fans have created similar drives such as H.E.S for Malala, 1D Charity Team, and the Dark & Dirty Crew Adult Fan Project, to name a few. Harry Styles (@Harry_Styles) followed the 1D Fans Give Twitter account in 2015 and after his birthday on February 3, 2016, he tweeted, "Thank you for your kind gift, I saw it and I think you're amazing. Thank you. H," which fans involved in H.E.S. for Malala took as an acknowledgement of all the fundraising that had been achieved in the name of his birthday.[274] Despite a lack of praise from the band itself, fans are undeterred in their drive and motivation to raise funds for these charities. This reinforces the idea that, while One Direction brought the fans together, fandom activity goes above and beyond the band.

Project No Control

In the spring of 2015, four fans decided to share an opinion with the rest of the fandom: One Direction did not released enough singles off the most recent album, *Four*.[275] They were frustrated that the band had only released two singles and the group's management, from their perspective, was doing a poor job of promoting the album (which is most likely attributed to Zayn's subsequent departure). These fans called for the fandom to take matters into their own hands. On May 11, 2015, Tumblr user laynefaire created a post articulating the idea to her followers.

> Since 1DHQ thinks FOUR didn't need any promo, it looks like its up to us, the fans, to do it. One Direction is nominated for FOUR Billboard awards, but sadly way too many people still equate this outstanding band with bow ties, stripes, and

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[274] Harry Styles, Twitter post, Feburary 3, 2016, 8:59a.m., https://twitter.com/Harry_Styles/.
[275] Katie Buenneke, "With Project No Control, Fans Are Trying to Turn One Direction Into a DIY Band," *L.A. Weekly*, May 18, 2015, accessed May 18, 2015, http://www.laweekly.com/music/one-direction-is-now-a-diy-band-5581248.

screaming teens - when they are obviously so much more. LET'S INTRODUCE THE WORLD TO *OUR* ONE DIRECTION.[276]

Laynefair called for fans to "self release" a single from the latest album, entitled "No Control."[277] The goal of the project was to put "No Control" in the No. 1 position in the Billboard Charts on May 17, 2015, a day entitled by participants as "No Control Day" (and the same day as the Billboard Music Awards). Billboard identifies top songs by calculating radio plays, sales data, and streaming data.[278] Fans were originally encouraged to support the project by tweeting a Spotify link to the song along with specific hashtags, streaming the song online, and joining the designated Thunderclap project.[279]

Within only a matter of hours, the project took off. Fans set up schedules to post hashtags and they calculated how to optimize Twitter's trend algorithm with the goal of making the project trend world-wide every day. They discussed the best ways to listen to the song online in order the garner the largest possible number of plays and use mobile applications that keep track of playing frequency, like Shazam. Radio stations all over the world, including the popular BBC Radio 1, began playing "No Control" after receiving a deluge of tweets and calls requesting it; the demands were impossible to ignore. One DJ from channel 993 in San Diego, California said that he got, "One million, eight hundred sixty three thousand, four hundred and twenty-two tweets over the past 48 hours to play

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[276] Laynefaire, "Project 'No Control,'" Tumblr blog post, posted May 11, 2015, accessed September 30, 2015, http://laynefaire.tumblr.com/post/118751247430/project-no-control.

[277] Ibid.

[278] "Music: Top 100 Songs | Billboard Hot 100 Chart," *Billboard*, accessed September 30, 2015, http://www.billboard.com/charts/hot-100.

[279] Thunderclap is an online service that boosts the visibility of a social media campaign by sending the same post out across all linked social media accounts.

[No Control]." [280] For the next week, fans picked different hashtags to send out every day including #nocontrol, #projectnocontrol, #WeWantNoControlAsASingle, and #nocontrolday. Fans made No Control-themed fan art, artwork for the single itself, and even fan-made music videos to share. Bloggers made posts describing how to best support the movement, which hashtags were being used that day, and lists of radio stations that people could call and tweet. Since part of the strategy was to have everyone buy the song on iTunes on No Control Day, some bloggers offered to "sponsor" a certain number of fans who were unable to afford the song; they were able to "gift" the song on iTunes and send it to fans halfway around the world so as many people could feel included in the movement as possible.

In an interview with *BBC Newsbeat*, Anna Franceschi, the originator of the project, said, "I just wanted the boys to know we support them no matter what and we love the song. And we wanted to show their sound is more mature than most boy bands." This project clearly shows that the One Direction fandom is not a passive one. The results of only one week of online campaigning are staggering. A *Sugarscape* article reported that fans got "No Control" to the No. 1 *Billboard* spot by May 13th, only two days after the project began.[281] Before the campaign, the song had reached its highest position at No. 42 on the *Billboard* list on April 25.[282] By May 17th, *Nielsen Music* recoded that the song had been streamed 1 million times in the United States alone, and was played 61 times across 41 monitored top 40 radio stations during the week—quite the jump from

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[280] "No Control Project. Review. Radio. Reactions," YouTube video, 7:59, posted by "jay999ism," May 25, 2015, accessed March 6, 2016, https://youtu.be/CNAJpDEjAu4.
[281] Carl Smith, "One Direction Fans Want 'No Control' as a Single and They're Doing Everything to Make It Happen," *Sugarscape*, May 13, 2015, accessed October 5, 2015, http://www.sugarscape.com/music/news/a1077831/no-control-fan-project/.
[282] Trevor Anderson, "One Direction Takes 'Control' at No. 1 on Billboard + Twitter Top Tracks Chart," *Billboard*, May 21, 2015, accessed May 21, 2015, http://www.billboard.com/articles/columns/chart-beat/6575675/one-direction-no-control-twitter-top-tracks.

zero plays during the previous week. Additionally, Project No Control was the fifth

biggest Thunderclap campaign and was reported to have reached 55,383,289 people.[283]

Fans even got the song added to Billboard's Song of the Summer poll by persistent

tweeting and made it "the write-in option with by far the most votes."[284]

Equally gratifying was the recognition from the band itself. When interviewed by

Billboard backstage at the Billboard Music Awards, Louis himself said, "I think that is

just a perfect example of how unique, incredible and passionate our fans are. We say all

the time, we literally cannot thank those people enough." Liam added that, "Out of the

album they've picked their favorite and they want to release it and they're just doing such

an amazing job."[285] On the *Late Late Show* with James Corden, Louis validated fans

everywhere by summing up the project in his own words: "It's pretty incredible, actually.

They have decided that they're gonna do a fan release because this song, No Control, was

never a single that was chosen by us."[286] By supportively commenting on the fans'

actions, the members of One Direction encouraged fandom initiative and the power it

displayed. Fans were validated by their idols and were recognized by the music industry

at large.

This project and the amount of attention it received were astronomical; nothing

like it had ever been done on such a large scale. The success of this campaign can been

seen as a result of a few key factors; first and foremost, the fandom's connectivity online.

The fast-paced spread of detailed information throughout the international fandom was

[283] June, "One Direction's 'No Control' is On Billboard's Song of the Summer Poll," *Empty Lighthouse Music & Arts Magazine*, May 20, 2015, accessed October 4, 2015 http://emptylighthouse.com/one-directions-no-control-billboards-song-summer-poll-809371635.
[284] Ibid.
[285] Anderson, "One Direction Takes 'Control.'"
[286] "One Direction & James Talk 'No Control'," YouTube video, 2:29, from The Late Late Show with James Corden on CBS, posted by "The Late Late Show with James Corden," May 15, 2015, accessed October 4, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a7nw4DQuI40.

made possible by social media and the community mentality of the One Direction

fandom. The second factor is the initiative fans showed in their refusal to be complacent

consumers. The organization, planning, and industry insight that went into this event

reinforces that One Direction fans think about their fandom experience critically. Lastly,

this would never have happened without the emotional bond between the band and its

fans. This unprompted support fans showed was a result of the Emotional Marketing

groundwork laid by the appreciation, interaction, and identification One Direction

encouraged in years past.

About 62 percent of surveyed fans indicated that they participated in Project No

Control and 3 percent said they were not in the fandom at the time and therefore could

not participate. [Appendix 27] An overwhelming 86 percent of all respondents were

happy with how the fan initiative turned out. [Appendix 28] One participant said, "Radio

stations from ALL over the world were playing a non-single just because of us one

direction fans. How many fandoms could have done that without managements help?

[sic]" Another commented, "the fandom was united, I think because we took control of

our own fan experience for a moment…and it was frequently and effusively

acknowledged and praised by Louis, in particular, so the support was realized." Fans

were excited, not only by the quantifiable end results, but how they came together as a

community and worked together to achieve a significant goal. "I think it also showed

how powerful this fandom is," one fan mentioned, touching on another source of pride

for the fans: feeling powerful as female consumers and knowing that their actions are

impactful.

Project No Control was not in opposition to, nor ignorant of, the marketing machine within which One Direction operates. The fans understood what the music industry considers to be important and noteworthy and participated within that framework. The overarching effect, however, was greater than just the chart position of "No Control." Fans came together as a community and realized the extent to their power as music consumers while impressing outsiders with their tenacity and forethought. One survey respondent said, "It showed the world what kind of power our fandom has and that we have the ability to make a song a single instead of just the ability to buy concert tickets and t-shirts." This project was a source of pride for many fans, especially because it defied the stereotype that One Direction fans are more invested in the band with their hormones than with their minds. "We proved we aren't all silly girls in a fandom lusting after them, we care about the music," a participant emphasized. Another fan agreed, saying, "the perception of the fandom can sometimes be that we only care about how the boys look/who they're dating, and I'm glad that was quashed for the moment."

Take Me Home From Narnia

The formation of the advocate group Take Me Home From Narnia shows that the center of focus of the One Direction fandom shifted from the band itself to the self-expression of the fans. Take Me Home From Narnia (TMHFN) was formed by a group of fans who wanted to promote equality and inclusiveness for LGBTQ+ fans. Their mission statement is: "We are a diverse group of fans committed to supporting LGBTQ+ rights and to fighting queerphobia, hetero- and cisnormativity, and related bullying in the media and within fan communities."[287] TMHFN was created in response to a homophobic tweet

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[287] Takemehomefromnarnia, "Vision and Mission," accessed April 14, 2016, http://rainbowdirection.com/about/vision-and-mission.

about Louis Tomlinson sent out by Thomas Parker, a member of the boy band The Wanted, with the goal to educate fans and fight against societal shaming.[288] The advocacy group started a visibility campaign entitled Rainbow Direction to create a supportive fandom environment "by queer fans and allies, for queer fans and allies."[289] To participate in Rainbow Direction, fans wore, made, and displayed items decorated in rainbow colors to One Direction concerts. Participants in Rainbow Direction also had the option to attend meet-ups before the shows to meet and connect with likeminded fans and bring the safe space that started online into physical reality. The campaign started during the Where We Are Tour of 2014 and continued through the On The Road Again Tour of 2015. Take Me Home From Narnia reports that the number of known participants jumped from only 405 people in 2014 to over 3,800 in 2015.[290]

Several outside sources that praised tbe proactive stance of the Rainbow Direction movement. *Inquisitr* stated, "Rainbow Direction has allowed One Direction fans from every walk of life, of whatever gender and sexuality or none, to come together to stand up against prejudice and discrimination in all of its insidious and damaging forms."[291] Rainbow Direction participants were not the only consistently LGBTQ+ positive presence at One Direction shows. Harry Styles frequently displayed his support for the community by wrapping himself in rainbow flags, wearing rainbow hairbands around his wrist, or, on one occasion, wearing the jersey of the first openly gay NFL player, Michael

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[288] Kristina Marusic, "Meet Rainbow Direction -- The Fans Fighting To End LGBT Bullying In The One Direction Fandom," *MTV News*, July 20, 2015, Accessed April 9, 2016, http://www.mtv.com/news/2213053/rainbow-direction-lgbt-one-direction-fans/.
[289] Ibid.
[290] Ibid.
[291] Alan Ewart, "One Direction And The 'Rainbow Direction' Warriors," *The Inquisitr News*, December 20, 2015, Accessed April 8, 2016, http://www.inquisitr.com/2646178/one-direction-and-the-rainbow-direction-warriors/.

Sam.[292] One fan said that Rainbow Direction and support from Harry, "helped me grow into myself and be more comfortable with who I am." Another said, "This group educated me a lot in LGBTQA+ issues and I made a huge discovery in my own identity and came to terms with it. It literally changed my life and I have this fandom and this band to thank for that."

Generally, members of the band are perceived as positive and supportive of their LGBTQ+ fans, but not always.[293] Fans took matters into their own hands to ensure that their fandom experience was as positive as possible. For many fans, this is a way in which fandom community provided support that was not mirrored in the rest of society. One Direction's primary demographic of young fans are experiencing a liminal phase in which the discovery of one's sexuality and gender identity is an important feature.[294] Through this project, fans find and show support for this discovery and transformation process within the relevant context that has been created by the band that is not always provided by external society. Unprompted by and undirected at One Direction, Take Me Home From Narnia and the Rainbow Direction campaign utilize the structure of a Networked Public to serve the needs of fans. Because this project was not prompted by the band or created to assist the success of the band in any way, this example of fandom

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[292] Jackie Kolgraf, "Harry Styles Is a Fashion Icon, Movie Muse, and Gay Rights Advocate. In Case You Needed More Reasons to Love Him," *Maximum Pop!*, July 27, 2015, accessed April 8, 2016, http://www.maximumpop.co.uk/harry-styles-inside-out/.

[293] Aaron Day, "Louis Tomlinson Blasts 'laughable' Reports Claiming He Supported Tim Cook with Rainbow Apple T-Shirt," *PinkNews*, November, 11,2014, Accessed April 8, 2016, http://www.pinknews.co.uk/2014/11/11/louis-tomlinson-blasts-laughable-reports-claiming-he-supported-tim-cook-with-rainbow-apple-t-shirt/; Carl Smith, "Liam Payne Responds to Criticism over Attitude Magazine Comments," *Sugarscape*, September 11, 2015, accessed April 9, 2016, http://www.sugarscape.com/lads/news/a1081967/liam-payne-responds-attitude/.

[294] Stephen T. Russell, Thomas J. Clarke, and Justin Clary, "Are Teens 'Post-Gay'? Contemporary Adolescents' Sexual Identity Labels," *Journal of Youth Adolescence*, 38 (2009): 884, accessed April 6, 2016, DOI 10.1007/s10964-008-9388-2.

agency is powerful in combatting the notions that fans are passive and driven solely by the direction of the band.

Hiatus Activity

At the beginning of every year, One Direction takes a few months off to rest before starting another tour. In the fall of 2015, however, the group announced that it planned to extend its usual break into a hiatus to catch up on some much-needed rest.[295] With the hiatus came less interaction and communication from the band members as all of them went their separate ways to enjoy their break. Considering that their social media performance and interactions with one another was the most vital catalyst to the fandom's creation, it was reasonable to wonder if the fandom could sustain itself despite the lack of content generated by the band. The last official appearance the band made was in December in addition to the release of what is presumably the last music video from *Made in the A.M.* in late January, but since then fans have not received much content besides updates from individual members and tabloid rumors.[296] During these four months of relative quiet, however, fandom activity has done anything but grind to a halt. Fans are still creating, communicating, sharing, and supporting one another, even without the interaction and performance from the band that the fans are used to. Time will tell if the fandom can be sustained but if my theory of fandom agency is true, it will.

Positive Contributions

[295] Melanie Bromley and Mike Vulpo, "One Direction Set to Take Hiatus, But Not Breaking Up," *E! Online*, August 23, 2015, Accessed April 9, 2016, http://www.eonline.com/news/689030/one-direction-taking-extended-hiatus-to-focus-on-individual-projects-are-they-breaking-up-for-good.

[296] "One Direction and Little Mix Are Presenting Christmas Radio 1 Shows," December 16, 2015, Accessed April 9, 2016, http://www.bbc.co.uk/newsbeat/article/35112669/one-direction-and-little-mix-are-presenting-christmas-radio-1-shows.

While fans enjoy their time spent in the fandom community, they are also acutely aware of how those outside the fandom perceive them, especially in a professional environment. When asked if working fans felt comfortable telling their professional coworkers about their involvement in One Direction fandom, about 43 percent said they were under no circumstances comfortable bringing up their participation at work, and about 8 percent said that they felt comfortable, but would never reveal the extent of their fandom. Henry Jenkins calls this the "fan closet": the unwillingness to publicly identify as a member of a fandom due to the low status and lack of intellectual validation given to fans.[297] When asked to elaborate, one respondent said, "I did share once and got told to keep it quiet cause its 'not professional.' [sic]" Fans who have no problem sharing that aspect of their lives bring One Direction paraphernalia to work or feel comfortable asking for time off in order to see a concert. Many fans who said they would not talk about their fandom at work mentioned that they think it is unprofessional to talk about most aspects of one's personal life, but others were more concerned with the negative stereotypes of One Direction fandom. "As a young woman beginning my career, I feel like this would jeopardize and delegitimize my position in the office," confessed one fan. "It is likely I would be mocked," "there is still a huge stigma attached to One Direction," and, "people still have the idea that 1D is a boy band for little kids," were fears vocalized by other fans. For women especially, exposing oneself as a fan can pose professional risk and result in a loss of authority and perceived expertise. These quotes supplement our earlier discussion about the negative ways society perceives female fandom, but they also point to something more optimistic. I argue that, as mentioned previously, the One Direction

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[297] Henry Jenkins, *Textual Poachers: Television Fans & Participatory Culture*, (New York: Routledge, 1992), 19.

fandom community provides predominantly young female fans with support and empowerment that they are not receiving in other aspects of society.

Through the course of my research, I was repeatedly impressed with the positive impact One Direction and its fandom has on fans' lives. By cultivating a connection with their audience, showing support through a reflection of liminality, and providing a safe social environment, One Direction created a context in which fans find happiness, love, and hope. When asked for the way in which One Direction has most significantly impacted fans' lives, 30 percent mentioned that the band helped them through an emotionally difficult time or provided an escape. [Appendix 29] Fans give credit to the band for helping them through bullying, depression, and suicide. "They have made me happy when it was hard to be, they helped me get out of the bed in the morning," one fan commented. Upcoming concerts give fans something to live for, the supportive nature of "the boys" calms fans' anxiety, and funny interactions bring smiles to the faces of those who have not smiled in a while. Another fan credits the band with, "being my support in bad times or troubling situations when the people around me were unable to do so…I could never be more grateful." This positive context provided support that was unmet by traditional societal structures and in turn encouraged fans to develop agency and cultivate their own intrinsic support system.

A third of fans also said that the band and the fandom helped them learn, grow, and develop. As one fan blatantly states, "Honestly, [they helped in] making me not a homophobe… [One Direction's fandom culture] really opened my eyes to different sexualities…And I give credit specifically to fans of 1D because I've been in various other fandoms and none have ever impacted my life in this way." Many more reference

how much they learned about LGBTQ+ issues and how the fandom encouraged them to accept and respect others in ways they never had before. Other fans mentioned finding the support they needed to accept themselves, too: "1D has contributed to a greater sense of self, which in turn has helped me figure out who I am," "I started looking more into my sexuality because of them," "It's made me…less ashamed of liking something just because its fan base is primarily made of women." The support within the fandom helps fans discover new things about themselves, accept their own sexuality and the sexuality of others, and develop self-confidence, despite the repressive role society plays in limiting the sexual development of women.

Much of the personal growth and support fans experience comes from the relationships that they create and foster within the framework of the One Direction fandom experience. Fans' relationships with their sisters, daughters, girlfriends, and best friends improve and strengthen. Social media allows fans from all over the world to connect and befriend one another, encouraging more diverse and open-minded perspectives. The influence attributed to the fandom community itself demonstrates how being an invested One Direction fan includes much more than just consuming music and merchandise. Most fans reference the effects of sharing this specific experience with others in a positive and encouraging environment to be the most significant outcome of their fandom. When a fan says, "The fandom saved my life," they acknowledge the contribution of a community that cares, not only about One Direction, but about each other.[298]

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[298] The entire comment was: "The fandom saved my life. Some of the most supportive people are in this fandom."
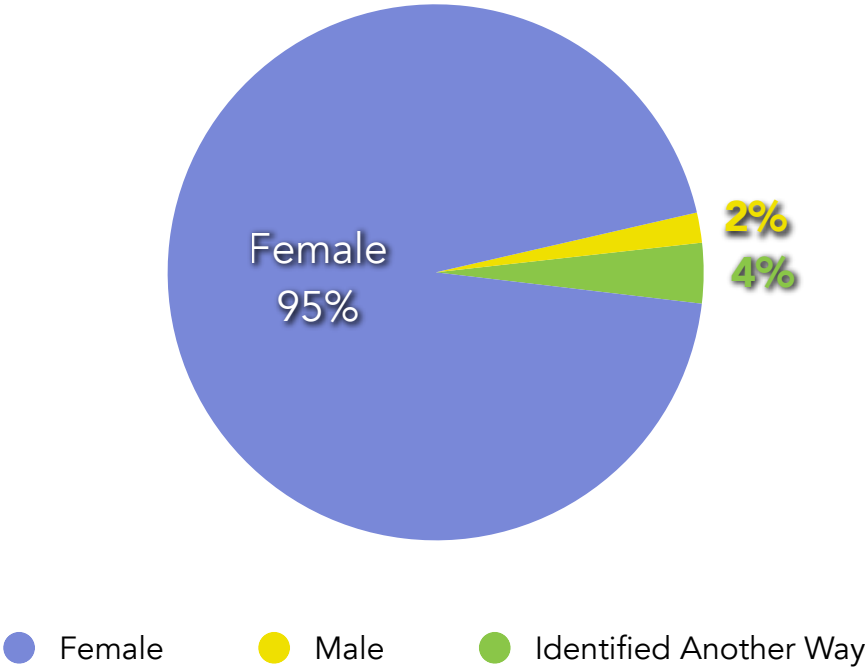
Conclusion

This work discussed the historical framework of the boy band One Direction, the band's marketing tactics, and its fandom's autonomous growth. The rise of both teenagers and females as consumers, as well as technological shifts in the music industry put One Direction's target audience in the position of strong consumer power, providing the opportunity for the band to be globally successful. One Direction uses social media platforms to perform its fans' desires and expectations. Fans recognize and agree to the commodity status of the band when they actively make demands and demonstrate, through fan movements like Project No Control, that they understand the consumer context the fans are in. Through style, camaraderie, and music, the members of the band forge identifying bonds with their young female fans within the framework of liminality. The fans look to the band as a projected outlet of self-expression and a model for growth against societal constraints.

Although the fans initially served as mere cogs in the marketing machine, the One Direction fandom proceeded to use online fan space to redefine what the band means to them. Social media helps fans cultivate relationships, as well as their own identities, and fans moved from being sole consumers to generating organic content, to creating internally directed movements of community and activism. Through actions such as selling fan art and fan-oriented activism, One Direction fans shift their focus away from the band and perform devotions meant for the community itself. In this way, One Direction provides a framework within which young women can explore, express, and assert themselves while building a community around one thing they all love.
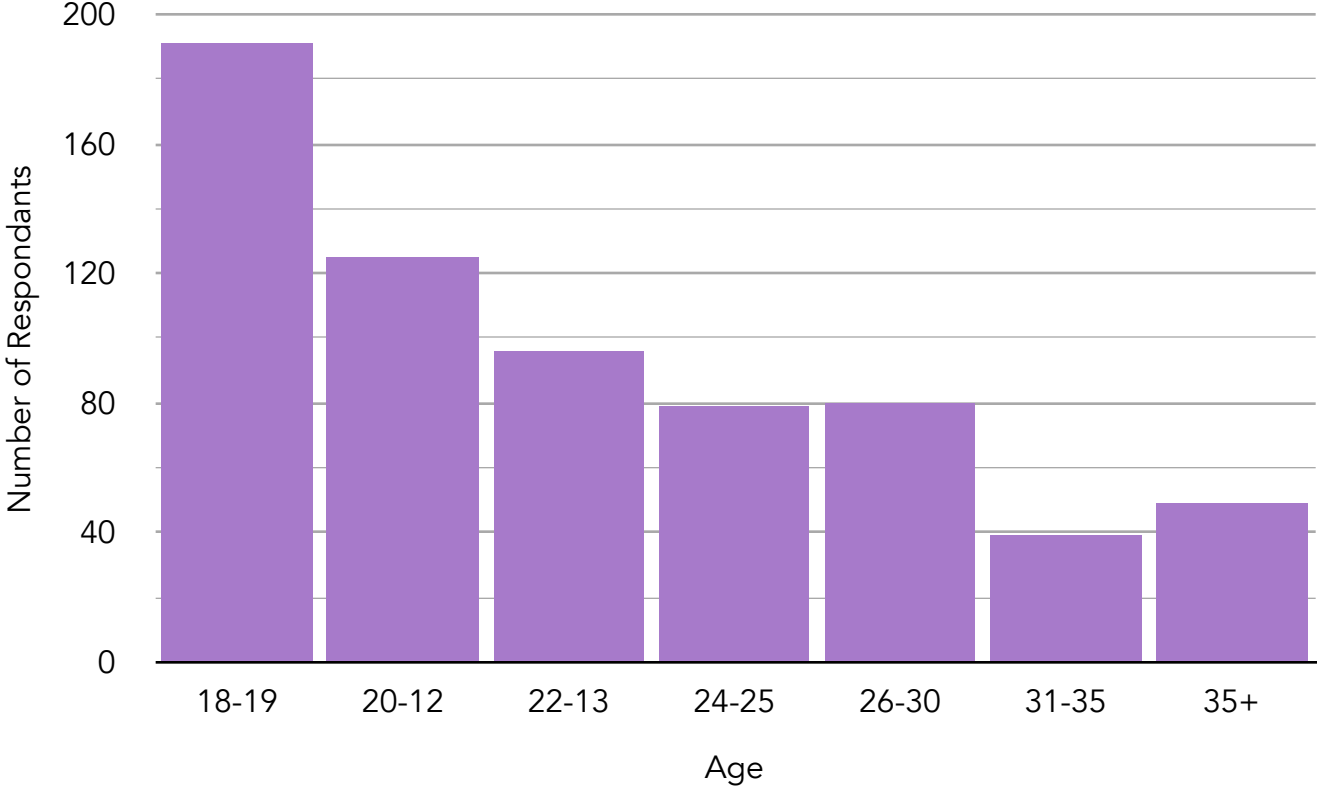
Appendix 1: Survey Data
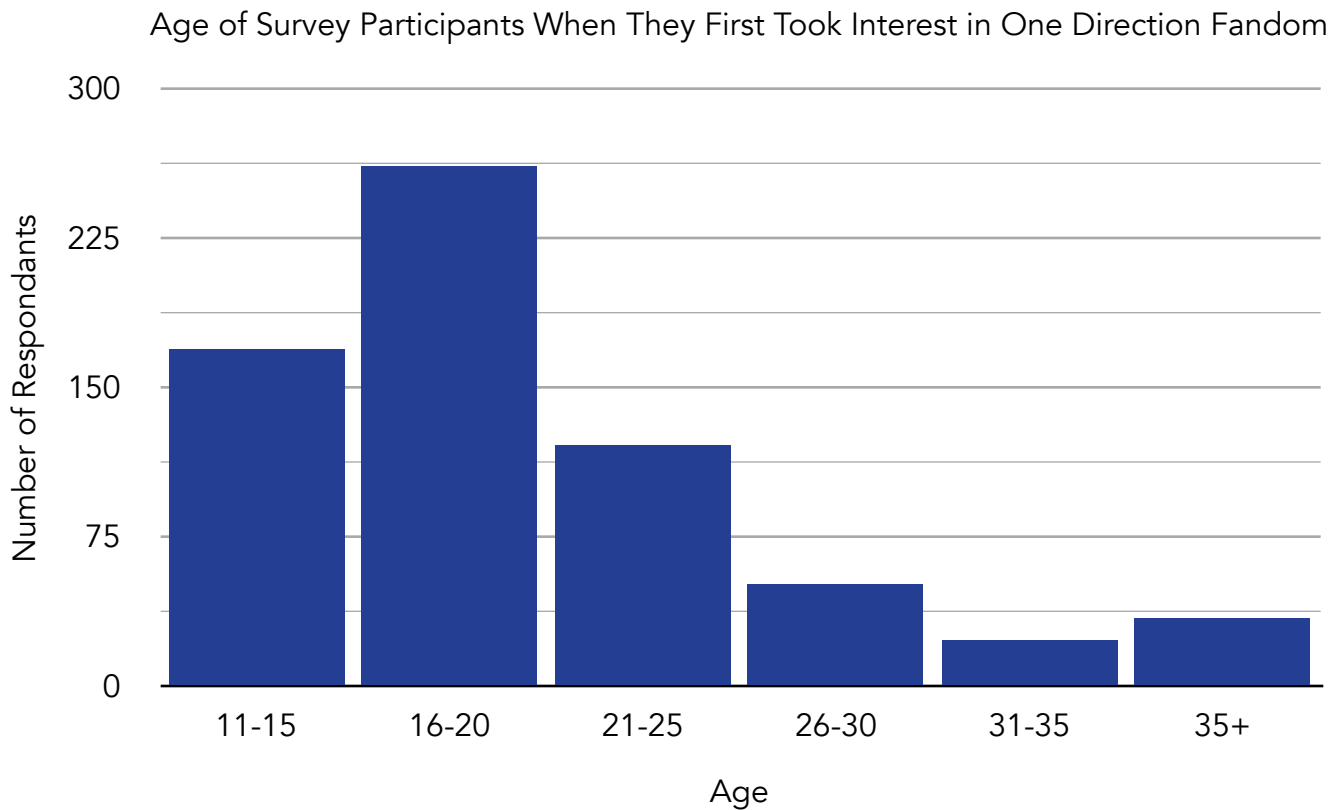
Gender of Survey Participants

Female 95%

2%

4%

● Female ● Male ● Identified Another Way

Appendix 2: Survey Data

Age of Survey Respondants

Number of Respondants

200

160

120

80

40

0

18-19 20-12 22-13 24-25 26-30 31-35 35+

Age

Appendix 3: Survey Data

Age of Survey Participants When They First Took Interest in One Direction Fandom

Appendix 4: The 2000s: Music's Digital Decade
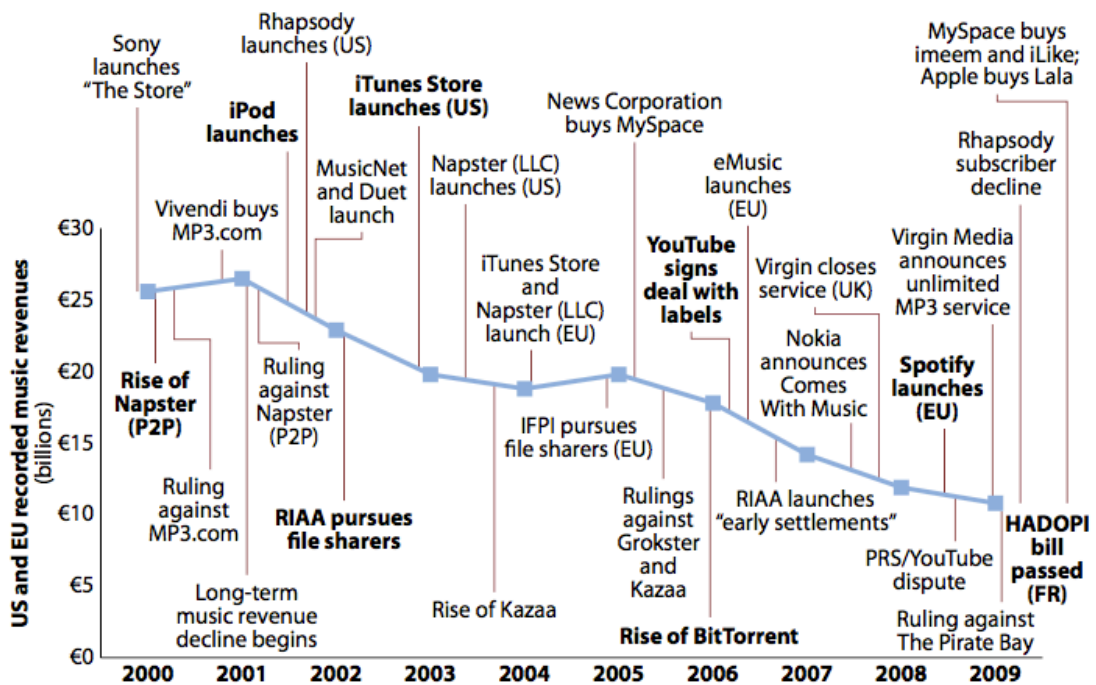
Source: Forrester Research Internet Music Forecast, 12/09 (US) & Forecast: European Digital Music, 2008 To 2014

56147

Source: Forrester Research, Inc.

"Forrester Research Internet Music Forecast," *Forrester Research, Inc.,* in "Music Industry Meltdown: Recasting the Mold," ed. Mark Mulligan for Consumer Product Strategy Professions, December 9, 2010.

Appendix 5:
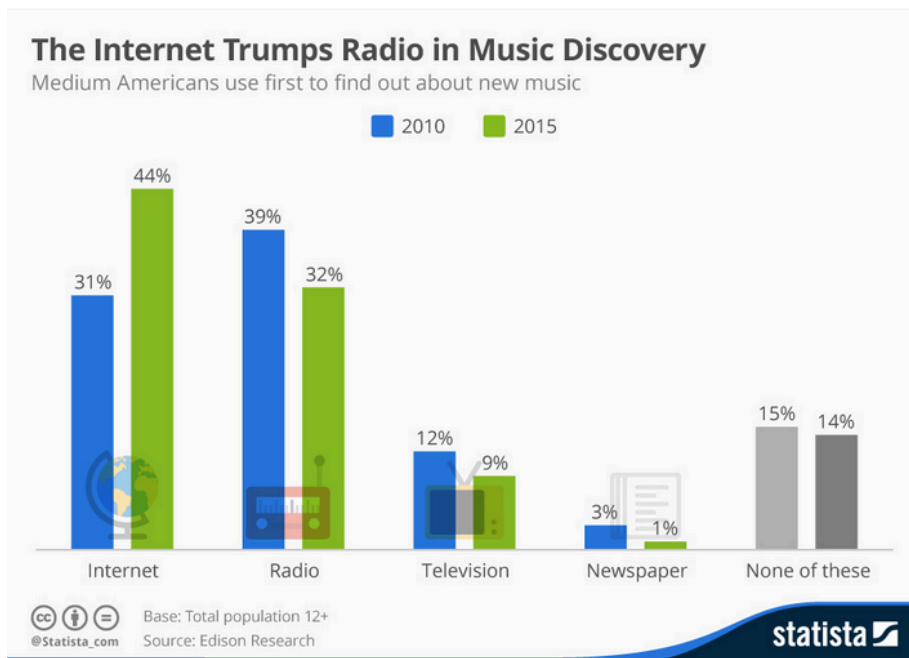
The Internet Trumps Radio in Music Discovery
Medium Americans use first to find out about new music

■ 2010 ■ 2015

	Internet	Radio	Television	Newspaper	None of these
2010	31%	39%	12%	3%	15%
2015	44%	32%	9%	1%	14%

Base: Total population 12+
Source: Edison Research

statista

"The Internet Trumps Radio in Music Discovery," *Edison Research,* accessed April 6, 2016, https://www.statista.com/chart/3313/music-streaming-generation-gap/.

Appendix 6:

GLOBAL DIGITAL REVENUES 2009–14 (US$ BILLION)

2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
4.4	4.7	5.3	6.0	6.4	6.9

Source: IFPI

"IFPI Digital Music Report 2015," *International Federation of the Phonographic Industry,* accessed April 6, 2015, http://www.ifpi.org/facts-and-stats.php.
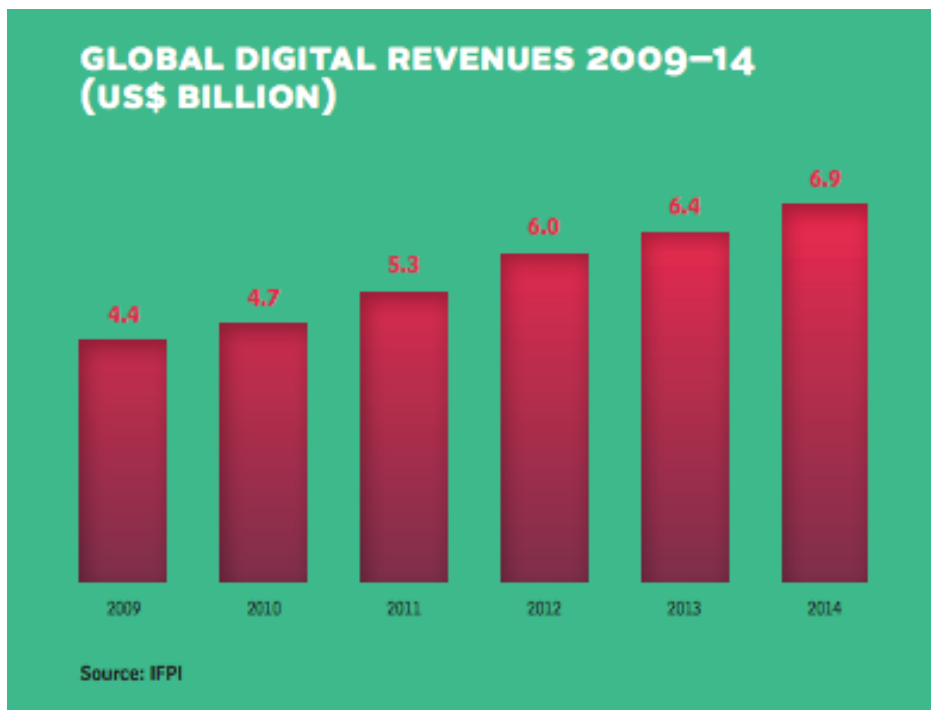
Appendix 7:

"Digital music revenue in the United States from 2008 to 2014, by type (in million U.S. dollars)," *RIAA*, accessed March 17, 2016, http://www.statista.com.proxy.wm.edu/statistics/186710/digital-music-revenue-in-the-us-since-2008/.
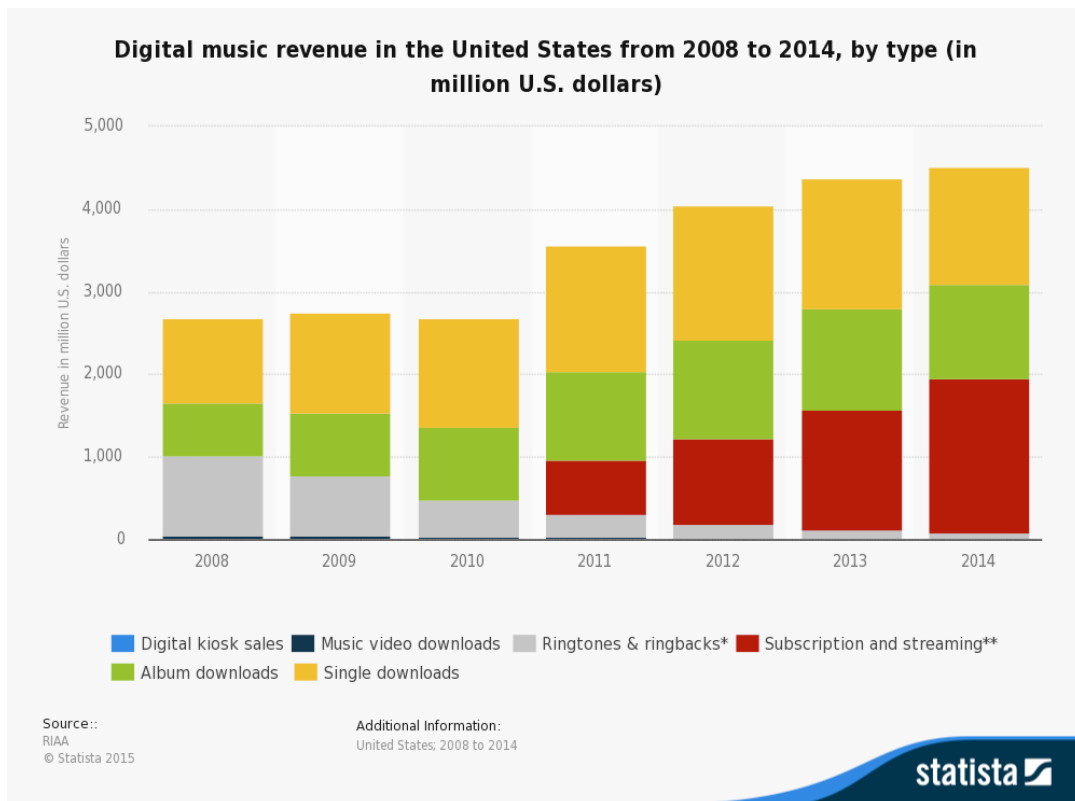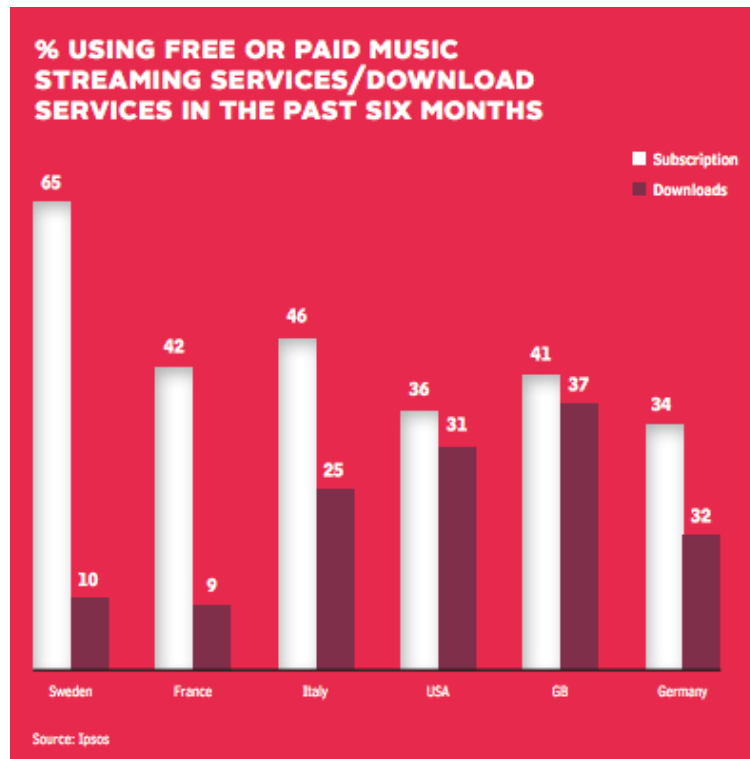
Appendix 8:

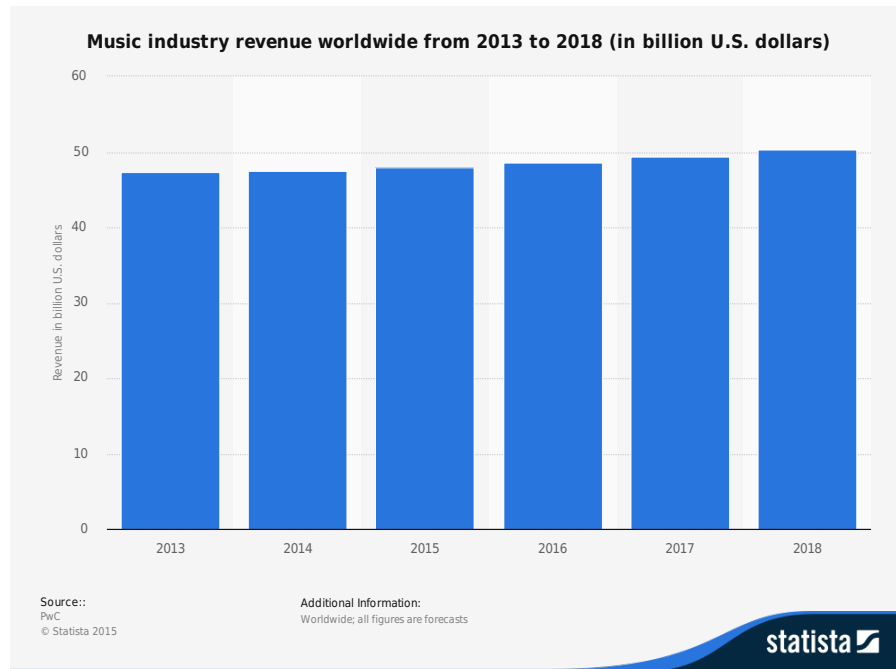"The Generation Gap in Music Streaming Adoption," *Edison Research,* accessed April 6, 2016, https://www.statista.com/chart/3313/music-streaming-generation-gap/.

Appendix 9:

STREAMING GROWTH YEAR ON YEAR (2009–14)

- – – Subscription streams income
- ··· Ad-supported streams income

M US$

"Digital Music Report 2015," *International Federation of the Phonographic Industry,* accessed April 6, 2015, http://www.ifpi.org/facts-and-stats.php.

Appendix 10:

% USING FREE OR PAID MUSIC STREAMING SERVICES/DOWNLOAD SERVICES IN THE PAST SIX MONTHS

■ Subscription
■ Downloads
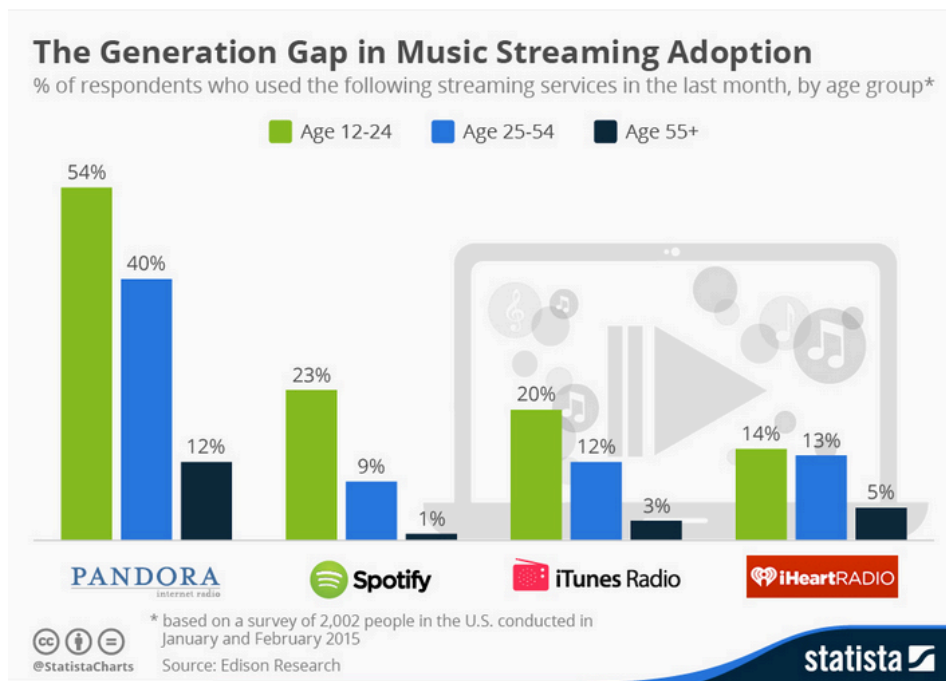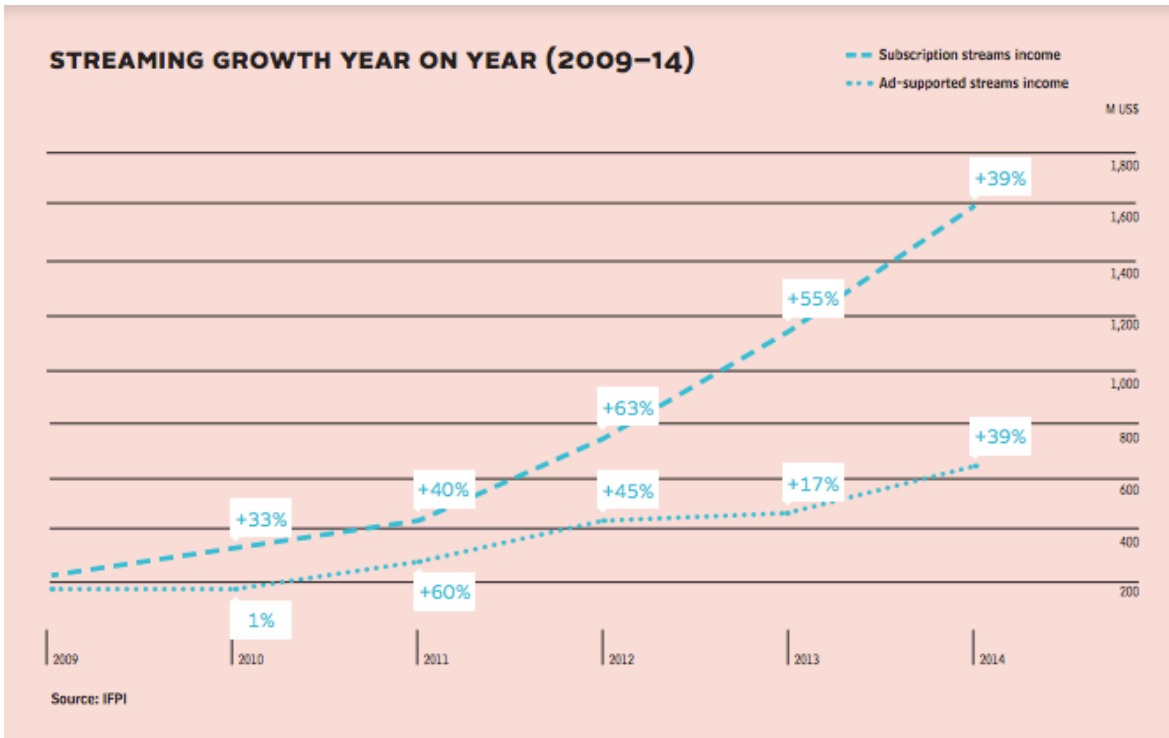
"Digital Music Report 2015," *International Federation of the Phonographic Industry,* accessed April 6, 2015, http://www.ifpi.org/facts-and-stats.php.

Appendix 11:

Music industry revenue worldwide from 2013 to 2018 (in billion U.S. dollars)

"Music Industry Revenue Worldwide from 2013 to 2018 (in billion U.S. dollars)," *Pricewaterhouse Cooper,* accessed April 6, 2016, http://www.statista.com/statistics/259979/global-music-industry-revenue.
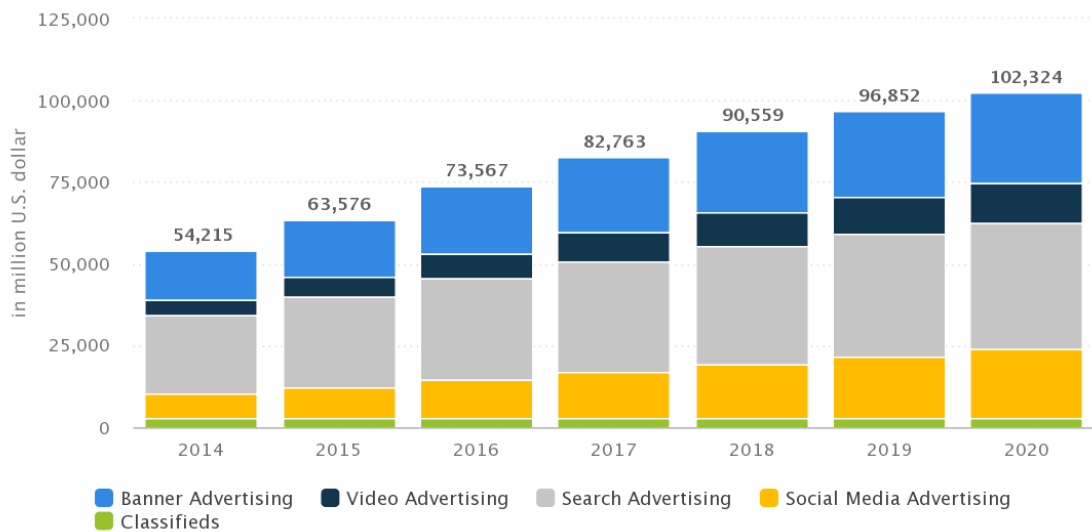
Appendix 12:

Share of U.S. population who have used YouTube to watch music videos or listen to music as of February 2015, by occurrence

"Share of U.S. population who have used YouTube to watch music videos or listen to music as of February 2015, by occurrence," *Edison Research,* accessed April 6, 2016, http://www.statista.com/statistics/291018/us-users-who-use-youtube-to-watch-or-listen-to-music/.
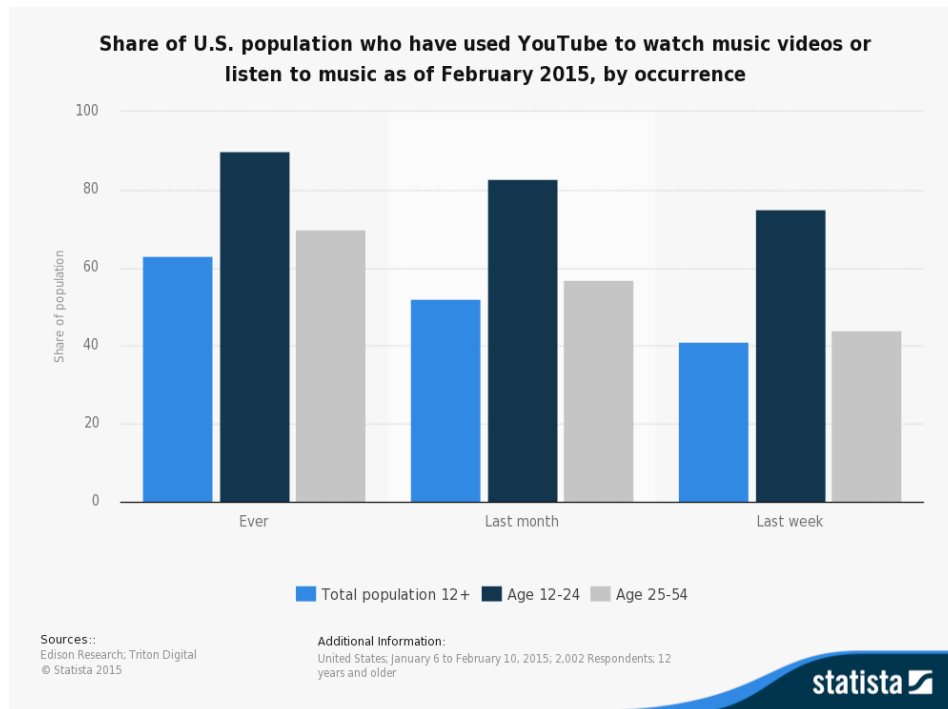
Appendix 13:

Revenue in the Digital Advertising market

in million U.S. dollars (United States)

Banner Advertising   Video Advertising   Search Advertising   Social Media Advertising   Classifieds
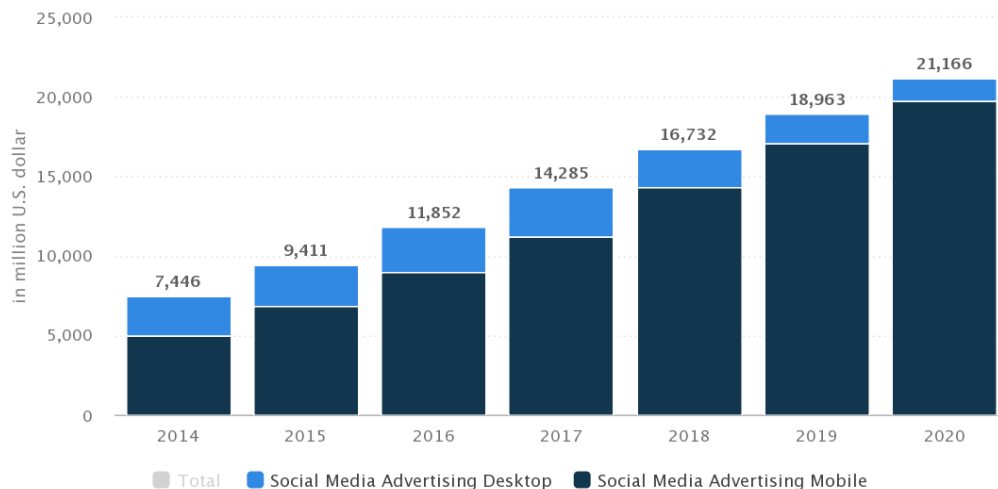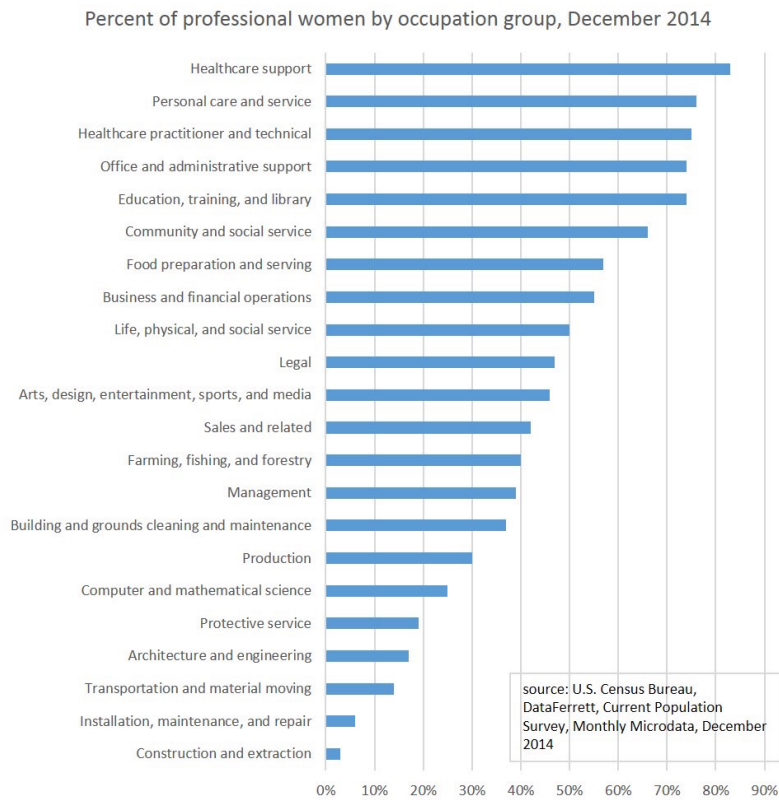
Source: Statista 2015

statista

"Revenue in the Digital Advertising Market (in million U.S. dollars)," *Statista,* accessed April 6, 2016, http://www.tpgdirect.com/blog/the-state-of-the-digital-marketing-where-your-revenue-comes-from.
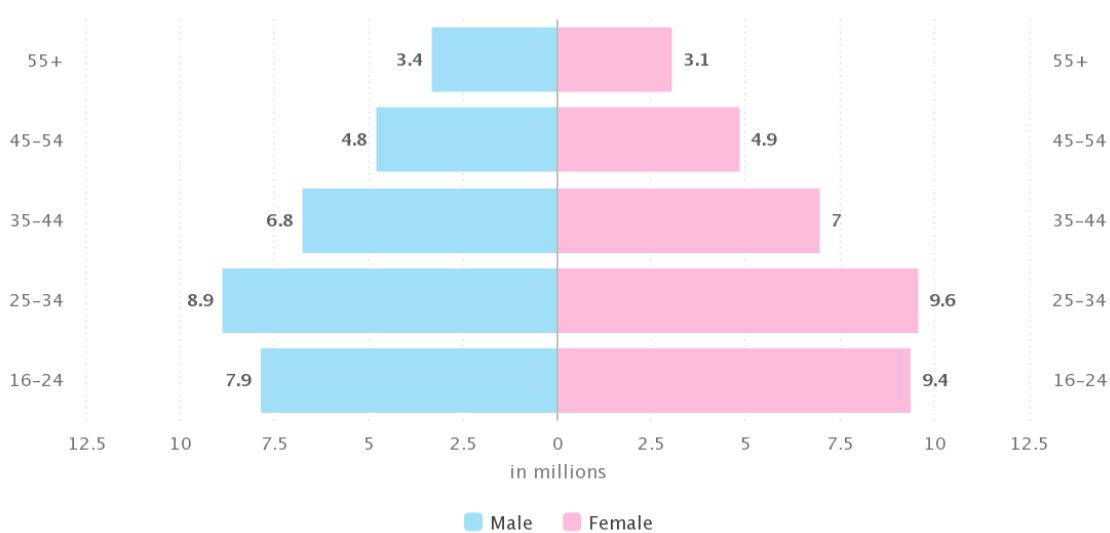
Appendix 14:

Revenue in the Social Media Advertising market

in million U.S. dollars (United States)

Total   Social Media Advertising Desktop   Social Media Advertising Mobile

Source: Statista 2015

statista

"Revenue in the Social Media Advertising Market (in million U.S. dollars)," *Statista,* accessed April 6, 2016, https://www.statista.com/outlook/220/109/social-media-advertising/united-states#.

Appendix 15:

Percent of professional women by occupation group, December 2014

Occupation group	
Healthcare support	
Personal care and service	
Healthcare practitioner and technical	
Office and administrative support	
Education, training, and library	
Community and social service	
Food preparation and serving	
Business and financial operations	
Life, physical, and social service	
Legal	
Arts, design, entertainment, sports, and media	
Sales and related	
Farming, fishing, and forestry	
Management	
Building and grounds cleaning and maintenance	
Production	
Computer and mathematical science	
Protective service	
Architecture and engineering	
Transportation and material moving	
Installation, maintenance, and repair	
Construction and extraction	

source: U.S. Census Bureau, DataFerrett, Current Population Survey, Monthly Microdata, December 2014

"Percent of Professional Women by Occupation Group," *U.S. Census Bureau,* accessed April 6, 2016, http://dpeaflcio.org/professionals/professionals-in-the-workplace/women-in-the-professional-and-technical-labor-force/.

Appendix 16:

User by Age Groups and Gender in the Music Downloads market
in millions in 2015 (United States)

Age	Male	Female
55+	3.4	3.1
45–54	4.8	4.9
35–44	6.8	7
25–34	8.9	9.6
16–24	7.9	9.4

in millions

■ Male ■ Female

Source: Statista 2015

statista

"User by Age Groups and Gender in the Music Downloads Market (in millions in 2015)," *Statista,* accessed April 6, 2016, https://www.statista.com/outlook/208/104/music-downloads/north-america#market-ageGroupGender.

Appendix 17: Social Media Timeline, 2011-2013
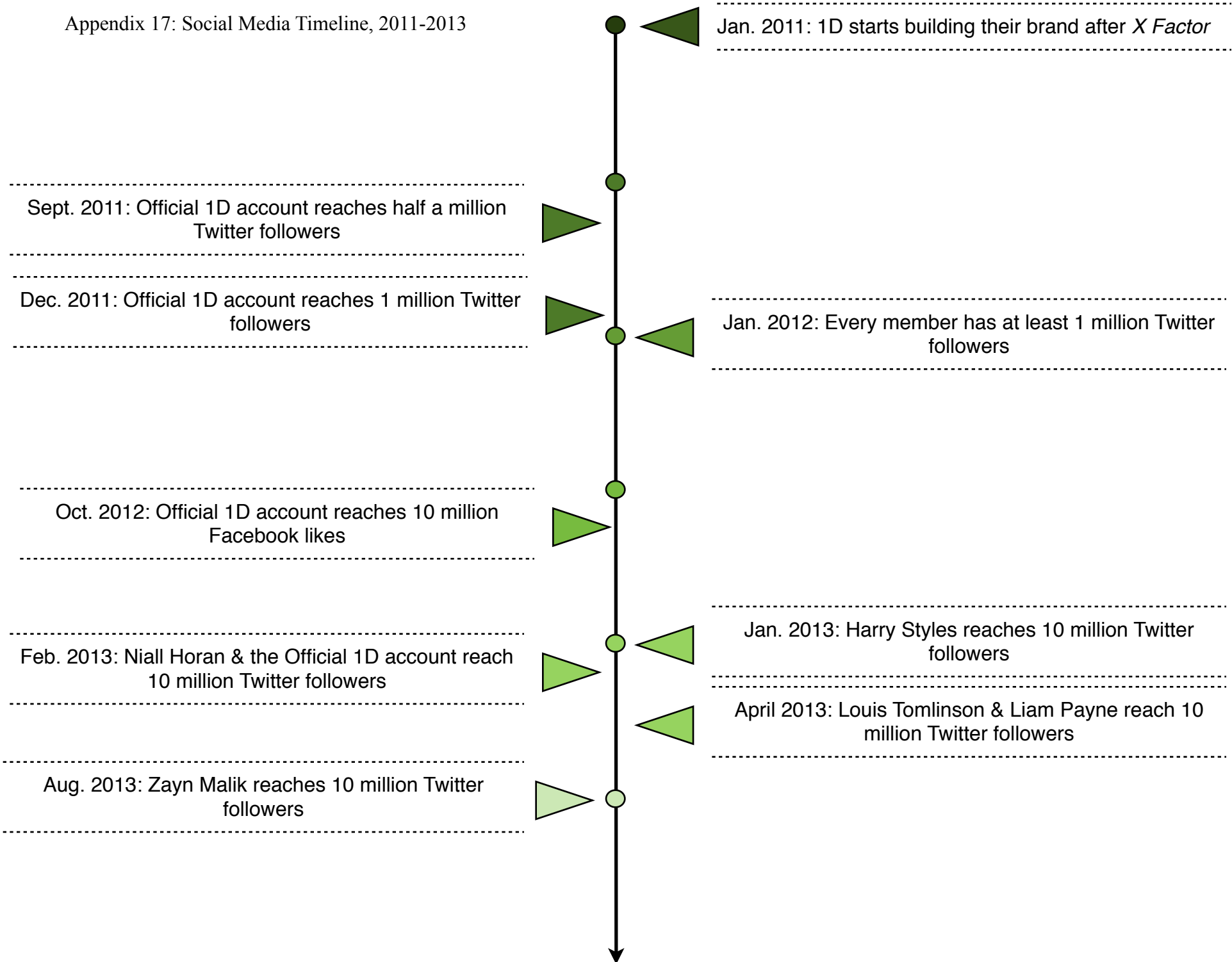
Jan. 2011: 1D starts building their brand after *X Factor*

Sept. 2011: Official 1D account reaches half a million Twitter followers

Dec. 2011: Official 1D account reaches 1 million Twitter followers

Jan. 2012: Every member has at least 1 million Twitter followers

Oct. 2012: Official 1D account reaches 10 million Facebook likes

Jan. 2013: Harry Styles reaches 10 million Twitter followers

Feb. 2013: Niall Horan & the Official 1D account reach 10 million Twitter followers

April 2013: Louis Tomlinson & Liam Payne reach 10 million Twitter followers

Aug. 2013: Zayn Malik reaches 10 million Twitter followers

Appendix 18: Promotional Public Personas

"One Direction: The Movie," Powerpoint, *Sony Pictures,* shared by *WikiLeaks*, April 16, 2015, accessed April 17, 2015, https://wikileaks.org/sony/docs/01/Market/MP_MARKET/MKT Columbia/PPTs/LAS VEGAS 2013/Final Vegas 2013 Big Ideas Powerpoint.pdf.

Appendix 19: Associated Style and Fashion Item (Survey Data)

Harry Styles' Style

Harry Styles' Fashion Item

Liam Payne's Style

Liam Payne's Fashion Item

Appendix 19: Associated Style and Fashion Item (Survey Data)

Louis Tomlinson's Style

Louis Tomlinson's Fashion Item

Niall Horan's Style

Niall Horan's Fashion Item

Appendix 19: Associated Style and Fashion Item (Survey Data)

Zayn Malik's Style

Zayn Malik's Fashion Item
(the item "leather jacket" was the most quoted
item, but no other words were visible when it
was included in the word cloud)

Appendix 20: "What Makes You Beautiful" Single Cover

"'What Makes You Beautiful' Single Cover," image, accessed April 15, 2016, http://subscene.com/subtitles/one-direction-what-makes-you-beautiful/english/839047.

Appendix 21: "One Thing" Music Video Photoshoot

"'One Thing' Music Video Photoshoot," image, accessed April 15, 2016, http://www.glogster.com/zeynepmalik101/one-direction-one-thing/g-6lfp5k73t0rnmpo0mj71ia0.

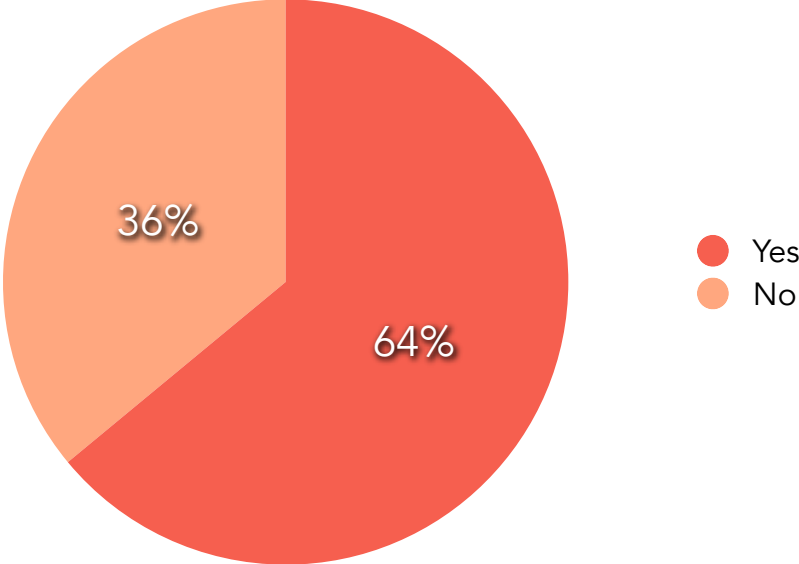Appendix 22: "Steal My Girl" Single Cover and Photo from 2014 American Music Awards

"'Steal My Girl' Single Cover," image, accessed April 15, 2016, http://www.zooradio.gr/video-premiere-one-direction-steal-girl/.

"One Direction Arrive on the AMAs Red Carpet in Coordinated Black Outfits. Nothing Has Ever Been Better," image, accessed April 15, 2016, http://www.sugarscape.com/lads/news/g59/one-direction-arrive-on-the-amas-red-carpet/.
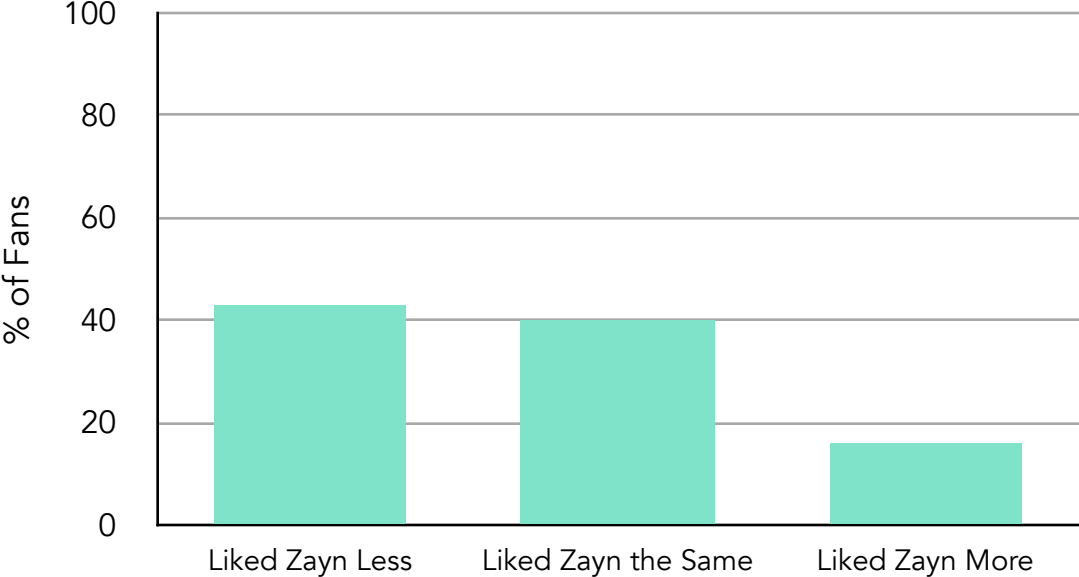
Are you still a fan of Zayn's since he left One Direction?

36%

64%

● Yes
● No

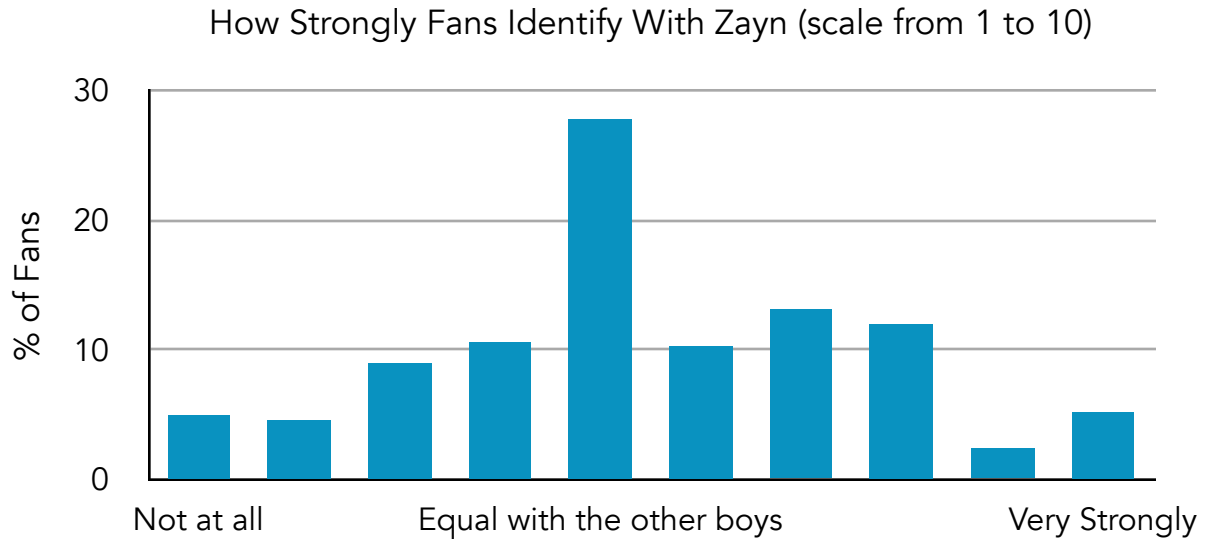Opinion of Zayn after he left One Direction

% of Fans

100

80

60

40

20

0

Liked Zayn Less   Liked Zayn the Same   Liked Zayn More

How Strongly Fans Identify With Zayn (scale from 1 to 10)

How Difficult It Was to Accept Zayn Had Left One Direction

Average score: 6.7

Number of Respondants Who Participated in Project No Control
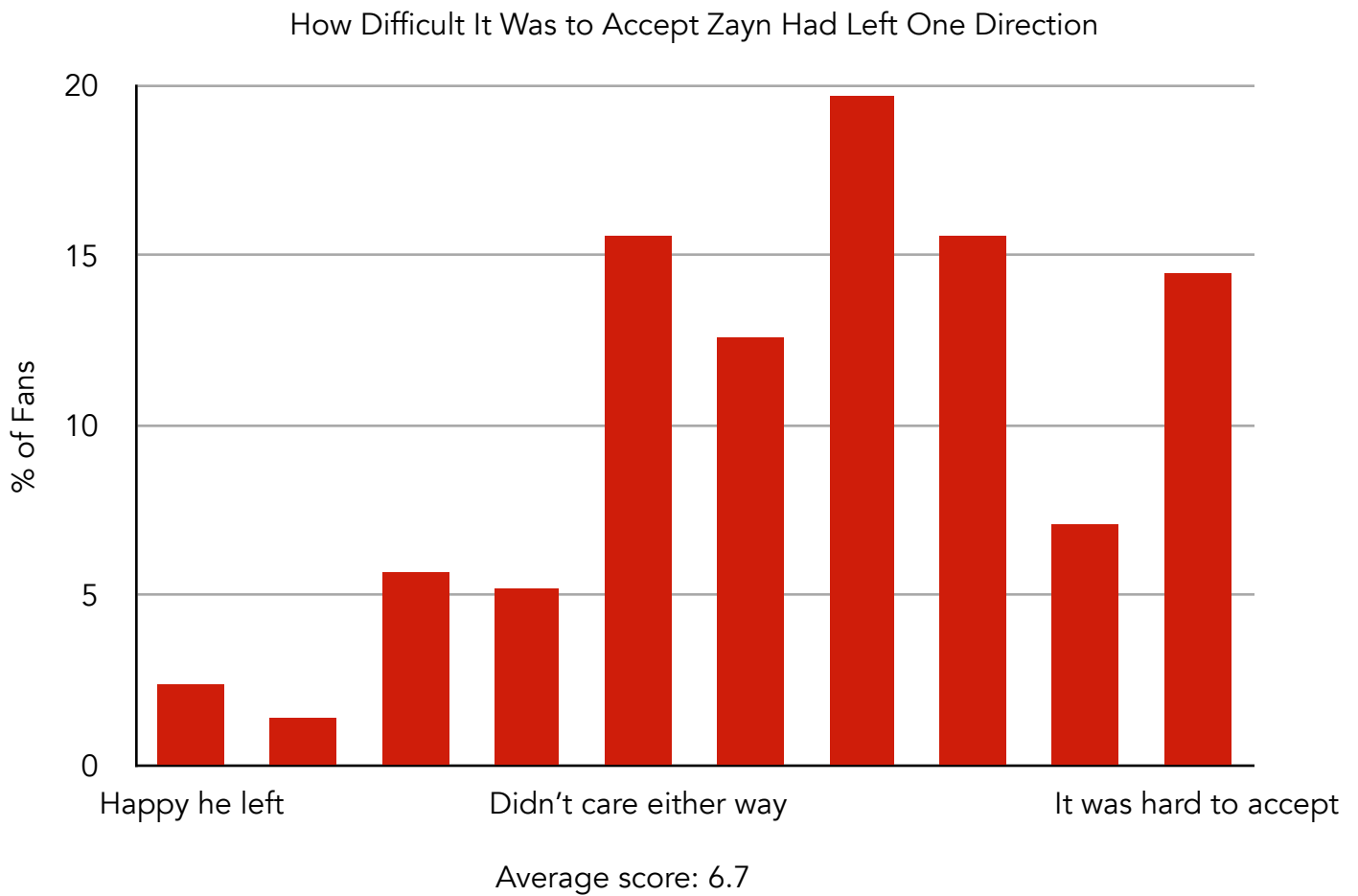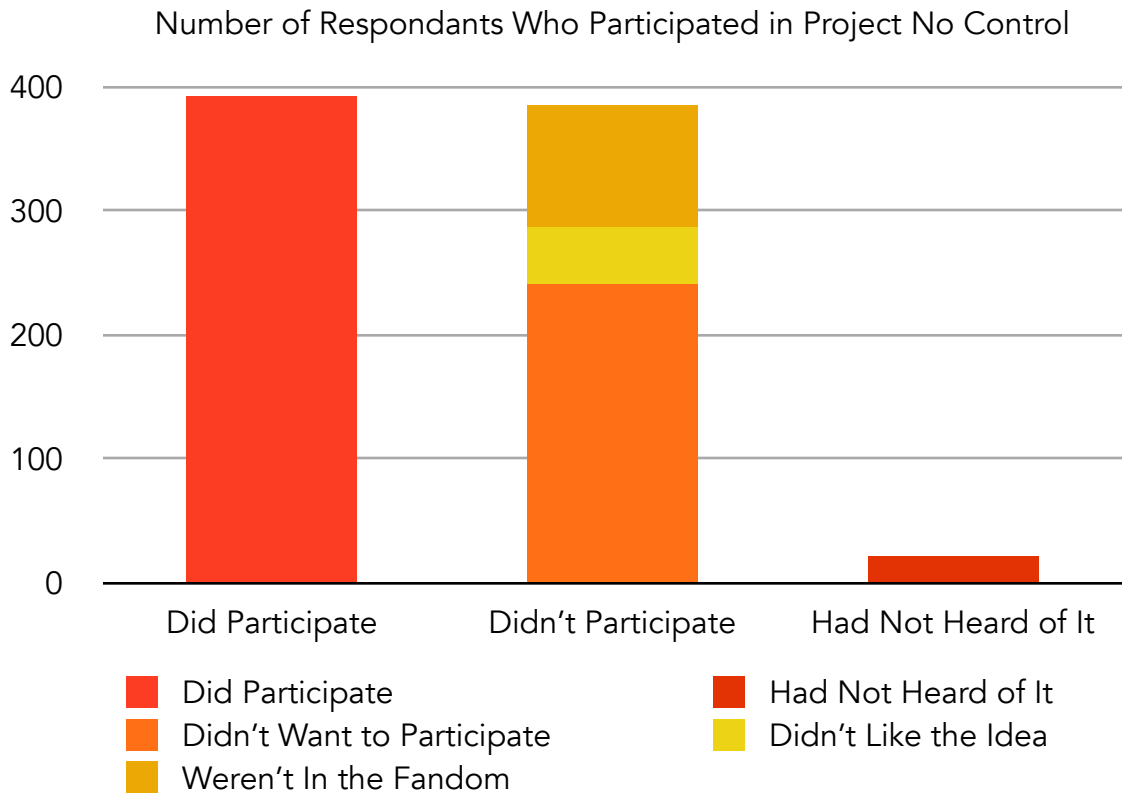
Legend:
- Did Participate
- Didn't Want to Participate
- Weren't In the Fandom
- Had Not Heard of It
- Didn't Like the Idea

Were Fans Happy With the Outcome of Project No Control?

86%
1%
2%
3%
5%
3%

Legend:
- Yes
- No
- Didn't Care or Like the Project
- Didn't Know About It
- Partially
- No Response

One Direction's Most Significant Contribution to the Lives of Fans *

Number of Respondents

*Up to 3 different items per response were coded for
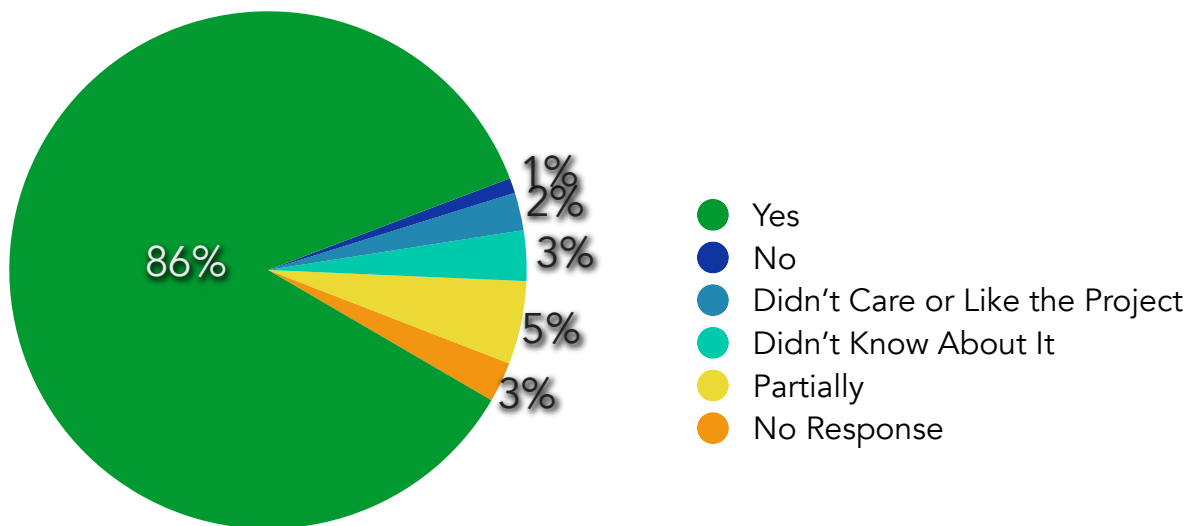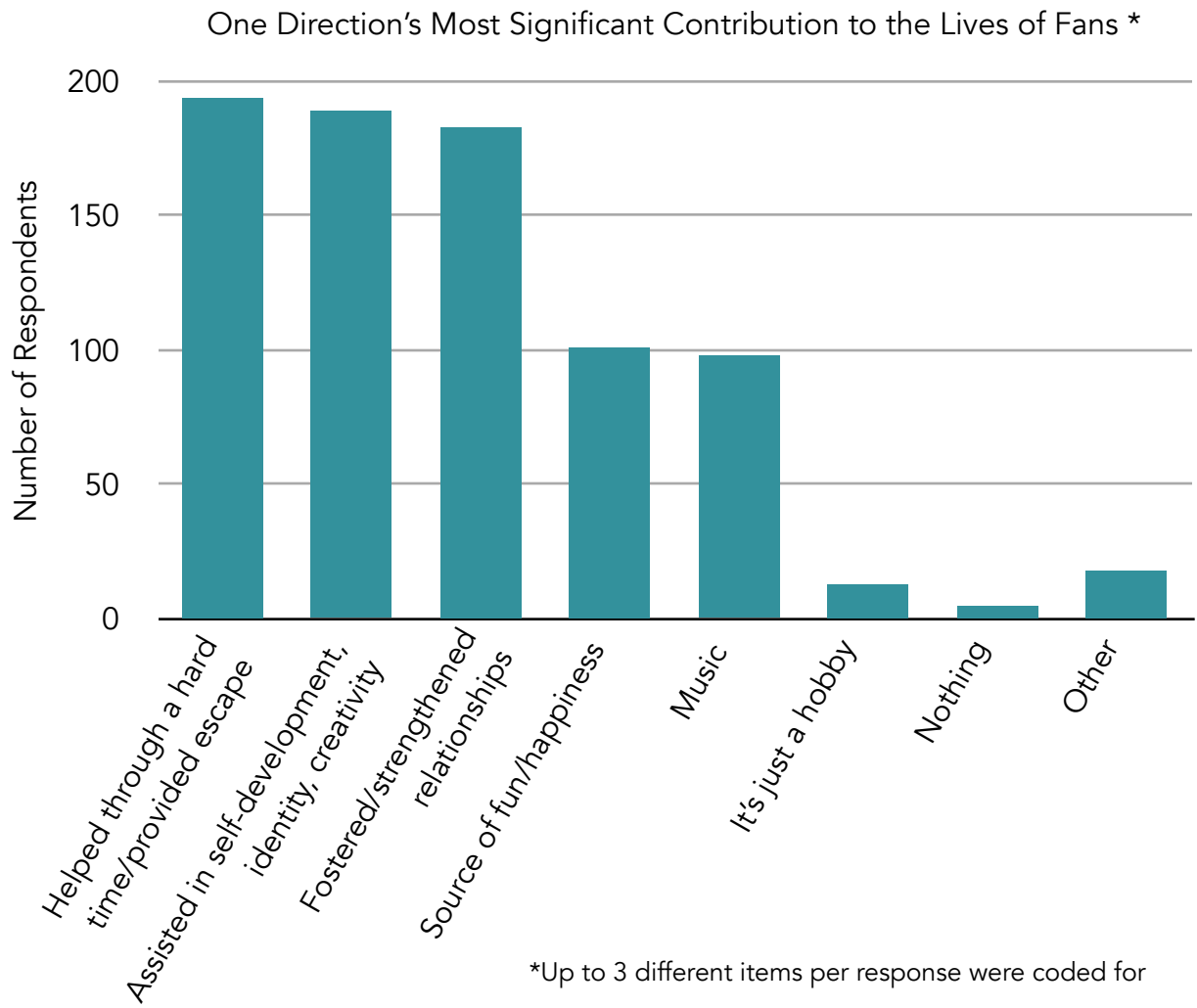
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"15 Things You Probably Didn't Know about Zayn Malik." *Metro*, May 8, 2014. Accessed April 12, 2016. http://metro.co.uk/2014/05/08/15-facts-you-probably-didnt-know-about-one-directions-zayn-malik-4715135/.

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