

**SOCIALIZATION FORCES CONTRIBUTING TO WOMEN OF COLOR
IN POLITICS**

An Undergraduate Research Scholars Thesis

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ABSTRACT

Socialization Forces Contributing to Women of Color in Politics

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The political efficacy of women of color is limited in various forms; efficacy is negatively affected by factors such as increased political unrest and racial prejudice within media representations. Nonetheless, the Y2K era of politics demonstrates that women of color are experiencing a change in their view of their impact in politics. In order to understand these changes, it is imperative to analyze the common forms of influence that reinforce their perspectives. This paper will contextualize a modern interpretation of Preuh's (2007) research on the importance of minority representation and its relationship to mitigating harmful politics for people of color. Descriptive representation evolving to become more inclusive of Women of color as politicians is important because of their unique intersection of identities: the ability to act as representatives of women as well as those of a racial/ethnic minority group. The research will also seek to discover the intersection of positive descriptive representation within media and the effect on political efficacy through socialization. Socialization forces that the paper will address includes pop-culture examples of TV, cinema, opinion-reporting, music and social media. Data analysis will focus on women of color 18-23 years old who exclusively experienced

the Y2K era of internet-based media outlets since early adolescence. In looking at patterns of socialization through a survey experiment, results are expected to demonstrate a clear correlation between Social Cognitive Theory and increased feelings of efficacy; these ideas transfer into the political realm through political discourse occurring on social media, and further spread by followings of influential individuals of pop-culture.

DEDICATION

To my friends, family, instructors, and peers who supported me throughout the research process.

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The data analyzed/used for this project was approved by Dr. Brittany Perry.

All other work conducted for the thesis was completed by the student independently.

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NOMENCLATURE

WOC	Women of Color
POC	People of Color
SES	Socio-economic status
SCT	Social Cognitive Theory
NSLVE	National Study of Learning, Voting, and Engagement
SERU	Student Experience in the Research University survey

INTRODUCTION

In March of 2021, several allegations of racism and colorism took headlines surrounding the United Kingdom's royal family; a shockingly candid TV interview hosted by Oprah Winfrey with Prince Harry and Meghan Markle, Duchess of Sussex, exposed a once highly revered institution of political power to outrage from fans of the couple. In the interview, Meghan discussed the disturbing conversations about her baby's 'dark' skin tone, and Harry criticized the phrase 'colonial undertones,' a crudely made reference to the mixed-colored skin of the unborn child, which was pushed by the media – and that his royal relatives failed to condemn (Picheta, 2021). The ongoing media slander against Meghan, a prominent woman of color (WOC), and her direct relationship to top political/hierarchical influence posits this couple as a prime example of an evolving role of WOC in politics and how WOC are presented by the media. On social media, responses to the scandal from women of color around the world were emotional. Sinai Fleary, founder of the UK-based Reggae and Rasta lifestyle publication Jus' Jah Magazine, wrote:

They will dismiss, gaslight and ignore what [WOC] have been saying, and what Meghan and Harry have been saying," Fleary, wrote on Twitter, "This is how the media and certain parts of the public work. Same formula, every single time ... I hope we realize there's a much less powerful version of Meghan likely at your office or school who is being discriminated [against] - and doesn't have champions. (Fleary, 2021)

Clearly, this evolution and efficacy of WOC in politics and the media affects WOC in the public. The role of women of color in society has been affected overtime by factors such as political unrest, racial prejudice, and even media bias (Richie B. 2000). But the role of women in politics has changed in positive ways as well, from the passage of the 19th amendment, to the "Year of the Woman" in 1992, to the election of the first woman and woman of color to office of Vice President of the United States. In order to understand this how WOC have become more

accepted in politics over time, we can look to a number of factors, including changing socialization forces. Previous research has determined that socialization from family, friends and other civic organizations (Muxel, A. 2015; Richard G. Braungart 1971) influence one's approach to politics. In the paper, I focus on another socialization force: the media and specifically, the role of television, cinema, opinion-reporting, and pop-culture. In particular, I explore the effects different types of media consumption and the direct effects on political efficacy of young women of color (Justice, E. M., & Dornan, T. M. 2001). Focusing on this younger generation will allow for assumptions to be drawn about the future and how women of color will shape politics in decades to come. Going one step further, this project addresses how the rise of women of color in pop-culture, from Beyonce to Sofia Vergara, might also translate into the political realm.

LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 Acknowledging Previous Research

1.1.1 *WOC in American Politics*

American politics is experiencing a shift in political engagement among Women of Color (WOC). Specifically, the shift is promoting greater engagement among Latinas and Black women, a group of women who have historically experienced a unique intersection of two minority statuses as women and members of a minority racial/ethnic group. The effects of this intersection on WOC has previously been labeled the multiple jeopardy (Jeffries & Ransford, 1980) scenario, resulting from various disadvantages such as unequal education opportunities, lower pay, and decreased economic and political power (Sokoloff, 2008; Ulmer, Harris & Steffensmeier, 2012).

Despite these systemic boundaries, research by Carol Hardy Fanta (1993) demonstrated resilience in women of color's sense of political engagement and their political self, both of which have evolved "in conjunction with personal self-development." This idea of the 'political self' emerges from studies that show heightened feelings of empowerment and personal development through community change: women of color who strategically leverage their intersectional identities (race and sex) in order to advocate for their communities, and other marginalized communities, experience greater feelings of efficacy. In her study conducted in Boston, Massachusetts, Hardy-Fanta finds that Latinas in particular, identify a connection between "personal development... political conscience... and emergence into the arena of political activism" (Hardy-Fanta, 1993). However, the 'political self' is hindered by persisting negative "historical narratives, cultural representations, and legal discrimination" (Brown, 315-

348). Without proper development of the ‘political self’, we cannot expect political enthusiasm from women of color.

The connection of the political self and efficacy is further analyzed in a study by Wolak. She asserts that principles of self-confidence and empowerment serve as a “resource that encourages psychological engagement with politics” (Wolak, 1-3). Yet, this advantage is more likely to be possessed by men. This gap is attributed to gender gaps in “political interest, attention to politics, and internal efficacy.” Given this information, it becomes clear that women on the journey of discovering the ‘political-self’ will encounter gender-based obstacles. But these obstacles are also confounded by race (Acock, 87-105), as race also acts to hinder potential efficacy (Brown, 2014). For such reasons, it is important to privilege black women’s voices when contemplating complex dimensions of race, gender, and other inequalities of power” (Lindsay, 20-21).

To demonstrate the complexity of the various dimensions of race and inequity among young persons of color, samples of young “impressionable” individuals have been studied. College aged individuals in particular are a critical demographic as they are “most likely to change the beliefs and establish the habits and orientations they will carry through adulthood” (Alwin and Krosnick 1991; Stoker and Jennings 2008). In looking for underlying patterns on feelings of efficacy in Californian youth, specifically in high school seniors who would become the bulk of the next generation of voters, one study found respondents felt that voting is an important form of participation but that they lack “confidence” (Bedolla, L. G. 2000) in legal aid and would prefer “nonelectoral activities” to address community problems. These findings were specific to those that fell under the category of marginalized and disadvantaged. In fact, the more disadvantaged the respondent, the less likely they were to have a feeling of efficacy in local

politics (Bedolla, L. G. 2000). One could argue that this may be due to the implications of falling under the category of ‘disadvantaged’ and ‘marginalized’ as quantitative studies of political participation have determined that education, income, and occupation are the best predictors of individual political engagement (Verba, 1972; Wolfinger & Rosenstone 1980). Historical attempts to overcome these effects of socioeconomic status (SES) have resulted in civil disturbances and made moderate progress (Del Castillo, 367-391). For example, the 1943 Zoot Suit Riots, ten-days of riots that resulted in 600 beatings and arrests of Mexican and Black American youths, led to wide-spread social reprimand of racial prejudice.

Further analysis on the catalysts of the riots attributed the local news media as the main culprit for reporting false information and inciting the public to engage in racial profiling (McWilliams, C., Meier, M. S., & García, A. M. 2016). While the riots were a tragedy inflicted on people of color, the unified reaction of *outrage* among their communities demanding change among state, local, and federal government officials produced a socioemotional response to the media. Due to the blatant display of racial prejudice against those of lower SES among the police and the press, rapid growth in political activism and engagement led many to overcome their lack of confidence and efficacy (Himes, C. B. 1943). Similarly, a recent peak in outrage occurred under the Trump administration, which pushed future Latinx voters, aged 14-19, to prioritize political engagement. Anti-immigrant rhetoric and policies that targeted Mexican Americans caused Latinx youth to perceive social contract violations (Wray-Lake, Laura 192–204).

Perceptions of social contract violations emerge from social contract theory, a collective agreement between individuals and governing bodies in a society where individuals must “give up certain freedoms in exchange for the government's protections of welfare and guarantee of liberties” (Flanagan, 2013; Rousseau, 1968). Violations of the social contract of public safety

through government threats of deportation and family separation catalyzed feelings of stigmatization and fear of the future (Gonzales, Suárez-Orozco, & Dedios-Sanguinetti, 2013).

Accordingly, various scholars documented that youth from marginalized groups will be prompted to challenge this injustice through advocacy and activism (Diemer & Li, 2011; Diemer & Rapa, 2016). For example, Seanna Leath, & Tabbye Chavous present data on political self-efficacy, social contract threat, and campus racial climate influence on civic engagement behaviors among Black college students. Black students responding to experiences of institutional racism/inequality were found to be more likely to become engaged in politics. A key point of interest in this research highlighted the different reasons for civic engagement among Black men vs. Black women and found the difference to be a result of “psychological, academic, and social challenges uniquely related their identity as Black women” (Greyerbiehl, & Mitchell, 2014; Lewis et al., 2013). Leath & Chavous also report that Black women have a “higher racial stigma consciousness” since they believe they are negatively affected by racist attitudes in a university context – to a greater degree – than Black men. The importance of these discoveries cannot be stressed enough because they open the door to an argument surrounding the importance of the nature of socialization forces that are threatening WOC’s approach to politics, especially those who are young adults.

1.1.2 Presentation of WOC in the Media

Beyond an institutional context in society and on campus, the oppressive nature of socialization forces, such as media bias, has negatively affected cast WOC. Media bias is commonly known as the notion that different forms of media are inherently biased in favor of their own political views and choose to frame political discussion in a direction that benefits their ideal outcome. For example, in a study of media bias led by Rendall & Hollar 2005, major

NewsHour segments of PBS were criticized for their bias against persons of color and the narrow political agenda pushed onto audiences through their guestlist. Findings included observations of the lack of representation of Women and non-white sources to a concerning degree. Including, “[women] accounting for just 18 percent of overall [NewsHour] sources... nearly three times as likely to be ‘general public’ sources rather than experts.” As well as the discovery of only 6 percent of sources being from women of color, and that POC were less likely to appear as ‘authorities [on] any subject’ (Rendall & Hollar, 20-25). In response, recent changes are being made within the industry of film and television, in the form of new guidelines and penalties (Chow, 2020) that enforce more diversity in representation.

Various scholars agree that harmful rhetoric and stigmatization within media is a sure way to polarize entire ethnic groups and decrease overall efficacy (Sui, M., Paul, N., Shah, P., Spurlock, B., Chastant, B., & Dunaway, J. 2018). Such representations in the media include the sexual objectification of Black women and their portrayal as having ‘aggressive’ verbal tone and ‘promiscuous’ body language (Lewis et al., 2016). This phenomenon is called “The Politics of Respectability” (Lee, p. x- xi) in which Black women are subjected to an apparatus of social control and gender inequality. As a result, it will become a challenge for those stigmatized women to overcome this media bias in the future if “global media giants” (McChesney, R. W. 2000), such as Disney, continue to dominate our popular streaming services and media broadcasting that employs entertainment media.

While this may seem like a fairly modern issue, prior issues in the movie and television industry have addressed the enhancement of exotic features of people of color and their portrayal of varying degrees of ‘whiteness’ (Lacroix, 2004). For example, Disney animated movies have dominated the genre of seemingly family-friendly films for most of the 20th century and now the

21st (Britannica 2020) century, yet they have repeatedly been accused of gross mismanagement of historically inaccurate portrayals of culture and racism – a once widely un-noticed problem that perpetuated racial stereotypes (Beaudine, G., Osibodu, O., & Beavers, A. 2017; Vargas, G. 2019). Disney films previously, and arguably continue (Breux, R.M 2010) to present a “sanitization of violence, sexuality, and political struggle concomitant with an erasure or repression of difference” (Lacroix, C. 2004) onto young audiences.

This influence onto young audiences is a major concern for the perceptions of women of color in the future because they continue to be portrayed as animals (Vargas, G. 2019), savages to be colonized (Buescher, D. T., & Ono, K. A. 1996), or subordinates (Davis, A. M. 2007) – the antithesis of empowerment. For example, Disney’s animated film *Pocahontas* (1995) is a clear display of neocolonialism through its attempt to civilize and “re-legitimize” the savagery of colonialism. Notably, this would be the first occurrence of Disney animating a historical event, and the company managed to degrade the real story of a Native American woman into a “toon” (Buescher, D. T., & Ono, K. A. 1996)– failing to acknowledge the plight of Indigenous people through blatant historical inaccuracy. I specifically identify this example due to its release date, 1995, and probability that college aged women of the 21st century would have been in the prime target audience upon its release (Buescher, D. T., & Ono, K. A. 1996).

Another example of problematic representations of minority women is demonstrated in the storyline of the more modern Disney animated movie *The Princess and the Frog*. In this movie, there is an inherent connection between racism and speciesism, the derogatory and unequal treatment of animals based on the species to which they belong (Oscar, H. 2009). As seen in previous historical cartoon art, speciesism “[exaggerated] moral and social traits” (Wells, P. 2008) enough to convey a relationship between the cartoon animal and the ethnic human the character

it is meant to represent. The leading characters in *The Princess and the Frog* are people of color who are portrayed as a fly, frog, and alligator. Though this may be argued as a function of fictional role play, the Wesleyan University Animal Studies department has found that the representation of those human-to-animal relations carries “ethical, social, political, and ecological [implications] ... in and on the world.” In contingency with this line of speciesist thought, previous research (Vargas, G. 2019) questions the negative use of lower ranking swamp animals, such as that of a frog, fly, and alligator to represent people of color— noting that *The Princess and the Frog* was a landmark production of Disney Studios for featuring their use of a Black woman as a protagonist in an animated movie for the very first time. More specifically, the female Black protagonist as a Disney princess will carry the weight of idolization of many adolescent girls and boys.

Because of the potential for idolization of these protagonists, it is important for consumers of children’s movies to take note of the potential harm that exists from speciesist productions. Since Disney is consistently presented as the premier family-friendly entertainment corporation of movies and television, the negative underlying messages, such as those seen in *The Princess and the Frog* and *Pocahontas*, could cause more harm than the general public may expect. This phenomenon will translate into child development and onward since families are the primary providers of access to such types of films, and one of the most important factors of socialization begins with familial influence. Predictions over developing adolescents and multicultural attitudes are discussed in The American Psychological Association journal that declared “cross-cultural images and [human] portrayals on television might influence the multicultural attitudes, values, and beliefs of children” (Berry, G. L. 2003). As such, if college aged individuals coming out of adolescence are socialized to correlate positive emotions with

movies of this problematic nature, their idolization of these animated films may unknowingly harm perceptions of female people of color. Just as they perceived a black female protagonist as a frog and an indigenous woman as a savage, overtime they may subconsciously place other WOC in a lower rank in social hierarchy, causing individuals to later practice their now pre-conditioned media-bias against women of color in leadership.

Furthermore, women of color's perceptions of such species presentations of themselves may be harmful to their previously discussed feelings of empowerment, which contributes to their sense of self and personal development. If this idea of the 'political self' truthfully emerges from "heightened feelings of empowerment," (Hardy-Fanta, Carol 1993) then it can be assumed that their sense of political engagement and their 'political self' will also be negatively affected by such types of negative representation in widely popularized films. Unfortunately, marginalized women of color may then experience decreased feelings of efficacy, and consequently feel less motivation to become politically active or attempt to seek leadership in the political arena (Flanagan & Faison, 2001).

Beyond the Disney franchise, we also see TV shows with predominantly Black castings that were developed under the creative control of White producers catering to Black audiences (Cheers, 2018). This led to the falsely constructed point of view of middle-class Black families from the White-executive perspective. While the TV depictions were not necessarily negative, hence the popular comedy *The Jeffersons*, the narrow scope of Black culture created a stereotype of Black women known as the 'Mammy' and the 'Tragic Mulatto.' Historian and Black-culture scholar, Bogle (1992), describes these stereotype presentations of Black women as either "big, fat and cantankerous" or encountering a mixed-heritage "identity crisis" respectively. The issue with these portrayals of Black women lies in the reinforcement of the aggressive nature of the

Mammy, and the internalized racism of creating an unnecessary arc for a character, who is of mixed-race, and cannot seem to come to terms with their heritage. These representations were problematic not only because they reinforced stereotypes, but specifically because they came from a White perspective that placed Black women as subservient.

An interesting modern contrast to the ‘Mammy’ stereotype is demonstrated in the more recent comedy Film series of *Madea: Diary of a Mad Black Woman*. The film was produced by one of the highest paid individuals in Hollywood: Tyler Perry, a Black man whom Oprah credits for reclaiming the Mammy stereotype and transforming the character into a message of “a new revival... a community gathering... for inspiration, for coming together in a way that unifies [Black] people” (Winfrey, 2010). While the initial reaction may be to question the exaggerated characteristics of Madea as ‘positive representation,’ the Black feminist community has accepted the protagonist as a satirical reality of the way Black women are portrayed in the media, and they see the value in Black ownership of these, intentional or not, racist, sexist, and harmful ideas. This presents an opportunity to point out the obvious “disconnect from black women and girls’ complex individual, social, cultural, economic, political, and historic realities” (Manigault-Bryant, Lomax, & Duncan 3-4) to non-Black audiences.

Similarly, a contrast of stereotyped characters is presented among the changing culture of *Latinidad*, “a flexible concept that relates to a plurality of ideologies of identification, cultural expressions, and political and social agendas [of Latinx in U.S. society]” (Lao-Montes, 3). Previous characterizations of *Latinidad* in Television depict Latinas as the “hot-blooded sexy character or sultry curvy vixen” (Noriega, 1991). In the early 21st century, national pop-culture magazine, *George*, issued politics-as-lifestyle pieces which uniquely covered politics as pop-culture. In the magazine’s 39th Summer edition, “*Latin Explosion – 1999*,” the magazine

featured various Latina stars, including Salma Hayek, in sexually provocative images. Perhaps a reader may not initially notice the underlying message, but the micro-aggression exists nonetheless; why must *George* magazine portray Ms. Hayek in a fashion that seems to suggest Latina power comes from sexual prowess?

Today, the Latino boom in media is described as “hip, hot, and making history;” Latin U.S.A. cover story, *Newsweek* declared this in gushing reference to the Latin Boom in popular culture. Although the coverage may seem celebratory, the headlines of Latin explosion pose the so-called leaders of entertainment and public service in a manner that “differs little from traditional stigmatized characterizations associated with Latinas and Latinos, as well as other subordinated groups in this country” (Román, 2000). Accordingly, the Latinidad of this situation is highlighted in an odd metamorphosis of old versus new racism in television - “hipster racism,” “the post-racial,” or “colorblind TV” (Molina-Guzmán, 2018).

The development of “hipster racism” is seen in the subtle reinforcement of Latinx stereotypes primarily in TV comedies and sitcoms. For instance, in *Modern Family*, the Latina actress Sofia Vergara plays a ditzzy and provocative fantasy of a Columbian wife. Not only does the show push forward the ‘overbearing Latina’ trope, but it also serves as “a vehicle for the fantasies, desires and imaginations of white producers writing for an imagined white middle-class audience” (Molina-Guzmán, 80). However, there is yet again a unique opportunity for Latinidad to take ownership of this ongoing TV comedy strategy. Guzmán discusses the potential for Latinas to respond positively to the “Latina spitfire” of both Sofia Vergara and Aubrey Plaza (of *Parks and Rec*) in their respective comedy sitcoms. She found that the increased visibility of Latinas in major TV roles and/or performances may positively outweigh the cons of “hipster-racism.”

1.1.3 WOC in the Media and the Connection to Politics

Overall, the question of whether or not entertainment media and press coverage has improved for racial minorities remains uncertain (Sui, M., Paul, N., Shah, P., Spurlock, B., Chastant, B., & Dunaway, J. 2018). Previous studies have shown that minority members who identify strongly with their ethnic group will prefer and/or favor advertisements that feature their own ethnicity (Sobh, R., & Soltan, K. 2018). Therefore, connecting back to the political realm, it would seem that there would be an affinity toward seeing people of color seen on screen, in the form of political advertisements, for example. While political ads traditionally run on newspapers or television, data collected by The Youth Participatory Politics Survey, a nationally representative sample of young people in the United States, found that the younger public's increased use of social media in search of political information paired with meaningful changes in voter demographics has contributed to a subtle shift in politician's outreach strategy. In an attempt to reach the rapidly growing demographic of college-aged Latino voters, a study on the use of social media found that Latino youth's social media network expression influences their online social media political efficacy, and eventually this online political engagement will transfer to offline efficacy (Velasquez, A., & Quenette, A. M. 2018).

However, we see in Bodella's (2000) research, that Latina respondents in particular are lacking political efficacy. A possible reasoning for this lack of efficacy may be due to the fact that social media had not yet become an established platform for political discourse. Since the women of color are not necessarily a part of formal politics online, they chose to participate within their communities, on their own accord. However, a redeeming similarity of this piece to feelings of online political efficacy was the development of individual empowerment.

A further mode of empowerment may come from the music industry. Importantly, pop-culture today surrounds not only the music that is on the charts, it also encompasses the idolization of celebrities themselves, their political stance, and their power in the sphere of influence. The rap industry in particular, plays a major role in the culture of Black Americans. The historically male-dominated genre of Rap now features a new generation of female rappers who are changing the narrative for black female youth, and potentially in wider society through their spread of feminist ideology. Politically outspoken rappers such as Cardi B are challenging stereotypes surrounding sex work, after previously working as an exotic dancer prior to her record setting debut album, *Invasion of Privacy* (Girls Globe 2019). Cardi B's rise to fame now places her as a prominent figure among advocates for sex worker's rights, and she has facilitated world-wide conversations surrounding the harmful policies and stigmatizations that surround careers in sex work. In an interview with *Cosmopolitan*, a major pop-culture media network that specializes in opinion reporting, she argues against rhetoric that places women in sex work as 'less intelligent,' 'respectable,' or 'capable' individuals (McNamara, B. 2018). The rapper continuously criticizes the press and pressures media to acknowledge their disrespect that implies that her success was not achieved until after she left her career as an exotic dancer. Her spread of empowerment among women of color is also shown on her social media, where her audience currently reaches upwards of fifteen million followers on Twitter. On Twitter, a social media platform utilized frequently for political discourse, she shares support for the popularized slogan that *sex work is work*; a notion which posits that women's empowerment does not exclude those who challenge societal expectations of what qualifies as pink collar jobs.

Likewise, Lizzo, another black female rising star, released an album *Cuz I Love You* filled with notes of female empowerment which embraced body positivity, financial

independence, and questioned the gender roles within intimate relationships. Lizzo's influence is not limited to the realm of the music industry; her reach has extended into the political realm as well. Hillary Clinton, former Senator, First Lady, and the Democratic party's 2016 presidential nominee, responded to Lizzo on her official Twitter account with Lizzo's own *Truth Hurts* lyrics. Clinton's response came after attending a presidential debate against Donald Trump, who had not yet been elected to presidency, where she faced criticism from news sources for seeming too "cold" and "unemotional" on the debate stage and throughout the presidential race (NPR, 2016). Clinton's Tweet response referencing Lizzo's lyrics was a pointed political move that aimed to break gender expectations of a woman's duty to always be nice. She wrote, "I just took a DNA test, turns out..." stopping short of continuing the explicit lyrics of "that bitch"—a colloquial term implying she's not a woman easily swayed by (Donald Trump's) disapproval. A politician of Clinton's status, quoting a black female rapper, on a platform that potentially reached upwards of thirty million followers, demonstrates a clear connection between pop-culture and its relationship to politics.

Furthermore, female rappers that represent marginalized communities continue to perpetuate the upliftment of women in leadership. By setting the example of normalizing engagement in political discussion, women of color are on the path to greater feelings of efficacy in politics (Hyun Kyoung Ro, Sanga Kim & Inger Bergom, 2019). The reason these discussions are so impactful can be seen in the influx of social justice reformation in media outlets on either side of the political spectrum. For example, Latina congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (AOC) recently shared a video message on social media covering her thoughts on healthcare, using Cardi B's *Bodak Yellow* as her background soundtrack. In response to this video clip, Cardi B wrote "[AOC] better run for president when she turns 35" upon which AOC responded

with “Woman Against Patriarchy (WAP) 2020,” a witty play on Cardi and Megan Thee Stallion’s (another popular black female rapper) hit song called ‘*WAP*.’ Likewise, Cardi B connects to college aged women of color with her more recent tweet (2020) where she revealed, “I think I might want to be a politician...if I go back to [college] and focus up, I can be a part of Congress” (Twitter, 2020; Mettler, K. 2020).

While conversations through social media and pop-culture media may have positive effects for women of color, it should be noted that they are inherently non-credible sources of political information. Lack of peer review and thorough fact checking among similar popular social news outlets (Goode, L. 2009) such as Cosmopolitan, TeenVogue, and Instagram allows room for misinterpretation, bias, and a general spread of false information. Furthermore, the sources of pop-culture news outlets are usually kept from the public or not listed due to concerns over celebrity and politician’s privacy. However, a redeeming quality of social media is that some outlets, such as Twitter, cite private terms and conditions that automatically flag political discussions that spread potentially false or disputed information (The New York Times, 2020). An example of this occurrence being President Trump’s disputed claims of a “rigged [2020] election!” (Trump D. via Twitter 2020) that may sway efficacy in our American democracy and voting process among new-impressionable voters.

THEORY

2.1 Social Cognitive Theory, Idolization, and the Role Model Affect

I argue that the rise of women of color in powerful roles in television, cinema, opinion-reporting, and pop-culture normalizes their role in the broader society, and thus leads to feelings of empowerment that translate into the political domain. Perceptions of women of color may be influenced by these factors using an explanation of Social Cognitive Theory and the role model affects that emerge from such idolizations.

Social cognitive theory (SCT) suggests that an individual will model an idol's behavior if they believe that this behavior will lead to positive outcomes (SCT; Bandura, 1997). As such, a discussion on how this role-modeling behavior influences efficacy becomes relevant. Previous behavioral studies have sought to explain the mechanisms that link SCT, self-efficacy and political efficacy. These mechanisms include direct exposure to media and indirect influence through social contracts (Velasquez, A., & Quenette, A. M. 2018). One of the key aspects of exposure to media, is not actually within the content of the media itself, but rather in the social connections and the public's reactions to the content presented. Thus, the unique role of women of color in the media, who are confronting their intersectional identities across gender, race, and SES may help foster feelings of efficacy and political activism among viewers. It is especially the case that *young* women of color pick up on and react to media content, as this is when they are most impressionable.

2.2 The Important Role of Agency in WOC's Media Choice

Social connections best fit into the SCT model as demonstrated by those who would mature during the age of mass usage of social media. Within this mass usage of social media, we

must analyze not the usage itself per say, but rather the media choices an individual WOC makes and how those choices will influence their efficacy. For example, WOC voters who were born in 1994 and were able to participate at 18 in the 2012 election would have been influenced by the central role of digital media that affected the development of new social connections. Might these decisions have influenced the election in which the United States elected its first Black president?

Perhaps we should again consider the agency of children who are influenced by popular TV networks during their adolescence. For example, in 2012 the five-time Emmy award nominated Nickelodeon series called, 'iCarly' guest-starred First Lady, Michelle Obama. For reference, the influence of 'iCarly' is highly significant; the 'iCarly' TV series holds the record of the second-most-viewed telecast in Nickelodeon history. During the episode specifically written for the First Lady's appearance, she promotes her message of "support for the children of military families" in relation to her *Joining Forces* program (Cohen, 2011). The show's producer, Dan Schneider, clarified the episode was not meant to be a political statement, but rather a "feel-good initiative" for kids to see their idol (Mrs. Obama) as a celebrity guest on their highly favored TV show (Washington Post, 2011). After the episode's airing, the Nickelodeon network hosted their Kids Pick the President (KPP) national vote for the presidential election. The KPP program's initial launch aimed to "build young citizens' awareness of, and involvement in, the election process," thereby increasing children's future political efficacy (Nickelodeon, 2012). Results of the 2012 KPP revealed the children voted Barack Obama for president in the "Kid's Vote" poll for a second term. Since it began in 1988, the Kids Pick the President event has notably "correctly picked the winner [in advance of the national election] five out of the last

six [election] times,” (Nickelodeon, 2012) - a pattern that rung true by Obama’s re-election later that same year.

As these children who were influenced by their role models and media choice (*Appendix Figures A.1-A.4*) became of voting age, we can begin to observe similar effects by social connections related to their future social media choice. Perrin (2015) discusses how the rate of social media use by 18- to 29-year-olds has grown from 41% in 2006 to 90% in 2015. Social media use is also salient to the population of Black women. As noted by a demographic study that found Black women are users of Twitter “more than any other demographic group” (Aaron Smith 2014) and scholars regard Black feminists' use of ‘hashtag activism’ as significant for the “fusion of social justice, technology, and citizen journalism” (Williams, 2015). These statistics suggest a possible relationship between increased social media use and feelings of political efficacy especially as social media produces “different enough [political] discussion venues” where progressive minorities may “feel freer to express their [political] opinions, thus broadening public discourse” (Perrin 2015). Research analysts also attribute the unique campaign strategy of the Obama administration that engaged WOC through “...converting everyday [women] into engaged and empowered volunteers, donors and advocates through social networks, e-mail advocacy, messaging and online video” (Lutz, 2009). Obama’s social media presence stood out to the public as a new politician strategy because of his innate authenticity. Randi Zuckerberg, who led marketing, political, and social change initiatives on Facebook said WOC found him relatable in the sense that he was a politician who posted “his favorite music, his interests, spending time with kids” and accordingly created a space in which “everyone [felt] like they were in one conversation together.”

2.3 Role Model Affects by Route of Descriptive Representatives

Furthermore, these discussions lead into the concept of the role model effect related to idolization: the basic intuition that the presence of descriptive representatives who are idolized may transform the political engagement of fellow persons of color (Campbell and Wolbrecht, 2006). The role model effect occurs in WOC when visible female role models inspire them to “express a greater desire to participate in political activity” (Lewis, E. 2019) that is necessary to combat injustice among the government’s unresponsiveness to women’s issues. WOC’s efficacy may respond to these theories of social cognition and role modeling as the recent incorporation of the feminist lens in American media continues to empower them to do so. Congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez serves as a prime example of the importance of descriptive representation and the prospering connection with young women via social media. Ocasio-Cortez is a prominent Latina of the Bronx community who broke the glass ceiling of perceived ‘elitism’ when she took a position of leadership in politics in 2019. Substantively, her Democratic-socialist beliefs advocates for policy that promotes equity among minority communities, challenges sexism through her intersectional feminist approach to politics, and she consistently mitigates policy that harms people of color (Ocasio-Cortez, 2021). When a WOC’s media choice shares messages from strong progressive women in politics, such as congresswoman AOC, it will influence the young WOC voters through SCT. AOC serves as a model to young voters because she is similar to them in age, 29, and the fact that she did not have an established political career, as well as her middle-class SES and “[bartending quote]” and her position as a WOC makes her a primary candidate for role modeling a descriptive representative in the political sphere. This falls in line with the social cognitive theory. Her ability to unseat a ten-term incumbent Democrat Joe Crowley, as a young freshman politician, shows women of color that

such feats are possible, and makes progress towards ‘leveling the playing field’ for WOC. Thus, her actions may serve act as a catalyst motivator for new WOC to role-model the congresswoman in the future. As such, the similarities between WOC’s own political agendas and women such as AOC further develop increased feelings of efficacy because the changing role of WOC in the media is empowering in ways that transcend entertainment. Young women of color who consume more media featuring empowering WOC will be more likely to express political efficacy.

2.4 Noting Descriptive Representation within Online Political Discourse

In looking for factors of socialization within social media, political discourse and social connections were found to be vital components to developing the political-self and increasing WOC’s efficacy. Accordingly, a closer analysis on the online discussions themselves is warranted: What element of political discourse on social media, such as Twitter, causes the increased feelings of efficacy, and how might we see it among the reactions of WOC and the general public?

The rapidly shared reporting of cases calling for social justice reformation led to an influx of radical discourse on either side of the political spectrum, as demonstrated by prior research containing evidence of a sharp rate of increasing sentiment of online polarization (Hirakura, N., Aida, M., & Kawashima, K. 2020). Twitter, a social media platform, is utilized frequently for political discourse and demonstrates online involvement of descriptive representatives. The platform consequently experiences backlash for its policing of conservative discourse, criticized for censorship, and filtering conservative-related content away from users while “pushing radical leftist agendas” (Wagner, 2018) - a claim that pointedly targets tweets by Congresswoman AOC. Should the role-modeling affect take place on platforms in which polarization is high, we may

expect to see an expansion of progressive influence on WOC. As it has been established that Black women hold superior online presence on Twitter (*Figure D.3*) in order to support social justice issues through online advocacy (Perrin, 2015; Aaron Smith, 2014). Minority entry into the political arena, via online role-modeling, is vital to the change in politics of underrepresented groups. Role-modeling online may be explained through a study on Latino representation by Preuhs (2007). Noting that more diversification of American legislators tends to “[offset] the usual negative effects,” of less diversification, such as increased sentiments of polarization.

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Data Plan

This study tested the perceptions of efficacy among women of color through a survey experiment distributed to undergraduate women of color, and voters of similar age, 18-23 (*Appendix Figures B.1-B.3*). The reasoning behind choosing this demographic is to highlight the demographic that rapidly is increasing in voter turnout (*Appendix Figures C.1-C.3*), and to discuss the racial disparities that seem to persist in American politics – focusing on the inclusion of higher education that seems to alleviate these disparities (Hyun Kyoung Ro, Sanga Kim & Inger Bergom 2019). The survey itself was sent to various universities in Texas that were targeted for their reports of high student body diversity as well as their region’s appealing demographics where density of WOC were high. My dependent variable is the changing efficacy score of the survey respondents; my independent variable will change according to which media consumption the survey question is aiming to cover (TV, cinema, opinion-reporting, pop culture, etc.)

3.2 Method

We have discussed the phenomenon that various forms of media act as socialization forces and that these forces will translate into WOC’s attitudes overtime, leading to heightened feelings of political efficacy. Since political discourse is primarily circulated through these various forms of media (Yang, H. C., & DeHart, J. L. 2016), the realm of media in this study analyzed entertainment media, movies and television, and social media. Pop-culture is not necessarily a specified form of media per say, so its role functions as a subset of the various forms of media within the survey questions. Inclusion of pop-culture references in the survey

questionnaire was necessary in order to encompass celebrity influence and the unique role of the music industry. By covering questions regarding general demographics, individual politics and media consumption in minorities, we expected to observe a correlation in their response to low/high feelings of efficacy and their ‘political-self.’

To isolate the ‘political-self’ being influenced by media personnel, the survey questions were curated to represent a ‘mood thermometer’ for different members of American pop-culture. For example, respondents were asked who they are most likely to ‘follow’ on social media, as well as their likelihood of seeing certain individuals in the media they already consume. This question of social media ‘following choice’ was asked in order to get a reading on consumption trends for different demographics, while also placing respondents on a spectrum of those who are more or less influenced by different socialization forces. Furthermore, the survey is divided into several key categories: demographics and political activity, questions regarding efficacy, television and movie consumption, and finally celebrity influence. Several of the questions in the survey pointedly ask how the respondents feels they should react to diversity in castings, or political correctness among new versus old television. A ‘judgement of character’ portion also exists in the survey to demonstrate the potential for idolization and the relationship to role-modeling that frequent the women who fall in the 18-24 yo. range. For example, “Rank the likelihood that you would watch media content featuring the following [celebrities]” is specifically asked in order to test positive/negative feelings towards each celebrity listed.

Recall that the survey was distributed through a faculty recruitment process based on the demographics of the region in which the Universities are located, and the data of diverse student bodies listed by the schools. For example, Texas State and The University of North Texas were specifically chosen because of the large community of persons of color that exists within their

campus culture. The sentiment of involvement and determination to increase descriptive representation within media has occurred specifically among minority college-aged individuals (Reyes, 302-319). From campus culture studies of efficacy, recalling “We Really Protested” where we found Black women experience low feelings of efficacy resulting from gender inequalities, we determined the sentiment of campus culture among students is vital in understanding the differences between those who develop a political-self and those who do not. Furthermore, the survey sought to analyze the potential link that exists between students who declare themselves as ‘progressive’ and the socialization forces that they declared – posed by questions such as “How often have you watched the following TV shows?” where certain TV shows listed would reveal a propensity to accept more progressive values (*Appendix Figures A.5-A.6*).

DATA ANALYSIS

In analyzing the survey experiment, our Dependent Variable was a set ‘score’ of political Efficacy. The measurement of efficacy was found in respondents, who identified as women of color, through a series of questions related to confidence in the ‘political-self’ such as, “I consider myself to be well- qualified to participate in politics” (*Figure 4.1*). The respondent then ranked their efficacy from strong feelings of agreement/disagreement to these statements; however, while analyzing the data, the efficacy variable was adjusted to only include responses that demonstrate positive feelings of efficacy rather than those who ‘lack’ efficacy. Once every respondent was given a positive efficacy scoring, their response to further survey questions regarding media choice were used as their independent/affected variable in order to test for a correlation. This media variable would be representative of the “empowerment factor” that has potential to positively reinforce WOC’s efficacy. Accordingly, we expected to observe a correlation in changing efficacy scores versus media choice.

Please indicate how strongly you disagree or agree with the following statements.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
I consider myself to be well-qualified to participate in politics.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I think that I am better informed about politics and government than most people.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me cannot really understand what is going on.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Figure 4.1: Survey Question of Efficacy

For example, regarding the respondent’s frequency of watching the Film series *Madea: Diary of a Mad Black Woman*, the Efficacy score functioned as the DV. This scoring was calculated as the median number of responses to the distribution of responses among the levels of efficacy (0-7) using a Box Plot (*Figure 4.2*). The merging of the efficacy score and the frequency of watching *Madea* demonstrated a positive correlation, as expected. However, a noticeable decrease in the median efficacy score was revealed for respondents who claim to watch the *Madea* series ‘A Great Deal,’ pertaining to the numeric value of 7 in *Figure 4.2*. Perhaps this phenomenon can be attributed to the (previously discussed) controversial nature of the *Madea* series within the community of Black Women. Notably, this anomaly in the data is better visualized in *Appendix Figures F.1-F.2* where the frequency of respondents who fell under category 7 are not a significant proportion of respondents compared to total respondent viewership of the film series.

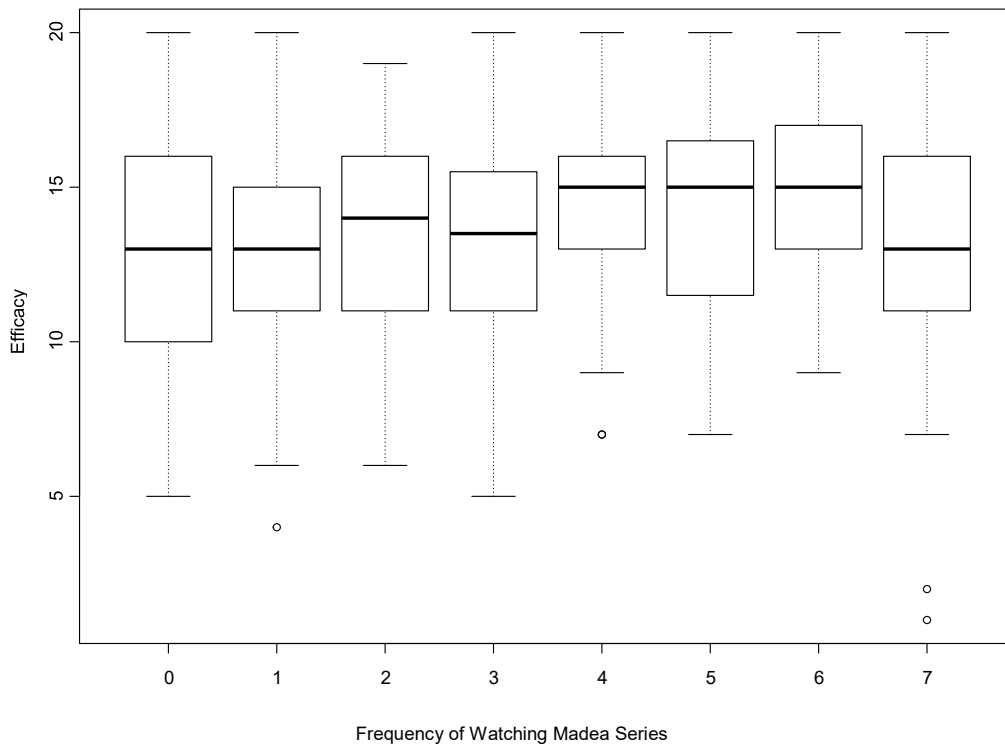


Figure 4.2: Efficacy and Frequency of Watching the Madea Series

The same process of efficacy scoring versus media choice consumption was performed across multiple socialization factors. Using these comparisons, an OLS regression with efficacy (DV) and the "empowering women" (WOC Media-Choice) variables were performed. *Table 4.1* presents the predictor factors compared to efficacy as: WOC in Music, Party Identification, Education, and Frequency of Media Consumption. The regression model shows a p value legend of significance, in which a p-value (<0.05) is considered statistically significant – or rather, where a significant correlation to the respondent’s efficacy score was found. *Table 4.1* clearly demonstrates the expected outcome of “empowering” media consumption featuring WOC, as well as a positive influence on efficacy from WOC in Music (*Appendix Figures E.1-E.2*). Further expected outcomes were found in regression models comparing specific examples from previous literature. *Table 4.1* depicts ‘Frequency of Media Consumption’ as having strong, positive effects on efficacy. There is also significant positive change in efficacy in respondents who reported a greater proportion of listening to female artists versus male artists (*Table 4.2*).

Table 4.1: Socialization Forces (WOC) and Efficacy

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Efficacy
Women of Color in Music	0.023* (0.013)
Party ID	-0.081 (0.070)
Education	0.064 (0.044)
Frequency of Media Consumption	0.761*** (0.071)
Observations	862
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 4.2: Female to Male Artist Ratio and Efficacy

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Efficacy
Female-Male Artist	0.0005 (0.0052)
Party ID	-0.083 (0.071)
Education	0.081* (0.044)
Frequency of Media Consumption	0.796*** (0.073)
Observations	830
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

However, assessing the results of the respondents, there were some interesting and unexpected pieces of data. One such example is seen in the frequency histograms (*Appendix Figures E.3-E.5*) of respondent’s listening habits of Beyonce, Lizzo, and Cardi B. When writing this specific survey question, our assumption was that these would be the most popular candidates of the survey for WOC to spend time listening to, yet this was not the case. An explanation that may provide insight might be the timing of the distribution of the survey, which occurred during a lull of an album release period for all three artists. In contrast, several women of color that were used as celebrity ‘mood thermometers’ received positive frequency results in the respectability and online following section of the survey. These WOC were chosen for the survey because they have roles on re-occurring popular television shows or movies, or a strong political presence on social media. In other words, their audience frequency is not contingent on seasonal ‘album-releases,’ but rather on a consistent schedule with an evolving storyline for their role. This falls in line with the role modeling theory and its relationship to social cognition, where repeated behaviors might be copied by the WOC who idolize the influential individuals.

Some examples of potentially influential WOC within the survey include: Aubrey Plaza, Salma Hayek, Sofia Vergara, Octavia Spencer and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (*Appendix Figures E.6-E.9*).

Furthermore, efficacy (DV) did not experience major variations related to a respondent's frequency of watching Disney movies. Although, there was a noticeable increase in significance related to this type of media consumption (*Table 4.3*) as well as its relationship to respondents with higher education. The same correlation with education and increased efficacy would be found in *Table 4.4*, where 'Diversity Preferences in TV/Movies' was added to the regression model as a new predictor.

Table 4.3: Efficacy and Media Consumption

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Efficacy
Disney Movie Watching (Freq.)	0.024 (0.030)
Party ID	-0.123 (0.080)
Education	0.092* (0.052)
Frequency of Media Consumption	0.863*** (0.086)
Observations	617
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 4.4: Efficacy and Diversity Preference

	Dependent variable:	
	Efficacy	
Disney Preferences in TV/Movies	0.012	(0.011)
Party ID	-0.107	(0.068)
Education	0.073*	(0.044)
Frequency of Media Consumption	0.769***	(0.071)
Observations	862	
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Across all regression models, there is clear statistical significance that frequency of media consumption results in positive feelings of efficacy. This re-occurring phenomena is apparent in *Table 4.5*, where all factors of socialization are compared to the respondent's media choice and the frequency of socialization by these choices.

Table 4.5: Combined Model Output and Efficacy

	Dependent variable:			
	(1)	(2)	Efficacy	
			(3)	(4)
Women of Color in Music	0.023* (0.013)			
Female-Male Artist		0.0005 (0.002)		
Disney Movie Watching (Freq.)			0.024 (0.030)	
Disney Preferences in TV/Movies				0.012 (0.011)
Party ID	-0.081 (0.070)	-0.083 (0.071)	-0.0123 (0.080)	-0.107 (0.068)

Table 4.5: Combined Model Output and Efficacy (Continued)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Efficacy			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Education	0.064 (0.044)	0.081* (0.045)	0.092* (0.052)	0.073* (0.044)
Frequency of Media Consumption	0.761*** (0.071)	0.769*** (0.073)	0.863*** (0.086)	0.769*** (0.071)
Observations	862	830	617	862
<i>Note:</i>		*p<0.1;	**p<0.05;	***p<0.01

CONCLUSION

The evidence demonstrated by the regression models and the corresponding relationship to efficacy suggests our hypothesis is correct. Certain socialization forces, specifically those pertaining to media consumption, lead to positive feelings of political efficacy. Furthermore, efficacy will increase if the media choice promotes an “empowerment factor” related to a woman of color in a primary/influential role. This conclusion may be produced by recognizing the potential of the influential WOC to become idols for the general public, especially for women of color who view them as descriptive representatives of their own ethnic group; their idolization becomes a key component to the role model effect, in which we may see women of color ‘model’ positive characteristics of other influential WOC. Finally, the focus on respondents who are in the young adult age of interest (18-23) allows us to make predictions about the future of WOC in positions of political power, especially for those who presented higher scores of political efficacy. Through Social Cognitive Theory, we are able to explain the correlation that was discovered between efficacy and frequent viewership of influential women of color, such as those that appear with empowering TV/Movie roles. From Beyoncé to Sofia Vergara, it is evident that the political-self and feelings of empowerment do, in fact, translate to the political realm.

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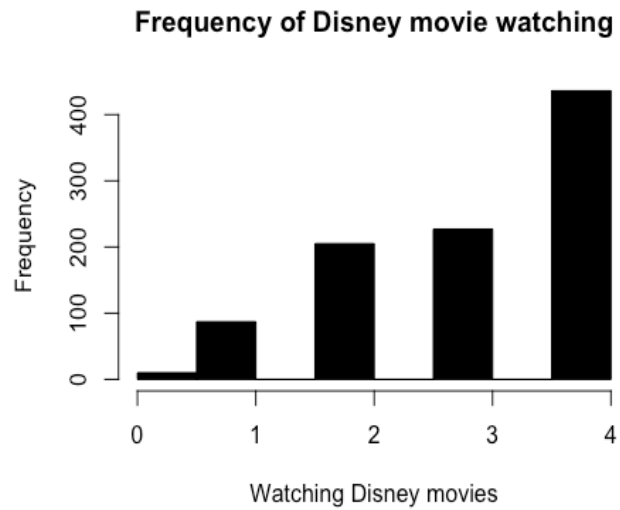
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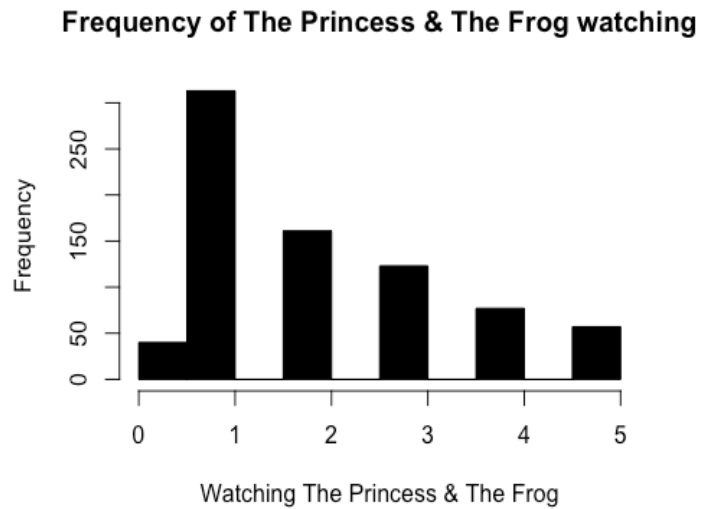
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APPENDIX: FREQUENCY HISTOGRAMS & PLOTS

Appendix A: Movies & Television



*Figure A.1: How often did you watch Disney films as a child (prior to turning 18)?
(0 = None at all; 4 = A great deal)*



*Figure A.2: How often did you watch the following film as a child (prior to turning 18)?
(0 = None at all; 5 = Watched a great deal)*

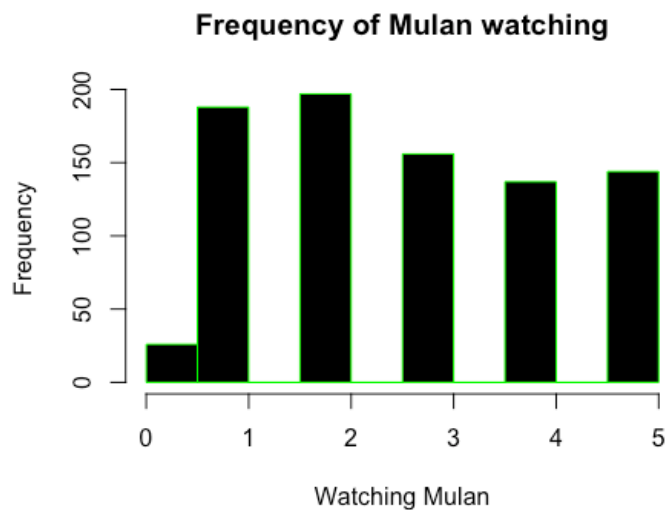


Figure A.3: How often did you watch the following film as a child (prior to turning 18)?
 (0 = None at all; 5 = Watched a great deal)

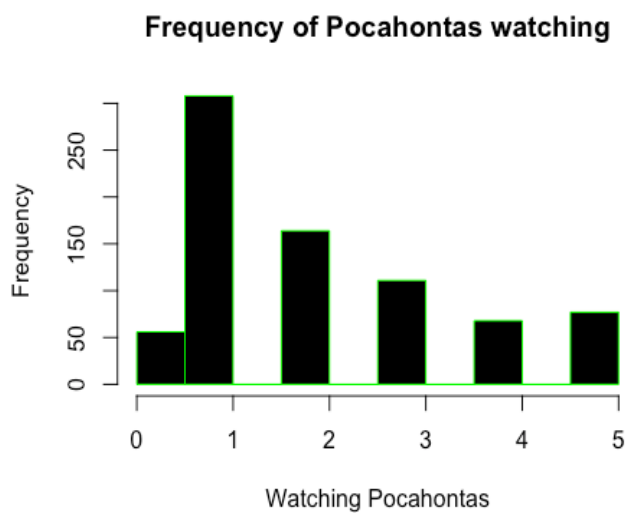


Figure A.4: How often did you watch the following film as a child (prior to turning 18)?
 (0 = None at all; 5 = Watched a great deal)

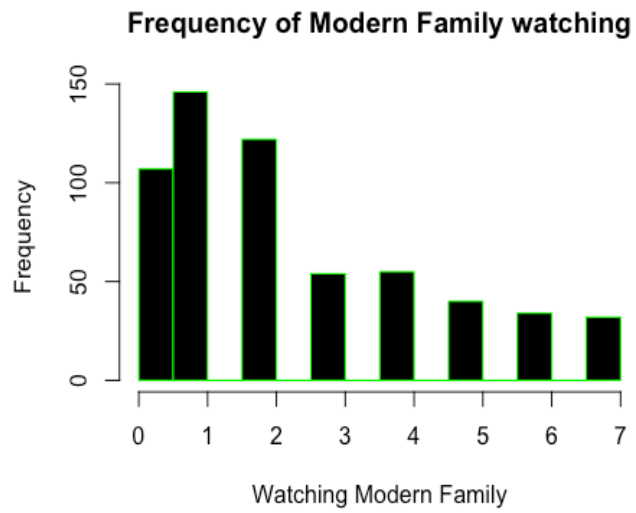


Figure A.5: How often have you watched the following TV show?
(0 = Never Watched; 7 = Most Often Watched)

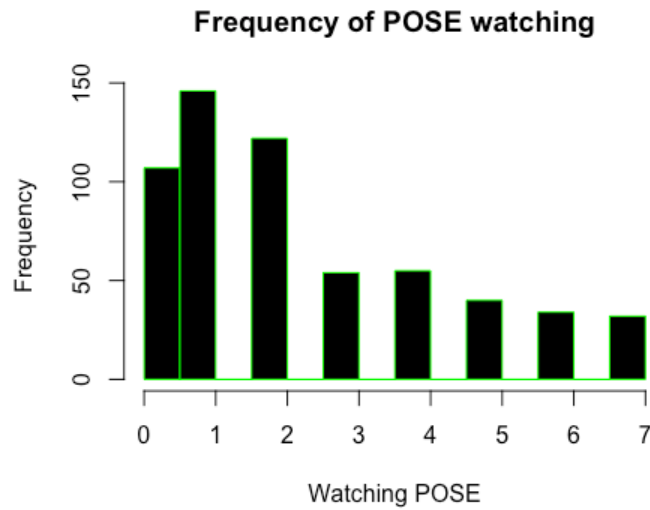


Figure A.6: How often have you watched the following TV show?
(0 = Never Watched; 7 = Most Often Watched)

Appendix B: Plots of Political Efficacy & Frequency of Engagement

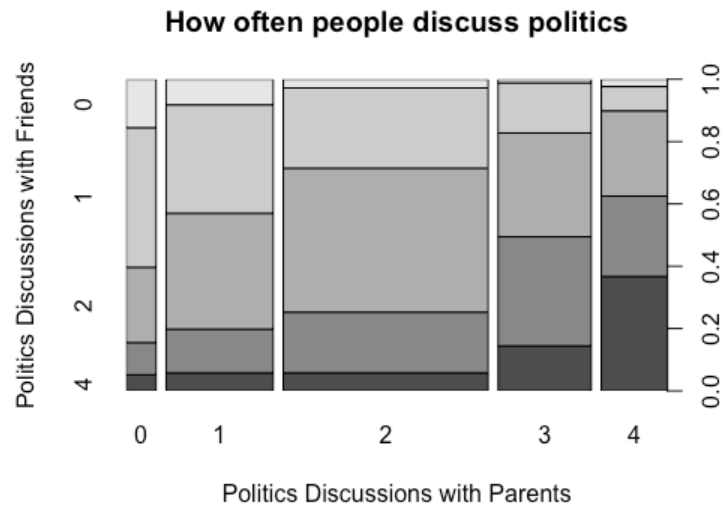


Figure B.1: Frequency of Political Discussions with Parents vs. Friends

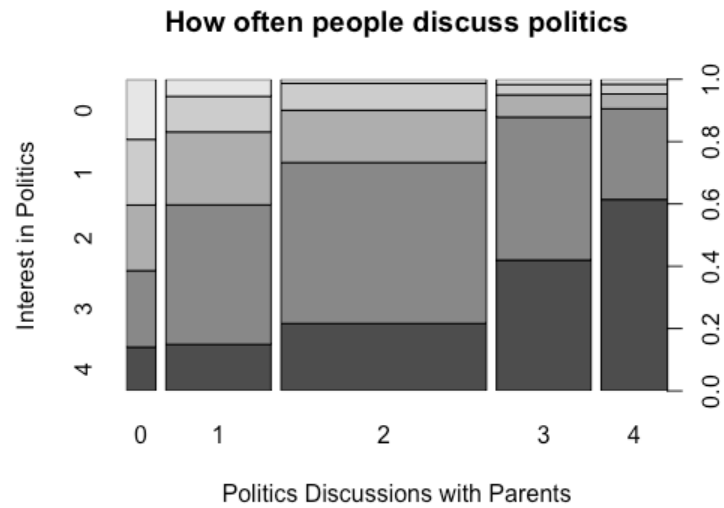


Figure B.2: Frequency of Political Discussions with Parents vs. Interest in Politics

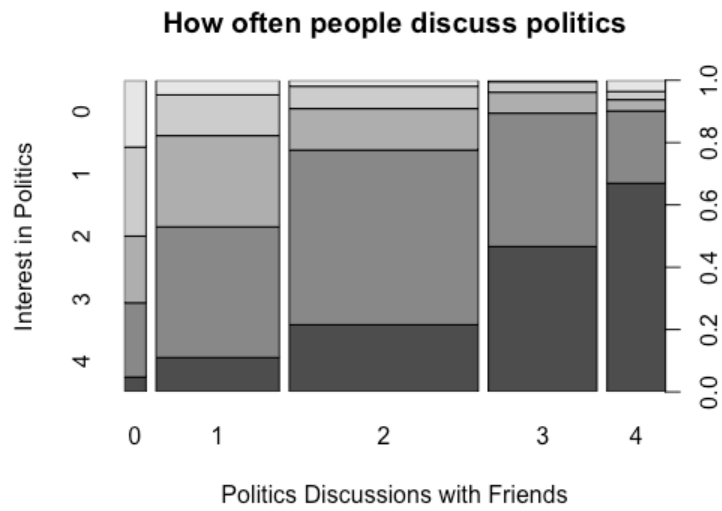


Figure B.3: Frequency of Political Discussions with Friends vs. Interest in Politics

Appendix C: General Voting Behavior

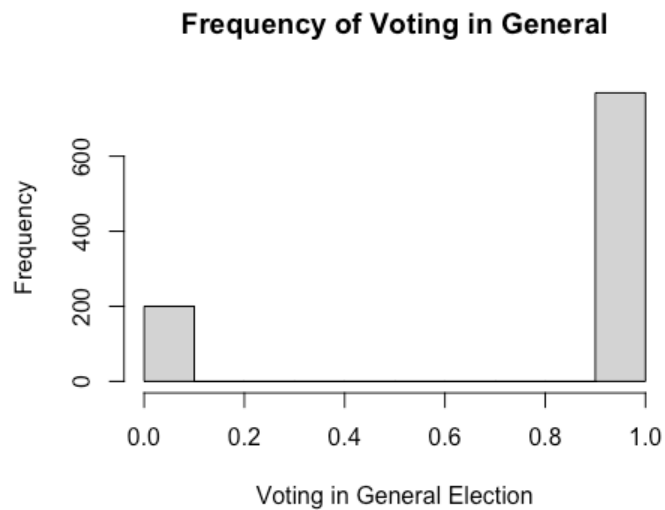
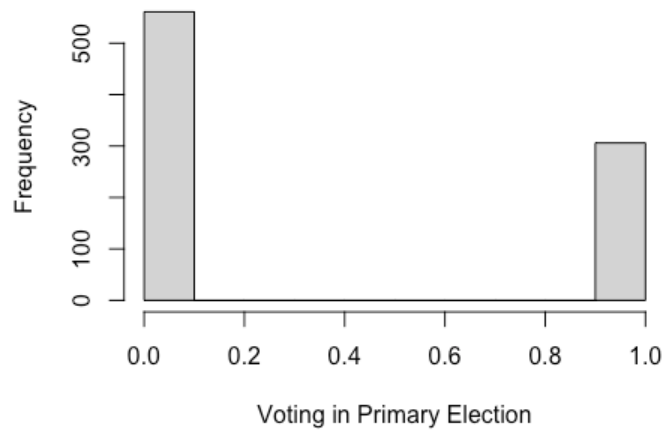
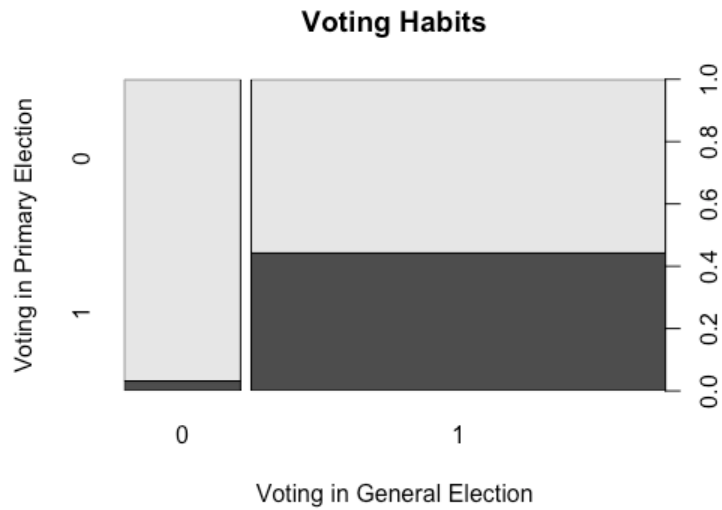


Figure C.1: Did you vote in the General Presidential Election?
(0 = No; 1 = Yes)

Frequency of Voting in Primary Election



*Figure C.2: Did you vote in the Presidential Primary Elections?
(0 = No; 1 = Yes)*



*Figure C.3: Correlation of General vs. Primary Election Voting Habits
(0 = No; 1 = Yes)*

Appendix D: Frequency Histograms of Various Media Choices

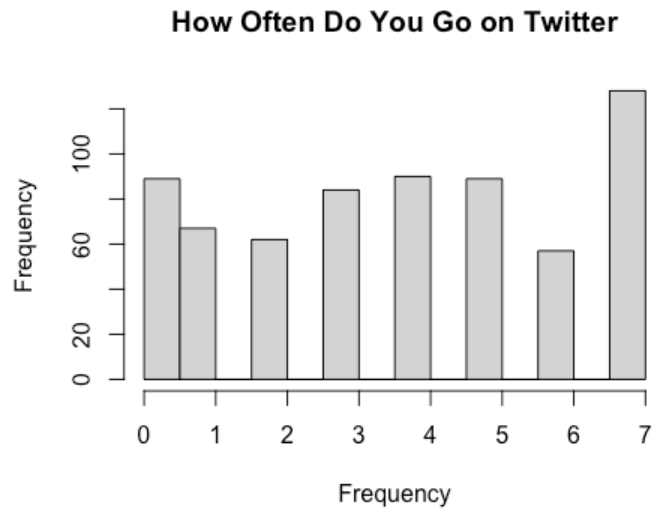


Figure D.1: How often do you refer to the following outlet for news?
(0 = Never Watched; 7 = Most Often Watched)

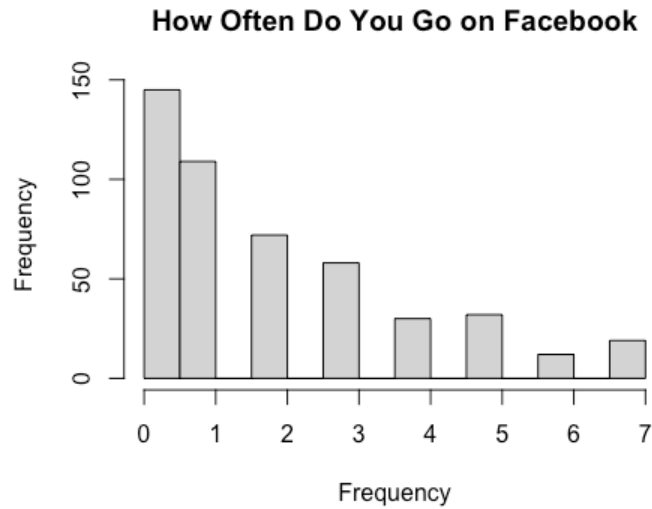


Figure D.2: How often do you refer to the following outlet for news?
(0 = Never Watched; 7 = Most Often Watched)

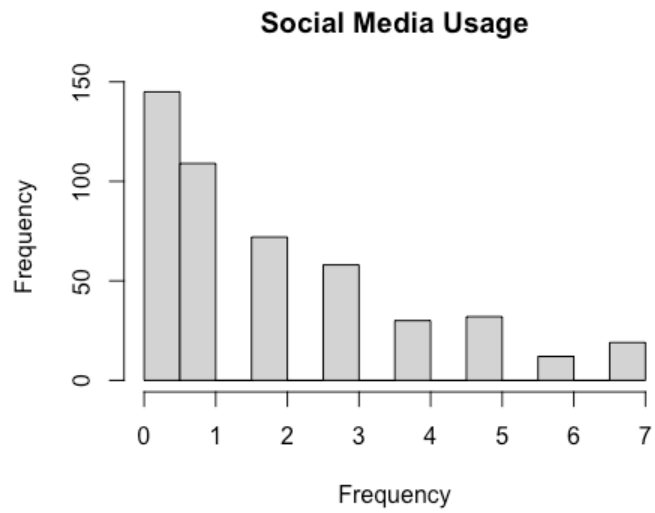


Figure D.3: During a typical week, how often are you on social media such as Twitter or Facebook? (0-7 Days of the Week)

Appendix E: Measurement of Celebrity Influence and ‘Mood Thermometers’

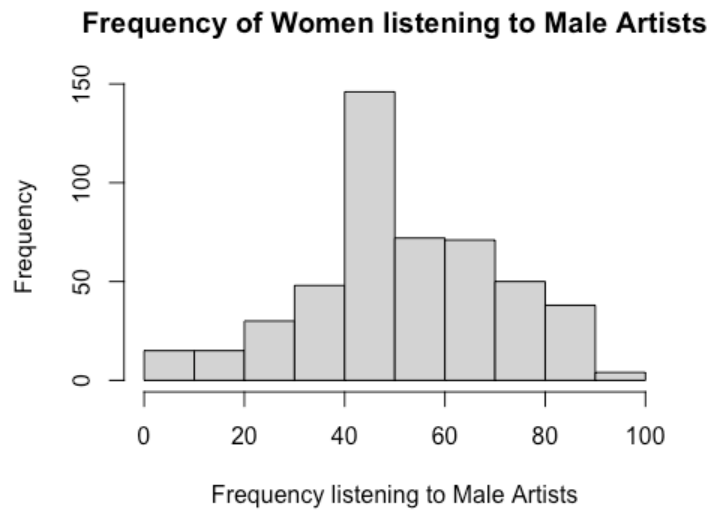


Figure E.1: What proportion of artists you listen to are men?

Frequency of Women listening to Female Artists

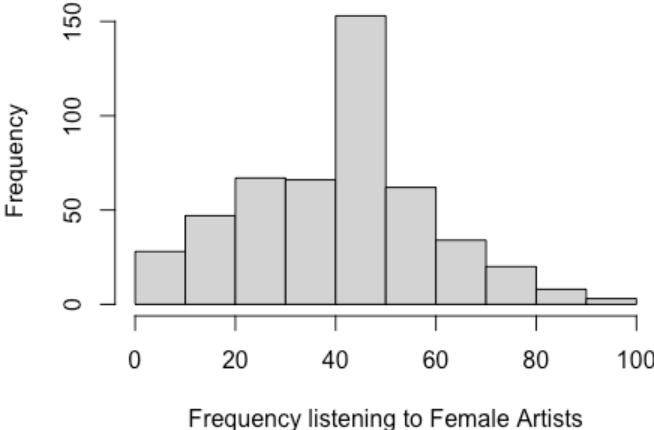


Figure E.2: What proportion of artists you listen to are women?

How Often Do you Listen to Cardi B

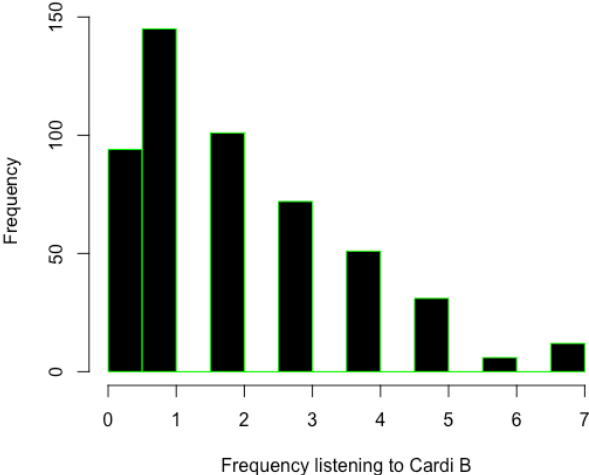


Figure E.3: How often do you listen to the following artist?
(0 = Not at all; 7 = A great deal)

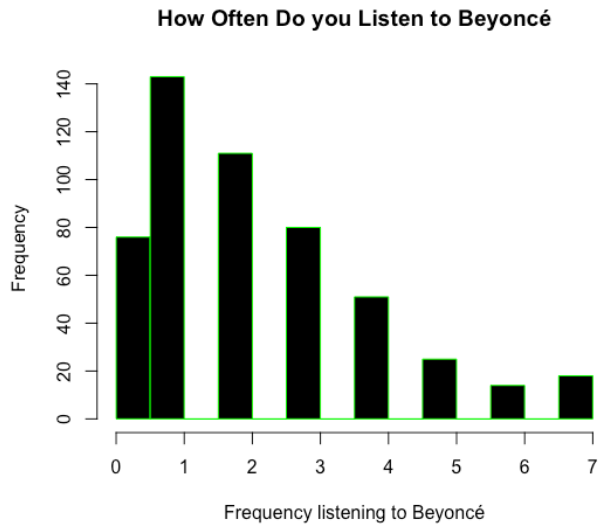


Figure E.4: How often do you listen to the following artist?
(0 = Not at all; 7 = A great deal)



Figure E.5: How often do you listen to the following artist?
(0 = Not at all; 7 = A great deal)

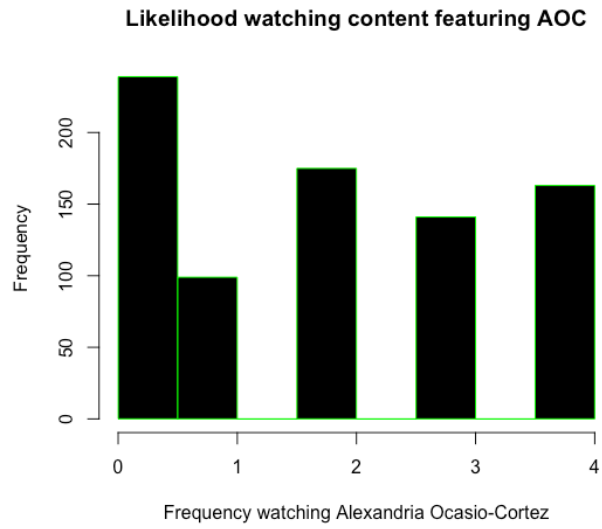


Figure E.6: Rank the likelihood of you watching media content featuring each of the following:
(0 = Not at all)

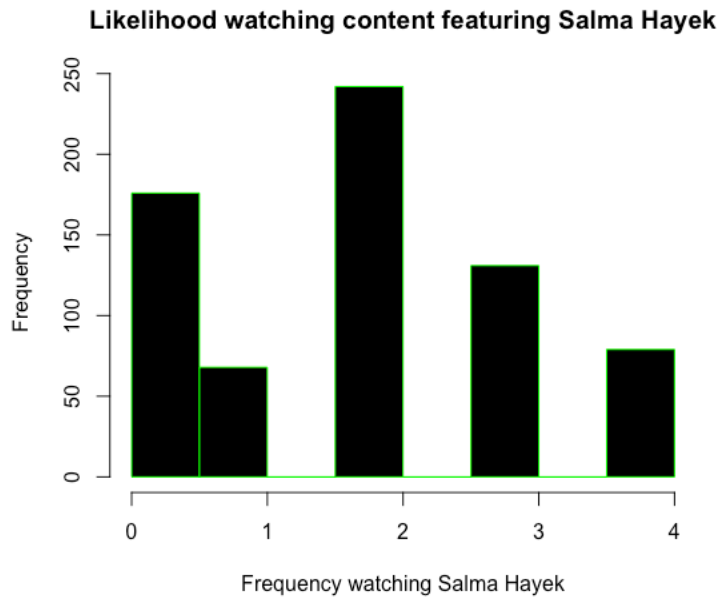
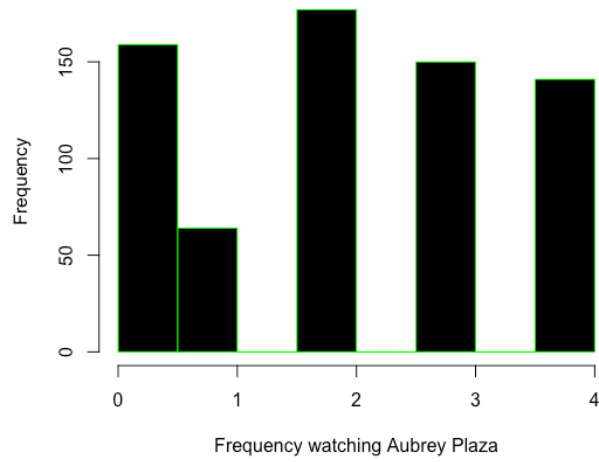


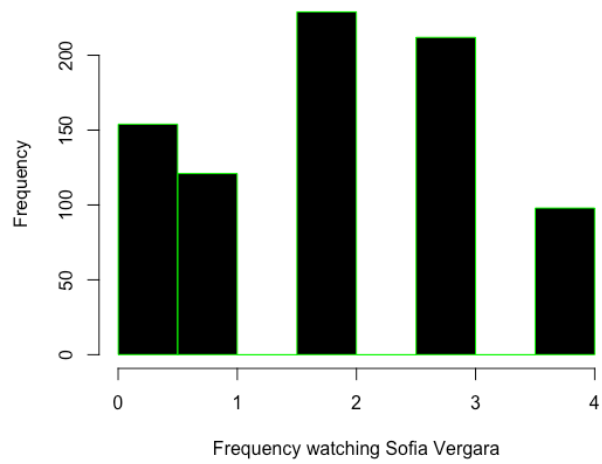
Figure E.7: Rank the likelihood of you watching media content featuring each of the following:
(0 = Not at all)

Likelihood watching content featuring Aubrey Plaza



*Figure E.8: Rank the likelihood of you watching media content featuring each of the following:
(0 = Not at all)*

Likelihood watching content featuring Sofia Vergara



*Figure E.9: Rank the likelihood of you watching media content featuring each of the following:
(0 = Not at all)*

Appendix F: 'Madea' Boxplot, Efficacy and Frequency Histogram

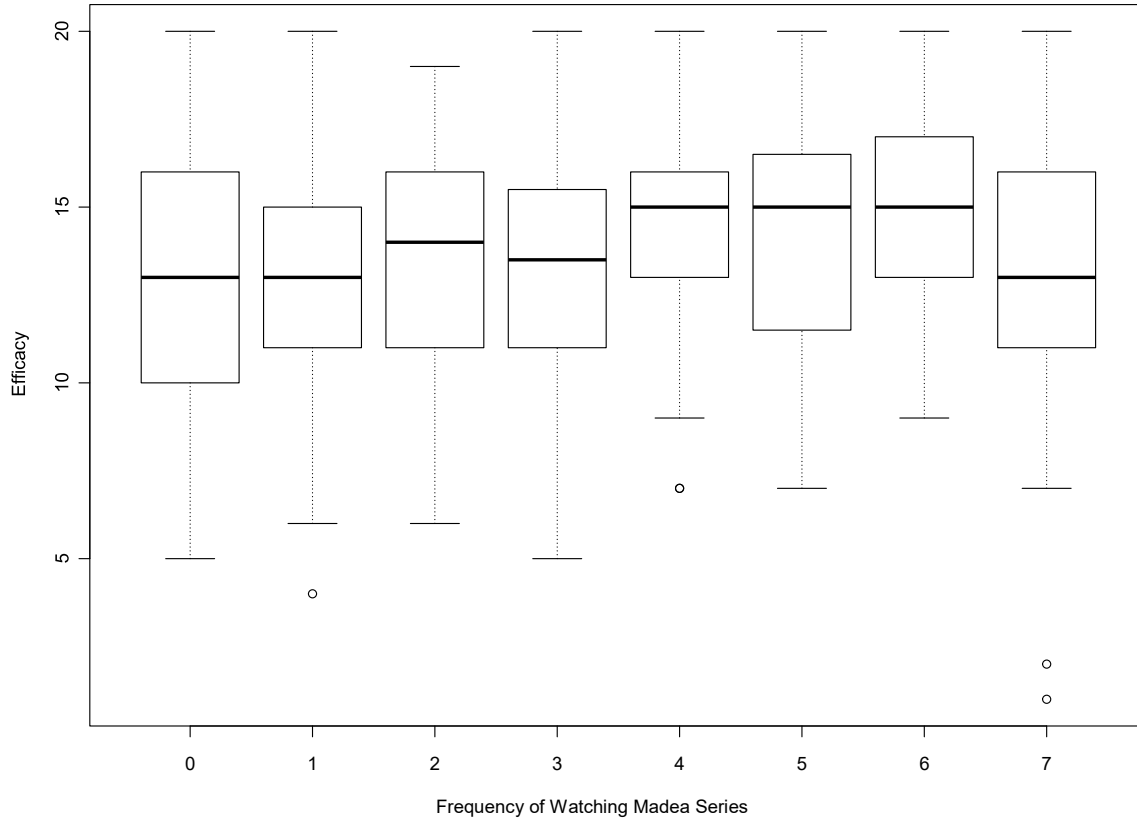


Figure F.1: Efficacy and Frequency of Watching the Madea Series

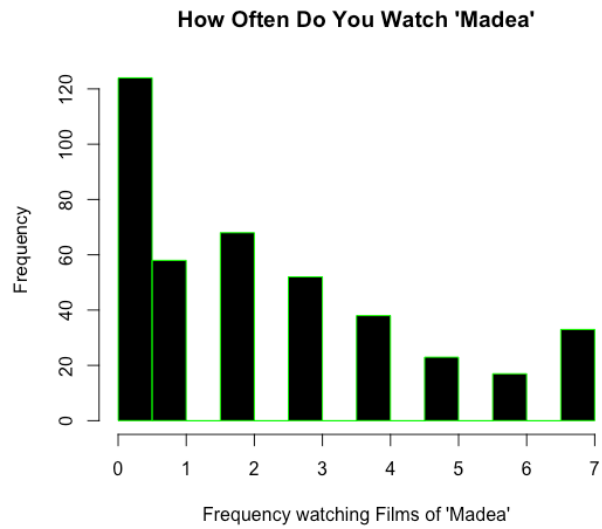


Figure F.2: Frequency of Watching the Madea Series