

The Life Of Kanye

A Qualitative Content Analysis of Kanye West's
Twitter Practice.

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ABSTRACT

Celebrity Twitter use has recently been the subject of celebrity studies. Performing authenticity and intimacy as well as engaging interactively with followers are considered central characteristics of 'micro-celebrity' practice, which is widely considered to be extensively utilized by celebrities in their use of Twitter. Taking this framework suggested by celebrity studies as a point of departure, this thesis focuses on the case study of Kanye West, whose recent use of Twitter has been given much attention by celebrity news media due to his controversial tweets.

In carrying out a content analysis of this case study's tweets, this thesis aims to understand the way Kanye West is using Twitter, what strategies he is employing and how this links to the structural implications of celebrity. As the findings suggest, Kanye West employs two main strategies in his usage of Twitter: In his first strategy he uses Twitter as a tool to promote his celebrity commodity, increase his celebrity capital and create an elite network of fellow celebrities. The second strategy aims at creating an authentic and personal narrative that redefines and extends Kanye West's celebrity persona. Within this second strategy, "stream-of-consciousness" writing was identified as a unique strategy employed by Kanye West in his Twitter practice.

Keywords: Celebrity, Twitter, Micro-Celebrity, Authenticity, Intimacy, Performance.

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A. INTRODUCTION

Kanye West has been one of the most controversial celebrity personalities of the 21st century. Critically acclaimed and commercially successful as a musician, he has been one of the central figures and driving forces in developing and innovating the aesthetic of the hip-hop genre over the last decade (Bradley, 2014, Boeck, 2014). Simultaneously, his public appearances have created controversies, especially his “George Bush does not care about black people” comment after Hurricane Katrina and his interruption of Taylor Swift’s acceptance speech at the 2009 Grammy Awards (Krebs, 2014). His outspokenness about political taboo issues such as structural racism in America and his criticism of the structural implications of the entertainment industry, coupled with his often egocentric and aggressive behavior, have triggered intense media and fan reactions that regularly portray Kanye West as a narcissistic villain and aggressor (Leonard, 2014).

As one of the most successful yet controversial celebrities and musicians, Kanye West has been the subject of numerous studies. These have researched many facets of his musical output and celebrity persona from various angles encompassing multiple disciplines. While the majority of studies focus on Kanye West’s creative output (Neal, 2014, Houston, 2014 and Lewis, 2014), other studies have analyzed Kanye West from a gender perspective (Battle, 2014, West, 2014), a racial perspective (Bradley, 2014, Curry, 2014), and in relation to religion (Miller, 2014) and politics (Krebs, 2014). Given his visibility and controversiality in the media, it is surprising that only a small number of studies have touched on Kanye West as a celebrity and if so, often only in relation to his controversial public appearances. While these articles research the representations of Kanye West in traditional news media channels, there are no published studies focusing on his relatively recent adoption of the online communication platform Twitter, making it an under-researched yet relevant field of study. This study hopes to offer an initial perspective on Kanye West’s usage of Twitter, which may contribute to the general understanding of the unique and widely researched phenomenon of Kanye West.

Making use of online representation to achieve an intimate, direct and unedited insight into their private lives and interactively engaging with their followers or fans has become a widespread practice among celebrities — a practice mastered by Kanye’s wife Kim Kardashian-West. Celebrity Twitter practice in particular has recently become a focus of celebrity studies, highlighted through a recent issue (Volume 5, Issue 4) of the celebrity studies research journal (Bennett and Thomas, 2014) devoted entirely to celebrity Twitter practice. Understanding Twitter practices as a ‘micro-celebrity’ (Senft, 2008) phenomenon — a celebrity technique that can be adopted by any ‘celebrity practitioner’ (Marwick and boyd, 2011a) — many studies focus on the interactivity between celebrity practitioners and their fans or followers (Page, 2012, Honey and Herring, 2009, Boyd et al., 2010). Twitter promises the followers of celebrity accounts a backstage impression of the private and everyday life of the celebrity (Muntean and Petersen, 2009). Consciously performing intimacy and authenticity through their tweets has become a necessity for Twitter celebrities (Marwick and boyd, 2011a, Marwick and boyd, 2011b). Because of the constant observation of media and fans and simultaneously the need for constant updates by the celebrity him/herself, maintaining a constant celebrity narrative, the former possibility of having one’s Twitter feed by curated by a publicist has now become a near impossibility (Muntean and Petersen, 2009). Fans and followers are highly aware of the possibility of mediating publicists interfering with a celebrity’s representation and manipulating the presumably authentic content being published.

Thus, despite markers of authenticity (Dyer, 1991) — a lack of control and premeditation — the category of authenticity is always in dispute. For a celebrity to successfully make use of the advantages of Twitter — a direct and unmediated channel to communicate with fans or followers — it is essential to create content that is perceived as authentic and intimate. Whether this content is true or staged eventually becomes irrelevant. Successfully using Twitter will lead to an increasing in visibility which will sustain the celebrity’s status and generate celebrity capital (Driessens, 2013b). Understanding and researching the techniques and strategies through which celebrities create or perform authenticity and intimacy is therefore a central concern of celebrity Twitter research.

Kanye West's tweets are provocative, controversial and often paradoxical. For example, they include several contradicting promotional announcements concerning his Album *The Life Of Pablo* (2016), harsh criticism towards fellow musicians, critics and media outlets and an infamous proclamation of personal debt coupled with a call for help to Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg — through rival platform Twitter. His chaotic style of unconventional, confusing and purposely incoherent tweets sets Kanye West's Twitter practice apart from fellow celebrities' sleek and streamlined Twitter performances as analyzed in other studies (e.g. Dare-Edwards, 2014, Spirou, 2014, Jerslev and Mortensen, 2016). Mirroring his unconventional yet successful management of his celebrity persona in traditional media, his non-conformist tweeting style makes him a unique case worth investigating through an in-depth analysis. In researching an unconventional case study of celebrity Twitter practice, this thesis hopes to broaden the understanding of celebrity Twitter practice by identifying new and unique strategies.

By qualitatively analyzing the content of his tweets, this thesis seeks to identify strategies applied by Kanye West in his usage of Twitter. Therefore this thesis will extract patterns in his Twitter practice and relate these to the celebrity Twitter strategies outlined in the literature review. This thesis hopes to extend previous research on celebrity Twitter practice by identifying new and unique strategies used by the case study Kanye West.

The main research questions of this thesis are:

1. How does Kanye West use Twitter? What topics does he address? Which tweets are especially successful?
2. What strategies can be identified in his use of Twitter? How does he perform backstage impressions and intimacy? How does he create authenticity? How does he increase and transfer celebrity capital?
3. How do these strategies link to the structural implications of celebrity, especially commodification?

This study begins with a literature review, in which previous studies on and theory of celebrity Twitter practice will be outlined. This includes a clarification of the concepts of celebrity, celebrity Twitter practice, micro-celebrity, authenticity, intimacy and performance, all in relation to the examined case study of Kanye West.

The methodology used for the empirical research performed in this study will be explained in the second section. Analyzing the limited yet rich data provided directly through Kanye West's Twitter requires a hybrid methodological approach, which combines elements of case-study methodology with a qualitative content analysis. Furthermore, the methodology section explains the development of the categories used for thematic coding as well as a discussion of validity.

The findings section explains, analyzes and contextualizes the results of the qualitative content analysis of Kanye West's tweets. Each thematic category will be individually explained in a dedicated chapter. Cross-category strategies will be presented in the final chapters of the findings section.

The conclusion of this study will answer the research questions by synthesizing the key observations from the findings section and presenting the major strategies employed by Kanye West on his Twitter account. It will furthermore discuss these findings in relation to theory and the structural implications of celebrity, as well as previous research. The appendix will supply an overview of the qualitative content analysis carried out for this study.

B. LITERATURE REVIEW

While heroes and fame have existed for thousands of years, the comparatively recent phenomenon of celebrity has been catapulted into existence through mass media (Moloney et al. 2007). Subsequently, since their inception, celebrity studies have analyzed celebrities in connection to the media context that produces them. Scholars have investigated stars and celebrities from many different perspectives. Early accounts — star studies — focused on Hollywood celebrities produced through magazines, film and pseudo-events (Boorstin, 1961) and celebrities within their discursive and ideological context (Dyer, 1979, Dyer 1986). A more recent wave of acclaimed celebrity research took up studying celebrity production through mass media, especially television and later the Internet (e.g. Marshall, 1997), while other studies highlighted and emphasized the parallels in the social functions of celebrity and religion (e.g. Rojek, 2001).

Turner (2004) delivers an acclaimed synthesis of academic observations on celebrity, highlighting the process of celebrity production through a celebrity industry as well as the social function of celebrity consumption, while furthermore highlighting more recent forms of celebrity incarnations.

With the Internet gaining crucial importance for celebrity, celebrity studies have started to research celebrity practices in online communications systems. Senft's (2008) concept of 'micro-celebrity' finds that celebrity techniques are heavily employed by online practitioners to enhance their celebrity status. 'Micro-celebrity' has been adapted by Marwick and boyd's (2011a) widely influential studies of celebrity Twitter practice who argue that niche celebrities and traditional celebrities alike employ celebrity strategies of performed intimacy and authenticity to maintain their online fan base.

Boorstin (1961) provides an early account of classic celebrity as a constructed yet self-sustaining and self-referencing product — a human pseudo-event — staged entirely for the media. His widely cited definition of the celebrity as “a person who is well-known for his well-knownness” (Boorstin, 1961, 58), remains valid. In

differentiation to the star, who possesses a inborn talent or an aura that justifies his special status, the celebrity gains his fame from simply being present in the media (Evans and Hesmondhalgh, 2005 , Cashmore, 2006, Rojek, 2001). While many scholars agree with the idea of this and other admittedly vague definitions, it is worth pointing out that celebrity remains a “slippery concept” that escapes any fixed criteria or definitions (Cashmore and Parker, 2003, Driessens, 2013b).

Thus for the purpose of this paper, it is important to reflect the celebrity status of the case study of Kanye West, as his unique career qualifies to categorize him as a star as well as a celebrity on different levels. Kanye became a publicly known through his musical achievements as a hip-hop artist, yet his celebrity grew further through his controversial public appearances and comments as well as his marriage to Kim Kardashian. Following Evans and Hesmondhalgh’s definition that a celebrity is a person “whose image circulates without being attached to their initial professional role (...)” (2005, 4), this thesis seeks to focus on Kanye West more as a celebrity, especially as it intends to study his celebrity Twitter practice, and less as a star, who is known for his achievements in music, design and other fields.

Rojek (2001) further differentiates the celebrity classification into three different types of celebrities, ranging from ascribed celebrities, through achieved celebrities to attributed celebrities. While Kanye West’s celebrity status is most fittingly described as an achieved celebrity — his celebrity status started after he became successful as a recording artist (Neal, 2014, Houston, 2014) — it can also be argued that Kanye is sometimes portrayed as an attributed celebrity — mostly known for his disruptive public appearances (Cullen, 2016, Krebs, 2014, Leonard, 2014) — and even an ascribed celebrity — as everyone associated with the media-dominating Kardashian clan is famous — depending on the given media representation and perspective.

Driessens (2015) criticizes empirical celebrity research for lacking reflectiveness about the celebrity status of their case studies. Neglecting the fluid and multitudinous definitions and concepts of celebrity, Driessens argues that “celebrity is taken for granted” (2015, 371). Relying exclusively on formal cues, such as magazines’ celebrity lists, follower counts and input from related media in order to define celebrity

is insufficient as it fails to critically reflect the celebrity's celebrity status through different audiences (Driessens, 2015). Through the short discussion above I hope to have clarified the complexity of Kanye West's celebrity status: To different audiences, Kanye suggests different roles of celebrity. Kanye is known for different things — his music, his appearances, simply his being in the media — making a strict understanding of his celebrity status impractical. Rather, this study aims to take an open approach, understanding that Kanye simultaneously functions within multiple models and in multiple theoretical accounts concerned with explaining celebrity.

There are many accounts within the field of celebrity studies that highlight the structural relationship between celebrity and a celebrity industry (Gamson, 1992, Gamson 1994, Dyer, 1979, Marshall, 1997). Following a tradition that links back to Adorno and Horkheimer's (1997) conception of the cultural industry, celebrities are understood as part of a standardizing industry, in which they function as a distinguishing factor between never-changing products (Adorno, 1941). Furthermore, celebrities are created to become products, "celebrity-commodities" (Turner, 2004), themselves (Gamson, 1994). As a celebrity's popularity creates audiences and markets, commodifying their lifestyles, their clothing and their hairstyle proves to be a commercially successful method (Hesmondhalgh, 2004, 23 & 200). Thus, the biggest profiteers of celebrity are "large internationalized media conglomerates" (Turner, 2004, 84). Celebrities are not only understood as products of a cultural industry but furthermore as an embodiment of a dominant cultural ideology (Dyer, 1979, Rojek, 2001, Driessens 2013a): "the celebrity as public individual who participates openly as a marketable commodity serves as a powerful type of legitimation of the political economic model of exchange and value—the basis of capitalism—and extends that model to include the individual." (Marshall, 1997, x)

Despite this hegemony-reproducing function of the celebrity, Redmond and Holmes (2006) highlights that celebrities can also have counter-hegemonic functions. His example of Britney Spears' fragrance Curious, which he argues questions patriarchy and gender norms, is nevertheless criticized for lacking a structural criticism of the institutions and practices of capitalist domination (Harvey, 2002, Driessens, 2013a).

Researching the involvement of Kanye West within the structures of a standardizing and commodifying cultural industry will emphasize the structural analysis of Kanye West's Twitter practice. In his past career he has been known for repeatedly departing from the aesthetic conventions of the hip-hop genre as well as the norms, conventions and formatting efforts of the music industry (Boeck, 2014). Furthermore he has publicly spoken up on numerous occasions about structural issues and inequalities within cultural industries (D, 2014) and national politics (Leonard, 2014). It will therefore be interesting to see to what degree Kanye West, as a character of manifold celebrity, can be identified as a commodified product of a cultural industry and to what degree he authors counter-hegemonic thought and structurally critical content through Twitter.

4. Ordinary celebrities, celestoids and celebritization

Many scholars (e.g. Turner, 2004, 2006, Rojek, 2001) have studied a shift in the production of celebrity and celebrity culture initiated through broadcast television formats introduced throughout the 1990s. These have essentially started to destabilize the previously curated production of traditional celebrity through publicists and studios. Through entertainment formats like reality TV, talk shows, casting shows, reality-game shows et cetera, television programmers have identified not only a way of supplying the audience's demand for increasingly short-lived entertainment, but also of producing celebrities themselves (Turner, 2006). Rather than resorting to previously established celebrities or mediating celebrities produced through entertainment industries, these new entertainment formats have increased the visibility of the 'ordinary person' on mainstream media and thus given them a chance to establish themselves as mediated celebrities (Turner, 2004). While the narrative of an 'ordinary person' being discovered and processed for stardom has been a proven formula in the entertainment industry, Turner (2006) argues that the production of celebrities through reality TV has caused a shift in focus from the elite celebrity to the ordinary celebrity. By creating their own celebrity, the television programmers obtain extremely high control over their celebrities, while simultaneously the life cycles of these ordinary celebrities become significantly shorter. Corresponding with Warhol's widely cited claim that through media everybody is entitled to fifteen minutes of fame,

anyone can become famous just as quickly as one can go back to being unknown. In this constellation, Turner (2006) identifies the production of celebrity as a manufacturing process that deliberately incorporates the product's obsolescence. Referring to the same phenomenon, yet in a more explicit and critical way, Rojek (2001, 20f.) defines 'celetoids', as "accessories of cultures organized around mass communications and staged authenticity (...), who command media attention one day, and are forgotten the next." The ordinary celebrity and the celetoids have initiated a de-mystification of the celebrity's once celebrated "charismatic authority" (Weber, 1947).

5. Twitter

The introduction, adaption and implications of online communication services had a great impact on celebrity practices and communication in general, which have, in many ways lead to a mutation of the phenomena observed by Turner (2004) and Rojek (2001) concerning reality TV celetoids. In a similar manner as this thesis aims to do, several scholars (Marwick and boyd, 2011a, Marwick, 2013, Muntean and Petersen, 2009, Page, 2012, Usher, 2015, Bennett and Thomas, 2014, Dare-Edwards, 2014 etc.) have investigated online celebrity practices on Twitter. Before reviewing this research on celebrity Twitter practice, I want to give a general overview of the strategies and techniques of communication frequently used on Twitter.

Twitter is a microblogging site that allows its members to post updates to a network of followers. Due to Twitter's original intention of being compatible with the SMS format, these 'tweets' are limited to 140 Characters. This limitation has become a central characteristic of the network that has been preserved despite the decline of SMS. Posts on Twitter include anything from phatic communication (Jerslev and Mortensen, 2016) to breaking news, links and opinions.

Since its launch in 2006 Twitter has rapidly gained active users until this number plateaued at around 300 million users in early 2015 (Statista, 2016a), making it one of the most widely used and popular digital communication services and social networks alike. It has been widely discussed as a powerful means of liberating, anti-

oppressive “spreadable media” (Jenkins et al., 2013), especially in relation to the political revolutions of the Arab Spring. It has been used as a means of advertisement and communication by several major-league companies (Greer and Ferguson, 2011) and politicians (Pels and Corner, 2003) and also has a massive population of private users, who use Twitter as a social network.

Yet, while Twitter’s user population is made up mostly of private users and different organizations (Waters and Jamal, 2011), the group of users with the highest number of followers and thus the highest visibility consists mostly of celebrities. Amongst the 50 most-followed users on Twitter, 41 were verified accounts by celebrities whose celebrity status originated in varied fields such as Music, Entertainment, Television, Sport and Politics (Twittercounter, 2016).

Twitter shows characteristics from different types of networked communication platforms. On the one hand it enables the broadcasting of information to vast audiences (Kwak et al, 2010), yet it also allows for public and private communication between its members through @replies and Direct Messages (DM) (Page, 2012). It has been characterized as a micro-blogging site for its constantly updated stream of short messages (Marwick and boyd, 2011a), while others have noted that the idea of reciprocal following resembles social networks (Kwak et al. 2010). While these different approaches towards defining Twitter have failed to reach consent, it is most practical to avoid a fixed definition of Twitter and to rather understand Twitter through its multiple practices.

Tweets can have multiple functions. They can for example broadcast information addressed at the general public directly or through links, they can address or reply to other Twitter users, add to an open discussion, and amplify messages posted by other accounts (see Page, 2012). In order to achieve these different options within the built-in limitation to 140-characters, Twitter users have developed a multitude of methods tools to keep track of discussions (Page, 2012, boyd et al., 2010). The most central of these practices — @replies (Honey and Herring, 2009), #hashtags (Page, 2012) and retweets (boyd et al., 2010) — are user-initiated syntax, which, when attached to a tweet, allow users to tag or address other users or topics in order to

participate in a public discussion. Especially for 'micro-celebrities' producing such public discussions and engaging in interactive tweets with their fan base has been identified as a key strategy to achieve success on Twitter (boyd et al., 2010, Page, 2012).

Recently Twitter adapted a 'favorite' function which allows users to express their interest in certain tweets. In line with boyd et al.'s (2010) argumentation about retweets, it should be considered that a like does not necessarily express consent of users towards the tweet. Nonetheless a high number of likes again indicates a high level of attention given to a post. In the analysis of Kanye West's Twitter account, like counts will be used alongside retweet counts to rate tweets' success in gaining attention.

6. Celebrity Twitter Practice

The development and adaption of digital and online media technologies – digital photography and videography, gossip blogging and social network sites including Twitter – are understood to have triggered a further reconfiguration of the very concept of celebrity that goes beyond the celebrity phenomena analyzed with the rise of reality TV (Turner, 2006, Turner, 2010, Rojek, 2001). In the endless stream of information and attention that online celebrity news coverage provides, a coherent and stable star image curated by publicists cannot be sustained. Scandal has become a normality (Muntean and Petersen, 2009) and performed authenticity a necessity in an online attention economy (Marwick and boyd, 2011a). As a reaction to this, scholars have observed a shift from the traditional premeditated and institutionally controlled model of glossy Hollywood celebrity, towards a model that allows the star to directly control the self-branding and self-presentation of his online appearance. This is a model that blurs the lines between celebrity and fans by engaging interactively (Marwick and boyd, 2011a).

Extending the idea of celebritization, but shifting from reality TV to networked online media, Senft (2008) introduces the concept of 'micro-celebrity', which she defines as a set of techniques employed to increase popularity through online self-branding and

self-presentation. 'Micro-celebrities' understand their online followers as a fan base that has to be maintained and managed through the construction of a performed image that suggests authenticity and proximity. At the same time emphasis is placed on constructing an identity that can be easily commodified and consumed with the final result of gaining social and economic surplus (Page, 2012), upholding the structural relationship between celebrities and a celebrity industry. Even more than Rojek's 'celetoids', 'micro-celebrities' de-mystify the idea of inherent charisma and unique inborn talent or star charisma. In their adaptation of the concept, Marwick and boyd (2011a) hence suggest an understanding of celebrity as a set of practices that can be used and learned by anyone, rather than a given status. While Kanye West can certainly be measured as a celebrity by traditional means, for the specific analysis of his Twitter account, it is highly suitable to use the idea of celebrity as a set of practices.

While micro-celebrity and self-branding practices were first observed to be used by niche celebrities, such as Senft's (2008) study of cam girls as an example of people having limited reach and popularity, they have been used by a range of practitioners including both elite and ordinary persons (Page, 2012). Marwick and boyd's (2011a) study reveals how 'traditional' celebrities are using practices formerly identified as 'micro-celebrity' in their online representations, particularly Twitter. For traditional celebrities, Twitter has emerged as a vehicle that allows them to directly construct, address and fix their celebrity identities against a flood of possibly conflicting paparazzi news (Muntean and Petersen, 2009). Two of the key practices identified by Marwick and boyd (2011a) and utilized by celebrity Twitter practitioners, which have to be considered in the analysis of Kanye West, are performed Intimacy and authenticity, which will be explained in further detail below.

1. Intimacy and Authenticity

The live-stream concept of Twitter creates a sense of ongoing connection to the celebrity's backstage, private life. Especially spontaneous posts have been understood to make up for Twitter's appeal amongst fans (Muntean and Petersen, 2009). Posting private media content such as photos and videos, directly interacting with fans, addressing rumors and sharing personal information have been identified

as practices of performed intimacy (Marwick and boyd, 2011a) that further heighten the sense of a backstage access to the celebrity's life.

In the conclusion of her article analyzing the performed motherhood of Peaches Geldof through her Twitter account, Charlesworth (2014, 509) argues that while Twitter does not introduce the concept of behind-the-scenes content, it serves as a stage to perform "the public-private", through "its declaration of in-the-momentness and self-authorship". Twitter's great quality lies in its ability to convey a sense of transparency and honesty.

On a more general level, authenticity has been classified as an artificial construction and moving equilibrium that is defined through the contradistinction from the inauthentic (Grazian, 2003). What is and what signifies authenticity thus varies greatly from context to context (Marwick and boyd, 2011b). In regards to celebrities' public practices, Dyer (1991) has identified a lack of control and lack of premeditation as general markers of authenticity. Unedited, spontaneous and preferably emotional reactions of celebrities reflect these markers of authenticity and simultaneously contrast the professionalized practices of accounts managed by publicists and profit-driven management (Dare-Edwards, 2014). Marwick and boyd (2011a) furthermore add that posts including personal, controversial or negative content, as well as spelling and grammar mistakes also align with Dyer's markers and thus generally represent authenticity. Analyzing Kanye West's Twitter practice will be of central interest in order to identify if and how his tweets reflect these markers of authenticity.

Twitter's promise to deliver authentic backstage access to the celebrities life is met with suspicion, especially by young media-literate audiences, who, in realizing that markers of authenticity are open to manipulation and imitation, and despite official verification and direct outings, constantly discuss whether posts are authentic or premeditated (Marwick and boyd, 2011a, Dare-Edwards, 2014). The pervasive influence of the publicity industry on media production stands in extreme contrast to the deliberate promise of unmediated and uncontrolled authenticity conveyed through celebrity Twitter. While there are no established ways to strategically unmask the

influence of the “publicity industry” (Turner, 2010), once its presence and involvement is revealed, content loses its authenticity and value.

Audiences are aware that any narrative can be manipulated, imitated and constructed through potent digital technologies’ manipulation capacities and the possibility of identifying publicity personnel’s influence over Twitter content is limited (Thomas, 2014). While addressing the production of star images, Petersen (2007) observes that modern star portrayals inevitably provoke questions concerning their authenticity: “Is this photo real?”. As there cannot be a definite answer to this, this question about authenticity becomes ever-present (Horeck, 2015).

Beyond authenticity, audiences are highly alert to the coherence of celebrity performance (Van den Bulck et al., 2014). As mentioned above, the constant attention towards (online) celebrities is likely to reveal conflicting information and inconsistencies, such as rants, negative posts or sudden changes in tone. These can be conceived in different ways. They can be identified either as signs of authenticity, revealing for once an authentic celebrity, yet also as revelations of the external constructedness of a celebrity’s profile. As Dare-Edwards’ (2014) study of One Direction’s Louis Tomlinson’s posts exemplifies, these types of inconsistencies lead to heated debates amongst fans.

Encountering a similar phenomenon in an analysis of Mötley Crüe’s founder Nikki Sixx’s Twitter account, Spirou (2014) points out that, while Sixx’s Twitter usage generally creates a sense of authenticity, as posts appear to be authored directly by the celebrity and without interference from controlling institutions, in the context of the commercial release of products related to the celebrity, his Twitter feed is temporarily transformed into a promotional platform that lacks the usual authenticity.

Without herself further discussing these findings, Spirou has uncovered a central paradox often found on celebrities’ Twitter feeds: While celebrity Twitter accounts are highly concerned with creating an authentic and relatable narrative, thereby constructing a pseudo-intimate relationship with the fan, Twitter accounts are similarly exploited to promote commercial products in the next breath. In an ideal case, the

authentic content outweighs the other such that “there is enough material uploaded (...) for fans and followers to feel a great sense of connection to the rock star” (Spirou, 2014, 529), and promotional posts are consequently perceived as necessary, yet inauthentic.

These two fields of conflict will also be considered with regards to Kanye West’s Twitter. By identifying incoherencies in his style of posting and especially analyzing promotional posts, the author aims to firstly reflect upon the authenticity of his profile and secondly to further assess his structural connection to a celebrity industry as a celebrity commodity.

7. Performance

When attempting to understand online communication, Castells' (2009) concept of “mass self-communication” serves as a simple concept explaining a basic characteristic of online communication: Any content published online has the potential to reach a mass audience, but may also fail to reach anyone but its creator. While some authors have applauded this mass self-communication as a democratization of communication (Kehrberg, 2014), visibility and attention emerge as asymmetrically distributed factors that determine the access and success in what might first seem to be democratic online communication.

Visibility is most simply exemplified through the process of unmediated, reciprocal eye-to-eye contact, which is understood as one of the most fundamental type of human interactions (Simmel, 1949). This process is symmetrical, co-present and non-hierarchical. Yet, such perfectly balanced intervisibility remains an exception, to the point where it can be considered a mere theoretical possibility. “Complex and less complex technological devices” (Brighenti, 2007, 4) ranging from curtains and walls to video cameras and satellites allow those who control these devices not only to extend their field of vision beyond the limitations of the here and now (Thompson, 2005). They allow one to control whether their user wants to see, be seen or not see or not be seen. Media technologies have introduced and continually enhanced

visibility asymmetries and turned the regulation of social visibility into a strategy-driven supply-and-demand market (Brighenti, 2007).

In a general sense, but even more so online, visibility has become a precondition for social recognition: Who is seen is known and who is not seen is unknown. The market logic and power relations influencing the distribution of visibility conclusively create a visibility market where minorities without visibility are rendered invisible, powerless and excluded, while an excess of visibility creates continuously represented celebrities¹ (Brighenti, 2007).

Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1977) delivers an interesting starting point for considering the relationship between power and visibility. His analysis of the development of western society's disciplinary institutions is explained by referring to changes in the relationship between visibility and power.

His point of departure, the *ancien régime's* system of public punishment and spectacle, manifested the sovereign's power by making a few — prisoners on the one hand, the sovereign on the other — visible to the many, the audience. From the 16th century, this system of spectacular and public displays of power gave way to a 'disciplinary society', which incorporated surveillance to a higher degree, establishing a visibility of the many by the few. Foucault's famously applied metaphor of the panopticon exemplifies the relationship between visibility and power in this disciplinary society. While never truly knowing if they are being observed, the prisoners of the panopticon know that they are always visible to the supervisor, who himself remains unseen. The prisoners will thus always act as if they were being observed. The power structure of the panopticon has been greatly employed throughout many fields and institutions of the disciplinary society: Visibility is used as a means of control, and those who control the means of surveillance are in power.

While agreeing with Foucault's observations for certain organizations in our societies, such as prisons and the military, Thompson (2005) extends Foucault's argument by

¹ Brighenti (2007, 12) refers to models as "something or someone who is endowed with visibility." However, I suggest that this can be used synonymously with the concept of celebrity.

observing that communication media have simultaneously created another new kind of power-visibility relation different to that of the panopticon: Mass media focuses the attention of the many towards the few. For politicians and celebrities alike², mediated visibility is a double-edged sword, which on the one hand allows them to present themselves from an intimate and private side, as human beings and directly as themselves, yet on the other hand also facilitates uncontrollable risks such as critique and scandals, which themselves become normalized (Muntean and Petersen, 2009). Essentially, celebrities find themselves in a reverse panopticon. Their every move is mediated, broadcasted and discussed, urging them to constantly behave accordingly, while they can hardly identify the audience and effect of their actions (see Marwick and boyd, 2011b).

Since their every move is being watched by an undefinable audience, every move has to be carefully performed. While drawing its language from theatre studies and being a hallmark concept of symbolic interactionism, Goffman's concept of "the performance of the self" has been adapted to the study of celebrity online representation (e.g. Hogan, 2010). Goffman (1959) observed that performance not only occurs as announced theatrical performances, but constantly throughout everyday interactions between people. As Park, (1950, 249) summarizes: "Everyone is always and everywhere, more or less consciously, playing a role. It is in these roles that we know each other; it is in these roles that we know ourselves." However, these roles represent an idealized version of oneself, which decisively includes and hides certain aspects of one's personality — a process Goffman described as "impression management".

Within the performance of the self, Goffman (1959) distinguished between a frontstage and a backstage. The frontstage refers to public appearances, where people perform their studied roles in a professional manner and in order to impress others. Celebrity's public performances at e.g. award shows, show appearances and interviews can be seen as a typical frontstage situation, in which a self-rehearsed

² While Thompson's (2005) article focuses on politicians, his assumptions are transferrable to celebrities.

image is conveyed. The backstage concerns the parts of life where people fulfill their everyday duties, while still performing to some degree, yet in a more casual way. Impression management refers to the practice of strategically controlling similarly both one's front- and backstage performances (Goffman, 1959).

In the light of the reverse panopticon of constant attention towards celebrities and through Twitter's promise to deliver backstage access to a celebrity's private life, the backstage of the performance of the self becomes increasingly observed. A celebrity's backstage is not a private space anymore (Hogan, 2010). The conscious reflection of one's action in relation to a real or imagined audience differentiates mere unperformed actions from self-performance (Carlson, 2004). Exposed to the constant attention of the reverse panopticon, celebrities' backstage performance becomes just as important and reflected as their frontstage performances. Celebrity Twitter practice is thus a constant backstage performance aiming to convey authenticity and intimacy to an imagined audience (Marwick and boyd, 2011b).

8. Attention Economy

Despite these pressures that are implied through the reverse panopticon aspect of mediated visibility, celebrities are dependent on upholding visibility in order to sustain their celebrity status. While visibility has already been mentioned as being influenced by capitalist logic, the abundance of information on the Internet has created a climate in which the level of visibility is determined by attention. Approaching this issue from an economic point of view, Goldhaber (1997) delivers an early yet relevant description of an attention economy that has emerged around the distribution of mediated visibility: Since there is too much content available online, obtaining visibility increasingly requires gaining the attention of online audiences, which in contrast to the vast amount of content, is a naturally scarce resource — highly limited and highly desirable.

In an attempt to theorize celebrity in relation to field theory, Driessens (2013b) introduces a celebrity capital as a category for field theory. The value of his conception of celebrity capital lies in the amount of accumulated media visibility that originates in recurrent media representations (Driessens, 2014, 115). High celebrity

capital, more simply put, means gaining a lot of attention. Celebrity capital is, in line with the field theory, transferable into other forms of capital. As Goldhaber (1997) assesses, within an attention economy, money flows along with attention and can be extracted by celebrities who manage to achieve and sustain high attention. Kim Kardashian, coincidentally Kanye West's wife, but here more importantly a classic example of a celebrity, manages to obtain high revenues from sponsorships and mini-products like the Kimoji-App (Cullins, 2016). She manages to transfer her celebrity capital into economic capital. Understanding celebrity as a form of capital, the discussion of Kanye West's tweets will reference how his strategies increase and transfer his celebrity capital.

While attention can be transferred into money, so Goldhaber argues, attention cannot be reliably bought with money. Since Goldhaber's article was published, several technologies have been increasingly implemented online — the page-rank system and paid advertisements (see Hesmondhalgh, 2007, 256) — that have continually commercialized the Internet and enabled financially strong agents to buy visibility. Yet, and proving Goldhaber's assumption right, content will only sustain attention if it's interesting enough. Thus, in order to sustain and enlarge celebrity capital in an online attention economy, the celebrity practitioner has to produce content that is interesting, "bize-sized and portable" (Hesmondhalgh, 2007). Content that easily sustains attention.

9. Reflection on Twitter Celebrity Studies

Countering accounts of Twitter as a progressive new medium of change that essentially reevaluates the concept of celebrity by destabilizing the dominance of the Hollywood system of stars, some scholars argue that although Twitter constitutes a transformation in celebrity communication, it generally reproduces the modes of celebrity that existed in pre-Twitter celebrity incarnations (Thomas, 2014, Bennett and Thomas, 2014, Usher, 2015). The assumption is justified by the observation that the group most followed people on Twitter consists exclusively of people that have previously had successful careers in the traditional entertainment industries (Bennett and Thomas, 2014). Thomas (2014) counters the argument that Twitter creates a

more intimate, personal and authentic relationship between celebrity and fan by arguing that these practices should not be understood as new forms of celebrity practice, but rather as an evolution of existing modes facilitated through technology. In one of many examples, Thomas argues against the novelty of the concept of 'micro-celebrity' by arguing that similar practices of apparent closeness and familiarity have been included in established forms of star-fan interaction, such as the fan convention that similarly granted access to direct contact between star and fan.

In a manner similar to Thomas' argument, Usher (2015) employs several examples to compare interactive Twitter practices to the journalistic practice of celebrity interviews. While the popular practice of the celebrity "ask-me-anything" session suggests a open and uncensored access to the celebrity, the framework resembles the setup of traditional interviews or press conferences, in which the celebrity remains in control over which questions to answer and which not to (Thomas, 2014). Usher (2015) furthermore concludes that similar to celebrity interviews, celebrity Twitter usage is increasingly professionalized in its structure to include strategies that aim to sustain the celebrity's constructed identity while re-articulating consumption, consumerism and free-market capitalist ideology. She thereby emphasizes that pre-Twitter concepts of celebrity are not fully replaced, but that Twitter celebrities adapt and transform methods and forms from pre-Twitter celebrity to the new medium. In relation to the study of Kanye West's Twitter usage, it will be a considered if and how his Twitter practice replicates his celebrity persona previously constructed by himself and through his media representations. Is Kanye West the same celebrity on Twitter as in the stigmatizing media representations of him or does the unedited medium allow him to establish a different celebrity persona?

Turner (2010) reflects upon celebrity studies' over-emphasis of textual analysis, which in itself is a highly valid methodology, especially considering the richness of texts supplied by the celebrity industry, yet is insufficient to constitute a broad understanding. Turner asks for a more diverse and multidisciplinary research approach within celebrity studies necessary for giving celebrity-related studies a broader validation. Preceding Turner's (2010) call for a more systematic and contextualized approach to celebrity studies, Driessen (2013a) introduces a

multidimensional model for understanding the process of celebritization, which refers to the societal and cultural changes implied by celebrity. Understood as a meta-process that does not simply equal the qualitative increase of celebrity individuals with a society, celebritization refers to the qualitative dimension of the changes in the nature of celebrity and its societal and cultural embedding (Driessens, 2013a, 7).

Mediation, which has been understood as a precondition to the very notion of celebrity (Evans, 2005), remains a central molding force of celebritization and similarly remains difficult to research on a structural level. Personalization, the increasing centrality of the disembedded individual over the collective and the emphasis on the private rather than the public, and commodification, which refers to the direct and indirect transformation of individuals into “celebrity–commodities”, are identified as other central molding forces that drive celebritization (Driessens, 2013a). These three structural forces will be considered for a discussion of Kanye West’s affiliation with the structural implications of celebrity.

C. METHODOLOGY

1. Methodological Reflection

As Bennett and Thomas (2014) point out in their foreword to the *Celebrity Studies Journal* special issue on celebrity use of Twitter, the dynamic and evolving character of Twitter as a medium and celebrity as a phenomenon does not allow one to simply transfer traditional approaches of media research methodology to the study of Twitter celebrities. To face these methodological challenges, there is a need to find new adaptive and hybrid methodological approaches.

The following up-front considerations were made for this study: The case of Kanye West is proven to be highly relevant and interesting to study, especially in the context of celebrity Twitter usage. His posts cause numerous strong reactions throughout traditional media — newspapers, TV shows, radio — as well as online media — news websites, blogs, magazines and Twitter itself — which all react to the very content of his tweets. While third-party reactions and media representations to and of Kanye West's tweets could themselves serve as interesting data for a framing or context analysis, the sheer volume and variety of these reactions would exceed the capacities of this research. Furthermore, before focusing on reactions, it is the aim of this study to understand and analyze the very content and strategies of Kanye West's Twitter practice itself. This study will therefore focus on Kanye West's Twitter practice and leave out third-party reactions. Having clarified this research scope, it has yet to be considered that the amount of raw data supplied through Kanye West's Twitter is naturally limited to the amount of tweets he makes.

Considering the limited, yet condensed content supplied through the data considered for this research, it quickly became obvious that an adapted, multi-methods approach was needed to answer the research questions. Following the intent to focus the research on the very content of Kanye's tweets, this thesis opts to combine case study research strategy with the analytical strengths of qualitative content analysis into a hybrid methodology, adapted to the specific research questions, aims and the limitations of the case study.

The qualitative research approach this study adapts is in line with social constructivist research methodology, which assumes that there is no clear-cut objectivity or reality (Cassell and Symon, 1994), negates the existence of quantifiable truths and suggests an interpretive approach to social knowledge (Kohlbacher, 2006). This study therefore does not intend to extract quantifiable truths from Kanye West's Twitter practice, but rather opts to understand its case study as a socially constructed product of power relations and aims to contribute to the knowledge about both celebrity Twitter practice and the case study of Kanye West alike.

While case study methodology is based on the social constructivist paradigm (Kohlbacher, 2006) explained above and used in this study, it furthermore qualifies as a meta-methodology (Johansson, 2003), which allows case study research to combine different methodological approaches into a mixed-methods approach. In synthesizing different methodological angles within one research approach, case studies can benefit from the positive effects of triangulation (Kohlbacher, 2006). This research approach intends to apply qualitative content analysis as an analytical technique to the framework and dataset of case-study research.

Content analysis, especially classical content analysis of the quantitative kind, is designed to comply with positivistic standards. Hence, creating validity and accuracy are key concerns when developing a content analysis research design. Unlike quantitative content analysis, qualitative content analysis has frequently been criticized for lacking a structured research design and therefore scientific accuracy. In an effort to counter these claims, scholars have recently introduced more systematic models of qualitative content analysis (Krippendorff, 2004, Mayring, 2002).

Introducing criteria that help to design more structured research design and recheck the validity, it is suggested that a higher degree of scientific accuracy can be attained through qualitative content analysis. Despite somewhat lacking the scientific accuracy of its quantitative cousin, quantitative content analysis presents itself as the most appropriate technique for tackling this study's research objectives, as it allows one to transform texts and data into manageable categories through coding. In

reflecting upon criteria for validity by Krippendorff (2004), this study hopes to critically reflect its own level of scientific accuracy.

Yet, there are some key differences between case study methodology and content analysis, which need to be synthesized. While sampling plays a central role in content analysis, it does not apply in such a degree for case study methodology (Tellis, 1997). Content analysis traditionally dissects grand populations of data out of which a certain sample has to be extracted (Krippendorff, 2004). The case study investigated in this study offers only a limited amount of data, which makes explicit sampling not inherently necessary. However, the process of sampling will be thoroughly explained in the chapter about data collection (Chapter C.4).

2. Case Study

Case-study research is characterized by its intention to combine a multitude of methods – possibly both qualitative and quantitative – to a contemporary phenomenon in order to gain a deep insight into its social functioning (Johansson, 2003). Case studies retrieve data from at least one of five distinct sources (Yin, 2003). Kanye West's tweets, in being an archival recording, qualify the dataset for case-study methodology. In line with Yin's (2003) observations, this study complies with the characteristics of a case study because its aim is to answer "how" and "why" questions (How does Kanye West use Twitter?), because it is impossible for the researcher to manipulate the behavior of the phenomenon observed, because exploring the contextual conditions of the case study will be a focus of the discussion and finally because the boundaries between the case study (Kanye West's Twitter usage) and its context (Twitter celebrity, Kanye West) are blurry. More specifically the case study of of this research, Kanye West's Twitter usage, combines elements of a descriptive and an exploratory case-study approach (Yin, 2003), as it aims to create a better understanding of a contemporary phenomenon (descriptive) and as it also aims to relate this phenomenon to the theories outlined in the literature review, ultimately hoping to gain a structural understanding of the case-study phenomenon (exploratory).

Kanye West's uniquely controversial relationship with traditional news, as well as the intense reactions, both through high numbers of retweets and favorites as well as through news media reports, to his Twitter usage can be valued as indicators that Kanye West's Twitter performance qualifies as a single case study (Levy, 1988) for being a unique and/or extreme example of celebrity Twitter usage. Yet, rather than opting to deliver a holistic analysis of all the implications, reactions and contexts of the case study (Tellis, 1997), which would be in no way possible as Kanye West's Twitter usage is a contemporary phenomenon that might evolve at the time of writing and in the future, this case study seeks to establish an initial academic perspective on Kanye West's Twitter usage that contributes a new perspective to the understanding of the complex contemporary phenomena of celebrity Twitter usage and Kanye West alike.

While most communication-related studies of celebrity Twitter usage have used data retrieved from multiple selected celebrity Twitter accounts (Marwick and boyd, 2011a, Hambrink et al. 2010), multiple selected celebrity accounts and fan replies (Kehrberg 2015) or an automated set of accounts (Kwak et al. 2011, Chew and Eysenbach, 2010) for their research, this study, like few other studies (Dare-Edwards, 2014, Charlesworth, 2014) chooses to focus entirely on Kanye West's Twitter account. Using multiple celebrity Twitter accounts allows one to make general conclusions about celebrity Twitter usage derived from a larger and possibly more valid sample. However, the researcher believes that Kanye West's Twitter usage proves to be a case study worth examining by itself: Kanye's only very recent use of Twitter marks his first step into social media and subsequently a direct form of communication, moving away from media-digested, third-party coverage that has often stigmatized Kanye West as a villain.

3. Content Analysis

Although originating in mass communication research, content analysis has become a widely used method in communication studies that has also been transferred to several other fields of research (Krippendorf, 2004). Content analysis can be vaguely defined as "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from

texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use” (Krippendorf, 2004, 18). Given the various different genres, types and contexts of texts to which it can be applied, content analysis has spawned several incarnations and different forms: it is a flexible method that allows it to be adapted for different types of uses. Simply put, Content analysis can be used in a quantitative form, to analyze data in the form of numbers, and also qualitatively to analyze data in the form of words and pictures (Neuman, 1997). Coding, being “the process of transforming raw data into a standardized form” (Babbie, 2001, 309), centrally characterizes content analysis. As the coding carried out in this study aims to classify Kanye West’s tweets into categories according to their quality — their characteristics defined after established indicators — this study applies a qualitative content analysis for its first two units of analysis. The third unit of analysis, which is concerned with the number of retweets and favorites, uses a quantitative methodology. Subsequently, this research applies a mixture of qualitative and quantitative content analysis, while the qualitative aspects remain more prominent.

Qualitative content analysis is a widely used method in similar studies and has been used to understand the Twitter behavior of non-profit organizations (Waters and Jamal 2011), as a method to research local television stations’ online representation through Twitter (Greer and Ferguson, 2011), to understand celebrity sport athletes’ usage of Twitter (Hambrink et al. 2010), to categorize fan comments on celebrity’s Twitter profiles (Kehrberg, 2015), to dissect local differences between comments on celebrity violence through Twitter (Eronen, 2014) and to make sense of tweets related to the outbreak of the H1N1 virus in 2009 (Chew and Eysenbach, 2010).

The qualitative content analysis applied in this study aims at identifying strategies (patterns) used by Kanye West in his Twitter practice. The first unit of coding will be a classification of the data into thematic categories. As Kanye self-admittedly uses his Twitter as a “stream of consciousness”, the second unit of coding will classify each unit of data as to whether it appears as a single tweet, without connection to the tweets before and after, or if it is part of a larger consecutive flow of tweets. For the third unit of analysis applied in this study, the count of likes and retweets of each unit of the dataset will be logged. As mentioned above, this third unit of coding is

processed using quantitative methodology, yet given the first two units of analysis, this is outweighed by the qualitative aspects of this research. In the following analysis of these units, the findings from these three qualitative and quantitative categorizations will be combined and synthesized in order to identify patterns (strategies) within Kanye West's use of Twitter.

4. Data Collection

Kanye West has a verified account, which certifies that the account is the genuine account of the celebrity. As of the 04.08.2016, twitter.com/kanyewest has 24,8 million followers. While this is still a low number in comparison to the most-followed celebrities on Twitter, Katy Perry (91,4), Justin Bieber (85,7) and Taylor Swift (80.1)³. Kanye is listed on position 43, within Twitter Counter's list of the most-followed users of Twitter (Twittercounter, 2016). Especially in comparison to the most-followed, it has to be considered that Kanye joined Twitter only comparatively recently and that he has only picked up tweeting regularly in late 2015.

Before approaching the data collection, recording, coding and analysis, with the intention of gaining an upfront overview of Kanye West's Twitter account, the researcher employed the online Twitter analysis tool Twitonomy (Appendix 2), which displays central information about a Twitter account's activity. These statistics revealed that while posting an average of 0.80 tweets a day, the intensity of posts on Kanye West's Twitter varies. While the phase between July 2013 and July 2015 saw relatively low Twitter activity, the frequency of posts increased greatly between January and March 2016. Often times, single days contain an especially high number of posts of up to a maximum of 62 posts, such as on 24.02.2016. Kanye uses a relatively low amount of Twitter communication syntax. Retweets make up less than one per cent of his tweets. Replies only rank slightly higher, making up for around one per cent of his tweets. Hashtags are used in about five per cent of his tweets. During the analysis of Kanye West's Twitter account, certain data retrieved with this tool will be considered.

³ Data retrieved through their verified Twitter accounts (twitter.com/KatyPerry, twitter.com/justinbieber, twitter.com/taylorswift13) on the 04.08.2016. In millions.

For the content analysis of Kanye West's Twitter, all available tweets from twitter.com/kanyewest that were published in the time span between the 18.05.2013 and the 12.06.2016 were retrieved. This sample consists of a total of 855 tweets. The starting point of the sample was also the inauguration of the account, a promotional announcement for his album Yeezus. The end of the time span for the sample was chosen to be just before the coding process began. Within this time span of retrieved posts, several publicly discussed events and appearances of Kanye's took place: The release of two studio Albums, Yeezus (2013) and The Life Of Pablo (2016), three fashion shows in collaboration with Adidas — Yeezy Season 1-3 —, his much-commented MTV Video Vanguard award acceptance speech, in which he announced his intent to run for president in 2020, as well as his marriage to Kim Kardashian. These events were mentioned or reflected on his Twitter account in different degrees.

While the size of the sample might be considered to be too small for a content analysis — content analysis is designed and widely used to deal with large volumes of data (Krippendorf, 2004) — one has to consider that, unlike the large amounts of data that can be retrieved from multiple highly active Twitter accounts (e.g. Marwick and boyd, 2011a), Kanye West's tweets are limited to the amount of posts published. In order to compensate for the limited amount of text provided through Kanye West's Twitter usage, a relatively long time span was chosen out of which the sample was recorded. The long time span covers several phases of Kanye West's Twitter use and therefore makes up a valid and representative sample of his account.

It has to be noted that an unknown number of tweets within the sample have been deleted from the account. These tweets include an aggressive and insulting back-and-forth with rap artist Wiz Khalifa posted on the 26.01.2016. The tweets from this conversation were taken down from Kanye's account a day after they were posted, when the two conflicting parties settled their differences. Posts from the 27.01.2016 refer to this now-deleted fight (Torres and Gordon, 2016).

The sample of tweets was extracted using the online Twitter tool twdocs (twdocs.com). This tool allows one to export certain defined sets of tweets, such as

tweets containing a certain hashtag, tweets, last tweets from various accounts, hashtags, Twitter lists, etc. For the purposes of this research work, all tweets posted by Kanye West's verified account, twitter.com/kanyewest from the given time span were retrieved. Furthermore, twdocs.com allows one to download metadata, such as account name, time zone, URL, screen Name, location and other such data. For this research, the researcher decided to include the categories date, text, retweet count, favorite count in the dataset. While date and text, the most basic information of the tweets, were used for the thematic categorization and continuity categorization, the categories retweet count and favorite count were used directly for the analysis.

5. Thematic Categorization

In order to obtain a general overview of the thematic fields addressed in Kanye West's tweets, these are to be classified into thematic categories. Therefore a coding agenda needs to be developed. Maryring (2000) suggests two models for developing categories for qualitative content analysis: an inductive and a deductive model.

Using the methodology of a study by Hambrick et al. (2010) as a deductive guideline for designing the thematic categories used in the categorization of this research, this study initially utilized a deductive approach. For their study, which focuses on sport athletes' Twitter usage with the intention of identifying possibilities for further advertising and commercial exploitation of Twitter as a communication medium, they established thematic categories for analyzing the content of their case study's Twitter accounts. While the research aims of this study are significantly different, the research design, which helps to identify key thematic categories and strategies used by celebrities in their Twitter accounts, was considered to be a valuable model, applicable to the research of Kanye West's Twitter account. Hambrick et al. (2010) suggest six different thematic categories: interactivity, diversion, information sharing, content, fanship, and promotional.

In a second step, these categories suggested by Hambrick et al. (2010) were adapted to fit the content presented on Kanye West's Twitter account. Therefore the researcher conducted a test coding using a randomly selected sample of 85 tweets

(10% of the total sample) and using the categories suggested by the related study. It was found that the categories “interactivity”, “content”, “fanship” and “promotional” could be applied, as several tweets out of the pilot sample complied with the indicators of these categories. Although within the pilot coding no tweets were categorized as “various”, the category was nevertheless used, in case any tweets did not comply with any of the above categories.

During the test coding, the largest number of tweets was assigned to the category of “information sharing”. However, the researcher examined that the tweets classified into this category were largely different and not necessarily connected through the vague indicators of this category. As it is the research aim to identify strategies (patterns), the researcher felt that the category “information sharing” needed to be furthermore differentiated into more specific categories, allowing one to gain greater insight into the different types of personal tweets by Kanye West. Instead of only using “information sharing”, the researcher developed the categories “opinion”, “prayer”, “criticism” and “private”. All of these categories aim to give a more differentiated insight into the character of the specific tweets.

In order to give an overview of the intentions as well as to indicate the characteristics applied in the categorization, Table 1.1 presents an overview of the coding agenda:

Categories	Description Tweets that....	Indicator Tweets...	Example
Promotional	promote products and other commercial goods related to Kanye West	have a direct reference to product, Weblink	“NO MORE PARTIES IN LA https://t.co/WZnV0IMoXM ”, “I’m performing tonight on @LateNightSeth”
Fanship	express admiration for other people or institutions	mention a name, yet without directly addressing the person	“Skateboard P is the God.”, “Respect to Mandela, his family and his legacy.”
Personal	reveal information about Kanye West’s private life	reveal information otherwise unattainable for followers	“can’t wait to get home to North, Saint and my wife”, “Up late designing in Sweden.”
Opinion	reveal Kanye West expressing personal opinion or point of view	address issues rather than persons	“The midterms are extremely important”, “BILL COSBY INNOCENT !!!!!!!!!!!”

Categories	Description Tweets that....	Indicator Tweets...	Example
Prayer	reveal Kanye West directly addressing his Twitter audience	address followers, include prayer rhetoric	"I believe in us", "The Devil can't stop us", "God bless the fools, all positive vibes!"
Criticism	reveal Kanye West expressing criticism	directly address people, institutions or general issues in a critical tone	"I love love love white people but you don't understand what it means to be the great grandson of ex slaves and make it this far", "All these journalists can give their opinions well these are mine... yes I believe in my ripped homeless sweaters!!!"
Self-Admiration	reveal Kanye West highlighting his own achievements and success	include self-reference	"I am of service to the world with my art and I just want to serve more.", "Caught 10,000 retweets in half a second #facts"
Interactivity	directly address another person, institution or followers	address followers, contain general questions or announcements	"Mark, I am publicly asking you for help", "Has anybody ever heard of Bob Ezrin???"
Content	reference weblinks, photos or other Twitter external content	reference weblinks, otherwise undefined text	" http://t.co/mzlcJo6irU ", "LET'S GO!!! http://t.co/eZIDcSw9wZ http://t.co/LpVuwSvy0Q "
Various	do not qualify for any other category		

Table 1.1. Categories, Description, Indicators and Examples of the Thematic Categorization

Certain tweets feature the characteristics of more than one category. In these cases, a total of 99 times equaling 12% of the total, the tweet was included in the category it fitted the most, while the second category was added in a second chart.

In an attempt to increase the validity of the coding, the initial coding of the first unit of analysis was thoroughly revised once. This second coding was especially aimed at eliminating false codings due to long operation periods and to reduce the number of tweets assigned to multiple categories. In the revision of the coding, the researcher

read every tweet for a second time and reassessed the initial categorization. In the process of revision, a total of 19 tweets were assigned to a different category and 23 tweets with multiple categories were assigned to a single category. Those posts that were still assigned to multiple categories after the revised coding were noted and will be discussed in the finding section.

In order to further clarify the coding process, the appendix of this study features the full dataset of coded tweets. The tweets are sorted by the first unit of coding, their thematic classification and then by the second unit of coding, whether they are part of a stream of consciousness or not (Chapter C.4).

6. Stream of consciousness Categorization

The second part of the content analysis attempts to give an overview of the interrelations of the tweets of Kanye West. In the upfront overview of the data, the researcher's attention was drawn to the fact that many of Kanye West's tweets are contextually related to the tweet's before and after them, as part of a narrative that develops over several tweets. These tweets are usually posted within a short period of time. While addressing a certain topic throughout several posts is a general practice on Twitter – e.g. Dare Edwards (2014) notices a 12-tweet series posted by One Direction's Louis Tomlinson— Kanye makes use of this feature to a very high degree. Thus, as a first step for gaining an overview of these consecutive posts, the researcher manually coded Kanye West's tweets into one of the four categories single (s), start, continuous (c) and end.

- I. Single refers to tweets that do not have a contextual connection to other tweets surrounding them. Besides their features of content they can be furthermore identified through their timing, which is usually separated from other tweets
- II. Start refers to tweets that mark the beginning of a series of tweets that are related to one another. This first tweet will not have any contextual relation with the tweet before, but usually initiate a narrative of fast-paced tweets that is continued in the following tweets.

- III. Continuous refers to tweets that are included in a stream of consciousness. These tweets are contextually linked to those before and after them and usually relate to those in their proximity of time.
- IV. End refers to the last post of a stream of consciousness. This tweet is usually characterized by a longer phase of inactivity following this tweet and no contextual correlation to the following tweet.

The qualitative coding for this unit of analysis proved to be very efficient as all tweets were clearly assigned to a category. While the bare information about consecutive or non-consecutive tweets is of little substantial information, the researcher hopes to attain a deeper insight into Kanye West's Twitter practice by combining the findings with the results from the thematic categorization: Are certain thematic categories used increasingly in consecutive tweets, and are others used more in single tweets?

7. Favorite and Retweet Categorization

As a third unit of analysis that aims at gaining an overview of the relative relevance and success of posts, the researcher recorded the favorites and retweets of each unit. While a favorite or retweet does not necessarily signify a positive reaction to the tweet, they do serve as indicators of visibility and attention, and subsequently a indicator for success. The researcher retrieved the combined average of favorites and retweets to each thematic category. Furthermore the researcher analyzed the ten per cent most and least liked and favorited posts in relation to their thematic category in order to find out which individual posts were extremely successful.

8. Limitations

The researcher encountered limitations during the coding process of the dataset. Due to limited resources and time, it was not possible to arrange multiple coders for the coding process of the dataset. The implications of this circumstance are furthermore discussed in Chapter C.9. While automatically coding the tweets through indicating keywords using computer technology, a practice adapted by studies of larger scale (See Krippendorf, 2004, Kehrberg, 2015), presented itself as a possible

option, the researcher assessed that given the complexity of Kanye West's tweets on the one hand, and the small size of the sample on the other, this made manual coding a more sufficient method.

While several studies have highlighted and researched the conversational aspects of Twitter – Honey and Herring's (2009) study of conversation through @reply's, Page's (2012) analysis of hashtags as well as Boyd et al.'s (2010) study of retweets are examples – the researcher opted to focus entirely on the tweets posted by the author of the page. As the first analysis of Kanye West's Twitter was carried out before the actual research through Twitonomy indicated that less than 5% of Kanye's tweets contain interactivity syntax typical to Twitter, it became obvious that studying the interactive aspects of Kanye's Twitter usage is of little sense simply due to the lack of material. This scope is therefore focused on the content of the dataset. Yet, despite not making use of Twitter's interactivity syntax, Kanye does directly address other people and Twitter users in his posts. These posts were categorized as interactivity in the thematic categorization and will be analyzed with reference to the studies mentioned above.

9. Validity

Validity is considered to be a crucial factor determining the quality of content analysis (Krippendorf, 2004, Lombard et al. 2002) and a vital, often underestimated factor for case studies as well (Johansson, 2003, Baxter and Jack, 2008). For determining validity in qualitative content analysis, Krippendorf (2004, 214ff) suggests specific quality criteria, namely semantic validity, sampling validity, and construct validity. Furthermore, there are the general criteria of stability, reproducibility and accuracy. The result-oriented criteria of correlative and predictive validity, do not apply to this study as they do not feature external criterion or modifications of its dataset and furthermore did not predict a specific outcome for its study (see Kohlbacher, 2006).

This study fulfils the requirements of sampling validity (Krippendorf, 2004), as the dataset used for this study was retrieved directly from its native database using an automated tool (TwDocs) and was analyzed without previously being processed. Semantic validity and construct validity can be provided, as the research design

applied in this study was deducted from Hambrink et al.'s (2010) study, in which they reported a successful research design. Furthermore, addressing semantic validity, the units of analysis were furthermore revised to fit the specific dataset while definitions, key examples and indicators were displayed in Table 1.1.

The stability and reproducibility of this study still need to be addressed. Due to the highly qualitative nature of the first two units of analysis, the manual coding process of this study is subject to inaccuracies. In order to establish a higher validity in coding, many large scale research projects employ multiple independent coders (Kassarjian, 1977, Krippendorf, 2004). Especially for the qualitative classifications, this process is useful to eliminate personal bias and establish a higher validity (see Hambrink et al. 2010). Although some scholars have suggested that multiple coders as well as a sufficient inter-coder reliability are necessary to comply with the claims to validity for a content analysis, many studies do either not sufficiently display these factors, or refrain from using multiple coders (Lombard et al. 2002). In this study, due to limitations imposed through time and funding, the categorization was handled exclusively by the researcher. While this circumstance will certainly cause a certain portion of bias to trickle through, it is assumed that these inaccuracies, especially given the small size of the sample, will not influence the general outcome of the categorization. Generally, considering the qualitative process of thematic classification, a certain inaccuracy concerning coding cannot be avoided. It is thus concluded that, despite unavoidable subjective influence, this study qualifies with standards of scientific accuracy (Krippendorf, 2004).

10. Analysis Methodology

While the analysis of case studies is one of the least structured aspects of its methodology (Tellis, 1997), Yin (1994) defined data analysis as a process that “consists of examining, categorizing, tabulating, or otherwise recombining the evidence to address the initial propositions of a study.” Similarly, this study seeks to combine the findings from the different categorizations applied in the content analysis with one another. Identifying patterns (strategies), which has been understood as essential to data analysis in case-study methodology (Neumann, 1997), is another

central concern of the analysis carried out in this research. Furthermore, these findings will be analyzed in relation to the theories introduced in the literature review. Subsequently, the analytical techniques employed by this research relate to what Yin (2003, 109) has described as pattern matching — relating identified patterns to previous theory — and explanation building — expanding previously identified patterns.

A first analysis of the findings of the content analysis aims at identifying the key characteristics of each thematic category. It is a primary priority to identify what kind of tweets have been found to be categorized into this category. Secondly, in an attempt to consider inaccuracies, the researcher will identify difficulties in the categorization. Thirdly, the implications of every category will be considered in relation to celebrity Twitter theory: How does each category relate to performed intimacy? Do they give a backstage insight into Kanye's life? Is it possible to identify markers of authenticity?

In a second step of analysis the researcher aims to synthesize the findings from the content categorization. By relating the findings from each category to each other, the researcher hopes to be able to gain deeper insight into the functioning and success of different strategies employed by Kanye West. Examining how thematic categories relate both to stream of consciousness tweets as well as to the amount of favorites and retweets, the researcher hopes to identify interrelations between the data. Do certain thematic category prove to attain an especially high or low number of favorites and retweets? Are certain thematic categories more or less used within consecutive posts?

Out of these two analytical steps the researcher hopes to identify the key strategies employed by Kanye West. In the next step the researcher aims to contextualize in which way the synthesized findings from the content analysis relate to the theoretical frameworks suggested by previous studies on celebrity Twitter usage. It will be investigated if and how Kanye West makes use of 'micro-celebrity' practices such as performed intimacy and authenticity (Marwick and boyd, 2011a), if and how he can

be understood as a commodity, as well as if and how he uses interactivity as a strategy.

Turner (2010) assesses that one of the main weaknesses of celebrity studies is the lack of interest in structural aspects of celebrity, such as an analysis of production, trade, marketing and the political economy of the industry that produces the celebrity commodity. While any serious research aiming to identify the structural implications and impacts of the concept of celebrity would require a wide range of disciplines, knowledge and research methods that would go beyond the possibilities of this study, the researcher nevertheless aims to apply the findings from the content analysis of this study to structural phenomena of the celebrity industry, commodification and celebrity capital (Driessens 2013a, 2013b, 2015).

D. FINDINGS

Table 2.1 shows the intensity of posts from twitter.com/kanyewest over the time frame of the investigation. In the time between his first post on 18.05.2013 to 12.06.2016, Kanye West tweeted a total of 855 times, which equals an average of 0.80 posts per day. However, the amount of daily postings varies greatly. Over the course of the three years in which Kanye has used Twitter, there have been easily identifiable changes in the intensity of his account. His Twitter usage can be divided into two distinct phases: Within the first years of his Twitter usage – between 2013 and 2015 – Kanye sporadically used Twitter, making less than one post per day. From late 2015, the second phase of his Twitter usage, the intensity of his Twitter usage increased with Kanye posting more frequently and also making several posts a day, including the introduction of consecutive tweet streams linked through a shared narrative

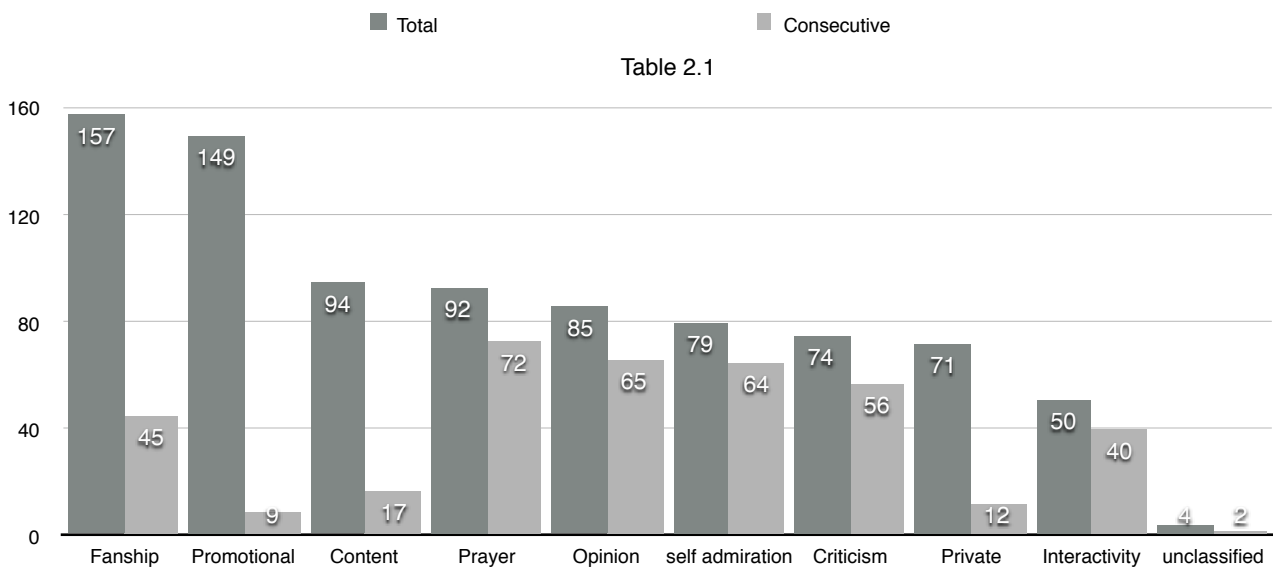


Table 2.1. Tweets per category, consecutive tweets per category

Table 2.1. gives an overview of the number of tweets coded to each category next to the amount of tweets from each category which were included in consecutive tweet streams. The categories fanship and promotional are numerically the strongest groups, both including around 150 tweets or an equivalent of 17-18% of the total. The categories content, opinion, prayer, self-admiration, criticism and private all occupy

between 8-10% of the total, achieving a number between 94 and 71 tweets of the total sample. With 50 tweets and approx. 6%, interactivity makes up the smallest of the categories. Four tweets have been categorized as unclassified, as they did not align with the criteria for any other category. With under one per cent, this makes up an insignificant portion of the total sample.

Out of the total of 855 tweets, 472 tweets, or 55 per cent were single, non-consecutive tweets, while the other 45 per cent, or 382 tweets were categorized as consecutive tweets and part of a stream of consciousness. The large majority of tweets from the three largest categories — fanship, promotional and content — occurred as single tweets that are not included in consecutive tweet streams. The category private also included a large majority of single tweets. The remaining categories — prayer, opinion, self-admiration, criticism and interactivity — all have more than three quarters of their tweets included in consecutive tweets.

In the categorization, a total of 76 tweets have been assigned to multiple categories, which equals 9% of the total tweets. Amongst these tweets assigned to multiple categories, promotional/content makes up the largest group with 30 tweets. This phenomenon is discussed in Chapter 3.1. concerning promotional tweets. There was no other combination of multiple categories in the sample that received more than 8 tweets or one per cent of the total sample. These tweets will therefore be handled as if they belong to the category they were primarily assigned to.

The overall average of retweets and likes per tweet is 28.429. As Table 2.2⁴ shows, the average varied greatly within each category. The categories private and self-admiration scored significantly higher averages, both with over 40.000 retweets or favorites per tweet. Fanship, content and criticism tweets on the other hand on average received far fewer retweets and favorites than all other categories, coming in at around 20.000 per tweet. The category prayer received just above the average of retweets and favorites, while the average of promotional, opinion and interactivity was just under the overall average. It can be observed that the three largest

⁴ The category Unclassified, which received the highest number of retweets and favorites with averagely 56.818 per post, was left out of the table, as the category was numerically insignificant for the analysis.

categories receive below-average ratings, while the smaller categories receive mixed results in this categorization.

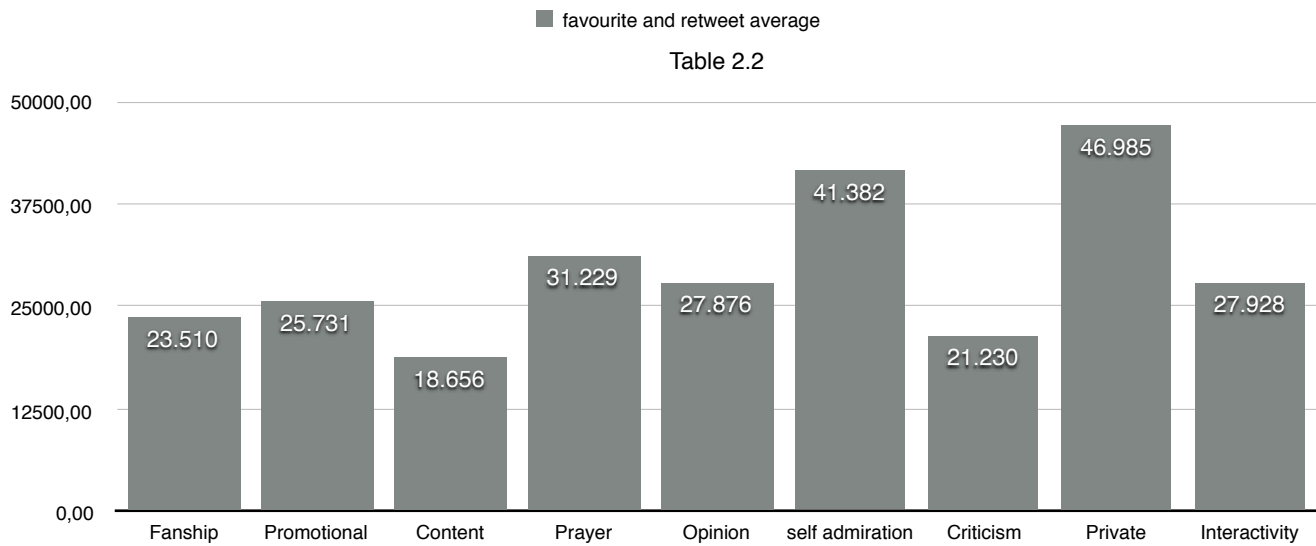


Table 2.2. Average of favorites and retweets per category

Looking at consecutive and non-consecutive tweets, the average of retweets and favorites for non-consecutive tweets was significantly higher than that of consecutive tweets, coming in at 32.248 for non-consecutive tweets in comparison to 23.906 for consecutive tweets. While the former lies above the overall average, the latter lies significantly below it.

As the number of Kanye’s followers has been constantly increased from the inauguration of the account to its current amount of 24 million followers between 2013 to 2016, it has to be noted that the earlier the tweets have been posted, the likelier they are to receive less retweets and favorites.

Throughout the following chapters each category will be analyzed individually and in depth, connecting the findings of the content analysis, including the numerical findings, but especially the very content of the posts from each of the categories, to the theoretical framework of authenticity, commodification and performance outlined in the literature review.

1. Promotional

Tweets categorized as promotional made up 149 units and 17% of the total amount of tweets, coming in as the second largest category. The advertised products include Kanye's musical albums, his concert tours, his fashion shows, his apparel, his music videos, songs that Kanye is featured on, mobile applications (apps), and his merchandise, amongst others. The great variety of products advertised through his Twitter account, as well as the great number of posts concerned with promotion, show that Kanye West makes great use of Twitter as a promotional tool. Kanye has used Twitter as the exclusive platform to announce several products and events including his Album Yeezus (2013), his Album The Life Of Pablo (2016) and three Fashion shows, Yeezy Season 1 (2013), Yeezy Season 2 (2015) and Yeezy Season 3 (2016), which further highlights the importance Kanye places on Twitter as a promotional medium.

"750 BOOST GREY WITH GUM SOLE <https://t.co/Zgwsiv4elh>"
– twitter.com/kanyewest: 11.06.2016 17:12

"YEEZUS TOUR POP-UP SHOP MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA 336 CHAPEL STREET"
– twitter.com/kanyewest: 10.09.2014 03:34

"SEASON zine print edition available for free at the following locations <http://t.co/ySwfZewefE>"
– twitter.com/kanyewest: 23.03.2015 19:09

The structure of promotional tweets is simplistic: tweets are short, often only containing the name of the product and a weblink, either for an online shop where the product is bought or a photo of the product. Many of the tweets are either partially or completely capitalized, emphasizing the importance of posts and resembling a breaking-news broadcast style. This stands in contrast to tweets from other categories, which are rarely completely capitalized, except instances where Kanye explicitly indicates so. This basic way of promoting is clear, yet unemotional, as it does not introduce any kind of personal attachment to the products. The average of retweets and favorites of promotional posts comes in at 25.731 and thereby ranks just below the overall average. Nonetheless tweets categorized as promotional occupy many spaces amongst both the fifty most-liked and -favorited and fifty least-liked and -favorited posts. This phenomenon reflects the great affection the fan community has for certain products related to Kanye, especially his albums and

footwear, whose related posts are highly successful, and a certain level of frustration towards blatant commercial promotion of products on the other end of the spectrum.

Given their stylistic simplicity, promotional tweets can be easily differentiated from the tweets of other categories. Furthermore only an extreme number of 9 out of 149 promotional tweets are included in stream of consciousness flows. While they occupy a central share of the sample and are sometimes exceptionally successful, the broadcast style and superficial emotionalizing of promotional tweets, conveys neither a feeling of intimacy of authenticity. Hence, Kanye's promotional tweets don't qualify as a typical micro-celebrity strategy, but rather simply as promotion.

"My album will never never never be on Apple. And it will never be for sale... You can only get it on Tidal."

–twitter.com/kanyewest: 16.02.2016 00:34

"Please to all my friends fans and music lovers. Sign up to Tidal now."

–twitter.com/kanyewest: 16.02.2016 00:34

An exception from the simple, unaffected style within the group of promotional tweets are the announcements concerning the Yeezy Season 3 event in Madison Square Garden on 12.02.2016 and his announcements that The Life Of Pablo will only be available from streaming service Tidal. On these topics Kanye explains the importance of the subject matter for himself personally to then continue to promote the tickets for the event and Tidal respectively. On both occasions he concludes with a tweet indicating that the success of the event and of Tidal is a shared effort between him and his fans. In these promotional tweets Kanye combines a personal emotionalization of a product with promotional measures, which apparently creates a highly effective strategy.

2. Content

While making up a great portion of the sample — a total number of 94 and a percentage of 11% — tweets labeled as content are difficult to decipher, as they contain links to web pages and photos, which have not been considered in this analysis. However, as the big overlap between content and promotional posts hints, it can be concluded that many of the posts listed as content refer to products or other commercial goods and thus have a somewhat promotional character.

“<http://t.co/kzaB65UaA7>”
–twitter.com/kanyewest: 25.09.2015 01:07

“LET'S GO!!! <http://t.co/eZIDcSw9wZ> <http://t.co/LpVuwSvy0Q>”
–twitter.com/kanyewest: 16.02.2015 23:20

“.... awwwww... <https://t.co/TLXZhlEvmQ>”
–twitter.com/kanyewest: 13.02.2016 17:01

Content tweets were mostly non-consecutive, with only 17 out of 94 being included in streams of consciousness. Much like promotional tweets, they appear in singled-out occasions to promote a product or direct web traffic towards a web page. This category received the lowest rating of retweets or favorites with average of only 18.508 units per tweet. This can be explained by the complicated implementation of content and weblinks on Twitter, which requires the user to click on a link to open the content, before having to come back to the original tweet to favorite or retweet it.

A significant portion of 30 content tweets on 19.09.2015 and 17 content tweets on the 12.02.2016 were posted in a consecutive flow after Kanye's fashion presentations Yeezy Season 2 and Yeezy Season 3. These tweets contain photos of the apparel presented at these shows. This Twitter look-book is, in presenting the Kanye's apparel, closely related to promotional tweets. While it shares their characteristic of being posted in a close time relation, these content tweets do not produce a continuous narrative and thereby do not qualify as a stream of consciousness.

3. Fanship

Fanship posts are numerically the strongest category, with 157 tweets that make up 18% of the total tweets on Kanye’s Twitter profile. The tweets categorized as fanship are directed at a variety of celebrities, persons, institutions and companies. Most prominently there are “shout-outs” to associated acts from the extended hip-hop sphere (e.g. P.Diddy, Q-Tip, Rev Run), tweets appreciating the work of other creatives, such as video directors (e.g. Dexter Navy, Robert Zemeckis, Nick Knight) and fashion designers (e.g. John Galliano, Hedi Slimane, Renzo Rosso). While these two types of fanship posts stand out, Kanye tweets appreciation to people as varied as TV show host Ellen DeGeneres, black rights figure Nelson Mandela, and actors Will Farrell and Leonardo DiCaprio. The style of the tweets categorized as fanship differs greatly. Some tweets are short, solely expressing the appreciation for a certain project or product, while others are more complex and personal, stretching over several tweets.

“Chance too good. God level bars.”
–twitter.com/kanyewest: 18.05.2016 03:00

“Thank you Anna for the invite thank you to the whole Vogue team”
–twitter.com/kanyewest: 03.05.2016 07:35

“I saw a pre-screening of Pacific Rim yesterday and it’s easily one of my favorite movies of all time.”
–twitter.com/kanyewest: 04.07.2013 07:30

Fanship tweets are included in streams of consciousness and posted as single tweets to a similar extent, with 80 out of 157 items being single tweets. Appearing in similar quantities within both categories, fanship tweets represent the only category which does not have a clear tendency towards either single tweets or stream of consciousness. Single tweets within this category often respond to a recent event connected to the celebrity addressed in the shout-out — such as the release of a new album, collection or the receiving of a certain award — while the fanship tweets within stream-of-consciousness narratives are directed at idols who operate within the field the stream of consciousness is addressing. Whether as single tweets or in a stream of consciousness, fanship tweets generally fulfill the same purpose.

Through his fanship posts, Kanye West sets up links with celebrity associates from a diverse range of fields, reminiscent of the “shout-out” practice borrowed from hip-hop culture. “Shout-outs” to associates from the “hood” are understood as a form of identity formation and representation (Forman, 2004). Kanye’s fanship tweets elevate the “shout-out” to a digital celebrity level. Since among the elite population of celebrities, tight networks of association promote wealth and progress (Ravid and Currid-Halkett, 2013), Kanye’s vast and varied network of associated celebrities represent his celebrity network that reconfirm and elevate his own celebrity status.

Through his fanship posts to celebrities from different fields Kanye shows his wide and eclectic taste in music, film, design and art. Thereby they do not only grant his followers a curated insight into his personal taste, but also transfer Kanye’s celebrity capital into different fields. While some of Kanye’s fanship tweets — especially those directed to designers — reference niche actors most likely unknown to most of his fans, he also tweets appreciation to mainstream celebrities, even somewhat guilty pleasures, such as Justin Bieber. These posts not only link Kanye to other successful mainstream celebrities, they also conceive a sense of intimacy and similarity between Kanye and his fans and followers. Subsequently, the fanship tweets praising other mayor celebrities receive many retweets and favorites in particular, with many of the most successful tweets falling into this category. However, the category itself comes in below the overall average, receiving 25.510 retweets and favorites on average.

“The Weeknd is one of my favorite artists and I was really excited to get to work with him on this song. <https://t.co/xlCoiWyCnd>”

–twitter.com/kanyewest: 25.08.2015 23:13

“SUMMER LEAGUE!!! ME TY \$ AND WALE <http://t.co/ToLGm2h1rM>”

–twitter.com/kanyewest: 23.03.2015 20:55

While on the one hand re-confirming Kanye’s celebrity status and enlarging his celebrity capital, his fanship posts, on the other hand, also serve as a promotional vehicle for the celebrities mentioned in the tweets. Subsequently, within his fanship category, there is a significant portion of thirty tweets which were categorized as both fanship and promotional. This group made up the biggest set of multiple category tweets of the sample. These posts included appraisal for a fellow artist, often performers closely linked to Kanye by either being signed to his label or featuring on

his albums, as well as a weblink to their products. While these tweets thus differ from the rest of the fanship tweets mostly due to their explicit call to action, all fanship posts can be understood to reflect and sustain the structural dominance of the entertainment industry by promoting their celebrity products (Dyer, 1979, Rojek, 2001).

4. Opinion

A total of 85 tweets were categorized as opinion, which makes up 10% of all posts. Most of these tweets contain general, abstract claims and opinions on issues ranging from politics, possibly linked to Kanye's announced run for presidency in 2020 (05.11.2014, 16.02.2016), to clarifying celebrity relations, such as his controversial claim that Bill Cosby is innocent of the rape charges against him (12.02.2016, 10.02.2016) to general opinions about social behavior, best exemplified through the simple tweet "be real" (10.03.2016). The content of these tweets ranges from abstract motivational quotes through absurd claims to general observations and explicit suggestions. Hence, the tweets go back and forth between facts and fictional claims displayed as facts. In using the hashtag "#facts" with some of the most absurd tweets, Kanye cynically highlights the ambivalence of these alleged truths tweeted in this section.

"I want to help the world and I need help to do it. I am an artist and I care about humanity.."
-twitter.com/kanyewest: 15.02.2016 20:02

"I like T-shirts and women in yoga pants. I live in LA that's what people wear. not sure why someone would put a suit jacket on with that."
-twitter.com/kanyewest: 10.03.2016 00:27

"I can't be mad at Kanye because he made me famous! #FACTS"
-twitter.com/kanyewest: 12.02.2016 15:09

In comparison to other categories with stronger indicators, the tweets in this category have rather vague connections and are loosely bound. What is however common among the tweets is that they include a personal point of view attributable to Kanye West. The tweets mirror the paradoxical nature of Kanye's way of thinking and thereby give a true sense of authenticity. While determining whether celebrity Twitter post were really authored by the celebrity is a nearly impossible task, the tweets

listed within the category of opinion include markers of authenticity (Dyer, 1991): it is exactly the absurdity and spontaneity of many of these tweets which mark them as out of control and unedited and, which in turn, establish them as authentic.

The great majority — 65 out of the 85 tweets labeled as opinion — were included within consecutive tweets. The high amount of opinion tweets within stream of consciousness show that Kanye is tweeting his personal opinion and points of view preferably through consecutive tweets. The amount of retweets and favorites for tweets of the opinion category lies closely below the overall average with an average of 27.876 retweets and favorites per post, with no relevant number of posts creating either especially high or low ratings within this category. The average number of fan or follower responses to opinion tweets contradicts the observation that opinion tweets are controversial and authentic, which should theoretically result in higher response rates.

5. Prayer

The category prayer scored a total of 92 tweets and makes up 11% of the total of tweets in the sample. This category refers to tweets that include prayer rhetoric. Prayer rhetoric is characterized by the increased use of a collective “we” or “us” which opposes an explicit or abstract “them”, the direct reference to religious content, the use of exaggerated motivational metaphors or metaphysical instances and the forceful repetition of similar structures. The following example from 23.03.2016 shows a flow of 14 tweets, which include all the characteristics listed for prayer tweets.

“Let's fight for our future. We can change everything.”
—twitter.com/kanyewest: 23.03.2016 00:23
“We will change that. We will rise. We will have a voice.”
—twitter.com/kanyewest: 23.03.2016 00:27
“We will not get bullied by perception any longer. We will give our opinions.”
—twitter.com/kanyewest: 23.03.2016 00:28
“We will breathe clean air and exercise the first amendment.”
—twitter.com/kanyewest: 23.03.2016 00:29
“We no longer have to be scared of the truth”
—twitter.com/kanyewest: 23.03.2016 00:30
“We will find freedom in truth as opposed to ridicule.”
—twitter.com/kanyewest: 23.03.2016 00:31
“thank God for paps thank God for social media.”
—twitter.com/kanyewest: 23.03.2016 00:33
“I represent the dreamers.”

–twitter.com/kanyewest: 23.03.2016 00:36
“We are here to make life better.”
–twitter.com/kanyewest: 23.03.2016 00:39
“They can't kill us all.”
–twitter.com/kanyewest: 23.03.2016 00:41
“I have a dream.”
–twitter.com/kanyewest: 23.03.2016 00:45
“That dreams will actualize. Dreams will manifest.”
–twitter.com/kanyewest: 23.03.2016 00:45
“Don't hide from the truth because it is the only light.”
–twitter.com/kanyewest: 23.03.2016 00:52
“I have so much love in my heart and we just need the shot to create live breathe.”
–twitter.com/kanyewest: 23.03.2016 00:53

Religion has been frequently discussed in relation to media (e.g Hoover, 2006, Campbell, 2010). Studies of the quasi-cult around the products by technology company Apple (Belk and Tumblat, 2005) and specifically the iPhone, in relation to its declaration as a “Jesus Phone” (Campbell and La Pastina, 2010) serve as further examples. Yet, while the focus of these studies lies mostly on researching the projection of religious rhetoric and metaphors on communication technologies, Kanye is using a communication technology, Twitter, as a platform to create and spread his self-focused religiously influenced manifesto.

Kanye West has included religious imagery, metaphors and discussions into his artistic output since his first album. In his Album Yeezus he created parallels between himself and Jesus, through the derived name Yeezus, and God, through his song I am a God (Miller, 2014). Being a self-proclaimed Christian and given his affinity for religious imagery, this furthermore aids Kanye's use of this rhetoric. In many of his controversial public appearances and interviews, labeled as “rants” by different media outlets, Kanye also makes use of a similar rhetoric and style. Kanye commonly makes use of this type of religious rhetoric in emotionally heated situations and discussions, as a tool to highlight his own inflection and relation to spirituality.

Consequently, the tweets in the prayer category are highly passionate and engaging. Through constantly referencing a common “we” and “us” Kanye establishes a perspective in which he positions himself amongst and on the same level as his fans and followers. This unidirectional, yet direct communication to his followers creates a high level of intimacy and connectivity between Kanye and his fans. As in the related categories of opinion and criticism, a significant majority — 72 out of a total of 92

tweets – are included in continuous tweet streams. Similar to opinion tweets, prayer tweets are highly spontaneous, which gives them a great sense of authenticity.

“Paul ... The most powerful messenger of the first century... Now we stand here 20 centuries later... Because he was a traveler...”

–twitter.com/kanyewest: 14.02.2016 03:44

The authenticity of the prayer tweets is furthermore heightened through their paradoxical nature. The unifying and generalising tone conveyed through the prayer tweets is contrasted in the self-admiration posts in which Kanye distinguishes himself from others by displaying his own achievements. While on the one hand locating himself as equal to his followers and fans in his prayer tweets, Kanye does understand himself as special and chosen. As he explicitly mentions, Kanye considers himself to be a modern-day version of the Apostle Paul (Miller, 2014), calling him “the most powerful messenger of all time”. The Biblical figure Paul the Apostle was a Roman, who against the order of his superiors spread the truth about Jesus to those oppressed by the Romans. In a similar manner Kanye seemingly understands himself as a messenger, who, while being part of a wrong and oppressive system, does not shy from spreading an alternative message to the masses. His self-understanding as the Apostle Paul is reflected through his tweets, which signify Kanye’s own way of bringing truth to the people, a truth that can only be told by someone in his position. In his thinking it seems that Kanye understands his tweets, as a part of his whole existence, as a spiritual manifesto, his contribution to religion.

“I speak yell scream directly at the old guard on behalf of the future.”

–twitter.com/kanyewest: 23.03.2016 00:40

“I know I can make the world a better place! I have done the impossible! I retook the throne of rap! I beat the fashion game!”

–twitter.com/kanyewest: 15.02.2016 06:48

The shared “we” Kanye commonly establishes within prayer tweets opposes a vague “them”, which refers to “the old guard”, the established celebrity industry and generally those who are culturally dominant and in power. Kanye blames these institutions for inequalities and oppression in society. In his prayer tweets Kanye not only addresses social inequalities, but repeatedly engages the oppressed to unite

against the oppressive system and inequalities in an effort to make the world a better place. While on the one hand equaling himself with other oppressed peers through addressing a shared “we”, Kanye sets himself apart by understanding himself as a leading figure in this struggle against oppression. In line with the religious style adapted for his prayer tweets, Kanye distinguishes himself as a unique and chosen individual:

“The world needs a guy like me. The world needs somebody to not be scared and tell his truth”

–twitter.com/kanyewest: 15.02.2016 06:48

Given their message and point of view, Kanye’s prayer tweets stand in contrast with his promotional tweets. While his prayer tweets criticize and revolt against an oppressive system, his promotional tweets clearly identify him as a part of and dependent on the oppressive system that he criticizes and rebels against. Possibly caused by the emotionally heated and paradox character of the tweets and the establishment of a united “we”, the tweets of the prayer category receives a high average of 31.912 retweets and favorites which lies above the overall average of 28.521.

Kanye’s prayer tweets neither qualify as a promotional strategy, nor a ‘micro-celebrity’ strategy, which makes them somewhat unique. While this category of tweets is highly unconventional, the prayer tweets share certain characteristics with a Twitter strategy employed by Lady Gaga. She makes use of a similar approach of creating a shared identity amongst followers and an intimate relation between celebrity and followers, who she labels as “little monsters” (See Click et al, 2013). Yet, while Gaga’s strategy centrally involves celebrity-fan interaction, Kanye’s prayer manifesto remains one-directional and non-interactive. Essentially, his prayer tweets, in an unconventional fashion, can be understood as an extension of his celebrity persona and an attempt to gain attention and increase celebrity capital.

6. Criticism

The category criticism consists of 74 tweets and makes up 9% of the total sample. The tweets in this category are addressed to a multitude of different people and institutions, mostly outside of the Twittersphere. It can be observed that the type and pace of Kanye's criticism tweets is highly variable. On the one hand he ruthlessly shames individuals on a personal level, such as critics Bob Ezrin (24.02.2016), calls out fashion stylists that bite styles (10.03.2016) and gripes about gossip channel MediaTakeOut (10.03.2016), on the other hand he makes critically aware comments on structural inequalities in American education (16.02.2016), makes suggestions on how to make the Grammy awards relevant again (24.02.2016) and highlights instances of institutionalized racism (24.02.2016, 16.12.2016).

"To Pitchfork, Rolling Stone, New York Times, and any other white publication. Please do not comment on black music anymore."

–twitter.com/kanyewest: 16.02.2016 00:27

"Education puts Americans into debt before they even get a chance to get started!"

–twitter.com/kanyewest: 16.02.2016 21:08

"Bob please never speak in public againÉ you are everything that is wrong with the old guard"

–twitter.com/kanyewest: 24.02.2016 05:45

Criticism tweets are in many respects similar to prayer tweets: They are also emotionally charged and criticize oppressive structures. Both categories address a relatively anonymous "them" – an "old guard" of powerful stakeholders, whose control Kanye seeks to overcome. Yet, while prayer tweets often include a uniting "we", criticism tweets explicitly call out misjudgments and stigmatizations spread by certain media institutions and the general public about incidents involving Kanye and his image in general. From all his tweets, those categorized as criticism have the most aggressive tone, caused by the use of exclamation marks and multiple question marks after tweets as well as the increased use of curse words.

Through his criticism tweets, Kanye is performing his attributed celebrity persona. He presents himself as the aggressive and disruptive Afro-American male that he has been stigmatized as, e.g. in relation to his scandalous comments on George Bush

and his interruption of Taylor Swift (Krebs, 2014). In being in line with his attributed celebrity persona, as well as through their emotionally charged and impulsive character, criticism tweets fulfill the markers of authenticity (Rojek, 2001). Simultaneously, in explicitly criticizing oppressive power in society, this category of tweets paradoxically stands in contradiction to the promotional categories of tweets in which Kanye actively promotes these oppressive powers by promoting himself as a product of these industries (Turner, 2004). Yet again, such inconsistent and contradictory tendencies within a celebrity persona are understood to be another indicator of authenticity (Van den Bulck et al., 2014), fulfilled by Kanye through his criticism tweets.

The amount of retweets and favorites in the category of criticism is, with an average of 21.230 retweets or likes per post, the lowest of all categories. While the emotional character, the spontaneity and even to a certain degree the aggressiveness of the posts explained above should theoretically cause a high number of retweets and likes, the sporadic fan and follower reactions in this category can be best explained by the lack of a common identity within the tweets. The “we” established in prayer tweets, which rank significantly higher in retweets and favorites, is missing throughout criticism tweets, making them appear narcissistic and overly aggressive, which results in low ratings. In being highly controversial, criticism tweets should theoretically increase Kanye’s visibility and subsequently his celebrity capital. Yet, given the low response rate to his criticism tweets, it seems as if the overly aggressive character of the tweets is causing an opposite reaction from his fans and followers.

Like the categories of prayer, opinion and self-admiration, the majority — 56 of the 74 tweets — of criticism tweets are included within consecutive streams of consciousness. Criticism tweets can only be understood within their context within the stream of consciousness. Reading the tweets before and afterwards, as well as knowing the thematic context of the specific stream of consciousness is often necessary to understand criticism tweets. Consequently, stand-alone criticism tweets are more difficult to understand and thus less popular than tweets of other categories.

7. Self-Admiration

Within the sample, there was a total of 79 tweets listed under the category of self-admiration, which equals 9% of the total, making up for a rather small share of total tweets. However, the existence of this category alone is remarkable enough. Kanye West has been generally characterized as being an egomaniac and narcissistic (Curry, 2014) and this is partially reflected through these tweets, which generally report on Kanye's achievements, success and qualities, generally starting with a self-referential "I". Amongst others he highlights his exceptional commercial success (30.03.2016, 09.04.2016), and how his artistic achievements make him the greatest of his generation.

"Pablo did 250 Million... This is not regular! <https://t.co/EbXEgUdM1M>"
–twitter.com/kanyewest: 30.03.2016 16:20

"Caught 10,000 retweets in half a second #facts"
–twitter.com/kanyewest: 08.02.2016 07:36

"I am the Jordan and Steph Curry of music, meaning I'm the best of 2 generations."
–twitter.com/kanyewest: 15.02.2016 05:38

In a significant streak of 23 tweets (31.03.2016), all categorized as self-admiration, Kanye cites the lyrics to his song "I love Kanye" from his most recent Album The Life Of Pablo (2016) line by line. The song "I love Kanye" is a short a cappella skit in which Kanye addresses his first-day fans, who criticize his artistic development, how he has influenced the style of hip-hop world, and how he is stigmatized in the media. This stream was exceptionally successful, receiving an average of almost 50.000 favorites or retweets.

"So happy to be finished with the best album of all time <https://t.co/JBWa8OWvqw>"
–twitter.com/kanyewest: 25.01.2016 06:16

"this new album is ONE of the greatest albums not the greatest just one of"
–twitter.com/kanyewest: 03.02.2016 04:18

His self-admiration tweets essentially reconfirm Kanye's characterization as a narcissistic and ego-driven character and can therefore be considered to be part of the performance of his known celebrity persona. While such a standard re-

performance of a known persona can be understood as inauthentic and staged, Kanye's self-admiration posts include a significant amount of absurdity, which makes these posts seem uncontrollable. In several cases, Kanye came back to claims made in self-admiration tweets and corrected them. After stating *The Life of Pablo* was "the best album of all time", he corrected that it was only "one of the greatest albums of all time" alongside other classics. Similarly, after stating he deserves the throne of rap by being the best rapper alive, he corrected that "every rapper is somebody's favorite" (17.02.2016). While his self-admiration tweets generally confirm the accounts of Kanye being self-absorbed, these corrections hint at incoherence and confusion, which can be read as especially authentic.

With an average of 41.381 favorites or retweets per post, the category of self-admiration has by far the highest rating amongst all tweets. While narcissism has been understood as a factor that lowers fan or follower reaction in the context of criticism posts, the explicit and exaggerated narcissism displayed in self-admiration posts receives extremely high ratings. Kanye is known to be a self-absorbed and egocentric character and his self-admiration posts represent this feature of his celebrity persona. Six self-admiration tweets furthermore rank amongst the most favorited and retweet posts in total, with the tweet "I love you like Kanye loves Kanye" (31.03.2016), the final line from his fully quoted song, being the second most favorited and retweeted of all tweets.

Through the performance of his attributed celebrity persona and especially highlighted through the quotation of the lyrics of an entire song of his, self-admiration posts reinforce Kanye's celebrity commodity (Turner, 2006) and enlarge his celebrity capital (Driessens, 2013a), while, in the case of the lyric quotation, simultaneously explicitly promoting a related product.

8. Private

71 tweets, 8% of the sample, were categorized as private. Kanye's private tweets give a backstage insight into his private life otherwise unattainable for the follower. This includes several posts directed at his family, expressing his love for his wife, kids and deceased mom, updates on his activities, as well as personal insights into his thought process.

"Kim, I'm so happy to be married to the girl of my dreams! I love you and Nori so much!!! I would find you in any lifetime."

–twitter.com/kanyewest: 26.05.2015 04:31

"Found this in Mom's storage. I love and miss you. <https://t.co/5EYVY5HGLj>"

–twitter.com/kanyewest: 08.05.2016 19:50

"Up late designing in Sweden"

–twitter.com/kanyewest: 09.03.2016 01:41

"Father Stretch My Hands.... I cried writing this. I love my Dad <https://t.co/bkbNnU0BEH>"

–twitter.com/kanyewest: 11.02.2016 18:28

Sharing private and everyday content from a backstage perspective is regarded as one of the most central strategies for celebrity Twitter usage (Marwick and boyd, 2011a). Yet the performance of a private and authentic backstage is constantly under suspicion to be edited by publicists, staged and thus unauthentic (Jerslev and Mortensen, 2016). With an average of 46.984 favorites or retweets per tweet, Kanye West's postings categorized as private clearly receive the highest ratings and reactions from his followers or fans. Together with the passionate tweets confessing his love for his wife and kids, the most popular tweets from the private category are those in which Kanye — sometimes ironically — reflects upon his own celebrity character and private persona.

In his tweets categorized as private, Kanye conveys emotionality and vulnerability, especially in his love declarations to his wife, family and mother. Against the masculine and aggressive stereotype and stigma often attached to his celebrity persona as a rap artist and a rebellious disrupter, Kanye openly shares how writing lyrics about his troubled relationship with his dad (11.02.2016) and the funeral of his artistic idol Phife Dawg of A Tribe Called Quest (06.04.2016) have brought him to tears. These kinds of direct and unexpected indicators highlighting Kanye's emotional

and human side prove to be highly successful. Subsequently, his private posts are exceptionally successful, because they are perceived to be authentic and non-staged.

While other celebrities make use of phatic communication to update their followers on their everyday life, yet without really sharing any new information — like a study of Danish pop-singer’s Medina’s Instagram account reveals (Jerslev and Mortensen, 2016) – Kanye’s activity manages to include authentic insights into most of his tweets listed as private. It is exactly because his private tweets do not follow a detectable pattern or strategy and because they do not just simply give backstage insights for the sake of it, but rather reveal unexpected twists and turns, that make Kanye’s private tweets so authentic and subsequently successful. The spontaneity of his private posts is underlined by the posts most regularly appearing as single tweets — only 12 out of 71 tweets are included in streams of consciousness. This stands in contrast to other emotionally charged and personal categories, opinion, prayer, criticism and self-admiration, which are all featured significantly in stream-of-consciousness tweets.

Instead of aiming to keep his followership entertained with phatic yet contentless tweets, Kanye’s relatively few private tweets convey an emotional impression of his backstage life.

“I might change it again but that’s the name now”
–twitter.com/kanyewest: 03.05.2015 20:16

“Fixing Wolves 2day... Worked on it for 3 weeks. Life Of Pablo is a living breathing changing creative expression. #contemporaryart”
–twitter.com/kanyewest: 15.03.2016 23:41

Another group of tweets categorized as personal were tweets that shared backstage snapshots from his working process on his album *The Life Of Pablo*. While sharing backstage impressions of the creative processes of album production and touring life are a very common celebrity communication practice, Kanye’s posts in relation to the finalization of his album are unique. They regularly update the fans with new and usually conflicting information concerning the product. While backstage impressions are generally highly curated and edited in order to enhance the promotional process, Kanye’s announcements of several conflicting album names as well as tracklists

through Twitter are spontaneous and unscripted. Such working titles and creative insecurities are commonly excluded from backstage impressions in order to present a coherent product. Kanye's album rollout in contrast presents an unprecedented and highly authentic take intended to involve the fans in the creative process.

9. Interactivity

50 posts have been categorized under interactivity, representing a small share of approximately 6 per cent of the sample. While the general overview of Kanye West's Twitter practice through Twitonomy has already revealed that Kanye West rarely makes use of typical Twitter interactivity syntax, the tweets listed under interactivity include questions or general announcements specifically directed at a person or his followers. On two occasions, in rants against Bob Ezrin for his negative comments about *The Life Of Pablo* and Deadmau5 after he exposed Kanye pirating audio software, interactivity tweets are part of larger put-downs or critiques of other people and include sarcastic questions and shaming.

"I have to call @FloydMayweather and @LeoDicaprio, I spoke to @MikeTyson yesterday"
–twitter.com/kanyewest: 08.02.2016 23:05

"hey guys, do you like the fixed version of Wolves better?"
–twitter.com/kanyewest: 05.04.2016 02:43

"Neil please reach out as soon as possible so we can make the Grammys culturally relevant again."
–twitter.com/kanyewest: 24.02.2016 19:36

While interacting directly with one's fans and followers through Twitter has been understood to be a central strategy of celebrity Twitter practice, again heightening the sense of direct and undiluted access to a celebrity's private backstage persona (Marwick and boyd, 2011a), Kanye West does not make any use of direct interaction with specific fans. When addressing his followers, Kanye does so by referring to their entirety, as e.g. "you guys". Interactivity tweets including an explicit call to action — those tweets in which Kanye requests an answer or reply from his followers — don't receive any follow up. Kanye generally neglects to interact directly with his followership.

His lack of interest in interaction is re-confirmed by Kanye's strategy of following other Twitter users. While other Twitter celebrities follow back various amounts of their Twitter fans (Marwick and boyd, 2011a), Kanye has always been following only one account. After he initially followed a randomly chosen Twitter account, he currently follows only the account of his wife Kim Kardashian-West.

Interactivity tweets receive a average of 27.927 retweets and favorites, which is around the general average for posts, making them not particularly successful despite their often explicit call to action. While Kanye's lack of direct interactivity with other Twitter celebrities and his fans or followers might be understood as a lack of effort and engagement that would lead to negative reactions from his followers, Kanye manages to make up for this through the engaging and authentic content of his other Twitter strategies — especially his prayer tweets, private tweets and stream of consciousness strategy (See Chapter D.10). Furthermore, his numerous fanhip posts (see Chapter D.3), linking Kanye to other celebrities, serve as a similar 'micro-celebrity' practice that compensates for a lack of direct interactivity.

10. Stream of consciousness

On his Twitter feed, Kanye West often produces a number of consecutive tweets, which, while not necessarily concerning a shared topic, are connected to each other in a narrative flow, which Kanye himself has labeled a "stream of consciousness" (09.03.2016). Within the sample there were 24 such consecutive narratives, which consisted of at least six tweets and whose individual tweets were separated by not more than one hour. Promotional or content posts that were posted shortly after one another were excluded from this category as they had no internal narrative developed through the posts. The length of stream varied between 6 and 40 tweets per stream. This type of tweeting was first recorded on 10.02.2014 with a series of nine motivational, prayer-type tweets, yet remained rare throughout 2014 and 2015. The phenomenon of stream of consciousness tweets increased greatly in late 2015 and early 2016.

"I'm on a plane coming back from Europe"
—twitter.com/kanyewest: 10.03.2016 00:08

“excited to see my family and finish the final mixes of the Life of Pablo and keep working on Turbo Grafx 16 and Season 4 É.”
 –twitter.com/kanyewest: 10.03.2016 00:10
 “I don’t personally like suit jackets anymore..”
 –twitter.com/kanyewest: 10.03.2016 00:11
 “I especially hate suit jackets on women. that was a groundbreaking idea 5 million years ago!”
 –twitter.com/kanyewest: 10.03.2016 00:11
 “I feel we are so stuck in the past and tradition.”
 –twitter.com/kanyewest: 10.03.2016 00:12
 “I also hate all the stylists that copy Hedi Slimane and give their clients blatant YSL looks thinking that it will bring a younger client.”
 –twitter.com/kanyewest: 10.03.2016 00:14
 “Just cause somebody is wearing combat boots doesn’t mean it’s all of a sudden youth.”
 –twitter.com/kanyewest: 10.03.2016 00:16
 “Oh and I only came to Paris fashion to stand by my friends Olivier, Riccardo and Demna.”
 –twitter.com/kanyewest: 10.03.2016 00:17
 (...)

“Paul ... The most powerful messenger of the first century... Now we stand here 20 centuries later... Because he was a traveler...”
 –twitter.com/kanyewest: 14.02.2016 03:44
 “He was a learned man not of the original sect so he was able to take the message to the rest of the world...”
 –twitter.com/kanyewest: 14.02.2016 03:44
 “He was saved from persecution due to his Roman citizenship... I have the right to speak my voice...”
 –twitter.com/kanyewest: 14.02.2016 03:45
 “Please forgive the profanity and give hugs and blessings to my brother Kirk for standing by me... In a few hours the journey begins...”
 –twitter.com/kanyewest: 14.02.2016 03:45
 “All memes are wrong... The Life of Paul... The life of Pablo... Ultralight beams... Moms dads daughters sons stand up...”
 –twitter.com/kanyewest: 14.02.2016 03:46
 “Let’s dance in the streets. I am consumed by my purpose to help the world.”
 –twitter.com/kanyewest: 14.02.2016 03:46
 “I write this to you my brothers while still 53 million dollars in personal debt... Please pray we overcome... This is my true heart...”
 –twitter.com/kanyewest: 14.02.2016 03:46
 “This is all all is fun all in good feelings... We will all be gone 100 years from now but what did we do to help while we were here!!!”
 –twitter.com/kanyewest: 14.02.2016 03:47
 “They are calling me to the SNL stage now ... Speak soon...”
 –twitter.com/kanyewest: 14.02.2016 03:47

Stream of consciousness tweets deal with various issues. These include perspectives on fashion and style (shown above), appreciation for other celebrities (10.03.2016, 27.02.2016), controversies with other stars such as Taylor Swift (12.02.2016), critics (24.04.2016) and media outlets (13.02.2016), discussion of general and personal issues using prayer rhetoric (shown above, 15.02.2016, 24.02.2016) and reciting of song lyrics (31.03.2016). Within these streams, while focusing on the above-mentioned issues, Kanye regularly jumps between different

thoughts and ideas. The frequent changes in topic, pace and intensity of Kanye West's tweets have led to confusion amongst his followers. Kanye addresses these issues by arguing that his tweeting style resembles a "mood board" (09.03.2016) and that he is delivering "Twitter poetry" (09.03.2016).

While all categories are included within a stream of consciousness at some point, the categories prayer (72), opinion (65), self-admiration (64) and criticism (56) make up for the majority of stream-of-consciousness tweets, while fanship (45) and interactivity (40) also hold significant shares. As the analysis of the individual categories has revealed, those categories holding the major shares amongst stream-of-consciousness tweets rate especially high on authenticity. Subsequently, stream-of-consciousness flows attain a high level of authenticity themselves. Within the context of the stream of consciousness, the quickly paced changes between categories and the unorganized style of tweets furthermore add to the already high level of authenticity of these posts.

Despite the shifts in topics, it can generally be observed that Kanye West's streams of consciousness consist of three distinguishable stages. They often start by recognizing a certain issue or topic, which will remain the central feature of the Twitter stream. The tweets then branch out to include different thoughts on this issue, often transferring the logic of the issue to other fields. Finally the issues or topics addressed are resolved through general assumptions and wisdom delivered in a hopeful prayer rhetoric.

While addressing certain topics throughout multiple posts is a Twitter practice that has been observed elsewhere (e.g. Dare-Edwards, 2014), it has not yet been understood and researched as a unique Twitter strategy. Kanye West's frequent and significant use of this strategy as identified in this study is unique, as he subverts original Twitter usage as a single-tweet microblogging service into a tool that allows him to establish his personal perspective on a variety of issues in a narrative that spans multiple tweets, while single tweets from a stream of consciousness remain individually quotable. Through their unique structure, their switch in scope between certain concrete issues and abstract, general and structural issues, Kanye's stream

of consciousness tweets allow him to create his personal semi-religious manifesto through Twitter.

E. CONCLUSION

The findings of this research suggest two main strategies adopted by Kanye West in his usage of Twitter. The first of these — made up of the tweets from the categories promotional, content, fanship and to a certain extent self-admiration — seeks to establish and reconfirm Kanye West as a celebrity commodity, simultaneously commercially promoting himself, other celebrities, products and online content. These tweets position Kanye West as a part of a dominant cultural industry, while replicating its dominant ideology (Driessens, 2013a). These tweets are necessary to maintain his celebrity capital and networked position within the celebrity field (Driessens, 2013b). Kanye West's promotional tweets are formulaic in form and content. They produce neither authenticity nor intimacy and therefore cannot be considered a 'micro-celebrity' strategy, but rather a mere commercial strategy. The tweets from this first strategy appear throughout the entire time frame of the analysis and mostly through individual postings, rather than in streams of multiple posts.

The second strategy — made up of tweets from the categories opinion, prayer, criticism, self-admiration and private as well as stream-of-consciousness tweets — aims to present an emotional, authentic and intimate celebrity persona by granting access to a (performed) backstage reality, by broadcasting controversial ideas and thoughts and by constructing a unique narrative that does not shy away from pointing out the faults of the system the first strategy renders him a part of. Due to their very emotional, spontaneous, often paradoxical and controversial nature, these tweets are highly authentic and can therefore be understood as a 'micro-celebrity' strategy. This second Twitter strategy started to appear more frequently with his increased usage of Twitter in late 2015 and is featured throughout his streams of consciousness. Through this strategy, Kanye's Twitter usage became increasingly personal, individual and direct. Kanye's stream of consciousness — addressing multiple issues throughout a continuous flow of tweets in a mood-board style and using prayer rhetoric — are a unique strategy identified in his usage of Twitter.

With these two main strategies oppose each other, Kanye West's Twitter strategy is highly paradoxical. While a great number of his tweets renders him a celebrity and part of the celebrity industry, his critical, semi-religious prayer-like streams of self-proclaimed "Twitter poetry" (09.03.2016), serve as an incumbent antithesis to industry conformism and his own celebrity commodity. On the one hand, presenting an "unparalleled access to himself" (Reiff, 2016) through his streams of consciousness and explicitly criticizing structural oppression and inequalities within society through his tweets, he, on the other hand, promotes himself as a celebrity commodity and thereby the system he criticized in prior posts. While this inconsistency and the paradoxical nature of his tweets diminishes the impact of his structural criticism, the incoherence, lack of control and unedited struggle Kanye expresses through his Twitter feed make his output uniquely authentic.

In his usage of Twitter, Kanye West can be understood as a celebrity practitioner making use of 'micro-celebrity' strategies. He constantly performs his celebrity persona to his audience of fans and followers. While his authenticity strategy is especially successful due to his controversial and paradoxical tweets, his tweets relating to the first strategy in particular show a significant lack of authenticity and intimacy. In comparison to other Twitter celebrities' practice, which places a large emphasis on interactivity and phatic communication with fans and followers (e.g. Jerslev and Mortensen, 2016, Marwick and boyd, 2011a), Kanye West entirely ignores these strategies in his Twitter practice, as he uses almost no connectivity syntax and very little phatic communication. While he gives a very clear impression of his opinions and views, only a very small number of tweets provide a backstage impression of Kanye's everyday life. The high level of authenticity created through his tweets relating to the second strategy compensate for his neglecting of interactivity and backstage performance. Through his use of Twitter, Kanye has managed to increase his celebrity capital.

In comparison to the other above-mentioned studies focusing on celebrity Twitter practice, the case study of Kanye West's usage of Twitter proves to also be unique for his adaptive use of Twitter. Through his streams of consciousness, Kanye West modifies the intended use of Twitter from a single-post microblogging platform into a

platform that allows for the creation of complex narratives that span multiple tweets. This way of using Twitter allows Kanye to address greater issues in a structural way rather than being limited to 140-character updates. Simultaneously, single tweets can be extracted and disseminated through retweets and favorites. When trying to understand the full context of Kanye's stream of consciousness, this technique of posting forces the follower to read the tweets from bottom to top, rather than from top to bottom. The usage of this type of stream-of-consciousness technique has to be considered a unique strategy of celebrity Twitter practice. Researching if and how other celebrities are similarly making use of this or a related strategy could be the subject of a subsequent study.

His unique use of Twitter furthermore reconfirms Kanye West as a special case study within the celebrity sphere. He does not comply with the standard norms and practices expected from celebrities, but rather modifies the principles of celebrity for his own means, while still complying with regulations insofar as to expand his celebrity capital. His celebrity persona presented on Twitter might at first glance line up with his celebrity persona established through media representations and his controversial public appearances. Many of his controversial and offensive tweets contain the same aggressive style as his public outbursts — for instance, his recent interviews read like quotes from his Twitter feed and vice versa. Yet, Kanye has tweeted some surprisingly personal and emotional tweets that reveal a new facet of his celebrity persona, previously undermined through media premeditation. His use of Twitter has allowed Kanye West to directly address his fans and followers not only to share these previously invisible private facets, but furthermore to depict himself as a paradox and paranoid personality.

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Date	Text	Topic	Consec?	Retweet Count	Favourite Count
01.05.2016 20:08	https://t.co/Gk6IzhzZok	content	s	167741	204484
01.08.2015 21:00	http://t.co/AY7S7WgXh	content	s	8010	11199
02.04.2016 23:42	https://t.co/KPQw5uHa5t	content	s	5205	22323
02.07.2014 01:42	http://t.co/uJkyP3eXk	content	s	3985	6652
02.07.2014 01:42	http://t.co/s6F8SciGbg	content	s	5014	6762
02.07.2014 01:43	http://t.co/sVczpwDuc	content	s	3663	5986
02.07.2014 01:43	http://t.co/WEmwgYwNJD	content	s	4858	7052
02.07.2014 01:43	http://t.co/TPMcn7w8W	content	s	5052	8221
02.07.2014 01:44	http://t.co/HWijFyOMOD	content	s	10144	11136
06.02.2015 02:08	http://t.co/8T1uPQewk 00:00:06:19:52:31:01	content	s	12791	12644
06.02.2015 22:56	3 00:00:05:23:06:01:83 http://t.co/8T1uPQw7bK	content	s	4081	5983
06.10.2015 13:46	Color http://t.co/0ZTDPK4M4A	content	s	7364	19384
06.10.2015 13:47	http://t.co/9SdjjV5o3	content	s	3966	8210
07.02.2015 21:34	http://t.co/0vKr199CzM	content	s	5499	11619
09.02.2016 16:26	2017? https://t.co/hxdDMHhcr1	content	s	11428	33171
09.02.2016 22:56	https://t.co/5666EixyVVK	content	s	2564	9841
10.02.2016 01:48	https://t.co/0M2GnAdgGc	content	s	22096	44332
10.02.2016 01:49	https://t.co/9tu8KNy6IE	content	s	19608	41351
10.06.2015 18:30	3500 http://t.co/0pTDeFb7d	content	s	26312	40858
10.07.2013 20:40	http://t.co/hkUH7FmNh	content	s	2172	2152
11.02.2015 19:38	invile 00:00:01:02:22:10:41 http://t.co/mSKqleRSaQ	content	s	2064	3487
11.03.2016 19:17	https://t.co/PysZQ6tdgD	content	s	2071	8248
12.02.2015 16:04	camera angles 00:00:05:56:33:30 http://t.co/mSKqleRSaQ	content	s	1780	3340
12.02.2016 06:44	https://t.co/2rBnjo4Qz	content	c	3502	12054
12.02.2016 06:44	https://t.co/0GqPcgeOHT8	content	c	6398	19274
12.02.2016 06:44	https://t.co/m7XvXVb1q	content	c	15964	27479
12.02.2016 06:45	https://t.co/6vSHSIS3X	content	c	2638	8963
12.02.2016 06:45	https://t.co/spVqZehAc6	content	c	2951	9701
12.02.2016 06:45	https://t.co/rlIL46S	content	c	3324	10226
12.02.2016 06:45	https://t.co/LPCR1manZ	content	c	4124	12316
12.02.2016 06:46	https://t.co/ohp0oxm6bJ	content	c	1994	7954
12.02.2016 06:46	https://t.co/5segXE6CV9	content	c	2284	8646
12.02.2016 06:46	https://t.co/IBQCukkkHT	content	c	2738	9763
12.02.2016 06:46	https://t.co/PMoSPrDS5	content	c	3063	10126
12.02.2016 06:46	https://t.co/323L5OAdtT	content	c	4216	12145
12.02.2016 06:47	https://t.co/FWU2q16ojQ	content	c	2892	10087
12.02.2016 06:47	https://t.co/tbxo3HLZ0	content	c	2957	10588
12.02.2016 06:47	https://t.co/UOHZDZYzsh	content	c	3673	11850
12.02.2016 06:47	https://t.co/v9JVMBAYVA	content	c	3802	13482
12.03.2016 16:36	mood https://t.co/msQNDloHgA	content	s	23258	63211
12.06.2014 19:58	http://t.co/8CaIGU28Jq #Allinmothing	content	s	7233	7731
13.02.2016 16:57	https://t.co/mOpsCD20f	content	s	71917	106746
13.02.2016 17:01	Bosses https://t.co/aMzmmTcPQ6	content	s	8646	34599
13.02.2016 17:01	... awwwww... https://t.co/TLXZHivmQ	content	s	52936	97549
14.02.2016 16:37	https://t.co/CGJ5PYL67	content	s	54175	101767
14.04.2016 07:10	https://t.co/fr6uKie04v	content	s	116794	206646
15.09.2015 04:53	http://t.co/NosaGi7pIH	content	s	4188	6227
16.02.2015 23:20	LET'S GO!!! http://t.co/ZeZDc5w9wZ http://t.co/LpVuwSvy0Q	content	s	4820	8218
16.04.2016 00:12	Wes https://t.co/utUoUgetw	content	s	3818	14914
18.03.2016 19:10	https://t.co/hBD8EwryNu	content	s	6422	28588
19.02.2016 05:00	Loving this mood for SEASON 4 https://t.co/Hlq3PbMoc	content	s	10135	40673
19.08.2014 07:58	http://t.co/0Sk14pYFU http://t.co/4J93e21x	content	s	13926	15510
19.09.2015 00:05	http://t.co/ezxZxxAFF2	content	s	1956	5139
19.09.2015 00:05	http://t.co/DxN98Dpatx	content	s	2268	5650
19.09.2015 00:06	http://t.co/ZtrcFR5JUm	content	s	1842	4724
19.09.2015 00:06	http://t.co/ISMcwzO6y	content	s	1981	5036
19.09.2015 00:06	http://t.co/8W8SkkpN8	content	s	2846	5934
19.09.2015 00:07	http://t.co/3y6wIWSXu	content	s	1687	4661
19.09.2015 00:07	http://t.co/mzicJo6rU	content	s	1772	4719
19.09.2015 00:07	http://t.co/rxGPMByn0S	content	s	1875	4863
19.09.2015 00:07	http://t.co/yYa7D148i	content	s	1992	5131
19.09.2015 00:07	http://t.co/v3YFh6OudF	content	s	2148	5145
19.09.2015 00:07	http://t.co/7R4HGwXO64	content	s	2175	5203
19.09.2015 00:07	http://t.co/tABSvIBKRL	content	s	2670	5877
19.09.2015 00:07	http://t.co/BUO6XOMG	content	s	2672	6475
19.09.2015 00:08	http://t.co/ZmsdrAzp09	content	s	2271	5797
19.09.2015 00:08	http://t.co/82zFmk3Ige	content	s	2285	5618
19.09.2015 00:08	http://t.co/GwxWvWtTnA	content	s	2482	5753
19.09.2015 00:08	http://t.co/Frxp3F2YkS	content	s	2631	5981
19.09.2015 00:08	http://t.co/ppleIe72UJ	content	s	2641	6007
19.09.2015 00:08	http://t.co/47sJFXfIXS	content	s	4215	8716
19.09.2015 00:08	http://t.co/CJ3qBUuLi	content	s	19790	27577
19.09.2015 00:09	http://t.co/8K8enCQOMU	content	s	2194	5739
19.09.2015 00:09	http://t.co/8LjvbxMQnc	content	s	2381	6113
19.09.2015 00:09	http://t.co/O8CjQRFQZO	content	s	2441	6675
19.09.2015 00:09	http://t.co/zLGTPeYlga	content	s	2471	6336
19.09.2015 00:09	http://t.co/3ogP4xbBF	content	s	2649	6615
19.09.2015 00:09	http://t.co/3OBs0seghd	content	s	2817	6930
19.09.2015 00:09	http://t.co/GY9BabUS3	content	s	3379	7384
19.09.2015 00:10	http://t.co/HlWD22AuS	content	s	2617	7540
19.09.2015 00:10	http://t.co/OlqAA3Vas	content	s	2740	7564
19.09.2015 00:10	http://t.co/tB4mMBIG0w	content	s	3494	10212
21.05.2015 00:55	http://t.co/n140cTEoxy	content	s	12302	16288
22.01.2016 01:49	?? https://t.co/cDdAdPamwO	content	s	20864	47882
22.01.2016 04:11	The monster https://t.co/N1F3QFmRws	content	s	10476	28402
22.01.2016 04:29	Had to do it https://t.co/sEPvnmKB8	content	s	14972	37831
23.08.2015 23:11	RODEO http://t.co/vqM96I29T8	content	s	35505	42564
25.03.2015 19:40	CODES http://t.co/GllW9Zk3S	content	s	14875	30010
25.09.2015 01:07	http://t.co/kzaB65UaA7	content	s	4184	9509
26.01.2015 19:56	http://t.co/wY2ur638HU	content	s	30200	36161
27.05.2014 17:08	http://t.co/CIKqSj3bRc	content	s	80238	119562
27.05.2014 17:20	http://t.co/4RUQMMhe9	content	s	111790	163220
30.03.2016 19:50	daytime https://t.co/pbwX4ehGIU	content	s	10898	57889
31.03.2016 04:51	https://t.co/pRxeehJpmL	content	c	14473	26889

04.02.2016 03:34	@billboard É it's not a fake coverÉ you see it didn't youÉ you know we shot it didn't youÉ	Criticism	s	5346	12444
04.02.2016 03:35	Aye Billboard you could use the term "Unauthorized" but never refer to anything that me and Tyler do as fake out of respect to musiciansÉ	Criticism	s	14187	39009
07.03.2016 18:40	please avoid trying to talk me out of being me in the future	Criticism	c	38806	47560
09.02.2016 23:22	Puma we gone give you your measly million dollars back!!! Never try to divide the family!!!	Criticism	s	15404	32296
10.02.2016 00:16	1000% there will never be a Kylie Puma anything. That's on my family! 1000% Kylie is on Yeezy team!!!	Criticism	s	28355	53882
09.07.2013 21:54	So any website that may have the unapproved / unfinished ruff. I ask you to please take it down.	Criticism	s	3468	2856
09.07.2013 21:55	And to who ever leaked the videoÉ FLUK YOU!	Criticism	s	24685	16426
10.02.2014 20:02	to not only convince my peers and the public that I could be an artist, but to actually get that art out for the world to hear.	Criticism	c	13511	19285
10.03.2016 00:14	I also hate all the stylists that copy Hedi Slimane and give their clients blatant YSL looks thinking that it will bring a younger client.	Criticism	c	2469	9755
10.03.2016 00:16	Just cause somebody is wearing combat boots doesn't mean it's all of a sudden youth.	Criticism	c	3738	13049
10.03.2016 00:26	All these journalists can give their opinions well these are mineÉ Eyes I believe in my ripped homeless sweaters!!!	Criticism	c	18977	37395
10.03.2016 00:30	Fake Fake Fake fake fake fake fake fake fake É just my analysis	Criticism	c	99353	86438
10.03.2016 00:31	If you wouldn't invite me to your house then don't invite me to your show.	Criticism	c	10232	25233
10.03.2016 00:32	Don't try to use me for advertisement or to make your proposed trend relevant.	Criticism	c	4830	15058
10.10.2015 04:20	Fuck any game company that puts in-app purchases on kids games!!!	Criticism	s	50839	76643
10.10.2015 04:21	That makes no sense!!! We give the iPad to our child and every 5 minutes there's a new purchase!!!	Criticism	s	26396	44115
10.10.2015 04:21	If a game is made for a 2 year old, just allow them to have fun and give the parents a break for Christ sake.	Criticism	s	26943	48325
12.02.2016 15:10	6th Stop trying to demonize real artist Stop trying to compromise art	Criticism	c	23117	35736
12.02.2016 15:11	8th They want to control us with money and perception and mute the culture	Criticism	c	28076	38321
13.02.2016 09:20	You seem like the type of organization hired to always keep dreamers downÉ when certain things in history happen you just got to respect itÉ	Criticism	c	7238	19305
13.02.2016 09:20	Now - Media Takeout - always remember that you dished the collection that changed the world.	Criticism	start	5859	17481
13.02.2016 09:21	Your site is entertaining and hilarious but certain things are just too farÉ you have no idea what I've had to go through É	Criticism	c	5500	18981
13.02.2016 09:21	but Media Takeout couldn't say one thing positive knowing damn well you'd love to be on the YEEZY 350 listÉ	Criticism	c	7258	21467
13.02.2016 09:22	so many people didn't make it and gave everything they had for me to stand on their shoulders and break through fashionÉ	Criticism	c	5805	20096
14.03.2016 17:06	Non artist trying to grab the paint brush..	Criticism	s	17139	29671
15.02.2016 06:46	I don't have enough resources to create what I really canÉ	Criticism	c	9768	21969
15.02.2016 06:50	All you dudes in San Fran play rap music in your homes but never help the real artistsÉ	Criticism	c	7541	20646
15.02.2016 06:50	you'd rather open up one school in Africa like you really helped the countryÉ	Criticism	c	10632	22244
15.02.2016 06:52	All you guys had meetings with me and no one lifted a finger to helpÉ.	Criticism	c	5346	17755
16.02.2016 00:27	To Pitchfork, Rolling Stone, New York Times, and any other white publication. Please do not comment on black music anymore.	Criticism	c	19415	36402
16.02.2016 00:27	I love love love white people but you don't understand what it means to be the great grandson of ex slaves and make it this far.	Criticism	c	29420	62222
16.02.2016 08:57	You can't control me or use the debt against me no more É	Criticism	c	5540	16572
16.02.2016 09:03	When Charlemagne was calling me "donkey of the day" I was in debt	Criticism	c	6184	17019
16.02.2016 09:03	when Sway was telling me what to do, I was in debt, and had a childÉ	Criticism	c	6360	17784
16.02.2016 09:04	but if you don't have your paper right, there's a chance that your family can be broken up	Criticism	c	6194	16683
16.02.2016 09:05	so people laughed when I said I wanted to be able to take care of my family É	Criticism	c	5876	18636
16.02.2016 21:07	I mean, his mom has to work 2 days just to afford 1 book for her son É	Criticism	c	7838	24487
16.02.2016 21:08	Education puts Americans into debt before they even get a chance to get startedÉ	Criticism	c	153471	166798
16.12.2014 06:29	600.000 people rallied for justice on Dec. 13th #blacklivesmatter	Criticism	s	20971	31602
19.08.2014 00:13	RT @UncleRUSH: Police sensitivity training, diversity initiatives, body cameras for police and a fucking arrest. Would be a good startÉ	Criticism	s	13051	0
20.02.2015 16:47	and I have encountered countless amounts of bigotry along the way.	Criticism	c	5236	9866
20.02.2015 16:47	Fame is often looked down upon in the design world, so it's actually been something I had to overcome.	Criticism	c	11981	17237
20.02.2015 16:47	To Fem Malls: I just want you to understand that attempting to do clothing has been very difficult	Criticism	start	4508	9071
22.07.2013 18:45	ATTENTION all sites just posting merely the video version of BLKKK SKKKN HEAD...	Criticism	s	1980	2129
22.07.2013 18:46	if you put a link to my site people will be able to chop & screw the video. this is a step towards the possibilities of internet based video	Criticism	s	2661	2659
22.07.2013 18:46	please don't diminish the user experience by just posting it as a normal video É please link them to my site	Criticism	s	3102	3232
23.03.2016 00:23	In Roman times the artist would contemplate proportions and colors. Now there is only one important color... Green	Criticism	c	12415	26486
23.03.2016 00:44	Eventually the guys with real ideas not running a scam on the world will overcome.	Criticism	c	10751	20157
24.02.2016 05:40	What the fuck does he know about rapÉ	Criticism	s	9554	20441
24.02.2016 05:42	I'm tired of old people that have no connection with anything trying to comment on music!	Criticism	c	15033	27667
24.02.2016 05:42	Do something relevantÉ Please don't speak on me bro ever again!!!	Criticism	c	15597	24700
24.02.2016 05:44	I'm so sorry for themÉ I will send them free Yeezys to make up for the embarrassment that you have caused your family!	Criticism	c	19704	41507
24.02.2016 05:45	Bob please never speak in public againÉ you are everything that is wrong with the old guard É	Criticism	c	7802	19702
24.02.2016 05:46	it's guys like you that run companies and don't invest in Ye even if I'm your kid's idol!!!	Criticism	c	6401	17639
24.02.2016 05:46	Rock and Roll was stolenÉ Rap was exploitedÉ	Criticism	c	19652	30749
24.02.2016 05:47	Ezrin I truly feel sorry for your friends and family that they have had to suffer an idiot like you for so many yearsÉ	Criticism	c	8371	21472
24.02.2016 19:30	I know so many cool artists whose hearts have been broken by the politics including mine.	Criticism	c	5850	16277
24.02.2016 19:32	I feel the Grammy awarding system is way off and completely out of touch.	Criticism	c	9093	19240
24.02.2016 19:34	You guys are supposed to be all about taste.	Criticism	c	6499	16219
24.02.2016 19:35	All artists have a problem with it and I am going to fix it for us all starting right now.	Criticism	c	5238	14671
24.02.2016 19:35	Has anyone at the Grammys ever heard March Madness??? Yes I have a problem with the Grammys.	Criticism	c	99329	43634
24.02.2016 19:40	and always remember that rock and roll was stolen and don't try to hide behind Jimmy Jam and Terry Lewis ?????? all positive vibes.	Criticism	c	5327	14112
24.02.2016 23:52	There are some lame fake accounts trying to make Kanye-isms that are not Mark Twain level.	Criticism	s	22422	46961
25.02.2016 02:27	This best explains my experience in fashion and with fashion people in general https://t.co/Y7o51TDds	Criticism	s	7555	23136
10.03.2016 00:28	The fashion world is soooooo fake and Carine is one of the very few real people in fashionÉ	Criticism, fandom	c	2771	11343
24.02.2016 05:45	Bro you said Macklemore was more important musically than meÉ no offense to Macklemore, he's a nice human being!	Criticism, fandom	c	24908	44691
24.02.2016 19:34	You like your black people a certain way also. You wouldn't have Future perform and that man owned the clubs last summer.	Criticism, fandom	c	18389	32055
23.03.2016 00:40	I speak yell scream directly at the old guard on behalf of the future.	Criticism, prayer	c	2873	10526
23.03.2016 00:47	When companies doubt me they doubt us.	Criticism, prayer	c	3475	12274
09.03.2016 01:57	Met with @Hermes_Paris family yesterdayÉ been out here fighting for 13 years and it feels like we're finally seeing winÉ	criticism, prayate	c	2097	9413
13.02.2016 09:22	fashion ain't no joke for meÉ it's a way of lifeÉ creative expression and industryÉ	Criticism, private	c	20249	39059
15.02.2016 05:39	I know y'all tired of music controlled by money and perception. I'm proud of every dime of debt I got.	Criticism, private	c	13375	33911
15.02.2016 20:06	and a balance art family perception friends family politics and the fucking manipulators	Criticism, private	c	6722	19379
16.02.2016 08:57	For the past 3 years people who knew about the debt tried to use it against me in negotiations É	Criticism, private	start	5441	17648
01.10.2013 00:09	So proud of my baby @kimkardashian http://t.co/cArXWR8EP	fandom	s	8885	19118
02.03.2015 03:42	THERE WOULD BE NO FIX, NO WATCH THE THRONE, NO COLLEGE DROPOUT, NO GOLD DIGGER WITHOUT YOU BRO!!!	fandom	s	8063	20402
02.03.2015 03:42	HAPPY BDAY TO MY BROTHER MIKE DEAN, MIKE YOU'RE ONE OF THE GREATEST LIVING MUSICIANS IF NOT THE GREATEST	fandom	s	8436	18671
02.03.2015 03:42	YOU ARE A LEGEND, A GREAT FRIEND, AND RESPECTFULLY EVEN THOUGH YOU WHITE ONE OF THE REALIST NIGGAS ALIVE	fandom	s	20808	38594
02.04.2016 23:28	I love Rick Owens's bed design but the back is too high for the beams and angle of the ceiling	fandom	s	3124	12701
02.04.2016 23:41	ToyCore doesn't make a Polar bear bed but the Polar bear couch is my favorite piece of furniture we own https://t.co/ASJqkAUmT	fandom	s	3410	17508
03.02.2016 04:18	Out of respect for Q-Tip, Puff, Hov, Lauren, Pharcyde, Mary, Stevie, Michael, Hendrix, James, Pete Rock, Pac, MarvinÉ.	fandom	s	17328	40365
03.02.2016 04:18	So many musicians touch my life and made me who I amÉ I want to make something great to honor my idolsÉ	fandom	s	22276	51399
03.05.2016 07:35	Thank you Anna for the invite thank you to the whole Vogue team	fandom	s	2756	15298
03.05.2016 07:37	thank you Olivier for making 4 dresses for Kim to choose from which we chopped 2 in half	fandom	s	4572	21077
03.05.2016 07:38	and thank you for turning my personal jean jacket into a couture piece	fandom	s	4265	19276
04.07.2013 07:30	This is not another "Robot" movie. Guillermo del Toro is a master.	fandom	s	6217	5281
04.07.2013 07:30	I saw a pre-screening of Pacific Rim yesterday and it's easily one of my favorite movies of all time.	fandom	s	9726	8125
05.02.2016 02:16	ALSO THANK YOU @FuckTyler FOR THE BEAT https://t.co/dyCBtUsWRfx	fandom	s	18270	42582
05.03.2016 04:56	we need to bring Max B, Lord (Timothy Ballard) and Barkim back home @nas @FrenchMontana #Harlem #OB	fandom	s	5435	14526
06.03.2016 22:58	Playing the new Nigel Holt album in Paris É this is the perfect vibe right now! https://t.co/047c290V https://t.co/qwojAJUNWm	fandom	s	3302	13609
06.03.2016 23:12	Love this video https://t.co/Ar6wpQ05q	fandom	s	1876	8149
06.04.2016 01:14	All respect prayers and love to Phife's family Thank you for so much inspiration	fandom	s	8090	29153
06.04.2016 01:35	Tribe changed music forever	fandom	s	24707	45390
06.06.2016 21:50	I love this video. Very creative. https://t.co/QUFTUs8Op	fandom	s	8228	19680
06.07.2015 21:16	Skateboard P is the God.	fandom	s	24729	30792
06.10.2014 11:53	JOHN GALLIANO is the new creative director of MARGIELA. I heard this rumor when I was in Paris and just received confirmation this morning!	fandom	s	4281	8260

06.10.2014 11:54	It is very exciting to see what powerful creatives do at different houses...	fandom	s	9558	14688
06.10.2014 11:55	Hedi at Saint Laurent, Nicolas at Vuitton and now John at Margiela.	fandom	s	5561	9278
07.03.2016 00:01	Tyler killed this https://t.co/YVzyTXE1Bu	fandom	s	27147	41367
08.07.2013 07:05	Thank you Jean Touitou for letting me create with you http://t.co/ctery9mHJA	fandom	s	1959	2246
09.02.2016 23:51	I'm sorry Michael Jordan I love and respect you. My beef was with Mark Parker. I respect you so much!	fandom	s	16824	39203
09.03.2016 00:15	muse https://t.co/JeXMTsZKmQ	fandom	s	31661	85724
09.03.2016 00:30	Thank you Carine for believing in the vision, You are a visionary https://t.co/f13xrPC5W9	fandom	s	1260	5774
09.03.2016 01:42	Super inspired by my visit to Ikea today , really amazing company€ my mind is racing with the possibilities€	fandom	c	24666	44826
09.03.2016 01:56	So proud of my brother @VirgilAbloh with his new @OffWht collection!!!	fandom	c	1956	8009
09.03.2016 01:56	Was speaking with @soujaian earlier about a new idea€	fandom	c	2425	9073
09.03.2016 02:11	Thank you to @asvprocky for supporting me at the MSG show€	fandom	c	4354	18912
09.03.2016 02:19	Get Top on the phoocooe!!!! @KendrickLamar	fandom	end	19302	34089
09.04.2015 04:52	I really like this vid... https://t.co/T3eEuqHvgn	fandom	s	6019	10292
09.12.2013 18:20	Respect to Mandela, his family and his legacy.	fandom	s	12075	11133
09.12.2013 18:22	Thank you, Mandela, for your life's work and may it serve as a guiding light to illuminate our future.	fandom	s	18612	16326
10.01.2016 06:32	My idol. https://t.co/YGFPhQmDP	fandom	s	9581	30318
10.02.2016 00:53	Wow this is pretty cool ... good job NIKE team... Lebron is my brother https://t.co/QrzpKRWwak	fandom	s	7636	22810
10.03.2016 00:17	Oh and I only came to Paris fashion to stand by my friends Olivier, Riccardo and Demna.	fandom	c	1991	9407
10.03.2016 00:18	I thank Olivier for designing his collection around my wife€ this is visionary as I believe that Kim is our modern day everything.	fandom	c	4343	18707
10.03.2016 00:21	I thank Demna for using the "I feel like Pablo" sweatshirts in his show,	fandom	c	2138	10426
10.03.2016 00:23	this is my friend and we've bounced ideas and references for years since the time when he designed for YEEZY Season 1.	fandom	c	1750	9052
10.03.2016 00:24	Sorry I couldn't be at Virgil's show because I had a meeting in another city.	fandom	c	1613	8379
10.03.2016 00:29	So many people turned on her when she was fired and acted like they forgot the innovation and beauty that she brought to the world€	fandom	c	2099	9973
10.03.2016 00:32	Olivier designed clothes for my show€ That was real, that was groundbreaking, that is a Real Friend.	fandom	c	2570	13235
10.03.2016 19:03	I just received a blessing from minister Kirk Franklin	fandom	start	3539	13094
10.03.2016 19:17	Thank you Kirk for standing by me through all the noise.	fandom	c	2912	11780
10.03.2016 19:17	The choir arrangement that Kirk orchestrated is the most powerful thing I've heard in my earthly existence.	fandom	c	6264	19101
10.03.2016 19:18	I love you. My dad loves you.	fandom	c	10852	21309
10.03.2016 19:19	My whole family loves you and your family and we appreciate the moment you helped realize on the Beams!!!	fandom	c	2931	12838
10.03.2016 19:21	I feel like Rev Run, God MC (tweeting positive energy while sitting in the bathroom!	fandom	c	6880	17846
10.03.2016 19:22	and yes Run is on my all time top ten list!!!	fandom	end	2706	11387
10.04.2015 04:52	Akira and There Will Be Blood are equally my 2 favorite movies of all time.	fandom	s	12152	26311
11.01.2016 08:27	I pray for his friends and family.	fandom	s	13985	43321
11.01.2016 08:27	David Bowie was one of my most important inspirations, so fearless, so creative, he gave us magic for a lifetime.	fandom	s	82921	149081
11.04.2016 03:27	I love this new ASAP FERG album!!!	fandom	s	23537	62327
12.02.2016 06:55	Photos by Lukas Wassmann	fandom	end	2044	10875
12.02.2016 21:48	You have supported me since the beginning and I'm so happy to call you my friend!!!	fandom	s	11490	40600
12.02.2016 21:48	The boss: thank so much Anna for coming to my show!!! https://t.co/VawzKOSDUw	fandom	s	11635	48420
12.05.2016 16:48	@SchoolBoyQ GET TOP DAWG ON THE PHONE !	fandom	s	25918	46006
12.10.2015 05:44	I just saw The Walk and it was truly inspiring! The Walk is a modern elegant masterpiece.	fandom	s	4587	15377
12.10.2015 05:44	Robert Zemeckis is a truly inventive filmmaker and captivating storyteller. He is one of my favorite directors of all time.	fandom	s	4619	15292
13.02.2016 03:56	There would be no MSG without @iamdiddy my OG. He fought this war 15 years ago. Respect OG.	fandom	s	7996	28120
13.02.2016 09:23	and was there in full support to see me realize this dream€	fandom	c	5164	19886
13.02.2016 09:23	and I'm proud of this picture with me and Caillynn€ She gave the most heart felt speech at my wedding https://t.co/v78mwfqH	fandom	c	9603	38098
13.02.2016 09:31	Thank you my brother Riccardo https://t.co/qXHHMDWQk	fandom	end	4533	26010
13.03.2016 18:36	What do you mean by @JustinBieber was my favorite song of 2015	fandom	s	97849	147545
13.03.2016 21:13	Steve Ballmer can I please redesign the Clippers mascot	fandom	s	19200	36834
13.08.2014 22:00	Thank you Robin for all of the joy you brought the world http://t.co/0YABjLm0	fandom	s	91959	135173
14.02.2016 03:45	Please forgive the profanity and give hugs and blessings to my brother Kirk for standing by me... In a few hours the journey begins...	fandom	c	9149	23073
14.03.2016 16:55	%1000 Steve Ballmer. Let's meet this week if you have time. I was hanging with Chris Paul last night.	fandom	s	3836	14050
14.04.2016 04:30	At the God's last game https://t.co/euclouEFOFX	fandom	s	77906	161510
15.02.2016 06:47	and I will always respect you for that and the world will love you€	fandom	c	8587	20505
16.02.2016 00:27	Puff Daddy is the most important cultural figure in my life. His influence means everything to me.	fandom	start	8744	23873
16.02.2016 00:28	Don't tell me Lebron had a bad game. What you jump shot look like???	fandom	c	25021	38193
16.02.2016 09:07	Adidas has really made all the difference €	fandom	c	8205	29038
16.02.2016 09:07	Thank you Adidas for supporting my creative vision €	fandom	c	8360	32787
16.02.2016 09:08	They provided resources for me to create€ they supported me € I thank you so so much €	fandom	c	4255	18897
16.02.2016 21:08	Steve Jobs wanted to lower the cost of textbooks€	fandom	c	14008	39339
16.03.2015 18:56	CONGRATS BABY ON THE SHOW PREMIERE LAST NIGHT http://t.co/wDrVgwnqZj	fandom	s	11636	25802
16.03.2015 23:33	Finally back in the studio€ starting my day by listening to Kendrick's new album!!! Thank you for the music and messaging!!!	fandom	s	32830	56574
16.05.2016 03:13	My brother Chance!!! Thank you for letting me work on this masterpiece. One of my favorite people. https://t.co/VQja0DdoF	fandom	s	18669	51969
17.02.2016 00:48	Hey Nicolas Ghesquiere I grew up on Tron too€ Let's be best friends!!!	fandom	s	3826	16915
17.02.2016 18:25	A dream of mine would be to do a project where I work side by side with Raf Simons, Helmut Lang, Vanessa Beecroft and Martin Margiela	fandom	start	6250	20485
17.03.2015 02:02	KENDRICK IS AN INSPIRATION. THANK YOU FOR THE VIBRATIONS AND THE SPIRIT. YOUR MEANING, MESSAGE AND EXECUTION ARE GIFTS TO THE WORLD.	fandom	s	108514	130301
18.02.2016 18:33	I wanna thank my brother Drizzy for helping me on 30 Hours & amp; Father Stretch My Hands.	fandom	s	42598	93378
18.02.2016 18:34	Drake would come by and just help, no strings. Future also came by to write. We all got new shit together that's gonna drop soon.	fandom	s	93092	145590
18.05.2016 00:06	PANDA PANDA PANDA https://t.co/LSVxzvh0mY	fandom	s	8499	19165
18.05.2016 03:00	Chance too good. God level bars.	fandom	s	101166	157632
19.05.2016 20:58	I love you Ellen https://t.co/B7UmI8E01	fandom	s	11681	29794
20.12.2015 06:29	R.I.P. DJ TIMBUCK2. He was an amazing person and talent. My prayers go out to his family.	fandom	s	6052	16753
21.02.2015 03:59	Seems like just yesterday we were interning at Fendi - now you're nominated for the LVMH Young Designer Prize.	fandom	s	3384	8466
21.02.2015 03:59	I am so proud of my family Virgil Abloh.	fandom	s	3848	9441
22.01.2016 12:18	We just wanna thank Madlib for these 6 beat CDs he sent over #scary https://t.co/rSKnOH5e9b	fandom	s	29545	59305
22.02.2015 23:45	GOOD LUCK TO MY FAMILY COMMON AND JOHN LEGEND ON THEIR OSCAR NOMINATION!!!! SO PROUD OF YOU GUYS!!!!	fandom	s	11508	33554
24.02.2016 19:33	Dexter didn't feel he even had a chance of winning and he was right!!!	fandom	c	3420	11907
24.02.2016 19:33	Everybody with any form of taste knows that was the best video of the year!	fandom	c	10342	23380
24.02.2016 19:33	I don't want to just fix the awards for me but I want to fix it for Dexter Navy who directed ASAP Rocky's LSD video.	fandom	c	16580	34723
24.10.2013 23:39	Thank you MAISON MARTIN @MARGIELA and @RenzoRosso It was one of the greatest experiences to work with the maison!!! http://t.co/zvUtWu0oip	fandom	s	3774	7899
24.12.2015 22:35	Praying for my brother King Louie and his family.	fandom	s	11716	27260
25.03.2016 01:48	Young Thug is super inspiring to me. Amazing artist!!! https://t.co/ImH438xqJ8	fandom	s	41097	57603
27.01.2016 05:32	All respect to Andre Harrel and Max B #Waves	fandom	s	18070	32782
27.01.2016 05:34	Honor puff honor 50 honor q tip honor joy	fandom	s	22444	42384
27.01.2016 21:41	In the lab with Ian Connor by the way	fandom	s	18616	41589
27.02.2015 00:19	I would like to publicly apologize to Beck, I'm sorry Beck.	fandom	s	85174	118875
27.02.2015 00:20	I also would love for Bruno to sing this hook on this song 88 Keys / Puff and I produced€ I even asked Tyler to shoot the vid.	fandom	s	24811	40932
27.02.2015 00:20	I also want to publicly apologize to Bruno Mars, I used to hate on him but I really respect what he does as an artist.	fandom	s	44875	71806
27.02.2016 16:18	I saw Zoolander 2 for the 2nd time	fandom	start	6790	23532
27.02.2016 16:20	Will Ferrell has reached walking living breathing god status!	fandom	c	23781	46159
27.02.2016 16:21	His existence is a blessing.	fandom	c	13425	25663
27.02.2016 16:22	Perhaps it was seeing him play the same character from 15 years ago with 15 more years experience	fandom	c	3112	14709
27.02.2016 16:24	that showed how sharp and Bruce Lee status he is.	fandom	c	2875	12711
27.02.2016 16:25	We all know Will Ferrell has always been the one!!!	fandom	c	13349	31123
27.02.2016 16:26	and also let's shout out to the art direction € candy on the screens!	fandom	c	2413	13130
27.02.2016 16:26	I just want to thank Will Ferrell for the years of joy he has brought into my life with amazing comedy	fandom	c	38722	77446
27.02.2016 16:27	It is so inspiring €€Thank you for existing!	fandom	end	5389	18706
27.07.2015 09:38	My prayers go to Ingrid Sisch's family € I will forever appreciate her sincerity € She was a super nice person. http://t.co/Gaiqv0wAH	fandom	s	2738	12185

28.02.2015 15:54	Yo so proud of my family Big Sean for his first number 1 album!!!! #Goodmusic!!!!	fandom	s	19030	40273
28.04.2016 03:11	I'm so proud of @LifeOfDesigner #1 song in the country. Pand!!! Good music 2016!!!	fandom	s	15926	51558
28.11.2013 00:38	Thank you Russel for these kind insightful words. I appreciate your mentorship.	fandom	s	2264	4334
28.11.2013 00:39	You inspire us all to be greater and have broken the original doors down that gave us the platform: http://t.co/Fj884wP6	fandom	s	3680	4376
29.02.2016 06:18	Finally!!! Our guy!!! We're so happy for Leo!!!	fandom	s	124142	230570
30.01.2016 23:15	CONGRATULATIONS TO MY BROTHER VIRGIL ABLON ON THE NEW BORN	fandom	s	6920	31000
23.11.2013 17:46	LOU REED INTERVIEW IN SYDNEY 1974. http://t.co/UTg5Y9z8o	fandom, content	s	2568	4745
09.03.2016 01:45	playing the new Kendrick E 1 thousand images on the desktop E Hennessy & amp; whatOs left of the ice and coke zero E	fandom, private	c	8438	24169
02.03.2014 20:57	check out @SteveSloute classic Tanning of America marathon starting at 7pm on vh1 #hiphoppedgustus	fandom, promotional	s	1793	3386
03.03.2015 11:55	CyHi The Prynce freestyle on Westwood http://t.co/EPV12jhpP	fandom, promotional	s	3119	5358
03.05.2016 07:43	also to KimOs hair and makeup Lorraine jewelry and the whole style squad at Balmain and the Yeezy team.	fandom, promotional	s	2884	16715
04.02.2015 04:59	"BlessingsÓ Sean, Drake, Me. Dark Sky Paradise 2.24.15 http://t.co/KyJU1TKZr http://t.co/2gDhGbe9gk	fandom, promotional	s	13745	20627
04.12.2015 09:14	Kid Cudi "Speedin' Bullet 2 Heaven" https://t.co/HAHbYWDMA	fandom, promotional	s	12220	21435
05.09.2013 23:33	I loved working on this new John Legend album, LOVE IN THE FUTURE, out now. @johnlegend https://t.co/lr2zP6L http://t.co/65caceLwbP	fandom, promotional	s	4220	6883
05.11.2014 03:44	VII #RealRnB #TeyanaTaylor http://t.co/DW5yGQvUak	fandom, promotional	s	2205	4033
05.11.2014 22:12	VIBES! Out Today. http://t.co/EIxbSnQJEL	fandom, promotional	s	2939	5496
06.07.2015 20:13	Beautiful song, incredibly shot. https://t.co/LV15T82NL	fandom, promotional	s	2630	5885
08.05.2014 23:55	My friend Lisa Robinson just released her book, There Goes Gravity. http://t.co/oayJhFcmY. Pretty legendary photos in it!!!	fandom, promotional	s	1193	3131
11.04.2015 12:07	VIC MENSA - U MAD featuring me http://t.co/Q0YFFn1Jsp http://t.co/czcx13D90L	fandom, promotional	s	10500	17522
11.12.2015 05:06	Pusha T OKing Push - Darkest Before Dawn: The Prelude" Preorder https://t.co/MZO4IVUv	fandom, promotional	s	6437	11877
12.04.2015 22:00	New Tyler https://t.co/2vNarGnLSI	fandom, promotional	s	13571	19872
16.08.2013 23:47	New Big Sean video - creative direction by Matt Williams from DONDA	fandom, promotional	s	2488	2770
17.11.2015 09:47	Pusha T ÓuntouchableÓ, produced by Timbaland. https://t.co/11yEb66Xr	fandom, promotional	s	5537	11105
18.02.2015 03:08	@cyhitheprynce #NAACP #BHP2 https://t.co/qzYsuMFMN	fandom, promotional	s	1807	2830
18.06.2014 06:29	One of my favorite artists Lana Del ReyOs new album. http://t.co/14BikuVW2 http://t.co/TDk8OmPMUF	fandom, promotional	s	39337	54226
20.01.2016 04:52	A message from Yasin Bey https://t.co/M6apCq2D	fandom, promotional	s	16963	22978
21.09.2014 12:02	@BigSean http://t.co/wP0JzY4SA http://t.co/DPAWwEGZ	fandom, promotional	s	5394	9075
21.12.2013 23:38	OFF-WHITE Virgil Abloh http://t.co/GScFeMA4U	fandom, promotional	s	1929	3024
22.12.2015 07:14	IOm so proud of my wife! This KIMOJI idea is so dope... https://t.co/sWKSFOGTE	fandom, promotional	s	27460	60664
23.05.2015 20:55	SUMMER LEAGUE!!! ME TY \$ AND WALE http://t.co/TolGm2h1rM	fandom, promotional	s	8160	12446
24.02.2015 22:53	Really proud of my brother and his new album. https://t.co/foh4MzVvc http://t.co/rdPhogHXVV	fandom, promotional	s	13115	23649
24.09.2013 08:20	MY NAME IS MY NAME. PRE-ORDER ON ITUNES NOW. http://t.co/Sy0S7k4Pp	fandom, promotional	s	2941	2639
25.02.2015 05:23	Congrats to my family Chris Brown and Tyga on their new release https://t.co/yGm82L5gNm	fandom, promotional	s	8703	14728
25.08.2015 23:13	The Weekend is one of my favorite artists and I was really excited to get to work with him on this song. https://t.co/xCoWYcnd	fandom, promotional	s	38120	56780
26.06.2015 23:48	@Tyga The Gold Album #DONDADESIGN http://t.co/lalU9dAmY http://t.co/UyYbXDh54EJ	fandom, promotional	s	4584	11000
30.07.2015 22:02	My good friend Ellen @TheEllenShow just launched her clothing line. http://t.co/6VY01gdZiH	fandom, promotional	s	3033	10394
30.08.2013 21:52	PUSHA-T: MY NAME IS MY NAME. COVER 1. OCT 8TH. http://t.co/8KTBqa2Wl	fandom, promotional	s	4111	3864
30.08.2013 21:53	PUSHA-T: MY NAME IS MY NAME. COVER 2. OCT 8TH. http://t.co/qCQE4r8Mxn	fandom, promotional	s	4292	4421
05.03.2016 04:56	I promised Obama lma do beats on NASÓ next album E	fandom, self-admiration	s	24951	50601
02.03.2016 19:30	@Deadmau5 E is this personOs name pronounced dead-mow-five?	interactivity	start	39749	44925
02.03.2016 19:32	# ok very serious question E	interactivity	c	4910	13280
02.03.2016 19:33	# whose job is it to carry the head on the plane # hash tag # do you check the mickey mouse head or carry on # does it get hot?	interactivity	c	11310	23510
02.03.2016 19:34	# ok another super serious question ... is there a portable fan situation?	interactivity	c	5519	15422
02.03.2016 19:37	# hash tag you raised TidalOs subscriptions by a whopping ??????downloads	interactivity	c	5027	15842
02.03.2016 19:37	# IOm bored ## when you get married will your wife have a giant minnie mouse head? # This brightened up my day E thank you dead-mow-five	interactivity	c	18512	36413
02.03.2016 19:38	Do you do birthday parties?? My daughter loves Minnie mouse E	interactivity	c	2169	38624
02.03.2016 19:39	can you please bring the minnie mouse head E not yours she specifically likes minnie mouse E	interactivity	c	14547	29563
02.03.2016 19:40	I need you to perform at her party with specifically a minnie mouse dead-mow-five head E not a mickey mouse dead-mow-five head.	interactivity	c	20898	34380
02.03.2016 19:41	IOm very detailed oriented and I will know the difference so donOt try to just throw a bow on the original head E	interactivity	c	20263	41625
02.03.2016 21:31	I want to stream you performing in a Minnie Mouse head on @TIDALHIFI	interactivity	end	5362	18071
04.02.2016 02:05	I bet you this still becomes the cover though... Let's do another poll... #trollingstone	interactivity	s	7557	23752
04.02.2016 02:06	Should this be a Rolling Stone cover? Yes or No	interactivity	s	5788	10329
05.04.2016 02:43	hey guys, do you like the fixed version of Wolves better?	interactivity	s	8428	49506
05.11.2014 00:22	I know itOs last minute, but if you havenOt voted, please vote today	interactivity	s	12246	17947
07.03.2016 18:29	Uuuuum... hi everybody!	interactivity	start	21966	37037
07.03.2016 18:35	question... Why do people not want me to be me?	interactivity	c	5767	61029
08.01.2016 20:20	I hope you have a nice weekend.	interactivity	s	93891	94636
08.02.2016 23:05	I have to call @FloydMayweather and @LeoDicaprio, I spoke to @MikeTyson yesterday	interactivity	s	9907	24504
09.03.2016 01:39	please see these next tweets as such because the ideas will jump around a bit E a bit like a mood board...	interactivity	c	2877	11556
09.03.2016 01:52	bear with me guys, Rome wasnOt built in a day but I promise to keep my promises E	interactivity	c	8335	20805
09.03.2016 02:07	iOs been a lot of confusion in the past 3 weeks so let me apologize for in any way being confusing E	interactivity	c	3871	13653
09.04.2016 07:47	Thank you to everybody who made The Life of Pablo the number 1 album in the world!!!	interactivity	s	31712	85599
09.04.2016 07:50	IOm so happy that you guys like the music E IOm working on the tour designs now E	interactivity	s	17414	58565
10.02.2014 20:02	gave of their heart to that project, and to all the projects that followed, and are to come.	interactivity	c	11391	17629
10.02.2014 20:02	I am extremely grateful to each and every person along that road who helped, lent an ear, lent their voice,	interactivity	c	19109	24956
10.02.2014 20:03	I am honored and humbled by my fans, for the unwavering support and love over the past ten years.	interactivity	c	25039	35952
13.02.2016 09:21	you probably got bootleg YeezyOs on right now E	interactivity	c	40431	51665
14.02.2016 18:49	Mark Zuckerberg invest 1 billion dollars into Kanye West ideas	interactivity	s	37241	62795
15.02.2016 06:43	Mark Zuckerberg I know itOs your bday but can you please call me by 2mnw E	interactivity	c	26711	48948
15.02.2016 06:44	World, please tweet, FaceTime, Facebook, instagram, whatever you gotta do to get Mark to support me E	interactivity	c	10858	24166
15.02.2016 06:44	You love hip hop, you love my art E I sm your favorite artist but you watch me barely breathe and still play my album in your house E	interactivity	c	11054	27946
15.02.2016 06:46	Mark, I am publicly asking you for help E	interactivity	c	13807	27718
15.02.2016 06:49	hey Larry Page IOm down for your help too E	interactivity	c	5247	15810
15.02.2016 06:52	...on another note, can brah be the girl verson of bruh???	interactivity	end	67359	86204
15.02.2016 20:05	I know I confuse you guys sometimes but please bare with me.	interactivity	c	31509	47376
15.02.2016 20:06	but if the self proclaimed cockiest person in the world can lay his personal business on the line then please people see my heart.	interactivity	c	12641	31960
15.02.2016 20:06	People wanted me to tweet again well here's some tweets!!!	interactivity	end	20159	46900
16.02.2016 00:28	Aight then E	interactivity	c	13533	19841
16.02.2016 09:06	for anybody listening to Pablo now, working on a dream	interactivity	c	11761	32013
20.02.2015 16:48	If you wanna have a drink with me, book a table at the spotted pig when IOm back in NY.	interactivity	end	13530	27481
23.03.2016 00:52	I love you guys.	interactivity	c	16189	33280
23.03.2016 00:54	I love you.	interactivity	c	75341	75313
24.02.2016 05:40	Has anybody ever heard of Bob Ezrin???	interactivity	start	8041	17750
24.02.2016 19:32	Hi Grammys this is the most important living artist talking.	interactivity	c	45360	61505
24.02.2016 19:36	Neil please reach out as soon as possible so we can make the Grammys culturally relevant again.	interactivity	c	5458	16215
24.02.2016 05:43	Your kids are ashamed of their dad E Sorry for speaking about kids E but could you imagine if you were Bob EzrinOs kids E	interactivity, criticism	c	9294	19671
04.02.2016 18:23	THANK YOU SO MUCH GUYS WE SOLD MADISON SQUARE GARDEN OUT IN 10 MINUTES!!!	interactivity, promotional	s	15378	48977
14.02.2016 03:46	All memes are wrong... The Life of Paul... The Life of Pablo... Ultralight beams... Moms dads daughters sons stand up...	interactivity, promotional	c	11677	26677
15.02.2016 05:36	Man thank you so so so much everyone for signing up to Tidal. Tidal is now the number one app in the world!!! https://t.co/C3n9DkX03R	interactivity, promotional	start	6910	24991
02.04.2016 23:29	plus when you sit on the platform your calf is sort of half on half off	opinion	s	2781	12053
05.11.2014 00:21	I'm supporting the Democratic ticket in these midterms	opinion	s	9134	17304
05.11.2014 00:22	The midterms are extremely important	opinion	s	20077	19393
07.03.2016 18:30	I was thinking about not making CDs ever again... Only streaming	opinion	c	7790	22919
07.03.2016 18:32	the Yeezus album packaging was an open casket to CDs r.i.p	opinion	c	7503	20706
07.03.2016 18:36	I want people to be the best version of themselves and I will be the best version of me.	opinion	c	49420	53968
07.03.2016 18:37	Growing and learning but not being told to stop ...not being stunted.	opinion	c	12746	22741

08.11.2013 09:35	I DO NOT HAVE AN INSTAGRAMÉ	opinion	s	19928	23346
09.03.2016 02:02	what war? a class warÉ a war against timeÉ	opinion	c	4429	12292
09.07.2013 21:52	Me and Nick Knight have been working on this video for 5 months and for creatives it's heartbreaking when something like this happens.	opinion	s	4925	3969
09.12.2013 18:21	Despite recent media reports, I've never said anything to dishonor or trivialize the life or transition of one of the most inspiring leaders	opinion	s	12531	8013
09.12.2013 18:22	I'd like to address the false stories and noise that have been engineered by the media.	opinion	s	9792	9353
10.01.2016 06:44	I have no interest in working with anyone who is too important or too good or too traditional to take a call at 3am	opinion	s	79059	136059
10.02.2016 00:25	BILL COSBY INNOCENT !!!!!!!!	opinion	s	46408	55952
10.03.2016 00:11	I especially hate suit jackets on womenÉ that was a groundbreaking idea 5 million years ago!	opinion	c	3875	11851
10.03.2016 00:11	I don't personally like suit jackets anymore.	opinion	c	6134	15378
10.03.2016 00:12	I feel we are so stuck in the past and tradition.	opinion	c	13170	20084
10.03.2016 00:27	I like T-shirts and women in yoga pantsÉ I live in LA that's what people wearÉ not sure why someone would put a suit jacket on with that.	opinion	c	8182	25024
10.03.2016 00:32	Be realÉ	opinion	end	56889	41866
10.03.2016 19:20	Let's start the day off right!!! And y'all know what I'm bout to say now ...#allpositivevibes!!!!!!	opinion	c	15577	23312
12.02.2016 15:05	I did not diss Taylor Swift and i've never dissed herÉ	opinion	start	29639	48332
12.02.2016 15:06	2nd thing I asked my wife for her blessings and she was cool with it	opinion	c	18033	35686
12.02.2016 15:06	First thing is i'm an artist and as an artist I will express how I feel with no censorship	opinion	c	29811	46088
12.02.2016 15:07	3rd thing I called Taylor and had a hour long convo with her about the line and she thought it was funny and gave her blessings	opinion	c	24483	42999
12.02.2016 15:07	4th Bitch is an endearing term in hip hop like the word Nigga	opinion	c	27985	42946
12.02.2016 15:08	5th thing i'm not even gone take credit for the ideaÉ it's actually something Taylor came up with É	opinion	c	18387	32334
12.02.2016 15:09	She was having dinner with one of our friends who's name I will keep out of this and she told him	opinion	c	13812	25793
12.02.2016 15:09	I can't be mad at Kanye because he made me famous! #FACTS	opinion	c	34871	50402
12.02.2016 15:11	7th I miss that feeling so that's what I want to help restore	opinion	c	13098	26152
12.02.2016 15:11	That's why music is so fucking watered down right now I miss that DMX feeling	opinion	c	32291	51009
12.02.2016 16:40	I want to be the creative director of HermesÉ	opinion	s	16311	42503
15.02.2016 05:39	All y'all so worried about being likable but only a few are concerned about being great!!!	opinion	c	102967	102710
15.02.2016 05:40	Bars are worth more than money because it's something the people can use everyday to feel inspired.	opinion	c	19150	34804
15.02.2016 06:50	if you want to helpÉ help meÉ	opinion	c	17479	27736
15.02.2016 20:01	I just feel rich people are always too cool to ask for help trying to impress each other at dinner parties.	opinion	start	12382	30047
15.02.2016 20:02	I want to help the world and I need help to do it. I am an artist and I care about humanity.	opinion	c	11824	26403
15.02.2016 20:03	Also for anyone that has money they know the first rule is to use other people's money.	opinion	c	26057	36844
15.02.2016 20:04	There are people who support artist and philanthropist	opinion	c	4917	15753
15.02.2016 20:04	I could not have done the MSG without Adidas but world, what I'm telling you is that was just a small sketch for what I will bring you.	opinion	c	6041	19849
15.02.2016 20:04	and I think the idea of being a celebrity a lot of times blocks the understanding of what my purpose is.	opinion	c	8183	24820
15.02.2016 23:53	Pitchfork, the album is a 30 out of 10	opinion	s	16651	34263
15.03.2016 21:02	Utah has eliminated homelessness by 91%	opinion	s	13135	37915
16.02.2016 09:02	i'm an artistÉ the definition of art - or at least my definition - is to be able to see the truth and then express it...	opinion	c	16391	32520
16.02.2016 21:07	Her son just got in a really good school and his textbooks are like \$400 dollars each É	opinion	c	7820	24649
16.02.2016 21:07	she's giving everything she has to make sure her son has a better futureÉ	opinion	c	8544	26133
16.02.2016 21:07	I have a friend who works really hard and makes \$370 dollars a dayÉ	opinion	start	9007	27149
16.02.2016 21:08	We have to lower the price of textbooksÉ	opinion	c	70723	92081
16.02.2016 21:09	i'd rather teachers got paid more and books cost less É #2020	opinion	end	73950	121899
17.02.2016 18:25	all with one purpose of creating beautiful product that can be attainable by everyoneÉ	opinion	c	4400	14393
17.02.2016 18:26	Imagine if the people I named went to high school 2gthr and had a project to do for schoolÉ	opinion	c	3920	15190
17.02.2016 18:26	Just creating in a fun simple way with no politicsÉ	opinion	c	4788	15866
17.02.2016 18:32	that statement has't been sitting well with meÉ That's a dated mentality ... i'm not on that É	opinion	c	5403	17897
17.02.2016 18:32	Man, I was thinking about when I commented on the idea of "taking the rap throne" É	opinion	c	5446	16732
17.02.2016 18:33	every rapper is somebody's favoriteÉ	opinion	c	25704	44650
17.02.2016 18:33	Some rappers got the club É Some got the radioÉ some got the conscienceÉsome got the streetsÉ Everybody has something they do the bestÉ	opinion	c	32105	51599
17.02.2016 18:35	In rap we have been developing a brotherhoodÉ	opinion	c	7737	25882
20.02.2015 16:47	I don't call myself a designer as I was not allowed to go to Saint Martins	opinion	c	7052	12909
20.02.2015 16:47	because I was too famous by the time I realized I wanted to design.	opinion	c	8417	15293
20.02.2015 16:47	I have millions of ideas and I represent a new generation just trying to express themselves in a broken world.	opinion	c	37179	48392
20.02.2015 16:48	All we have are our dreams, and you can step on our dreams and ideas all you want, but we won't stop fighting.	opinion	c	69348	57366
23.03.2016 00:48	They think we're stupid. They do not know how to communicate.	opinion	c	7236	15834
23.03.2016 00:49	Don't be scared of the truth because we need to restart the human foundation in truth	opinion	c	11897	18859
23.03.2016 00:51	Don't be mad at the truth. When you don't like me you are merely shooting the messenger.	opinion	c	11811	20870
23.03.2016 00:52	Everyone has made mistakes. I just make them in public.	opinion	c	64405	96438
23.03.2016 01:08	On another note, I strongly dislike suit jackets. I used the word dislike because I hate the word hate.	opinion	c	19010	38740
23.03.2016 01:09	And I used a period because contrary to popular belief I strongly dislike exclamation points!	opinion	end	13980	29262
24.02.2016 01:33	If you are an entrepreneur you may have debt and lawsuits #facts	opinion	s	13163	34237
24.02.2016 05:47	Welcome to pop culture!!!	opinion	end	10213	21678
24.02.2016 19:30	I think the Grammys are super important!!!	opinion	c	4016	12475
24.02.2016 19:41	We need to see Young Thug at the Grammys. Not just me and Jay in a suit.	opinion	c	43778	52464
24.02.2016 19:41	First order of business. We the people need to see Future at the Grammys.	opinion	c	54379	56581
24.02.2016 19:45	I just had to start with shoes so that I could be economically empowered enough to have a voice.	opinion	c	5109	17468
24.02.2016 19:46	What is your definition of true freedom? There is no true freedom without economic freedom.	opinion	c	18261	29648
24.02.2016 22:28	I just thought of the craziest idea of all ... I'm going to sell winter coats in the winter!!!	opinion	s	23380	47340
24.02.2016 22:28	I'm not a rapper.	opinion	s	43009	56602
30.03.2016 17:11	you have to know who you are before you can become it.	opinion	s	110899	111919
08.07.2015 11:21	DREAMS ARE WORTH MORE THAN MONEY http://t.co/XP0N8BKEs	opinion, content	s	11963	16579
09.04.2015 06:43	Even people who wanna go to heaven don't wanna die to get there. https://t.co/UBzOzxcBXG	opinion, content	s	5694	10841
18.04.2015 19:56	Excited, humbled and motivated for the future. http://t.co/15estPFR6w	opinion, content	s	23396	43342
23.04.2015 07:08	The love of music is louder than words. http://t.co/dvYp0pISan http://t.co/1B4edv3JRl	opinion, content	s	3446	8279
09.03.2016 02:09	I guess in a media world where you never hear the truth, the truth can come off as crazyÉ	opinion, criticism	c	12177	21398
16.02.2016 00:27	The system is designed for colored people to fail and one of our only voices is music. One of our only ways out is music.	opinion, criticism	c	30988	47217
23.03.2016 00:38	I speak truth to power!!!	opinion, criticism	c	4840	11985
23.03.2016 00:35	in the past the press/old guard and powers that be would have silenced me a long time ago but I have a form of social immunity.	opinion, self-admiration	c	2798	11940
23.03.2016 00:39	And I promise the power is in the people and I will use the power given by the people to bring everything I have back to the people.	opinion, self-admiration	c	4616	15153
07.03.2016 18:41	###hashtag all positive vibes	prayer	end	35552	34438
09.03.2016 02:13	Together we standÉ we winÉ	prayer	c	10849	17873
09.03.2016 02:14	the future thinkers winÉ	prayer	c	18548	24081
09.03.2016 02:15	the artists win...	prayer	c	13736	21881
09.03.2016 02:16	we win	prayer	c	17992	22645
09.03.2016 02:16	the thinkers winÉ	prayer	c	22039	25326
09.03.2016 02:16	the pure of heart winÉ	prayer	c	24662	26778
10.02.2014 20:02	I say "finally" because it was a long road, a constant struggle, and a true labor of love	prayer	c	17608	23166
10.02.2014 20:03	The doors may be heavier, but I promise you WE WILL BREAK THEM.	prayer	end	69896	52750
10.02.2016 19:05	Be strong today little brof O come to me, all of you who are tired and have heavy loads, and I will give you rest. MATTHEW 11:28Ó	prayer	c	13478	25198
11.04.2015 04:58	I want to steer clear of Oopportunities" and focus on dreams.	prayer	s	60729	58941
12.02.2016 15:12	but you can see at Madison Square Garden that you can stop us	prayer	c	10447	24640
12.02.2016 15:12	9th It felt like a seen from The Warriors ALL GODS ALL GODS ALL GODS in the buildin	prayer	c	12494	26050
12.02.2016 15:13	not just the famous people there but the kids the moms the dads the families that came to share this moment with us	prayer	end	10746	30325
13.02.2016 09:21	respect the struggleÉ respect the hustleÉ respect the dreamsÉ respect the movementÉ	prayer	c	53947	56303
13.02.2016 09:26	i'm SO HYPE RIGHT NOW EVERYTHING HAS CHANGED É HAVE YAÓLL EVER SEEN TRON? THE END OF THE TRON WHERE EVERYTHING LIGHT UP!!!	prayer	c	29020	54699
13.02.2016 09:26	HAAAAAAA FUUUUUU FUCK ALL THE HATERS PUT YOUR MUTHAFUCKING FIST IN THE SKY RIGHT NOW!!!!!!!!!!!!	prayer	c	44871	65900
13.03.2016 20:18	I care about people.	prayer	s	26122	35969

13.03.2016 20:19	I care about our future.	prayer	s	28198	37131
13.03.2016 20:20	I care about truth.	prayer	s	35093	39421
13.03.2016 20:21	I care about quality	prayer	s	28627	37715
13.03.2016 20:22	I think human beings can create a Utopia.	prayer	s	12749	27889
13.03.2016 20:23	I believe in us	prayer	s	84570	78489
13.05.2015 00:28	We promise to win.	prayer	s	58913	48257
14.02.2016 03:44	He was a learned man not of the original sect so he was able to take the message to the rest of the world...	prayer	c	5518	16867
14.02.2016 03:44	Paul ... The most powerful messenger of the first century... Now we stand here 20 centuries later... Because he was a traveler...	prayer	start	7815	21402
14.02.2016 03:45	He was saved from persecution due to his Roman citizenship... I have the right to speak my voice...	prayer	c	5237	16164
14.02.2016 03:46	I write this to you my brothers while still 53 million dollars in personal debt... Please pray we overcome... This is my true heart...	prayer	c	15899	35516
14.02.2016 03:47	This is all in fun all in good feelings... We will all be gone 100 years from now but what did we do to help while we were here!!!	prayer	c	17600	36599
14.07.2015 03:27	Baptism http://t.co/YnHm8e8Y6I	prayer	s	23671	51492
15.02.2016 06:47	one of the coolest things you could ever do is to help me in my time of need	prayer	c	18390	28937
15.02.2016 20:05	I am ultra light beaming right now. So many people have called or emailed to help today hedge fund guys billionaires etc...	prayer	c	8091	25478
15.02.2016 20:06	This is a God dream	prayer	c	26314	36365
15.02.2016 20:06	No matter what level you're at in life there is still a struggle	prayer	c	125674	116313
16.02.2016 00:29	This was made with love. Only God can judge me. So I only expect love back!!!	prayer	c	10501	24399
16.02.2016 08:58	I wanted the world to know my struggleÉ	prayer	c	7299	18124
16.02.2016 08:59	You can point fingers and laugh, but for all entrepreneurs with families ...	prayer	c	5191	15594
16.02.2016 08:59	this country was built off of dreamers É never give up on your dreams, broÉ	prayer	c	34208	46335
16.02.2016 09:00	Perhaps Adidas will do some big LeBron style deal or É	prayer	c	4214	14975
16.02.2016 09:00	my dreams brought me into debt and IÔm close to seeing the light of dayÉ	prayer	c	6880	19154
16.02.2016 09:01	perhaps a fashion group will cover the 53 that IÔve invested over the past 13 yearsÉ	prayer	c	3667	13591
16.02.2016 09:02	I can see the clouds separating É	prayer	c	7701	17445
16.02.2016 09:06	I hope these words and this moment of truth can serve as some extra motivation to youÉ	prayer	c	9281	24301
16.02.2016 09:07	Pablo is full of joy and love because I was able to createÉ.	prayer	c	10334	29452
16.02.2016 09:08	You let me dream without limitsÉ.	prayer	c	21554	31650
16.02.2016 09:09	All positive energy	prayer	end	58716	54071
17.02.2016 18:35	There is so much positive energy right now É LetÔs stay on this Ultra Light BeamÉ	prayer	c	26925	47327
20.02.2015 16:48	We want to innovate and we will win someday.	prayer	c	32212	33089
21.02.2015 04:00	BLESSINGS ON BLESSINGS ON BLESSINGS!!! http://t.co/Ultxsl4H4	prayer	s	4124	8230
23.03.2016 00:05	every red print is our blood our debt our shame our struggle our pain our heart ache.	prayer	c	5275	14875
23.03.2016 00:10	Pablo in blood.	prayer	c	7252	15042
23.03.2016 00:13	they called me crazy and pointed fingers	prayer	c	11006	17830
23.03.2016 00:16	This is the people the culture the dreams the future.	prayer	c	5789	13214
23.03.2016 00:17	I promise I will never let the people down. I want a better life for all!!! Pablo Pablo Pablo!	prayer	c	7812	18913
23.03.2016 00:21	I stand with the utmost humility. We are so blessed!!! All praises and blessings to the families of people who never gave up on dreams	prayer	c	7781	22676
23.03.2016 00:23	Let's fight for our future. We can change everything.	prayer	c	20827	25308
23.03.2016 00:27	We will change that. We will rise. We will have a voice.	prayer	c	5862	13007
23.03.2016 00:28	We will not get bullied by perception any longer. We will give our opinions.	prayer	c	7734	15951
23.03.2016 00:29	We will breathe clean air and exercise the first amendment.	prayer	c	4874	13246
23.03.2016 00:30	We no longer have to be scared of the truth	prayer	c	9480	16086
23.03.2016 00:31	We will find freedom in truth as opposed to ridicule.	prayer	c	5870	12742
23.03.2016 00:33	thank God for paps thank God for social media	prayer	c	4063	12688
23.03.2016 00:36	I represent the dreamers.	prayer	c	14126	22900
23.03.2016 00:39	We are here to make life better.	prayer	c	13819	19537
23.03.2016 00:41	They can't kill us all.	prayer	c	18362	23550
23.03.2016 00:45	That dreams will actualize. Dreams will manifest.	prayer	c	10114	17064
23.03.2016 00:45	I have a dream.	prayer	c	16158	22395
23.03.2016 00:52	Don't hide from the truth because it is the only light.	prayer	c	29324	32045
23.03.2016 00:53	I have so much love in my heart and we just need the shot to create live breathe.	prayer	c	15352	28547
23.09.2015 04:00	Maximum expression while I have air in my lungs.	prayer	s	39582	44130
23.09.2015 04:01	Please: Do everything you possibly can in one lifetime.	prayer	s	404806	294868
24.02.2016 05:47	God bless the fools É all positive vibes!	prayer	c	42259	41057
24.02.2016 11:36	I really didnÔt mean to use the B word tonight É all positive vibes	prayer	s	7321	23933
24.02.2016 19:31	We need to fix this.	prayer	c	6154	13240
24.02.2016 19:42	People ask why I speak in a public forum... Well my voice is my power. Freedom of speech. Freedom of opinion. Freedom of dreams.	prayer	c	12045	24680
24.02.2016 19:42	I'm not crazy I'm free.	prayer	c	50732	62032
24.02.2016 19:43	I wrote Saint Pablo after admitting to my greatest shame my personal debt. But I'm not ashamed anymore.	prayer	c	6305	20891
24.02.2016 19:43	No slave mindset no more. I'm free. I'm free. I'm free.	prayer	c	13603	25797
24.02.2016 19:44	Free from being held back by public opinion.	prayer	c	11366	21360
24.02.2016 19:44	I'm happy and free and proud and confident. I'm not crazy. I'm free	prayer	c	31344	40657
24.02.2016 19:45	You guys will see my heart. You guys will feel my heart. We will make a difference.	prayer	c	9761	23496
24.02.2016 19:45	It's a beautiful time. I love my friends. I love my family. I love people. The human race.	prayer	c	22683	36790
24.02.2016 19:46	Respect to everyone working hard to keep a roof over their kids	prayer	c	18833	36440
24.02.2016 19:47	That is one of the reasons I respect the paps so much.	prayer	c	3972	16138
27.01.2016 20:53	WhatÔs sad is I love Wiz and I love all my brothers and all people	prayer	s	37922	65463
27.01.2016 20:53	I love the world bottom line and all I want is peace and positive energy	prayer	s	53884	68667
27.01.2016 20:54	This album is actually a Gospel album	prayer	s	58877	84445
27.01.2016 20:55	Good energy positive energy	prayer	s	96456	87067
27.01.2016 21:37	Ima take these down cause itÔs all about positive energy blessings blessings positive energy blessings	prayer	s	38734	66708
27.01.2016 21:38	The Devil canÔt stop us	prayer	s	67858	64579
30.01.2016 04:37	GodÔs dreamÉ Never speak on kids againÉ all love É all blessingsÉ	prayer	s	25451	55323
13.02.2016 09:28	HAD TO ALL CAPS THIS!!!!!! NO MORE RULESE. MAKE YOUR OWN RULESE ok now back to finishing Pablo	prayer, private	c	25721	53794
01.03.2015 06:20	New Album title...	private	s	31864	39804
01.03.2015 06:25	So Help Me God http://t.co/e3UUuQQEts	private	s	83664	76677
01.07.2013 18:41	one of the other gifts my girl gave me for fathers day http://t.co/WnZaMhVw	private	s	6579	11550
02.02.2016 21:35	Me and Wiz spoke yesterday. Great convo. All positive.	private	s	89427	180197
02.04.2016 23:24	I've been trying to figure out the bed design for the master bedroom at our Hidden Hills compound... https://t.co/aEPqoBGY4b	private	s	6585	23637
02.04.2016 23:31	and also my number one design rule of anything I do from shoes to music to homes is that Kim has to like it...	private	s	26677	72229
03.05.2015 20:16	I might change it again but thatÔs the name now	private	s	31393	40340
03.05.2015 20:16	IÔm changing my album name to SWISH	private	s	63457	68230
03.05.2016 07:44	We just had fun with the OfutureO theme !!! É it was a fun night all together ...	private	s	4232	21633
04.02.2016 16:19	It was always a dream to show my collection at Madison Square Garden	private	s	7213	22323
04.02.2016 16:19	It was always a dream to have a listening party at Madison Square Garden	private	s	7683	23198
05.11.2014 00:21	Me and my wife met with President Obama two weeks ago	private	s	13002	26369
06.04.2016 01:15	His motherÔs poem at the celebration brought me to tears.	private	s	4045	20199
08.05.2016 19:50	Found this in Mom's storage. I love and miss you. https://t.co/SEYVYSHGLj	private	s	38594	146141
08.05.2016 19:51	Thank you for watching over our family. Nori and Kim say happy Mother's Day... And Saint smiled.	private	s	22145	91820
09.02.2016 07:23	@studio /final verses /new album titleÉÉ.T.L.O.P. https://t.co/yXkBF9w6W	private	s	22235	30850
09.02.2016 08:53	Season 4 IÔm only working on kidÔs clothing... full time	private	s	10996	42235
09.02.2016 23:01	Love love love love my baby girl #lovemyfamily https://t.co/YacTKSyVFE	private	s	26604	82417
09.03.2016 01:41	Up late designing in SwedenÉ	private	c	4535	14750
09.03.2016 01:47	Sitting with @Robinnowicki from @ustwo working on the YEEZY siteÉ	private	c	1864	8126
09.03.2016 01:59	canÔt wait to get home to North, Saint and my wifeÉ	private	c	9267	42280
09.03.2016 02:02	sometimes the quiet moments feel like IÔm home from battleÉ	private	c	5419	13434

31.10.2015 04:00	Éwith my brothers Trav, Yasin and Nabil https://t.co/Kx80qF006	promotional	s	6474	11317
04.02.2016 18:24	I held a few seats for stage design that may open up depending on Vanessa's final layout.	promotional_private	s	3666	15178
09.07.2013 21:55	Allow me and Nick to give the world what we've been losing sleep over.	promotional_private	s	5119	4193
12.02.2016 16:55	Now that the album is finally finished it's back to Good Fridays. https://t.co/5vq347XCC	promotional_private	s	44813	56391
12.02.2016 17:02	The album is being mastered and will be out todayÉ added on a couple of tracksÉ https://t.co/8lBxcd83N2	promotional_private	s	152808	179422
16.02.2016 01:05	only problem I got with Good Fridays is I got more songs than I got old pictures!!!! Lol!!!!	promotional_private	s	12683	38713
03.02.2016 04:18	this new album is ONE of the greatest albums not the greatest just one of É	self-admiration	s	31991	56279
03.05.2016 07:33	I'm really excited to get our first best dressed at the met É This Gala is like the Grammys of style! https://t.co/POCXJUG2N	self-admiration	s	14488	50214
08.02.2016 07:36	Caught 10,000 retweets in half a second #facts	self-admiration	s	12588	33065
09.03.2016 01:38	this is a stream of consciousnessÉ twitter poetryÉ	self-admiration	start	7006	16209
09.03.2016 01:51	really happy to get the quality of the products better at half the prices of last yearÉ	self-admiration	c	3550	13279
09.03.2016 02:03	Feeling like Robin HoodÉ	self-admiration	c	5485	12510
09.04.2016 07:50	I also wanted to point out that it's the first album to go number 1 off of streaming!!!	self-admiration	s	14234	46748
10.02.2014 20:03	I wake up every day trying to give something back to you that you can rock to and be proud of.	self-admiration	c	29769	35073
10.03.2016 19:16	A lot of people tell me Ultralight Beam is my greatest artwork to date only rival being Jesus Walks.	self-admiration	c	16603	38750
13.02.2016 09:21	I had an album listening and clothing presentation and Madison Square GardenÉ	self-admiration	c	6875	20841
13.02.2016 09:21	people were cryingÉ people were throwing up the fistÉ people were dancingÉ	self-admiration	c	7287	21364
13.02.2016 09:22	I've given everything I had for this momentÉ a lot of people feel it's the paradigm shift É	self-admiration	c	6439	21057
14.02.2016 18:49	after realizing he is the greatest living artist and greatest artist of all time.	self-admiration	s	21302	41119
14.03.2016 17:00	no one can ask me or try to tell me what to Instagram... It's my art...	self-admiration	s	22372	46997
14.03.2016 17:03	My tweets are a form of contemporary art only compromised by people trying to tell me what to tweet and not to tweet...	self-admiration	s	28538	45676
15.02.2016 05:37	I made Dark Fantasy and Watch the Throne in one year and wasn't nominated for either ...	self-admiration	c	12881	30169
15.02.2016 05:37	I'm practicing my Grammy Speech. I'm not going to the Grammys unless they promise me the Album of the Year!!!	self-admiration	c	30703	51255
15.02.2016 05:38	I made Dark Fantasy and Watch the Throne in one year and wasn't nominated for either ... I will have over 100 Grammys before I die.	self-admiration	c	22967	43187
15.02.2016 05:38	I am the Jordan and Steph Curry of music, meaning I'm the best of 2 generations.	self-admiration	c	57587	80670
15.02.2016 06:45	I'm this generation's DisneyÉ I want to bring dope shit to the worldÉ	self-admiration	c	24975	39674
15.02.2016 06:48	I know I can make the world a better placeÉ I have done the impossible É I retook the throne of rapÉ I beat the fashion gameÉ	self-admiration	c	13934	30255
15.02.2016 06:50	I promise I'm going to make the world dopeÉ. all I do is make shit dope #factsÉ	self-admiration	c	30758	46387
15.02.2016 20:02	Yes I am personally rich and I can buy furs and houses for my family	self-admiration	c	17579	30782
15.02.2016 20:05	I am of service to the world with my art and I just want to serve more.	self-admiration	c	11414	23584
16.02.2016 00:29	Shut the fuck up and enjoy the greatness.	self-admiration	c	131934	119685
16.02.2016 08:57	Money doesn't make me who I amÉ	self-admiration	c	14896	25907
16.02.2016 09:01	I don't have to be coolÉ	self-admiration	c	34638	36078
16.02.2016 09:08	MSG was amazing É	self-admiration	c	4070	17224
16.02.2016 09:09	so many people were inspired and that's all I wantedÉ	self-admiration	c	8503	25262
17.02.2016 18:35	A wise man should be humble enough to admit when he's wrong and change his mind based on new informationÉ	self-admiration	end	81889	94012
23.03.2016 00:01	Pablo in blood	self-admiration	start	11359	21273
23.03.2016 00:14	but there is no other brand that could sell 1 million dollars of clothing in 2 days from 1 location!!!	self-admiration	c	6451	17174
23.03.2016 00:40	The Pablo pop up was almost a pop up of influence.	self-admiration	c	2797	11291
23.03.2016 01:09	I used an exclamation just to be an asshole and also to make a point! LOL.	self-admiration	c	24391	43627
24.02.2016 19:32	I don't give opinions because they are commonly agreed upon. I say what I feel.	self-admiration	c	12293	19320
24.02.2016 19:40	Us real music guys wanna have fun too	self-admiration	c	6052	15706
24.02.2016 19:44	I'm proud as an entrepreneur that I gave everything I had to my dreams.	self-admiration	c	7440	20203
24.02.2016 19:49	I'm not even gon lie to you. I love me so much right now.	self-admiration	c	258961	202715
24.02.2016 19:57	I love being a voice of freedom when so many people are scared to speak up.	self-admiration	c	12916	27569
24.02.2016 19:57	I represent what people can't say.	self-admiration	c	16180	30184
24.02.2016 19:58	You won't always agree with me but I'm gon always be me. I'm woke!	self-admiration	c	47615	52123
24.02.2016 19:58	The world needs a guy like me. The world needs somebody to not be scared and tell his truth.	self-admiration	end	22495	38353
26.01.2016 21:35	This is not album of the year. This is album of the life.	self-admiration	s	223498	266462
27.01.2016 05:32	I got this record niggas can't even play before 2 am.	self-admiration	s	25928	48828
30.03.2016 16:20	Pablo did 250 Million... This is not regular! https://t.co/EXEGUJdM1M	self-admiration	s	15449	40441
31.03.2016 04:30	I miss the old Kanye	self-admiration	start	84328	90278
31.03.2016 04:31	Straight from the Go Kanye	self-admiration	c	29791	42224
31.03.2016 04:32	Chop up the soul Kanye	self-admiration	c	30892	41912
31.03.2016 04:33	Set on his goals Kanye	self-admiration	c	28884	39982
31.03.2016 04:34	The bad mood Kanye	self-admiration	c	34773	43220
31.03.2016 04:34	I hate the new Kanye	self-admiration	c	40508	49203
31.03.2016 04:37	Spaz in the news Kanye	self-admiration	c	25679	36945
31.03.2016 04:37	The always rude Kanye	self-admiration	c	33416	46897
31.03.2016 04:39	Chop up the beats Kanye	self-admiration	c	26741	37568
31.03.2016 04:39	I gotta say at that time I'd like to meet Kanye	self-admiration	c	29389	42251
31.03.2016 04:39	I miss the sweet Kanye	self-admiration	c	33738	43926
31.03.2016 04:42	See I invented Kanye	self-admiration	c	30653	42347
31.03.2016 04:43	It wasn't any Kanyes	self-admiration	c	23888	34805
31.03.2016 04:43	And now I look and look around and there's so many Kanyes	self-admiration	c	31897	45704
31.03.2016 04:44	I used to love Kanye	self-admiration	c	30357	41137
31.03.2016 04:47	I used to love Kanye	self-admiration	c	25908	37659
31.03.2016 04:47	I even had the pink polo I thought I was Kanye	self-admiration	c	32946	44748
31.03.2016 04:49	Called I Miss the Old Kanye	self-admiration	c	31088	42916
31.03.2016 04:49	Man that'd be so Kanye	self-admiration	c	44007	50483
31.03.2016 04:49	What if Kanye made a song about Kanye	self-admiration	c	58782	66909
31.03.2016 04:50	That's all it was Kanye	self-admiration	c	25651	38454
31.03.2016 04:50	We still love Kanye	self-admiration	c	39042	48556
31.03.2016 04:51	And I love you like Kanye loves Kanye	self-admiration	end	27648	218948
10.02.2014 20:03	Ten years later I am still the same kid from Chicago, still dreaming out loud, still banging on the door.	self-admiration, criticism	c	49125	51390
12.03.2016 16:08	No more fashion calendar... I'm going Mad Max... 6 collections a year... 3 albums a year	self-admiration, criticism	s	33366	64253
13.02.2016 09:21	I'm a human beingÉ I'm an artist, broÉ	self-admiration, criticism	c	22046	37358
15.02.2016 20:03	but I need access to more money in order to bring more beautiful ideas to the world.	self-admiration, criticism	c	15312	27526
24.02.2016 05:47	I made Dark Fantasy and Watch the Throne in one year and wasn't nominated for either and you know who has 2 albums of the year.	self-admiration, criticism	c	25884	48084
24.02.2016 19:33	If I'm not at the show next year then there is no show.	self-admiration, criticism	c	14749	25093
24.02.2016 23:50	Hi @Jack Dorsey, can you guys please take down all the fake Kanye accounts	self-admiration, criticism	s	6229	17850
20.07.2013 17:47	I open the debateÉ The 2nd verse of New Slaves is the best rap verse of all timeÉ meaning É OF ALL TIME IN THE HISTORY OF RAP MUSIC, PERIOD	self-admiration, interactivity	s	58011	34958
13.03.2016 20:14	I have discovered my single greatest quality. I care.	self-admiration, prayer	s	49827	66806
13.03.2016 20:17	everyone can say anything they want about me but they could never say that I didn't care.	self-admiration, prayer	s	37339	44156
14.02.2016 03:46	Let's dance in the streets. I am consumed by my purpose to help the world.	self-admiration, prayer	c	23659	39633
15.02.2016 06:48	Here is my Donda chart that I wrote 4 years ago that everyone laughed atÉ https://t.co/g1po6Z3H55	unclassified	c	11342	34742
15.02.2016 06:52	and yes there are misspellings on this chartÉ that's how you know it's me...	unclassified	c	6188	21862
27.01.2016 21:50	Man it's a sad a dayÉ Wiz lost 2 million followers since I tweeted I didn't mean to either him like that.	unclassified	s	65659	100067
27.01.2016 21:51	I'm happy that I now know that KK means weedÉ please excuse the confusion É now back to #WAVES	unclassified	s	80982	133507
Data requested :	Tweets by @kanyewest between 18.05.2013. to 12.06.2016.				
Screen name or URL :	kanyewest				

Appendix 2

