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The Oprah Factor 2020: An Analysis of Race Related Political Expression among Black, Latina, and White Female Celebrities on Instagram and Twitter

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by

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ABSTRACT

The Oprah Factor 2020: An Analysis of Race Related Political Expression among Black, Latina, and White Female Celebrities on Instagram and Twitter

by

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The current content analysis examined celebrity political expression for the most followed female Black, Latina, and White celebrities across two different platforms (i.e., Instagram & Twitter). Race/ethnic related political expressions were collected during the 4-weeks leading up to the 2020 presidential election, yielding a sample of 837 posts. Assumptions rooted in the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA) were applied to determine which types of message features would be expected to have the greatest potential influence among followers of the same racial and ethnic identity. This framework focuses on three primary predictors of collective action identified in the model: group identity, group injustice, and collective efficacy beliefs. These are argued to serve as causal influences on social mobilization. Results from the current analysis suggest distinct profiles of political posting across these celebrities. Black celebrities were more likely to use message features that addressed disparities impacting their group, focusing on topics that were tied to the justice system and using framing devices signaling injustice (i.e., moral outrage, violation and protection). On the other hand, posts from Latina celebrities centered on their identity and often used optimism in the framing. Finally, White celebrities posted most often about topics and groups they did not belong to.

Keywords: Celebrity influence, political expression, collective action

The Oprah Factor 2020: An Analysis of Race Related Political Activism among White, Black, and Latina Female Celebrities on Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter

Given an environment marked by a highly controversial 2020 presidential election, a devastating global pandemic, and in the wake of ongoing racial injustice and violence in the U.S., displays of celebrity activism have emerged as a common feature on social media platforms. Celebrities like Jennifer Lopez, Ariana Grande, Chrissy Teigen, Bella Hadid, Beyonce, and Rihanna are among the many stars who actively use their online presence to support prominent social movements (Life, 2020). Although celebrity activism and political engagement are not new, the reach of social media considerably extends the ability of celebrities to harness their popularity and status in support of favored political agendas and movements (Atkinson & DeWitt, 2019; Pease & Brewer, 2008), particularly those affecting marginalized communities who may otherwise be overlooked or victimized by dominant societal policies and practices. Through their posts, tweets, and messages to their often massive followings, celebrities have the potential to not only broaden societal awareness of such political issues but also to shape perceptions and behaviors with their calls for action (Duvall & Heckemeyer, 2018; Thrall et. al., 2008). Yet despite this potential impact, little empirical research has examined the types of political messages promoted by celebrities or the manner in which these messages are presented. As such, the current content analysis documents the political topics addressed by the most followed Black, Latina, and White female celebrities across two of the most influential social media platforms (i.e., Instagram and Twitter) and examines the characteristics of these messages. Notably, women of color have both group and politicized identities, which can prompt engagement in collective action efforts among followers that share those same identities. To this

end, assumptions rooted in the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA) were applied to determine which types of message devices and features would be expected to have the greatest potential influence among ingroup followers.

The Unique Positioning of Celebrities in Collective Action

Research suggests that celebrities can have tangible effects on political attitudes and behaviors (Nisbett & DeWalt, 2016; Street, 2012). Using their fame, reach, and standing, celebrities can call attention to political issues, influence policy agendas, and impact on socio-political actions (Atkinson & DeWitt, 2019). For example, in March 2020, some celebrities began using their social media accounts to reveal that they had tested positive for COVID-19 (CNN, 2020). During this time, the United States was in the early stages of the pandemic crisis and the public was anxiously assessing the health risks associated with COVID-19 (Center for Disease Control, 2020). These posts from celebrities (vs. non-celebrities) were found to meaningfully influence audience member's willingness to engage in preventive health behaviors (Cohen, 2020). Further, research has demonstrated even more direct links between celebrity activism and political views and behaviors. To illustrate, Oprah Winfrey's endorsement of Barack Obama during his presidential campaign was found to increase both the likeability of and votes for President Obama (Garthwaite & Moore, 2012; Pease & Brewer, 2008).

Although celebrities have long used their status to highlight political issues (Atkinson & DeWitt, 2019), the social media environment has profoundly expanded their potential impact and reach. Indeed, by linking their fan base with political social movements celebrities can potentially play a distinctive role in shaping social justice efforts and propelling collective action (Ellcessor, 2018). Numerous examples illustrate how political issues have gained traction when celebrities who hold an elite status use their fame to bolster these movements (Meyer & Gamson,

1995). For example, although Black activist Tarana Burke had been using the hashtag #MeToo to advocate for Black female sexual assault victims since 2006, it was not until 2017 when the well-known white actress Alyssa Milano went on Twitter and encouraged sexual assault victims to use the hashtag to spread awareness and highlight the issue in American society, that the "me too" movement took-off. Within 24 hours of Milano's post, the hashtag was tweeted more than 500,000 times and used by more than 4.7 million Facebook users in approximately 12 million posts (Pew Research, 2018; Rho et al., 2018).

The reach of these types of collective action efforts are especially prevalent among social media channels such as Black and Latinx Twitter (Brown et al., 2017; Novak et al., 2016), in which celebrities can use specific social media features such as hashtags to encourage mobilization among their followers. Black Twitter has been fundamental in propelling social movements such as #BlackLivesMatter (BLM) and spotlighting hashtags like #Sayhername, which calls attention to police and non-police violence against Black women (Brown et al., 2017). The Latinx community has also been active in utilizing social media to motivate social change related to policies that directly impact their community (e.g., Velasquez et al., 2019). Although the Black and the Latinx community have been effective in engaging in political activism on social media platforms, patterns of use would be expected to vary based on the socio-political realities confronting these groups; which may be shared in some domains and distinct in others. Nonetheless, for Blacks and Latinx members, social media activism can be a place where marginalized groups can find an audience, reaffirm their identity, and mobilize to combat societal threats to the group (Harlow & Benbrook, 2012; Velasquez et. al., 2019).

To this end, social media provides a mechanism for celebrities to use their status and reputation to advocate for political issues, affecting both broad and narrow segments of the

population, unencumbered by gatekeepers (Goodman & Littler, 2013; Wheeler, 2014). As such, many have used their unique societal positioning to tackle the often unignored issues, policies, and agendas affecting marginalized identities (Jackson, 2014; Jackson & Foucault Welles, 2015), sometimes including their own. Whereas Black and Latinx celebrities might use these platforms to highlight issues affecting their own social group, White celebrities might be engaging in allyship behavior and helping amplify marginalized voices surrounding racial justice issues (Clark, 2019). Given that social media can be a crucial tool for disempowered social groups to promote social justice and encourage mobilization (Harlow, 2012; Howard et al., 2011), celebrities willingness to utilize their social and political capital, and identities, to elevate underserved voices is meaningful (Atkinson & DeWitt, 2019). The potential impact is even more consequential when the predictors of collective action identified by SIMCA are considered.

Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA)

The social identity model of collective action (SIMCA) (van Zomeren et al., 2008) integrates insights from a broad range of socio-psychological literatures to better understand the factors that encourage social mobilization. The framework focuses on three primary predictors of collective action, which are argued to serve as causal influences on social mobilization. These factors include group identity, group injustice, and collective efficacy beliefs; each of which have received considerable research attention in the context of social equity efforts. Yet, despite the fairly robust scholarships associated, independently, with these constructs, research had mostly failed to recognize the potential for these factors to work together in predicting collective action. By considering these variables in an integrated fashion, SIMCA offers important insights into when and why marginalized groups (or in some cases, advantaged groups) may engage in efforts to reduce structural disadvantage and social injustice in society (van Zomeren et al., 2008;

van Zomeren et. al., 2011). As such, although the model is explicitly fashioned to understand the direct predictors of collective action, it also provides a roadmap for identifying the *types* of political mobilization messages that are likely to motivate such action and among which identity groups. Accordingly, insights from the model were applied to document the features of political messages that are used in the social media posts of highly followed celebrities. To understand how this model can be used to evaluate the potential effectiveness of celebrities' collective action posts on social media, it is essential to understand how the constructs are defined in the model.

Group Identity

SIMCA suggests that messages contain cues of relevant identities that may be effective in encouraging collective action. From a SIMCA perspective, group identity is understood as the degree to which being a member of the group is important to a person, the extent to which a person feels they are part of the group, feeling like one belongs to the group, holding affective ties to the group, and motivation to act on behalf of the group (Thomas et al., 2011; van Zomeren et al., 2008; van Zomeren et al., 2018). Tests of SIMCA find that group identity plays a fundamental role in social mobilization efforts, by both directly predicting collective action and indirectly impacting it by influencing views on group injustice and perceptions of group efficacy which themselves predict collective action, as illustrated in Figure 1 (van Zomeren et al., 2008). As van Zomeren and colleagues (2008) articulate: "Social identity underlies injustice because it provides the basis for the group-based experience of injustice" (p. 511). Hence, it can positively buffer group members against the negative consequences of low group status (e.g., Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Postmes & Branscombe, 2002) and emotionally gear them up for collective action (E. R. Smith, 1993; van Zomeren et al., 2004). Moreover, social identity

underlies efficacy because a stronger sense of identity empowers relatively powerless individuals (e.g., Drury & Reicher, 2005)."

Thus, SIMCA argues that if one has a strong identification with the group, attachment will be high and social identity threats will have more adverse effects on the individual, compelling action under certain conditions (van Zomeren et al., 2008). Further, empirical evidence from tests of the model indicate that *politicized* identities are even stronger predictors of collective action than non-politicized identities. Although they discuss a range of politicized identities with more/less influence on collective action, marginalized races/ethnicities and genders fit into this category given the reality of oppression that often confronts these groups. As van Zomeren and colleagues (2018) explain, these groups can be distinguished based on their "political struggle for power with the authorities in the public domain" (p. 507). This understanding has two-fold implications for the current content analysis.

First, given the centrality of not only group identity but politicized identities, which is mostly referred to as an "activist" identity in the SIMCA process (van Zomeren et al., 2008), messages received from ingroup members are more likely to be seen as salient and psychologically proximal. As such, posts from highly followed Black, Latina, and White female celebrities were selected for this novel application of the theory as racial/ethnic and gender identities are not only politicized in the U.S. (both separately and intersectionally) but also in terms of specific policies and social practices that affect Women of Color in society. Politicized identities are not only limited to race/ethnicity and gender but also to political ideologies, typically related to conservativism, liberalism, and centrism. Second, this understanding of group identity suggests that messages that signal group membership will be most effective, and particularly necessary, when dealing with contexts of incidental disadvantage (e.g., issue-related,

situation-based disadvantage) as opposed to structural disadvantage (e.g., embedded practices and biases that advantage/disadvantage groups) given that the latter is an established feature of the socio-political environment and the former requires recognition of shared group fate. Such message indicators might include features such as explicit references to membership in the group (e.g., statements referring to the celebrity's race/ethnicity, gender, etc.), identification of followers' group membership (e.g., stating the group-based target of the message), statements of affiliation with the group (e.g., "we"), specifying group-normative affiliations (e.g., political ideology), among others. Provided the limited theoretical research surrounding identity and gender in relation to celebrities, the following research questions were posed:

RQ1: Do the topics of race/ethnicity-related political messages vary based on the race/ethnicity of the celebrity?

RQ2a: What proportion of a celebrity's political expression pertains to their (a) race/ethnicity, and (b) gender?

RQ2b: What proportion of a celebrity's political expression states an attachment to that identity?

RQ2c: What proportion of celebrity's political expression is associated with a political ideology?

RQ3: Does the political issue format vary based on the race/ethnicity of the celebrity?

Group Injustice

SIMCA also suggests that messages that contain content about perceived injustices will have stronger effects among the group when attempting to achieve collective action. Group-based injustice is conceptualized as perceived unfairness regarding the group's treatment, moral violations against the group, lack of opportunity and/or access, and unjust positioning in society,

such that, unfair disadvantage, mistreatment, resentment, and dissatisfaction may provoke group-based anger and collective action (Thomas et al., 2011; van Zomeren et al., 2008; van Zomeren et al., 2018). Here again, the type of disadvantage is likely to impact on perceptions of injustice and its role in predicting collective action. Given the stability of structural disadvantage, "injustice associated with structural disadvantages should less easily result in collective action than is the case for incidental disadvantages" (van Zomeren et al., 2008, p. 509). With this conceptualization in mind, several injustice-related features of celebrities' social media messages may increase effectiveness in motivating collective action. These include messages that express unjust group disadvantage or mistreatment, emotional appeals (particularly anger), or morality themes (such as outrage, violations, protection).

Affective components (i.e., emotion) have been widely studied in relation to SIMCA and have been recognized as precursors of collective action. Emotional arousal in this area of research has mainly focused on anger as an activator that can prompt action from members of the group (Iyer et al., 2007). Although other negative group-level emotions such as fear, anxiety, disgust, uneasiness, and guilt might be relevant (Smith et al., 2007), research has indicated that anger is the primary predictor in the desire to take action against the source of the emotion (Mackie et al., 2000). In addition to negative emotions, scholars have also analyzed the ways in which positive group-level emotions are distinct (Smith et al., 2007), and can result in increased political participation (Feldman & Hart, 2016). Enthusiasm and optimism has been examined with the emotion of "hope," which has not yielded any significant findings other than in relation to collective efficacy (Weber, 2012). This suggests that positive emotions might also predict affiliative action but not to the same degree as negative emotions (Smith et al., 2007; Mackie et

al., 2016). Based on the research surrounding political injustice framing and affective emotions in conjunction with SIMCA, the following research questions were proposed:

RQ4:Do race related political injustice frames vary by (a) White, (b) Black, and (c) Latina celebrities?

RQ5: Does the use of affect in injustice frames vary based on the race/ethnicity of the celebrity?

Group Efficacy

From a SIMCA perspective, group efficacy messages can be a major driving force in promoting collective action efforts. Group efficacy is the belief that the group can achieve goals with collective effort, that the group can influence and change the structure of society and the status of its group, and that the group has the strength and influence to produce social change to improve the status of the group (Thomas et al., 2011; van Zomeren et al., 2008; van Zomeren et al., 2018). The model is careful to point out that the type of disadvantage faced by a social group is likely to have implications for perceptions of efficacy (van Zomeren et al., 2008). In particular, SIMCA explains that efficacy is likely to more strongly predict collective action efforts to address incidental disadvantage than structural disadvantage (e.g., embedded practices and biases that advantage/disadvantage groups) as the latter is more stable, harder to change, entrenched in the socio-political fabric and likely to provoke resistance. In the context of celebrity political advocacy, this suggests that celebrity posts that focus on specific policies or events or that signal the ability of the group to achieve social change or that use collective appeals underscoring success, may be more effective messages. Moreover, framing messages that express respect and perceived similarities with the group can be effective in promoting group efficacy and perceptions that the group can achieve something greater when acting collectively (Velasquez et

al., 2019). Given theory alongside the group efficacy research discussed, the following research questions were posited:

RQ6: Does positive/negative valence in group efficacy frames (i.e., collective efficacy, policy change, social change, motivational) vary based on the race/ethnicity of the celebrity?

RQ7: Does group respect in group efficacy frames (i.e., collective efficacy, policy change, social change, motivational) vary based on the race/ethnicity of the celebrity?

Collective Action

Of course, SIMCA identifies these three variables (identity, injustice, and efficacy), as primary contributors in predicting *collective action* (van Zomeren et al., 2008). Accordingly, it is also valuable to understand how collective action is understood from this perspective as messages that convey or illustrate the endorsed behavior are likely to meaningfully enhance the impact of the variables in the model and potentially contribute to the influence of the message on followers (e.g., Bandura, 2001). From a SIMCA perspective, collective action refers to endorsement of the problem, attitudinal support for the behavior, and intended or actual engagement in the action (van Zomeren et al., 2008). This can include a range of outcomes that would be meaningful to identify within message features including: signing petitions, attending rallies or protests, forwarding or disseminating messages, liking posts or utilizing social media platform characteristics to express emotions and views, and beyond. Additionally, groups might choose different types of framing in order to achieve their expected goals. Indeed, prognostic and motivational framing have been credited as effective modes in achieving collective action, given that both can be used to gain support for mobilization efforts.

If group identity plays a pivotal role in collective action as articulated by SIMCA (van Zomeren et al., 2008), celebrities' own group identities, especially politicized identities such as race/ethnicity and gender, may encourage a collective sense of solidarity with ingroup followers, specifically in relation to issues of injustice and disadvantage. This, then, has potential to increase feelings of unfair treatment and promote confidence in coordination actions aimed at producing meaningful change. To examine the extent to which celebrity's posts contain the features likely to encourage collective action, the following research questions are posed based on assumptions rooted in the social identity model of collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008).

RQ8: Does the use of calls for action mobilization vary based on race/ethnicity of the celebrity?

RQ9: Does the use of prognostic (solution based) frames vary based on race/ethnicity of the celebrity?

Method

This study uses quantitative content analysis to evaluate the content of celebrity political activism across two different platforms to describe and assess the number and nature of racial/ethnic political posts.

Sample

In order to identify the top 50 most followed female celebrities of different racial/ethnic groups, data was purchased for the top 5,000 most followed accounts on Instagram and Twitter (Socialblade, 2020). The list of celebrities was obtained on October 29, 2020, a few days before election day (i.e., November 3, 2020). Four research assistants were given the list of data and

systematically found the top 50 most followed White, Black, and Latina female celebrities. Followership on social media platforms is based upon the popularity of the media personae and different types of recognition, admiration, association, and aspiration of their followers (Djafarova & Trofimenko, 2019). Therefore, the celebrity list was compiled by searching the celebrities' race/ethnicity and provides a rank ordering of the most influential celebrities based on the most followed celebrities by racial/ethnic group across each platform. Research assistants were required to verify the accuracy of the account and followership on each social media platform. All four lists were compared for consistency and accuracy by the first author of this paper. Overall, Socialblade yielded 40 Black celebrities, 30 Latina celebrities, and 50 White celebrities. In order to have a balanced number of celebrities for each racial/ethnic group, a list of influential celebrity figures was compiled from Black and Latina magazines (i.e., *Insider*, *Latina Powerhouse*). Celebrities with 100,000 followers or more as of October 29, 2020 were included in the final list. Once all accounts were verified, the primary investigator compiled one master list for each race/ethnicity across all three platforms.

Based on preliminary search results, five research assistants were trained to systematically identify each celebrity account and archive all political posts and images from October 3rd to November 7th. Because political content is often heightened during an election year, social media posts for the four weeks leading up to the 2020 Presidential election (i.e., November 7, 2020) were selected. Posts for each social media platform were collected manually within a three-week period. The sample was verified by four different research assistants by checking accounts, posts, dates, and that all celebrity political expressions for each celebrity had been captured for the timeframe. The primary investigator checked each celebrity account for

accuracy of content and data collection to ensure the data collected matched the respective celebrity account. All political posts from the celebrities' accounts within the given time period were collected, however, only race/ethnicity-related political posts were coded ($N = 837$).

Coder Training reliability

Four undergraduate coders were trained on political expressions from different celebrities and from different social media platforms than those used in the current study. The coders were trained until acceptable levels of intercoder reliability were consistently achieved via krippendorff's alpha (Krippendorff, 2004). Training consisted of 2-hour sessions per week over a 15-week period. Each variable of interest was carefully defined in a comprehensive codebook (see appendix). Various social media posts that fit the different variables were provided as reference points. Final reliabilities, reported alongside each variable (below), were computed based on an overlap of 10% of posts from the final sample.

Unit of Analysis

Coding was conducted at the level of the social media post. Only social media posts that addressed a political issue related to race/ethnicity were included in the sample. Female celebrities were included if they belong to one of the following categories: (1) actress, (2) athlete, (3) entertainer, (3) professional model, (4) musician, and (5) reality television star and (6) other (e.g., author, journalist, TV producer) (Morin et al., 2012).

Celebrity Race/ethnicity & Gender

Four research assistants confirmed the race/ethnicity of the Black, Latina, and White female celebrities as they compiled posts on Instagram and Twitter. Self-reported racial/ethnic data was prioritized, but was not always available for all celebrities. Therefore, websites used to

verify the celebrity's race/ethnicity were: (1) celebrities self-reported data on social media biography/website, (2) IMDB, (3) Wikipedia, (4) news sources (i.e., NY Times, The Atlantic, Gossipgist), and (5) Ethnicity celebrity (celebrity ethnicity website). Gender was identified as male, female, or transgender. To be included in the sample, the celebrity needed to identify as female or transgender female.

Levels of analysis

To determine whether message characteristics featured group identity, injustice, and efficacy, the following variables were included (for full description of variables, please see Appendix). For each social media post, coders judged the content at the social media post level and identified if the post was race/ethnicity related. Race/ethnicity related posts consisted of any political expression containing content about a racial/ethnic group (e.g. Latinas, Black women/females, police brutality, essential workers, Latinx voters, indigenous people, white supremacy). If the post was not race/ethnicity related, the social media post was not coded.

Identity. To determine if markers of group identity were present in celebrity's social media posts, the following variables were included: *(1) Celebrity identity* (α = .95) was identified for each social media post. Coders judged if the celebrity explicitly stated their racial/ethnic or gender identity in the political post (yes/no). *(2) Celebrity's group identity importance* (α = .85) was coded to gauge if the celebrity explicitly expressed that being a member of their racial/ethnic ingroup group was important to them (yes/no). (3) *Race/ethnicity* (α = .92) of the subjects that the political message was about also was coded. The following categories of race/ethnicity were used: Asian, Black, Hawaiians/Pacific Islander, Latinx, Native American, Middle Easterner, White, other, and not applicable. *(4) Ideology* (α = 1.0) of the

message. Coders identified whether the ideology of the political message was conservative (support), liberal (support), moderate (support), or no ideology/unable to determine. Conservative support consisted of supporting a conservative political party or traditionally conservative point of view; calling for lower taxes; limited government regulation of business and investing; supporting a strong national defense; against pro-choice; advocating for individual financial responsibility for personal needs (i.e., retirement and healthcare) (Himelboim et al., 2016). Messages were coded as liberal if the message was in support of a liberal political party or traditionally liberal political views; considered government as a crucial instrument for amelioration of social inequities, such as those involving race, gender, or class (Himelboim et al., 2016). The post was coded as moderate if the message supported centrist policies and parties (Himelboim et al., 2016).

Injustice. To determine if messages addressed issues of mistreatment and injustice, the following were coded: (1) *Disadvantage or mistreatment of the group* (***α*** = .96) which was coded as structural disadvantage, incidental disadvantage, or no disadvantage at all. Structural disadvantage was defined as low group status or discrimination based on membership in a social group/category. Incidental disadvantage revolved around issue-based or situation-based disadvantages. No disadvantage was coded if the message did not have any disadvantages present. (2) *Injustice framing* (***α*** = .93) which gauged whether or not (yes/no) the celebrity post identifies causality, blame, or culpable agents (Benford & Snow, 2000). *(3) Moral outrage* (***α*** = .95) defined as anger at a third party or system of inequality (Thomas et al., 2011) was coded as "no/not present" or "yes/present". (4) *Moral violations* (***α*** = .96) were coded as "no" or "yes" if the celebrity post suggested that a disadvantaged group had their fundamental human rights

violated (Kutlaca et al., 2019). (5) *Moral protection* (***α*** = .92) was also coded as "no" or "yes" depending on whether the celebrity post suggested an attempt to protect the rights of the disadvantaged group (Kutlaca et al., 2019). (6) *Positive/Negative Valence* (***α*** =.96) of the social media post was rated 1(negative) to 5 (positive) scale to indicate if the representation of the group(s), who were the subject of the message, were negative or positive. (7) *Group respect* (***α*** = .93) was assessed based on the characteristics of the political message and if there was any expression of group respect by the celebrity in the content of the message. Coders rated group respect from 1(negative) to 5 (positive) (Velasquez et al., 2019). (8) *Political issue format* (***α*** = .99) was evaluated based on the following categories: facts/statistics/information, collective appeal, personal appeal, emotional appeal, and other. Coders identified the dominant/primary format of the political message. *Facts/statistics/informative* was coded if the political expression presented documented occurrences including actual events, dates, times, people, and places and/or provided information with statistical data related to the political message (O'Hair, 2016), or where the speaker sought to make the audience aware of a political issue (Valenzano & Braden, 2015). The political message was coded as *collective appeal* if the message presented an issue that encouraged achievement of group goals, such as defending moral principles or improving conditions of a disadvantaged group (Thomas et al., 2016; van Zomeren, 2016). *Personal appeal* was used if the message consisted of individual characteristics about the celebrity such as appearing competent, trustworthy, reliable, etc. (Garzia, 2011). Coding of *emotional appeal* was used if the message presented an issue with emotion, was inspirational, or included humor. (9) *Affective content* of each political post was rated on a 5-point scale, with higher numbers representing more positive evaluations 5. The following were included: *pessimistic/optimistic* (***α*** = .95), *unfearful/fearful* (***α*** = .84), *disgusting/pleasant* (***α*** = .95),

shame/pride (***α*** = .84), *angry*, (***α*** = .88), *anxious* (***α*** = .79) (Feldman & Hart, 2016; Weber, 2012). (10) *Motivational framing* (***α*** = .98) was coded either "no" or "yes" if it included vocabulary addressing severity and the need for urgency regarding the political issue (Benford & Snow, 2000).

Group efficacy. Group efficacy was gauged with three variables: (1) *Collective efficacy* (***α*** = .97) documented if the celebrity post included content related to the improvement of ingroup status and position in American society (yes/no). (2) *Policy change* (***α*** = .97) reflected the presence of content that was geared toward a policy change or governmental change (yes/no). (3) *Social change* (***α*** = .95) was documented on a yes/no basis if the celebrity post included content that suggested the group could generate social change (Smith et al., 2021).

Collective action. To identify whether posts illustrated collective action, the following variables were included: (1) *Call to action* was used to identify whether (yes/no) the post promoted any of the following *signing petitions* (***α*** =1.0), *texting/calling* (***α*** = 1.0), *donating money* (***α*** = 1.0), *voting* (***α*** = .96), *raise awareness* (***α*** = .97), and/or *attending a meeting for a political party/organization* (***α*** = .88). (2) *Action mobilization-motivation* (***α*** = .70) was coded as "no" or "yes" if the message included a sympathetic tone. (3) *Prognostic framing* (***α*** = .89) was coded as "no" or "yes" if the celebrity post proposed a solution to the problem, plan of attack, and strategize for carrying out a plan (Benford & Snow, 2000).

Results

To assess the research questions under investigation in the current study, frequencies, ANOVAs, and chi-squares were used, depending on statistical appropriateness and suitability for the question under investigation. For significant chi-square tests, adjusted standardized residuals

(ASRs) were used to identify which cells significantly contributed to the rejection of the null hypothesis.

Research Question 1

RQ1 asked if race/ethnicity-related posts differed by celebrities' race/ethnicity. Results indicated that celebrities significantly differ based on race/ethnicity in terms of the topics posted, all topics discussed were co-occurring: (1) immigration issues, χ^2 (2, N = 837) = 43.85, p < .001, *Cramer's V* = .23, (2) interracial conflicts, χ^2 (2, N = 837) = 11.73, p < .01, *Cramer's V* = .11, (3) justice system, χ^2 (2, N = 837) = 40.76, p < .001, *Cramer's V* = .22, (4) LGBTQ+, χ^2 (2, N =837) = 18.48, p < .001, *Cramer's V* = .15, (5) COVID-19, χ^2 (2, N =837) = 33.75, p < .001, *Cramer's V* = .20, and (6) other, χ^2 (2, N = 837) = 19.80, p < .00, *Cramer's V* = .15. Posting about racism and sexism did not significantly differ based on the race/ethnicity of the celebrity.

It is important to note that White celebrities posted fewer race-related posts (n = 123) in comparison to their Black (n = 458) and Latina (n = 256) counterparts. Black celebrities more often posted that other groups about political issues related to the justice system (65.4%), followed by racism (56.3%), interracial conflicts (54.7%), sexism (49.2%), LGBTQ+ (41%), COVID-19 (24.4%), other (21.4%), and immigration issues (18.9%). Alternatively, Latina celebrities most often posted about COVID-19 related issues (51.2%), followed by immigration (50.0%), other (52.4%), sexism (36.2%), racism (28.5%), interracial conflicts (28.0%), LGBTQ+ (20.5%), and the justice system (17.6%). Last, White celebrities' social media posts were most often focused on LGBTQ+ (38.5%) issues, followed by immigration (31.1%), other topics (26.2%), COVID-19 (24.4%), interracial conflict (17.3%), the justice system (17.0%), racism (15.2%), and sexism (14.6%). A more detailed analysis of race-related posts and rates of posting by celebrity race/ethnicity is presented in Table 1.

Research Question 2a-c

RQ2a(a) asked what proportion of a celebrity's political expressions identifies their own race/ethnicity. Chi-square tests revealed that celebrities' political expressions noting their own race/ethnicity (vs. not posting about their group) vary significantly by the celebrity's race/ethnicity, χ^2 (2, N = 837) = 179.73, p < .001, *Cramer's V* = .46. White celebrities were significantly less likely to post about their own racial group (14.6%, n = 18, ASR = -12.9, p <.001) , whereas Black celebrities posted significantly more often about their own group (79.3%, n = 363, ASR = 9.1, p <.001). Latina celebrities did not differ significantly from the Black and White celebrities in terms of whether or not they posted political expressions pertaining to their race/ethnicity. Although Latinas did not significantly differ in the proportion of messages related to their own race/ethnic identity, they still posted more about their own group (66%, n = 169) than not (34.0%, n = 87). RQ2a(b) asked what proportion of a celebrity's political expression pertains to their gender. The rate of celebrities' political expression pertaining to their gender was not statistically significant among Black (79.3%, n = 363) and Latina celebrities (66%, n = 169). However, White celebrities (80.5%, n = 99, ASR = - 2.0, p < .05) were found to post about gender at a rate significantly below proportional expectations, χ^2 (2, N = 837) = 48.273, p < .001, *Cramer's V* = .24 than posting about their gender (19.5%, n = 24).

RQ2b asks what proportion of a celebrities' political expression states an attachment to their group identity. Chi-square tests reveal that celebrities' proportion of messages noting an attachment to their group identity (vs. not expressing) exceeded proportional expectations, χ^2 (2, N = 837) = 13.99, p < .001, *Cramer's V* = .13. Specifically, Black (2.8%, n = 13, ASR= -2.3, p < .05) celebrities less frequently stated an attachment to their identity (vs. stating such an attachment), whereas Latina (8.2%, n =21, ASR =3.7, p < .05) celebrities were more likely to

express an attachment to their identity (vs. not). White (1.6%, $n = 2$) celebrities did not differ significantly from Black and Latina celebrities in terms of whether or not they stated an attachment to their identity on their social media political expressions.

RQ2c asks what proportion of a celebrity's political expression is associated with a political ideology. Chi-square tests suggests that ideology differed significantly based on the race/ethnicity of the celebrity, χ^2 (2, $N = 837$) = 179.73, $p < .001$, *Cramer's V* = .19. White (100%, $n = 123$, ASR = 2.4, $p < .05$) and Black (99.3%, $n = 455$, ASR = 5.3, $p < .001$) celebrities significantly exceeded expected frequencies in posting political expressions associated with a liberal ideology. For Latina celebrities (88.7%, $n = 227$, ASR = -7.5, $p < .001$), political expression was less likely to be associated with a liberal ideology, used moderate ideology (5.1%, $n = 13$, ASR = 5.5, $p < .001$) or unknown/other (6.3%, $n = 16$, ASR = 5.4, $p < .001$) more than expected.

Research Question 3

RQ3 probes whether the *political issue format* varies based on the race/ethnicity of the celebrity. Chi-square results revealed that the political issue format significantly differs based on the race/ethnicity of the celebrity, χ^2 (6, $N = 837$) = 18.60, $p < .01$, *Cramer's V* = .10. Investigation of the ASR revealed that Black celebrities use emotional appeals (35.2%, $n = 161$, ASR = 3.1, $p < .01$) at significantly higher frequencies than would be expected and used fewer than expected collective appeals (26.2%, $n = 120$, ASR = -2.2, $p < .05$). On the other hand, Latina celebrities used significantly less emotional appeals (21.1%, $n = 54$, ASR = - 4.0, $p < .001$) than expected. Although not significant, Latina celebrities used collective appeals ($n = 87$, 34.0%) and personal appeals (n = 72, 28.1%) most frequently. There were no statistically significant differences in the use of different political issue formats for White celebrities, but the

frequencies for their two highest used political issue formats were emotional appeals (n =42, 34.1%) and collective appeals (n =39, 31.7%).

Research Question 4

RQ4 asks whether use of race/ethnicity-related political injustice frames vary based on the race/ethnicity of the celebrities. Chi-square tests were conducted on five injustice frames (1) moral outrage, (2) disadvantage/mistreatment of a group, (3) moral violations, (4) moral protection, and (5) injustice framing. All five injustice frames significantly differed for all three celebrity groups.

Moral Outrage. Chi-square tests indicate that the use (vs. not) of moral outrage framing in social media political expression varies significantly based on celebrity race/ethnicity, χ^2 (2, N = 837) = 48.27, $p < .001$, *Cramer's V* = .24. A further look into the ASR revealed that Black (58.1%, n =266, ASR = 5.3, $p < .001$) celebrities exceeded the expected use of moral outrage framing. Additionally, Latina (31.6%, n = 81, ASR = - 6.9, $p < .001$) celebrities were less likely than expected to use moral outrage framing (vs not) in their political expression (68.4%, n = 175, ASR = 6.9, $p < .001$). White celebrities did not differ significantly in terms of using moral outrage framing (56.1%, n = 69) or not using it (43.9%, n = 54).

Disadvantage/mistreatment of a group. Results revealed that usage of disadvantage or mistreatment of group framing (vs. not) in social media messages varies based on the race/ethnicity of the celebrity, χ^2 (4, N =837) = 60.37, $p < .001$, *Cramer's V* = .19. White celebrities were more likely to express no disadvantage for the group (41.5%, n = 51, ASR = 2.0, $p < .05$) than expected. Although not significant, White celebrities also used structural (48%, n = 59) disadvantages more frequently than no disadvantage framing. On the other hand, Black celebrities were significantly more likely than expected to frame their messages using structural

disadvantage (59.4%, $n = 272$, ASR = 2.7, $p < .01$) and incidental disadvantage (16.6%, $n = 76$, ASR = 5.3, $p < .001$), and were less likely than expected to frame their messages as if there was no disadvantage for the group (24%, $n = 110$, ASR = -6.4, $p < .001$). Lastly, Latina celebrities used incidental disadvantage (2.3%, $n = 6$, ASR= - 5.5, $p < .001$) framing less than expected, and were also more likely than expected to use frames that expressed no disadvantage for the group (46.5%, $n = 119$, ASR = 5.3, $p < .001$). Although not significant, Latina celebrities used structural disadvantage framing more frequently than any other type of disadvantage.

Moral Violation. Chi-square results revealed that use of moral violation framing significantly differs based on the race/ethnicity of the celebrity, χ^2 (2, N =837) = 30.24, $p < .001$, *Cramer's V* = .19. Whereas, Black (55%, $n = 252$, ASR = 4.9, $p < .001$) celebrities were more likely to use moral violation to frame their political expression, Latina (33.6%, $n = 86$, ASR = -5.3, $p < .001$) celebrities used moral violation at lower frequencies than expected. White (47.2%, $n = 58$) celebrities did not significantly differ in their framing of moral violations in their political expression.

Moral Protection. Results indicate that framing of moral protection varies based on the race/ethnicity of the celebrity, χ^2 (2, N =837) = 12.72, $p < .01$, *Cramer's V* = .12. Black celebrities used moral protection framing in their social media messages more than expected (54.1%, $n = 248$, ASR = 3.1, $p < .01$). Latina celebrities used moral protection framing in their social media messages less than expected (40.2 %, $n = 103$, ASR = - 3.5, $p < .001$) since their frequency of not including moral protection in their framing was higher (59.8%, $n = 153$). White celebrities ($n = 61$, 49.6%) did not differ significantly in terms of using moral protection framing usage (61%, $n = 49.6\%$) or not (50.4%, $n = 62$).

Injustice Framing. Chi-square test revealed usage of injustice framing varied by celebrity race/ethnicity, χ^2 (2, N = 837) = 21.15, p < .001, *Cramer's V* = .16. A closer look at the ASR indicates that White (48%, n = 59, ASR = 3.6, p < .001) celebrities use injustice frames at a rate that exceeds expectations. Nonetheless, it is important to note that overall, the number of messages from White celebrities that did not include injustice framing was higher. Latina (24.6%, n = 63, ASR = - 3.8, p < .001) celebrities used injustice framing at lower frequencies than expected. Latina celebrities' political expression also contained more posts without injustice framing (n = 193, 75.4%). Black celebrities did not differ significantly in their use of injustice framing (n = 162, 35.4%) or not (n = 296, 64.6%) in their political expression.

Research Question 5-7

Research Questions 5-7 asked whether affect in injustice frames (RQ5), (b) positive/negative valence in collective efficacy frames (RQ6), and group respect in collective efficacy frames (RQ7) varied based on the race/ethnicity of the celebrity. Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was used.

Affect in Injustice Frames (RQ5). A significant 3 (race/ethnicity) x 2 (injustice frame) interaction emerged in the ANOVA evaluating ratings of optimism F(2, 837) = 3.19, p < .05, $\eta 2$ = .00 (See figure 2). Simple effects tests (p < .05) revealed that Latina celebrities (M = 3.49, SD = .09) use more optimistic affect in their injustice framing than their Black (M = 3.02, SD = .06) and White (M = 3.00, SD = .09) counterparts. It is important to note that these findings only suggest a minimal increase in the use of optimism in Latina celebrities' messages in comparison to Black and White celebrities. White and Black celebrities did not differ significantly in their level of optimism in injustice messages.

No other significant interaction effects of race/ethnicity by injustice frames were revealed in ANOVAs. However, main effects for race/ethnicity emerged. Specifically, White (M = 3.13, SD = .40) and Black (M = 3.11, SD = .43) celebrities tend to use higher levels of fear in their social media political expression than Latina (M = 3.01, SD = .30) celebrities, with no significant difference emerging between White and Black celebrities. A main effect also was found for use of injustice frames on ratings of fear, $F(1, 837) = 36.63$, $p < .001$, $\eta 2 = .04$, such that higher levels of fear were found when injustice frames were used (M= 3.22, SD = .49), compared with when such frames were not used (M= 3.01, SD = .31). Notably, these means only differ slightly suggesting that these differences are marginal across all three groups.

In addition, a main effect for use of injustice frames was also found for disgust, $F(1, 837) = 79.78$, $p < .001$, $\eta 2 = .08$, such that, when injustice framing is used, lower levels of disgust are found (M= 2.92, SD = .65) compared with when injustice framing is not used (M= 3.48, SD = .71).

A main effect was also found for expressions of pride based on the race/ethnicity of the celebrity, $F(2, 837) = 7.50$, $p < .001$, $\eta 2 = .02$. In particular, Black (M = 3.34, SD = .74) and Latina (M = 3.50, SD = .75) celebrities express higher levels of ingroup pride in their political expression than White celebrities (M= 3.11, SD = .64), although just minimally. Additionally, a main effect for use of injustice frames in expression of pride also was found, $F(1, 837) = 32.75$, $p < .001$, $\eta 2 = .04$, without injustice frames associated with higher pride (M= 3.49, SD = .74) than posts with injustice framing (M= 3.10, SD = .66).

A main effect was found for race/ethnicity on ratings of anger, $F(2, 837) = 6.25$, $p < .01$, $\eta 2 = .02$. Specifically, White (M = 1.71, SD = .90) and Black (M = 1.69, SD = .95) celebrities express higher levels of anger in their political expression than their Latina (M = 1.33, SD = .72)

counterparts; however, across all three groups, the levels of anger are markedly low. Additionally, a main effect was found for use of injustice frames on ratings of anger, $F(1, 837) = 94.46$, $p < .001$, $\eta 2 = .15$, such that more anger was revealed when injustice frames were used ($M = 2.11$, $SD = .95$), versus when they were not used ($M = 1.31$, $SD = .73$).

Finally, a main effect was found for injustice frames on ratings of anxiety, $F(1, 837) = 30.27$, $p < .001$, $\eta 2 = .03$. Specifically, when injustice frames are used level of concern and anxiety in the message is higher ($M = 1.33$, $SD = .67$) than when injustice frames are not used ($M = 1.08$, $SD = .38$).

Positive/Negative Valence in Efficacy frames (RQ6). No significant interactions emerged for any of the race/ethnicity by efficacy frame (i.e., collective efficacy, policy change, and social change) interactions on positive/negative valance, but several main effects were found. A main effect was revealed for celebrity race/ethnicity, $F(2, 837) = 5.50$, $p < .01$, $\eta 2 = .01$, such that posts from Latina ($M = 3.77$, $SD = .96$) celebrities were associated with more positive valence than White ($M = 3.10$, $SD = 1.2$) and Black ($M = 3.52$, $SD = 1.09$) celebrities. The means reveal that Latina celebrities only differ slightly from the Black celebrities. A main effect was also found for use of efficacy framing, $F(1, 837) = 22.84$, $p < .001$, $\eta 2 = .02$, revealing a more positive valence when collective efficacy framing was used ($M = 4.10$, $SD = .99$) compared with when such framing was not used ($M = 3.72$, $SD = 1.26$). In addition, a main effect was found for social change framing, $F(2, 837) = 9.38$, $p < .01$, $\eta 2 = .01$, indicating a more positive valence when using social change frames ($M = 3.63$, $SD = 1.02$) than not using them ($M = 3.42$, $SD = 1.17$). No other statistically significant findings emerged.

Group Respect in Efficacy frames (RQ7). No significant interactions emerged for any of the race/ethnicity by efficacy frame (i.e., collective efficacy, policy change, and social change)

interactions on group respect. However, main effects emerged. First, level of group respect expressed toward the subject of the social media post differed based on the race/ethnicity of the celebrity, $F(2, 837) = 15.08$, $p < .001$, $\eta 2 = .03$, such that Latina ($M = 3.99$, $SD = .99$) and Black ($M = 3.99$, $SD = 1.14$) celebrities' posts were rated higher in group respect than those of Whites ($M = 3.37$, $SD = 1.38$). Additionally, a main effect for use of collective efficacy frames also emerged, $F(1, 837) = 9.55$, $p < .01$, $\eta 2 = .01$, such that higher group respect was found when using collective efficacy frames ($M = 4.10$, $SD = .99$) than when not using that framing ($M = 3.72$, $SD = 1.26$). Last, a main effect was found for use of social change framing on ratings of group respect, $F(2, 837) = 13.53$, $p < .01$, $\eta 2 = .01$, indicating that higher levels of expression of group respect when messages are framed using a social change frame ($M = 4.01$, $SD = 1.09$) than when celebrities do not use social change frames ($M = 3.74$, $SD = 1.23$). No other statistically significant findings emerged.

Research Question 8

RQ8 asks if the use of calls for action mobilization vary based on the race/ethnicity of the celebrity. Chi-square tests indicate that the use of action mobilization calls differs significantly based on the race/ethnicity of the celebrity, χ^2 $(2, N = 837) = 19.55$, $p < .001$, *Cramer's V* = .15. A closer look at the ASR reveals that White (54.5%, $n = 67$, ASR = - 4.3, $p < .001$) celebrities are not posting messages with calls for action mobilization at expected levels, whereas Black (74.9%, $n = 343$, ASR = 2.9, $p < .01$) celebrities exceeded the expected frequency of use of calls for action mobilization . Latina celebrities did not differ significantly in terms of whether they are including action mobilization calls ($n = 182$, 71.1%) or not ($n = 74$, 28.9%) in their political expression.

Research Question 9

RQ9a asks whether the use of prognostic framing, that is to say frames that present a solution to the problem, varies based on race/ethnicity of the celebrity. Results revealed differences in the use (vs not) of a prognostic frame based on the celebrities' race/ethnicity χ^2 (2, N = 837) = 15.35, $p < .001$, *Cramer's V* = .13. Although use of prognostic framing is minimal for all groups, Black (17.7%, n = 81, ASR = -3.9, $p < .001$) celebrities are less likely than expected to use prognostic framing whereas Latina (29.7%, n = 76, ASR = 3.1, $p < .01$) celebrities are more likely than expected to use prognostic framing in their political expression on social media. White celebrities did not differ significantly in the use (or not) of prognostic framing in their political expression.

Discussion

The current quantitative content analysis documents the most popular Black, Latina, and White celebrities' race-related political expression on social media platforms in the weeks leading up to the 2020 presidential election. Assumptions rooted in the social identity model of collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008) were applied to identify the features of messages that held the greatest potential to prompt collective action based on the three predictors (e.g., identity, injustice, and efficacy), and determine if variations in these features occurred depending on the race/ethnicity of the celebrities. Indeed, results indicate that distinct profiles emerged across celebrities.

Black Celebrity Message Features

For Black celebrities, topics that were most prominent had to do with the justice system, racism, and interracial conflicts. Political expression for Black celebrities also tended to highlight both structural disadvantage and incidental disadvantage. According to the SIMCA model, calls

for collective action to address incidental disadvantage are more likely to succeed than those tied to structural disadvantage (although both can promote such efforts), because the former is more situation and/or issue-based marginalization or disadvantage, that is not necessarily entrenched in the social system (van Zomeren et al., 2008). Black celebrities tended to emphasize issues tied to structural disadvantage which may not be as productive for motivating collective action. However, issues pertaining to incidental disadvantages were also addressed at lower levels, so capitalizing on this type of messaging might be more effective in motivating collective action among followers. Still, identity is a crucial predictor in motivating collective action for both structural and incidental disadvantage alike (van Zomeren et al., 2008). Such that, the signaling of Black identity in celebrities' posts may be effective in encouraging such mobilization.

In addition, Black celebrities expressed moral outrage in their political posts, which indicates that their messages included outrage towards a third party or system of inequality. Research indicates that outrage can promote commitment to positive social change (Thomas & McGarty, 2009). Not only does the SIMCA model suggest that moral outrage can be instrumental in collective action, but perceived injustice frames such as moral violations, moral protection, and action mobilization can also increase that effectiveness. For Black celebrities, the frequent use of these three injustice frames found within their messages suggests that these posts may offer compelling motivation for social action, particularly (but not exclusively) when there is high identification with the disadvantaged group (Klavina & van Zomeren, 2020). In other words, this profile of political posting may successfully propel collective actions efforts not only among the ingroup, but also from outgroup members. Additionally, action mobilization framing tied to sympathy was common across the posts from Black celebrities. Research explains that the

use of language such as compassion, sympathy, and support can be compelling in gaining support for causes and related collective action efforts (Benford & Snow, 2000).

Black celebrities also tended to post more liberal leaning messages, which is not surprising given party affiliations in the U.S. as well as longstanding issues surrounding the justice system and social justice. In addition, Black celebrities' political expression frequently contained content about their own group and reflected a strong sense of pride. Still, their political expression seldomly included an explicit group identity or attachment to that identity. Given that identity is a strong predictor of collective action (Van Zomeran et al., 2008), not stating a group identity can diminish Black celebrities' efforts to encourage social mobilization among their ingroup. Overall, Black celebrities primarily utilize perceived injustice framing in their race-related political messages on social media. From a SIMCA perspective, more identity and collective efficacy features in their message framing might serve collective action efforts even more successfully.

Latina Celebrity Message Features

Latina celebrities' patterns of posting reflected a different overall profile, with message features that also had the potential to motivate social mobilization. Overall, within Latina celebrity messages, they were more likely to discuss immigration and COVID-19 related issues, include an explicit group identity and attachment, and express feelings of pride about their group on their social media posts. The literature suggests that Latinos, regardless of their pan-ethnic identity, use immigration issues to signal politicized identities that propel political participation (Vargas et al., 2017). In line with the SIMCA model, maximizing strong identity attachment can be extremely valuable given that social identity spurs group-based perceptions and emotions that are shared with fellow group members, which can result in collective appraisals and feelings

about a particular situation or social structure (van Zomeran et al., 2008). Notably, identity is functional as both a bridge between injustice and efficacy as well as a direct influence on collective action (van Zomeran et al., 2008). Therefore, according to SIMCA, Latina celebrities would benefit from more strategic use of connecting identity to group efficacy if they wish to optimize social mobilization efforts.

Latina celebrities' political expression also used prognostic framing in which solutions were proposed, a plan of attack was outlined, or strategies for carrying out a plan were delineated (Benford & Snow, 2000). Furthermore, Latina celebrity messages were notably more positive in their views of marginalized groups and emphasized a level of respect towards members of those groups. Along with positive valence and respect, Latina celebrities tended to use optimism in their injustice framing. The use of optimism in injustice framing provides an insight into the positive outlook features that might ignite support for the causes that are important to them. In relation to the SIMCA model, the use of injustice framing in political expression should evoke affect, which may encourage collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008). Although anger was not a notable feature in these posts, research indisputably points to anger as an emotion that fuels collective action, but more recently research has also suggested that hope/optimism can be key emotions in motivating protest and political participation (Wlodarczyk et al., 2017). Overall, Latina celebrities offered messages that contained features that would be expected to compel social mobilization. However, more incorporation of collective efficacy features in Latina celebrities' political expression may yield more successful efforts.

White Celebrity Message Features

Finally, the features of White celebrities' posts were also unique. Although White celebrities posted race-related content at a much lower rate in comparison to their Black and

Latina, White celebrities still tended to post about issues related to the LGBTQ+ community, immigration, COVID-19, and interracial conflicts. They were also more likely to post about other racial/ethnic groups other than their own and not post about issues tied to their gender (i.e., women). Some scholars have argued that this is a clear example of white allyship, a response to the unjust treatment of marginalized or disadvantaged groups (Clark, 2019). In the same vein, White celebrities might be more inclined to engage in this type of political expression because they seek to maintain their group status, and they are morally aligned in the fight for justice (Radke et al., 2020). Given that White celebrity political expression was more liberal leaning and only used injustice framing, it is reasonable to infer that White celebrities were speaking up on behalf of marginalized groups. Furthermore, White celebrities posted with a high level of group respect towards marginalized groups and included very low levels of fear appeals into their political expression framing. Using the SIMCA model as a guiding framework, the appeals being used by White celebrities might be effective in motivating their group members to advocate for issues pertaining to disadvantaged groups. Identity and efficacy components, including highlighting group membership, would potentially enhance collective action efforts on behalf of the disadvantaged group (van Zomeren et al., 2008).

Potential Implications

As social media continues to draw millions of followers, it is important to note the strong influence celebrities can have on audiences using these platforms to advocate for politically disadvantaged groups. The findings from this study underscore the need for future effects study to determine the effects of exposure to these types of messages on followers. Mapping the findings of this study onto the social identity model of collective action, suggests that all three racial/ethnic groups prioritize different topics in their quest for political change/participation.

This is consistent with previous research that has looked at the ways in which these social groups are connected to certain topics more than others and get involved in political issues that directly affect their groups (Holbrook et al., 2019). As such, when celebrities or leaders of a specific racial/ethnic group want to push for collective action efforts, they might choose to focus on topics that are important to those groups and topics where change seems plausible. In addition, Black celebrities and group members might be more willing to participate in collective efforts that highlight the inequalities and disadvantages of the Black community. Moreover, based on our findings for Latina celebrities, their message features have the potential to activate collective action by using identity and positive emotions. Mapping the SIMCA model to emotions, framing messages with hope and optimism can be associated with positive future outcomes (Nabi et al., 2018), which might be helpful in motivating Latinos to engage in collective efforts. Lastly, for White celebrities, their message features lacked a focus on identity and efficacy, and mostly emphasized perceived injustices for disadvantaged group members. For White group members, this could mean that they need to acknowledge their identity in ways in which they can advocate for other groups. Nonetheless, from a SIMCA perspective, use of all three predictors, identity, perceived injustice, and collective efficacy, is optimal to achieve collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008).

Future Considerations

The findings from this content analysis suggest that celebrities are indeed using their unique status to address important race-related political. Accordingly, testing the influence and effect of these messages on followers is a meaningful next step for research in this area. Such efforts would be well-served by taking into account intersectional identities that might provide further explanation into the message features found in this study. Each of these groups engages

in political participation and collective action differently and it would be worthwhile to examine how online collective action can transfer to offline group unity, solidarity, and policy changes for disadvantaged groups. Equally importantly, research should consider how celebrity political expression might differently influence attitudes and behaviors in incentivizing offline political participation and collective action.

From a theoretical perspective, more needs to be done in expanding SIMCA to account for advantaged group members who advocate for disadvantaged group members. Extending the theory to consider advantaged group members can provide a more encompassing explanation for recent social movements such as Black Lives Matter and MeToo and the involvement of outgroup members. Although the theory does propose moderating variables, more work is necessary to delineate the role of emotions in the framing of specific appeals. Lastly, future work should consider extending the theory to fit a social media or digital media context especially in our current online sociopolitical environment.

Limitations

This analysis provides critical insight into celebrity political expression on collective action across two social media platforms; however, it is not without limitations. First, like all content analyses, effects cannot be determined from the results; nonetheless, these findings, based in theory, are foundational for future effect studies. Second, although the top most followed celebrities were examined, to complete the list of Black and Latina celebrities, it was necessary to go beyond the 1,000 most followed on these platforms. However, the remaining celebrities were extracted from magazines which identified them as the "most influential" celebrities of 2020. In addition, celebrities selected from the magazine articles needed to have more than 100,000 followers on their social media accounts to be included. Additionally, new

research has emerged suggesting that there are additional variables (e.g., outgroup-oriented collective action, shared efficacy), beyond those documented here, that might promote collective action among outgroup members (Klavina & Van Zomeren, 2020; Radke et al., 2020). Last, future research should continue to not only explain how celebrities can produce messages that can shape mobilization among ingroup members, but scholars must also investigate the motives that might attract outgroup members to support and advocate for disadvantaged groups.

The results of this study indicate that celebrities are utilizing messages that have the potential to influence their followers using message features mapped out by SIMCA. Black celebrities were more likely to use message features that portrayed their group as having disadvantages especially when it came to issues surrounding the legal system or racism. On the other hand, Latina celebrities used their identity to prompt discussions about issues that specifically impacted their communities, but also expressed optimism or hope for the future of the group. Alternatively, although some aspects of White celebrities' patterns of race-related political messaging on social media paralleled those for Black and Latina celebrities, White celebrities focused on posting about topics and groups that they did not belong to. These data underscore the need for continued investigations into the potential for celebrities to influence political social action via use of their expansive following on social media.

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Appendix

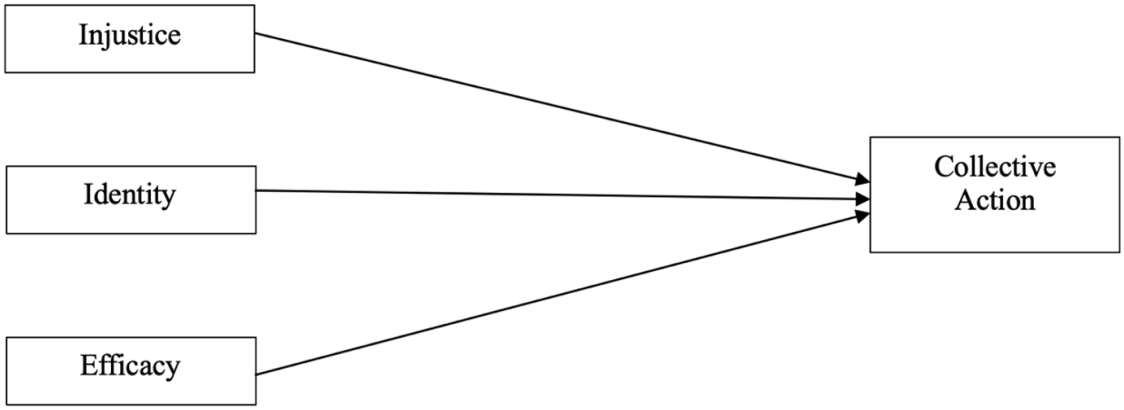

Figure 1. SIMCA model used to content analyze celebrity political messages based on three factors: Identity, Injustice, and Efficacy.

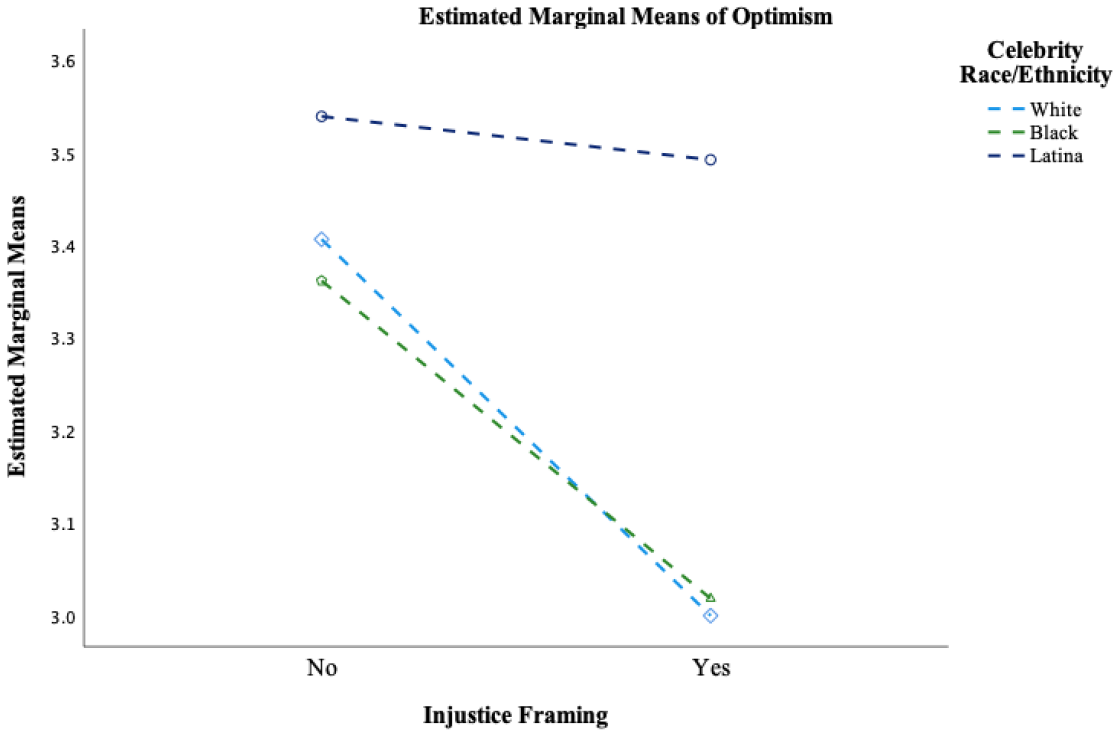

Figure 2. Interaction of Optimism by Injustice Framing among White, Black, and Latina celebrities

Table 1. Research question 1: Topics of ethnicity/race-related messages by celebrities racial/ethnic groups.

Message Topic	*% of messages*	*ASR*[a]
Immigration		
White	18.7% (*n* = 23)	4.2***
Black	3.1% (*n* = 14)	-6.5***
Latina	14.5% (*n* = 37)	3.8**
x^2 (2, N =837) = 43.85, p < .001, Cramer's V = .23		
Interracial Conflict		
White	79.7% (*n* = 98)	3.1**
Black	67.7% (*n* = 310)	0
Latina	62.1% (*n* = 159)	-2.3*
x^2 (2, N =837) = 11.73, p < .01, Cramer's V = .11		
Justice system		
White	43.9% (*n* = 54)	1.5
Black	45.4% (*n* = 208)	4.9***
Latina	21.9% (*n* = 56)	-6.4***
x^2 (2, N =837) = 40.76, p < .001, Cramer's V = .22		
LGBTQ+		
White	12.2% (*n*= 15)	4.3***
Black	3.5% (*n* = 16)	-1.8
Latina	3.1% (*n* = 8)	-1.4
x^2 (2, N =837) = 18.48, p < .001, Cramer's V = .15		
COVID-19		
White	16.3% (*n* = 20)	2.6**
Black	4.4% (*n* = 20)	- 5.8***
Latina	16.4% (*n* =42)	4.3***
x^2 (2, N =837) = 33.75, p < .001, Cramer's V = .20		
Other		
White	8.9% (*n* =11)	2.2*
Black	2.0% (*n* = 9)	-4.4***
Latina	66% (*n* = 169)	3.1**
x^2 (2, N =837) = 19.80, p < .00, Cramer's V = .15		

Note: Percentages reported are within (racial/ethnic) group percentages. *Significant adjusted standardized residuals (ASR). *$p < .05$, $p < .01$, $p < .001$. Negative ASR scores indicate less than expected and positive scores indicate more than expected.

Table 2. Research question 2a: Celebrity political expression pertaining to their (a) race/ethnicity, and (b) gender.

		% of messages	*ASR*
Celebrity Race/ethnicity			
	White	14.6% (*n* = 18)	-12.9***
	Black	79.3% (*n* = 363)	9.1***
	Latina	66% (*n* = 169)	.1
x^2 (2, *N* =837) = 179.73, *p* < .001, *Cramer's V* = .46.			
Gender (Woman)			
	White	19.5% (*n* = 24)	-2.0*
	Black	27.3% (*n* = 125)	.3
	Latina	29.7% (*n* = 76)	1.2
x^2 (2, *N* =837) = 48.273, *p* < .001, *Cramer's V* = .24			

Note: Percentages reported are within (racial/ethnic) group percentages. Significant adjusted standardized residuals (ASR). *$p < .05$, $p < .01$, $p < .001$. Negative ASR scores indicate less than expected and positive scores indicate more than expected.

Table 3. Research question 3. Political issue framing by celebrity race/ethnicity

Political Issue Framing	*Facts/ Statistics/ Informative*	*ASR*	*Collective Appeal*	*ASR*	*Personal Appeal*	*ASR*	*Emotional Appeal*	*ASR*
White	9.8% (*n* = 12)	-1.4	31.7% (*n* = 39)	.6	24.4% (*n* = 30)	- .5	34.1% (*n* = 42)	.9
Black	13.3% (*n* = 61)	- .5	26.2% (*n* = 120)	-2.2*	25.3% (*n* = 116)	- .5	35.2% (*n* = 161)	3.1**
Latina	16.8% (*n* = 43)	1.6	34% (*n* = 87)	1.9	28.1% (*n* = 72)	.9	21.1% (*n* = 54)	-4.0***
x^2 *(6,* N *=837) = 18.60,* p < *.01,* Cramer's V = *.10*								

Note: Percentages reported are within (racial/ethnic) group percentages. Significant adjusted standardized residuals (ASR). *$p < .05$, $p < .01$, $p < .001$. Negative ASR scores indicate less than expected and positive scores indicate more than expected.

Table 4. Research question 4: political injustice frames by celebrity race/ethnicity.

Injustice Frame	*% of messages*	*ASR[a]*
Moral Outrage		
White	56.1% (*n* = 69)	1.5
Black	58.1% (*n* = 266)	5.3***
Latina	31.6% (*n* = 81)	-6.9***
x² (2, N *=837) = 48.27,* p < *.001,* Cramer's V = *.24*		
Moral Violation		
White	47.2% (*n* = 58)	.0
Black	55% (*n* = 252)	4.9***
Latina	33.6% (*n* = 86)	- 5.3***
x² (2, N *=837) = 30.24,* p < *.001,* Cramer's V = *.19*		
Moral Protection		
White	49.6% (*n* = 61)	.1
Black	54.1% (*n* = 248)	3.1**
Latina	40.2% (*n* = 103)	- 3.5***
x² (2, N *=837) = 12.72,* p < *.01,* Cramer's V = *.12*		
Injustice Framing		
White	48% (*n* = 59)	3.6***
Black	35.4% (*n* = 162)	1.0
Latina	24.6% (*n* = 63)	- 3.8***
x² (2, N *=837) = 21.15,* p < *.001,* Cramer's V = *.16*		

Note: Percentages reported are within (racial/ethnic) group percentages. Significant adjusted standardized residuals (ASR). *$p < .05$, $p < .01$, $p < .001$. Negative ASR scores indicate less than expected and positive scores indicate more than expected.

Table 5. Research question 4: political injustice frame (Disadvantage/mistreatment of group) by celebrity race/ethnicity.

	Structural	*ASR[a]*	*Incidental*	*ASR[a]*	*No Disadvantage*	*ASR[a]*
White	48% (*n* = 59)	-1.7	10.6% (*n* = 13)	- .3	41.5% (*n* = 51)	2.0
Black	59.4% (*n* = 272)	2.7**	16.6% (*n* = 76)	5.3***	24% (*n* = 100)	-6.4
Latina	51.2% (*n* = 131)	-1.6	2.3% (*n* = 6)	- 5.5***	46.5% (*n* = 119)	5.3
x² (4, N *=837) = 60.37,* p < *.001,* Cramer's V = *.19*						

Note: Percentages reported are within (racial/ethnic) group percentages. Significant adjusted standardized residuals (ASR). *$p < .05$, $p < .01$, $p < .001$. Negative ASR scores indicate less than expected and positive scores indicate more than expected.

Celebrity Political Expression Manual
Spring 2021

https://ucsb.co1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_9H3lPSDwyf6KxZr

In analyzing these social media posts, we are looking for reliability in coding posts related to ***political messages*** and ***celebrity accounts*** across three social media platforms (*Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter*).

The amount of time it will take to code each social media post will vary based on each political message's length and content. Please code each celebrity account and all political statements related to that celebrity in one continuous session. Avoid stopping and starting again later, as this can affect recall and interpretation. Given the time it might take to code all political messages pertaining to a celebrity account, please plan accordingly.

Important definitions:

**political expression- "political communication behaviors on social media that express a specific opinion or emotion on current political events and processes, or behaviors that disseminate information relevant for the interpretation of those events and processes" (Velasquez et. al., 2019, p. 150).*

**race related political messages- messages pertaining to race/ethnicity that directly relate to individual and group identities.*

**Group-based injustice- perceived unfairness regarding the group's treatment, moral violations, opportunity, access, and position in society (e.g., group discriminated against; group disadvantages), such that, unfair disadvantage; mistreatment, resentment, and dissatisfaction may result in anger toward the system of inequality (Thomas et al., 2011; van Zomeren et al., 2008; van Zomeren et al., 2018).*

** group identity is understood as the degree to which being a member of the group is important to a person; the degree to which people feel they are part of a group; feelings of belonging; affective ties to the group; and motivation to act on behalf of the group (Thomas et al., 2011; van Zomeren et al., 2008; van Zomeren et al., 2018).*

** group efficacy is a belief that the group can achieve goals with unified effort; the group can influence society, can change the status of its group, the group can accomplish social change, and can achieve its goals through collective action (Thomas et al., 2011; van Zomeren et al., 2008; van Zomeren et al., 2018).*

- **What to code:** Social media post
  Information about celebrities' political messages will be coded.

CODER ID: Identify yourself below.
- Chloe Kimmel-CK
- Angelica Leon- AL
- Joseph Osorio-JO
- Marissa Raras-MR

SM ID: Identify the social media platform.
- Facebook
- Instagram
- Twitter

CELEBRITY: Identify the celebrity name from the list.
[Include list of celebrities]

***CELEBRITY TYPE*:** Identify the celebrity's most current career. (Belch & Belch, 2013)
- *Actress* - someone who performs in movies or TV as their job (e.g., Constance Wu, Viola Davis).

- *Athlete* - a professional sports player (e.g., Serena Williams, Lisa Leslie)
- *Entertainer*, commentator, presenter, TV host- a person who entertains for a living (e.g., Wendy Williams, Ellen DeGeneres).
- *Model*- a successful fashion figure with a background in commercial modeling. (e.g., Tyra Banks, Hailey Bieber)
- *Musician* - a person who has a profession as a singer (e.g., Selena Gomez, Rihanna)
- *Reality Television star* - a public figure who has a career in documentary-style television for viewers (e.g., Kim Kardashian West, Snooki)
- Other _____(please specify)

***POLITICAL MESSAGE**:* Identify if the celebrity had any posts related to race/ethnicity from 10/03-11/07?

- No
  If no, STOP CODING HERE!

- Yes
  If yes, give a count of all race related posts within the past 4 weeks _____

POLITICAL MESSAGE NUMBER: number the posts in chronological order

DATE: Fill in date of the post. Should be within the last 4 weeks.

_____

(IDENTITY) IDEOLOGY: Identify the ideology of the political message or the intended ideology. (Himelboim, Sweetser, Tinkham, Cameron, Daniel, & West, 2016)

- *Conservative* – support: does the post support the conservative ideology in the post.

  Conservative- supportive of a conservative political party; supports traditionally conservative positions or views. Specifically**:** calling for lower taxes, limited government regulation of business and investing, a strong national defense, against pro-choice, advocates individual financial responsibility for personal needs (such as retirement income or health-care coverage). Messages that would fall under this category might include the following language: Republican, Christian, Conservative.

- *Liberal* – support: does the post support the liberal ideology in the post.

  Liberal- supportive of a liberal political party; supports traditionally liberal positions or views. Specifically**:** considers government as a crucial instrument for amelioration of social inequities (such as those involving race, gender, or class). Messages that would fall under this category might include the following language: Democrat, Liberal.

- *Moderate*- supporter of centrist policies and parties.
- *No ideology/Unable to determine*

(IDENTITY) SUBJECT OF MESSAGE: Identify who the political message is about. (Himelboim, Sweetser, Tinkham, Cameron, Danel, & West, 2016).

- *An individual other than the celebrity*
  - *Female*
  - *Male*
  - *Unknown*
- *Celebrity itself*
- *Other/ No subject_____(please specify)*

(IDENTITY)AUDIENCE OF MESSAGE: Identify the target audience of the political message. (Himelboim, Sweetser, Tinkham, Cameron, Danel, & West, 2016).

- *General audience*
- *Specific group _____(please specify)*
- *Other _____(please specify)*
- *N/A*

(IDENTITY) AGE: Identify the age of the subjects the political message is about.

- *Child*- Individuals who are 12 years old or younger.
- *Teen*-Individuals between 13 through 19 years of age.
- *Adult*- Individuals between 20 through 64 years of age.
- *Elderly*-Individuals who are 65 years old or older.
- Can't be determined/unknown/n/a

(IDENTITY) SEXUAL ORIENTATION: Identify the sexual orientation of the individuals the political message is about.

- Bisexual
- Gay
- Heterosexual
- Lesbian
- Other (*please specify*)_____
- N/A

(IDENTITY) RELIGION: Identify the religious group of the subject(s) the political message is about.

- Buddhist
- Catholic
- Christian/Protestant/Lutheran/Baptist
- Greek or Russian orthodox
- Hindu
- Jewish
- Muslim
- No religious affiliation
- Unable to determine
- Other_____

(IDENTITY) RACE/ETHNICITY: Identify the race/ethnicity of the subjects that the political message is about.

- Asians
- Blacks
- Hawaiians/Pacific Islanders
- Latinx
- Native Americans
- Middle Easterners
- Whites
- Other _____(*please specify*)
- N/A

(INJUSTICE) POL ISSUE FORMAT: Identify the **dominant/primary** format of the political message. (Gerodimos & Justinussen, 2015).

- *Fact/statistics/Informative*- Presents documented occurrences including actual events, dates, times, people, and places and/or provides information with statistical data related to the political message (O'Hair, 2016) or where the speaker seeks to make the audience aware of a political issue (Valenzano & Braden, 2015
- *Collective appeal*- Presents an issue that is intended for group members to undertake in a political context to achieve personal or group goals, such as defending their moral principles or improving conditions of an entire disadvantaged group (Thomas, McGarty, Reese, Berndsen, & Bliuc, 2016; van Zomeren, 2016).

- *Personal appeal*- Presents the message based on individual characteristics of themselves such as appearing competent, trustworthy, reliable, etc. (Garzia, 2011).
- *Emotional appeal*- presents an issue with emotion, is inspirational, or includes humor.
- *Other* _____

(INJUSTICE) MESSAGE NEG/POS: Based on the post and content, is the representation of the group(s) who are the subject of the policy, positive or negative?

-Positive-characteristics such as heroism, perseverance, motivation, strong work ethic, and intelligence.

-Negative- characteristics such as aggression, dishonesty, laziness, unintelligence, corruption.

Negative/Positive	1(negative)	2	3 (neutral)	4	5 (positive)	N/A

(INJUSTICE) GROUP RESPECT: Is this group respected by the celebrity posting the content, based on the content provided? (Velasquez et al., 2019)

Respected	1(not at all)	2	3(neutral)	4	5 (very)	N/A

(INJUSTICE/IDENTITY) AFFECTIVE CONTENT: Based on the post, rate the affective characteristics in the political message. (Weber 2012; Feldman & Hart, 2016)

Pessimistic	1	2	3 (neutral)	4	5	Optimistic
Unfearful	1	2	3 (neutral)	4	5	Fearful
Pleasant	1	2	3 (neutral)	4	5	Disgusting
Pride	1	2	3 (neutral)	4	5	Shame

Angry	1 (Not at all)	2	3 (Somewhat)	4	5 (Very)
Anxious	1 (Not at all)	2	3 (Somewhat)	4	5 (Very)

For Affective Content:

- **Pessimistic vs Optimistic**
  - Words that indicate you should put pessimistic:
    - Things are only going to get worse
    - "There is no empathy"
    - "It is unfortunate that…"
    - "I am tired of seeing this"
    - "There is no justice"
    - "This needs to change"
  - Words that indicate you should put optimistic:
    - "I hope that…"
    - "We can do it"
    - Anything with a positive outlook towards the future
    - We can get through this
    - I believe that we will win
    - "I am glad that…"
    - Anything hinting that they are satisfied with the situation

- **Unfearful vs Fearful**
    - Words that indicate you should put unfearful:
        - "Resolute"
        - "Confident"
        -
    - Words that indicate you should put fearful:
        - "I am worried"
        - hesitant.
        - nervous.
        - scared.
- **Sedate vs Angry**
    - Words that indicate you should put sedate:
        -
    - Words that indicate you should put angry:
        - " I/we demand.."
        - "Fight back"
        - " I challenge this.."
        - "This isn't just…"
        - "We demand justice"
        - anything having to do with justice
        - enraged.
        - impassioned.
        - irritable.
        - offended.
        - resentful.
        - sullen.
- **Pleasant vs Disgusting**
    - Words that indicate you should put pleasant:
        -
    - Words that indicate you should put disgusting:
        - "I am sick to my stomach"
        - "I am appalled"
        - "This is revolting"
        - "This is horrific"
- **Pride vs Shame**
    - Words that indicate you should put pride:
        - "I am proud of…"
        - "I am proud to say that…"
        - "It is an honor"
        - "The best…"
        - "Honorable"
        - "Worhty"
        - "Strong"
        - "Smart"
        - "Successful"
        - "Gratification"
        - "An individual had confidence"
    - Words that indicate you should put shame:
        - "It is a shame that…"
        - "This is dishonorable"
        - "The humiliation"
        - "Embarrassment"
        - "stigma"
        - "Scandal"
- **Unconcerned vs Anxious**
    - Words that indicate you should put unconcerned:

        - "relieved"
    - Words that indicate you should put anxious:
        - "Uneasy"
        - "distraught"

(COLLECTIVE ACTION) CALL TO ACTION MESSAGE*:* Identify the call to action for political participation embedded in the message

Signing petitions or Posting a Sign:

- No
- Yes

Texting/calling/emailing an organization or government office:

- No
- Yes

Donating money:

- No
- Yes

Voting:

- No
- Yes

Raise awareness (call to action-"This is how to" guidance on process):

- No
- Yes

Attending a ***protest***:

- No
- Yes

Volunteering for a party or candidate:

- No
- Yes

Attending a meeting of a political party or political organization:

- No
- Yes

Hashtag Hijacking using a hashtag for a different purpose than the one originally intended, such as tagging messages with undesirable content and surfacing this content to a target audience; also known as reappropriating the hashtag (Jackson & Foucault Welles, 2015; Xanthaopoulos et al., 2016):

- No
- Yes

Hostile Collective Action a call for retaliation and punishment action towards a group (i.e., people, property, etc.) (Zhou & Wang, 2012).

- No
- Yes

Other *(please specify):*_____

***(INJUSTICE) MORAL OUTRAGE**:* Similar to anger, but directed at a third party or system of inequality (Thomas et al., 2011). Does the celebrity post contain moral outrage in the message?

Can also include dissatisfaction, resentment, and group-based anger

- No
- Yes

***(INJUSTICE) DISADVANTAGE/MISTREATMENT OF GROUP**:* Does the celebrity post suggest that this group is experiencing:

- *Structural disadvantage*: low group status or discrimination based on membership of a social group or category.
- *Incidental disadvantage*: revolves around issue-based or situation-based disadvantages.
- *No disadvantage*

***(INJUSTICE) MORAL VIOLATIONS**:* Does the celebrity post suggest that a disadvantaged group has had their human rights violated (Kutlaca et al., 2019).

- No
- Yes

***(INJUSTICE) MORAL PROTECTION**:* Does the celebrity post suggest that they want to protect the rights of the disadvantaged group (Kutlaca et al., 2019).

- No
- Yes

(IDENTITY) CELEBRITY IDENTITY-II: Does the celebrity explicitly state a group identity in the political post.

- No
- Yes _____ (*please specify*)

***(IDENTITY) CELEBRITY GROUP IDENTITY**:* Does the celebrity post explicitly express being a member of the group is important to them? In other words, does the celebrity express a strong group identity.

- No
- Yes

***(EFFICACY) COLLECTIVE EFFICACY**:* Does the celebrity post includes content related to the improvement of ingroup status and position in American society.

**ingroup- Ingroup identity are people with the same identity markers (i.e., gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, SES, political affiliation, age, religion) who have classified themselves as part of the group based on the most salient identity to them in that context (Hornsey, 2008).*

For example, Beyonce advocating for a change in policy related to the unjust treatment of Blacks in the U.S. would be coded as yes. (i.e., "we")

- No
- Yes

***(EFFICACY) POLICY CHANGE**:* The celebrity post include content that is geared toward a policy change or governmental changes.

- No
- Yes

***(EFFICACY) SOCIAL CHANGE**:* The celebrity post includes content that suggests the group can generate social change (Smith et al., 2021).

- No
- Yes

***(COLLECTIVE ACTION) ACTION MOBILIZATION-MOTIVATION**:* Does the celebrity post include a sympathetic tone.

*Words that might suggest sympathy (i.e., pity, condolence, consolation, comfort, solace, support, encouragement, compassion, care, concern, warmth, camaraderie, togetherness, solidarity, etc.)

- No
- Yes

(INJUSTICE) INJUSTICE FRAMING: Does the celebrity post identify causality, blame, or culpable agents (Benford & Snow, 2000).

- No
- Yes

(COLLECTIVE ACTION) PROGNOSTIC FRAMING: Does the celebrity post propose a solution to the problem, plan of attack, and strategies for carrying out the plan (Benford & Snow, 2000)

- No
- Yes

(EFFICACY) MOTIVATIONAL FRAMING: Does the celebrity post include vocabulary surrounding the need for severity and urgency regarding the political issue (Benford & Snow, 2000).

- No
- Yes

Social media

(Gerodimos & Justinussen, 2015)
NUMBER OF LIKES ON POST: _____

NUMBER OF COMMENTS ON POST: _____

NUMBER OF REPOSTS/RESHARES/RETWEETS ON POST: _____

TEXT/IMAGE/VIDEO: Identify if the political message is (a) text, image, video, or link. (Check all that apply: text, image, video) (Edgerly, Thorson, Bighash, Hannah, 2016)

- Written text
- Image
    - If it is an *image*, identify the type of image.
        - Photograph
        - Photograph-link
        - Infographic
        - Infographic-link
        - Cartoon
        - Cartoon-link
        - Image manipulated
        - Other
- Video
    - If it is a *video*, identify the type of video.
        - Campaign
        - Interest group
        - News source
        - An individual
        - Political humor
        - Other

- If yes there was an image/video, is the celebrity shown in the images or videos?
    - No
    - Yes
- If yes there was an image/video, are other celebrities pictured in the images or videos?
    - No
    - Yes

ORIGINAL: Does the post contain *original* content from the celebrity?

- No
- Yes

RE-SHARE/REPOST/RETWEET: Did the celebrity *re-share/repost/retweet* political content from another *user*? (Twitter will tell you if it is a retweet but you can have a quote retweet which contains a quote from the celebrity)

- No
- Yes
    - If *yes*, identify the celebrity tag.
        - Individual user/page
        - Campaign account/page
        - Media organization account/page
        - Other organization account/page

FACEBOOK-URL LINK: Does the post contain a *link* to a *news article* about politics?

- No
- Yes
    - If *yes*, identify what the URL is linked to. (Edgerly, Thorson, Bighash, Hannah, 2016)
        - Campaign
        - Interest group
        - Mainstream media print/network
        - Mainstream media online only
        - Cable news
        - Regional news
        - International news
        - Online Analysis
        - Entertainment media
        - Social media
        - Other _____

    - **If no, then Social media platform was Instagram/Twitter**

INSTAGRAM-RE-SHARE TAGS: If this is a *re-share*, did the celebrity tag the user on Instagram? (Edgerly, Thorson, Bighash, Hannah, 2016)

- N/A
- No
- Yes
- **Social media platform is Facebook/Twitter**

FACEBOOK/TWITTER-RESPONSE: Did the celebrity *respond* to another user's political post on Facebook? (If reply to tweets, it looks like a thread-quote tweets do not count as responses)

- No
- Yes
- **Social media platform is Instagram**

REPETITION OF CONTENT: Identify the content related to race in the political message and count the number of times this celebrity discussed the same topic.
**This variable should be coded for each post.*

- Illegal immigration
- Interracial conflict/racial tension/racial inequality
- Justice system
- LGBTQ
- Pandemic-COVID19
- Racism
- Sexism
- Other _____(please specify)

Illegal Immigration
- *Illegal immigration*
- *Job opportunities*
- *DACA*

Discrimination

COVID19
- *Black Lives Matter*
- *Racism*
- *Interracial conflict/racial tension/ racial inequality*
- *Violent Crime*
- *Justice system*
- *Black lives matter*
- *Voting*
- *Women's rights*

For Black Lives Matter:
- *Discrimination*
- *Interracial conflict/racial tension/racial inequality*
- *justice system*
- *racism*
- *violent crime*
- *Homelessness*

Voter Discrimination
- *Discrimination*
- *Interracial conflict/ racial tension/ racial inequality*
- *Racism*
- *Voting*

HASHTAG*:* Identify how many times the same hashtag was used, using only the first 5 that appear (Blevins, Lee, McCabe, & Edgerton, 2019; Ince, Rojas, & Davis, 2017).
**This variable should be coded for each post.*

- N/A
- Yes
    - Hashtag #1 _____
    - Hashtag #2 _____
    - Hashtag #3 _____
    - Hashtag #4 _____
    - Hashtag #5 _____

(IDENTITY) CELEBRITY IDENTITY: Is the political message related to the celebrity's identity? (Wohl, King, & Taylor, 2014). (Social media coders will code this data—not included in qualtrics)

- No
- Yes

  If *yes*, what aspect of the celebrity's identity is the political message related to? Note all that apply.
  - Age
  - Race
  - Gender
  - Sexual orientation
- Unable to determine
- N/A