

“BORDERING ON EXCESS”: PERCEPTIONS OF FAN OBSESSION IN ANIME FANS, FURRIES, AND *STAR WARS* FANS

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Abstract

In the present research, we examine what it means for fans to take their interests “too far” in a multi-fandom, qualitative study. Specifically, we asked self-identified anime fans, furries, and *Star Wars* fans to describe what, to them, marked the point where a fan could be said to be taking their interest too far. From these responses we extracted five common themes across fandoms: (1) when one’s fan interest negatively impacts their life, (2) when one’s fan interest becomes the sole or defining feature of their personality, (3) when one’s fan-related opinions are pushed on others, (4) when a fan loses touch with reality, and (5) when there is a connection between one’s fan interest and their sexual desire. We also note that anime fans cited a unique, sixth theme, when fans excessively worship Japanese culture. The responses suggest that excessive fan behavior may be ubiquitous across fandoms, although there may be idiosyncratic excesses

characteristic of specific fandoms. We discuss these findings in the context of existing fan literature as well as their implications, both practical and for future research.

Keywords: Fanship, Fandom, Obsession, Excess, Identity

Introduction

The word *fan* is derived from the term fanatic (Smith et al., 2007) and refers to a passionate and loyal supporter of a particular interest (Reysen & Branscombe, 2010). Contemporarily, we tend to think of the term “fan” as one that rose to public awareness alongside nationally and internationally celebrated media spectacles (e.g., sports teams, musicians, television shows, game franchises). However, “fans” have existed long before the widespread use of term, with ardent supporters of an interest usually being conceptualized with a negative connotation—a sort of pathology or abnormal obsession to be

avoided (Cavicchi, 2014). Modern fans, as a group, are still burdened with this historical baggage, and frequently find themselves stereotyped by non-fans as mindless consumers, recklessly enthusiastic, obsessed, immature, detached from reality, psychologically dysfunctional, or simply as losers (Jenkins, 1992).

To say that these negative stereotypes are completely unfounded would be to ignore prominent examples of extreme and excess behavior from at least some fans. For instance, fans have been known to write threatening letters to content creators (Dietz et al., 1991), stalk celebrities (McCutcheon et al., 2016), and engage in violence and rioting at sporting events (Wann & James, 2019). These behaviors are far more likely to be the exception rather than the rule, the oft-publicized excesses of a small, but visible and vocal minority of fans. As previously-niche fandoms grow and make their way into mainstream culture, the number of “normal” or “typical” fans grows, and more modest fan behaviors that were once considered deviant simply for being unusual gradually come to be normalized (Smith et al., 2007). Moreover, recent theorizing suggests that perceptions of whether moderate or innocuous fan behavior is considered extreme is affected by who is viewing the phenomenon (e.g., outsiders or insiders) (Chung et al., 2018). However, while there has been research looking at stereotypes about fan behavior from outsiders and non-fans (Reysen & Shaw,

2016), there has been comparatively little research looking at perception of fan behavior from fans themselves.

To address this limitation in the psychological literature, the present paper examines fans’ perceptions of what constitutes extreme fan behavior. Given that there are idiosyncrasies and differing norms with different fan groups (Plante et al., 2018), we assessed fan perceptions in three distinct fandoms which differ with respect to their mainstream acceptance. We first review the existing literature on excessive fan behavior and then report the results of our three-fandom study. We finish by contextualizing the results within the existing literature, discuss the practical and theoretical implications, review the study’s limitations, and suggest some potential future directions for this line of research.

Extreme Fan Behavior: Celebrity-Stalking

Among the most-studied examples of extreme fan behavior in the field of psychology is that of celebrity worship. Researchers studying celebrity worship have created measures, adapted from measures of more routine fan engagement among sport fans, aimed at measuring the extent to which fans derive entertainment from celebrities, whether fans feel a sense of personal connection to celebrities, and, most presently relevant, whether the fan’s interest in celebrities is pathological in nature (e.g., Maltby et al., 2002;

McCutcheon et al., 2002). Among the pathological elements of celebrity worship assessed are items about the desire to learn about the celebrity, willingness to engage in illegal behavior on behalf of the celebrity, and desire to own objects from the celebrity (e.g., napkin). Brooks (2018) notes, in a review of research using the measure of celebrity attitudes, that pathological fan behavior is associated with variables such as neuroticism, boredom proneness, fantasy proneness, dissociation, obsessive-compulsive behaviors, negative affect, and compulsive buying. High scores on these scales tend to be fairly rare, however, and as Stever (2011) points out, a distinction must be made between average fans and more extreme celebrity worshippers, who are fairly rare to find. Nevertheless, the measure illustrates that fan behavior falls along a continuum, and that fans can fall at the extreme ends of this continuum.

In a related line of research, Spitzberg and Cupach (2008) constructed a 60-item measure of fan-celebrity pursuant behaviors (e.g., visiting person's website, waiting at the person's hotel) that U.S. college students completed with respect to their favorite celebrity. The results revealed a two-factor structure to the scale, one involving stalking-related activities (e.g., sending unwanted gifts) and the other involving more routine fandom activities (e.g., seeking autographs). In a later study, McCutcheon et al. (2016) assessed 18 of these behaviors, termed "obnoxious fan activities," along with

measures regarding fan stalking and celebrity attitudes. Obnoxious fan activity was positively associated with greater perceptions that stalking a celebrity is appropriate. In effect, the study revealed that obnoxious fan behaviors are associated with extreme beliefs—in this case, extreme beliefs about the acceptability or perceived normality of celebrity worship and potentially illegal behaviors. The aforementioned studies also illustrate the importance of getting a fan perspective to provide insight into extreme fan behavior rather than relying solely on the perspectives and stereotypes of outsiders.

Beyond celebrity worship, researchers have also assessed sport fans' compulsive consumption of sport-related content and memorabilia. Aiken et al. (2018), for example, measured frequency of consumption and thoughts about consumption, inability to stop consuming, and centrality of sports to one's life. Greater compulsive consumption was associated with both positive and negative affect, extraversion, team identification, obsessive passion, and other behavioral measures (e.g., neglecting obligations, using sport to cope with life). In fact, this compulsive consumption was a stronger predictor of other undesirable behavioral outcomes than other variables typically assessed in fan studies (e.g., passion and identification), illustrating that compulsivity, and not necessarily simply being passionate about something or identifying as a fan, may be the

“active ingredient” in the mindset of extreme fans that ultimately drives rare instances of harmful fan behaviors.

Fan-Perceptions of Typical and Extreme Behavior

To this point, we have described research that takes as its starting point specific undesirable fan behaviors (e.g., stalking). Other researchers have taken a different approach by interviewing fans to get their perspective on what constitutes more typical fan behavior. Thorne and Bruner (2006), for example, interviewed 88 members of the *Star Trek*, science fiction, and gaming fandoms. The fans indicated themes of (1) internal involvement (i.e., time/energy investment), (2) desire for external involvement (e.g., attending conventions), (3) wish to acquire possessions, and (4) desire for social interaction (e.g., evangelism). Dwyer et al. (2018) likewise interviewed 12 sport fans regarding “fervent and repeated behavior related to their favorite sport team” (p. 66), and extracted themes of (1) instigation (antagonistic interaction with outgroups), (2) commitment, (3) vicarious impact (outward behavior during games), and (4) superstition (ritualistic behavior). The two studies reveal that fandoms often differ with respect to typical fan behavior, which is consistent with prior research suggesting that members of different fan groups may also differ with respect to their motivations (Schroy et al., 2016).

In a related line of research, Smith et al. (2007) interviewed self-described fanatics about their fan interests. The researchers placed advertisements in several local newspapers asking for participants who were avid watcher/participants, or intense collectors, of a particular interest. Nine participants were videotaped talking about their interest, and, when applicable, about their collection. Extracted themes from the interviews involved (1) consumption as pleasurable and highly personalized, (2) fans using upward social comparison to justify increasingly extreme behavior (e.g., there is a person with a bigger collection), and (3) feeling pity for those without an interest, rather than feeling stigmatized for their own interest. Whereas fans in this study conceptualized excessive fan consumption in mostly positive or neutral terms, Chung et al. (2009), who interviewed six fans of various brands (e.g., Nike, Louis Vuitton), found decidedly more negative themes: (1) negative emotions due to lack of space for one’s collection, (2) overspending, and (3) harming one’s relationships with others. Taken together, these studies demonstrate that among fans—especially more ardent fans—extreme fan behavior can be conceptualized in a dualistic fashion, embodying both positive and negative elements.

Another way to conceptualize this dualism is a conflict between competing desires in fans: On the one hand, wanting to be seen as a real, serious

member of the fan group by “proving” one’s interest is genuine, while on the other hand wanting to avoid veering into extremism and the stereotypes associated with it. Fans do their best to walk this fine line, as seen through the boundaries they construct to try and exclude or ostracize undesirable members of the fandom (i.e., gatekeeping: Plante et al., 2020) and the norms that form within fan groups, which dictate what behaviors and attitudes are and are not acceptable (Stanfill, 2013). Stanfill, for example, interviewed 13 *Xena: Warrior Princess* fans about the stereotypes that exist surrounding excessive fan behavior. Despite being fairly passionate fans themselves, the participants perceived undesirable fan behavior as something that other fans engaged in, fitting the “bad fan” stereotype. Participants in the study emphasized that other fans place too much importance on the show, spend too much money, know too much useless information, are overly concerned with romances on the show, and sometimes lose touch with reality. In short, fans try to straddle the link between actively engaging in desirable fan-related behavior while avoiding doing so to excess and condemning those who do. Notably, however, this research, like much of the other research on this subject, began with a list of negative stereotypes about fans, employing a top-down approach to understanding negative fan behaviors. What is sorely missing from the research is a bottom-up approach to studying the idea of extreme behavior in fans, one

that asks fans, themselves, to list what constitutes undesirable fan behavior in light of the fact that many fans engage, to some extent or another, in more moderate versions of those same behaviors.

Present Study

The purpose of the present research is to examine fans’ perceptions of extreme fan behavior within their own fandom, specifically asking fans to indicate, in an open-ended fashion, examples of what constitutes extreme fan behavior to them. To obtain results that generalize across a multitude of fandoms, we recruited members of three different fan groups that differ in the extent to which they have reached the level of mainstream appeal (e.g., Reysen & Shaw, 2016). At one end of the spectrum, *Star Wars* fans can claim to have fairly mainstream appeal as evidenced by the mainstream popularity of the new trilogy of *Star Wars* films and the ubiquity of *Star Wars* merchandise in mainstream culture. On the other end of the spectrum, furies, fans of media featuring anthropomorphized animal characters, represent a heavily stigmatized group deemed fairly atypical and non-prototypical among fan cultures. Anime fans, fall somewhere between these two extremes, being acknowledged and recognized within mainstream culture, while still maintaining its status as a somewhat fringe fan subculture.

Participants in the current study were self-identified *Star Wars* fans, anime fans, and furies. They were all asked to describe, in an open-ended fashion, when they thought fans had gone “too far” in their fan activities. As noted in the introduction, prior research has focused on the illegal behaviors (e.g., stalking), has tended to apply a top-down approach to studying extreme fan behavior, and has largely examined these themes exclusively in interviews with self-described fanatics. The present research differs in that we asked fans about their perceptions about fan extremism rather than provide to them specific examples of extreme behavior. Furthermore, we have included three fandoms to examine which perceptions of extreme fan behavior are unique to a specific fandom and which are present across fandoms. As this research is exploratory in nature, we have no a priori hypotheses.

Participants and Design

Participants were self-identified anime fans ($N = 670$, 53.6% male; $M_{\text{age}} = 24.87$, $SD = 8.07$), furies ($N = 174$, 69.5% male; $M_{\text{age}} = 30.14$, $SD = 9.50$), and *Star Wars* fans ($N = 176$, 56.8% male; $M_{\text{age}} = 27.47$, $SD = 8.51$) recruited from various fan-related websites and, in the case of anime fans, a portion were also recruited at a regional fan convention in Dallas, TX. As part of larger studies regarding their respective fandoms, participants were asked to

describe, in an open-ended fashion, when fans went “too far.”

Materials

We asked fans to describe when fans went too far with respect to their fan interest (“In your own words, do you think it’s possible for an anime fan to take their interest in anime too far and, if so, when do you think that may be?”). In the furry and *Star Wars* samples we replaced anime with the fandom being sampled. We initially coded the responses for anime fans and then used the same codes for furry and *Star Wars* fans. Indeed, with the exception of one category (i.e., Japan), the themes fit the vast majority of responses across both furry and *Star Wars* fandoms. Upon reading through the responses, we began to distill a list of themes, which we iteratively condensed until we arrived at a set of five/six themes. We should note that while many responses touched upon multiple themes, there were a few that did not fit into any of the themes (e.g., *Star Wars* fans indicating that going too far included “Buying Funko Pops” or “Reagan’s proposed missile defense shield in the 1980s”).

Results

Of the participants that responded to the question, the overwhelming majority of fans agreed that fans can, and do, go too far in their interest at times (see Table 1). The thematic analyses that follow are drawn specifically from those

fans who agreed that fans can go too far (anime $n = 639$, furry $n = 161$, *Star Wars* $n = 167$). For each theme we provide a brief overview of the theme's content as well as illustrative examples. They are presented here from most to least-commonly expressed.

Theme 1: Life

The first theme—life—refers to those for whom their participation in fan activities impedes their ability to function in day-to-day life (e.g., paying bills, harming relationships). Respondents often mentioned specifically that when a fan interest interferes with everyday responsibilities, this marks the threshold between healthy fan activities and harmful or obsessive ones. Such behaviors can include spending more money than one has or devoting all of one's time to their interest. However, in general the responses tended to fall into an almost clinical definition of addiction wherein activities that harm oneself or others fit the definition of problematic.

“Yes - If it affects the quality of life, health, (mental or physical) or safety of themselves or others in some way, or causes them impairment or distress somehow.” – Anime fan

“I think any time you get so into something that it's negatively affecting your life or another's life (e.g., you're supporting your hobby

instead of paying your bills, or getting in trouble at work for messing around with your hobby instead of doing your job) then you've taken your interests too far.” – Anime fan

“If it impairs daily functioning (shelter, food, employment or school if applicable), if impacts safety of someone, or if it interferes with other important parts of a person's life as valued by them (e.g. family, friends, other hobbies).” – Furry

“If someone's interest in *Star Wars* impacts their social or work life, their interest has gone too far.” – *Star Wars* fan

Theme 2: Identity

A second theme extracted from the responses reflects instances when a fan's interest overtakes other facets of their identity. Responses in this category noted that fan interests became a problem when they were all-consuming or represented the only thing a fan was interested in. Another way to conceptualize this theme is that fans see it as a problem when fans come to be solely defined by their interest. In a related vein, some fans indicated that a symptom of this was to bring up one's fan interest nonstop around others, suggesting that it is the only thing the fan wants to engage with others about.

“Interest in anime (as for many other things) I believe goes too far when it begins to dominate and shut out one’s other genuine interests.” – Anime fan

“While having a passion for anime is fine, once anime, ‘their most favorite thing,’ becomes the defining feature of their character and personality, it goes ‘too far.’ A person should be more rounded. I think that this applies to all hobbies.” – Anime Fan

“When they literally cannot carry on a conversation without bringing up furry stuff. That’s when they have gone too far.” – Furry

“When a piece of media consumes your life to the point where it becomes your entire personality, it blinds you to other pieces of media as well as real-world issues.” – *Star Wars* fan

Theme 3: Opinion

The third-most common theme involves evangelizing or pushing one’s opinions onto others (e.g., getting into heated arguments about fan content, exposing one’s fan interests in inappropriate ways or in inappropriate contexts). While this theme was lower on the list for anime fans and furies, it was the most-mentioned theme among *Star Wars* fans, who often mentioned

bullying other fans and content creators in their responses. Reminiscent of the research on celebrity stalking, *Star Wars* fans mentioned examples of actors (e.g., Kelly Marie Tran, John Boyega, Ahmed Best) who either withdrew from social media or who had experienced suicidal ideation as a result racist backlash of being bullied by fans. *Star Wars* fans also mentioned gatekeeping and forms of elitism as examples of fans pushing their opinions on other fans.

“I believe that any person that takes fandom too far to the point of harassing/cause harm to other people need to evaluate themselves of how far they are willing to go before crossing the line. We are all here to enjoy and have some fun with other people of the same interest and have discussions.” – Anime fan

“Some fans of anime (not just anime actually, but fans of anything) tend to try to shove their fandom down other people’s throat. If someone's not interested in the slightest to something, you shouldn’t try to force it on them, it is incredibly obnoxious.” – Anime fan

“If they interact with regular people in public with the ‘uwu-language,’ wearing ears and tails without suit, making animal noises in public. Basically anything that would make a casual person VERY uncomfortable. There's no damage in having fun for yourself, but it

shouldn't be forced onto others." – Furry

"When a person engages in fan behavior which could have a negative impact on another person. For example, a Star Wars fan may think a story arc in a new Star Wars film/TV show etc. conflicts with previous SW canon. A constructive written critique or open discussion laying out their reasoning is fine. Spamming the social media accounts of the creator/writer/actors involved with profanity-ridden hyperbole or bullying fans who don't share their opinion is definitely a step too far. A person's right to enjoy something ceases when that right intrudes on another individual." – *Star Wars* fan

Theme 4: Reality

The fourth theme involves fans who blur the lines between fantasy and reality, or who lose touch with reality completely, people whom psychologists might describe as being highly fantasy prone, which has been associated with dissociation (e.g., Waldo & Merritt, 2000). This differs from the first theme in that participants did not mention harm to self or others in one's life.

"When an anime fan is unable to distinguish between fantasy and reality, that is when they have taken their interest too far." – Anime fan

"I think anime fans who take their interests too far are the ones who lose touch with reality and think that the real world operates like an anime." – Anime fan

"I believe there is a point in which the escape the fandom offers can be taken too far, to the point of detachment from reality. While the fandom offers great escapism, we are all humans with real world responsibilities. It's fun to identify and roleplay as a cartoon animal, but living in that headspace 24/7 can lead one to shirk real-world responsibilities and realities." – Furry

"When they start forgetting that Star Wars is simply fiction. It's a great story, with great movies and characters and books etc. But at the end of the day, it isn't real. Too far is when people begin to obsess over it and think that it's real." – *Star Wars* fan

Theme 5: Sexual

The fifth theme extracted involved concerns about fans' unusual sexual attraction, typically toward a fictional character. In general, these responses in some way linked sex with one's fan interest, which may reflect the content of stigmatizing stereotypes directed toward fans from non-fans (e.g., Edwards et al., 2019).

“When they have a waifu or buy a body pillow” – Anime fan

“It's too far when they think hentai-ecchi stuff is normal and that they can sexually harass women or make people uncomfortable with their wardrobe or merch.” – Anime fan

“There comes a point where it's just too much. Zoophilia is a perfect example, and so is basically using the fandom to justify actions/behaviorisms that would be otherwise inappropriate. Examples are mainly set in sexual deviancy, in my opinion.” – Furry

“Getting off to alien characters and only ever talking about this.” – *Star Wars* fan

Theme 6: Japan

The sixth theme—Japan—was only observed among anime fans and reflects an overzealous interest in Japan, the country from which anime originates. This is likely related to the term *weeaboo*, which is commonly used by anime fans to describe a person who “worships pretty much anything that is Japanese or related to Japanese culture” (Zeng, 2018, p. 248).

“I do believe this is possible in that setting Japanese culture as portrayed by anime on a pedestal and worshiping/glorifying fictional

characters is taking interest too far.” – Anime fan

“It's when someone believes that Japanese culture is superior to every other culture and being to randomly put Japanese words in their sentences (speaking their native language) to sound cool, cute, or some other complimentary adjective.” – Anime fan

Discussion

The purpose of the present research was to provide a preliminary exploration of fans' perception of extreme fan behavior. Anime fans, furies, and *Star Wars* fans responded relatively consistently with respect to the themes of fan extremism that demarcate normal fanship from those fans who take their interest “too far.” The themes included when (1) one's fan interest negatively impacts their day-to-day life, (2) the fan interest becomes the sole aspect of one's personality, (3) one's opinions are pushed onto others, (4) a fan loses touch with reality, and (5) fans tie their fan interest to their sexual desire. Furthermore, anime fans uniquely noted that fans can also go too far when they worship the country of Japan as a result of its being the country of anime's origin.

To date, fan research has tended to follow a top-down approach to studying extreme fan behavior. For example, researchers have focused on relatively rare instances of celebrity stalking

(McCutcheon et al., 2016; Spitzberg & Cupach, 2008) in which they impose definitions of stalking and seek to quantify its prevalence (e.g., Aiken et al., 2018), conduct interviews to support their theories on the subject of fan extremism (e.g., Thorne & Bruner, 2006), test the veracity of negative stereotypes about fans (Stanfill, 2013), or ask fans to examine their own potentially extreme behavior (Chung et al., 2009; Smith et al., 2007). Absent from this research is work that allows fans themselves to define what constitutes extreme behavior. Across members of three fandoms we asked fans for their own opinion of the boundary between normal fan behavior and extreme fan behavior, rather than assuming a definition of fan behavior or asking them to talk about a prescribed set of behaviors. The results revealed that most fans do believe that some members of their fandom can go to extremes. And, while different fandoms may conjure up different examples of extreme behaviors, the results suggest that, overall, fan perceptions of extreme fan behavior are fairly consistent across fandoms, though there was evidence for at least some idiosyncrasies within fandoms (e.g., *Star Wars* fans indicating more than anime fans and furies that pushing one's opinions on others is a problem, or Japan-worship as a problem unique to the anime fandom).

These results hold a number of important implications for the fan literature. First, despite the large body of research on fan stalking, which might

lead one to conclude that fan stalking is among the most prominent of extreme and troublesome fan behaviors, none of the fans in the present study mentioned stalking (although one could consider the cyber bullying mentioned by *Star Wars* fans in particular as a form of cyber stalking—though this is rarely how researchers conceptualize celebrity stalking). This suggests that, going forward, researchers wanting to study extremism among fan cultures would do well to investigate less headline grabbing behaviors and, instead, focus more on the sorts of extreme behaviors that are more commonly encountered in fan communities.

A second, related implication of the present research suggests that there is a great need to rethink the way researchers measure extreme behaviors in fan culture (e.g., celebrity attitudes scale: Malby et al., 2002). In particular, rather than asking fans to report on behaviors that may be uncommon or may not be seen as extreme to fans, these scales should be redesigned to reflect the sorts of behaviors that fans themselves recognize as extreme (e.g., blurring the lines between fantasy and reality, gatekeeping and excessively evangelizing one's interest at inappropriate times and in inappropriate ways). Doing so could potentially yield more results that resonate more with fans themselves and more validly reflect the sorts of troublesome behaviors most likely to arise in fan communities—rather than those which are simply more visible to non-fans.

A third important implication of the present research is the demonstration that different fandoms can, and do, express different extreme behaviors among their fans. This suggests that those looking to study extreme behaviors in fan groups—especially those which are fairly unstudied—would do well to first explore the sorts of extreme behaviors fans, themselves, perceive rather than using a measure designed to tap into extreme behaviors that are common across fan cultures. To be sure, the present study suggests that there may be some fairly universal concerns across fan cultures, concerns which are already addressed in other research to some extent (e.g., identity centrality in Aiken et al., 2018, or overspending and harming relationships in Chung et al., 2009 and Stanfill, 2013). Indeed, fans in our responses often noted that the examples they gave could be applied to any fan interest. Nevertheless, understanding the idiosyncratic behavioral quirks and unique trouble spots within each fandom may help those wishing to make specific claims about extreme behavior within a specific fandom; it may aid in recognizing which facets of fan extremism are novel to a specific fan group and which are simply a characteristic of fandoms in general.

The present study is limited in focusing on fantasy-based fandoms. Future researchers may examine other fandoms to test whether the themes hold (e.g., sport fans). As noted above, a potential use for the present data would be to construct a measure of extreme fan

behavior that better reflects the attitudes of fans themselves. Such a measure could then be used to examine if other psychological variables are associated with endorsement of engaging in such behavior. Another potential avenue for research would be to conduct a longitudinal study to examine whether fans become more extreme over time while engaging with the fandom.

To conclude, the present research examined fan perceptions of extreme behavior within their own fandoms. The results showed a relatively consistent pattern of themes (negatively impact life, sole identity, push opinions, divorce from reality, sexualization) across three fandoms but varying in their degree of prototypicality and experienced stigma. Unlike most prior research, the results reveal fans' conceptualizations of extreme fan behavior without prompting or priming with stereotypical examples. Given that fandoms are increasingly becoming an important facet of many people's lives (Chadborn et al., 2018), and given existing concerns about what happens when people become excessively passionate about their interests (e.g., detrimentally affecting well-being and relationships), there will be a growing need for researchers to better understand fan culture and fan behavior—both its good side and its bad side. And, if we are to have any hope of getting a complete picture of both sides of the fan experience, it behooves us as researchers to not only consider and test the veracity of these troublesome behaviors through the concerns of

outsiders, but to listen to the fans themselves, who are perhaps best acquainted with these problems.

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Table 1
Percentage of Themes Present in Responses

Theme	Anime	Furry	Star Wars
Agree	95.4%	92.5%	94.9%
Life	41.0%	40.8%	29.0%
Identity	21.2%	24.7%	15.9%
Opinion	8.1%	18.4%	52.3%
Reality	17.5%	12.1%	9.1%
Sexual	7.8%	13.2%	1.7%
Japan	4.3%	--	--