

# **Exploring Creator-Fan Parasocial Relationships on Cameo**

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**Abstract**

This thesis examines the phenomenon of parasocial relationships between fans and celebrities in the context of the video-sharing platform, Cameo. By analyzing the reviews left by fans on Cameo, this research investigates how fans engage with and evaluate their parasocial connections with celebrities. The study combines the domains of parasocial relational work and linguistic evaluation theory to explore the transactional practices and linguistic expressions of approval or disapproval within celebrity-fan interactions. The analysis focuses on the reviews left by fans on celebrities' profiles, highlighting their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the personalized videos received. The study includes close readings of the data in order to build up generalizations about the findings, then incorporates n-gram analysis and sentiment analysis to compare the higher and lower reviews. It aims to determine fans' level of satisfaction with the product and investigate if expectations and satisfaction vary across different types of celebrities, specifically film and television actors, reality television personalities, and athletes. The analysis of fan reviews on Cameo demonstrates that fan satisfaction is closely tied to the perception of personalization in the videos. Fans appreciate personalized content that reinforces their parasocial bonds, whereas a lack of personalization leads to negative evaluations. Notably, fans show a preference for celebrities who conform to their specific requests, prioritizing the fulfillment of their expectations over authenticity. Overall, this study contributes to our understanding of the interplay between parasocial relational work, linguistic evaluation, and fan culture in the context of the Cameo platform. It sheds light on the factors that influence fan satisfaction, highlighting the importance of personalization and the role of fan expectations in evaluating the products provided by celebrities.

## Resumé

Cette thèse examine le phénomène des relations parasociales entre les fans et les célébrités dans le contexte de la plateforme de partage de vidéos, Cameo. En analysant les avis laissés par les fans sur Cameo, cette recherche explore comment les fans interagissent avec et évaluent leurs connexions parasociales avec les célébrités. L'étude combine les domaines du travail relationnel parasocial et de la théorie de l'évaluation linguistique pour explorer les pratiques transactionnelles et les expressions linguistiques d'approbation ou de désapprobation au sein des interactions entre célébrités et fans. L'analyse se concentre sur les avis laissés par les fans sur les profils des célébrités, mettant en évidence leur satisfaction ou leur insatisfaction à l'égard des vidéos personnalisées reçues. L'étude comprend des lectures approfondies des données afin de construire des généralisations sur les résultats, puis intègre une analyse des n-grammes et une analyse de sentiment pour comparer les avis les plus positifs et les plus négatifs. Elle vise à déterminer le niveau de satisfaction des fans avec le produit et à enquêter sur la variation des attentes et de la satisfaction selon les différents types de célébrités, notamment les acteurs de cinéma et de télévision, les personnalités de la télé-réalité et les athlètes. L'analyse des avis des fans sur Cameo démontre que la satisfaction des fans est étroitement liée à la perception de la personnalisation dans les vidéos. Les fans apprécient le contenu personnalisé qui renforce leurs liens parasociaux, tandis qu'un manque de personnalisation conduit à des évaluations négatives. Notamment, les fans montrent une préférence pour les célébrités qui répondent à leurs demandes spécifiques, en privilégiant la réalisation de leurs attentes par rapport à l'authenticité. Dans l'ensemble, cette étude contribue à notre compréhension de l'interaction entre le travail relationnel parasocial, l'évaluation linguistique et la culture des fans dans le contexte de la plateforme Cameo. Elle met en lumière les facteurs qui influencent la satisfaction des fans, en soulignant l'importance de la personnalisation et le rôle des attentes des fans dans l'évaluation des produits fournis par les célébrités.

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## Introduction

It is hard to define what it means to be a celebrity. The term “celebrity” is normally used as a noun or as a label for a person, and is typically understood to be a binary quality. Either someone is a celebrity or they are not. However, Graeme Turner also defines celebrity as a process by which a person is turned into a commodity (Turner, 2004). This is why Alice Marwick and danah boyd describe celebrity as a practice rather than a person. Celebrity describes the way that performers “shift between performing their stage persona, concealing or revealing personal information, and creating intimacy and authentic self-presentation for the benefit of their fans” (Marwick and boyd, 2011:151). The direct correlation between “successful” celebrity practice and financial gain is a main reason why performance is key for celebrities, and in recent years, social media has provided the perfect arena for celebrities to curate their image and celebrity identity.

Ever since the rise of social media in the early 2000s, celebrities have been using these platforms for personal branding, cultivating an interconnectedness with their fans. As Marwick and boyd found through their analysis of celebrity tweets, “celebrity practice involves presenting a seemingly authentic, intimate image of self while meeting fan expectations and maintaining important relationships” (2011: 140). Fans seem to enjoy following celebrities on social media because they gain seemingly unfiltered “backstage access” to celebrities’ lives, even though this social media presence is often a carefully thought out performance rather than a truly authentic representation (Marwick and boyd, 2011). Social media is a particularly interesting landscape through which to measure celebrity influence because “unlike listening to music, social media suggests the possibility of the media figure responding, which intensifies the interactive credibility” (Marwick and boyd, 2011: 150).

Now a growing number of new media platforms are offering even more direct and personalized access to celebrities for fans who will pay, making fame more monetizable than ever. These platforms also turn that possibility of interaction that Marwick and boyd talk about into a guarantee. Among these newer platforms is Cameo, a video-sharing platform where fans can pay for a personalized video from a celebrity. Cameo is popular across many different types of celebrities, from actors to athletes. Cameo also tends to be more popular among smaller celebrities, such as contestants from reality television shows that have a niche following. The way that Cameo works is fans write a request, often asking the celebrity to say specific things, for example to send them a congratulatory message or birthday wishes, and the celebrity has up to a week to fulfill each request. Then, once the request has been completed, the fan has the opportunity to write a review. In this scenario, the value of the fan's feedback is heightened because of the financial transaction that is involved. The celebrity is being paid for a personal and direct interaction with a fan, knowing that the fan is expecting them to perform as their celebrity persona.

A typical five-star review on Cameo looks like this one, left on the profile of Rob Cesternino, a former contestant on the television show *Survivor*:

*(\*\*\*\*\*) I always knew that Rob was a great guy, but after this video, I'm even more of a fan. To say that he went above and beyond is an understatement. I don't want to spoil any surprises, but he added a little something extra that was amazing. This was sincere, heartfelt, and uplifting. My friend was so touched by this video and she can't stop watching it. Thank you, Rob Cesternino, for taking this request*

*seriously and putting your all into this. It was much appreciated! The tribe has spoken!*

This fan is clearly very satisfied with the video that they received from Rob, and they even hint that Rob added in a “*little something extra*” just for them in this video, emphasizing the personal connection that was formed between the fan and the celebrity through this video. This reviewer also reports that this product has made them “*even more of a fan,*” insinuating that this personalized access to Rob has strengthened the connection that this fan feels to him.

In this thesis I will take a closer look at how fans and celebrities use Cameo as a means of engaging in a transactional relationship. I will discuss how fans engage in and evaluate their parasocial relationships with celebrities through the reviews that they leave on Cameo. The definition of parasocial relationship that I am using in this study is: a one-sided connection and emotional attachment that fans develop with celebrities, causing them to feel a level of emotional connectedness to the celebrity, despite the lack of real-life interaction. The larger question in this thesis is: how do fans evaluate their platform-mediated parasocial relationships with celebrities? Specifically, what common themes and sentiments emerge in each of the rating levels, and what do they tell us about the fans’ evaluation of their parasocial relationships with the celebrity?

This work was inspired by the work of several researchers before me, but especially Drenten and Psarras (2021) and Bonifacio, Hair, & Wohn (2021). These two studies examined the practice of relational labor between fans and creators, the former of the two using Cameo for their case study. However, both of these works rely exclusively on the perspectives of the creators in these relationships, so there is little insight into the fans’ expectations for and sentiments towards their parasocial relationships. An understanding of how fans use Cameo to form and strengthen connections to their favorite celebrities “can begin to illuminate the



understudied intersection between relational work and technology” (Hair 2020: 209). Furthermore, this will shed light on the platform affordances of Cameo that allow celebrities to utilize emotional and relational strategies to elicit higher reviews from their fans, which likely corresponds to strong fan loyalty, and, more directly, more purchases of Cameos in the future.

This thesis will be incorporating both qualitative and quantitative research methods to gain a comprehensive understanding of the research topic. The mixed methods will allow for a focused, in-depth close reading of the Cameo review data, as well as a broader analysis using certain quantitative tests.

In the first chapter I will discuss the theoretical framework and previous studies that provide the background for my work. I will be discussing the theories which lay the groundwork for this research, specifically the theories of parasocial relational work and linguistic evaluation. I will also highlight the work done by a few researchers which had a large influence on my work. These researchers include Drenten and Psarras (2021), Meier-Vieracker (2022), and Bonifacio, Hair, & Wohn (2021). Their work helped to spark my interest in examining fan-creator relationships from the perspective of the fans.

In chapters two and three I will outline my data collection and methodology, discuss my results, and detail what we can take away from this work to better understand relational work and celebrity-fan relationships. I begin with a close reading of the review data that I collected, building a set of generalizations from the readings. The close reading seemed to suggest that the two main features that fans highlight in their higher reviews (4- and 5-star) are, first, how personalized the video is and, second, how special it was to receive the video from the specific celebrity in question. These fans rarely seem bothered by the amount of money they spent on the video or the quality. In addition, there was a lot of effusive language used, including the stylistic

choices that these fans made. Words like “*amazing*” and “*incredible*” appeared repeatedly, and there were a lot of exclamation points and emojis used in these reviews. On the other hand, the lowest reviews had one common sentiment that seemed overwhelmingly prominent: that the celebrity did not follow the fan’s request exactly. In these reviews, fans express that they had explicitly asked the celebrity to regurgitate certain sentences in their videos that they did not do. Furthermore, the fans were also upset when the celebrities made mistakes, such as wishing the recipient a merry Christmas rather than a happy birthday, or mispronouncing the name of the recipient even when the patron had included a phonetic spelling. In addition to these complaints, the low reviewers also expressed frustration at how much they spent for a single video versus how long the video was, one reviewer lamenting that they spent over \$100 for a video that was not even a minute long. However, an interesting trend I noticed among the 1- and 2-star reviews was that, for the most part, the language was not incredibly negative or extreme. In some cases, fans even felt the need to include a disclaimer that they still love this celebrity. Multiple reviews say something along the lines of “*I still love her, but ...*”, showing that, although some negative aspect of the video overshadowed their love for this given celebrity, it was not enough to deter them from declaring their love and loyalty to this person all together. In this sense, it seems that purchasing Cameos is still a practice reserved for people who are already devoted fans of the celebrity.

Essentially, my close reading of the reviews shows that the fans who were the most satisfied with their video strengthened their parasocial bond with the celebrity, whereas those who left negative reviews felt that the celebrity did not properly fulfill their side of the relationship. Importantly, I think even the lowest reviews showed that the fan had a parasocial relationship with the celebrity. From here, I decided to validate these results by using both

N-gram analysis to quantifiably show the top words and phrases used in each of the star ratings. I then used sentiment analysis to confirm my hypothesis that even those fans who left low reviews used generally positive or kind language in their reviews, displaying the strength of their parasocial relationship with the celebrity.

The N-gram frequency analysis looked at the most common keywords, bigrams and trigrams in each of the star ratings. The results certainly validated the findings from the close reading, as the most common words among the 4- and 5-star reviews were *thanks*, *much*, *amazing*, *awesome*, and *wonderful*. These are examples of those effusive intensifying adjectives that I noticed during my close reading. Additionally, words like *personal*, *personalized*, *special*, and *genuine* also appeared, confirming that the parasocial relationship between the fan and celebrity is strengthened through this practice of purchasing Cameos and that the fans are most satisfied to receive a personalized product from their favorite celebrity. The keywords in the lower reviews also confirmed the findings from the close reading, with keywords like *disappointed*, *unfortunately*, *wrong*, *price*, *extra*, and *waste* appearing among the 1- and 2-star reviews. When put back into context in the sentences where they appear, we can see that the lower reviews contain a similar message, which is that the reason for the low rating and negative review is that the celebrity made some mistake in the video.

The bigrams and trigrams added additional context to the keywords by showing common phrases and language patterns. Again, the top phrases for the highest reviews included *thank you*, *thanks so much*, *absolutely loved it*, and *appreciate you taking*. And at the bottom end of the reviews, there were phrases like *he didn't*, *waste of money*, *video length*, and *wish the video*.

During the N-gram frequency analysis I also noticed a difference in the forms of address used in the higher reviews compared to the lower reviews. Generally, it seemed that the higher

reviews tended to be written more in second person, indicating the reviewer felt a familiarity and closeness to the celebrity. Meanwhile, the lower reviews used third person, maintaining a distance between themselves and the celebrity. In order to confirm this I graphed the distribution of the frequency of third and second person pronouns across the star ratings.

The last quantitative measure was sentiment analysis. The intention of the sentiment analysis was to quantitatively validate the finding that the lower reviews in this dataset are not extremely negative in sentiment. Based on earlier findings in this work, I found that the fans generally tended not to speak incredibly negatively in the lower rated reviews, so the sentiment analysis model aimed to detect the fans' stances in the reviews to validate the previously mentioned finding quantitatively. Overall, the sentiment analysis validated the finding that even the lowest rated reviews for the most part were not extremely negative in sentiment. This was valuable because it confirms that this is a practice reserved for fans, and that the parasocial relationships between fans and celebrities are strong enough that the fans are not likely to use incredibly harsh language, even when disappointed in their Cameo.

Finally, an additional layer that I applied to this research was to divide the celebrities profiles into three different celebrity types, in order to see if fans had different expectations of different types of celebrities. The three celebrity sub-groups in this work are actors, reality television personalities and athletes.

This thesis aims to provide insight into relational work in a digital environment in the context of fan-celebrity parasocial relationships. I will identify the emotional and relationship-affirming behaviors that celebrities can use that lead to high levels of fan satisfaction, and I will show the value of applying mixed methods to the study of fan-celebrity interaction.

## Literature Review

In this thesis I will be discussing how fans engage in and evaluate their parasocial relationships with celebrities through the reviews that they leave on Cameo. The definition of parasocial relationship that I am using in this study is: a one-sided connection and emotional attachment that fans develop with celebrities, causing them to feel a level of emotional connectedness to the celebrity, despite the lack of real-life interaction. My work brings together two strands of research. First, it contributes to the study of parasocial relational work, a term coined by Lee Hair (2020). I will be examining how parasocial bonds affect the transactional practices between celebrities and fans and, more specifically, how parasocial bonds affect a fan's willingness to engage in a transactional relationship with a celebrity. Previous research into Cameo has described the way that celebrities use the platform as a method of relational work, "the ongoing process by which people define, transform, strengthen (and sometimes dissolve) social ties through patterns of meaningful economic transactions" (Zelizer, 2005). Celebrities are able to monetize the parasocial relationships that their fans have with them by providing opportunities for their fans to feel more intimately connected to them. Second, I will be contributing to the study of online reviews from a linguistic perspective, analyzing how fans use evaluative language to express their approval of the product that the celebrity provides. Linguistic evaluation encompasses all language that takes a positive or negative stance on another entity, and, as Simon Meier-Vieracker (2022) posits, fan reviews are a special case, as they may provide insights into how fan culture is entangled with economic aspects and the process of commodification.

Specifically, my work will attempt to study the intersection between parasocial relational work and linguistic evaluation theory in celebrity-fan interactions on Cameo. I will attempt to

extend the work done by Simon Meier-Vieracker (2022) and Jenna Drenten and Evie Psarras (2021), among other researchers.

### **Parasocial Relational Work**

Parasocial interaction describes non-reciprocated audience interactions with media personalities. When applied to fandom studies, a parasocial relationship is an ongoing imagined connection that a fan has to a celebrity that they follow closely. This “virtual” relationship between the performer and the spectator is experienced as a “real” interpersonal relationship by the spectator, despite the lack of real-life interaction. The spectator engages in virtual meetings with the performer by consuming the content they create and perceives the performer as a close real friend, and as a result, the spectator is loyal to the performer and feels a sense of connectedness, familiarity and emotional investment with them. In Kim and Kim’s study (2020), the researchers analyze the influences of a virtually established parasocial interaction between fans and celebrities in social media on the fans’ self-congruity, quality of life and well-being. This study found that self-congruity with the celebrity—the degree of similarity between the celebrity’s identity performance and the fan’s self-image—is highly influenced by interaction frequency, among other indicators. In other words, the more that this celebrity posts on social media and the more the fans interact with them, the higher this feeling of connectedness between them and the more positive impact it has on fans’ self-congruity with this celebrity. Kim and Kim also found that a higher degree of self-congruity consequently led to a higher level of loyalty and commitment to the celebrity figure. This can be a predictor for likelihood to purchase any product that the celebrity is offering. The celebrity might use this to their commercial or financial advantage by continuing to post and, importantly, engage with fans on social media to

drum up more support for their television show or their music, for example. On the other hand, the fan would continue to interact more and more with the celebrity which would lead to higher levels of self-congruity with, and ultimately loyalty to, the celebrity (Kim and Kim 2020). In their work on Cameo specifically, Drenten and Psarras (2021) critically explore how direct monetization of fan-celebrity parasocial relationships shifts power dynamics. They found that newer social media applications, like Cameo, are increasingly giving fans more power over celebrities. “That fans can directly pay celebrities for increasingly private content is a new idea that shifts the power dynamic of the fan or celebrity relationship to one that is increasingly transactional” and where value can be derived by fan reviews (17). When a parasocial relationship enters an arena which involves economic transactions, this is considered relational work.

As previously mentioned, Viviana Zelizer (2005, 2011) coined the term relational work to describe “the ongoing process by which people define, transform, strengthen (and sometimes dissolve) social ties through patterns of meaningful economic transactions” (Hair 2020:198). As Lee Hair discusses in his research, relational work has traditionally been understood as “taking place between two parties known to each other,” but previous studies have indicated the possibility that a fictive relationship can be influential in the framing of payment (199). An example of this is between an anonymous egg-donor and recipient. Hair’s study advances this idea by placing this fictive relationship in a digital space and introduces the concept of parasocial relational work. In a digitally-mediated, one-to-many environment, a parasocial bond arises from repeated exposure to a media figure. The strength of these parasocial bonds has been shown to be positively predictive of user loyalty towards media figures and likelihood to consume and purchase their content. Importantly, relational work is not inherently deceptive in nature, and it

must be distinguished from relational labor.

In Nancy Baym's decades-long research on the music industry, she argues that authenticity is a central component to commercial success. She developed the term *relational labor* to refer to "the regular, ongoing communication with audiences over time to build social relationships that foster paid work" (Baym 2015:4). According to Hair, this term differs slightly from relational work (Zelizer 2005, 2011) in terms of the end goal. In Baym's definition of relational labor, the goal is strictly economic: creators forge relationships with their audience with the goal of making a profit. In the context of Zelizer's definition, fan-creator bonds are one example of a relationship where the economic and the social commingle intentionally. As such, as long as both parties involved agree to and understand the expectations of the relationship, there is nothing inherently manipulative about it.

Hair's study (2021) specifically analyzes how digital creative workers connect and transact with their patrons on Patreon, a platform which is similar to Cameo, to contribute to "a scholarly understanding of a rapidly growing area of work: digital creative entrepreneurial labor" (Hair 2021: 197). Patreon, Hair explains, differs from other subscription services in that people are contributing money towards a relationship with a specific person who has created a beloved and personalized product. This is unlike standard crowdfunding platforms, such as GoFundMe, where people give a one-time donation to resolve a finite problem, and it is also different from traditional subscription services, like Netflix, where users pay to access all content on the platform (Hair 2021).

Hair analyzes the Patreon campaigns of 40 randomly selected creators within the drawing and painting category. Specifically, he was looking to understand how the creators position themselves relative to their fans and to examine why they chose to "depict particular



relationships and offer certain types of rewards” (Hair 2021:204). Hair found that Patreon creators practice relational strategies to frame economic subscriptions as social support. The digital creators used seemingly personal and intimate language to refer to their supporters in their promotional texts, referring to them, for example, as their “pals” and expressing that they are looking forward to “growing a beautiful and significant relationship” (Hair 2021:204). He also singles out the Patreon “early access” model as a method of relational work employed by creators on the platform. Artists who utilize the early access content model frame it as an intimate privilege for their patrons, even though there is no inherent value in this content. The rewards are person-driven because “early access functions more as a badge of belongingness and privileged connection with the artist” (Hair 207).

Hair also speaks about how the artists set the terms for the parasocial relationship that exists on Patreon. They determine the content of the packages that they will offer, the tier levels and the pricing, and then they hope that patrons will choose to buy into the experience. The framing of this transaction is what makes this either strictly relational labor on the part of the creator, or parasocial relational work. When the product is framed as a gift to one’s patrons, this can evoke feelings of “an intimate, reciprocal bond between friends who care for one another” (Hair 208). This approach satisfies the fans’ craving for a real connection with the creator while also yielding financial rewards for the creator. On Cameo, the main difference is that the patrons set at least some of the terms of the relationship. Although the celebrity has total control over the pricing and the length of the videos they offer, the fan writes a note setting their expectations of what the celebrity will say in the video. Then, the fan can express their satisfaction or dissatisfaction in the reviews on the celebrity’s page. This puts the pressure on the celebrity to uphold their side of the parasocial relationship.

In their paper “Digital ventriloquism and celebrity access: Cameo and the emergence of paid puppeteering on digital platforms,” Drenten and Psarras (2021) extend work on celebrity access, social media, and power in parasocial relationships by analyzing videos recorded by cast members of the *Real Housewives* franchise on Cameo. Their work is also a rare and in-depth examination of Cameo as a platform and, specifically, how it re-shapes power dynamics in parasocial relationships. Among the contributions of their research to new media studies, they present a conceptual model of “paid puppeteering” on digital platforms, which they define as “a form of digital ventriloquism in which a celebrity’s public persona is manipulated and incentivized through financial means on a paid digital platform for the illusion of close parasocial connections with fans” (Drenten and Psarras, 2021:2). In their work, the researchers manually downloaded 765 videos from Cameo, using the television franchise *The Real Housewives* as the sampling frame. The authors open-coded the data and analyzed the videos “through the lens of ventriloquism, with special attention on the power dynamics, communicative practices, and financial incentivization motivating each video” (8). Among other findings, they discovered that many of the *Housewives* stars tried to maintain their celebrity character in their Cameos, oftentimes including their iconic catchphrases, nicknames or references to iconic pop culture moments that they are known for. That many of the women were willing to put on a bit of a performance in their videos to satisfy fans indicates that their personas could be altered because of the financial motivation. Therefore, the interaction between celebrity and fan is at least partially manufactured, but it is to the mutual benefit of both parties.

Their findings show that the affordances of Cameo as a platform and paid puppeteering as a concept create an environment where celebrities can nurture and profit from parasocial bonds. They also conclude that direct monetization of the fan-celebrity parasocial relationship

has shifted power dynamics. Furthermore, this power shift has resulted in a highly transactional relationship between celebrities and their fans, specifically one in which the fans hold increasingly more power. The value of these relationships is being assessed, among other things, through fan reviews, and while the creators still have the power to establish the price of their products on Cameo, the fans have the power to undermine the value of the product with potentially negative reviews.

### **Linguistic Evaluation Theory**

The language of these reviews can be studied from the lens of linguistic evaluation theory and positioning theory. Linguistic evaluation encompasses all language that takes a positive or negative stance on another entity. Evaluation can also serve to construe social relationships between participants of communication, in this case changing the power dynamics that exist in a parasocial relationship between fan and celebrity. Positioning theory, introduced by Davies & Harré and further developed by John Du Bois, is a social psychology theory that characterizes interactions between individuals. Simon Meier-Vieracker explains it by drawing attention to Du Bois's stance triangle model, defining it as "an interactive process of two subjects evaluating an object, thereby positioning themselves and thereby aligning with each other, be it converging in their evaluative judgements or diverging" (Meier-Vieracker 7). From a linguistic perspective, Meier-Vieracker explains that convergence of positionality will manifest in the adaption of not only attitudes and opinions but also of lexical and stylistic patterns. It would follow that differences in language styles in Cameo reviews would represent differences in positionality.

Simon Meier-Vieracker's work analyzing fan reviews on the German ticketing website Eventim brings together two strands of research. First, "it contributes to the study of online

reviews from a linguistic perspective,” giving special attention to the discursive aspects of evaluative language (Meier-Vieracker 5). Second, this work contributes to the study of fandom and fan communication, as “fans’ reviews ... represent a distinct type of expertise which also differs in the criteria of evaluation” (Meier-Vieracker 6). He aims to show how corpus linguistic methods allow researchers to give special attention to evaluative language use, and he notes that fan reviews are a special case, as they may provide insights into how fan culture is entangled with economic aspects and the process of commodification.

In his study, Meier-Vieracker takes a look at the multifunctional nature of fan reviews by using data-driven methods to analyze the lexical and stylistic features of the evaluative language used when writing concert reviews. He specifies that the two areas of thought which are relevant to his work are linguistic evaluation theories and positioning theory. Meier-Vieracker finds that the reviews demonstrate two different types of evaluation: (1) textual admiration by fans and (2) product rating practices by consumers. He finds that this reflects “the orientation towards competing orders of worth which is in turn used as a resource for social demarcations” (Meier-Vieracker 27). He discovers that “in the higher ratings fans typically express their enthusiasm while they tend to play down economic aspects of concert business in favour of fan culture as an emotional community,” and “in the lower ratings people often ... profile their purchase recommendations as not affected by the irrational admiration practices of fans” (Meier-Vieracker 27).

In Meier-Vieracker’s work, in the case where the reviewer directly addresses the artist, he argues that this indicates a parasocial interaction that allows the writer to successfully position themselves as a fan with a strong familiarity and closeness to the artist that allows them “to communicate with them in a correspondingly intimate way” (Meier-Vieracker 22). These

self-positioning fans address a community of supporters with shared feelings, often using linguistic markers or codes that will exclude people who are not in the community, thereby aligning with other enthusiastic fans. On the other hand, in the lower ratings “writers typically position themselves as disappointed consumers who ... judge objectively on the economic value of the product” (Meier-Vieracker 26). This shows an alignment with other potential consumers—some of the reviews even included explicit advice against purchase.

Meier-Vieracker discusses his findings “against the backdrop of some theoretical considerations on the social functions of evaluation practices” (Meier-Vieracker 6). He first demonstrates how stylistic features in the reviews can indicate whether a review is aimed at consumers or written to appeal to a community of fans. Then he discusses how the reviews serve as acts of self-positioning. Meier-Vieracker is able to demonstrate that there is a specific linguistic and stylistic blueprint that fans follow when writing very enthusiastic reviews to self-identify as part of the fandom insiders group and to indicate that they are directing their review at other fans who may experience the same live event in the future. He concludes that these fan reviews reflect the consumers positioning towards competing orders of worth. This work also sheds light on the commodification of fan culture and the celebrity as the reviews are always permeated by economic judgements.

## **Contributions**

In my work I will specifically be looking at reviews written on the Cameo profiles of three different celebrity types. I chose to look at reviews because they represent a fan's evaluation of their relationship with a celebrity. As Bonifacio, Hair, & Wohn (2021) found in their exploration of the digital patronage platform Patreon, the creators who are engaged in these transaction-based parasocial relationships evaluate their relationship with their patrons in a wide range of ways, from purely transactional to intimate and personal. Their interview data showed that creators also have a wide range of expectations when it comes to these relationships. Some creators were perfectly content to maintain that distance between themselves and their fans, seeing the dynamic as uncomplicated and only in place to fulfill the transactions, while others formed close, personal friendships with their patrons, considering them to be more than just customers. This study was enlightening and informative, but it only looked at the creator side of the fan-creator relationship, so this sparked my curiosity to analyze this relationship from the fan's perspective. In an attempt to understand fan sentiment on the relationships and transactional interactions on Cameo, I turned to the review texts left on the pages of celebrities. According to positioning theory and linguistic evaluation theory and as discovered by Meier-Vieracker in his work on fan reviews, a consumer's positionality, attitudes and opinions on a product can represent themselves in the lexical and stylistic patterns that a consumer uses in their writing. As such, it would follow that differences in language styles in Cameo reviews would represent differences in positionality.

I will be primarily extending the work of Drenten and Psarras, and Simon Meier-Vieracker. As such, I will address the limitations identified by these researchers in their work. Drenten and Psarras indicated in their study that "future research might explore

perceptions of quality,” and my work aims to fill that gap. By analyzing the evaluative language used by fans, I hope to draw conclusions about how the fans view their relationship to the celebrity and the criteria that they use to judge the value of the product. Additionally, Lee Hair’s study marks the first extension of relational work into a digitally mediated, one-to-many environment, so there is clearly plenty of room for more research to be done in this area. In fact, Hair expressed his hope that “future research will explore parasocial relational work in additional contexts ... Platform studies in particular can begin to illuminate the understudied intersection between relational work and technology, and the field of creative labor provides a solid foundation for connecting platform affordances to emotional and relational strategies” (Hair 2020: 209). I was also inspired by the work of Bonifacio, Hair, & Wohn (2021) which explored the digital patronage platform Patreon from the perspective of the creators through collecting interview data. The researchers uncovered several common themes in how these creators view their patrons and their relationships with them. This drove my curiosity to uncover similar patterns but from the fan or patron side, rather than the side of the creator.

My work will address the interaction between relational strategies and the platform of Cameo. I aim to uncover what identifiable markers exist in Cameo videos that lead to the highest levels of fan satisfaction, and if this is dependent on celebrity type. Then, I will be able to identify how celebrities might utilize relational strategies to elicit higher reviews from their fans.

Additionally, in the limitations section of their paper, Kim and Kim (2020) mentioned that an area for further study may be to examine changes in fans’ perceptions of celebrities when the fans recognized changes in the celebrity’s language styles and interests. My research aims to fill this gap by specifically looking for sentiments that indicate approval or disapproval of something that the celebrity did. More precisely, I will be analyzing if fans hold an expectation

that the celebrities should act a certain way in these Cameo videos, and whether the positive or negative sentiments in the reviews reflect this expectation.

On every celebrity's profile, any user can read reviews left by fans who purchased a video from that celebrity. Here, fans praise the celebrities for satisfactory videos and leave poor reviews when celebrities did not follow the instructions in the request or made an error, such as mispronouncing a name. Building on Drenten and Psarras's work by adding a layer of technical analysis could provide further insight into fans' perception of quality on Cameo. Specifically, I will be looking at how fans use the reviews on Cameo to express approval or disapproval of the products. Marwick and boyd have shown that celebrity imagery participates in identity formation on the part of fans, but when fans are controlling a celebrity's words through a Cameo request, they are constructing that celebrity image to their liking. I am curious if research would show that, based on reviews, fans are unhappy when a celebrity is more authentic and prefer a celebrity who follows the request exactly. Additionally, I want to know if this level of fan satisfaction varies depending on the type of celebrity.

For my experiment, I will use a mixed methods model to analyze Cameo reviews. After collecting reviews from the platform, I will perform a manual close reading in order to draw conclusions about the notable differences in higher and lower reviews. Then, I will look at the most frequent keywords, bigrams and trigrams, and sentiment scores on the higher reviews compared to lower reviews, similar to what Meier-Vieracker did in his study on concert reviews on the German ticketing website Eventim. I will be using these findings to measure fans' level of satisfaction with the product.

Importantly, I will be running the same experiments on three different sub-groups of celebrities: film and television actors, reality television personalities, and athletes. The reason for



separating celebrities into these sub-groups is that the nature of the work that these celebrities do varies in how much of their “real selves” they show in their work. By repeating the same tests on the three sub-groups, I hope to discover if fans have different expectations of performance depending on the type of celebrity that they are. I hypothesize that fans are more critical of film and television actors because they expect them to be playing a certain role more than athletes who are just themselves. I would expect the reviews to be the most harshly critical of television and movie actors, then reality television personalities, and then athletes.

For my dataset, I will collect a sampling of reviews left on the profiles of the 400 randomly selected creators in each of the three sub-categories with the most reviews. The compiled corpus is meant to be an accurate representation of the trends and patterns present in the larger sub-group as a whole. I will also, of course, retain some metadata like the rating associated with the review, so I can compare the results between higher and lower ratings.

Plenty of work has been done on the nature of parasocial relationships between fans and celebrities, but I am interested in whether fans actually care about the authenticity of the relationship, or if they simply want the celebrity to adopt a specific persona even through a personalized communication channel like Cameo. Additionally, I aim to discover whether these sentiments are the same across all types of celebrity, or if fans have different expectations of different celebrities.

## Data and Methodology

The corpus used in this study contains a total of 11,512 reviews and ratings across the profiles of 1,200 different celebrities. Importantly, on Cameo the celebrities are categorized quite specifically, all the way down to the television program that they appear on or the sports team that they play for. For example, Brian Cox who plays patriarch Logan Roy on *Succession* is sorted under Categories > Actors > TV > Succession. For this data, I sorted by three of the more general sub-groups of celebrities: Actors, Reality TV, and Athletes. The reason I chose these three categories specifically is because the nature of the work that these celebrities do varies in how much of their “real selves” they show in their work. Actors are always playing a role on screen, reality television personalities are often portraying some augmented or exaggerated version of themselves, and athletes are always playing as their true selves.

I collected a random sampling of reviews from the profiles of 400 celebrities from each sub-category to reach the total of 1200 celebrities. I opted for this route rather than collecting all of the reviews from a smaller number of celebrities because I wanted to limit the possibility of one celebrity’s reviews skewing the sample.

This corpus was compiled in April 2023 using the Selenium library in Python to automate a web scraping process. Reviews and star ratings were extracted from the profiles of celebrities across all three of our celebrity sub-groups and exported to a CSV file. The three celebrity sub-groups were kept separate so that I could make note of any significant differences between the groups. Because of the nature of the data available on Cameo, I was unable to collect any demographic information about the reviewers, such as age, gender or location. The only information available on Cameo, in addition to the review text and star rating, is the first name of the reviewer and the occasion for requesting their Cameo. I did not retain the first names of the

reviewers, so all of the data collected is anonymous. There are no ethical ramifications of this data collection, as all of this data is publicly available on Cameo, and the reviews were voluntarily posted by the fans.

First, I did a manual close reading of the review texts and built a series of generalized findings based on what I saw. Engaging with the texts this closely allowed me to gain a better understanding of how fans use this platform to engage directly with celebrities. The way that fans evaluate their satisfaction with the Cameo video they receive can tell us about how the fans view their relationship to the celebrity and where they position themselves on the spectrum between fan and customer. After the close reading, I ran a series of analytical tests on the data, including keyword frequency analysis, bigram and trigram analysis and sentiment analysis. These tests serve to complement the close reading findings and supplement this paper with quantitative methods.

When looking at all three celebrity sub-groups combined, the corpus contains a total of 81 one-star reviews (0.70% of the overall dataset), compared to 11,261 five-star reviews (97.82% of the overall dataset). Furthermore, even if we combine all reviews 4-stars or lower, the five-star reviews still far outnumber. Additionally, all of the celebrities across all three sub-categories had incredibly high ratings, most of them well above a 4.5 star average. In other words, a huge majority of the data is made up of 5-star reviews. This may be due to the nature of this practice. As a fan, you are more likely to invest this much money in something like this if you know it will be worth your time. Table 1 shows the distribution of all reviews for each star rating.

Rating	Percentage of Reviews (Actors), n = 4,000	Percentage of Reviews (Reality TV Personalities), n = 3,724	Percentage of Reviews (Athletes), n = 3,788
*****	98.00%	97.37%	98.07%
****	0.93%	0.81%	0.87%
***	0.28%	0.54%	0.29%
**	0.18%	0.32%	0.24%
*	0.63%	0.97%	0.53%

*Table 1: Distribution of reviews by rating*

Based on the distribution alone, it is safe to assume the practice of leaving reviews is already heavily skewed towards fans. However, that is not to say that these reviews accurately represent the entire Cameo customer population, as there is no requirement to leave a review after receiving your video from the celebrity. In fact, the distribution of the reviews seems to follow the well-known uneven, J-shaped distribution of online reviews. Several studies of online reviews including Hu et al (2009) have observed this phenomenon in which the majority of reviews tend to cluster at the top of the rating scale, with another, smaller cluster at the bottom end. In other words, consumers are more likely to leave reviews when they have extremely positive or negative sentiments, and they may feel less compelled to share their thoughts if they had only a neutral experience. This distribution of online reviews implies two biases: purchasing bias and under-reporting bias. Purchasing bias refers to the tendency for customers who have a favorable disposition towards a product to be the most motivated to make a purchase. Therefore, since only customers who make a purchase are able to leave a review, the positive reviews end up being overrepresented in the online space. Under-reporting bias is when customers who had mediocre or average experiences do not feel the urgency or motivation to share their feedback. This bias leads to a scarcity of reviews in the middle range of the rating scale, in our case two-

and three-star reviews. Then, contrary to the purchasing bias, the feedback of these customers is underrepresented in the online space.

The importance of recognizing this distribution bias is to understand that online reviews may not always accurately reflect the overall customer sentiment. That is, we cannot make conclusions on the consumer base as a whole based on the distribution of the reviews in this sample set. We can only isolate and characterize those higher and lower reviews and compare them to one another in order to understand the motivations and sentiments of those specific customers.

When separated into the three celebrity sub-groups, the distribution is almost identical across all three groups, with only athletes showing a slight divergence of less than a percent. There is less than a percent difference between the amount of 5-star reviews on the profiles of actors, reality television personalities and athletes, where the 5-star reviews make up 98.00%, 97.37%, and 98.07% of the overall sample, respectively. However, it may be worth noting that the athletes sub-group has the highest proportion of 5-star reviews and the smallest proportion of 1-star reviews (0.53%). Although this difference is marginal, it could indicate that athletes are better received by fans overall.

The length of the reviews range from 1 to 117 words, however most of the reviews tend to be shorter because the mean of the review lengths is 22.89 and the median is 18. Additionally, there are a significant number of ratings where the customer left no review, only a star rating. These make up about 24% of the dataset, and they were excluded from the length averages. The table below shows the average length of reviews across the star ratings for each celebrity sub-group.

Rating	Average Review Length (Actors)	Average Review Length (Reality TV Personalities)	Average Review Length (Athletes)
*****	27.06	21.53	20.28
****	28.57	16.52	14.25
***	27.33	35.14	31.86
**	38.2	24.2	21
*	33.14	29.41	35.58

*Table 2: Average length of reviews by rating*

The distribution would suggest that fans feel the need to justify in more detail when they indicate dissatisfaction with the product, as the reviews with lower star ratings are generally longer than the higher ratings.

In the following sections, I will discuss at length the findings from my close reading of the data. Then, I will explain the methodology and findings from the linguistic, data-driven analyses performed for this study, including keyword frequency and sentiment analysis. These data-driven steps were undertaken to contribute to the mixed methods model of this study. Finally, I will further enrich these findings by honing in on specific elements that are especially meaningful for the research question here and that contribute to the theories of parasocial relational work and linguistic evaluation theory.

## **Findings**

Both of the studies done by Drenten and Psarras (2021) and Bonifacio, Hair, & Wohn (2021) performed specific analyses into parasocial relationships and relational work on digital patronage platforms. Drenten and Psarras even examined Cameo specifically, as I do in this work. However, both of their studies provided more insight and perspective into the creator side of the relationship. Drenten and Psarras manually coded and analyzed a data set of Cameo videos in order to present a model of “paid puppeteering” that they believe exists on the platform. They examined how Cameo re-shapes power dynamics in parasocial relationships, specifically noting how celebrities tended to alter or manufacture their behaviors in the videos they made because of the financial motivation to satisfy their fans.

Bonifacio, Hair, & Wohn (2021) did an in-depth qualitative exploration of the digital patronage platform Patreon and how it fosters a variety of creator-patron relationships, ranging from purely transactional to intimate and familial. In this study they interviewed 21 creators on Patreon and gathered an understanding of the positive and negative aspects of relational labor from the perspective of the creators. In some cases, the creators felt that their relationship with their patrons was only transactional, where the patron expects no more and no less than exactly what they pay for. These creators expressed that the dynamic between them and their fans is uncomplicated and basic, but that they are thankful for their financial support. On the other end of the spectrum, certain creators expressed that they have an emotional investment in their relationship with patrons. Several interviewees described instances where their patrons went above and beyond to support them, without necessarily expecting anything in return, demonstrating a true positioning as a fan and supporter above all.

Both of these works sparked my curiosity to analyze the relationship from the fan perspective. In an attempt to understand fan sentiment on the relationships and transactional interactions on Cameo, I turned to the review texts left on the pages of celebrities. According to positioning theory and linguistic evaluation theory and as discovered by Meier-Vieracker in his work on fan reviews, a consumer's positionality, attitudes and opinions on a product can represent itself in the lexical and stylistic patterns that a consumer uses in their writing. As such, it would follow that differences in language styles in Cameo reviews would represent differences in positionality. Keeping Bonifacio, Hair, & Wohn's findings in mind, I began with a close reading of the review texts.

### **Close Reading**

Since the data set is not incredibly large, I felt that I could reasonably parse through it by hand. Additionally, there are so few 1- and 2-star reviews that I was able to easily read through all of them manually. Based on what I saw in my qualitative analysis of the reviews, I built a set of generalizations.

The most common sentiment I saw in all of the 5-star reviews was the fans expressing their delight at how personal their video was and how special it was coming from this celebrity specifically. The emphasis seemed to be on the connection that was formed between the celebrity and the receiver of the video. Importantly, the fans who left the highest reviews rarely seem bothered by the amount of money they spent on the video or the quality. All that mattered to them was the direct interaction that they were able to have with this celebrity. This suggests that Cameo is a platform where celebrities can successfully engage in transactional relational work and where fans are willing to pay for it. Here are some examples of such reviews that emphasize



how personal the video was to the recipient and how meaningful it was because of the fan's connection to the specific celebrity.

*(\*\*\*\*\*) The video from Dante Basco was truly awesome! I am so grateful that Dante took the time to make such a fun and heartfelt video for my fiancé's birthday. It meant so much to my fiancé to receive a video from his favorite voice actor from when he was a teen. Thank you so much for the video and for your time !*

*(\*\*\*\*\*) thank you so much ! the video seemed not a script but linda related alot of her own things to my friends life who this video was made for which made the video more personalized.*

*(\*\*\*\*\*) Tiffany sent such a thoughtful and nice message to my friend for her birthday. It seemed like Tiffany took the time to learn a bit about the recipient, so it felt really personal.*

Additionally, overall the language in the higher reviews was incredibly effusive. The reviewers made use of several intensifying adjectives like “*amazing*”, “*absolutely*”, “*incredibly*”, and “*fantastic*”. In terms of stylistic choices, I also noted that most of the 5-star reviews used some combination of emojis, words in all caps for emphasis, and lots of exclamation marks. Here is an example of such a review:

*(\*\*\*\*\*) SOUTH PAW!!!! THIS WAS SO PERFECT! The guests at my party will love this!!! You Rock so much. This was perfect and so well put together. This is my favorite video. My Husband Marc, Daughter and Yolie and I are huge SOX Fans as are the rest of my guests. SOUTHSIDE! I cant stop playing it and smiling and cant*

*wait to play for inrtro of my party. Thank you thank you thank you!!!*



Overall, the fans who left these high reviews are positioning themselves squarely as members of the fan community for this celebrity, downplaying the economic or transactional aspects of this exchange. They rarely comment on the financial value of the product; they speak solely to the emotional and sentimental value that it has to them personally. The fans willingly entered into this transaction where they paid for their favorite celebrity to interact with them directly, yet that aspect of it does not seem to hold much significance to these fans. The same cannot be said of fans who left low reviews.

The low reviews tended to contain at least one of two sentiments: first, that the celebrity didn't follow the script exactly as the fan asked and there were mistakes in the content of the message, and, second, that the video was too short or too low quality for the significant amount that they were charged for it. When prompted to make a specific request before purchasing a Cameo, most fans use that space to ask the celebrity to relay a very specific message to the recipient of the video, such as birthday wishes or congratulations for a life milestone, or answer some questions that the fan asks of them in the request. This is where the fans are able to maintain some control in this relationship by shifting the power dynamics, as Drenten and Psarras (2021) explored in their work on Cameo. By asking the celebrity to say something very specific, almost like a script, the fans are willingly engaging in paid puppeteering. They are artificially manufacturing this interaction with a celebrity, incentivizing the celebrity to participate by paying for it, and they are displeased when the celebrity does not hold up their end of the bargain. This disappointment is expressed in the reviews they write. Several of the lowest reviews state that the celebrity “(\*) *failed to read exactly what was requested*” or “(\*) ... *didn't*

*say the right thing*". Furthermore, these fans are far more concerned with the monetary and technical aspects of this transaction than the fans who leave high ratings, positioning themselves more as consumers than fans. This indicates that the cost or quality of the video was disappointing enough to overpower the excitement they might have had to receive a Cameo video. Below are some reviews that fall under at least one of the two main concerns outlined above.

*(\*) Very bad didn't leave the correct information the persons name was not correct a lot of wind blowing in the background could barely hear her and very unprofessional [06:1]*

*(\*) Didn't even read the prompt*

*(\*) She wasted my money by not answering what I asked*

*(\*) I wish the video length was longer. For the price I paid I believe this video length is not fair. Moreover, I'm disappointed that not all the details that I wrote in the guide were mentioned.*

*(\*) Hi Kim, I loved this but you unfortunately pronounces her name wrong. It is Jy-Rah, like J-eye-ruh , Jehovah Jireh. Is there any way you please re-do and just correct the name? Otherwise it was wonderful. Could you please correct her name?*

Interestingly, though, the language of the low reviews was not incredibly negative or extreme. In some cases, fans even felt the need to include a disclaimer that they still love this celebrity. Multiple reviews say something along the lines of "*I still love her, but ...*", showing that, although some negative aspect of the video overshadowed their love for this given celebrity, it was not enough to deter them from declaring their love for this person all together. In this

sense, it seems that purchasing Cameos is still a practice reserved for people who are already devoted fans of the celebrity. Here are a few examples which illustrate this point.

*(\*\*) Tim's a really great fellow, but I was sad he didn't say a bunch of personal details I requested to cheer my Dad. It was still nice to get the video, but don't get your hopes up on specifics.*

*(\*\*) love scout, but unfortunately didn't address everything i asked :(, still think she is amazong though, i just have terrible luck :(,*

Both of these reviews express disappointment about the video that they received. Each fan was expecting more from the celebrity and clearly holds a high opinion of this person. These reviews also fall under the same blanket category which is that the celebrity did not fulfill the request exactly as outlined by the fan. Both of these reviewers also take extra care to emphasize that they “*still think she is [amazing]*” and “*it was still nice to get the video,*” showing that they are still fans and likely will continue to support this person's work. This proves that fans across all star ratings seem to have a parasocial relationship with the celebrity that they purchase a Cameo from, and regardless of how they feel about the final product that they received, a lot of the fans seem unable to separate their emotional attachment to the celebrity from their disappointment about their video.

Finally, the 3-star reviews tended to be generally positive, although not overwhelmingly so. Unlike the 4- and 5-star reviews, the 3-star reviews contain very few emojis, exclamation points and words in all capitalized letters. I also did not see very much enthusiastic language. Rather than expressing that they love the video, these 3-star reviews say things like “*the video was good,*” “*it was ok,*” or “*overall nice.*” Additionally, the most common theme among these reviews is that the video *would* have been great if not for one or two small mistakes. For

example, one reviewer wrote “(\*\*\*) *Friendly and very quick to receive a reply, but the name was wrong. She said Ashley instead of Katey*”. Another wrote “(\*\*\*) *Hey Jill. Thanks for the redo but Im not her best friend. Im her boyfriend lol*”. Finally, one more example of a three star review stated “(\*\*\*) *Driving during the cameo wasn’t exactly cash money of the lad, but he did well overall*”. These reviews tend to be generally positive, but do not make use of any overly effusive language or text style. Generally, they are not insulting or negative either. Overall, the 3-star reviews seem to not express any emotion very strongly.

After engaging in this close reading, I created this broad set of generalizations to capture the common themes I noticed across the reviews.

#### A. Findings from close reading

##### a. 5- and 4-star reviews:

- i. High levels of fan satisfaction due to the personal nature of the videos
- ii. Fans felt a special connection to the specific celebrity because of some previously formed parasocial relationship
- iii. Lot of intensifying adjectives to emphasize their extreme happiness
- iv. Heavy use of emojis, exclamation points, and all capital letters to emphasize excitement

##### b. 3-star reviews:

- i. Generally positive, but without use of any enthusiastic language or writing style
- ii. Reviewers often highlight one or two specific errors that lessened the quality of the video for them

##### c. 2- and 1-star reviews:

- i. First common grievance is that the celebrity did not follow the request exactly as the fan laid out, or that the celebrity made an error when reciting what the fan asked them to say
- ii. Second common grievance is that the video was too short and/or too low quality for the price that the fan paid
- iii. A sizeable number of reviews included a caveat that the reviewer was still a fan of this celebrity or still appreciated the video

After building this set of findings, I chose to verify them through a couple of quantitative tests. Firstly, I began with keyword or N-gram frequency analysis.

### **N-Gram Frequency**

As posited by Meier-Vieracker through his study on fan reviews, positioning theory and linguistic evaluation theory tells us that a fan's positionality, attitudes and opinions on a product can be seen in the lexical and stylistic patterns that the fan uses in their review writing. As such, an analysis of the review texts can uncover commonalities between words and phrases used per star rating, from which we can discern the positionality and sentiments of reviewers at each star rating. In my close reading analysis of the review texts, I found that the highest reviews made use of intensifiers and extremely positive language, whereas the lower reviews seemed to focus heavily on the cost and quality of the video. Using N-gram frequency analysis, I verify these qualitative findings in a quantitative manner. I will start with keywords, or 1-grams, and then continue to bigrams and trigrams in order to contextualize the keywords into longer phrases.

I define keywords as words that appear most frequently in a certain sub-group of texts. The keywords in this corpus were identified by writing a Python script that reads a text document and calculates the frequency of individual words in the document. The script utilizes the

‘Counter’ class from the ‘collections’ module to efficiently count the occurrences of each word. The script removes punctuation, converts all words to lowercase, and excludes common stop words to focus on meaningful content. Keywords can provide valuable insights into customer sentiment towards a product by highlighting the descriptive and often emotional language that customers use when reviewing the product. Keyword clusters can help identify topics of discussion and common themes that reviewers focus on. Additionally, keywords can give a sense of the customers preferences and priorities. They can be used to get a sense of what aspects of the products matter most to users. The table below shows the most frequent keywords across the entire corpus by star rating.

Rating	Keywords
*****	thank, much, video, thanks, loved, great, love, amazing, message, birthday, cameo, made, best, perfect, time, really, absolutely, day, awesome, happy, job, going, special, appreciate, friend, personal, wait, gift, quick, beyond, ever, well, wonderful, genuine
****	thanks, video, great, thank, much, cameo, nice, time, really, wish, get, would, still, name, appreciate, didn't, birthday, message, love, request, said, loved, bit, like, personalized, little, good, happy, longer, wrong, turnaround, sent, back
***	video, birthday, name, thank, much, love, cameo, said, surprise, say, nice, paid, extra, sure, wrong, redo, volume, seconds, good, little, party, would, requested, time, vs, received, review, possible, personalization
**	video, request, asked, disappointed, cameo, really, mentioned, get, great, details, wrote, time, still, wrong, name, unfortunately, received, answer, wish, length, longer, price, paid, appreciate, love, didnt, address
*	didn't, video, message, even, asked, name, like, say, get, please, money, birthday, cameo, could, time, nothing, disappointed, waste, far, would, anything, wrong, request

Table 3: Keywords by star rating

In this table I highlighted the words in the lower ratings that do not appear in the ones above. For example, the words highlighted in the 4-star reviews are unique to that star rating

when compared to the ones above. In this section, as I go through the significance of some of the keywords, I will also put these words back into context by looking at the sentences where they occur, in order to get a sense of their meaning and how they are used.

Some of the most common words among the top three star ratings include *thanks*, *much*, *thank*, *video* and *cameo*. This is to be expected, as the fans are leaving these reviews a direct response to the product they received, so phrases like *thank you* are incredibly prevalent across the rating scale. Among the 4- and 5-star reviews, there are several positive adjectives like *great*, *amazing*, *awesome*, and *wonderful*, as well as words like *personal*, *personalized*, *special* and *genuine* that reference the interpersonal connection between the fan and celebrity. As discovered through the close reading analysis, this indicates that the parasocial relationship between the fan and celebrity is strengthened through this practice of purchasing Cameos and that the fans are most satisfied to receive a personalized product from their favorite celebrity. Therefore, this finding confirms what was posited in the generalizations formed after the close reading step. Some reviews that contain the above keywords include the following; I have highlighted the keywords in each review:

(\*\*\*\*\*) **Amazing** as always! Love exchanging birthday greetings every year! Carolyn makes you feel like she's right there in the room you. Highly recommended.

(\*\*\*\*\*) Absolutely **wonderful!!** Lexi was so surprised and loved hearing from her favorite player!

(\*\*\*\*\*) This was the best cameo! **Personalized**, fun, and **genuine**. We loved it!! Worth every penny.



(\*\*\*\*\*) *Outstanding work from the great man... executed with genuine passion and personality*

Though both are largely extremely positive, there is a discernible difference between the 4- and 5-star reviews in that the 4-star keywords are a bit less effusive. In the 4-star keywords, we see terms such as *nice*, *good*, and *like* rather than *awesome*, *perfect*, and *love*. An example of this difference can be seen in the following two reviews.

(\*\*\*\*\*) *Awesome we all loved it!! Just perfect!*

(\*\*\*\*\*) *Really friendly and nice video, thanks Hugo!*

While they are both positive reviews, there are a few markers that show us the level of emotion and satisfaction expressed in the 5-star review is higher. In the 5-star review there are a total of three exclamation marks, whereas there is only one in the 4-star review. Additionally, in the 5-star review, the fan describes the video as “*awesome*” and “*perfect*,” while the 4-star reviewer describes the video they received as “*friendly*” and “*nice*.” This also corroborates what I determined through the close reading.

As we continue on to the lower reviews, the language continues to get less affectionate and excited and much more negative. The reviews of 3-stars and below include several words that discuss the lacking quality of the product, indicating that the video was too short (*length*), the sound quality was bad (*volume*), or that the celebrity made some mistakes in their message (*wrong*, *redo*, *details*, *asked*). As stated in the generalizations above, there is a trend among the 3-star reviews for the fan to specify one or two factors of the video that lessened the quality and therefore their satisfaction. Based on the keywords found in this sub-group of reviews, the most common grievances have to do with the length and sound quality of the video.

The 1- and 2-star reviews also contain words expressing disappointment in the product or indicating that the celebrity let them down (*disappointed, unfortunately*), or that they *wish* that there was something different about the product. There are also words referencing the monetary value of the product (*price, paid, extra, waste*) that suggest that the product was not worth their money. Below, I include some examples of 1- and 2-star reviews which contain these keywords.

*(\*) Honestly, I am quite **disappointed!** Not at all what I expected... I sent quite a lot of details in the **request**. Not only no details were mentioned, but they didn't even get my friend's name right. I was a massive fan of Caroline and Sergio, but my gift to my friend was ruined and I chose not to even send it to him. Very very discouraging experience.*

*(\*) I'm going to stop trying to book her. She doesn't care about fans or doing a good job... don't **waste** your money...*

*(\*\*) Betsy is great! And we love her no matter what...Not sure where else to put this but she said the **wrong** name at the beginning. So **unfortunately**, I can't use the cameo for the baby shower.*

The three reviews above all contain a similar message, which is that the reason for the low rating and negative review is that the celebrity made some mistakes in the video that the fan could not get past. The keywords as well as these full reviews confirm the earlier finding that most of the 1- and 2-star reviews emphasize the fact that the celebrity did not follow the request properly.

Interestingly, the word *still* also appears among both the 4-star and 2-star keywords, suggesting that both of these groups of reviewers reported that even though there was something

wrong with the video, they still liked it or they are still a fan of the celebrity. Here are a few of the 4- and 2-star reviews which contain this keyword.

(\*\*\*\*) *A bit short but still love your responses 👍😊*

(\*\*\*\*) *Thanks for the birthday shout out. Wish there would have been more energy but was still enjoyable. Thanks Hunter.*

(\*\*) *Tim's a really great fellow, but I was sad he didn't say a bunch of personal details I requested to cheer my Dad. It was still nice to get the video, but don't get your hopes up on specifics.*

(\*\*) *I appreciate the time taken to do this cameo but my request was not fulfilled as asked and was clearly ignored but she still took the request knowing she had no intention of fulfilling it. I can't get a refund either. Hoping she redos it and fulfils my request.*

It seems as though, while all of these reviews contain the same keyword, the 4-star ones identify minor flaws with the videos (“*bit short*” and “*wish there would have been more energy*”), while the 2-star ones were addressing larger scale issues (“*didn't say a bunch of personal details I requested*” and “*request was not fulfilled as asked*”). Additionally, the last of the four reviews is the only one that uses the word still in a different context. The customer is saying that they are angry that the celebrity still accepted the request, only to deliver a subpar product.

Finally, overall it seems that Cameos are frequently purchased as gifts for other people, as shown by keywords like *gift* and *birthday* across all star ratings. I took a closer look at the data for these keywords, and some of the reviews containing these two keywords are as follows:

(\*\*\*\*\*) *Great advice for my son. Will make a great Christmas gift.*

*Thanks!*

(\*\*\*\*\*) *This was exactly what I was looking for! Thanks for helping me out on such an amazing Valentine's gift, Parvati!*

(\*\*\*\*\*) *Thank you so much! We can't wait to show it to her on her birthday. It was only about a 6 hour turnaround time which is amazing! It was very personal and she paid attention to every detail and we just appreciate it so much. Thank you again!*

(\*\*\*\*\*) *Hannah made my best friend's birthday. THANK YOU!*

The next layer of N-gram analysis involved an examination of the key bigrams and trigrams in the reviews. A bigram is a pair of adjacent words, and a trigram is a set of three adjacent words. In this study key bigrams and trigrams refer to those which appear with the highest frequency for each rating and in each of the sub-groups. Analyzing key bigrams and trigrams can provide a deeper contextual understanding of the review language and of the keywords examined in the previous section, as they are able to capture relationships between words and allow for a nuanced understanding of the text. That is, the bigrams and trigrams will add useful context to the keywords discussed above. Examining commonly occurring pairs or sets of words can help to uncover meanings and specific language patterns in the reviews. These bigrams and trigrams were extracted using a Python script that counted the frequency of each within the text. Below is a table that shows the key bigrams and trigrams by star rating for the entire corpus of reviews. As with the keywords before, I have highlighted words in each rating group that did not appear in the one above.

Rating	Key Bigrams	Key Trigrams
*****	thank you, so much, loved it, the video, it was, the best, a great, love it, can t, going to, such a, video was, thanks so, was perfect	thank you so, thanks so much, can t wait, above and beyond, going to love, taking the time, absolutely loved it, will love it, loved the video, perfect thank you, thank you again, so so much, thank you enough
****	thank you, it was, so much, did not, the video, was a, was great, you so, than that, a little, wish it, other than, but you, a bit	thank you so, this video is, other than that, it needs more, for your video, wish it could, bit short but, appreciate you taking
***	was a, it was, thank you, i am, i paid, this was, extra for, a surprise, paid extra, my son, my husband, i requested, appreciate the	i paid extra, it was ok, the turnaround time, have been nice, was a bit, only personalization was
**	the video, the request, i asked, did not, i wrote, the time, i wish, video length, the price, i paid, my request, but she	i can t, everything i asked, it was ok, the video was, included in the, wish the video, the video length
*	did not, i asked, the message, i am, asked him, he didn, not even, asked for, wasn t, thank you, no response, waste of	i asked him, he didn t, waste of money, by far the, she didn t, awful didn t, but he did, do not book

Table 4: Key bigrams and trigrams by star rating

As was identified in the keywords analysis as well, the language is very effusive in the higher ratings, with bigrams and trigrams like *absolutely loved it*, *above and beyond*, and *thank you enough*. As expected, many of the same keywords from the first table appear in the most frequent bigrams or trigrams paired with another one or two words for additional context. For example, the most common keyword among the dataset is *thank*, and, correspondingly, the most common bigram is *thank you* and the most common trigram is *thank you so*.

This table also points to the tendency to repeat words for extra emphasis, such as *so so much*. This emphatic language diminishes a bit as we move down to the 4- and 3-star ratings. The mid rankings are mostly, as expected, extremely average (*it was ok*, *was a bit*), and also

lacking any emotional language. For example, *thank you* appears on the top bigrams list for the 3-star reviews and even in the 1-star reviews, but unlike the 5- and 4-star reviews, *thank you so* does not appear. This suggests that fans commonly use the phrase *thank you* across all star ratings, but the phrase *thank you so much* is only common in the 5- and 4-star reviews. Another common thread among the 3- and 4-star ratings is the tendency to express that they were satisfied but there was just something missing (*other than that, it needs more, bit short but, appreciate the*). This is what I expected to see based on my findings from the close readings where I noticed the same behavior across the mid-range reviews.

The lowest rankings consist mostly of complaints about how the celebrity didn't complete the request as the fan asked (*i asked, he didn t, wasn t, no response*) and some recommendations or words of warning to future customers (*waste of money, do not book*). Fans also express their disappointment with the final product that they received or their longing for something different with common phrases like *have been nice*, and *i wish*.

The bigrams and trigrams added extra context to the keywords by capturing more nuanced relationships between the words in the dataset and detecting highly occurring phrases that carry specific meanings that would be missed when looking at single words alone. This layer of the analysis also served to confirm the findings from above, both the close reading and the 1-gram frequency analysis.

Another trend I noticed while doing my close reading of the reviews and that appeared again in these bigrams and trigrams is the different forms of address used across the reviews. While reading through all the reviews, looking for differences across the star ratings, I felt that in the higher rating reviews, the fans used more direct, second person language, as if they were writing directly to the celebrity. The following are examples of reviews like this:

(\*\*\*\*\*) *This is perfect. Thank you so much! You are the best!*

(\*\*\*\*\*) *Cirie thank you so much! My mom and I were both crying about how sweet and thoughtful you were. It feels so good to know that you're praying for my mom.*

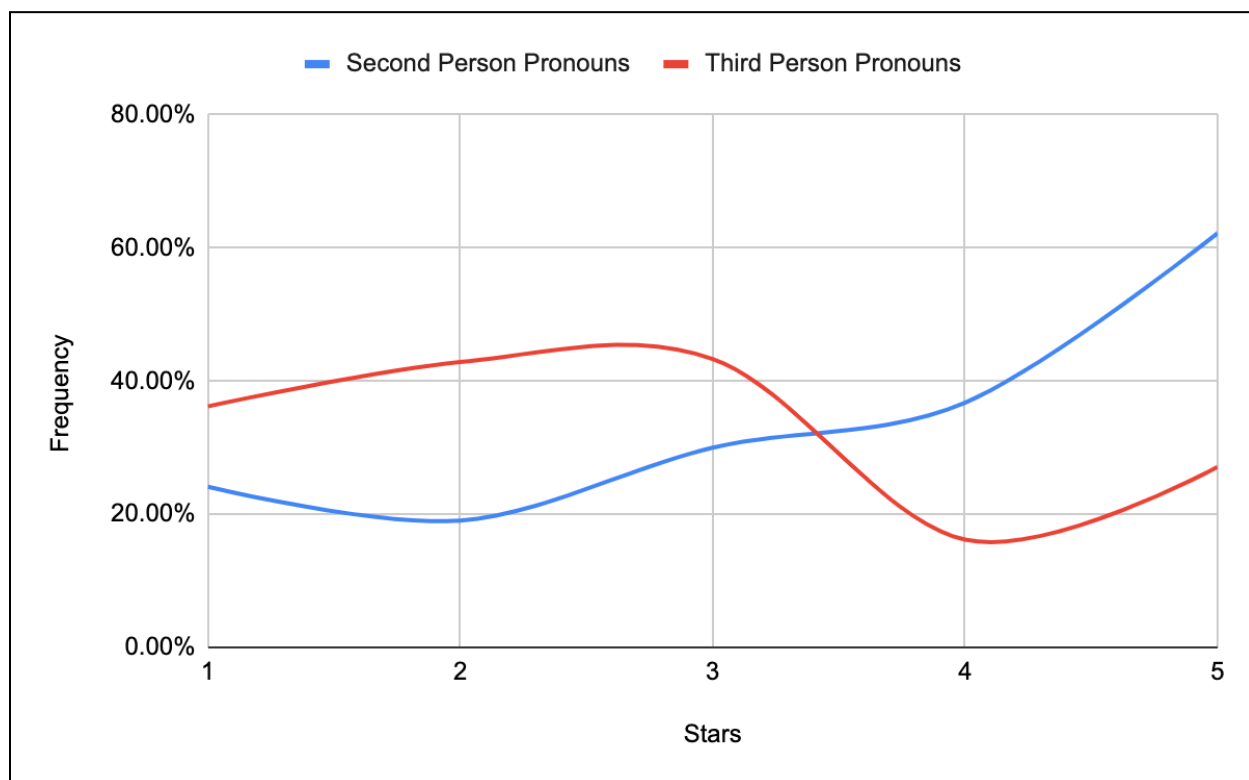
Rather than speaking about the celebrity in their review and their experience with Cameo as a whole, several fans write directly to the celebrity, thanking them personally for the product. In his similar study about fan reviews, Simon Meier-Vieracker (2022) claimed that direct forms of address like this can be described as “means of staging familiarity and closeness to the artist that is indeed primarily exhibited by fans” (Meier-Vieracker 22). Conversely, in the lower ratings, I noticed the opposite to be true. Rather than speaking directly to the celebrity, the fans would often speak about them and the shortcomings of the video they provided, using third person pronouns. The following are some examples of those reviews.

(\*) *The video was not personalized. She sent one on the last day of the deadline asking for more time to “get ready and shower” and if I could “rebook”. Was still charged by her as well. She scammed me!*

(\*) *I feel like this would have been a great video if the audio worked. I paid for the video, and when I received it I could not hear him. His audio did not work and he clearly didn't watch the video before sending it to me.*

This can be further confirmed through the bigrams and trigrams displayed above in Table 4. The following bigrams and trigrams appear in the 5- and 4-star reviews: *thank you, thank you enough, appreciate you taking, for your video*. Conversely, in the 1- and 2-star reviews, these bigrams and trigrams appear: *i asked him, he didn t, she didn t, but he did*. This suggests that

when more satisfied with their product, fans feel more compelled to use a direct form of address in their review, as if they are speaking to the celebrity. This is a display of the strength of their parasocial relationship, and, seemingly, a confirmation that this video helped to solidify their loyalty and parasocial bond to this celebrity. Meanwhile, the fans who left very low reviews feel more disconnected from this celebrity, perhaps as a result of receiving an unsatisfactory Cameo. This leads them to write in third person in their review. The distribution of second person pronouns and third person pronouns can be seen in this graph.



*Graph 1: Distribution of second and third person pronouns across star ratings*

As seen in the graph, the use of second person pronouns is much more common in 5 star reviews than in any of the others. This is in large part due to the phrase *thank you*, which appears in a majority of the reviews. This further demonstrates the strength of the parasocial relationships that these fans have, as they feel that they have a close enough relationship with this celebrity



that gives them the privilege of speaking to them in this direct and intimate way. The fact that the lower reviews are more likely to be written in third person shows that the fan is putting some distance between themselves and the celebrity, as they feel wronged and perhaps less assured in their parasocial relationship. This leads them to not speak directly to

Next, I wanted to know if the results would be different for the three different celebrity types in my data sample, so I analyzed the keywords of each isolated celebrity sub-group: actors, reality television personalities and athletes. This is to compare and contrast the customer perceptions and expectations within these different categories. Though the trends of the reviews are generally similar, by examining the three celebrity groups separately, I aimed to gain insight into the different ways that fans of each sub-group engage with the celebrities. I intended to draw out distinctions in customer expectations across the groups, and identify certain differentiators for each group.

I began again with a close reading of the reviews, attempting to identify any notable differences across the three groupings of celebrities. However, I found that overall the reviews followed a very similar pattern in each celebrity sub-group. The findings and conclusions applied above to the entire dataset seemed to still hold true when compared to each individual sub-set as well. Across all sub-groups, the same emphasis on personalization appeared in the top reviews, with fans praising the celebrities who provided the most genuine seeming reviews and those who put in the most time and focus on the details. Also across all sub-groups, the main complaint in the 1-star reviews was that the celebrity made an error when fulfilling the request. All in all, there were not many noticeable differences in the reviews.

Bonifacio, Hair, & Wohn's study (2021) found that patron-creator relationships vary based on the level of emotional investment that the fan puts into the relationship and the way the

creator responds to that attention, and I was curious to see if the variable of celebrity type would have any impact on this at all, so I ran the keyword analysis on each subset of data to examine the keywords that appeared in each group. The table below shows the keywords per star rating for each celebrity sub-group that do *not* appear in the overall table of keywords or in either of the other two subgroups. That is, all the keywords in the table below are unique to that one sub-group.

Rating	Keywords (Actors)	Keywords (Reality TV)	Keywords (Athletes)
*****	happy, make, kind, wife	N/A	son, dad, coach, man, husband
****	would, perfect, school, part, quick, one, busy, fast	seeing	needs, need, boom, awesome, thinkable, things
***	im, husband, story, help, thanks, characters	ok, put, instead, feel	well, brother, shout, still, wrote, didnt
**	believe, fair	drag, ok, thank, send, favorite, something	birthday
*	seem, roast, fan, experience, mentioned, really, seconds, details, ignored	N/A	response, updated, sir, read

Table 5: Unique keywords per star rating for each celebrity sub-group

As mentioned previously, the overall patterns across the three sub-groups match what was observed in the table above, with positive adjectives filling the 5- and 4-star reviews, adjectives with a little less excitement appearing in the reviews 3-stars and below, and keywords related to the length and quality of the video appearing in the 2- and 1-star reviews. However, by looking at the keywords that exist exclusively in one of the three sub-groups, we can discover certain characteristics which are unique to each sub-group.

Among the actors sub-group the keyword *characters* stands out. It seems to be in line with the actors sub-group because out of the three celebrity types in this study, actors are the group that are most likely to appear on screen playing a character. Another interesting

observation that can be noted in this sub-group is that the word *wife* appears in the 5-star keywords and the word *husband* appears in the 3-star keywords. This distribution could be an indication that, presuming a majority of the customers are in heterosexual relationships, men are more critical of the product than women. Knowing that Cameos are often purchased as gifts, familial or relational words like *wife* and *husband* indicate that the review had something to do with how the customer's spouse felt about the video. For example, here are some of the reviews mentioning the purchaser's wife.

(\*\*\*\*\*) *Wife loved it she had tears of happiness. Very cool. She loved it!*

(\*\*\*\*\*) *This was absolutely amazing! My wife balled her eyes out with joy watching the video, and went on raving about how wonderful you are. Thank you so much for the perfect gift!*

This could also be an indication that women have more of an emotional reaction to receiving a video like this from a beloved celebrity or that this product caters more towards a female demographic. It is possible that the celebrities who speak to the customers' wives directly and in a positive and thoughtful manner create a stronger emotional connection, leading to higher reviews, thus the presence of *wife* in the 5-star reviews. Meanwhile, male customers who had certain expectations about the product are seemingly not as satisfied, leading to *husband* appearing in the 3-star keywords.

The presence of *wife* in the 5-star keywords for the actors sub-group is particularly interesting when compared to the unique keywords for the 5-star athletes reviews. Based on the keywords, it seems that a majority of the athlete Cameos were purchased for male relatives. Some of the top keywords for these reviews include *son, dad, man, brother, and husband*. This

could be an indication of a difference in the target demographic of these two sub-groups. Where female consumers tend to go for Cameos by an actor, men seem to prefer those made by athletes.

Another distinction of the athletes sub-group is that the word *coach* appears in the 5-star reviews. This may suggest that a common practice among this sub-group is to purchase an inspirational message from a professional celebrity coach for a fan who is an amateur athlete themselves. This can be verified when we examine some reviews from this sub-group containing this keyword.

*(\*\*\*\*\*) Perfect. Thank you coach. I also just wanted to let you know you've inspired me to become a coach in my future too man so thank you for doing that*

*(\*\*\*\*\*) Thank you to the GOAT Coach Marv for his wonderful inspirational video to get us over the top on our running. BillsMafia will never forget Coach Levy and the kind and wonderful man and coach that he is and has always been!*

*(\*\*\*\*\*) Coach Green is the best!! Had him announce our fantasy football draft order and it was phenomenal! Thanks Coach!*

The reality television sub-group is the one which is the most similar to the overall table, two of the star ratings not having even one word different than those on the main table. One keyword of note, however, is the term *drag* in the 2-star reviews. This term stands out as it is a marker of the sub-group; there is a large number of celebrities in this sub-group who appeared on the television show *RuPaul's Drag Race*.

After reviewing the findings from the keywords by celebrity sub-group, I decided to skip the bigrams and trigrams step for each separate sub-group, as I did not think the results yielded from the keywords were interesting or different enough to merit examining the bigrams and trigrams as well. For transparency of results, I have put the tables of the unique bigrams and trigrams per sub-group in the appendix, but I did not find the results compelling enough to warrant discussion.

### **Sentiment Analysis**

This research has determined that the process of purchasing Cameos is already a fan practice for the most part. I have confirmed this in a few ways. Firstly, the extreme lack of lower reviews in general points to this conclusion. The distribution of reviews in this project shows an extreme J-shaped curve, where the 5-star reviews make up 97% of the overall dataset, however, in this case, there is not a significant spike again at the lower end of the reviews. For comparison, Simon Meier-Vieracker's similar work on fan reviews contained only 70% 5-star reviews. This leads me to believe that the practice of purchasing Cameos is already something which is limited to fans. Furthermore, I would even conclude that this is an indication that the lower reviews that do show up are not incredibly negative.

The close reading of the data confirmed this. I found that for the most part, the low reviews in the dataset still weren't incredibly critical of the product. In their 1- and 2-star reviews, a lot of fans expressed that they still appreciated the product regardless of the subpar quality. The phrase *thank you* appeared in key bigrams of the 1-star reviews, showing that the fans were still appreciative.

Furthermore, as noted in the N-gram frequency section above, when put back into the context of the reviews, the keyword *still* can give us an idea of how fans speak about the videos that they were unsatisfied with. These are the same reviews that were shown above:

*(\*\*) Tim's a really great fellow, but I was sad he didn't say a bunch of personal details I requested to cheer my Dad. It was still nice to get the video, but don't get your hopes up on specifics.*

*(\*\*) I appreciate the time taken to do this cameo but my request was not fulfilled as asked and was clearly ignored but she still took the request knowing she had no intention of fulfilling it. I can't get a refund either. Hoping she redos it and fulfils my request.*

Both of these reviewers are unhappy with their video, but neither of them is speaking harshly or rudely about the celebrity themselves. The sentiment of both of these reviews is definitely not positive, but it is also not negative.

I wanted to see if a sentiment analysis model would be able to detect a difference in the fans' stances in higher and lower reviews. Sentiment analysis is a technique used to determine the sentiment, or the subjective information, present in a text. It involves analyzing textual material to determine whether the expressed sentiment is positive, negative or neutral. In the case of online reviews, sentiment analysis can provide valuable insights into customer sentiment and opinion. This can help us gauge the general perception of the Cameos and how the sentiment scores are distributed across the dataset. The sentiment and the sentiment score for each review was extracted with a Python script. It uses the 'SentimentIntensityAnalyzer' from the NLTK library to analyze the sentiment of each review and assigns a score between -1 and 1. This scale

represents the range of sentiment intensity, and -1 indicates a strong negative sentiment, 0 represents a neutral sentiment, and 1 represents an extremely positive sentiment.

The two tables below show the average sentiment score per star rating for each celebrity sub-group and the standard deviation of the results.

Rating	Average Sentiment Score (Actors)	Average Sentiment Score (Reality TV Personalities)	Average Sentiment Score (Athletes)
*****	0.83	0.80	0.77
****	0.65	0.69	0.52
***	0.01	0.39	0.41
**	-0.17	0.02	0.16
*	0.1	0.02	-0.32

*Table 6: Sentiment score by star rating*

Rating	Standard Deviation (Actors)	Standard Deviation (Reality TV Personalities)	Standard Deviation (Athletes)
*****	0.2	0.24	0.25
****	0.4	0.34	0.45
***	0.67	0.55	0.56
**	0.38	0.33	0.58
*	0.52	0.59	0.53

*Table 7: Standard deviation of sentiment scores from the table above*

The first table shows that as the star ratings get lower, the average sentiment score drops too. This is what we would expect, as this means that the reviews with higher star ratings express more positive sentiments. Out of the three sub-groups, the distribution of the actors category is the most different. The average sentiment scores for 5- and 4-star reviews are comparable with the other two, but then the 3-star reviews suddenly drop to a low sentiment score of 0.01. This could be because the sample size of those reviews is quite small (only 11 reviews), so even one review with a very intense sentiment score could skew the average score. Additionally, the actors

sub-group is the only one where the 1-star reviews do not have the lowest average score. Across all sub-groups, with a couple of exceptions, the 5- and 4-star reviews are the only ones that do not have a huge standard deviation. This makes sense because the sample size for the lower reviews is small, but this also means the sentiment score data is less reliable in the lower reviews. However, between the three groups, the standard deviation follows a similar pattern, meaning that there are not any meaningful differences between the reliability of the results per group.

In order to get a sense of the scoring that the model gave to the reviews, and to prove that we can be confident in the model, the table below shows examples of reviews, their star rating, and the sentiment score that the model gave them. They are sorted by highest to lowest sentiment score.

Review	Rating	Sentiment Score
<i>Kimberly was not only amazingly quick, but incredibly eloquent and thoughtful in her message to my friend. I would happily recommend her cameos to anyone who might enjoy her work. She is truly one of a kind! Thank you so much Kimberly! It truly meant the world to have this message for dear, dear friend 😊💙</i>	*****	0.9942
<i>Samantha's bright and bubbly personality shines through and she is a genuinely good soul her warm words definitely brightened my day thank you for the birthday wish it made my day</i>	*****	0.9493
<i>Loved it, will cherish this video always. Thank you for making this a special b day 🙌🙌🙌🙌🙌🙌</i>	*****	0.9027
<i>I appreciate the time taken to do this cameo but my request was not fulfilled as asked and was clearly ignored but she still took the request knowing she had no intention of fulfilling it. I can't get a refund either. Hoping she redos it and fulfils my request.</i>	**	0.0905
<i>Everything I asked for, no notes. Thank you so much</i>	*****	0.0772
<i>Oops Melanie, one last request. The second video has the wrong school name at the very end. If this can be corrected or cut out that would be great.</i>	****	-0.0258
<i>I wish the video length was longer. For the price I paid I believe this video length is not fair. Moreover, I'm disappointed that not all the details that I</i>	**	-0.3318



<i>wrote in the guide were mentioned.</i>		
<i>Failed to read exactly what was requested. Could use the content. Reach out and asked if he could redo... a week later get a reply "sure buddy, I'll do it tomorrow" have not heard a thing since. Wouldn't waste my money again</i>	*	-0.7184
<i>Rambling mess. So long even birthday girl hated message and as boring as can be.</i>	*	-0.8402

*Table 8: Examples of reviews and their sentiment score*

This sampling of results from the sentiment analysis model shows that we can be confident in the model. Based on the star rating and the content of the review itself, the model seems to have accurately scored all of the reviews in this table. After pulling the sentiment scores using this model, I did another manual reading of the reviews and the sentiment scores together in order to compile some findings based on the distribution of the sentiment scores. Firstly, the sentiment scores, like the star ratings, are extremely skewed towards the positive end. Specifically, the average of all the sentiment scores in the dataset is 0.785 and the median of the scores is 0.877. Additionally, I felt that in some cases, the model would have a hard time with reviews with few words. This makes sense because the more context the model has, the better it is able to detect the stance of the speaker. I found further indication of this when I sorted the reviews by highest to lowest sentiment score and I noticed that the 5-star reviews with the most text got the highest sentiment scores.

Although the 1-star reviews did generally receive the lowest sentiment scores on average, that average value is not all that low. As previously discussed, the range of sentiment score goes from -1 to 1, so an average of 0.1 or 0.02, in the case of the actors and the reality television personalities, is still not extremely low. This suggests that fans used generally positive or kind language in their reviews, even when they were disappointed. When I did read through the low reviews again and took note of their sentiment scores, I noticed that the model seemed to detect when the language in the review was not insulting or angry and assign a positive sentiment score

to it. The following table shows a few 1- and 2-star reviews from the actors and reality television sub-groups and their sentiment score.

Review Text	Rating	Sentiment Score
<i>love scout, but unfortunately didn't address everything i asked :(, still think she is amazong though, i just have terrible luck :(,</i>	**	0.3506
<i>Hey Russell, This is incredible, thank you so much. Unfortunately we cannot use this as my name has been mispronounced. We may book a second one to fix it up. Cheers, Kirston (KIR-ST-EN)</i>	**	0.4445
<i>Hi Kim, I loved this but you unfortunately pronounces her name wrong. It is Jy-Rah, like J-eye-ruh , Jehovah Jireh. Is there any way you please re-do and just correct the name? Otherwise it was wonderful. Could you please correct her name?</i>	*	0.8677
<i>Patrika, you didn't upload the entire video, just about five seconds. I've tried contacting Cameo support but I've received no response. Please help, as this Cameo was meant to be a gift several days ago. Thanks.</i>	*	0.9224

Table 9: Examples of reviews with low ratings but high sentiment scores

All of the reviews above have a positive sentiment score but a low star rating. One pattern consistent throughout the four of these is that the reviewer is extremely polite in the language they use in the review. Two of them include the word *please* when the fan is asking the celebrity to correct something that was wrong about their video. Three of these reviewers made sure to emphasize that they still love the product and/or the celebrity, one of them even going so far as to say “*this is incredible, thank you so much,*” even though the celebrity did not pronounce their name correctly in the video.

Interestingly, the average sentiment score for the 1-star reviews in the athletes sub-group are the lowest of the three groups by a notable amount, insinuating that the reviews in this sub-group used more negative words and phrases. Additionally, the word *please* appears in the

1-star reviews for both the actors and reality television personalities sub-groups, but it did not appear in the athletes keywords. The word *please* is typically included when a request is being made, and the 1-star placement of this keyword suggests that customers are kindly requesting a correction be made on their product. This combined with the low sentiment score in the 1-star athletes reviews may suggest that perhaps fans are less kind in their reviews on athletes profiles.

However, there are some limitations when using sentiment analysis for analyzing text data, and many of those can be seen in this data set. The main limitation that I encountered in my dataset is lack of context. Since the review texts are quite short, the algorithm only has a limited set of words to use to understand the sentiment of the message. Additionally, there is a lot of context missing in that the algorithm does not know who the celebrity is, what the fan requested from them and what the celebrity said in their video.

Another limitation is that the algorithm has a hard time understanding the nuances of language, specifically sarcasm, irony and subtleties. One customer wrote “(\*\*\*\*\*) *I am actually not well in the head and Roger accommodated my every psychotic request. I cannot say enough good things about this man, I really threw him nonsense and he was nothing but a gentleman. Thanks, Rog,*” and the algorithm assigned this a sentiment score of -0.7352. Presumably this is because there are some objectively negative words and phrases like *psychotic*, *not well*, and *nonsense*, but the customer is exaggerating by saying that he “*threw him nonsense*” and the review is actually incredibly positive, as indicated by the 5-star review. Similarly, there are certain slang phrases that the algorithm does not properly assess. A review that reads “(\*\*\*\*\*) *You killed it. Thank you very much*” was given a score of -0.4588, which is quite negative, despite the fact that this is a positive review. This is because the review uses a slang phrase that has a very different literal meaning, and the algorithm does not understand the slang.

Another sentiment analysis limitation that is quite applicable in our data set is that the algorithm has trouble understanding complex, grammatically incorrect, or convoluted sentence structures. For example, the following review was misscored by the sentiment model.

*(\*) To be honest I was disappointed. Nearly £30 for literally 5 secs!  
Louis Moody recently left a message for my Dad & chatted away for  
over 3mins & made him feel as though he actually cared it was his  
birthday - appreciate the message arriving on time but it came across  
as more of a joke present as opposed to the special message I had been  
hoping for*

This review was assigned a score of 0.9163, although clearly it is negative. This mislabeling could be because the sentiment score is calculating by aggregating the polarity score of individual words or features in the text, and in this case, there are several words that are typically seen in a positive context (*birthday, appreciate, special*), however the algorithm does not have the larger context of the reviews and the platform at large. The algorithm could have also misscored this review because it is a bit confusing; the author mentions that they are disappointed but then interjects with a sentence about a previous positive experience that they had with another Cameo.

Overall, the sentiment analysis confirmed that even the lowest rated reviews for the most part were not all that negative. This was valuable because it seems to confirm that this is a practice reserved for fans, and that the parasocial relationships between fans and celebrities are strong enough that the fans are not likely to use incredibly harsh language, even when disappointed in their Cameo.

## **Discussion / Conclusion**

In this thesis, I examined how fans engage in and evaluate their parasocial relationships with celebrities through the reviews that they leave on Cameo. Cameo is a unique new media platform, as it allows fans to gain direct and personalized access to celebrities if they are willing to pay for it. Cameo thrives on the willingness of fans to engage in transactional relationships with the celebrities, and those who have stronger parasocial bonds are more likely to invest financially. As such, celebrities use Cameo as a means of relational work, capitalizing on their fans who feel as though they have a genuine relationship with the celebrity. Notably, celebrities often frame this work as a personal gift to their fans, or they express that they are doing this for the specific purpose of fostering a stronger connection with their fans, despite having underlying financial motivations. However, what makes Cameo unique is that patrons have the power to set some of the terms of the interaction that they have with the celebrities. Specifically, and most importantly in the case of this research, they can leave comments and ratings on the celebrities profiles, sharing their opinions on the videos they received.

I aimed to provide an in-depth examination into fan expectations and sentiments regarding Cameo videos, based on what they write in the reviews left on the profiles of various celebrities. The main research question in this thesis is: how do fans evaluate their platform-mediated parasocial relationships with celebrities? Specifically, what common themes and sentiments emerge in each of the rating levels, and what do they tell us about the fans' evaluation of their parasocial relationships with the celebrity?

This study builds on the work of previous research done by Drenten and Psarras (2021) and Bonifacio, Hair (2021) on the theory of parasocial relational work. Relational work can be defined as “the ongoing process by which people define, transform, strengthen (and sometimes

dissolve) social ties through patterns of meaningful economic transactions,” and when a fictitious relationship, such as one between celebrity and fan, is placed into a digital patronage space like Cameo, the resulting interaction can be described as parasocial relational work (Zelizer, 2005). The repeated exposure and communication between the two parties strengthens the connection that the fan feels to the celebrity and is a positive indication of the fans likelihood to continue to financially support this celebrity. The two previously mentioned studies examined the practice of relational labor between fans and creators, Drenten and Psarras even using Cameo for their case study. Their study critically explored how direct monetization of fan-celebrity parasocial relationships shifts power dynamics. They found that newer social media applications, like Cameo, are increasingly giving fans more power over celebrities. “That fans can directly pay celebrities for increasingly private content is a new idea that shifts the power dynamic of the fan or celebrity relationship to one that is increasingly transactional” and where value can be derived by fan reviews (17). When a parasocial relationship enters an arena which involves economic transactions, this is considered relational work.

Hair’s work in this area analyzed how digital creative workers connect and transact with their patrons on Patreon, a platform which is similar to Cameo, to contribute to “a scholarly understanding of a rapidly growing area of work: digital creative entrepreneurial labor” (Hair 2021: 197). Specifically, he was looking to understand how the creators positioned themselves relative to their fans and how they depicted particular relationships. Hair found that Patreon creators practice relational strategies to frame economic subscriptions as social support. The digital creators used seemingly personal and intimate language to refer to their supporters in their promotional texts, referring to them, for example, as their “pals” and expressing that they are looking forward to “growing a beautiful and significant relationship” (Hair 2021:204). This

approach satisfies the fans' craving for a real connection with the creator while also yielding financial rewards for the creator. Cameo is unique in that the fans set some of the terms of the relationship. While the celebrity has control over the pricing and the length of the videos they offer, as well as the ability to decline a request entirely, the fan writes a note setting their expectations of what the celebrity will say in the video. The fan can also express their satisfaction or dissatisfaction in the reviews on the celebrity's page. This puts the pressure on the celebrity to uphold their side of the parasocial relationship. This shift in power dynamics has resulted in a highly transactional relationship between celebrities and fans, and the value of these relationships is placed on the material product that the celebrity provides to the fan.

The work of Simon Meier-Vieracker (2022) also greatly influenced my own work, specifically in the study of linguistic evaluation theory and in how to draw conclusions from review texts. Meier-Vieracker's work on fan reviews on a German ticketing website called Eventim showed that a subject's positionality towards an object can be seen in not only their attitudes and opinions, but also in their lexical and stylistic patterns. He discovers that "in the higher ratings fans typically express their enthusiasm while they tend to play down economic aspects of concert business in favour of fan culture as an emotional community," and "in the lower ratings people often ... profile their purchase recommendations as not affected by the irrational admiration practices of fans" (Meier-Vieracker 27). Essentially, he was able to identify a clear distinction between the customers who positioned themselves as fans primarily, and those who put the value of their financial investments above the sentimental values of being a fan.

My work addressed the interaction between relational strategies and the platform of Cameo. By analyzing textual and linguistic markers that exist in Cameo review, I was able to identify how fans evaluate their parasocial relationships with a celebrity. An understanding of

how fans use Cameo to form and strengthen parasocial connections to their favorite celebrities “illuminate[s] the understudied intersection between relational work and technology” (Hair 2020: 209). Furthermore, this sheds light on the platform affordances of Cameo that allow celebrities to utilize emotional and relational strategies to elicit higher reviews from their fans, which likely corresponds to strong fan loyalty, and, more directly, more purchases of Cameos in the future.

The dataset for this research was compiled in April 2023 from Cameo using the Selenium library in Python to automate a web scraping process. The resulting dataset contained 11,512 reviews, with 5-star reviews making up around 97% of the sample. This could be an indication that buying Cameos is a practice that is already heavily favored by very loyal fans. Additionally, sentiment analysis revealed that even for the 1- and 2-star ratings, the average sentiment score was not extremely low. This may suggest that if the fan feels that they have a strong parasocial connection with the celebrity, they will not leave an overly negative or insulting review even if they are unhappy with their video. This may also explain why the 5-star reviews far outnumber the rest. Oftentimes if the customer considers themselves a big fan of the celebrity, and if they have a strong parasocial bond with them, they are still appreciative of the video they received.

Because of the extremely unbalanced dataset, the study began with a close reading of the texts. The skew of the data was so immense that I felt able to read through all of the lower reviews by hand, and gain a closer understanding of the language used by fans in these reviews. I created a set of generalizations based on my reading. This set of findings is reiterated below:

A. Findings from close reading

a. 5- and 4-star reviews:

- i. High levels of fan satisfaction due to the personal nature of the videos



- ii. Fans felt a special connection to the specific celebrity because of some previously formed parasocial relationship
  - iii. Lot of intensifying adjectives to emphasize their extreme happiness
  - iv. Heavy use of all emojis, exclamation points, and all capital letters to emphasize excitement
- b. 3-star reviews:
- i. Generally positive, but without use of any enthusiastic language or writing style
  - ii. Reviewers often highlight one or two specific errors that lessened the quality of the video for them
- c. 2- and 1-star reviews:
- i. First common grievance is that the celebrity did not follow the request exactly as the fan laid out, or that the celebrity made an error when reciting what the fan asked them to say
  - ii. Second common grievance is that the video was too short and/or too low quality for the price that the fan paid
  - iii. A sizeable number of reviews included a caveat that the reviewer was still a fan of this celebrity or still appreciated the video

I then performed a quantitative analysis of the most frequent keywords, bigrams and trigrams in the dataset, in order to validate the findings that I put together from the close reading. The findings from this step confirmed what I found through my manual analysis of the reviews. For the fan, a personalized video is perceived as the celebrity reciprocating their feelings of connection and parasocial bonds. This is indicated in the keyword frequency results, as *personal*

and *genuine* both appear in the most frequent keywords among 5-star reviews. On the flip side, a lack of personalization is seen as negative, and while *personal* appears in the 5-star keywords, *personalization* appears in the top 3-star keywords and the phrase *only personalization was* appears among the 3-star trigrams. As such, it seems that fans are unhappy when they do not receive the personalization they feel they deserve or that they explicitly asked for. The review below is an example of one of those dissatisfied customers.

*(\*) He didn't say what I mentioned in the description to say so that was really disappointing and made the message not feel personalized. Also mispronounced my brother's name*

This suggests that the parasocial relationship between fan and celebrity is strengthened when a fan receives a video that they perceive to be personally tailored for them, and the fan feels let down when the video does not contain enough personal elements.

My research aimed to specifically look for sentiments that indicate approval or disapproval of something that the celebrity did. More precisely, I analyzed if fans hold an expectation that the celebrities should act a certain way in these Cameo videos, and whether the positive or negative sentiments in the reviews reflect this expectation. The most common flaws that caused fans to express disapproval of the product they received were cost and quality of the video and the celebrity's lack of following instructions. As discussed, many of the most frequent words and bigrams among the lower ratings included *paid*, *price*, *money*, *length*, *paid extra*, and *video length*. These reviews represent a specific positionality on the part of the fan. As was the case with Simon Meier-Vieracker's study, fans who leave a low rating and emphasize the cost and quality of the product are positioning themselves more as consumers than as fans. In contrast

to the previously mentioned fans who leave a kind review even if they were unhappy with their product, these reviewers position themselves more as consumers than fans.

Another common reason for disapproval expressed among fans is that the celebrity made a mistake in the Cameo video or did not properly follow all the instructions that the fan left for them. Some of the most common bigrams and trigrams among the 1- and 2-star reviews include *he didn't*, *did not*, *i wrote*, and *i asked him*. This suggests, as previously hypothesized, that fans would rather the celebrity follow their request exactly, sacrificing some genuineness. The findings suggest that some fans just want celebrities to perform for them and to meet their exact expectations of how they should behave. For example, below are three reviews from the dataset.

*(\*) Video was nice but asked for you to dress in leather... which didn't happen. If you didn't have an outfit which was my special request you shouldn't have done the video*

*(\*\*) Disappointed drag queen not in drag.*

*(\*) Deon really needed this \$ because he looked broke down and raggedy af. Wish I would have spent it on Rodey from tiktok because then the xan'ed out vid would have at least made sense.*

In these cases, the fans who wrote these reviews were disappointed that the celebrity did not appear in the video how they wanted them to. The first reviewer appears to have requested a specific type of outfit from this celebrity and was upset to see that she did not “*dress in leather*” as requested. Similarly, the second reviewer expected the drag queen to appear in drag in the Cameo. In the third review, the fan found that Deon looked “*broke down and raggedy af*”, which is presumably not how he appears in his normal content. In all of these cases, the fans are

expressing that their expectations were not met, which was the main cause of their disappointment. The review below is another illustration of this position.

*(\*\*) I wish he would have just declined the request if he wasnt gonna do what i asked, which I totally understand*

This fan is even more explicit about their feelings about the video than the previous examples. The fan here is clearly saying that they would rather have not received a video at all than receive the version where the celebrity did not “*do what i asked*”. Again, the fans are indicating that they expect the celebrities to perform in a specific manner and if they do not, the fan will be upset.

The second quantitative analysis step in this research was sentiment analysis. The intention of the sentiment analysis was to quantitatively validate the finding that the lower reviews in this dataset are not extremely negative in sentiment. This was already confirmed in this study in a number of ways. Firstly, based on the distribution of ratings alone we can infer that the practice of purchasing Cameo videos is heavily skewed towards fans, specifically those who already had some kind of parasocial connection with or loyalty to the celebrity. Therefore, these fans would not want to speak incredibly negatively in the lower rated reviews. This finding was also confirmed through the close reading and again inferred based on findings from the N-gram frequency tests.

The sentiment analysis model aimed to detect the fans’ stances in the reviews and assign a sentiment score to them to validate the previously mentioned finding quantitatively. Overall, none of the averages of the sentiment scores across the sub-groups and the star ratings were lower than -0.32, which is still relatively high considering the full range of -1.00 to 1.00. However, aside from the 4- and 5-star reviews and a couple of random other groups, the standard

deviations for the dataset are quite immense due to the small sample sizes. This means that the data is less reliable in the lower reviews. However, between the three groups, the standard deviation follows a similar pattern, meaning that there are not any meaningful differences between the reliability of the results per group.

The sentiment analysis uncovered plenty of reviews that received no more than 2 stars but were assigned a relatively high sentiment score. When looking at some of these examples, we can see that a pattern that is consistent throughout the reviews is that the fan is extremely polite in the language they use in the review. For example, here is one of the reviews shown in Table 9 above. This review was assigned a sentiment score of 0.4445.

*(\*\*) Hey Russell, This is incredible, thank you so much. Unfortunately we cannot use this as my name has been mispronounced. We may book a second one to fix it up. Cheers, Kirston (KIR-ST-EN)*

This reviewer made sure to emphasize how much they still loved the product, even going so far as to say “*this is incredible, thank you so much,*” even though the celebrity did not pronounce their name right in the video. This is an example of the tendency of fans to avoid leaving harshly worded reviews in preservation of their parasocial relationship with the celebrity.

Overall, the sentiment analysis validated the finding that even the lowest rated reviews for the most part were not extremely negative in sentiment. This was valuable because it confirms that this is a practice reserved for fans, and that the parasocial relationships between fans and celebrities are strong enough that the fans are not likely to use incredibly harsh language, even when disappointed in their Cameo.

An additional layer I applied to this research was to separate the dataset into three different celebrity types. Research shows that the way a celebrity or creator presents themselves

in these creator-fan relationships can greatly impact the way the fans respond to them. More specifically, how much the celebrity is willing to let the fans into their life. For this reason, I sorted the data into three of the general sub-groups of celebrities: Actors, Reality TV, and Athletes. The reason I chose these three categories specifically is because the nature of the work that these celebrities do varies in how much of their “real selves” they show in their work. Actors are always playing a role on screen, reality television personalities are often portraying some augmented or exaggerated version of themselves, and athletes are always playing as their true selves.

The results of this section were not as fruitful as I had initially hoped. The N-gram frequency tests determined that the intended audience for these celeb types differs. Based on the results from this step, the target demographic for the actors’ Cameos is women and for the athletes it is men. This was evident from the unique keywords present in each of the sub-groups. However, besides this finding, for the most part, the findings for the three celebrity types were very similar.

Overall, this research found that parasocial relationships between fans and celebrities are strengthened through positive experiences with Cameo. As such, Cameo can be a lucrative area for celebrities looking to profit off of their fans through parasocial relational work. This relationship is transactional in nature, and both sides enter into this agreement willingly, so there is nothing inherently deceitful about it. In fact, compared to most traditional social media platforms, Cameo gives the fans more agency as they have the power to set many of the terms of the relationship, unlike in most other venues where they engage in their parasocial relationships. This fact, combined with the financial investment that they have to make in order to get a Cameo, are the main reasons why the fans feel so personally wronged when they receive a

product that is less than satisfactory. They feel that the celebrity has not held up their end of the parasocial relationship. On the flip side, when the fan receives a favorable Cameo from their chosen celebrity, this can lead to strengthened feelings of parasocial connectedness, which are positive indicators of continued support from this fan in the future.

There are a few limitations in this study. In the data collection step, there is certainly a potential for bias among the reviews, such as fake or manipulated feedback. However, for the sake of this paper, I have assumed that this bias is evenly spread across the three celebrity sub-groups. As previously discussed, there are a few limitations to sentiment analysis. The algorithm has a hard time understanding the nuances of language, specifically sarcasm, irony and subtleties. Additionally, it has trouble understanding complex, grammatically incorrect, or convoluted sentence structures. This is why the quantitative methods work together with the qualitative methods to provide validation of the conclusions.

Future research into celebrity-fan relationships might consider engaging in interviews with fans. The mixed methods used in this research might be further supported with interview data collected from fans who have purchased Cameos. In this case, it would be possible to collect demographic data from the interviewed participants in order to examine whether certain demographic characteristics influence the expectations and evaluations of digitally mediated celebrity interactions. Through interviews, the researcher would be able to answer several more nuanced questions that are not possible to answer with only Cameo review data, such as what motivations drive fans to spend on these personalized interactions. Another avenue that I was interested in but chose not to examine is the distribution of slang or in-group language across the reviews. It would be my hypothesis that when fans feel more satisfied with their product, and

therefore more connected to the celebrity and their fandom, they would be more likely to use this in-group language.

This thesis provides insight into relational work in a digital environment in the context of fan-celebrity parasocial relationships. It shows that fans have a set of expectations when it comes to how a celebrity should behave in a Cameo video, and these expectations manifest in the language that the fans use in their reviews. I have shown that there are certain emotional or relationship-affirming behaviors that the celebrity can exhibit in these videos which will lead to high levels of fan satisfaction. The platform affordances of Cameo and the parasocial bonds that these fans already have with the celebrities creates a digital environment where the celebrities can successfully leverage relational strategies to gain financial support from their fans, on Cameo and into other areas of their career. Moreover, this paper has shown the value of using mixed methods in the study of fan culture and this particular type of fan-celebrity interaction.



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## Appendix

Rating	Key Bigrams (Actors)	Key Bigrams (Reality TV)	Key Bigrams (Athletes)
*****	was so, going to, made my	and i, such a, love it, love you	for the, this was, my dad, my son, my husband
****	was longer, the wrong, message and, would be, the name, for them, appreciate you, time out	that he, she was, my dad, was nice	it needs, needs more, great thanks, other videos, to get, be more, back to
***	name my, more characters, only personalization	but i, was ok, there is, mother s, a little, out of	her birthday, still love, we requested, say much
**	for the, can t	it was, was ok, thank you, which i, talking about	not mentioned, disappointed with, did not
*	my brother, him to, message not, cameo support, my friend	the video, if you, it to, say anything, video was, do not	this is, so confused

Table 10: Unique bigrams by star rating across all three sub-groups

Rating	Key Trigrams (Actors)	Key Trigrams (Reality TV)	Key Trigrams (Athletes)
*****	you so much, so much for, the video was, you so so, couldn t have	N/A	taking the time, you re the, he loved it
****	and thank you, the name of	it was nice, but you are, i like that	great and awesome, other videos to, to get back
***	for more characters	a surprise party, would have been, was ok i, picture quality is, not sure if	of what i, we requested it, specified that it, money of the
**	i wish the, was longer for, price i paid, details that i, disappointed that not	i included in, in the request	he did not, mentioned cameo booking, a really great
*	into the message, in the request	watch the video, say my name, a lot of, say anything i	confused at how, to redo it

Table 11: Unique trigrams by star rating across all three sub-groups