Beyoncé's Celebrity Feminism and Performances of Female Empowerment in the Arena Concert

Kirsty Fairclough-Isaacs

[B] "This Perfect, Godly Woman"

I had known that I was going to see her for months, but nothing could have prepared me for the real thing. When she rose out of the stage with all the smoke and her silhouette appeared, the real her, there in front of my eyes for the first time, I screamed and cried whilst simultaneously trying to rock out to "Run the World (Girls)". I couldn't believe she was really there it didn't seem real, this perfect, godly woman in the same vicinity as me, singing my favourite songs note perfect. I don't think I actually stopped crying the whole way through but it was undoubtedly one of the best nights of my life, it's been 2 years and I've not forgotten a second of it. The end was pretty overwhelming, I couldn't believe it was over, I had to be calmed down by my sisters but looking back, it was perfect. It is an overwhelming experience being in the same room as your idol, someone you see as completely flawless!¹

These are the words of a nineteen-year old woman in response to witnessing R&B / pop singer Beyoncé live for the first time. The fervor with which she speaks of seeing Beyoncé on stage seems, for her, indicative of something akin to a religious experience. For Helena, the image of Beyoncé as the epitome of womanhood, as an aspirational figure is

evident. The use of such effusive descriptions as "perfect", "godly" and "flawless" are not unusual within Beyoncé's devoted fan base, the "Bey Hive", known for it obsessive devotion. But such descriptions are not solely reserved for fans. Beyoncé's live performances are widely renowned as some of the most impressive that popular music has ever witnessed.

This chapter will examine Beyoncé and her 2013-2014 arena concert tour, The Mrs Carter Show, to explore the ways in which she employs the tropes of what appear to be female empowerment and celebrity feminism in order to maintain and develop her position in popular music and pop culture more widely. The chapter will consider attempts to promote her status as celebrity feminist through her arena concerts and will assess how Beyoncé calls on her fans to use her music and imagery to engage with a rather simplistic notion of female empowerment.

Beyoncé Knowles-Carter is multi-platinum and Grammy Award winning artist who is often hailed as one of the best, if not the best, performers of her generation by cultural commentators and fellow artists associated with "high brow" publications such as *The New Yorker, The Guardian* and *Time* magazine (Rosen 2013; Llewyn-Smith 2009; Luhrmann 2013 respectively). Such is the magnitude of praise that Beyoncé, the singer, gives way to Beyoncé, "the event", for Luhrmann, since "… no one has that voice, no one moves the way she moves, no one can hold an audience the way she does… [w]hen Beyoncé does an album, when Beyoncé sings a song, when Beyoncé does anything, it's an event, and it's broadly influential. Right now, she is the heir-apparent diva of the USA – the reigning national voice." (Luhrmann 2013) *Time* have listed her in lists of the one hundred most influence people, and placed her on their cover, and her sales (both albums and concert tickets) match such acclaim.²

In December 2013 Beyoncé released the innovative "visual album", *Beyoncé*, consisting of fourteen tracks and seventeen videos, without any pre-publicity and then only

through using social media as the means of promotion once the album had been released solely on iTunes. Its initial sales neared one million "copies" within the first three days. This strategy, around the album itself, was immediately considered to be a game-changer by a music industry which has long relied on the system of releasing singles and their accompanying music videos systematically, prior to the trumpeted release of a full album. The themes of the record were intimate, even dark at times, and so signaled a shift in tone from previous releases. The album examined a greater sense of agency by the singer, and contained what appears to be an engagement with feminist themes.

From these comments alone, it is noticeable that standard methodological approaches to popular music will not encompass Beyoncé's oeuvre in a satisfactory way. In the post-CD age, in which the arena concert emerges as a kind of new materiality in terms of "possessing" music (to have been at the gig, as evidenced via social media, rather than "merely" to possess the album), an expanded frame of reference is required. And this frame of reference is one that crucially, as I shall argue in relation to feminism, ushers the body back into the terrain of analysis. Recent critical writing on music and performance (Auslander 2004, 2008, 2009; Cook 2012; Inglis 2006)³ has called for greater attention to be paid to the physical, gestural, and social dimensions of musical performance, and for the treatment of the performance as a musical text. The cross-disciplinary debates engendered by this desire to develop an approach that fundamentally acknowledges visual and musical elements are signalled in Cook's rhetorical question of "How might we put the music back into performance analysis?" (2012, 192) In this regard, Simon Frith's influential work on the interpretation of performance as a social process (1996, 205) has contributed important models for the disentangling of the many layers of expression that comprise song performance (to include sounds, gender, race, sexuality, lyrics, vocal styles, performativity, and technology). Auslander (2004, 2009) has extended Frith's work to construct the analytic framework of "person-persona-character" in

order to analyse the singer's enactment of song meanings: his work focuses critical attention upon the singer's body as the site of visual and narrative communication, but does not incorporate aspects of musical content and structure. These advances in critical thought are lent a further urgency, and effectively stress tested, by the enormity of the arena concert, both in terms of the forensic close-up presentation of the singer and his or her body (relayed via giant video screens, captured innumerable times on mobile phones and cameras), and the cumulative millions in attendance.

[B] Beyoncé and the live concert experience

In recent years a number of female R&B / pop performers that have utilised tenets of female empowerment, with vague links to feminist ideas, as part of their brand and as incorporated into performances, as with Alicia Keys, Lady Gaga, Pink and Nicki Minaj. Beyoncé's engagement, however, was considerably more pronounced. That oscillation between spectacle and intimacy which appears to be the foundation of a successful arena concert, as combined with themes of empowerment, has become part of the expected package for many star female artists in performance. This is in part attributable to the visibility of feminist themes in popular culture since the 1990s, especially the emergence of Third Wave feminism and its propensity to utilise mainstream culture as a way of advancing the cause of female emancipation.

Audiences now expect their stars to reveal something personal on stage as well as entertaining them. The lineage of this expectation is bound up with three elements: a gossip and scandal-fuelled, and paparazzi-driven, celebrity culture where the private has become the public; the development of technologies that encourages individuals to share every moment of their lives via the digital realm; and the development of Reality Television in the late 1990s, where the public and the private collided and were packaged as entertainment. These developments, now embedded in popular music cultures, invariably mean that the arena concert is indeed the arena in which they are played out. The illusion of intimacy and the pursuit of "truth" that characterise the negotiation of the celebrity image are central to the socio-political role of the celebrity in contemporary times, as embodied in that which Marshall terms "the celebrity sign" (1997). Social media is morphing celebrity culture in dramatic ways, particularly in terms of the ways in which audiences relate to celebrity images, how celebrities are "produced", and how celebrity is actually practiced. Gossip websites, fan sites and blogs provide a plethora of new locations for the circulation and creation of celebrity, moving between and blending user-generated content and the mainstream media. And this much more fragmented media landscape has created a shift in traditional understandings of celebrity management, from a highly controlled model to one in which celebrities actively address and interact with fans with seemingly less control and censure from their management. Contemporary celebrity is a performative practice that shifts and reformulates itself. This practice involves the on-going maintenance of a performed intimacy, authenticity and access, and the creation of the construction of a persona that is consumable, and on-going fan management. The presentation of a seemingly authentic, intimate image of the self, creating the illusion of access and lending the impression of uncensored glimpses into lives of celebrities, is often at the heart of these developments. There is, of course, no way to determine the authenticity of any celebrity practice for those outside the immediate circle. And this uncertainty, paradoxically, appeals to some audiences, who enjoy the game playing intrinsic to gossip consumption, as Gamson (1994) argues.

Beyoncé took her first steps into social networking relatively late in comparison to many celebrities. Her first tweet, in April 2012, was an invited to fans to visit her new website and Tumblr account. The account presented both staged and candid imagery documenting her life as wife, mother and global R&B / pop star. Her marriage to rap icon Jay-Z (Shawn Carter)

is presented throughout in family photographs that often appear authentic and natural. Earlier in 2012, Beyoncé and Jay-Z had pre-empted the launch of Beyoncé's revamped online brand with the Tumblr account, dedicated to the birth of their daughter Blue-Ivy Carter. Using Tumble in this way was an arresting move. Tumble is a micro-blogging platform and social networking website which allows users to post multimedia and other content to a short-form blog. Users can follow other user's blogs as well as make their blogs private. Both Beyoncé and Jay-Z had been perceived as rather "traditional" celebrities up until this point, with little direct involvement in social networking as a mechanism through which they sought to maintain control of their dual brand. And, unlike many other celebrities, the two have fiercely protected their privacy, never publicly discussed their relationship, and as evidenced in stories such as reportedly renting the entire floor of the hospital where their daughter was born to avoid paparazzi. Beyoncé's refusal to engage in the discourse surrounding her life, outside of her career, had made her a rather unique figure in a market over-saturated with discussions about celebrities' private lives. Indeed, information regarding Beyoncé and Jay-Z as a couple is scant (and so, in media terms, of heightened value), and carefully controlled in its dissemination. The occasional seemingly actual glimpse, then, is all the more shocking.⁴

Neal Gabler suggests that celebrities have a power over consumers and audiences because of the spell that their "narratives" provide:

[N]o matter how well a celebrity sings, dances, acts or engages the consumer in some other way, a celebrity only retains his or her status only so long as he or she is living out an interesting narrative, or at least one that the media finds interesting. The size of the celebrity is in direct proportion to the novelty and excitement of the narrative. (Gabler 2009) Yet Beyoncé's image has been safe, palatable and largely inoffensive. The most controversial aspect of her image was firstly her marriage to Jay-Z (who once courted controversy) and, secondly, her pregnancy.⁵ Potentially, the narrative lacks novelty. And one could question the need for a narrative, as generated via personal images on social media, in the first place for such a successful duo. But projecting authenticity holds out the promise of validating the "realness" of an otherwise untouchable or distant, and so indeed "godly", person. Firstly, and perhaps most crucially, it is this sense of authenticity that makes Beyoncé's website (www.beyoncé.com) interesting for visitors. The website is not, of course, a gossip or fan site; it belongs to her, and she is configured as its author/creator, and so the sense of authenticity (that is: it is authentically Beyoncé) is persuasive. Images of husband, sister and close friends, who appear in natural shots, evidence this, as well as being part of the fabric of celebrity social media. The intimacy engendered by celebrities on Twitter typically provides the glimpse into the inner life that their fans crave, as well as validating the authorship of the Twitter account. This is all the more important in that Twitter is generally a site where personal disclosure and intimacy are normative (as argued by Marwick and Boyd 2010), even to the point of intemperate outbursts, and so access, intimacy, and affiliation are deemed valueless if an account is fake or written by an assistant. And Tumblr is near-dumb: little text or no is offered or required, to "explain" the images. The viewer is freer to surmise and project. In these respects, something of the post-racial "everyman", pan-ethnic brand of Beyoncé can be understood: meaning is not imposed. And those images posted that might be described as unflattering (where Beyoncé looks unkempt at times) suggest an access to the "real" Beyoncé, and so counter the "real" as presented by the unauthorised or semi-authorised outlets (tabloids, gossip magazines, paparazzi photos). What is not shown is the labour involved in maintaining such a discretely controlled brand.

The link between Beyonce's live performances and fan engagement with ideas of intimacy and empowerment is acutely evident in her arena shows. Beyoncé's live concerts have been widely praised in the media due to their seamless execution and path-breaking production values, their blending of the spectacular and the intimate, and her ability to sing and dance simultaneously. At the time of writing, six concert tours have occurred during her solo career (four of which have been worldwide, and two of which have been collaborative). Her debut solo tour began in 2003, whilst Beyoncé was on hiatus from Destiny's Child, with the Dangerously in Love Tour, which based primarily in the UK. Her first major solo world tour, The Beyoncé Experience, took place in 2007, in the wake of the disbanding of Destiny's Child in 2005. In 2008, after the release of a third studio album, I Am... Sasha Fierce, Beyoncé embarked on her next world tour, the I Am... World Tour. While all of these tours were commercial successes, none were more so than the The Mrs Carter Show World Tour which, according to Billboard, reportedly grossed US \$229, 727, 960 after 132 dates. This made The Mrs. Carter Show World Tour the highest grossing female and solo tour of 2013, and one of the highest grossing tours of the decade. Performances of numerous songs from the tour were broadcast and promotional behind-the-scenes footage was released. The tour was initially criticised, to various degrees, for its name, as it was widely considered that Beyoncé was disavowing her status as an independent woman by wanting to be known as simply Jay-Z's wife, (see, for example, Swash 2013).

The Mrs. Carter Show was loosely based on a royal theme, with Beyoncé emulating a variety of queens through the costume and stage design. The production design, by LeRoy Bennett (the designer of Beyoncé's half-time Superbowl show in 2013) consisted of a concept that was based around a giant wall of light, which was given the moniker "The Wall of Inferno." This lighting wall consisted of over four hundred strobe lights and was designed to complement the choreography and essentially assisted the dancers, and Beyoncé, who were to

be thrown into relief against the background. A main stage and a "b" stage, to which Beyoncé travelled via a flying rig, were deployed; the second stage allowed her to become physically closer to her audience. The set list from the 2013 leg of the tour consisted of twenty-five songs drawn from Beyoncé's four studio albums. During the 2014 leg of the tour many of the previously performed songs were dropped and eight new songs, from the fifth and self-titled studio album (of 2013), were added to the set list. This partial reworking of the event encouraged fans to attend for a second time.

[B] Beyoncé and Celebrity Feminism

Despite the criticism of the name, the Mrs Carter Show World Tour also marked the apparent debut of Beyoncé as the self-proclaimed feminist. Musically speaking, Beyoncé's engagement with feminism, or issues aligned with feminism, predates this moment Although she did not publicly identify as "feminist" until 2014, songs from her former band Destiny's Child back catalogue, such as "Independent Woman Pt. 1" (2000), present a basic, if perhaps naïve and post-feminist, "girl power"-inspired feminism. And on Beyoncé's second solo album, B'Day (2006), an album that is essentially concerned with the politics of romantic, sexual, emotional and economic labour, there is a vague feminist threat that runs throughout, as articulating Beyoncé's control over, and the ownership of, her work and body. Furthermore, this album marks the introduction of her all-female band, the Sugar Mamas, which she formed in order to inspire young girls to learn to play musical instruments, since she lacked such role models in her own childhood. The 2013 Beyoncé album, however, marked a full and public "coming out" as a feminist. The album incorporates a sample of lauded Nigerian novelist Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's Ted-X speech "We Should All Be Feminists" in the song "***Flawless".⁶ Additionally, Beyoncé published an essay, "Gender Equality is a Myth!", for the Shriver Report website.⁷ The album therefore serves as a

catalytic moment in her oeuvre, now framing the old themes of bodily and monetary control in an explicitly feminist way. That a mainstream R&B / pop artist with a global reach should proclaim themselves a feminist in such an unapologetic manner was a particularly noteworthy given that many female pop artists, including Katy Perry, Kelly Clarkson and Lady Gaga, have actively avoided being labeled as feminists in recent years. Yet Beyoncé's declaration appeared to propel other celebrities to acknowledge their own shifting positions in respect to the "f-word", to the point that "celebrity feminism" became a recurring feature of US/UK celebrity culture, snowballing to become a sustained and ongoing flashpoint of the crossmedia celebrity landscape. Others "came out" too, and this could be seen, in 2014, in declarations both carefully orchestrated to garner high-profile publicity, to those that were more responsive to unforeseen events or reactive to what was fast becoming a celebrity zeitgeist. Hollywood A-list actress Jennifer Lawrence's response to the online publication of her stolen nude photos (as part of the so-called "fappening") saw her publicly take up an ostensibly feminist stance. In an interview with Vanity Fair in October, Lawrence denounced the leak as a "sex crime" (quoted in Kashner 2014, 136). Singer Taylor Swift declared a revision of her position on feminism: she had misunderstood of the term as a teenager and has since adopted of the fundamental ideas of feminism, (see Hoby 2014). And actress Emma Watson made her debut as a high-profile celebrity feminist through her status as a United Nations Goodwill Ambassador, and her endorsement of the #HeforShe Twitter campaign to encourage men to consider gender equality as their issue. In these cases, highly visible public personas, in articulating political positions broadly consistent with feminism, capitalise on their celebrity to promote the feminist cause. For many liberal commentators, this in itself is sufficient.

On the other hand, Beyoncé's identification as feminist, prompting a predictably huge reaction on social media, particularly via Twitter, resulted in a more mixed picture. Many criticized her for a perceived double standard: the familiar arguments of dressing provocatively, and selling her body / image as a brand for consumption, whilst spouting pseudo-feminist ideas. Singer Annie Lennox claimed that Beyoncé's use of the word represented "feminist lite" (quoted in Azzopardi 2014) and bell hooks described Beyoncé as a "terrorist", who potentially harms African-American girls with her sexualized performance, and that this is effectively an assault on feminism see (Sieczkowski 2014).

Both sets of positions illustrate that celebrity feminism has become a lightening conductor for these debates. Discursive struggles over the meanings of feminism are now, and perhaps more than ever, largely staged in and through media culture. And, given that celebrity interventions into ongoing debates over feminism have recently intensified, scholars of celebrity (the relatively new academic field of "Celebrity Studies") are seeking to come to terms with the ideological and cultural implications and coordinates of these debates as played out in public, and across social media platforms. Lennox's statement seems to reflect an unease that was very clear on social media, with the conflation of a (possibly post-feminist) sense of empowerment through sexuality as blended into feminist politics. This is more evident in Lennox's subsequent elaboration; she places Beyoncé on a spectrum of feminism, with Beyoncé as representative of the tokenistic end (rather than feminists working at grassroots levels, at the other end); (Leight, 2014).

What Lennox misses, however, is that it is the public persona of Beyoncé that is being identified as feminist. Previously, Beyoncé chose to perform her more sexually adventurous routines as her alter-ego, "Sasha Fierce", and such masking is surely indicative of the continuing regulation of black female sexuality, as Durham (2012) argues. This fictional alter-ego had effectively served to separate and free Beyoncé, to an extent, from a history of the restricting image of the hypersexualised black woman. After all, the feminist discourse identified here is one of white privilege (Lennox, Watson, and even Lena Dunham).

Thereafter, Beyoncé's juxtaposition of her sensually and sexually suggestively dancing body with Ngozi Adichie's words ("We teach girls that they cannot be sexual beings in the way that boys are") can be read as a negotiation of that marginalization. In this respect, there is a reclaiming of the black female body and sexuality. Arguably, this juxtaposition of voices and dance moves serves to advance the image of Beyoncé, from self-sexualising pop star to female sexual agent, from a consumer image to an image of autonomy. And this progressive impulse is played out across, and galvanizes and harnesses the power of, and affiliations around, social media. If it was not for the aspirations to authenticity, despite my questioning of their good faith and constructed nature above, such an impulse would be negligible.

The limitation is perhaps more usefully considered, looking to debates surrounding Third Wave feminism, in respect to the presentation of a non-transgressive, and squarely mainstream, version of empowerment and feminism. It is at this juncture that the importance of Beyoncé's unparalleled ability to engage a live audience returns as a key element in this analysis. Celebrity feminism, in this respect, is not a matter of platitude but performance. The body itself reverberates with empowerment and autonomy: the reclamations, mentioned above, are witnessed live by those in the arenas.

[B] Grown Woman: Beyoncé and embodied empowerment

The touring arena concert provides an opportunity for audiences who may be located in suburban or rural areas, and with little ability to experience an international R&B / pop star, to finally connect, "live", with the object of their affections. As with Helena above, and cases discussed elsewhere in the current volume, this can be an overwhelming, and even traumatic, experience.

To some extent Beyoncé could be affectionately described as an Old School diva, in terms of her performance, in such spaces. Her shows do not use social media interaction or live feeds to the audience (as with Roger Waters and Miley Cyrus respectively, as discussed in the current volume). The show relies on high production values in terms of staging, lighting and sound quality, constructing a multi-faceted spectacle that privileges the collision of the public presentation of her high-octane performances and the intimate representations of her personal life, as presented via social media, which are projected onto a giant video wall. What the audience is offered is a carefully constructed image that invites them to now become part of her world, in this moment, and to revel in her talent, and to share in the effusive and exuberant celebration of womanhood that Beyoncé would seem to encapsulate. The physical gestures that she delivers whilst performing are cues for the audience to participate: they are needed to create or complete the show. At the same time, the show is one that remains connected to the Beyoncé of social media, and to the sense of Beyoncé as global superstar.

The textual layers of the concert, and her interpretation of a given song within a physical setting, is mediated by both the concert staging and the films that are played throughout. If the arena concert evidences the superstardom of its protagonist (as Edgar argues in the current volume), this is balanced by the intimacy of the encounter with the protagonist: the promise of some intimate "face time" with the superstar. In this respect, the usual tropes are deployed (between-song banter, observations on the audience), but the social media construction of the "real" Beyoncé is also called upon. Short films present images from her Tumblr and "private" life, presenting her as vulnerable and sensitive (in the midst of the enormity of her performance and presence) and possessing, as the synthesis of this dialectic, the qualities that she sees as being universal to the human experience.

Beyoncé collides large-scale demonstrative presentations of her music with intimate representations of female empowerment in such a way that she manages to ostensibly feminise the arena space. Or, from another perspective, that she capitalises on the effective "feminization" of the arena space: in terms of the gender balance of the audiences on the Mrs Carter World Tour, it is clear that from analysis of images, and through my experiences of two of the shows, her audience is predominantly female. The mode of communication, then, is female-to-female – an aspiration of feminist reclaiming or remaking of public spaces during the 1970s and one which, as Halligan has argued (2014), has re-emerged in recent years around ideas of performance, interaction and Third Wave feminism.

The arena space during a Beyoncé show is also feminised in terms of its thematic content: female-to-female and on "female" matters. Many of the songs performed possess lyrical content that is designed to appeal to women, following the lineage of her early songwriting with Destiny's Child. Songs such as "Grown Woman" and "Single Ladies (Put a Ring On It)" (2008) could be said to engage with issues of growth, freedom, confidence, maturity and sexuality that are female-specific. But the platitudinal and anthemic nature of the songs ("I'm a grown woman / I can do whatever I want"; "I got gloss on my lips / a man on my hips"; "All the single ladies / now put your hands up"), wreathed in spectacular lighting and dance routines, ostensibly present a kind of female party atmosphere in which Beyoncé, as emcee, encourages her audience to celebrate their own girl- and womanhood. In this respect, the songs hold more in common with the blatant feminism of brash 1990s Riot Grrl music than the nuanced explorations of female subjectivity found in many 1970s female singer-songwriters. The experience of attending a Beyoncé arena concert is memorable because it is such an assault on the senses. One contends with the mix of extremely high production values (in terms of glitzy short films) that meld into the song performances to produce a brilliant but often confusing effect, lighting that contains a multitude of strobes that are utilized almost continually, hysteria from the audience, and Beyoncé's actual presence, which is a curious mix of uber-professionalism, sincerity and compassion.

Beyoncé's mastery of the communication of musical content through her body is perhaps one of the key reasons that she is so comfortable, and successful, in an arena space. She embodies the music in a visceral way, and so connects with her audiences in a nonintellectualised way in respect to imminent female empowerment. Crudely put, she *is* female empowerment – or one strain of it at least, contestations acknowledged. Through her live performances, Beyoncé appears to promote a shiny, depthless feminism that mass audiences can embrace. However, when thinking through the complicated nexus of feminism and celebrity, it is important not to simply re-inscribe those familiar critiques that presume this relationship to be inherently negative for feminist politics. Instead, "feminist celebrity studies" needs to attend to how feminism and celebrity cultures necessarily intersect in ways that may be at once productive and unproductive, both with constraints and possibilities.

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² See <u>http://www.billboard.com/biz/articles/news/touring/6069972/beyonce-wraps-world-tour-in-europe-with-411m-in-ticket-sales</u> (accessed April 2015). The Recording Industry Association of America acknowledged that through sixty-four gold and platinum certifications, she was the decade's top-selling artist (see https://www.riaa.com).
³ My thanks to Philip Auslander for his time at the University of Salford, as a Visiting Fellow in Performance, in respect of my thinking about this chapter.

⁴ The most notable example to date was seemingly a family altercation; see <u>http://hollywoodlife.com/2014/05/12/solange-attacks-jay-z-video-punch-kick-beyonce-</u> <u>elevator-fight/</u> (accessed April 2015).

⁵ The rumour was widely discussed on social media that Beyoncé was not actually pregnant, and her child was born to a surrogate. This was later subtly addressed via careful imagery posted on her Tumblr site.

⁶ The sample is: "We teach girls that they cannot be sexual beings in the way that boys are. Feminist: the person who believes in the social, political and economic equality of the sexes."

⁷ See <u>http://shriverreport.org/gender-equality-is-a-myth-beyonce/</u> (accessed February 2015)