

The Social Obligation Paradox: #BlockOut and Celebrity Silence on TikTok

Hannah Blundon

Master of Arts in Communication, Mount Saint Vincent University

Dr. DeNel Rehberg Sedo

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Abstract

This thesis examines the #BlockOut movement on TikTok, a short-lived but highly visible digital activism campaign in which users blocked celebrities perceived as silent or indifferent toward the genocide in Gaza. The study investigates why audiences expect celebrities and influencers to engage in sociopolitical discourse, how celebrity silence became framed as complicity, and what this reveals about power, performance, and accountability in digital culture. Using a qualitative-dominant mixed-methods design, the research analyzed 973 comments from 11 high-engagement TikTok videos alongside follower and engagement data for the most frequently mentioned celebrities.

Findings show that TikTok users positioned celebrities as moral agents obligated to speak out, transforming silence into a politically meaningful act. Seven discursive themes revealed how users negotiated responsibility and belonging within the movement. Although #BlockOut generated significant attention and momentary shifts in online behaviour, its measurable impact on celebrity status was limited, and its momentum rapidly declined. The study concludes that #BlockOut exposes a paradox at the heart of contemporary digital activism: public expectations for celebrity advocacy are intensified by parasocial relationships and platform logics, yet these same dynamics undermine sustained collective action.

Keywords: #BlockOut, digital activism, celebrity activism, TikTok, parasocial relationships, cancel culture, social media

To my grandparents

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Introduction and Literature Review

Subject Background

On October 7th, 2023, Hamas, a Palestinian armed group and resistance movement, waged an attack on Israel. This attack killed around 1,200 people, including more than 360 youth at a music festival, and the group took more than 250 hostages (BBC, 2025). Hamas has described the attack as a response to decades of Israeli oppression, the killings of Palestinians, and the years-long blockage of the Gaza Strip (BBC, 2025). This started a large-scale Israeli military assault on Gaza, which, as of November 27, 2025, has killed nearly 70,000 Palestinians and injured almost 171,000, the majority being women and children (BBC, 2025; OCHA, 2025).

Numerous celebrities and influencers shared videos and infographics on Instagram Stories about the events in Israel. However, this selective engagement quickly sparked a wave of online backlash. Social media users responded by pointing out the disproportionate focus on Israel, while coverage of atrocities in Gaza was underreported or missing from mainstream media. The digital backlash involved user-generated content aimed at amplifying Palestinian voices, documenting the violence in Gaza, and highlighting the perceived imbalance in celebrity advocacy. The silence of many celebrities on Gaza contrasted with their vocal support for Israel, fueling growing public frustration—especially among those who expected socially aware influencers and celebrities to address global issues more fairly.

As public discussion about the conflict developed, especially with increased attention to the humanitarian crisis in Gaza, tensions over celebrity silence began to

rise. This peaked around the time of the 2024 Met Gala, on May 6th, 2024. The Met Gala, also called the Costume Institute Benefit, is an annual fundraising event for The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Costume Institute, the museum's only self-funded department (Ramzi, 2024). Anna Wintour, Vogue's Editor-in-Chief, has been the face of the Met Gala and its co-chair since 1999, raising more than \$223.5 million USD under her leadership (Feitelberg & Lockwood, 2024).

Wintour's Met Gala is no stranger to controversial incidents, from Solange and Jay-Z's elevator fight to Alexandria Ocasio Cortez's 'Tax the Rich' dress and the many involving Kim Kardashian (Ballhaus & Gelhoren, 2024). At the 2024 Met Gala, popular influencer and model Haley Kalil, known on social media as @haleyybaylee, posted a video of herself seemingly at the exclusive event. She was dressed in a floral, Marie Antoinette-inspired dress and headpiece designed by her friend, Marc Bouwer (Clark, 2024). The video begins with a close-up of her face, then zooms out to reveal the entire outfit as she lip-syncs to the audio, "Let them eat cake." The audio from the 2006 film based on the 2001 biography of Marie Antoinette was trending on social media at the time, showcasing "glow-up" transformations and makeup looks inspired by Marie Antoinette.

The video went instantly viral, amassing over 21.6 million views and 3.6 million likes before it was later removed by Kalil (Johnson, 2024). Its virality seemed to stem from its out-of-touchness, with the idea that she was cosplaying as Marie-Antoinette at the most exclusive event of the year, while saying to everyone not invited, "Eat cake." Meanwhile, hundreds of pro-Palestinian protesters gathered near the Met during the event, and the NYPD arrested 27 of them (Falconer, 2024). TikTok users quickly

compared Kalil to the historical figure Marie-Antoinette, as she allegedly said, “Let them eat cake,” when told the peasants of France were starving and had no bread (Cunningham, n.d.).

While the event dominated media coverage, social media users expressed outrage that numerous celebrities who had previously made statements solely in support of Israel had remained silent about the ongoing devastation in Gaza. This silence was made even more conspicuous by the timing: widespread protests were unfolding globally in solidarity with Palestinians, and social media platforms were flooded with firsthand accounts, images, and videos documenting the human cost of the conflict. Audiences, particularly younger digital activists, began to demand that influential figures use their platforms to speak out against all global injustices. The contrast between the lavish spectacle of the Met Gala and the absence of commentary on Gaza from its attendees intensified perceptions of moral inconsistency and selective advocacy. This moment became a symbolic turning point, galvanizing public frustration and fueling the rise of the #BlockOut movement on TikTok.

The #BlockOut movement emerged as a grassroots digital protest aimed at holding celebrities and influencers accountable for their perceived silence on critical social issues, such as the Israel-Hamas conflict. TikTok user @Blockout2024 seemingly started the trend on May 7th, 2024, fueled by instances such as Kalil’s video. The purpose of #BlockOut is to block celebrities on social media, starting with those who attended the 2024 Met Gala, in the hope that they will earn less money from ads (Johnson, 2024). Some users, such as @LadyFromTheOutside (who appears to have coined the term), are referring to it as the “digitine” or “digital guillotine” (an homage to

the Guillotine and Marie Antoinette) (Chavez, 2024), in which she sentenced Kalil to the digital guillotine. TikTok users posted their “block lists” to encourage their followers to (blindly) block the named celebrities and influencers. Kalil has been featured on multiple lists, including one viewed almost 5 million times (Johnson, 2024).

My interest in this topic emerged from a critical reflection on the digital activism trend #BlackOutTuesday, a campaign initially intended to amplify Black voices but which, in retrospect, resulted in unintended consequences. While the movement aimed to support the Black Lives Matter cause, it ultimately flooded social media platforms with black squares that obscured essential information and muted the very voices it sought to elevate. Participants were swept up in the momentum of performative activism, as discussed in more detail below, without fully understanding its implications or engaging directly with the communities affected. This moment of reflection drew a clear parallel to the 2024 #BlockOut movement, which similarly harnessed the power of social media to demand accountability, specifically by boycotting celebrities on social media who remained silent on the crisis in Gaza. Both movements exemplify the dual-edged nature of digital activism, which can amplify awareness while also raising concerns about efficacy, performativity, and the potential for polarizing discourse.

The #BlockOut movement on TikTok reflected a growing public expectation that celebrities and influencers should participate in social advocacy. #BlockOut revealed a paradox where people perceive silence on social issues as complicity, even though public statements in highly polarized environments can carry significant risks. This dynamic raises deeper questions about the social forces that shape public expectations

of fame, underscoring the need for closer examination of why users believe celebrities owe them political participation.

Purpose and Research Objectives

This research explores the dynamics and implications of the #BlockOut movement on TikTok, where users encourage others to block celebrities and influencers who have not publicly spoken out about the ongoing crisis in Palestine. The research aims to understand why social media users expect celebrities and influencers to engage in social advocacy and the motivations behind these expectations. It also seeks to analyze the risks and consequences faced by celebrities and influencers when they choose to speak out or remain silent on social issues. I also consider the ethical implications and societal norms that drive the demand for celebrity activism and the concept of “cancellation.” Additionally, I evaluate how platforms like TikTok amplify public pressure on celebrities and contribute to the discourse. Using a qualitative approach, this study analyzes the thematic content of posts and the patterns of user engagement surrounding celebrity silence and activism.

In this research, I explore the potential of social media as a platform for meaningful advocacy. My literature review and the results of my study explore effective digital activism methods, those that fall short, and ways to refine these approaches to foster productive and inclusive discussions. The study comprises an analysis of social media content under the hashtag “BlockOut2024” and an examination of the impact this movement has had on celebrities, focusing on their social media follower counts. The study contributes to a broader understanding of how digital activism can drive impactful social change while avoiding the pitfalls of performative gestures.

Research Questions

This study explores the public's online expectations of celebrity activism during social justice movements. The following research questions guide it:

RQ1: What themes and narratives define the #BlockOut discourse on TikTok?

RQ2: How are celebrities portrayed within the #BlockOut movement on TikTok?

RQ3: What measurable impact has #BlockOut had on the public perception, social media engagement, or economic implications for celebrities?

RQ4: To what extent has #BlockOut achieved its intended goals, and what factors influenced its effectiveness?

These questions cannot be fully understood without considering the historical and cultural foundations that shape public expectations of celebrity engagement. It is necessary to situate #BlockOut within the broader scholarly discourse on activism, celebrity culture, and digital participation. A review of the literature reveals how activism's evolution and the changing meaning of fame set the stage for movements like #BlockOut.

Literature Review

This review of the literature traces the development of activism, with a specific emphasis on modern, digitally driven movements. It considers how activism has changed in purpose, methods, and reach, evolving from local grassroots efforts to organized social movements and, more recently, to highly visible campaigns led by public figures and online communities. The review explicitly explores three main

trajectories: the rise of celebrity activism, the growth of digital activism, and their merging in the social media age, where visibility, virality, and identity politics intersect.

The literature shows that the digital age has changed how individuals and groups engage with social causes, blurring the lines between private citizenship and public performance. In this context, the #BlockOut movement provides a strong example of these changes. It appeared on TikTok in 2024 and represents a new form of digital activism where everyday users collectively hold celebrities accountable for their silence on social and political issues. By focusing on #BlockOut and drawing on current literature, this thesis explores how public expectations, parasocial relationships, and algorithmic influence intersect to shape contemporary views of activism, influence, and moral responsibility in the digital world.

What is Activism?

Merriam-Webster (n.d.) defines activism as “a doctrine or practice that emphasizes direct vigorous action, especially in support of or opposition to one side of a controversial issue.” Although the term itself is relatively modern (its first known use dates back to 1915), the practice of activism has deep historical roots that go far beyond its contemporary associations with youth movements and social justice causes. To contextualize this study, a brief overview of activism’s evolution is necessary—not as an exhaustive historical account, but as a foundation for understanding how today’s expectations of public engagement, including celebrity activism, emerged.

Student Protests

Early forms of organized activism can be traced back to the rise of universities in medieval Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In Paris, for example, student protests in the 13th century reflected increasing demands for academic freedom, better treatment, and resolution of “town-and-gown conflicts” (Evans, 2025). Likewise, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, student dissent became a defining feature of academic life at Harvard University. The “Great Butter Rebellion” of 1766, often seen as the first student protest on an American campus, was triggered by dissatisfaction with food quality and ended with nearly half the student body being suspended (Evans, 2025; Ireland, 2012).

Community Mobilization

Activism as a form of collective resistance predates these examples by centuries. One of the earliest recorded instances occurred in ancient Rome, where Spartacus, a gladiator-in-training, led a major slave uprising between 73 and 71 BCE. Having escaped captivity, he mobilized approximately 70,000 enslaved people to form a rebel army that repeatedly defeated Roman forces and struck fear into the empire’s elite (Kindy, 2025). Similarly, in 1381, English peasants rose against King Richard II in protest of low wages and the introduction of a poll tax. Guided by the radical English priest John Ball, who preached that all people were equal in the eyes of God, the movement demanded social and economic reform. Although their leader, Wat Tyler, was killed and their goals went unrealized, the rebellion marked a pivotal moment in the struggle for peasant rights and influenced later social reforms (BBC, n.d.).

The Roots of Celebrity Activism

The origins of celebrity activism trace back to the early connections between fame, media, and politics well before social media's rise. As Barojan (2022) observes, politics and celebrity culture have been linked for over a century, with governments recognizing the influence of public figures on political discourse as early as the 1910s. Throughout the twentieth century, Hollywood and the entertainment industry introduced new forms of celebrity visibility that could be strategically leveraged for political and humanitarian purposes. Meyer and Gamson (1995) highlight this as a key moment when celebrities began acting as “cultural elites” capable of shaping social movements through their symbolic capital rather than through institutional power. In the early days of film and radio, celebrity involvement in wartime propaganda and national campaigns, such as the Hollywood “war bond” drives of the 1940s, underscored the growing political significance of fame.

Who is a Celebrity?

The idea of who qualifies as a celebrity has changed significantly since the rise of blogs and social media. In the past, celebrity status was mainly for people in entertainment, like singers, actors, and movie stars, whose fame came from talent, artistic success, or cultural impact. But, as Driessens (2012) explains, the process of celebrityization has made fame more accessible and diverse. Being a celebrity is no longer just about professional achievements; it is now influenced by mediatization and personalization, which bring celebrity logic into politics, business, academia, and daily digital life.

Driessens differentiates between celebrification, the process of turning someone into a celebrity, and celebritization, the wider societal integration of celebrity culture. In this way, the meaning of “celebrity” has shifted from being based on merit or skill to being defined by visibility and mediated attention. The “democratization” of celebrity, he argues, reflects a cultural move “from achievement-based fame to media-driven renown,” where simply appearing in the media can be enough to gain celebrity status. This change, accelerated by social media, enables politicians, influencers, and even ordinary people to gain fame through self-promotion and online visibility, rather than relying on traditional skills or talent.

Marwick’s (2011) work helps us to understand this idea by demonstrating how social media platforms have blurred the lines between celebrities, microcelebrities, and everyday users. Of Twitter’s participatory culture, she observes that celebrity has become a practice rather than a status, representing an ongoing act of self-presentation, interaction, and audience management aimed at capturing attention and staying relevant. Influencers, lifestyle bloggers, and digital creators now share the same symbolic space once reserved for actors, musicians, and politicians, using authenticity, intimacy, and consistent engagement as their currency for visibility.

Together, these perspectives show that being a “celebrity” today no longer relies on exceptional skill or artistic talent. Instead, it depends on one’s ability to grab attention and stay visible across platforms. From politicians who build relatable online personas to influencers who profit from their everyday lives, “celebrity” has become a versatile, accessible, and performative identity, open to anyone with a platform and an engaged audience. Understanding how celebrity status evolved into a broad, participatory identity

sets the stage for examining the moment when visibility began to carry moral and political expectations.

Celebrity as Advocate

By the mid-twentieth century, the idea of the “celebrity as advocate” became more prominent. Jane Fonda’s outspoken opposition to the Vietnam War, for instance, marked a significant shift in the way personal fame was linked to political dissent. Likewise, global benefit events like Live Aid in 1985 demonstrated the power of celebrity influence in humanitarian causes, showing that entertainers could act as global citizens rather than just as passive cultural icons (Wheeler, 2012). Bono’s later activism on debt relief and poverty strengthened this change, blending entertainment, politics, and global governance. Such figures exemplified the shift from the celebrity as performer to the celebrity as advocate, in which fame itself became a tool for political communication and agenda-setting (Campanella, 2019).

This change was supported by the wider societal process of celebritization (Driessens, 2012), which I mentioned above. The growing mediatization and personalization of public life blurred the lines between political authority and popular culture, allowing celebrities to enter spaces traditionally reserved for elected officials or institutional leaders. As trust in government declined, the public turned to well-known cultural figures as sources of moral or political authority (Barojan, 2022). This shift led to the rise of the modern “celebrity diplomat,” a figure who uses public visibility to influence international norms and promote social causes (Budabin, 2015).

In international politics, celebrities like Mia Farrow have shown that advocacy can actively influence global discourse beyond mere awareness-raising. Farrow's "Genocide Olympics" campaign redefined China's role in the Darfur conflict and demonstrated how celebrities could act as norm entrepreneurs, reshaping international expectations through moral persuasion and media visibility (Budabin, 2015). These actions, while impactful, also highlighted the risks of oversimplifying complex political issues (Budabin, 2015), a critique echoed by Meyer and Gamson (1995), who warn that celebrity involvement can depoliticize social movements by shifting the focus toward narratives that are easier to agree on.

By the late twentieth century, celebrity activism had become institutionalized, integrating into philanthropy, brand partnerships, and public diplomacy. As Craig (2018) notes, celebrity activism has evolved into a communication tool through which environmental and humanitarian issues are highlighted in a mediatized public arena. This development laid the groundwork for the expansion of activism into digital spaces in the twenty-first century, where the principles of personalization, branding, and audience engagement—initially rooted in traditional media—would develop into the algorithmic dynamics of social media-based activism.

The Rise of Digital Activism

Digital activism signifies the evolution of political engagement in an era increasingly characterized by online communication. Often defined as the use of digital tools to organize, mobilize, and amplify social or political causes, digital activism builds on traditional advocacy by leveraging social media and online communities (Sorce & Dumitrica, 2022). As Greijdanus et al. (2020) note, online activism can range from

symbolic acts, like changing a profile picture, to complex, coordinated campaigns that mobilize offline protests. The rise of platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube has changed the way collective action is undertaken by supporting bottom-up, decentralized participation that crosses geographical and institutional boundaries. This shift represents a notable move away from the celebrity-led activism of the late twentieth century towards a more democratic, user-driven form of engagement.

History of Digital Activism

While the term digital activism gained popularity in the early 2000s, its conceptual roots lie in earlier forms of online mobilization predating social media. Early uses of email lists, online forums, and blogs in the 1990s laid the foundation for the more interconnected and participatory activism that emerged later (Sorice & Dumitrica, 2022). Bennett and Segerberg (2012) introduced the term “connective action” to describe this new mode of digitally connected activism, marking the early 2000s as a pivotal moment when scholars started to see digital activism as a unique form of political engagement within communication and social movement studies. These networked styles of participation enabled individuals to share personalized content rather than follow formal organizational structures, thereby changing how collective action was coordinated and maintained across borders. Movements like the Arab Spring, #IdleNoMore, and #MeToo demonstrate how digital media enabled local struggles to become global conversations, linking dispersed individuals through shared symbols and hashtags (Sorice & Dumitrica, 2022).

Despite its strengths, digital activism still faces ongoing skepticism. Critics claim that many forms of online participation, like liking or sharing a post, are “clicktivism”

(George & Leidner, 2019) or “slacktivism” (Skoric, 2012). Yet, research shows this view oversimplifies things. Studies indicate that online engagement often links to offline participation, suggesting the two are not mutually exclusive (Greijdanus et al., 2020). The #BlackoutTuesday campaign, for example, highlighted both the limits and potential of digital activism. While criticized for being performative, it also revealed the collective emotional impact and visibility that digital spaces can create (Wellman, 2022). Even simple interactions, such as retweets, likes, and comments, contribute to shaping public discourse and maintaining civic attention (Highfield, 2016; Kissas, 2024).

The Labour of Digital Activism

The success of digital activism relies not only on participation but also on the uneven distribution of digital labour. Schradie (2019) argues that online engagement functions as a form of “digital bureaucracy,” where time, technological fluency, and access determine who can participate effectively. Movements like #BlockOut illustrate this inequality: while participation seems spontaneous, it often requires sustained emotional and creative effort, mainly undertaken by women, youth, and marginalized communities. Barberá et al. (2015) highlight that although a small “core” of highly active users drives most online mobilization, the broader “critical periphery” is vital for spreading messages widely. This dynamic shows how influence in digital activism is both networked and stratified, shaped by algorithmic visibility and socioeconomic privilege.

Digital Activism Successes

Despite critiques, digital activism has achieved notable successes that extend beyond the screen. For example, the Sleeping Giants campaign, launched in 2016, effectively pressured corporations to withdraw their advertising from websites that promoted hate speech, illustrating the tangible outcomes of coordinated online efforts (Li et al., 2021). Similarly, hashtag-based movements such as #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter have linked online visibility with offline structural change, influencing policy, media narratives, and corporate accountability. As scholars of hashtag activism note, the power of digital movements lies not in their separation from offline protest but in their ability to connect online narratives, physical demonstrations, and policy reform (Jackson et al., 2020). The rise of digital activism thus reflects both a continuation of earlier activist traditions and a transformation in how collective action operates in the twenty-first century.

The Role of Social Media within Digital Activism

Social media platforms have revolutionized how people engage with activism, creating new opportunities for visibility, connection, and involvement. Platforms like Twitter and Instagram are vital spaces for amplifying the voices of marginalized groups who have traditionally been excluded from mainstream media. Caldeira (2021) points out that social media enables ordinary users, especially young women on Instagram, to participate in “visibility politics” by reclaiming representation and expanding who is considered deserving of attention. Through hashtag activism and everyday acts of self-representation, users make micro-political interventions that challenge dominant narratives and broaden civic participation. This is especially clear in movements like

#BlackLivesMatter and #MeToo, where social media visibility has translated into increased public awareness and offline action.

Beyond visibility, social media encourages political engagement by lowering barriers to entry and enabling participation in informal, networked forms of civic discourse. Tukachinsky Forster and Downey (2022) argue that celebrities and influencers use parasocial relationships on social media to mobilize followers toward political causes, especially among younger users who access political information through these platforms. However, this same dynamic also demonstrates how social media can blur the lines between activism, self-promotion, and fandom, leading to what Le Clue (2023) describes as the “co-opting of morals.” Her analysis of political fandoms on Twitter shows how participatory culture and emotional investment can become toxic, increasing polarization and hindering meaningful dialogue. Similarly, Driessen (2023) examines how fan-driven cancel culture on social media functions both as a participatory political act and a form of digital moral regulation, as users navigate accountability and belonging within these connected communities.

Online and Offline Activism

The relationship between online and offline activism remains complex. Greijdanus et al. (2020) argue that digital participation often complements physical mobilization, acting as a gateway to ongoing engagement. However, others highlight the risks of performativity and fragmentation. Estrada et al. (2022) observe that social media’s emotionally charged environment can intensify polarization, while Dean (2024) attributes these tendencies to neoliberal individualism, which portrays activism as a performance of self rather than collective effort. The #BlockOut movement illustrates

these contradictions: although it mobilized widespread participation, it did so through the same platform dynamics that reward visibility and personal branding.

Platform Capitalism and Digital Activism

Underlying these dynamics is the economic structure of platform capitalism. Srnicek (2016) describes platforms as “data-extractive infrastructures” that commodify social interaction, transforming activism into measurable engagement within profit-driven systems. The attention economy means that activism is often mediated by algorithms that prioritize virality over substance. Nieborg et al. (2020) similarly argue that the platformization of culture has reorganized digital labour; activists, influencers, and even ordinary users now act as unpaid producers of content that sustains corporate ecosystems. As a result, social movements rely on infrastructures that both allow and limit them. This duality also shapes how users experience connectivity. Hesselberth (2017) conceptualizes the “culture of connectivity” as both empowering and exploitative: individuals feel compelled to remain constantly visible, even as they long for disconnection.

Caliandro et al. (2019) further demonstrate how visibility and engagement metrics influence the circulation of social causes, making advocacy inseparable from market logics. Barberá et al. (2015) likewise reveal how platforms strategically amplify and divert attention to manipulate political sentiment. Collectively, these works highlight the ambivalence of digital activism: it thrives within systems designed to commercialize emotion and attention, creating a space where resistance itself becomes marketable. Movements like #BlockOut thus operate within, and against, the very infrastructures that enable them. This paradox captures the condition of digital activism: participants must

stay online to remain politically relevant, yet their engagement fuels the same systems that commodify dissent.

Despite operating within commercialized ecosystems, these platforms still provide opportunities for public intervention and collective action, reshaping what activism can look like in the digital age. The rise of social media has dramatically expanded the reach and speed of digital activism, turning isolated acts of dissent into global movements within hours. Twitter, often seen as the birthplace of modern digital activism, became the leading platform for real-time political discussion during movements such as the Arab Spring and #BlackLivesMatter, where hashtags served as rallying points and tools for mass coordination (Sorce & Dumitrica, 2022). Its structure, public, searchable, and conversational, allowed activists to bypass traditional media gatekeepers and connect directly with audiences worldwide.

Over time, newer platforms like TikTok have transformed activism, blending political messages with participatory creativity. Short-form videos enable users to tell stories, add humour, and perform to make complex social issues understandable to younger viewers. As Caldeira (2021) and Driessen (2023) observe, the visual and interactive features of platforms like TikTok and Instagram have further aimed to democratise activism by empowering everyday users, not just traditional activists or celebrities, to shape narratives, educate peers, and create viral solidarity within algorithm-driven networks. This shift shows how digital activism has evolved from text- and hashtag-based engagement to a more visual, performative, and emotionally impactful form of civic participation.

The Power of Hashtag Activism

Among the most notable successes of digital activism are those driven by hashtag activism. These are networked forms of engagement that have reshaped how marginalized groups express resistance and visibility online. Hashtag activism functions as a form of digital counterpublic, providing spaces where communities excluded from mainstream media can frame issues on their own terms (Jackson et al., 2020). Instead of viewing hashtags as fleeting trends, Jackson et al. (2020) contend that these networked discourses have had lasting social, political, and cultural impacts by creating compelling, unignorable narratives.

A notable example is #BlackLivesMatter, which shows how online mobilization leads to real-world results. The hashtag, originally on Facebook, has now become a symbol of a global movement fighting racial injustice. Jackson et al. (2020) note that #BlackLivesMatter organizers have shaped national debates on race and sparked tangible political change, including the election of Black officials in Ferguson, Missouri, and the broad adoption of criminal justice reform measures. The movement shows how digital networks can rally support, encourage civic engagement, and sustain long-term activism beyond mere virality.

Similarly, #MeToo marks another milestone in the success of digital activism. Originating in Tarana Burke's early work and amplified on Twitter in 2017 by celebrity Alyssa Milano, the hashtag sparked a global reckoning with gendered violence and power imbalances. As Jackson et al. (2020) explain, the #MeToo movement resulted in tangible structural changes, including corporate accountability campaigns, the resignation or ousting of high-profile men accused of misconduct, and a record number

of women elected to political office in 2018 who explicitly highlighted #MeToo-related issues in their platforms.

The movement also prompted corporate reactions, such as Gillette's "The Best Men Can Be" campaign, which publicly aligned the brand's identity with the discourse of gender justice, illustrating how hashtag activism influences both civic and corporate spheres. Jackson et al. (2020) note that such hashtags serve as cultural "schemas": concise yet symbolically rich narratives that evoke histories of oppression and resilience. Their virality often stems not from celebrity endorsement but from ordinary users' ability to express lived realities in shareable, emotionally powerful forms. By proving that viral, user-led activism could influence real-world outcomes, these movements helped reposition celebrities from distant supporters to expected contributors in digital advocacy spaces.

The Convergence: Celebrity Activism in the Digital Age

The digital age has fundamentally changed the landscape of celebrity activism, altering how fame, advocacy, and audience interaction intersect. In earlier decades, celebrity activism relied on traditional media and institutional partnerships, such as charity events, televised fundraisers, and global campaigns like Live Aid. Today, however, activism occurs in real time on digital platforms, where the boundaries between private persona, public performance, and political involvement are increasingly blurred. Social media has empowered celebrities to act as their own broadcasters, creating and sharing advocacy content directly with millions of followers. Platforms like Instagram and TikTok allow the merging of personal branding with political messages, resulting in a new hybrid figure: the activist influencer.

This shift has redefined who can participate in celebrity activism. While traditional celebrity advocacy was primarily restricted to Hollywood elites or professional athletes with access to mass media, digital platforms have democratized influence. Anyone with a significant following, celebrity or not, can participate. As Gonzalez et al. (2024) demonstrate, influencers and athletes are now as likely as traditional celebrities to engage in political expression on Instagram, framing activism through lifestyle-oriented narratives rather than institutional appeals. Cheng et al. (2024) further demonstrate that social media influencers utilize strategic intimacy, established through parasocial relationships, to mobilize their followers and influence political discourse. Their credibility stems not from fame in entertainment but from perceived similarity and authenticity, which foster stronger emotional bonds with their audiences. These dynamics mark a transition from “celebrity-as-advocate” to “celebrity-as-peer,” reflecting a participatory and affective model of digital activism in which users expect relational engagement rather than distant advocacy.

The Rise of the Activist Influencer

The rise of the activist influencer demonstrates how neoliberal self-branding logic has infiltrated political expression. Dean (2024) argues that influencer activism reflects the tension between solidarity and self-promotion: social media encourages individuals to turn their political beliefs into part of their personal brand. Similarly, Thomas and Fowler (2023) find that activism can improve followers’ perceptions of influencers, but it also raises expectations for ongoing engagement. When influencers fail to uphold their advocacy, audiences see them as inauthentic, showing that activism itself has become a performative brand tool rather than purely altruistic behaviour. This visibility economy

supports the idea that advocacy, like any other digital commodity, must be constantly recreated to keep engagement and relevance.

Harff and Schmuck (2024) extend this analysis by showing that while both influencers and traditional celebrities can mobilize youth toward political participation, the perceived authenticity of influencers, rooted in “calibrated amateurism” and everyday relatability, often makes them more persuasive, particularly among young women. This suggests that authenticity, rather than fame alone, has become the dominant currency of influence in digital activism. However, as Abidin (2018) notes, this “authenticity” is often a crafted aesthetic rather than genuine transparency, underscoring the blurred boundaries between sincerity and strategy in digital cultures.

Parasocial Relationships and Audience Expectations

The evolution of celebrity activism also hinges on changing audience dynamics. Social media has deepened parasocial relationships between celebrities and followers, transforming one-sided admiration into interactive, affective engagement. Cheng et al. (2024) demonstrate that influencers’ perceived similarity, expertise, and interactivity foster trust and receptivity to political messages, which, in turn, encourage followers to share and discuss. Zenor (2014) says “In media studies, it is known that viewers of television shows form relationships with fictional characters that resemble real-live relationships—they are called parasocial relationships” (p. 3). This parasocial closeness can occur not only on TV but also on social media, amplifying both the reach and the moral scrutiny of celebrity activism: fans expect their favourite public figures to speak out on social issues, and silence can be interpreted as complicity. The shift from “what celebrities do” to “what they don’t do” reflects this heightened expectation of moral

engagement, which has given rise to digital accountability cultures and movements such as #BlockOut.

Performative Activism and the Politics of Visibility

Within this ecosystem, performative activism emerges as a defining feature of contemporary social movements. Kutlaca & Radke (2022) conceptualize performative allyship as a self-serving form of solidarity designed to maintain social credibility, while Wellman (2022) documents how influencers used black squares during #BlackOutTuesday as visible markers of virtue that often lacked substantive action. Tsaliki (2016) situates such behaviour within the incentive structures of social media, where algorithms privilege aesthetics and emotion over sustained civic engagement. The performative nature of digital activism, therefore, cannot be disentangled from the infrastructures that facilitate it: visibility becomes both a resource and a constraint. As seen in movements like #BlockOut, where influencers are criticized for selective or insincere participation, authenticity has become not just a moral ideal but a metric of credibility.

Celebrity Activism and Authenticity

The convergence of celebrity culture and digital activism reveals both opportunities and contradictions. Duvall (2020) shows how Colin Kaepernick's protest became a contested symbol of racial justice, appropriated by both supporters and opponents to reinforce ideological identities. Jain et al. (2024) emphasize that public perceptions of sincerity significantly influence the effectiveness of celebrity advocacy: authentic engagement fosters trust, while perceived hypocrisy erodes legitimacy. Caitlyn

Jenner's advocacy for transgender rights, as Williams (2022) observes, exemplifies the commodification of identity politics, where activism doubles as a form of brand differentiation. Similarly, Chidgey (2021) highlights that postfeminist celebrity activism operates within neoliberal branding frameworks, transforming feminist ideals into consumable media performances. Collectively, these studies suggest that the authenticity of digital activism is always provisional, shaped by visibility, market forces, and the perpetual negotiation between advocacy and self-promotion.

The evolving relationship between celebrity culture and digital activism reveals both the potential and paradoxes of leveraging fame for advocacy, as well as the complexities of celebrity and influencer activism, where public expectations of authenticity serve as both a catalyst and a constraint.

Cancel Culture and Digital Accountability

The evolution of celebrity activism in the digital era has transformed the public's relationship with fame, accountability, and moral responsibility. As social media has enabled direct communication between celebrities and audiences, public expectations have shifted from admiring "what celebrities do" to scrutinizing "what they don't do." This new moral economy places silence under as much ethical judgment as speech, particularly in moments of social crisis. Movements such as #BlockOut epitomize this transformation: followers mobilize not only to reward visible advocacy but also to punish perceived apathy, constructing silence as a form of complicity. Within this context, cancel culture has emerged as both a mechanism of digital accountability and a reflection of the emotional and political complexities of online participation.

Cancel culture functions as a form of grassroots accountability, driven by collective efforts to challenge abuses of power and enforce moral standards in evident digital spaces. Clark (2020) traces its origins to Black digital praxis, particularly within Black Twitter, where practices such as “calling out,” “dragging,” and “cancelling” evolved from Black vernacular traditions of public critique and community protection. She argues that “cancelling” initially represented a refusal to grant social capital, withdrawal of attention, support, or financial patronage from individuals or institutions that perpetuated harm. Over time, however, mainstream media reframed this practice as “cancel culture,” a term that distorts its origins and casts marginalized activism as censorship. In Clark’s framing, cancellation should instead be understood as a networked form of accountability praxis, through which historically silenced groups assert agency in digital publics.

Building on this, Lewis and Christin (2022) conceptualize cancel culture as part of a broader “platform drama” in which moral accountability, celebrity scandals, and commercial spectacle intertwine. Their analysis of YouTube’s “drama channels” reveals how cancellation operates as a ritualized performance that simultaneously enacts moral correction and generates profit through clicks and views. This dynamic exemplifies how digital activism often becomes embedded in the economies of attention and outrage that sustain platform capitalism. The authors describe cancellation not as a definitive act, but as an ongoing process, a “never-ending negotiation” among creators, audiences, and platforms over who holds moral authority online. Thus, accountability becomes both a social practice and a spectacle of visibility.

Ng (2020) similarly positions cancel culture within the ambivalent terrain of digital participation, noting that it has followed a similar trajectory to many social media phenomena: initially celebrated as empowering, it has later been criticized as toxic or excessive. She argues that while cancel culture can devolve into dogmatic and punitive behaviours, it remains a meaningful expression of grassroots activism, particularly for communities historically excluded from institutional forms of justice. Ng warns against dismissing it as a digital pathology; instead, she frames it as an indicator of the democratization of public discourse, even if mediated through platforms that amplify polarization and brevity over reflection.

At the same time, the visibility-driven dynamics of cancel culture blur the line between justice and performance. Lewis and Christin (2022) show that platforms like YouTube reward conflict and controversy, incentivizing creators to dramatize accountability and audiences to participate in moral adjudication. The resulting spectacle transforms moral critique into content, where outrage circulates as currency. As Driessen (2023) observes, cancellation rituals reinforce group identity and emotional belonging within online communities, but they also risk substituting systemic critique with individualized blame. This tension highlights the dual nature of cancel culture, as it challenges institutional power while perpetuating the logics of commodified attention.

The implications for celebrity activism are profound. Public figures now navigate an environment in which silence is politicized, and visibility is both a resource and a liability. Ng (2020) notes that celebrities face an ethical double bind: speaking out exposes them to misinterpretation or backlash, while silence invites accusations of complicity. For many, digital accountability becomes an impossible balancing act shaped

by platform algorithms, fan expectations, and brand imperatives. As Clark (2020) and Lewis and Christin (2022) each emphasize, the struggle over cancel culture is ultimately about who defines morality and justice in a media landscape where the personal, the political, and the profitable are inextricably linked.

Limitations of Social Justice and Celebrity Activism

Despite the democratizing promise of digital activism and celebrity advocacy, research increasingly highlights the limitations, contradictions, and unintended consequences that emerge within these practices. While social media has expanded participation and visibility for marginalized groups, it also reproduces structural inequalities, polarization, and affective toxicity, thereby constraining the transformative potential of online activism.

Polarization and Systemic Inequality

Digital platforms amplify both activism and antagonism. Estrada et al. (2022) demonstrate how feminist mobilizations in Mexico became sites of affective polarization, where social media users mobilized emotions such as anger and shame to discipline women's participation in politics. Their study reveals that nearly half of tweets surrounding feminist protests contained misogynistic or violent sentiments, suggesting that online spaces not only enable feminist organizing but also reinforce gendered hostility and surveillance. Similarly, Lee (2023) argues that affective polarization, the emotional division between opposing social groups, encourages toxic participation, where hate becomes a mobilizing force rather than a deterrent. This dynamic transforms

social media into a battleground where outrage fuels engagement, ultimately benefiting platform algorithms that profit from emotional extremity.

As D'Ignazio and Klein (2020) argue, digital systems are never neutral infrastructures but are embedded within—and actively reproduce—intersecting relations of power, where gendered and racialized inequalities shape who is heard, harassed, or rendered visible. From their perspectives, the affective polarization observed in online activism is not incidental but structurally incentivized: platforms elevate emotionally charged and antagonistic content because outrage generates engagement, transforming marginalized users' vulnerability and labour into extractable value within the data economy.

Online activism also exposes participants, particularly women and marginalized groups, to disproportionate levels of digital harassment and violence (Sobieraj, 2020). Estrada et al. (2022) document how feminist activists in Mexico faced coordinated online abuse, including threats of sexual violence and murder, illustrating how patriarchal power adapts to digital spaces. This mirrors patterns identified in broader studies of digital incivility, where activism provokes both solidarity and violent backlash (Gagnon et al., 2022). The normalization of this hostility serves as a form of affective discipline, discouraging marginalized voices from fully participating in public discourse.

Finally, systemic inequalities persist within these digital spaces. Duvall (2020) demonstrates how online discourse surrounding athlete activism perpetuates racialized hierarchies, while Estrada et al. (2022) document the gendered harassment experienced by feminist activists. Gagrčin (2022) notes that combating online incivility necessitates emotional and moral labour from users who intervene against hate speech

in their “personal public spheres,” highlighting that digital activism entails not only political participation but also affective maintenance. Together, these studies illustrate how social media functions as both the infrastructure and battleground of modern activism: a space of empowerment, commodification, and contestation. These tensions not only shape who can participate in activism but also transform the very meaning of political engagement, prompting closer scrutiny of how digital platforms convert moral attention into market value.

The Commodification of Social Justice

Another key limitation is the commodification of activism within neoliberal and platformed economies. As Duvall (2020) and Keller and Ryan (2020) observe, celebrity and influencer activism often functions within a market logic that equates visibility with virtue, transforming advocacy into a performative spectacle. Harvey’s (2005) theory of neoliberalism helps clarify this shift: as collective struggle shifts towards individualized branding, activism becomes a way of gaining symbolic and economic capital rather than challenging power structures. Similarly, social justice language has been weaponized in the “anti-woke” culture war, redefining activism as elitist or excessive (Cammaerts, 2022; Phelan, 2019). This backlash delegitimizes social movements and limits their capacity to bring about systemic change, reinforcing the idea that moral virtue is a personal achievement rather than a collective effort.

Ephemerality and Algorithmic Simplification

Social media’s architecture itself imposes significant limits on meaningful political engagement. Bouvier and Machin (2021) demonstrate that Twitter-based cancel

campaigns and social justice hashtags frequently reduce complex issues to binary narratives of good versus evil, prioritizing emotion and virality over nuance. This “affective simplification” encourages users to participate through symbolic gestures, such as likes, retweets, and black squares, rather than engaging in sustained civic action. As Estrada et al. (2022) argue, such affective mobilization may create the appearance of progress while simultaneously constraining it through polarization and emotional fatigue. Moreover, Papacharissi (2014) suggests that social media’s rapid, ephemeral communication style discourages deliberation, fostering outrage cycles that overshadow long-term organizing efforts.

Fragmentation of Solidarity

Finally, the commercialization and emotional intensity of digital activism have fragmented collective solidarity. Estrada et al. (2022) and Bouvier and Machin (2021) demonstrate that moral outrage often targets individuals rather than systems, resulting in a cycle of visibility and punishment that undermines social justice. Within celebrity activism, these tendencies are amplified; audiences demand moral perfection from public figures while overlooking structural issues that underpin inequality. As a result, the pursuit of justice can devolve into performance, where visibility becomes a substitute for transformation.

Lessons from Digital Activism: What Makes Campaigns Successful

While many digital movements face criticism for being superficial or fleeting, research across several cases, such as #BlackLivesMatter, #MeToo, and the Sleeping Giants movement, demonstrates that success in digital activism depends on a blend of

emotional resonance, decentralized organization, and the ability to bridge online visibility with offline outcomes.

Building Networked Counterpublics

Jackson et al. (2020) argue that hashtag activism operates through networked counterpublics; online communities where marginalized voices collectively reshape public discourse. Campaigns like #BlackLivesMatter and #SayHerName provided narrative spaces to counter dominant media framings of racial violence and state power. By using hashtags as connective threads, participants built collective identities and preserved experiential knowledge, ensuring that individual stories became part of a larger movement archive. Similarly, #GirlsLikeUs leveraged visibility to center the lived experiences of trans women and assert their belonging within broader feminist and LGBTQ+ conversations. While networked counterpublics establish spaces for marginalized voices to gather and be heard, their impact depends on how effectively movements communicate shared grievances and mobilize emotion into action.

Emotional Storytelling and Strategic Framing

Li et al. (2021) find that the Sleeping Giants movement succeeded because it paired moral outrage with precise strategic framing: identifying a specific injustice (advertisers' funding hate sites), proposing an actionable solution (withdrawing ads), and sustaining engagement through networked peer participation. The campaign's "diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational" (p. 2) framing encouraged scalable participation while maintaining coherence, qualities that many viral movements lack. Likewise, Jackson et al. (2020) demonstrate that successful hashtags articulate both

affect and action; movements such as #MeToo translate personal disclosure into a collective critique of gendered power, showing that emotion and strategy must operate together for digital activism to generate momentum.

Authentic Solidarity over Performative Allyship

Sustainable campaigns depend on authenticity and relational accountability. Jackson et al. (2020) caution that allyship often risks reproducing privilege when it centers on the moral performance of dominant groups rather than amplifying those of marginalized groups. Movements that thrive, such as #BlackLivesMatter, encourage accompliceship, in which participants commit to risk, redistribution, and structural change. The Sleeping Giants movement also demonstrated this principle by using collective anonymity and decentralized organization, avoiding the celebrity-driven pitfalls that often dilute activist credibility.

Bridging Online Visibility and Offline Impact

Ultimately, digital campaigns endure when they connect online mobilization to tangible, offline change. The most effective movements combine digital storytelling with institutional advocacy, legal reform, or cultural transformation. For example, #MeToo not only galvanized millions of online testimonies but also reshaped workplace policies and accountability structures. Likewise, the Sleeping Giants movement leveraged digital influence to exert economic pressure, demonstrating that hybrid activism, spanning both screens and streets, maximizes both reach and impact.

Literature Conclusion

The current literature provides a strong foundation for examining the #BlockOut movement by contextualizing it within broader discussions of activism, celebrity culture, and digital engagement. Historical and theoretical perspectives on activism help illustrate how collective action has evolved from physical protest to networked mobilization. Scholarship on celebrity activism highlights how public figures have become moral and political actors whose visibility can both advance and complicate social causes. Meanwhile, research on digital and social media activism shows how online platforms facilitate decentralized participation, amplify the voices of marginalized individuals, and enable new forms of accountability through public discourse. Together, these bodies of work frame #BlockOut as the convergence point of these trends, where digital users challenge traditional hierarchies of influence and reimagine activism as both participatory and performative. Thus, the literature not only informs the historical and theoretical grounding of this study but also supports an understanding of #BlockOut as a meaningful reflection of how activism, celebrity, and digital culture intersect in the contemporary media landscape.

While existing literature offers valuable insights into the evolution of activism, celebrity influence, and digital participation, a distinct gap remains in understanding the paradox of obligation, the tension between public expectations that celebrities engage in sociopolitical discourse and their right to remain silent. Scholarship on celebrity activism, parasocial relationships, and digital performance has explored how fame, authenticity, and moral authority intertwine; however, few studies address how audiences actively construct, enforce, and negotiate these expectations within

algorithmically driven platforms like TikTok. This research responds to that gap by examining the #BlockOut movement as a case study of what happens when online communities mobilize to hold celebrities accountable for perceived moral inaction. In doing so, it highlights how digital activism, celebrity culture, and participatory media converge to reshape notions of responsibility and influence in the contemporary public sphere. Ultimately, this study contributes to the emerging conversation about the ethics of online silence and the evolving power dynamics between celebrities and their audiences in an era where visibility and activism have become increasingly intertwined.

Methods and Methodology

Research on celebrity activism and digital mobilization relies on a combination of qualitative, quantitative, and mixed-methods designs to capture meanings, networks, and platform dynamics. On the qualitative side, researchers use critical and interpretive discourse analyses to link language, imagery, and interface affordances with power and identity. Brock's (2018) Critical Technocultural Discourse Analysis (CTDA) is emblematic: a multimodal technique that reads platforms as artifacts, practices, and beliefs, integrating interface analysis with culturally situated user discourse. This approach is well-suited to studying celebrity and influencer talk as cultural performance on social media. Content and discourse analyses (e.g., Bouvier & Machin, 2021; Duvall, 2020; Gonzalez et al., 2024) illuminate how language and imagery construct activist narratives.

Quantitatively, scholars often pair content analysis with computational modelling to track political messaging and its effects at scale. For instance, Gonzalez et al. (2024)

conducted a systematic content analysis of 1,256 Instagram posts and 2,936 Stories from top celebrities, athletes, and social media influencers, using multilevel modelling to compare topic types and frames. This approach directly operationalizes how public figures package politics for their audiences. Network scientists model diffusion and visibility through core–periphery structures; Barberá et al. (2015) decompose protest networks across multiple cases to show how a “critical periphery” expands reach, providing evidence that seemingly low-commitment participants can still amplify movement messages originating with elites or high-follower accounts.

Mixed-methods designs bridge these paradigms, aligning digital data with narrative/thematic interpretation. Li et al. (2021) analyzed 3.5 million tweets from Sleeping Giants alongside qualitative materials in a case-study, mixed-methods design. They organized logics and strategic framing practices that converted online attention into advertiser withdrawals, creating an analytic template for connecting celebrity/influencer amplification to tangible outcomes. Reviews in social psychology synthesize this evidence base, showing that online and offline collective action are typically positively intertwined (rather than a substitute for slacktivism), with platforms simultaneously enabling mobilization and repression, an essential caution for interpreting celebrity-led calls to action. Mixed-method and network analyses (e.g., Fouquaert & Mechant, 2022; Greijdanus et al., 2020) reveal the social structures and algorithmic mechanisms underpinning visibility. Such approaches reflect the multifaceted nature of digital activism, where meaning, emotion, and data intersect.

Crucially, several studies embed methodological choices in platform-aware theory. van Dijck (2013) proposes a multi-layered model that couples actor-network

theory (users/technologies/content) with political economy (ownership/governance/business models) to “disassemble platforms” and “reassemble sociality” (p. 24). This framework clarifies how visibility metrics, defaults, and governance shape what scholars can observe, and why analyses of celebrity visibility should consider interfaces and incentives alongside texts and networks.

Method frameworks that center equity and standpoint also matter. Feminist mixed-methods scholarship reframes triangulation not only as validation but also as a strategy to surface subjugated knowledge, arguing for the purposeful integration of qualitative and quantitative components to recover marginalized perspectives, an imperative when evaluating whose voices celebrity campaigns elevate or eclipse. Taken together, this body of scholarship establishes the methodological foundations for studying digital celebrity activism. It shows that understanding movements like #BlockOut requires approaches attentive to language, visibility, infrastructure, and inequality. Building on this tradition, my study employs a qualitative-dominant mixed-methods design, integrating discourse analysis of TikTok content with quantitative engagement metrics. The following sections outline the specific research design, sampling strategy, data collection, and analytic procedures used in this project.

Research Design

This study investigates the #BlockOut movement on TikTok through a qualitative-dominant mixed-methods approach, informed by a robust theoretical framework that brings together digital activism studies, discourse and counter-discourse theory, performance and accountability frameworks, and celebrity theory. While the initial research scope included both TikTok and Instagram, the study ultimately focused

exclusively on TikTok due to its central role in the movement's discourse and practical limitations in accessing and engaging with Instagram data. The mixed-methods design enables both a deep exploration of user discourse and a measurable assessment of the movement's impact on public figures.

Although my original proposal included both TikTok and Instagram as data collection platforms, I ultimately excluded Instagram from the final analysis due to its limited engagement with the #BlockOut movement and practical barriers to accessing meaningful discourse. This itself can be considered a finding, during preliminary data collection, I reviewed 85 Instagram posts tagged with #BlockOut and related hashtags, but the majority consisted of reshared TikTok videos or aesthetically driven content with minimal comment engagement. In contrast, TikTok emerged as the central hub for the movement's discourse, with significantly higher volumes of original content, user interaction, and affectively rich comment sections. The participatory culture and algorithmic dynamics of TikTok, particularly its For You Page and comment-thread visibility, enabled users to shape the movement in ways not mirrored on Instagram. As a result, I decided to focus solely on TikTok to ensure a more robust, discursively rich dataset.

As mentioned above, this research adopts a qualitative-dominant mixed-methods approach, which in this study means combining detailed discourse analysis with quantitative engagement metrics. First, as seen in Appendix A, I collected and analyzed TikTok posts and user comments from the #BlockOut movement, conducting thematic and critical discourse analysis of 973 comments from 11 high-engagement videos (with over 1M views and several thousand comments). Second, I paired this

qualitative work with quantitative measures by tracking changes in followers and engagement patterns for the top ten celebrities most frequently listed on #BlockOut block lists. Together, these methods capture both the discursive (how users frame silence, complicity, and accountability) and material (changes in follower counts and engagement) dimensions of the movement. A full explanation of data collection, sampling, and analytic procedures is provided in the detailed sections that follow.

It is important to understand the discursive strategies used, such as satire, moral critique, emotional appeals, and symbolic performance, that challenge dominant narratives about celebrity silence. These strategies are understood not merely as individual expressions but as collective tools of political participation and cultural critique. By combining qualitative analysis with quantitative metrics such as follower counts and engagement rates, the study aims to capture both the movement's rhetorical and material consequences.

Theoretical Approach

The theoretical orientation of this study is interdisciplinary, drawing from several complementary perspectives. Digital activism studies offer a framework for examining how online spaces facilitate political engagement, amplify marginalized voices, and foster new forms of collective identity. This study builds on Sorce and Dumitrica's (2022) argument that digital activism creates new visibility dynamics that can both empower and constrain participants. This framework is central to understanding how users mobilize the #BlockOut campaign to influence both public discourse and celebrity behaviour.

Discourse and counter-discourse theory, particularly as articulated by Gill (2018), provides a critical framework for examining how users construct, negotiate, and contest meaning within digital publics. Gill's work emphasizes how dominant narratives are reproduced through everyday discourse, while counter-discourses emerge to resist, reframe, or subvert these ideologies. In the context of digital activism, this framework illuminates how online users challenge the normalization of celebrity disengagement by generating alternative narratives that frame silence not as apolitical neutrality but as complicity, privilege, or moral failure. Counter-discourses within movements like #BlockOut therefore function as grassroots mechanisms of accountability, offering new interpretations of responsibility that disrupt celebrity-centrism and reassert collective agency.

Performance and accountability frameworks, including those developed for evaluating organizational and public-sector effectiveness (United Nations CERF, n.d.), further sharpen this analysis by providing criteria for judging behaviour in highly visible environments. Although these models originate in bureaucratic and institutional contexts, their emphasis on transparency, responsiveness, consistency, and ethical responsibility translates effectively into the digital celebrity sphere. Public figures, like institutions, are assessed by how they demonstrate care, commitment, and reliability in moments of public crisis. This framework also makes legible how silence itself becomes a form of communicative action: an omission that audiences interpret as strategic, morally loaded, or reputationally calculated. This approach shows how performance is not merely what is said but also what is withheld, and how accountability is co-produced by audiences who continuously scrutinize and moralize celebrity conduct.

Celebrity theory, as discussed by Harvey (2017), adds an essential cultural dimension by situating celebrities and influencers as intermediaries whose visibility allows them to shape social norms, political sentiment, and collective identity. Harvey conceptualizes celebrities as both products and producers of digital culture: they emerge from media systems shaped by platform logics, yet they also actively construct narratives, identities, parasocial intimacy, and values that audiences internalize. This dual role is crucial for understanding why celebrities are expected to “speak out” on political issues and why their silence sparks such intense public reaction. Applying celebrity theory to #BlockOut underscores how expectations of activism are entangled with branding, audience relationships, and broader cultural imaginaries about authenticity, morality, and influence.

Each theoretical framework in this study is operationalized through specific analytical strategies that connect directly to the data. Digital activism theory is applied by identifying how users use TikTok as a tool for civic participation—through hashtags like #BlockOut and the act of blocking celebrities—as symbolic or actualized political action. The analysis focuses on how this engagement amplifies marginalized voices and challenges mainstream narratives, particularly through recurring themes such as digital solidarity, public accountability, and moral alignment. Discourse and counter-discourse theory is operationalized through thematic coding and critical technocultural discourse analysis (CTDA) of comments, which highlight how users construct counter-narratives to celebrity silence.

These discourses were often emotional, ironic, or morally charged. Performance and accountability frameworks guide the interpretation of how silence and speech are

both viewed as performances. For example, users critique silence not as neutrality but as a deliberate communicative act, and performances of activism are evaluated in terms of sincerity, consistency, and moral alignment. This is evident in discourses that judge celebrities' timing, language, and affiliations. Finally, celebrity theory is operationalized by examining how TikTok users construct celebrities as moral agents, shaping expectations for their behaviour based on perceived influence and platform visibility. The analysis pays particular attention to how celebrity identity (e.g., race, gender, past activism) factors into whether their silence is excused, criticized, or reinterpreted, revealing the complex power dynamics underpinning digital celebrity culture.

Methods

Data Collection and Sampling

This study draws on publicly available TikTok data, where the #BlockOut movement first emerged and reached its widest audience. Initially, Instagram was considered a complementary data source; 85 posts were collected and reviewed. However, due to limited engagement, lower levels of relevant discourse, and the platform's visual- and aesthetic-first culture, Instagram data was excluded from the final analysis.

To begin my data collection, I conducted a manual search of the hashtag #BlockOut on Instagram, limiting my review to English-language posts to maintain consistency in content analysis. During this process, I intentionally avoided duplicate or reposted content, opting instead to locate the source of each post. Many irrelevant posts surfaced under the hashtag, including those about rock climbing, gaming, Disney,

blackout curtains, and other unrelated trends. Some users had applied the hashtag to gain traction, even when their content had no connection to the movement. However, there were also cases where users, particularly those based in Palestine, used clickbait tactics to draw viewers in before delivering emotionally urgent or humanitarian messaging tied to the #BlockOut trend. All relevant content was saved in an Instagram folder titled “#BlockOut,” and I captured screenshots and screen recordings of each post, along with the top comments. To maintain organization, each post was assigned to an individual folder within a larger archive.

In total, I initially saved 85 Instagram posts. These included a mix of carousel and static images, along with some videos. However, Instagram’s limitations soon became apparent. The platform does not offer Boolean search operators or advanced filters. Available categories such as “For You,” “Accounts,” “Reels,” “Tags,” and “Places” are algorithmically driven and inconsistent in terms of relevance. Notably, single-image or carousel posts cannot be easily filtered, making the search process cumbersome. As a result, my ability to efficiently target relevant content on Instagram was limited compared to TikTok.

My subsequent search on TikTok for the hashtag #BlockOut initially yielded many unrelated results in the “Top” section, including content about partying, fainting, music lyrics, and power outages. Shifting to search terms such as “Blockouts 2024,” as suggested by TikTok’s search bar, yielded better results. Unlike Instagram, TikTok is predominantly video-based, and most of the content related to #BlockOut was original rather than reposted. I observed widespread participation in the “Celebrity Block Party” trend, and users appeared more vocal in their support, critique, or interpretation of the

campaign. In total, I saved 75 original TikTok posts for analysis, posted between May 7th, 2024, and June 2nd, 2024. The dataset included both traditional video posts and image-based carousel posts, each enabling distinct affordances in how creators framed block lists and mobilized participation. TikTok's filtering tools—such as sorting by relevance, like count, and date posted—helped locate top-performing content. I primarily used the “like count” filter to identify popular posts and engaged audiences because it lets me find not only videos with high view counts but also those with high engagement. Additionally, TikTok offers a broader range of search categories than Instagram, including the ability to search photos, although photos are seldom used in this context.

To supplement manual data collection and facilitate quantitative analysis, I experimented with web scraping tools. I first investigated Phantombuster, which supports Instagram scraping, and Apify, which supports both Instagram and TikTok. Using Apify, I scraped TikTok data under the hashtags #BlockOut2024, #BlockList2024, #BlockList, and #BlockParty, requesting 25 posts per hashtag. The data collected included video URLs, captions, hashtags, comment count, like count (“diggs”), shares, bookmarks, and play counts. I discovered that some of the audio accompanying posts lacked official labels, making it necessary to listen manually to assess trends. My goal with scraping was to cross-reference manually saved content with top-performing scraped posts to ensure I captured a robust sample. All collected data came from public accounts and excluded any sponsored content.

The Instagram scraping process was more limited. Although I attempted to use the Instagram Hashtag Scraper on Apify and Phantombuster, these tools yielded

minimal results, often pulling repetitive content from a single non-English account. Moreover, due to changes in Instagram's desktop version, only a maximum of 28 posts per hashtag could be extracted, often with limited relevance. For instance, of the 28 posts scraped under #BlockOut2024, only six were in English and only two explicitly called for users to block celebrities. In contrast, the #BlockList2024 hashtag proved to be more fruitful, surfacing posts with actual block lists or commentary on celebrity accountability.

Despite the utility of scraping tools, I found that the visual and contextual nature of my data, primarily videos and infographics, meant that manual searching and screening were more effective in filtering relevant content. This was particularly true for Instagram, where most scraped content had low engagement or came from accounts with little relevance to the movement. As a result, I relied on TikTok content for my analysis. TikTok yielded a greater volume of original videos featuring commentary on the trend, while Instagram's contribution was mainly limited to reposts, memes, and infographics. I decided not to include duplicate content and excluded Instagram posts that lacked substantial engagement or originality.

Although I initially discovered the #BlockOut trend on Instagram, I ultimately did not use any of the Instagram videos I had saved in my final analysis. While some of these posts garnered tens of thousands of views, they were significantly overshadowed by the reach of TikTok videos, many of which had view counts in the millions. This disparity in engagement played a central role in my decision to prioritize TikTok content. While Instagram hosted a variety of posts using the hashtag, much of it consisted of repurposed or duplicated content from TikTok, often posted days or weeks later. As a

result, the discourse on Instagram was less timely, with multiple posts lacking the immediacy and relevance of TikTok's real-time reactions.

Moreover, the quality and volume of user commentary differed substantially between platforms. TikTok videos generally had more robust comment sections, enabling more profound insight into user opinions, emotional responses, and engagement with the movement. These discussions were fuller, more dynamic, and better suited for thematic analysis than the comparatively sparse conversations found on Instagram. The richness of TikTok's discourse ultimately allowed for a more meaningful exploration of how users were interpreting and reacting to the #BlockOut campaign at the time.

In hindsight, my initial impression that Instagram would be a primary source for analysis was shaped mainly by the fact that I first encountered the #BlockOut trend there. At the time, I was not using TikTok, so I was unaware that the campaign had originated and gained traction on that platform before migrating to Instagram, as is often the case with social media trends. By the time I began curating content for research, much of the primary conversation on TikTok had already peaked, while Instagram was only beginning to reflect the movement, primarily through delayed or second-hand content. This further justified my decision to focus on TikTok as the primary site of analysis, as it captured the trend at its origin, during the height of user participation and conversation.

The 75 TikTok videos were then narrowed down to a shortlist of 30 based on view count, comment volume, and content relevance. From this shortlist, I selected the final 11 videos by considering several key criteria: (1) high engagement levels, including

collectively over 23.7 million views and more than 82,000 comments; (2) direct relevance to the #BlockOut discourse, particularly those promoting or explaining “Block Lists”; and (3) variation in video style and tone, such as creator-led commentary, emotionally charged messaging, and straightforward list presentations. The original plan was 10 videos; however, two videos from the same creator had significantly more views and comments than the other videos, therefore it was important to include both. The goal was to capture a diverse sample of how the movement was being performed and interpreted across TikTok, which was achieved through these videos. Each of these videos served not only as a container for user-generated comments but also as a discursive artifact shaping the nature and tone of engagement.

The sampling strategy for this study was purposive sampling, a non-probability method in which researchers intentionally select cases that are information-rich and directly relevant to the phenomenon under investigation (Patton, 2015). Purposive sampling is widely used in qualitative digital research because it enables the researcher to focus on content that best illuminates how users engage with a particular discourse, rather than attempting to capture a statistically representative sample of all posts on a platform. This approach is particularly appropriate for studying fast-moving social media trends such as #BlockOut, where relevant content appears unevenly across platforms and where viral discourse is often concentrated within a relatively small number of high-engagement posts.

In this study, purposive sampling involved targeting TikTok posts that explicitly engaged with #BlockOut narratives. Posts were selected based on their use of key hashtags, high engagement, and a clear narrative focus on the “Block List” trend. This

process yielded a diverse sample: eight posts featured creators directly addressing viewers with commentary about which celebrities to block and why, while three presented block lists without voiceovers, often accompanied by trending audio and platform-native visual formats. Selecting posts with high engagement ensured that the dataset captured the discursive strategies and emotional tones that were most visible to, and most influential upon, the broader TikTok public—including humour, critique, compassion, solidarity, and moral evaluation.

Purposive sampling was also necessary because the #BlockOut movement produced uneven, highly variable content across the platform, with some hashtags dominated by irrelevant, off-topic, or reposted material. Focusing on posts central to the discourse enabled me to prioritize depth, nuance, and contextual richness in the qualitative analysis. Additionally, Microsoft Copilot was used to identify and cross-reference the celebrities frequently mentioned across the sampled posts, verifying the selection of the top ten celebrities included in the quantitative portion of the mixed-methods design.

Each video served not only as a site of discourse but also as a discursive artifact. The tone of narration, use of hashtags, aesthetic framing, and creator identity all influenced the engagement each video received. These contextual elements, while not formally coded, were considered during interpretation. The top 100 comments from each of the 11 selected posts were manually collected using a combination of Apify and PhantomBuster scraping tools. After filtering out non-English, spam, and irrelevant comments, the final dataset included 973 unique comments.

While the original plan was to collect data across six months, beginning May 7, 2024, shortly after the peak of the Israel-Hamas conflict and the emergence of the #BlockOut trend, this timeframe was ultimately adjusted due to the short-lived nature of the movement. The proposed six-month window was intended to allow for longitudinal analysis and the observation of evolving discourse over time. In practice, meaningful content related to #BlockOut was concentrated within a much shorter span. This, too, can be considered a finding. The trend experienced a rapid surge in visibility and participation during its first few weeks, but began to taper off significantly after approximately six weeks. As a result, relevant posts and engagement occurred within that condensed timeframe, and the dataset reflects this temporal reality while still capturing the peak activity and immediate aftermath of the movement's online momentum.

Data Analysis

An overview of the TikTok posts related to the #BlockOut movement revealed two primary formats: creator engagement and literal lists. Eight posts featured creators directly addressing audiences about which celebrities to block, and three provided comprehensive block lists without direct personal engagement. The comment data analysis combined thematic analysis, critical technocultural discourse analysis (CTDA), critical discourse analysis (CDA), and quantitative measurement. CDA examines how social power, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reinforced, and occasionally challenged through various forms of communication within social and political contexts (Mayor & Bietti, 2017). This study drew on several techniques from CDA, including intertextuality (referencing and responding to other social texts), modality (expressions

of certainty, doubt, and obligation), evaluative moral framing, and discursive strategies such as satire, polarization, and solidarity (Mayor & Bietti, 2017). CTDA was used to read platforms as artifacts, practices, and beliefs, integrating interface analysis with culturally situated user discourse (Brock, 2018). These techniques allowed for a deeper understanding of how TikTok users constructed celebrity accountability narratives and challenged dominant ideologies through digital commentary.

A hybrid coding method was used, beginning with deductive codes informed by the study's theoretical framework (e.g., moral critique, digital solidarity, cancel culture). Inductive coding during subsequent passes enabled the emergence of context-specific categories and affective tones. Coding categories were refined iteratively over multiple rounds of review and refinement. Coding was conducted manually using Excel spreadsheets and involved categorizing each comment by one tone (angry, appreciative, assertive, confused, cynical, defensive, desperate, dismissive, empathetic, hopeful, informative, inquisitive, irritated, neutral, playful, prideful, sarcastic, skeptical, spiritual, supportive, unsure) (see Appendix B for definitions) and one discursive function (awareness-raising, call to action, clarification, corrective criticism, engagement, fundraising, inquiry, non-participation, participation, power, questioning, resistance, satire/mockery, solidarity, spiritual guidance, suggestion, testimony, unsure) (see Appendix C for definitions). Comments coded as Unsure or N/A reflected content that neither aligned with nor opposed the campaign.

As coding progressed, a more nuanced system was developed to classify discursive strategies identified in the comment data. Comments were labelled with the following themes based on the tone and purpose they were previously assigned.

Examples of the types of comments often seen for each are provided. For each theme, a tone, purpose, and definition were given to ensure consistency in categorizing. This is available in Appendix D:

- Activism as Digital Participation (e.g., “Done, done, and DONE”)
- Uncertainty and Information Gaps (e.g., “What is going on? Why? What did I miss?”)
- Pushback and Critique (e.g., “This whole “movement” is just a dumb trend”)
- Humour/Satire/Irony (e.g., “I’m not famous. But can you block me please?”)
- Moral or Humanitarian Alignment (e.g., “Hello dear, I am here in the northern Gaza Strip where there is hunger, destruction and fear, I need a helping hand to rebuild my life again”)
- Community and Belonging (e.g., “All eyes on Rafah may God keep you safe”)
- Polarization and Division (e.g., “Not supporting/mentioning doesn’t mean they support Israel”)

These themes illuminated how users framed their digital actions, blocking celebrities, defending or critiquing others’ participation, and how they interpreted silence and complicity in the face of global conflict. CDA was employed to examine how users used metaphor, irony, and symbolic language to articulate their grievances and values. For example, phrases like “digital guillotine” reflect historical analogies that position the movement as a revolutionary moral reckoning. This language helps expose the underlying power dynamics and accountability structures that shape public expectations of celebrity activism.

Quantitative data to analyze the analytical impact on the celebrities mentioned in these block lists was gathered using InsTrack, a third-party analytics platform powered by the Instagram API. This tool was used to track follower fluctuations, engagement metrics, and content performance of the top 10 most frequently mentioned celebrities in the #BlockOut lists. InsTrack was used to monitor follower dynamics on Instagram to detect fluctuations in the follower counts of targeted celebrities during and after the campaign, providing insights into the tangible consequences of public scrutiny. Even though #BlockOut originated and gained most of its traction on TikTok, the requests to block celebrities were not limited to one platform. Most #BlockOut participants went to Instagram to block celebrities, as I explain in my findings below. Additionally, at the time of analysis, no software could accurately track TikTok creators' follower counts as robustly as on Instagram.

A comparative analysis examined engagement and follower metrics between celebrities who chose to remain silent and those who actively spoke out on this social issue, shedding light on how digital activism impacts public perception and celebrity behaviour. Cross-referencing was also used to track whether targeted celebrities subsequently addressed social issues, experienced tangible consequences such as follower loss, or saw engagement declines. Additionally, the analysis explored discrepancies in user perceptions by examining instances where users targeted celebrities with prior activism records. Finally, I investigated the relationship between high engagement rates on #BlockOut-related posts and subsequent changes in celebrity behaviour or shifts in public discourse.

After initially categorizing my 75 TikTok posts, for my quantitative analysis, I selected 30 posts from the block list and noted the names of the celebrities mentioned. I used this larger dataset to ensure a variety of celebrities were included. I chose these 30 posts out of 42, which I had initially labelled as “action”, meaning they asked followers to block celebrities and provided lists. I narrowed the number down to 30 by eliminating posts that mention businesses, showcase large spreadsheets of data (which often list every celebrity, are very niche block lists, or instruct users to block every celebrity). I then used Microsoft Copilot to analyze the data and identify the top 10 mentions. It provided me with the following list, also available in Appendix E. I also manually reviewed the data and can confirm that these celebrities were the most mentioned in the lists I collected.

1. Taylor Swift
2. Rihanna
3. Kim Kardashian
4. Selena Gomez
5. Kylie Jenner
6. Justin Bieber
7. Beyoncé
8. Zendaya
9. Drake
10. Ariana Grande

A comparative analysis was conducted to assess the tangible impact of the #BlockOut movement on the digital presence and behaviour of the targeted celebrities.

The quantitative analysis component of this study focused on evaluating the digital impact of the #BlockOut movement using measurable engagement metrics. Data points such as likes, shares, comments, and follower counts were collected to assess how public participation in the movement influenced celebrity visibility and audience interaction. To further explore these trends, InsTrack, a third-party analytics tool powered by the official Instagram API, was used to track follower dynamics and compare changes over time between celebrities who remained silent on the issue and those who publicly addressed it. A comparative analysis was conducted to examine differences in follower gains and losses, shifts in engagement levels, and behavioural responses from targeted celebrities, such as issuing public statements or participating in related discourse. This approach provided a deeper understanding of how digital activism can shape online reputations and influence the communicative choices of public figures.

Ethical Research

Social Media Algorithms

Algorithmic influence shapes content visibility and engagement, potentially affecting both user participation and researchers' access to representative data. The impact of social media algorithms was significant in shaping the dataset (Lim, 2020). TikTok's For You Page (FYP), comment sorting algorithm, and hashtag curation likely amplified certain types of content, such as emotionally charged or high-engagement posts, over others. While this reflects real user interaction patterns, it also introduces a layer of algorithmic bias that shapes the sample's composition and the visibility of specific perspectives (Doctorow, 2023). I acknowledge that the platform's algorithm may

have filtered or amplified discourse in ways that are not transparent to researchers or users.

Using User-Generated Content

Ethical considerations were a key aspect throughout the research process. Only publicly accessible content was analyzed, and usernames, profile photos, and other identifying details were excluded to preserve user privacy and align with ethical standards for digital research. In Canada, this study also falls under the principles of Fair Dealing, which permits the use of copyrighted material without seeking permission when done for purposes such as research, private study, criticism, review, or news reporting. Because the TikTok posts and comments analyzed were publicly available and used solely for academic research, and no substantial reproduction or redistribution of the original content occurred, this project aligns with Fair Dealing protections under Canadian copyright law (Simon Fraser University, n.d.).

Comments were anonymized, and user identifiers were excluded from reporting. This aligns with ethical standards for social media research (Ravn et al., 2019). No private or semi-private content (e.g., Stories, Close Friends posts, private accounts) was included. While limiting the dataset to public content ensured ethical compliance, it also constrained access to potentially more candid expressions often found in semi-private discussions. This trade-off reflects a common challenge in digital discourse research. While these precautions ensured ethical compliance, they may have limited access to more nuanced or vulnerable discourse found in semi-private settings. However, because the movement's influential and viral discourse occurred in public forums, the risk of missing key insights is low.

Limitations

This study also faces several limitations. Although both TikTok and Instagram were initially considered, only TikTok was included in the final analysis. The platform-specific culture of TikTok, especially its emphasis on audio-visual storytelling, remix culture, and rapid virality, may not generalize to other platforms. The study reflects discourse occurring between May and November 2024. Because digital activism trends evolve quickly, the findings may become less relevant over time or fail to capture long-term shifts in user behaviour. Comments containing sarcasm, irony, or trolling posed challenges for accurate interpretation. Without access to user intention, I relied on contextual cues and pattern recognition during coding. Engagement metrics (likes, shares, follower losses) do not inherently reveal sentiment. High comment counts, for example, may indicate either outrage or support. Vocal users are overrepresented. Passive participants or dissenting voices that did not engage publicly were likely excluded.

TikTok does not publicly disclose detailed demographic data, making it difficult to assess how variables such as age, gender identity, and geographic region influence discourse. This also limits the study's ability to address the global dimensions of the movement, as it remains unclear how non-Western audiences interpreted or participated in the #BlockOut trend. In addition, I filtered for English-only data. As such, the findings may reflect a highly engaged or activist-leaning user base. The study could not measure financial impacts on celebrities, changes in brand partnerships, or platform-level interventions such as shadow-banning or content suppression.

Despite these constraints, my study offers a timely and data-rich exploration of one of the significant digital activism trends of 2024, offering insight into how users negotiate celebrity power, silence, and public accountability within algorithm-driven social media spaces. My study will offer fresh insights into the ethical, emotional, and systemic implications of #BlockOut and its role in reshaping the relationship between celebrities, activism, and public expectations.

Justification of Analysis

The analytic strategy used in this study is appropriate because it directly aligns with the nature of the #BlockOut movement, the structure and affordances of TikTok as a platform, and the study's broader theoretical commitments. The movement itself is fundamentally discursive: users articulate moral judgments, construct counter-discourses, and negotiate celebrity responsibility through comments, captions, hashtags, and symbolic acts such as blocking. A qualitative approach grounded in thematic and critical discourse analysis (CDA)/critical technocultural discourse analysis (CTDA) is therefore essential for capturing how users frame silence, complicity, and accountability, and how these meaning-making practices circulate within TikTok's highly public, algorithmically amplified comment spaces. CDA/CTDA, informed by discourse and counter-discourse theory, enables me to examine not only what users say but how they say it, through platforms, metaphor, irony, satire, moral evaluation, and collective identity work, revealing the cultural logics behind the movement.

At the same time, the movement is also materially consequential, aiming to produce measurable effects on celebrity visibility and public standing. For this reason, the study's quantitative component, tracking follower fluctuations, engagement metrics,

and changes in digital attention, is a critical complement to the qualitative analysis. These data allow the study to assess whether user discourse translates into observable shifts in celebrity reputations, thereby linking symbolic action (calls to block) with potential behavioural outcomes (follower loss). This mixed-methods design follows established approaches in digital activism research, pairing meaning-making analysis with observable indicators of online influence and reach, thereby ensuring a more holistic understanding of the movement's impact.

The study's theoretical foundations further justify the analysis. Performance and accountability frameworks require close attention to how silence, speech, and visibility are interpreted as forms of public performance; discourse analysis captures these interpretations, while quantitative metrics allow us to observe whether these interpretations affect celebrity standing. Similarly, celebrity theory positions influencers and public figures as cultural intermediaries whose perceived obligations are co-produced by audiences; examining both user discourse and shifts in engagement enables evaluation of how these expectations manifest in practice. Finally, digital activism theory emphasizes that platform infrastructures and algorithmic systems shape online participation. A combined qualitative–quantitative approach enables the study to attend simultaneously to these structural dynamics and the affective, discursive practices that users deploy in response.

Findings and Discussions

This chapter provides an in-depth analysis of how the #BlockOut movement developed on TikTok, drawing on 11 highly engaged TikTok posts and 973 English-

language comments. Here, I will readdress my four research questions and offer a comprehensive interpretation of the identified themes, illustrating how TikTok users understood, engaged with, and challenged the #BlockOut campaign. Additionally, it situates these findings within the existing scholarly literature on digital activism, platform capitalism, parasocial relationships, celebrity culture, and affective political discourse. Although the #BlockOut movement appeared to emerge spontaneously in May 2024 in response to perceived celebrity silence regarding the genocide in Gaza, the comment dataset reveals a complex and contested discursive space in which users negotiated confusion, outrage, emotional solidarity, humour, and broader political meaning.

As previously mentioned, TikTok is not a neutral space for political discussion. Its highly curated 'For You Page', audio-driven trends, algorithms, and user engagement fundamentally shape how movements emerge and develop on the platform. These platform-specific dynamics influence not only what is visible but also how users interpret political signals and imagine their participation in activism (Bouvier & Machin, 2021; Srnicek, 2016). The findings in this chapter view the movement not only as a collection of comments but as a phenomenon embedded within TikTok's algorithmic, aesthetic, and emotional frameworks. Focusing on the content *and* the platform is crucial for understanding how and why #BlockOut rapidly went viral on TikTok, generated widespread confusion, and ultimately faded without reaching its intended goals.

This chapter is divided into three main sections. The first explores the discursive landscape of #BlockOut, focusing on how TikTok users framed the movement, expressed confusion or uncertainty, and participated (or not). The second section looks at how celebrities are portrayed, emphasizing the importance of parasocial relationships

and the moral expectations placed on public figures. The third section evaluates the movement's impact, considering both its symbolic and material aspects, and the effectiveness of #BlockOut, highlighting its structural and discursive limitations. These findings show that #BlockOut was more than just a viral TikTok trend; it serves as a case study of how public expectations, emotional expression, celebrity culture, and algorithmic infrastructures interact in today's digital world. This chapter reveals not only what users said about #BlockOut but also what these discourses uncover about the broader tensions embedded in digital activism.

The #BlockOut Discourse on TikTok

The #BlockOut discourse emerged within a volatile, emotionally charged digital ecosystem shaped by the ongoing violence in Gaza, global calls for solidarity, and widespread frustration with celebrity silence. My first research question, which guided this study, was: "What themes and narratives define the #BlockOut discourse on TikTok?" To answer this, we need to examine the content of each video and its respective comment sections.

The 11 TikTok posts analyzed in this study encompassed two main formats: creator-delivered commentary, where individuals directly addressed the camera to explain the purpose of the movement, and list-style videos or carousel posts that presented block lists with text overlays, images, and trending audio. These formats not only shaped the content's tone but also influenced how viewers interpreted the movement's stakes. Creator-led posts often employed persuasive narration, moral appeals, and explanatory language, while list-only posts provided minimal context, leaving viewers to infer meaning based solely on visuals. I will deconstruct each video

and the responses it received, using the tones and purposes assigned to these comments. The definitions of each tone and purpose are available in Appendix B and C, respectively.

Video and Comment Analysis

TikTok #1: “Blocked, Muah”

This video features a creator lip-syncing to a trending TikTok audio that repeats the phrase “Muah, blocked,” accompanied by a blowing-kiss gesture. Overlaid text reads, “Here’s my block list for today,” and the creator points to the screen, listing several celebrities, including Taylor Swift, Selena Gomez, Justin Bieber, Hailey Bieber, and DJ Khaled. The post garnered significant engagement, accumulating 1.4 million views, approximately 160,000 likes, and over 3,000 comments. The caption consisted solely of “🇪🇬 #blockout2024,” indicating alignment with the broader campaign but offering no additional context or call to action.

The primary purpose of the video is performative participation in the #BlockOut campaign by publicly naming the celebrities the creator intended to block that day. While saying that the video is “performative” is not meant as a negative but simply an observation, since neither the video nor the caption provided resources, educational information, or requests for others to take similar action. Instead, it functioned as a declarative statement of the creator’s own digital protest. Notably, this creator typically posts fashion-related content. This was their only #BlockOut-related post, though they had previously shared content about the Palestinian crisis in the year prior.

From the top 100 comments, 53 were included in the coded sample (available in Appendix F). Here, and below, some comments were left out of the analysis because they were not in English or were spam. Among these, the common tones were desperate (25%), hopeful (15%), and supportive (13%). The top comment purposes were expressions of solidarity (21%), fundraising (17%), and a tie between engagement and satire/mockery (11% each). Notably, the comments coded as “fundraising” were not general fundraising recommendations; they were posts from users claiming to be Palestinians living in Gaza, asking for resources or assistance. One user commented “I am Ibrahim, Gazan still in Gaza. We lost everything please help us to evacuate before it’s too late, we need to evacuate, please donate and make videos about my campaign link in my bio” and another commented “Please save my children. I want to create a donation link so that I can get them out of Gaza safely”. These comments received no likes, replies, or visible engagement, and it is unclear if these were legitimate accounts.

The comments with the most interaction were those suggesting additional celebrities to block, such as “remember, block Lana [Del] Rey” or challenging the creator’s list by arguing that certain celebrities had, in fact, expressed support for Palestine, like “[Hailey] Bieber supports Palestine. [She] liked many posts [about] Palestine on Bella [Hadid's] [Instagram].” Other users questioned the effectiveness of blocking celebrities altogether, with some critiquing whether such actions meaningfully contribute to ending the conflict through comments such as “does this stop the war”, “how about stop filming useless [TikTok] videos and actually do something like donating”, and “This whole ‘movement’ is just a dumb trend”. Comments where users were posting supportive hashtags like “FROM [THE] RIVER TO THE SEA, PALESTINE

WILL BE FREE 🙌 #FreePalestine #SavePalestine #SaveGaza #SaveRafah

#AllEyesOnRafah” and those stating they had completed blocking the listed celebrities also received significant engagement.

TikTok #2: “Honorary Blocks of the Day”

This video features a male creator announcing his “Honorary Block of the Day,” accompanied by a playful drumroll. As he introduces each celebrity, the name appears on the screen along with an emoji and a brief commentary. For Rihanna, he includes a vomit emoji and criticizes her for “being quiet from her mansion.” For Drake, using a race-car emoji, he jokes, “If he sells one of his Lamborghinis, then maybe we can talk”, referring to the idea that if he were to donate money from that sale, he might be deserving of being removed from the block list. For Hailey Bieber, he uses an ill-looking emoji and refers to her as a “nepo baby” before crossing his arms in an “X” and declaring her “blocked.” The caption reads, “Better luck next week, guys! #blockout2024 You can block artists on Spotify, too.” This encourages viewers to block celebrities and artists not only on social media but also on Spotify. This is the only explicit call to action. The video aligns with the broader #BlockOut campaign, continuing the trend of recommending new celebrities for users to block.

The video received substantial engagement, with 5.3 million views, nearly 576,000 likes, and close to 13,000 comments. This creator is notable for being widely recognized as the creator of the #BlockOut campaign on TikTok and for producing multiple videos in a similar format. While his #BlockOut content reached high levels of visibility, he has not posted about the Gaza crisis or Palestinian support since his final

block list–style video at the beginning of June 2024. His more recent videos, which focus on general political commentary, receive significantly fewer views and engagement. From the top 100 comments, 90 were analyzed (available in Appendix G). The frequent tone categories were supportive (33%), appreciative (21%), and inquisitive (12%). The leading comment purposes were participation (51%), inquiry (14%), and suggestion (7%).

High-engagement comments included recommendations for additional celebrities or companies to block, such as “RHODE AND FENTY AS WELL” (Hailey Bieber and Rihanna’s brands), users asking logistical questions such as, “Are we doing this on TikTok, Instagram, or both?”, “Does Rihanna have a personal account or is it just Fenty?”, and “Question: Do we block them even if you don’t follow them?”. Viewers requested more context to help those unfamiliar with the campaign understand the video’s purpose when it appears unexpectedly in their algorithm with “everytime you do blocks of the day you should say “we have full control of celebrities money and lives” just in case it appears on someone’s fyp that might not get why we’re blocking” and “What day are we on? I’ve seen this one and the Kim K, Beyoncé one.” There were a significant number of comments supporting the campaign, with users stating, “I love this game”, “this is really exciting”, and “done done and done, see u guys tomorrow 🙌”.

TikTok #3: “Kawaii Aesthetic Block List”

This video takes the form of a simple blocklist compilation, featuring 120 celebrities deemed “worth blocking.” The format consists solely of white text on a black background, paired with a trending audio track titled “Kawaii Aesthetic,” unrelated to the

#BlockOut movement. There is no explanatory commentary or contextual information within the video. The caption consists of several hashtags, including #blocked, #blockout2024, #metgala, #boycott, #celebrity, #influencers, #cancelled, #taylorswift, and #zendaya. While no explicit call to action is provided, the intention is implied to those who understand the campaign: viewers are encouraged to use the list as guidance for which celebrities to block. However, no rationale or criteria are provided for the selections, leaving the list's logic unclear to users new to #BlockOut.

This simple video received 1 million views, approximately 24,000 likes, and just over 3,600 comments. The creator posted only two block-list videos—on May 9 and May 10, 2024—and has not posted any further content related to Palestine or the #BlockOut movement since. From the top 100 comments, 96 were coded (available in Appendix H). The dominant tones were assertive (18%), inquisitive (10%), and a tie between informative and neutral (9% each). The top comment purposes included suggestion (18%), questioning (15%), and call to action (10%).

The common and most engaged comments involved viewers asking why certain celebrities were included or excluded, debating the accuracy of the list, and offering additional names they believed should be added. These interactions indicate that audiences expected justification and transparency regarding the inclusion criteria, which the video did not provide. There were comments defending actress Jenna Ortega, who has been a Palestinian supporter, stating “Take Jenna Ortega off that list. She's always been pro”, “Why JENNA ORTEGA on this list?????? Go see her ig stories” and “didn't Jenna Ortega cancel her contract in *Scream* to support?”. This caused users to debate the accuracy of this list, with comments such as “do you even research before you

make these? zendaya and jenna have both been vocal about palestine.” and “Adding Jenna Ortega but not someone like Amy Schumer to this list literally shows how yall made palenstine more about celebrities rather than trying to actually make a change”.

The top comment on this video was “Britney Spears is spinning in her kitchen with butcher knives I don’t think she’s gonna be much help” and one user also observed that these lists are mostly female dominated with “The lack of men on these lists are disgusting”; highlighting a gendered asymmetry in digital accountability: women celebrities are disproportionately named, evaluated, and disciplined, while men—who often occupy more structurally powerful positions—remain comparatively invisible or exempt from moral surveillance.

TikTok #4: “The Hanging Tree”

The next TikTok post analyzed differs from the others in that it is a carousel post. The first slide states that the listed celebrities or influencers are either complicit in Israel’s propaganda efforts or choosing not to use their platforms to highlight the suffering of the Palestinian people under the genocidal regime of Israel. It names Charli D’Amelio, Usher, Leonardo DiCaprio, Kanye West, and Harry Styles, and instructs users to block them on Instagram, TikTok, YouTube, and X. The subsequent slides provide detailed explanations for why each individual is included on this block list. The account that posted the carousel, The Daily Blockout (@thedailyboycott), describes its purpose as creating lists of celebrities to block for ignoring the Palestinian cause. The account posted only 15 carousel-style posts and has been inactive since May 15, 2024. The caption on this post reads, “Hope you’re having a nice day! #usher #charlidamelio #harrystyles #kanyewest #blockout #blocklist #blockout2024.” The call to action—

blocking the listed celebrities—is clear from the carousel content, though not from the caption itself.

The audio accompanying this carousel is “The Hanging Tree” from the book/film *The Hunger Games: Mockingjay*. This song has become symbolically tied to protest culture on social media because it is known as an anthem of rebellion and a message of unity and defiance. In the book/film, Katniss Everdeen sings it to inspire the rebels. In the *Hunger Games* universe, it is well known that the Districts are struggling, while those in the Capitol are very well off. Its use in the #BlockOut posts reinforces the framing of celebrity-blocking as a collective uprising against perceived injustice, with celebrities attending the Met Gala dressed in Capitol-style costumes while protestors are one street over, drawing parallels between fictional rebellion and contemporary digital activism.

This post received 1.4 million views, nearly 83,000 likes, and just over 5,000 comments. All 100 sampled comments were analyzed (available in Appendix I). The top tone categories were sarcastic (38%), defensive (13%), and cynical (11%). The leading purposes were non-participation (39%), resistance (30%), and satire/mockery (16%). High-engagement comments often involved users stating that they planned to follow the listed celebrities as an act of opposition (“I’m following them all now”), claiming the campaign was performative (“Can someone please inform me how American celebrities are going to stop an international conflict”), expressing loyalty to certain celebrities (“You could never make me unfollow Kanye west”), or questioning whether celebrities have an obligation to speak out (“I didn’t know it was a requirement for all celebrities to publicly say who they support?”). Some commenters appreciated the list, although these

comments received no interaction, while others questioned the overall effectiveness of block-list activism (““That’ll show 'em,” this won’t change anything”).

TikTok #5: “Blocka”

This TikTok features a woman lip-syncing to a trending audio, known as “blocka”, which has been widely used in #BlockOut posts. The text on the screen reads “celebrity block out” accompanied by a watermelon emoji—a symbol that became associated with Palestinian solidarity. The format mirrors a popular trend in which creators list celebrities every time the audio says the word “block.” In this user’s version, the listed accounts include Rihanna, Taylor Swift, Drake, Beyoncé, Starbucks, McDonald’s, Selena Gomez, and Piers Morgan. The original purpose of #BlockOut was to block the celebrities who attended the Met Gala. It is interesting to note that none of the celebrities on this creator’s list attended the Met Gala, and the creator of this video also included businesses to block.

The caption reads, “Let the blocking begin 🙌🍉 #blockout #blockout2024.” While there is no explicit call to action, the implied purpose is to showcase her personal block list and encourage other users to participate in the trend, if they know what the campaign is. For viewers who encounter the video outside the broader campaign context, the intent may be unclear, as neither the caption nor visuals explain the rationale or political framing. I do wonder if this is intentional on the creator’s part to get more interaction on their video in the hopes that people will comment and ask what the blocking is for. If this were the case, the intent behind participating in #BlockOut is even more self-centred. But this is not proven, and if it is not intentional, then it is simply a

lack of awareness that not everyone's algorithm is the same and that they did not take the time to create a resource-intensive post that could support Palestinians.

The video received 2.2 million views, 323,000 likes, and just under 6,000 comments. The creator posted her first #BlockOut video on May 10, 2024, and then a follow-up on May 13. Afterward, she made two additional posts about Gaza but has not posted any further Palestine-related content since June 4, 2024. Of the top 100 comments on this video, 74 were included in the analysis (available in Appendix J). The prevalent tones were appreciative (26%), neutral (8%), and inquisitive (4%). The primary comment purposes were engagement (49%), solidarity (28%), and participation (9%).

High-engagement comments included viewers suggesting additional celebrities or companies to block, with one user commenting their personal block list "I got a list here's the order of my list and it says: Amey, Diddy, Gal, and Drizzy, Kim Kardashian, The Rock, Kendrick, and then Ye (Eminem Voice)". Most expressed thanks for the list with comments like "you are the best!!" and "Well done, Maya! ❤️" and there were many comments where users were lost or confused, such as "how to block celebrity on tiktok that you are not following , I tried and didn't get the option. can anyone tell me" and "i don't follow them tho then what should i do?" Some users stated they did not already follow certain celebrities and asked for clarification on why particular celebrities were included. These patterns suggest a mixture of active participation, curiosity, and informational gaps within the audience.

TikTok #6: “Block Every Met Gala Attendee”

In this video, a male creator discusses encountering the #BlockOut trend on TikTok and states that he strongly supports it. He encourages viewers to block all celebrities and provides examples such as Beyoncé, Drake, Kendrick Lamar, and “every celebrity at the Met Gala”: none of whom he listed attended the 2024 Met Gala. He argues that celebrities have significant platforms yet choose to use them primarily for profit rather than advocacy and suggests that blocking them is a way to withhold the attention and visibility that sustain their wealth. This video contains a direct call to action, urging viewers to block the named celebrities and any others. The caption reads, “LETS MAKE SOCIAL MEDIA FOR US AND US ALONE #blockout2024 #blockout #boycott #boycottcelebrities #boycotthollywood #boycotttherich.” The video received 1.3 million views, 229,000 likes, and over 10,000 comments. Although this creator produced multiple #BlockOut-related videos, he has not posted new content related to the campaign since May 26, 2024.

All 100 of the top comments were analyzed (available in Appendix K). The dominant tones were neutral (24%), prideful (21%), and supportive (17%). The leading purposes were suggestion (23%), engagement (17%), and participation (13%). This is the first TikTok comment section where we see users express the emotional difficulty of blocking certain celebrities or their favourites “I blocked Selena Gomez and that was hard. But i had to do it”. Other high-engagement comments included recommending additional public figures to block “I unfollowed SO MANY including ciara, kelly rowland, beyonce, rihanna, never followed kardashians to begin with, tyrese, kevin hart, usher, Paris hilton etc.” and emphasizing the power of collective fan action with statements like

“We’re more powerful than we think” and “without us- they are NOBODY”. Many comments echoed the creator’s sentiment that celebrities rely on public attention and that withdrawing this attention could serve as a meaningful form of resistance, “Love this!!!! Love to see the people taking their power back! The hardest one for me will be Rihanna. I’m about to do it now.”

TikTok #7: “The Gworls”

This TikTok features a male creator speaking directly to the camera and asking viewers in a serious, inquisitive tone whether they have blocked Beyoncé, Rihanna, Tyla, or “the girls.” He then states that he has already blocked them and urges his viewers to do the same, making the call to action clear and direct. The caption reads: “what about beyonce? rihanna? tyla? doja? the gworls!!!!!! #blockchain #blockparty2024 #celebrityblock #blockout2024.” Nowhere does he explain who “the girls” are, other than the artists listed. I wonder whether this creator’s intentional use of lowercase letters for the listed women is purely for aesthetics or intended to disrespect them. This video received 1.2 million views, 114,000 likes, and more than 8,300 comments. This creator posted one additional #BlockOut video on May 16, 2024, in which he addressed backlash and misunderstandings from the initial post, but he has not uploaded further content on the subject since.

All 100 sampled comments were analyzed (available in Appendix L). The dominant tones were neutral (23%), supportive (17%), and inquisitive (13%). The leading purposes were participation (45%), inquiry (17%), and suggestion (12%). High-engagement comments frequently asked what the listed celebrities had done to warrant being blocked, especially why Tyla was on the list (“What did Tyla do? cause it seems

like you hating”), however there was a top comment that agreed with her place on the roster “[Yeah], no one has mentioned Tyla and she was the most mentioned dress at the Met.” There were also many comments stating “Tyla just arrived”, expressing confusion as to why a famous South African artist who has recently become popular in North America was supposed to be blocked. This video’s comment section also included users expressing reluctance or emotional conflict about blocking celebrities they admired with comments like “Rihanna was so harrrrrrd but then I remembered she wouldn’t care if I was dying so... it got easy”. These types of comments show the intensity of the parasocial relationships these users have developed with their “favourite” celebrities. Still others suggested additional names to add or sought clarification about the campaign more broadly.

TikTok #8: “Celeb Blocks of the Day”

This video was created by the same TikTok user who originated the #BlockOut trend and produced several of the movement’s most widely circulated posts. His videos consistently achieved high engagement, which is why both posts were included in the dataset. This particular video reached 4.8 million views, nearly 556,000 likes, and approximately 16,000 comments. In this video, the creator presents his “celebrity blocks of the day,” listing Jimmy Fallon, Selena Gomez, and Dwayne “The Rock” Johnson. As in his other videos, he uses a playful drumroll before announcing each name. He then instructs viewers to “go to Spotify, TikTok, and Instagram to block,” making the call to action explicit even though the caption simply reads “#BlockOut2024.” By framing the post as a “daily block list,” he positions himself as a recurring source of guidance for

users participating in the movement, implicitly encouraging audiences to return to his page for ongoing updates.

All 100 sampled comments were analyzed (available in Appendix M). The common tonal categories were supportive (33%), inquisitive (18%), and appreciative (14%). Regarding purpose, 41% of comments reflected participation, followed by suggestions (15%) and inquiries (14%). High-engagement comments included users recommending additional celebrities to block with comments like “DJ KHALID, CRISTIONO RONALDO,GIGI HADID please”, “JERRY SEINFELD TOO”, “Trevor Noah!!!!”, and “Throwing Rupaul and trixie mattel and kevin hart up as tributes”: another Hunger Games reference, where participants in the Hunger Games are known as “tributes” and are either selected or have volunteered to participate in the fight to the death.

Other comments asked why specific public figures had not yet appeared on the creator’s lists, such as “What about the D’Amelios?” Many comments sought clarification about the purpose or impact of blocking, “why [are] their [Instagram] follower numbers still the same though?” and “Wait even if u not following them?”, reflecting ongoing confusion about the mechanics and intended outcomes of the campaign. Others expressed frustration that Selena Gomez was included, “Selena???” “Nooooooooo,” and the disappointment with having to block celebrities, such as “Jimmy Fallon hurt too much, but I did it,” demonstrating that emotional attachment to certain celebrities shaped audience responses.

TikTok #9: “Extensive Block List”

This post is another carousel-style TikTok containing an extensive list of 100 celebrities the creator deemed “blockworthy.” The video uses Macklemore’s song “Hind’s Hall,” which became a prominent audio choice in #BlockOut and pro-Palestinian TikTok content. “Hind’s Hall” is a pro-Palestinian protest song inspired by student demonstrations on U.S. campuses, particularly the renaming of Columbia University’s Hamilton Hall to honour six-year-old Hind Rajab, who was killed in Gaza (Splaver et al., 2024). The track condemns Israeli military actions and criticizes U.S. policy, calling for divestment from Israel and a ceasefire (Romano, 2024). Aligning its themes with the anti-celebrity sentiment of #BlockOut, the use of this song strengthens the framing of the blocklist as part of a broader resistance narrative centred on accountability, activism, and institutional critique.

The creator eventually deleted this video, and no other #BlockOut-related content remains on their page. It is unknown whether they produced additional videos before or after this one. The caption consisted solely of hashtags: “#fyp #blocklist #blockcelebrities #foryou.” With no explicit call to action, the video functions primarily as a resource—a large, decontextualized compilation of celebrities to block. The post received 2.3 million views, nearly 113,000 likes, and 6,600 comments. Of the top 100 comments, 77 were analyzed (available in Appendix N). The common tonal categories included inquisitive (23%), supportive (16%), and a tie between assertive and neutral (10%). The common purposes were inquiry (19%), suggestion (16%), and a tie between engagement and questioning (13%).

High-engagement comments frequently asked why certain celebrities were included, like “Why Britney Spears???? She doesn't even know what's going on????”, especially those widely perceived as supportive of Palestine, such as “why billie eilish ?? she support palestine right ??”. Along with comments praising celebrities such as “Bella Hadid is the only Celebrity who doesn't care about her popularity.. Salute ❤️” and “Be like Melanie Martínez, who has been supporting for a looong time already”. Other commenters expressed refusal to block anyone with comments such as “i am NOT blocking anyone” and some stated that the campaign had become their “new addiction”, “new obsession”, and “it’s like a spring clean.” Many admitted that it was emotionally difficult or disappointing to block some celebrities with “Damn the Post Malone one huuuurts But anyways, ✨ blocked ✨”.

TikTok #10: “Weekly Block List, For Obvious Reasons”

This TikTok video features a woman speaking directly to the camera with the text “my block list #Blackout2024” overlaid on the screen. She introduces the post as “part two of celebrities you should be blocking this week—for obvious reasons, unless you’ve been living under a rock.” However, she provides no explanation of what sparked the #BlockOut movement, assuming viewers already understand the context. The first celebrity she lists is Jennifer Lopez, whom she introduces with the phrase “next on the chopping block”—a reference to “digitine” or the “digital guillotine,” a term used in online activism to describe mass unfollowing or blocking of public figures. She claims Lopez belongs on the list because she allegedly has not spoken about multiple ongoing genocides, and due to her “repulsive” one-word answer to a Met Gala reporter. She

argues that celebrities do not care about ordinary people, and therefore, audiences should not give them attention.

Her next target is “every single business page from the Kardashian Klan”—deliberately spelled with a “K.” She argues that blocking Kardashian-owned businesses prevents them from earning ad revenue. She also encourages users to block individual family members, including their children. One commenter on the video posted that “[Blocking] North hurt but I did it.” This is a strange thing to say about a child who was 11 years old at the time of #BlockOut. She then lists influencer Haley Kalil (Haley Bailey), stating that her inclusion “shouldn’t be controversial” because the #BlockOut movement started after her TikTok referencing Marie Antoinette went viral. The creator dismisses Kalil’s defences and suggests that understanding the issue requires “more than three brain cells,” in a condescending tone.

The purpose of the video is to present the creator’s weekly block list; however, the communication style is accusatory and assumes a shared ideological stance. Without providing context, she positions anyone who questions or misunderstands the campaign as part of the problem. The caption reads: “!!Part 2 of this Week’s Block List of Celebrities for the Blockout 2024 — do it and do it UNAPOLOGETICALLY.” The video received 1.7 million views, 178,000 likes, and just under 4,000 comments. This creator frequently posts commentary on social issues and produced multiple #BlockOut-related videos, though she has not posted additional content on the topic since May 15, 2024. She has, however, continued posting about Palestine more broadly.

From the top 100 comments, 88 were analyzed (available in Appendix O). The common tonal categories were neutral (28%), inquisitive (16%), and supportive (14%).

The leading comment purposes were suggestions (34%), engagement (17%), and participation (11%). High-engagement comments included users suggesting other celebrities and businesses to block (“Don’t forget JLO beauty, Kylie Cosmetics, Fenty Beauty, Skims etc”, “nestle products”, “Ed Sheeran he was there”), critiquing the creator for not including certain celebrities (“You forgot Diddy”, “Everyone keeps forgetting Tiffany haddish”), critique for the campaign (“We can’t cancel people just because they don’t speak out on something that they’re not educated on.....”), and sharing supportive messages (“EYES ON RAFAH”).

TikTok #11: “The Block List is Infinite”

This TikTok features a woman speaking to her camera with overlaid text reading “blocklist for celebrities and influencers on social media platforms.” She begins by asserting that “by now we should know” which celebrities and influencers are being blocked and directs confused viewers to her previous video for context. She explains that users have been requesting a specific block list, to which she responds, “The block list is all of them.” She argues that any public figure who uses their platform solely for entertainment, not for advocacy, deserves to be blocked.

She further explains that users should block celebrities as they appear on their For You Page or Instagram feed. Addressing comments asking whether unfollowing is sufficient, she insists that blocking is more impactful because it reduces celebrities’ income, signals to the algorithm that something is wrong, and potentially reduces the reach of their content—the video frames blocking as a low-effort, accessible form of political participation. Overall, the purpose of the post is to clarify confusion from her

previous video and to provide a more thorough explanation of the motivations behind the #BlockOut movement.

The caption reads: “The #blocklist is infinite #haleyybaylee #letthecatcake #hungergames #district12 #metgala #celebrity #cancelculture #canceled #influencers #block #blocked #blockchain.” The video received 1.1 million views, 119,000 likes, and nearly 7,000 comments. Although the creator frequently posts commentary on U.S. political and cultural issues, this #BlockOut video no longer appears on her public page; no content predating July 3, 2024, remains visible, suggesting she removed earlier posts about the campaign.

From the top 100 comments (available in Appendix P), 94 were analyzed. The dominant tonal categories included a tie between neutral and dismissive (13%) and a tie between inquisitive and prideful (11%). The leading purposes were engagement (28%), non-participation (17%), and suggestion (16%). High-engagement comments included suggestions for additional accounts or companies to block (“It’s not just the celebrities themselves, it’s their entourage and their own businesses.”), expressions of emotional difficulty in blocking certain celebrities (“The hardest one to block for me was Oprah but I did it”), debates about the necessity of blocking (“why block them if they’re staying out of politics”), and pushback from users arguing that some celebrities did not deserve to be included (“You’ll never make me hate Ryan Reynolds’s, Hugh Jackman, Jack Black and a few others” and “Sometimes people need entertainment as a distraction from the real world. I used to work in the news business, so I definitely need a break sometimes, but I think everyone does. ❤️”).

Comment Subthemes

Building on the initial thematic patterns (tone and purpose), seven interrelated subthemes emerged, each revealing how users made sense of the movement, negotiated its aims, and constructed their own positions within it. These subthemes: Activism as Digital Participation; Uncertainty and Information Gaps; Pushback and Critique; Humour, Satire, and Irony; Moral or Humanitarian Alignment; Community and Belonging; and Polarization and Division illustrate the multifaceted nature of digital political expression on TikTok.

Activism as Digital Participation

The code Activism as Digital Participation emerged from comments that demonstrated users' attempts to mobilize others, express support for action, or participate in the movement through platform-specific behaviours. In the codebook, this category includes tones such as assertive, hopeful, and supportive, as well as purposes such as calls to action, participation, and awareness-raising. Coding this theme helped capture how TikTok users reimagined activism through algorithmic engagement, demonstrating its relevance to understanding the logic of digital action in the #BlockOut discourse. This category, the largest one, accounted for 35% of all comments, showing that a notable portion of users viewed their participation as inherently "activist" when framed through TikTok's platform logics.

TikTok #8 and #7 were both particularly strong in this subtheme, with 59% and 58% of their comments expressing this form of engagement, indicating that certain videos more effectively framed participation as a call to digital action. In TikTok #8, the

original trend creator announces the celebrities he plans to block for the day, accompanied by a drumroll and a directive to block them across multiple platforms. In TikTok #7, the creator asks viewers whether they have blocked certain female celebrities, then declares he already has and instructs viewers to follow suit. TikTok #4, where the creator shares a block list of celebrities while framing the campaign as easy participation and presenting blocking as a minimal-effort moral obligation, had the fewest comments in this category at 7%.

Rather than engaging in traditional protest behaviours, commenters framed everyday digital activities, such as stating they were blocking accounts, sabotaging purchasing algorithms, and encouraging others to do the same, as impactful contributions to a collective cause. Phrases like “can you also do lists of celebrities’ companies?? so that we don’t see those ads either!!” and “I’ve been getting nothing but ads for their businesses. Made it super easy to block them as I saw them” reveal an awareness of how digital infrastructures operate, however, this discourse also reveals a widespread misunderstanding of how celebrities generate income on social media. Unlike YouTube, where creators earn revenue directly from ad views, platforms such as Instagram and TikTok do not compensate users simply for having their posts seen. While TikTok offers a creator fund for accounts with over 10,000 followers, blocking a celebrity’s personal or business account does not necessarily reduce their income; instead, it signals to the algorithm that you are not part of their target audience. As a result, the platform merely redirects their content—and any associated advertising—to users who are actually or potentially interested, meaning the perceived financial harm is largely symbolic rather than substantive.

Comments such as “I’m a Swiftie, but she literally has NOT shown up for & it’s been too long, so ... I have to block and it hurts,” “Don’t forget Malala and Halsey too,” and “thank you for holding Hailey Bieber accountable she gets overlooked a lot because of the makeup brand and of course Justin” reveal a curious dynamic when examined critically. No one is obligated to block any celebrity, nor would anyone know whether a user has done so unless the individual publicly announced it. Yet, these comments suggest that some participants are performing the difficulty of blocking their favourite figures as a way to gain recognition, signal moral alignment, or cultivate a sense of belonging within the movement. The implication that blocking celebrities is a moral responsibility—rather than a personal choice—illustrates how digital activism can become socially performative. Moreover, grouping Malala, a globally recognized activist for women’s education, alongside entertainers as a figure to “block” feels dismissive of her work and trivializes the gravity of her advocacy. Finally, praising the content creator for “holding Hailey Bieber accountable” ignores the improbability that Bieber will ever see the video, placing undue emphasis on performative accountability rather than the campaign's original purpose: helping Palestinians.

This form of digitally oriented activism aligns with scholarship asserting that online participation can constitute meaningful political engagement rather than superficial “clicktivism.” Greijdanus et al. (2020) argue that online actions often complement rather than replace offline activism, challenging the assumption that digital engagement lacks substance. Mobilization, however, is not a singular concept. Traditional models of social movement mobilization emphasize coordinated offline action, such as protests, fundraising, or organizational membership (Meyer & Gamson,

1995). In contrast, digital-era scholarship expands the definition to include individualized, low-threshold participation enabled by networked platforms. Bennett and Segerberg's (2012) connective action model reframes mobilization as the circulation of personalized content that prompts others to replicate or adapt the behaviour rather than join a formal organization. Highfield (2016) further argues that quotidian practices—blocking, liking, commenting, sharing—constitute micro-acts of mobilization that accumulate into discursive and algorithmic pressure. In the context of #BlockOut, mobilization manifests not as collective physical action. Still, as dispersed digital behaviours, users created and circulated block lists, encouraged others to adopt algorithmic sabotage as resistance, and framed blocking as a moral obligation. Under these expanded definitions, the activities documented here qualify as mobilization because they produce coordinated, patterned actions that reshape visibility, discourse, and reputational economies without requiring centralized leadership.

Uncertainty and Information Gaps

The Uncertainty and Information Gaps code was developed to capture the large number of comments expressing confusion, requests for clarification, or contradictory information about the movement. Defined as comments with confused, unsure, or neutral tones, this category includes questions, corrections, and efforts to understand “what is happening.” The dataset's prevalence of uncertainty indicated that users lacked a shared understanding of the movement's goals or mechanisms. Including this code in the analysis makes visible how misinformation, ambiguity, and collaborative sensemaking shaped the audience's engagement with #BlockOut. This category accounts for 15% of all comments. TikTok #9, a carousel TikTok showcasing a large

compilation of 100 celebrities to block, synchronized with pro-Palestinian protest audio to frame blocking as a political act, was the most confusion-dense, with 34% of its comments expressing uncertainty about the movement, the mechanics of blocking, or the reasoning behind specific celebrities' inclusion.

Requests for curated “block lists”—such as “Bro give me a list lol” and “can we get a SAFE celeb list?”—reflect a desire for codified guidance to navigate an increasingly complex and fast-moving discourse. By seeking definitive instructions on whom to block, users implicitly elevate content creators to positions of authority, treating them as ethical gatekeepers capable of deciding which celebrities deserve moral condemnation and which are “safe” to follow. This dynamic contradicts the movement's original purpose: rather than encouraging critical reflection or redirecting attention to the cause, it transforms participation into a compliance exercise that detracts from the movement and diminishes support for the Palestinian cause.

The paradox becomes even more apparent when commenters attempt to correct misinformation—such as “chris brown did support Palestine also Billie elish”—revealing that support for Palestine alone was sometimes framed as redeeming, even for figures like Chris Brown, whose history of abuse complicates any simplistic moral categorization. Simultaneously, questions about follower counts and revenue streams—“Kardashians still have like 300 million followers on IG?” and “but they also get their money from music, so should we stop streaming their songs?”—expose confusion about both the tactical efficacy of blocking and the boundaries of moral responsibility. Viewers who notice that celebrity followings remain essentially unchanged begin to doubt whether blocking can produce a meaningful impact, prompting them to seek more

explicit instructions and additional resources. Ultimately, this search for guidance reveals a critical misalignment: users are investing energy into perfecting punitive strategies aimed at celebrities rather than directing attention toward the humanitarian crisis that spurred the movement in the first place.

The uncertainty expressed by commenters reflects broader critiques of digital activism's fragmented and emotionally charged information environment. Bouvier and Machin (2021) argue that digital protest spaces often simplify complex issues into binary moral narratives; however, the comments in this category suggest that #BlockOut lacked even that level of coherence, leaving users to construct interpretive frameworks collectively. Estrada et al. (2022) note that online mobilization frequently produces affective polarization, where confusion and emotional responses circulate faster than clarity—mirrored here in competing claims about which celebrities should be blocked. Finally, Bennett and Segerberg's (2012) concept of connective action helps contextualize this uncertainty: without centralized leadership or institutional messaging, movements rely on user-generated narratives, making confusion not a flaw but an inherent feature of decentralized, digitally mediated activism.

Pushback and Critique

The Pushback and Critique code originated from comments that resisted or rejected the movement, criticized creators, or expressed anger, skepticism, or dissatisfaction. According to the codebook, this includes tones such as angry, defensive, and cynical, with purposes tied to resistance, critique, and non-participation. Coding this theme allowed the analysis to capture not only enthusiasm for the movement but also the significant presence of resistance within it. Its relevance lies in highlighting how

digital activism movements face immediate, vocal critique that shapes their trajectory and limits their effectiveness. Pushback accounted for 18% of all comments, with TikTok #4, a carousel post block list of celebrities, overwhelmingly dominating this category (69%), likely due to strong resistance to the movement or the creator's framing. Users challenged #BlockOut as misguided, hypocritical, or ineffective.

Comments in this category demonstrate strong skepticism about both the movement's logic and its moral foundations. Some downplayed the movement entirely—"Just a temporary trend"—while others criticized its perceived futility, arguing that structural issues cannot be solved through symbolic platform behaviours: "you still shop at walmart/amazon/ kroger/own a cellphone/ fast food/ etc you're still supporting billionaires and corrupt tax laws. blocking a celebrity doesn't do anything. tell people to vote better". Users also challenged the movement's internal logic, highlighting selective enforcement and perceived double standards in the construction of block lists.

For instance, one commenter noted, "Adding Jenna Ortega but not someone like Amy Schumer to this list literally shows how yall made Palestine more about celebrities rather than trying to actually make a change," suggesting that choices were driven by popularity rather than principled activism. Amy Schumer, who signed an open letter in support of Israel but has publicly distanced herself from the Israeli Prime Minister (Parkel, 2024), was frequently absent from these lists, while Jenna Ortega, who exited *Scream 7* after her co-star Melissa Barrera was fired for pro-Palestinian posts (Perez, 2025), appeared repeatedly. Such inconsistencies implied that inclusion on block lists was not based solely on political positions or actions, but on who was culturally salient at the moment.

Other commenters pushed back even more directly, defending certain celebrities and questioning whether blanket moral condemnation was warranted. Remarks like “Can we make an exception for Tyla” and “South Africa has already paid its price in court for the cause, why block Tyla!” relied on the geopolitical standing of South Africa, which in December 2023 submitted a claim to the International Court of Justice, accusing Israel of genocide against Palestinians (Berg, 2024). This line of reasoning suggested that Tyla’s association with a politically supportive nation exempted her from scrutiny, regardless of her personal stance. Such arguments illustrate the emergence of a countermovement of digital spectators who rejected #BlockOut’s premise—not only because they questioned its strategic impact, but because they viewed it as misdirected moral outrage aimed at individual celebrities rather than the systemic power structures implicated in the conflict.

Resistance within the #BlockOut discourse reflects broader critiques identified in digital activism literature. Bouvier and Machin (2021) argue that social media activism often reduces complex political landscapes into simplified moral binaries, which is precisely the dynamic that commenters questioned, questioning whether blocking celebrities meaningfully addressed geopolitical realities. Ng (2020) identifies this discomfort as part of the broader ambivalence surrounding digital accountability, in which public users are uncertain whether these practices empower justice or devolve into a punitive spectacle. Estrada et al. (2022) similarly highlight how emotionally charged digital spaces can promote critique and hostility rather than cohesion, aligning with comments accusing #BlockOut participants of hypocrisy or misdirection. Finally, Dean (2024) demonstrates how influencer activism risks becoming performative rather

than transformative; commenters who accused users of turning Palestine into a “game” articulate exactly this neoliberal critique. In several instances, creators disabled their comment sections, indicating an awareness of escalating tensions and a desire to manage reputational risk within a highly surveilled participatory environment.

Humour, Satire, and Irony

The Humour, Satire, and Irony code emerged from comments using sarcasm, playful critique, or humour to participate in the discourse while deflating its intensity. The codebook identifies these as playful, sarcastic, or cynical tones serving purposes like satire, mockery, or engagement. This theme is relevant because it captures how digital publics cannot be fully understood through serious engagement alone; humour is often a vehicle for commentary, critique, or distancing. This was a small category, comprising only 1.6% of comments. Even in its strongest context — TikTok #4 — humour accounted for only 4% of comments.

Humour-based comments served as a form of meta-participation, acknowledging the absurdity and spectacle surrounding the movement while remaining engaged with it. Comments such as “block me as well” and “I’m not famous. But can you block me please?” mocked the seriousness of digital accountability practices, reconfiguring the call to action into a performative joke. Others used cultural references—“Britney Spears is spinning in her kitchen with butcher knives I don’t think she’s gonna be much help”—to underscore perceived celebrity instability, thereby trivializing the moral stakes of the discourse. The humour often expressed a desire to spectate rather than intervene, as illustrated by comments like “I’m just here for the chaos,” which reframed participation as entertainment. While numerically small, these comments reveal humour’s integral

role in shaping how audiences process and mediate affective intensity on platforms like TikTok.

The current literature within the scope of this study does not meaningfully address humour, satire, or irony as mechanisms of digital activism, thereby revealing a gap in scholarly attention. While existing research explores themes such as performativity, affective participation, platform capitalism, and celebrity influence, the literature I reviewed overlooks humour as a political modality or discursive strategy. This absence shows the originality of this subtheme in the findings: it captures a form of digital participation that operates outside existing theoretical frameworks. As such, the presence of humour in the #BlockOut discourse represents a novel contribution of this research, expanding understandings of how users engage with and negotiate contemporary activist cultures online.

Moral or Humanitarian Alignment

The Moral or Humanitarian Alignment code was derived from comments expressing ethical, spiritual, or humanitarian support for Palestinians and the movement's goals. Defined in the codebook as empathetic, hopeful, assertive, or spiritually grounded, these comments justified participation through moral imperatives and solidarity. The inclusion of this theme was essential because it demonstrates the movement's moral core, showing that, despite their small numbers, users were driven by humanitarian concern even when they lacked detailed political understanding. This theme makes visible the emotional and ethical dimensions of digital solidarity. This was another small category, accounting for 2% of all comments. Only five posts contained comments of moral or humanitarian solidarity. TikTok #1, a list-style video that presents

a set of celebrities the creator claims should be blocked for their silence on Palestine, leads this category, with 25% of comments expressing pro-Palestinian alignment or humanitarian concern.

Some comments—allegedly from Palestinians in Gaza—introduced a material urgency absent elsewhere in the discourse, with users pleading, “plz help me to leave gaza peacefully with my family” and “We need your donations . can you help me ? Even if just a little If you can’t donate plz.” These posts reflected seemingly genuine requests for aid, yet they received virtually no engagement. This irony is striking: a movement ostensibly created to support Palestinians largely ignored the very voices it claimed to centre. Instead, energy was directed toward moral policing within the comment sections, where users chastised those questioning the value or logic of blocking celebrities. Remarks such as “Are yall okay? Seriously? They have thousands of followers and talking abt Palestine means raising awareness and standing with humanity. Y’all disgust me” and “It’s so hard to accept for some people that their favorite celebrities aren’t good people. They’re either silent or actively supporting the occupation of Palestine” framed participation in #BlockOut as a moral imperative rather than a personal choice. These comments positioned compliance—not critical engagement—as the litmus test of ethical alignment, reinforcing the idea that blocking celebrities was synonymous with “standing with humanity,” even as the movement overlooked opportunities for tangible support.

This theme resonates strongly with literature on affective participation and digital solidarity. Papacharissi’s (2015) concept of affective publics explains how emotionally charged discourse, such as statements of support for Palestine, creates shared political meaning through feeling rather than formal argument. Clark (2020) and Ng (2020)

further contextualize the moral dimension of digital participation, showing how silence becomes politicized and participation becomes entangled with ethical accountability.

Community and Belonging

The Community and Belonging code captured comments expressing unity, mutual support, and affirmations of shared identity within the movement. Defined by supportive, appreciative, empathetic, and prideful tones, these comments reflected engagement and solidarity. Including this theme highlights that #BlockOut was not only about political messaging but also about creating shared emotional space and group identity. This was the second-largest category, accounting for 20% of all comments. TikTok #5, where the creator lip-syncs to the “Blocka” trending audio while on-screen text displays her personal list of blocked celebrities and brands, received 80% of its comments in this category.

These comments illustrate how some users came to experience #BlockOut not as a political strategy but as a participatory cultural practice. Statements such as “LOVE THIS TREND,” “I love this game,” and “I truly love these block lists” convey enthusiasm, entertainment, and a sense of belonging rather than moral urgency. The movement took on the characteristics of a game, with users contributing comments to boost engagement—sometimes by posting Palestinian-related emojis or phrases, and other times by providing explicit instructions to maximize algorithmic reach. Examples like “The most helpful comments are at least THREE SENTENCES LONG, HAVE CAPS, with NO NUMBERS, NO EMOJIS. But, the longer, the better! Please copy this and spread it! Thank you!!!!” and “saying more than five words for the algorithm 67” show how to manipulate visibility. Palestinian-related emojis helped to frame the comment

sections as sites of communal identity and symbolic resistance, where solidarity emerged through ritualistic participation rather than critical dialogue. Yet, despite the appearance of collective action, users rarely provided tangible resources or direction for material support, underscoring how the sense of community was built more on engagement with the algorithm than on concrete aid or education.



This theme connects closely to Jackson et al.'s (2020) notion of hashtag movements as collective identity spaces, where discourse constructs belonging and solidarity. Their work shows that digital counterpublics are sustained not only through critique but through shared emotional practices and communal affirmation. Greijdanus et al. (2020) similarly note that online participation serves as a gateway to broader civic engagement, aligning with users discovering an emotional community through #BlockOut. These frameworks explain how #BlockOut functioned as both activism and social bonding.

Polarization and Division

The Polarization and Division code was developed to capture comments emphasizing conflict, ideological tension, or frustration with other users' views. Characterized by angry, defensive, or dismissive tones, these comments served

purposes such as resistance, rejection, critique, or withdrawal. Including this theme was essential because polarization undermined movement cohesion and highlighted the internal conflicts that limited #BlockOut's sustainability. It shows that digital activism can amplify division just as easily as it can amplify solidarity. Polarization emerged in 6% of all comments. TikTok #4 contained the highest proportion of polarized commentary (14%), reflecting contentious debate about the ethics and legitimacy of #BlockOut.

Even within ostensibly progressive online spaces, where users broadly supported Palestinian liberation, participants diverged sharply on whether #BlockOut represented meaningful solidarity or misplaced moral policing. Comments in this category exposed deeper ideological tensions about the expectations placed on celebrities within the movement. Some users questioned whether entertainers should be compelled to take political stances, arguing that their primary purpose is artistic, not activist: "Musicians and artists are so important for humanity's sanity. They offer a service to people bringing them peace and an outlet so I don't necessarily agree with blocking them if they're not political," and "sometimes I only want entertainment, I'm not following a makeup account to hear political stuff." These remarks reflect a belief that celebrities are admired for their creative output—not their geopolitical awareness—and raise the broader question of whether fame inherently requires political engagement.

Defenders of certain celebrities extended this reasoning, citing examples such as Kanye West (despite being a controversial figure himself), who appeared on multiple block lists even though he stated in an interview that he did not fully understand the conflict. Comments such as "I support Kanye cuz u gotta fix your home before someone else's" suggest that ignorance or disengagement was seen by some as a valid position.

Others expressed skepticism about the movement's underlying logic, asking: "Can someone please inform me how American celebrities are going to stop an international conflict," and questioning whether celebrities from other countries—such as the UK, Korea, or India—should be held to the same standard. These dynamics should not be understood reductively as simple pro- or anti-Palestinian positions but as layered negotiations over the appropriate forms of digital responsibility. Conspiracy-oriented comments, including "... i know [Jennifer Lopez's] ppl put out this list cuz she's nowhere on any of these lists and she's the main one," further illustrate the confusion surrounding who creates these lists and why certain figures appear—or do not appear—on them. Some users speculated about celebrities being "secretly unblocked," revealing how the campaign fostered conspiratorial monitoring practices that blurred ordinary fandom with moral surveillance.

Opposing voices rejected the notion that celebrities should remain apolitical, arguing that silence itself constitutes complicity. They insisted that everyone has a responsibility to educate themselves and speak up, countering claims of ignorance with assertions that "everyone should know what is going on right now." Yet others reminded participants that celebrities are human beings, not moral proxies, highlighting the paradox of expecting public figures to perform ethical leadership while simultaneously consuming their work for entertainment (e.g. "Don't forget these are humans too"). Taken together, these competing viewpoints reveal that participants were not aligned on the role of celebrity, the definition of advocacy, or the boundaries of responsibility. Rather than a unified movement, #BlockOut became a negotiation over who must act, why, and what legitimate activism looks like in a digital age.

Notably, there was little evidence of far-right engagement, underscoring that the campaign's controversies emerged largely from intra-left debates rather than cross-ideological conflict. This produced a discursive environment in which some users positioned any deviation from total compliance with the movement's norms as betrayal, exemplifying how purity politics can generate left-wing extremism without requiring right-wing antagonists. This polarization echoes Estrada et al.'s (2022) findings that digital activism often fosters antagonism rather than consensus, as emotionally charged environments amplify conflict. Gagnon et al. (2022) further demonstrate that affective polarization mobilizes participation even as it fractures collective identity—a dynamic evident in comments that insist on divergent moral frameworks for action. Dean (2024) and Keller and Ryan (2020) help contextualize why disagreements over authenticity and obligation emerge: activism, when intertwined with self-branding, becomes a site of moral adjudication rather than collective strategy.

The Celebrity Portrayal within #BlockOut

The second research question that guided my study was: "How are celebrities portrayed within the #BlockOut movement on TikTok?" The portrayal of celebrities within the #BlockOut movement reveals how TikTok users negotiated moral expectations, parasocial attachments, frustration, and political meaning through the figure of the celebrity. The dataset shows that celebrities were not treated as distant public figures but rather as emotionally invested relational objects embedded in users' identities, values, and everyday media routines. Across the posts and comment sections, celebrity names circulated as shorthand for broader ethical debates about complicity, responsibility, and the value of digital action.

The quantitative data further illustrate this. Appendix E, which visualizes the ten frequently named celebrities in the comment sample, shows Taylor Swift as the most mentioned figure (16 mentions), followed by Rihanna (12), Kim Kardashian and Selena Gomez (10 each), Kylie Jenner and Justin Bieber (8 each), Beyoncé (7), and Zendaya, Drake, and Ariana Grande (6 each), for a total of 89 mentions across these ten names alone. Most of these references appeared in comments calling for blocking, questioning a celebrity's silence, or debating whether they deserved inclusion on block lists. Only a minority defended celebrities or expressed unqualified admiration.

Celebrity Depictions Across TikTok Posts

Before examining user interpretations, it is important to understand how the 11 TikTok creators themselves framed celebrities. Across the sample, celebrities were depicted not as entertainers, artists, or autonomous individuals but as moral actors whose silence constituted harm. Their presence on block lists functioned as evidence of ethical failure rather than neutral consumer preference. Four dominant patterns characterize the celebrity portrayals across the posts:

Celebrities as Symbols of Indifference

Some TikTok posts positioned celebrities as insulated elites who enjoyed wealth and visibility while ignoring Palestinian suffering. TikTok #2 explicitly mocked Rihanna and Drake for living lavishly while remaining silent, linking luxury consumption to moral neglect. TikTok #6 amplified this framing by asserting that celebrities profit from public attention and thus owe political accountability to their audiences. This discourse presented fame not as talent-based success, but as a resource extracted from public

labour and therefore subject to public revocation. Their silence was not interpreted as neutrality but as complicity, mirroring Thomas and Fowler's (2023) assertion that audiences increasingly demand sustained advocacy rather than one-off statements.

Celebrities as Targets for Collective Discipline

Lists, carousels, and daily "block updates" positioned celebrities as entities subject to communal judgment. This aligns with Kutlaca and Radke's (2022) findings that online activism often revolves around moral surveillance and the collective enforcement of norms. Almost every video included lists inviting users to block specific celebrities, and some exceeding 100 names. This format positioned celebrities as objects of community judgment and enabled viewers to participate in their symbolic punishment. TikTok #4 went further, using The Hunger Games' rebellion soundtrack to cast celebrities as Capitol elites whose silence made them complicit in oppression. TikTok #11 proclaimed that "the block list is infinite," reframing the practice not as a response to individual wrongdoing but as a categorical indictment of celebrity culture itself.

Celebrities as Politically Obligated Agents

Several posts asserted that having a platform inherently requires taking a stance. TikTok #10 framed posting about Palestine as a basic ethical minimum, with celebrities who failed to do so positioned as morally defective. TikTok #1 and #7 did not justify why the listed celebrities deserved to be blocked; their mere inclusion implied wrongdoing, reinforcing the assumption that visibility equates to responsibility. TikTok #10 framed speaking out as a universal obligation, not an option. This expectation parallels Jain et

al.'s (2024) argument that authenticity and visibility have become central currencies in celebrity activism.

Celebrities as Consumable Moral Products

Across list-style videos, celebrities appeared interchangeably, as if names could be swapped without altering the argument. This positioned celebrities less as individuals and more as political commodities whose value depended on public approval. They were curated, recommended, and discarded like consumer items—a dynamic amplified by calls to block not just celebrities but also their brands. The interchangeable appearance of celebrity names—stripped of context, biography, or specificity—reflects Driessens' (2012) concept of celebritization, in which public figures function as cultural commodities whose value is determined by audience engagement rather than talent.

Collectively, these portrayals demonstrate that the movement did not merely criticize individual celebrities—it reframed celebrity status itself as ethically suspect. The TikToks constructed a narrative in which silence equals complicity, wealth equals indifference, and visibility equals moral debt. Users' reactions must therefore be understood not only as fandom responses but as responses to a redefinition of what it means to be a celebrity in a time of genocide.

Parasocial Disappointment

A central theme emerging from the comments was the sense of personal disappointment users felt when they saw their favourite celebrities on block lists. These reactions were often framed not as mild surprise but as emotional injury or betrayal, resonating with Horton and Wohl's (1956) account of parasocial relationships, in which

audiences experience one-sided intimacy with media figures. Users routinely described blocking as painful or heartbreaking: “Rihanna was so harrrrrrd but then I remembered she wouldn’t care if I was dying so... it got easy,” “Jimmy Fallon hurt too much, but I did it,” and “I blocked Selena Gomez and that was hard. But i had to do it.”

In several threads, users discussed blocking as if it were the same as ending a friendship. Emotional language (“hurt,” “hard,” “sad”) appeared even when users ultimately supported the movement’s goals. These comments suggest that blocking a celebrity was not experienced as a detached political gesture but as a renegotiation of identity and emotional loyalty. Users spoke as though celebrities had violated implicit relational contracts, confirming Cheng et al.’s (2024) assertion that influencers are woven into followers’ identity structures. The pain of blocking (“Jimmy Fallon hurt too much, but I did it”) illustrates how political disagreement is experienced as a personal betrayal rather than an ideological divergence. The #BlockOut campaign, therefore, functioned as a stress test for parasocial bonds, forcing users to choose between long-standing affective attachments and newly clarified moral commitments.

Performative Sacrifice

Closely related to this sense of hurt was a discourse of sacrifice, in which users framed blocking beloved celebrities as a morally demanding but necessary act. Blocking became a way to demonstrate political and ethical integrity, even when it conflicted with entertainment preferences. Comments such as “I blocked Selena Gomez and that was hard. But i had to do it,” “The hardest one for me will be Rihanna. I’m about to do it now,” and “Damn the Post Malone one huuuurts But anyways, ✨ blocked ✨” position unfollowing or blocking as a form of moral discipline.

This language of sacrifice framed #BlockOut as “the least we can do” compared with the suffering of Palestinians. As if their loss of entertainment juxtaposed the loss of life and safety in Gaza. The act of blocking is both expressive and performative: it signals to other users that the commenter is willing to endure discomfort to align with a humanitarian cause. This aligns with Kutlaca and Radke’s (2022) findings that activism becomes identity work, as users demonstrate credibility through visible digital behaviours. In this case, unfollowing or blocking functioned as a symbolic relinquishment of pleasure in exchange for ethical alignment, deepening the performative dimension of digital protest. Interestingly, comments praising creators for “holding celebrities accountable” raise a paradox: what grants these users the authority to deem others blockable, and are they not simultaneously performing a microcelebrity role themselves by adjudicating moral worth?

Anti-Fandom and Digital Punishment

Not all users experienced blocking as painful. A substantial subset of commenters expressed anger, vindictive pleasure, or enjoyment at the prospect of removing celebrities from their feeds, reflecting patterns identified in anti-fandom research and in these comments, blocking functioned as a tool of discipline and digital punishment rather than a reluctant sacrifice. Users wrote “I’ve been waiting for years to see the Kardashians disappear.”, “I always dreamed for this to happen” and “I’m loving this, it’s like a spring clean”. For some users, blocking was exhilarating rather than painful. One user spent “Three Hours to block” and another stated that “This makes me so happyyyy” and “ i did it and i have never felt prouder of doing somthing digital”.

Blocking here is less about grief and more about pleasure in symbolic revenge, turning political outrage into a form of game-like participation. This punitive pleasure reflects Lewis and Christin's (2022) insight that cancelling public figures can serve as a form of moral purification through collective action. Here, the block list becomes a tool of disciplinary power—celebrity status is revoked not because of scandal, but because of silence, reframing cancellation as geopolitical accountability rather than entertainment policing.

Celebrity as Moral Agents

Debates within the comment sections also revealed that users did not apply moral expectations evenly across all celebrities. Many users defended specific celebrities, especially those perceived as vulnerable or already supportive of Palestine. For instance, commenters repeatedly objected to Jenna Ortega's inclusion—"Take Jenna Ortega off that list. She's always been pro"—and questioned why Tyla, a young South African artist, should be targeted. Others argued that Britney Spears has been through so much and, therefore, should be exempt. These users also contested inaccuracies, pointing out when allegedly "silent" celebrities had expressed support for Palestine: "do some ACTUAL research, Swift & Gomez attend charity events to support humanitarian Aid to Gaza." The result is a landscape of selective outrage, where moral judgment is not only about political stance but also about pre-existing fandoms, stereotypes, and narratives of virtue or excess. The comments consistently cast celebrities as moral agents whose primary obligation in times of crisis is to "use their platform." Silence, by contrast, was interpreted as an endorsement of injustice.

This expectation is especially prominent among younger users, the primary audience on TikTok. Yet, despite demanding that celebrities speak, commenters rarely articulated what kind of speech would be sufficient. The demand was often simply to “say something,” such as acknowledging that “genocide is wrong,” rather than offering education, analysis, or material support. In other words, users sought moral positioning more than policy detail. These dynamics underscore the ambivalent role of celebrity in digital politics: entertainers are expected to function as moral barometers and symbols of conscience, even as their interventions are dismissed as superficial or self-interested.

#BlockOut’s Impact and Effectiveness

My third and fourth research questions, which guided this study, were: “What measurable impact has #BlockOut had on the public perception, social media engagement, or economic implications for celebrities?” and “To what extent has #BlockOut achieved its intended goals, and what factors influenced its effectiveness?” The impact of #BlockOut must be understood through two intertwined dimensions: its symbolic effects and its material effects. Evaluating the overall effectiveness of #BlockOut requires examining whether the movement achieved its stated or implied goals, how users judged its success, and the structural and discursive factors that shaped its trajectory.

The Impact

While users imagined that blocking would financially harm celebrities and shift attention toward Gaza, the data suggest that the movement’s influence was discursive, emotional, and algorithmic rather than economic or political. This section analyzes these dynamics, drawing on comment evidence to illustrate how users conceptualized the

impact and how these conceptualizations diverged from actual outcomes. Comments such as “We’re more powerful than we think” exemplify this political imaginary. These statements reflect what Jackson et al. (2020) describe as the affective infrastructure of hashtag activism, where online participation creates symbolic communities capable of constructing shared narratives of power and resistance.

The #BlockOut movement, despite its initial viral appeal and moral clarity, ultimately achieved little beyond temporary shifts in online visibility. While it may have been successful in reducing some celebrities' follower counts, ultimately, that is all it achieved. On May 5th, 2024, the day before the Met Gala, Taylor Swift and Kim Kardashian, two of the most mentioned celebrities on the block lists, had 284,100,332 and 363,581,006 followers on Instagram, respectively, according to InsTrack, an analytics reporting software. Six weeks later, around the time #BlockOut had lost traction, Taylor Swift had 283,744,337 followers (down 355,995), and Kim Kardashian had 362,255,566 followers (down 1,355,440). As of June 5th, 2025, Taylor Swift had 281,213,548 followers (down 2,886,784 since May 5th, 2024) and Kim Kardashian had 356,685,376 followers (down 6,895,630 since May 5th, 2024). They both lost a significant number of followers after the #BlockOut campaign started, but they have since lost even more followers not attributed to the Digitine. Instagram is known to remove spam and fake accounts from its platform (Instagram, n.d.). Given Kim Kardashian's history of controversy, it is impossible to determine the exact cause of the follower loss. Additionally, the number of blocks to an account is not visible, and if someone who did not follow the celebrity blocks them, the celebrity remains virtually unimpacted.

Targeting some of the biggest celebrities could be considered a strategic move. Still, in this case, where the goal was to reduce their income from ad revenue, it is the smaller influencers and celebrities included on the block lists who depend on brand deals tied to follower counts and engagement rates that will feel the impact. Kim Kardashian and Taylor Swift have hundreds of millions of followers and income streams not tied to social media (Di Placido, 2024). The loss of a few million followers is a drop in the bucket in comparison and will have minimal financial consequences. While such symbolic gestures may reflect sincere frustrations and political intention, they underscore a more profound paradox at the heart of contemporary digital activism: a tendency to substitute performative accountability for substantive change. The urgent need to “help” often outpaces reliable or accurate information, leading to affective rather than strategic forms of engagement (Boler & Davis, 2020).

As this study has demonstrated, audiences often shift the burden of activism onto celebrities, expecting them to act as moral agents and public advocates. In doing so, these audiences frequently disengage from more difficult, less visible forms of civic participation. Users expected celebrity visibility to serve as a stand-in for political clarity, to simplify complexity into easily digestible content for them to consume. The same platforms that enable community-building and political expression also encourage spectacle, virality, and symbolic punishment over structural reform. This was particularly evident in #BlockOut, where outrage over celebrity silence sometimes overshadowed direct calls to support Palestinian aid organizations. As one user lamented in response to #BlockOut: “What is this actually changing?” The answer, it seems, is very little.

The Efficacy

Although users framed blocking as a political tool capable of punishing celebrities, amplifying Palestinian voices, and compelling moral action, the data shows that the campaign struggled in ways that reveal broader limitations of viral activism on TikTok. Evaluating whether #BlockOut “worked” requires examining not only whether its stated goals were met, but also how participants defined success. Users often portrayed blocking as a morally righteous act capable of compelling celebrities to speak out, donate, or align themselves with Palestine. Yet only a fraction of commenters mentioned measurable results. Instead, success was expressed affectively: “done done and done, see u guys tomorrow” frames participation as a routine performance, even a form of entertainment.

This gamification—seen in celebratory block parties, tiered block lists, and Hunger Games–style language—situates #BlockOut within broader critiques of “clicktivism” and “slacktivism” (Skoric, 2012; George & Leidner, 2019), where digital engagement feels productive but rarely produces material outcomes. The tone of excitement (“I love this game”), pride (“Jimmy Fallon hurt too much, but I did it”), and competition (“see u guys tomorrow”) demonstrates how #BlockOut transformed activism into a cyclical ritual of affective participation rather than strategic collective action. TikTok rewarded emotional action over sustained political engagement. Blocking became a ritual of belonging, not a lever of structural pressure.

#BlockOut amplified a cultural imaginary in which silence equals complicity, speech equals morality, and digital participation equals activism. Yet the campaign’s

inability to articulate who should speak, on what issues, and to whom, led to internal contradictions:

| Internal Contradictions of #BlockOut | Discursive Consequence |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| Celebrities were punished for silence, but also attacked when they spoke too late or imperfectly | No possible form of speech satisfied users |
| Pro-Palestinian celebrities appeared on block lists | Undermined credibility and coherence |
| Users disagreed on goals—harm, awareness, punishment, or solidarity | Confusion replaced strategy |
| Participation was emotional, not informational | Engagement replaced education |

While the #BlockOut campaign prompted responses from several public figures, including Lizzo, public reactions remained polarized. For some, this demonstrated #BlockOut's effectiveness; for others, it reinforced skepticism about celebrities' motives. Many social media users continued to request that Lizzo be blocked because she only spoke up after being called out and accused her of doing it to be performative or as a reputation management tactic. They questioned the authenticity of her timing and motivation. Some activists were happy that she was speaking up at all, and were even more grateful that she shared a reputable and impactful organization for people to support. However, the divergent responses to Lizzo's video represent conflicting discursive strategies: for some users, calling her out was a method of moral correction

and algorithmic discipline; for others, accepting her message and promoting Operation Olive Branch served as a strategy of rechanneling visibility toward tangible support. These reactions were consistent with patterns identified in the broader dataset, where themes of performativity, moral inconsistency, and frustration with algorithmic visibility frequently emerged.

The demand for celebrity accountability creates a breeding ground for performative allyship. Influencers and celebrities may make vague statements or symbolic gestures not to challenge injustice but to protect their social and economic capital while appearing to engage. Such gestures often do more for the image of the ally than for the communities they claim to support. For instance, vague posts to temporary, 24-hour, Instagram Stories using the 'Free Palestine' hashtag without offering resources or context were often perceived as superficial attempts to satisfy public pressure, rather than genuine advocacy. Commenters criticized these gestures as 'PR damage control' or simply performative acts. Similarly, this logic of impression management is not limited to individuals; it is embedded in platform design, which incentivizes emotionally resonant, algorithmically favoured content over in-depth or resource-intensive advocacy. As a result, celebrity statements may trend not for their clarity, but for their controversy. Social media does not simply host conversations; it shapes the infrastructure of participation itself.

#BlockOut's impact was symbolic, not structural. It reshaped how users thought about the political responsibilities of celebrities, provided an outlet for anger at perceived moral failures, and dramatized the power of online participation. Yet the campaign struggled under the weight of its own contradictions—algorithmic volatility,

unclear objectives, uneven participation, and the emotional gravity of celebrity culture. Taken together, these dynamics reveal that while #BlockOut successfully mobilized discourse, it did not achieve its material goals. Instead, the campaign underscores Wellman's (2022) observation that digital activism often cycles rapidly through visibility, affective intensity, and decline without generating enduring structural consequences. Rather than a failure, #BlockOut reveals something more consequential: the emerging expectation that silence is a political act and that public figures owe moral performance to their audiences.

Conclusion

The #BlockOut movement emerged during a period when political visibility, celebrity culture, and digital communication converged within a highly charged online environment. What began as a spontaneous response to perceived celebrity silence regarding the genocide in Gaza developed into a global discursive event that redefined civic participation amid platform capitalism, parasocial expectations, and algorithmic virality. My thesis examined how TikTok users interpreted, enacted, and challenged the #BlockOut hashtag. Analyzing 11 high-engagement TikTok videos and 973 comments, this study demonstrated that #BlockOut was more than just a fleeting trend; it served as a crucial space for exploring modern public expectations of celebrity responsibility, the emotional economies of digital activism, and the tensions that arise when users attempt to transform outrage into action.

Revisiting the Research Questions

The first research question asked: What themes and narratives define the #BlockOut discourse on TikTok? This thesis identified seven main discursive topics—activism as digital participation, uncertainty and information gaps, pushback and critique, humour, satire, and irony, moral or humanitarian alignment, community and belonging, and polarization and division—each reflecting different user sentiments towards the movement. These narratives coexisted rather than aligned, forming a fragmented conversation where participants moved between action, confusion, and critique. The dataset indicated that TikTok’s audiovisual aesthetics, trending sounds, and platform features influenced participation as much as political beliefs, emphasising that digital activism today manifests through modes of performance rather than a cohesive ideological stance.

The second research question, “How are celebrities portrayed within the #BlockOut movement on TikTok?”, explored how celebrities are represented within the movement. Celebrities act as symbols of moral responsibility, with their silence interpreted not as neutrality but as a deliberate form of communication imbued with significance. TikTok users evaluate celebrities through parasocial attachments, narrative assumptions, and personal affect, demonstrating that fandom has become a political arena. Silence is equated with complicity, while superficial posts are scrutinized for authenticity. In this context, users expect celebrities to meet standards that are neither officially established nor consistently communicated, exposing a paradox at the heart of digital moral judgment: celebrities are presumed to operate as political figures,

educators, and emotional anchors without possessing the structural power or expertise required for these roles.

The third and fourth research questions, “what measurable impact has #BlockOut had on public perception, social media engagement, or economic implications for celebrities?” and “to what extent has #BlockOut achieved its intended goals, and what factors influenced its effectiveness?”, examined the movement's influence and whether it met its objectives. Quantitatively, the movement had minimal lasting effects on celebrity follower counts and prompted few calls to tangible political action. None of the analyzed videos included direct links to charities or resources, and only one creator, @BlockOut2024, introduced a humanitarian organization (Operation Olive Branch) after the campaign began, in response to critiques about the lack of tangible resources. Most participation was symbolic—blocking, listing, commenting, and sharing. Users perceived blocking as a form of financial disruption, but the infrastructure needed to turn this symbolic act into a measurable outcome was lacking. As a result, #BlockOut succeeded rhetorically—as a critique of celebrity disengagement—but failed practically, lacking mechanisms to translate outrage into sustained activism.

What #BlockOut Tells Us About Digital Activism

These findings show that the movement's significance isn't in how long it lasted, but in the sociotechnical conditions it revealed. Digital activism now operates within attention economies where emotional resonance, rather than ideological clarity, drives participation. Platforms like TikTok algorithmically favour spectacle, satire, and conflict, resulting in movements where virality spreads faster than understanding. The rapid rise of #BlockOut demonstrates that visibility equals power; however, as the dataset

indicates, visibility alone doesn't guarantee political literacy, organizational coherence, or fundamental change.

My thesis also shows that users increasingly see activism as an act at the interface level: blocking, unfollowing, and tagging are no longer merely ways of expression but also forms of labour. These straightforward actions are not trivial; they help create shared emotional worlds, establish moral boundaries, and convey collective frustrations. However, without infrastructure that links symbolic participation to offline action, digital movements risk becoming emotionally fulfilling but politically superficial spaces, where accountability is performed rather than truly enacted.

Limitations of the Study

This study's conclusions must be understood considering several methodological limitations. First, it focused solely on English-language TikTok content, excluding other linguistic and cultural contexts in which #BlockOut may have circulated. Second, the dataset captures only a brief period at the height of the movement, meaning that later interpretations, countertrend content, or migration of content to other platforms are beyond its scope. Third, while follower counts were examined, TikTok's limited transparency regarding monetization metrics prevented the calculation of economic impact. Finally, the qualitative nature of comment analysis prioritizes discourse over intent; this study cannot determine whether users who expressed support engaged in offline activism or whether their digital actions influenced broader political outcomes. The emergence of counter-discourse videos—challenging the campaign's logic, targets, and moral authority—demonstrates that #BlockOut generated debate rather than consensus, revealing fractures in how digital publics assign responsibility and meaning.

Directions for Future Research

Future studies should explore this research in three ways. First, comparative research across platforms like Instagram, Reddit, and X could show if #BlockOut's discourse differed in tone, scope, or political intent outside TikTok's audio-based environment. Second, longitudinal studies could examine whether digital activists' expectations of celebrities change across multiple crises, helping determine whether demands for public speech are a consistent sociocultural norm or a reaction specific to crises. Third, computational and ethnographic approaches could look at how parasocial expectations shape perceptions of moral authority online, especially as influencers increasingly take the place of journalists, scholars, and institutions as interpreters of geopolitical events. A related research agenda could examine the conditions under which symbolic actions lead to lasting collective outcomes. Projects studying activist campaigns that successfully combine online discourse with offline mobilization would offer valuable insights into the infrastructural barriers that limited #BlockOut's impact.

Finally, future research should be explicitly informed by intersectional feminist approaches that attend to how power, visibility, and harm are unevenly distributed within digital activism. As D'Ignazio and Klein (2020) argue, data-driven practices, such as lists, metrics, and algorithmic amplification, often reproduce existing hierarchies unless scholars deliberately examine who is rendered visible, scrutinized, or exposed to risk. Applying a data feminist lens to movements like #BlockOut would require closer attention to how gender, race, and celebrity status intersect to shape patterns of accountability, particularly the disproportionate targeting of women and racialized figures for moral evaluation while more powerful actors remain less visible. Rather than

focusing solely on engagement or reach, future research could examine how marginalized users perform emotional labour while platforms transform moral outrage into value, thereby shaping the limits of digital activism.

What This Study Contributes

Ultimately, my thesis suggests that #BlockOut highlights a significant cultural shift: in platformed publics, silence is no longer absence—it is a message, a stance. Netizens now expect celebrities to readily express moral clarity, turning fame into a quasi-political role where influence comes with obligation. However, without systems that link rhetorical accountability to real change, these expectations may end up reinforcing the very dynamics they seek to challenge: activism reduced to visibility, critique turned into consumption, and political responsibility delegated to figures whose power is mainly symbolic rather than systemic.

The social obligation paradox revealed by #BlockOut challenges us to reconsider the fundamentals of digital activism. For activism to endure beyond temporary trends, it must develop from symbolic acts to continuous accountability practices; from superficial outrage to the redistribution of resources; from parasocial dependency to collective political literacy. In examining the discursive landscape of this movement, my thesis demonstrates that digital activism is not trivial, but it cannot be automatically seen as transformative either. Its importance lies in the questions it encourages us to ask, and #BlockOut presents a crucial one: if visibility is our main form of civic participation, what happens to struggles that require more than attention to succeed? This study shows that the future of activism depends not on whether celebrities voice opinions, but on whether the public stops equating speech with justice.

#BlockOut, like many viral movements, was brief. Despite its initial energy, it lasted barely a month. This fleeting engagement raises important questions: What kind of civic culture is being built when outrage spikes and vanishes so quickly? What happens when we put public image above actual public outcomes? What are we asking celebrities to provide when they speak—clarity, solidarity, or just content? The short duration of online action reflects broader sustainability issues in digital movements. Without established political, media, and civic engagement—and without celebrity advocacy supporting broader social and political efforts—social movements rarely attract lasting attention (Tsaliki, 2016; Hawkins, 2011). Movements like #BlockOut often lack these core structures. Their visibility tends to fluctuate, often driven not by genuine need but by trends and attention cycles. Event-based online communities are expected to fade over time, and digital activists should see this as normal, not a failure (Korn, 2015). This explains why #BlockOut was short-lived, thriving for a few weeks before fading, even as the crisis it aimed to address continued. It also highlights the importance of parallel offline action.

The ethical and structural contradictions that have arisen during this campaign reflect long-standing challenges in digital political engagement. As Bail (2021) notes, the visibility of extreme or emotionally charged content often eclipses moderate voices, distorting public perception and hindering meaningful dialogue. Neutral content rarely goes viral. Meanwhile, as scholars have shown, people increasingly interpret information through relational cues. Audiences tend to see information as more trustworthy when it is endorsed by a celebrity they regard as credible, regardless of its factual accuracy (Goodwin et al., 2023). Similarly, trust in news shared on social media

platforms depends less on the information's accuracy and more on who shared it (Guess & Lyons, 2020). These dynamics demonstrate how celebrity influence, even if superficial, can significantly impact political perceptions.

Digital political activity is not inherently ineffective. As Freelon et al. (2020) remind us, "Digital political activities—including low-cost ones—are a complement to, not a substitute for, their offline counterparts. Inversely, those who are uninterested in politics tend to avoid it both online and offline" (p. 1). Yet, movements like #BlockOut often lack the infrastructure or clarity to convert online momentum into sustained offline advocacy. The absence of calls to action, charitable links, or tangible support for Gaza within these 11 videos revealed a significant gap between intention and impact. TikTok user @blockout2024 initially discussed no ways to support Palestinians beyond blocking celebrities, until his 11th video, two days after starting the campaign, when he promoted Operation Olive Branch. This grassroots organization supports and amplifies aid requests for Palestinian families. Meanwhile, comments were criticizing the effectiveness of #BlockOut (e.g., "How about stop filming useless TikTok videos and actually do something like donating")—none of the analyzed videos directed viewers to tangible resources or reputable charitable organizations.

This analysis prompts the question of why users turn to celebrities during times of crisis. Many individuals seem driven by a desire for clarity, moral reassurance, or a sense of communal solidarity amid complex global events. Others may feel disconnected from traditional political institutions and seek solace in familiar digital communities to process grief, anger, or hope. Despite their sincerity, these impulses can be easily exploited by platform capitalism, where the performance of outrage often

replaces genuine digital activism. When participation becomes merely impression management, accountability itself turns into a spectacle.

Although the #BlockOut campaign was short-lived, its importance lay in the collective discursive tactics used by users, such as moral outrage, irony, and symbolic protest, which redefined the meaning of celebrity silence within the geopolitical context of the Israel-Hamas conflict. Understanding these dynamics can improve the effectiveness of future activism. Instead of concentrating on moral outrage directed at individual figures, efforts should focus on structural change, community education, and tangible support for those directly affected. Users launching these digital activism campaigns often seek visibility, voice, and the spread of their content, creating emotional economies that favour exposure over nuance and subtlety. Celebrity visibility acts as a stand-in for political clarity, as if the perfect post by the right person could symbolize collective righteousness.

These patterns show how digital platforms can foster political engagement and highlight the growing potential of digital activism. This necessitates a redefinition of accountability—not as symbolic or performative acts, but as an active redistribution of resources, amplification of marginalized voices, and a refusal to let visibility replace virtue. Essentially, the social obligation paradox encourages us to question celebrity silence and to examine our own participation in a media culture that often prioritizes performance over progress. Ultimately, #BlockOut exposed how parasocial dynamics, intensified by influencer-driven platform economies, transform celebrity silence into a site of personal betrayal and political contestation. In these moments, users are not merely spectators but negotiate identity, morality, and belonging through emotionally

charged performances of loyalty and dissent, blurring the line between civic participation and celebrity culture.

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Appendix A: TikTok Posts Selected

| | Type | Topic | Caption | Speaker? | Views | Likes | Comments | Saves | Shares | Date | Sound |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|----------|------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|-------|--------|----------|-------|--------|------------|------------------------------------------|
| TikTok #1: "Blocked, Muah" | TikTok | Block List | 🇳🇬 #blockout2024 | Yes | 1.4M | 159.7K | 3108 | 7982 | 2917 | 2024-05-11 | Muah, Blocked |
| TikTok #2: "Honorary Blocks of the Day" | TikTok | Block List | Better luck next week guys! #blockout2024 you can block artists on spotify too | Yes | 5.3M | 575.7K | 12.7K | 26.5K | 13.3K | 2024-05-08 | N/A |
| TikTok #3: "Kawaii Aesthetic Block List" | TikTok | Block List | #blocked #blockout2024 #metgala #boycott #celebrity #influencers #cancelled #taylorswift #zendaya | No | 1M | 23.6K | 3609 | 8299 | 3866 | 2024-05-09 | Kawaii Aesthetic |
| TikTok #4: "The Hanging Tree" | Carousel | Block List | Hope you're having a nice day! #usher #charlidamelio #harrystyles #kanyewest #blockout #blocklist #blockout2024 | No | 1.4M | 82.6K | 5133 | 6333 | 3386 | 2024-05-14 | The Hanging Tree - from The Hunger Games |
| TikTok #5: "Blocka" | TikTok | Block List | Let the blocking begin 🍌🍌 #blockout #blockout2024 | Yes | 2.2M | 323.1K | 5965 | 21.7K | 11.8K | 2024-05-10 | Blocka |
| TikTok #6: "Block Every Met Gala Attendee" | TikTok | Block List | LETS MAKE SOCIAL MEDIA FOR US AND US ALONE #blockout2024 #blockout #boycott #boycottcelebrities #boycotthollywood #boycotttherich | Yes | 1.3M | 229K | 10.1K | 15.8K | 14.4K | 2024-05-08 | N/A |
| TikTok #7: "The Gworls" | TikTok | Block List | what about beyonce? rihanna? tyla? doja? the gworls!!!! #blockchain #blockparty2024 #celebrityblock #blockout2024 | Yes | 1.2M | 114K | 8303 | 5685 | 2267 | 2024-05-10 | N/A |
| TikTok #8: "Celeb Blocks of the Day" | TikTok | Block List | #blockout2024 | Yes | 4.8M | 556.5K | 15.9K | 29.2K | 15.2K | 2024-05-10 | N/A |
| TikTok #9: "Extensive Block List" | TikTok | Block List | #fyp #blocklist #blockcelebrities #foryou | No | 2.3M | 112.9K | 6613 | 23.9K | 14.8K | 2024-05-10 | Hind's Hall |
| TikTok #10: "Weekly Block List, For Obvious Reasons" | TikTok | Block List | !!Part 2 of this Week's Block List of Celebrities for the Blockout 2024 - do it and do it UNPOLOGETICALLY. | Yes | 1.7M | 178.4K | 3864 | 17.3K | 4798 | 2024-05-10 | N/A |
| TikTok #11: "The Block List is Infinite" | TikTok | Block Out | The #blocklist is infinite #haleybybaylee #letthecatcake #hungergames #district12 #metgala #celebrity #cancelculture #canceled #influencers #block #blocked #blockchain | Yes | 1.1M | 119.1K | 6864 | 7756 | 7457 | 2024-05-09 | N/A |

Appendix B: Codes for Comment Tones and Definitions

| Tones | |
|------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Code name | Definition |
| Angry | Expresses frustration, outrage, or hostility toward a person, group, or situation. |
| Appreciative | Expresses gratitude, admiration, or thankfulness. |
| Assertive | Communicates a strong opinion or stance with confidence and clarity. |
| Confused | Demonstrates uncertainty, misunderstanding, or lack of clarity. |
| Cynical | Expresses distrust, disbelief, or skepticism in a sarcastic or dismissive manner. Often implies that motives are self-serving. |
| Defensive | Responds protectively to criticism or perceived attacks, often justifying actions or beliefs. |
| Desperate | Conveys urgency, helplessness, or a strong need for change or support. |
| Dismissive | Minimizes or outright rejects the importance or relevance of a topic or perspective. |
| Empathetic | Shows understanding, care, or compassion toward others' feelings or experiences. |
| Hopeful | Expresses optimism, positivity, or belief in a better outcome or future. |
| Informative | Provides facts, explanations, or clarifying details with a neutral or objective tone. |
| Inquisitive | Seeks information or understanding by asking genuine questions. |
| Irritated | Shows mild annoyance or displeasure, often less intense than anger. |
| Neutral | Does not express a strong emotion or opinion; maintains an even, objective tone. |
| Playful | Uses humor, light-heartedness, or sarcasm in a non-hostile way. |
| Prideful | Communicates self-assurance or satisfaction with one's own beliefs, actions, or group affiliation. |
| Sarcastic | Uses irony or mocking language, often to express contempt or highlight contradictions. |
| Skeptical | Questions the validity or truthfulness of a claim or idea without fully rejecting it. |
| Spiritual | Expresses religious or spiritual sentiment, often invoking faith or a higher power. |
| Supportive | Offers encouragement, agreement, or backing of a cause, individual, or action. |
| Unsure | Indicates indecision or uncertainty, often asking for confirmation or guidance. |

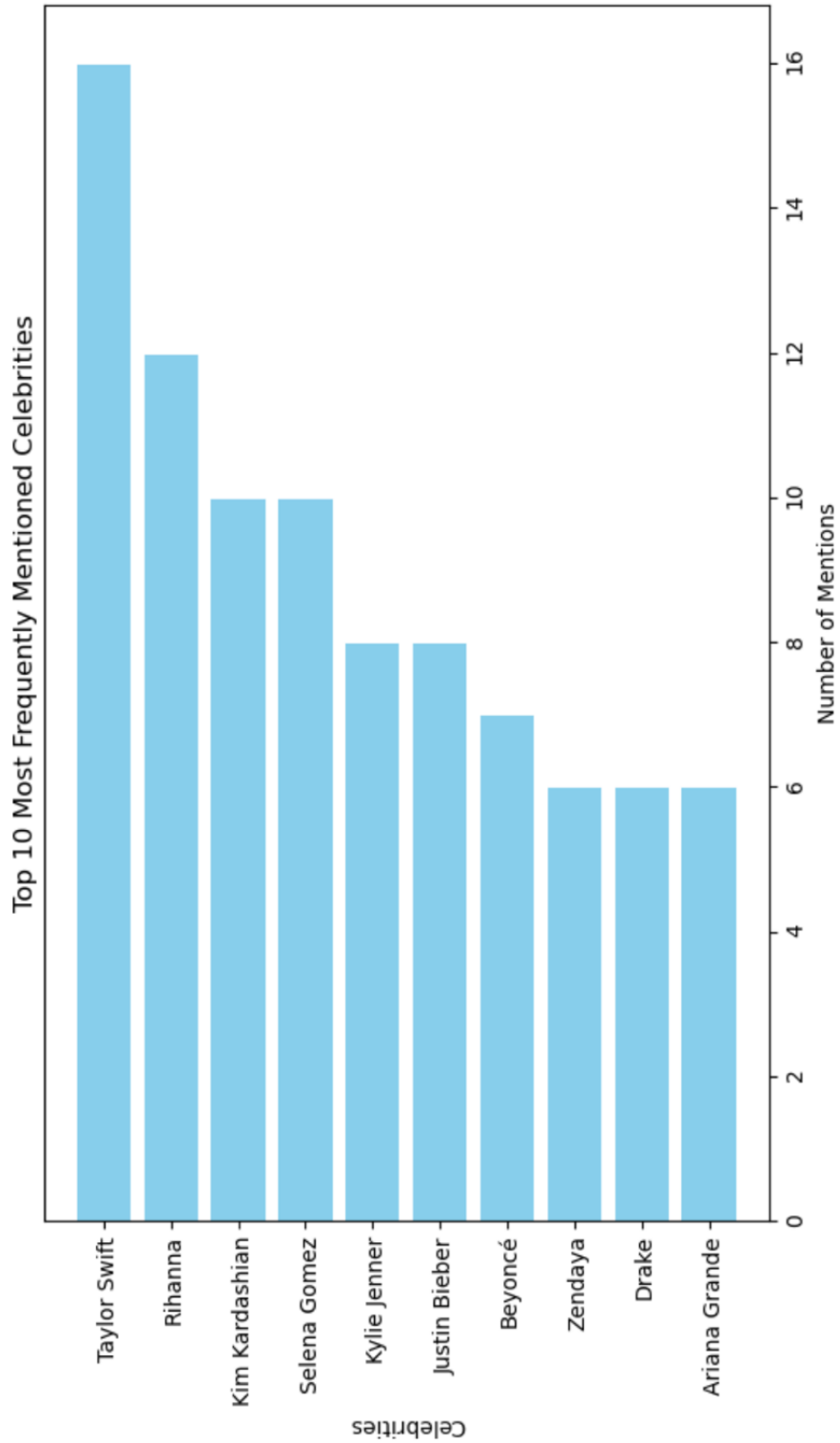
Appendix C: Codes for Comment Purposes and Definitions

| Purposes | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Code name | Definition |
| Awareness-Raising | Aims to inform others about an issue, cause, or event to increase general knowledge or visibility. |
| Call to Action | Encourages others to take specific action (e.g., block someone, donate, protest, share information). |
| Clarification | Seeks to explain or restate something to improve understanding without directly correcting a mistake. |
| Corrective | Points out inaccuracies or perceived errors in the content, often to restore truth or accuracy. |
| Criticism | Expresses disapproval or critique of the subject, message, or broader context. |
| Engagement | Aims to interact with others, often to spark conversation, show interest, build connection, or help the video get more reach. |
| Fundraising | Promotes or shares information related to financial support, donations, or mutual aid efforts. |
| Inquiry | Expresses a desire to learn more or asks for information, often without judgment. |
| Non-Participation | Expresses refusal or intention not to participate in the suggested or discussed action. |
| Participation | Expresses intent to or reports having taken part in the suggested or discussed action. |
| Power | Reflects on or calls out power dynamics, privilege, influence, or systemic issues. |
| Questioning | Challenges the logic, motives, or validity of a statement or action, often with skepticism. |
| Resistance | Actively opposes the message, the figures involved, or the broader movement or trend. |
| Satire/Mockery | Uses humor, irony, or ridicule to criticize or undermine the subject or tone of the content. |
| Solidarity | Expresses unity, alliance, or support for a person, group, or cause, often signaling shared identity or values. |
| Spiritual Guidance | Provides religious or spiritual insight, often framed as moral or ethical advice based on faith or belief. |
| Suggestion | Offers an idea, recommendation, or alternative path of action or thinking. |
| Testimony | Shares a personal experience, story, or viewpoint, often to add credibility or relatability. |
| Unsure | The intent behind the comment is unclear, ambiguous, or doesn't easily fit into other categories. |

Appendix D: Codes for Comment Themes and Definitions with Matching Tones and Purposes

| Themes | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Code name | Definition | Matching Tones | Matching Purposes |
| Activism as Digital Participation | Comments that express support for action, mobilize others, or demonstrate active engagement with a social cause through digital means (e.g., calls to unfollow, sharing donation links, suggesting actions). These comments frame the platform as a site for advocacy. | Assertive, Hopeful, Supportive, Appreciative, Empathetic, Informative | Call to Action, Participation, Fundraising, Suggestion, Awareness-Raising |
| Uncertainty and Information Gaps | Comments that reflect confusion, misinformation, or a desire to understand more. They often include questions, corrections, or neutral clarifications and highlight the lack of clarity or consensus around the issue. | Confused, Unsure, Inquisitive, Neutral | Clarification, Inquiry, Questioning, Corrective, Unsure |
| Pushback and Critique | Comments that resist or reject the premise of the video, criticize the creators or others involved, or express dissatisfaction with the movement. They may include emotional reactions like anger or cynicism, or more measured critique. | Angry, Skeptical, Defensive, Irritated, Cynical, Dismissive, Inquisitive | Criticism, Resistance, Power, Satire/Mockery, Non-Participation |
| Humor, Satire, and Irony | Comments that use humor, sarcasm, or irony to critique, cope, or highlight contradictions. These may be subtle or overt in tone, and often deflate the seriousness of the subject while still conveying a stance. | Playful, Sarcastic, Cynical | Satire/Mockery, Engagement, Criticism |
| Moral or Humanitarian Alignment | Comments that frame participation as a moral or ethical imperative, grounded in empathy, spirituality, or a desire to do good. They often express solidarity with those suffering and justify engagement through deeply held values. | Empathetic, Hopeful, Spiritual, Assertive, Desperate | Solidarity, Spiritual Guidance, Testimony, Awareness-Raising |
| Community and Belonging | Comments that express or cultivate a sense of togetherness, shared identity, or mutual support among users. This includes affirmations of the movement, emotional solidarity, or spiritual connection. | Supportive, Appreciative, Empathetic, Hopeful, Proudful | Engagement, Solidarity, Testimony, Spiritual Guidance |
| Polarization and Division | Comments that emphasize conflict, take divisive stances, or reflect increasing tensions between opposing viewpoints. These often reflect ideological divides, frustration with others' behavior, or calls to disengage or push back. | Angry, Dismissive, Skeptical, Defensive, Irritated, Cynical, Proudful, Sarcastic | Resistance, Power, Criticism, Non-Participation, Satire/Mockery |

Appendix E: Top 10 Most Frequently Mentioned Celebrities in Comments



| | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|-------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| y ? | 0 | 0 | Inquisitive | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| All eyes on Rafah may God keep you safe ❤️ | 0 | 0 | Spiritual | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| My family's situation is very dangerous in Gaza, and my father could lose him at any moment. He is on his deathbed and my sister has epilepsy and is not able to take treatment. Donation link in bio | 0 | 0 | Desperate | Fundraising | Moral or Humanitarian Alignment |
| Can you help me fund my account in order to help? I am from Gaza. There is a PayPal donation account. I am new to T-Tok | 0 | 0 | Desperate | Fundraising | Moral or Humanitarian Alignment |
| free palestine free palestine free palestine free palestine free palestine ❤️ | 0 | 0 | Hopeful | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| GazaOneBillionVoice #FreePalestine ##SavePalestine ##All Eyes on Rafah #FreePalestine #SavePalestine #AllEyesOnRafah #SaveRafah | 0 | 0 | Hopeful | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| I am Ibrahim, Gazan still in Gaza, We lost everything please help us to evacuate before its too late, we need to evacuate, please donate and make videos about my campaign link in my bio | 0 | 0 | Desperate | Fundraising | Moral or Humanitarian Alignment |
| NO LONGER Deceive us FREEDOM AND PEACE keep on the right side of | 0 | 0 | Unsure | Unsure | N/A |
| Guys can y'all just tell me what happened!? (asking in a good way) | 0 | 0 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Please support my family from the Gaza war and share the link | 0 | 0 | Desperate | Fundraising | Moral or Humanitarian Alignment |
| War" | 0 | 0 | Desperate | Testimony | Moral or Humanitarian Alignment |
| Disney,Netflix,Amazon,Vouge Channels,Comedy shows SNL,Fallon,makeup brands of celebrities,food, Coffee, Clothing,Cars,Magazines brands like | 0 | 0 | Informative | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| ♥♥♥♥♥ | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| saying more than five words for the algorithm 67 | 0 | 0 | Neutral | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Please free and protect these beautiful people ❤️ | 0 | 0 | Hopeful | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| Free Palestine Stand With Palestine Pray For Palestine | 0 | 0 | Hopeful | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| war? Thank you. I hope you can donate even a little Link in bio | 0 | 0 | Desperate | Fundraising | Moral or Humanitarian Alignment |
| plz help me to leave gaza peacefully with my family We need your donations . can you help me ? Even if just a little If you can't donate plz s | 0 | 0 | Desperate | Fundraising | Moral or Humanitarian Alignment |
| safe life , please , share my link no one helped me | 0 | 0 | Desperate | Fundraising | Moral or Humanitarian Alignment |
| Rama, a child with Duane Syndrome, is now in Gaza with her family. They need your help https://gofund.me/c0186e4b | 0 | 0 | Desperate | Fundraising | Moral or Humanitarian Alignment |
| block me as well | 0 | 0 | Sarcastic | Satire/Mockery | Humour/Satire/Irony |
| story | 0 | 0 | Desperate | Testimony | Moral or Humanitarian Alignment |
| I'm going on the beach today so I'll see if you want me too if | 0 | 0 | Neutral | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| one two three four five six seven eight nine !!; | 0 | 0 | Neutral | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| if u like block everybody on ur friend list Gaza must pay for October 7 | 0 | 0 | Sarcastic | Satire/Mockery | Humour/Satire/Irony |
| Hope that I can find someone who adopt my family story.. and help us | 0 | 0 | Desperate | Testimony | Moral or Humanitarian Alignment |
| we all are one ummah | 0 | 0 | Spiritual | Spiritual Guidance | Community and Belonging |
| Doctor mike, bioderma, Kallmekris, Lina belfiore and dr Rubinshtein | 0 | 0 | Informative | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| start blocking | 0 | 0 | Assertive | Call to Action | Activism as Digital Participation |
| The most helpful comments are at least THREE SENTENCES LONG, HAVE CAPS, with NO NUMBERS, NO EMOJIS. But, the longer, the better! Please copy this and spread it! Thank you!!!! | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Fill this with love of Palestine | 0 | 0 | Empathetic | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| Please save my children. I want to create a donation link so that I can get them out of Gaza safely | 0 | 0 | Desperate | Fundraising | Moral or Humanitarian Alignment |

Appendix G: TikTok #2 Comments

| TikTok #2: "Honorary Blocks of the Day" | Likes | Replies | Tone | Purpose | Theme |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|---------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| RHODE AND FENTY AS WELL | 14549 | 65 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| everytime you do blocks of the day you should say "we have full control of celebrities money and lives" just in case it appears on someone's fyp that might not get why we're blocking | 12365 | 74 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Drake doesn't pop up to me on neither Insta nor TT | 6578 | 80 | Confused | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| ah this is fun | 6046 | 17 | Appreciative | Participation | Community and Belonging |
| this is really exciting | 3904 | 41 | Appreciative | Participation | Community and Belonging |
| Are we doing this on TikTok, Instagram, or both? | 1226 | 77 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| DONE!! Thank you for sharing | 1224 | 2 | Appreciative | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Does Rihanna have a personal account or is it just fenty? | 1180 | 27 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| done done and done, see u guys tomorrow 🍌 | 904 | 5 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| i love this game | 869 | 5 | Appreciative | Participation | Community and Belonging |
| What day are we on? I've seen this one and the Kim K, Beyoncé one. | 687 | 22 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Question: Do we block them even if you don't follow them? | 666 | 45 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Gal Gadot!!! I don't forget her | 661 | 85 | Informative | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I can't find drake's account | 301 | 11 | Confused | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| domt forget bad bunny...he had alot of followers both in la and here. | 293 | 22 | Informative | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| these are actually so incredibly helpful thank you!! | 188 | 5 | Appreciative | Participation | Community and Belonging |
| Am i the only one who never followed any one of them | 175 | 8 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Polarization and Division |
| The way i checked, and don't follow any of these people | 169 | 7 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Polarization and Division |
| I love this game! | 156 | 4 | Appreciative | Participation | Community and Belonging |
| Does it work even if we don't follow these people | 145 | 10 | Skeptical | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Go to those celeb companie's (skim, kylieskin) websites and put as much random stuff in the cart and leave it there. This way real customers can't buy it bc it's already in your cart!! | 130 | 6 | Informative | Call to Action | Activism as Digital Participation |
| does it help to block even if you aren't following them? | 122 | 17 | Skeptical | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Commenting for the algorithm. How are y'all's day going? I'm just waking up!!!! | 86 | 4 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| What if i don't follow any of them? Would i still need to block them?? | 83 | 18 | Confused | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| I'm confused what Rihanna did... | 71 | 163 | Confused | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| ALL EYES ON RAFAH TOUT LES YEUX SUR RAFAH | 60 | 0 | Hopeful | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| what do you guys think you're achieving? | 58 | 45 | Cynical | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| original vid to engage more! | 51 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Done, done and DONE ✓ | 43 | 2 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| good thing i don't follow any celebrity | 41 | 7 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Polarization and Division |
| Done ✓ Thank you | 40 | 0 | Appreciative | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| DONEEEE | 32 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| please keep doing these! ur greta | 32 | 0 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| okay I'm on it now boss | 31 | 0 | Playful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Done! Love this | 31 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| done with pleasureeeee | 28 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| What about big time influencer like kaeli mae, Sara hesri | 27 | 3 | Inquisitive | Suggestion | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| done | 26 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| i love this, it's one of the best things i'm doing | 25 | 0 | Appreciative | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I have all of them blocked | 20 | 1 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I don't follow them anyways hahaha | 20 | 3 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Polarization and Division |
| Done ✓ | 17 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |

| | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Are you going to track the loss of follows and engagement? | 13 | 5 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| I've blocked several today!!! | 13 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| this is so fun | 13 | 0 | Appreciative | Participation | Community and Belonging |
| Doneeee | 13 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Am I the only one that's never even followed a single celebrity | 12 | 1 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Polarization and Division |
| Not me going to insta right away | 12 | 0 | Playful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| How do u block them on tik tok? | 12 | 2 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| done!! | 11 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I truly love these block lists | 11 | 0 | Appreciative | Participation | Community and Belonging |
| Do we block them on instagram only or where else ? | 9 | 1 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Trying to catch up! Honestly just gonna run through a list in my head and block everyone | 8 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I'll do.... I'll be right back | 8 | 3 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| done | 8 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Wait what did I miss? Why are we blocking them ? | 8 | 19 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| I'm luv'n this | 7 | 0 | Appreciative | Participation | Community and Belonging |
| done done and done ✓ | 7 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| so are we not watching movies or listening to music. just asking | 7 | 0 | Inquisitive | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| What's drakes name I can't find him | 7 | 1 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| It's done, thanks for sharing | 6 | 0 | Appreciative | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Make a tiktok list to make it easier to keep track of | 6 | 0 | Assertive | Suggestion | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| done ✓ | | | | | |
| #freepalestine #freepalestinegaza #palestinewillbefree #savegaza #savepalestine #saverafah | 1 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| done | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| yup done it | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| done !! | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| thanks is your information | 0 | 0 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| done | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| i started to follow | 0 | 0 | Sarcastic | Resistance | Humour/Satire/Irony |
| thak u thank u thank u thank u | 0 | 0 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| done | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Literally my whole cup ran | 0 | 0 | Unsure | Unsure | N/A |
| yes | 0 | 0 | Neutral | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| #PRAYFORPALESTINE #SAFEPALASTINE #FREEPALESTINE #ALLEVESONRAFAH #STANDFORPALESTINE #BLOCKOUT2024LIST | 0 | 0 | Hopeful | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| i hadnt gotten to rihanna! i somehow missed it so good reminder | 0 | 0 | Appreciative | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| DID IT. KEEP IT UP BRO | 0 | 0 | Appreciative | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| OK | 0 | 0 | Neutral | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Neva followed anyone anyways | 0 | 0 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Polarization and Division |
| super super super super | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| I just love you Allah bless you ♥ | 0 | 0 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| U're living in my fyp n iam heeere 4 ittttt | 0 | 0 | Playful | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| done | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| ok | 0 | 0 | Neutral | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| done | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| done done done | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| done bro ♥ | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| The first thing I thought of when I saw this was the first time I | 0 | 0 | Unsure | Unsure | N/A |
| thx for your information,, | 0 | 0 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| done,done and done | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| done!!!! | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |

Appendix H: TikTok #3 Comments

| TikTok #3: "Kawaii Aesthetic Block List" | Likes | Replies | Tone | Purpose | Theme |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|---------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Britney Spears is spinning in her kitchen with butcher knives I don't think she's gonna be much help | 4217 | 61 | Skeptical | Satire/Mockery | Humour/Satire/Irony |
| didn't Jenna Ortega cancel her contract in Scream to support? | 1703 | 63 | Confused | Corrective | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| It costs 30k to save a family of 4 from Gaza. To help them evacuate. How many people could have been saved for the price of a ticket or table at the met Gala? | 1632 | 131 | Empathetic | Awareness-Raising | Moral or Humanitarian Alignment |
| I've been waiting for years to see the Kardashians disappear. | 902 | 12 | Hopeful | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| correct me if I'm wrong but don't Jenna Ortega speak up about Palestine on Twitter | 810 | 51 | Inquisitive | Corrective | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| You forgot!!!! BLOCK THE PPL RELEASING MUSIC THIS FRIDAY!! Perfect timing. Gunna, Future, Megan thee Stallion, Ice Spice, Megan Trainor, Camille Cabello! #Blocklist | 796 | 26 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| jenna ortega literally lost her lead role on scream in support of palestine... | 535 | 9 | Defensive | Corrective | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Kris Jenner has all the Kardashians businesses listed on her Instagram bio - easy to block all the businesses too! | 495 | 6 | Informative | Call to Action | Activism as Digital Participation |
| put Dwayne Johnson + Oprah on there for what he did to people in Hawaii | 470 | 10 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Don't forget to add Tom Hanks; he's the BIGGEST and disgusting p3do out there | 453 | 39 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| no Noah Schnapp or Amy Schumer? YOU EVEN PUT JENNA ORTEGA ?? SHE SUPPORTS PALESTINE YOU IQ TEMPERATURE | 251 | 13 | Angry | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| The met costs 75,000\$ a ticket FOR A TICKET | 209 | 25 | Irritated | Awareness-Raising | Polarization and Division |
| We need to block politicians and CEOs too. The Uber powerful elite that makes decisions that only benefit them. It's not about PAL/ISR or Left/Right. It's for We The People. United we stand. | 184 | 2 | Assertive | Power | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Add Beyoncé and Jay z | 171 | 4 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| ... I know jlo ppl put out this list cuz she's nowhere on any of these lists and she's the main one | 156 | 5 | Skeptical | Questioning | Polarization and Division |
| #1 Taylor Swift | 142 | 79 | Neutral | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Block Dr Phil ass too | 139 | 10 | Assertive | Call to Action | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Why JENNA ORTEGA on this list????? Go see her IG stories | 132 | 2 | Confused | Questioning | Pushback and Critique |
| The lack of men on these lists are disgusting | 129 | 16 | Angry | Questioning | Polarization and Division |
| thank you for holding Hailey Bieber accountable she gets over looked a lot because of the makeup brand and of course Justin | 123 | 2 | Appreciative | Engagement | Activism as Digital Participation |
| BLOCK THEM ALL!!!! STOP FEEDING THE RICH AND THE POLITICIANS WHO ACT BLIND! WE ALL HAVE TO STAND AS ONE!!!! THE TIME IS NOW!! SAVE THE CAKE, EAT THE RICH!!!! #CEASEFIRE NOW!!!!!!!!!!!! | 106 | 3 | Angry | Call to Action | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Jenna Ortega has been about her support of Palestine | 101 | 0 | Informative | Corrective | Pushback and Critique |
| BLOCK JAMES MASLOW FROM BIG TIME RUSH! He has been the LOUDEST for pro-Israel propaganda! | 97 | 3 | Assertive | Call to Action | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I don't think Ryan Garcia deserves to be on the list. He's donated money and is very vocal | 95 | 16 | Skeptical | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Ben Shapiro, Micheal Rapaport, Deborah Messing, Sarah Silverman, Sarah Jessica Parker, Jamie Lee Curtis, Mayim Bialik, Jerry Seinfeld, Jack Black, Amy Schumer, Madonna | 79 | 29 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| DON'T FORGET to also trend #freecongo #freepalestine #freehalti #freesudan #freereativemericans #freethepeople THEY have to know why we're angry, protesting, and blocking them!!! | 77 | 1 | Angry | Awareness-Raising | Activism as Digital Participation |
| the future" but has yet to use his platform for the children on PALESTINE | 67 | 29 | Assertive | Criticism | Community and Belonging |

| | | | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|-------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Don't forget Beyoncé, Jay Z, The rock, Kevin hart | 66 | 23 | Informative | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| @arianagrande @rhodeskin @Kendall Jenner @Poosh @Kim and North @SKIMS @SKKN BY KIM @drink818 @Kylie Cosmetics @Kylie Skin @kyliebaby | | | | | |
| Idk guys Brittany Spears has been through enough | 65 | 1 | Informative | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Didn't Billie Eilish publicly show support for Palestine? I'm pretty sure she even wore a Keffiyah. | 55 | 7 | Skeptical | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| BLOCK ALL CELEBRITIES. No more of us supporting these rich fucks | 55 | 24 | Inquisitive | Clarification | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Remember to block Gal Gadot! | 53 | 3 | Angry | Call to Action | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Not doing this for Palestine but for my own country, taking celebrity's off the pedestal is good for America to. | 52 | 31 | Assertive | Call to Action | Activism as Digital Participation |
| And don't forget the businesses they own!! | 47 | 2 | Neutral | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| Go to their company website & put as much as you can in your cart, go to checkout & just abandon it | 46 | 1 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Taylor Swift nor Selena Gomez was even there. Where did you get this list? | 45 | 7 | Assertive | Call to Action | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Dang, this is everywhere. People are finally waking up. This is why they're trying to ban TikTok. Things should get a lot more fun now. | 41 | 30 | Irritated | Corrective | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| What's going on? I'm confused | 37 | 1 | Hopeful | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| What if you're not even following them to begin with?? | 36 | 25 | Confused | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| boooooooooost fuck ya let's go ❤️ | 30 | 6 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Never going to happen block u instead | 29 | 1 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| What's the Block out about? | 28 | 13 | Dismissive | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Wait didn't Jenna Ortega speak out ? | 28 | 49 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| think they are better than us, but at the end of the day they beg for our attention | 27 | 21 | Confused | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| : Jessica Alba, Flo Milli, Reese Witherspoon, Margot Robbie, Megan Thee Stallion, Ice Spice, Tyla, Lana del ray, Sydney Sweeney, millie Bobby Brown, Adriana, Lima, and Cardi B | 27 | 5 | Angry | Solidarity | Polarization and Division |
| you still shop at walmart/amazon/ kroger/own a cellphone/ fast food/ etc you're still supporting billionaires and corrupt tax laws. blocking a celebrity doesn't do anything. tell people to vote better | 26 | 7 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I'm not blocking Kanye west sorry not sorry | 24 | 20 | Informative | Resistance | Moral or Humanitarian Alignment |
| Three Hours to block | 24 | 13 | Defensive | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Taylor Swift was not at the Met and she has influenced voters registration. | 23 | 0 | Neutral | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| These people have millions of followers and follow hardly anyone themselves. | 22 | 47 | Neutral | Corrective | Pushback and Critique |
| guys don't forget to voted out all these politicians that voted the bill to banned tik tok | 22 | 4 | Unsure | Unsure | N/A |
| No JLo??? | 20 | 2 | Assertive | Call to Action | Moral or Humanitarian Alignment |
| Demi has used their platform to speak out against injustices for women, idk if any other celebrities have but Demi does use their platform for good | 19 | 0 | Confused | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| | 18 | 3 | Inquisitive | Questioning | Pushback and Critique |

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Wait Josh Hutcherson? He doesn't even use social media. In past & recent interviews online he has said that he doesn't like social media like that even though he has insta | 18 | 10 | Inquisitive | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| I know damn well every person making these stupid tiktok's about blocking these celebrities will continue listening to their music and watching their movies. | 17 | 3 | Skeptical | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| It has yet to go down q I'm confused as to how if people are | 15 | 7 | Skeptical | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Jenna Ortega don't care fa social media | 14 | 2 | Unsure | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| Finally a list where Taylor Swift actually deserves to be #1 | 14 | 1 | Sarcastic | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| this list is stupid | 13 | 11 | Dismissive | Non-Participation | Polarization and Division |
| It's so hard to accept for some people that their favorite celebrities aren't good people. They're either silent or actively supporting the occupation of Palestine. | 13 | 3 | Assertive | Solidarity | Moral or Humanitarian Alignment |
| I have a growing list on my following so you all can block with ease! XXXXXXXXBLOCK N BLOCK XXXXXWE CAN DO IT XXXXXXXXBLOCK SHOWS ALSO !!!X | 12 | 3 | Supportive | Call to Action | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Umbrella to escape pictures. She follows 0 and has over 50 million followers. | 10 | 0 | Assertive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| fire | 9 | 0 | Informative | Criticism | Pushback and Critique |
| Someone pls explain what blocking does? I know we won't see their content but does it bring their average down or something? I'm not being sarcastic pls help | 7 | 4 | Informative | Corrective | Pushback and Critique |
| childish just because their rich and famous Doesn't mean u can blockout there | 6 | 3 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| I'm so happy that Melanie Martinez isn't on the list | 5 | 1 | Defensive | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Fyi Kris Jenner conveniently has all of her children's businesses in her bio that should be added to the list! | 5 | 0 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| what exactly is the point or reasoning?? | 4 | 0 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| do you even research before you make these? zendaya and jenna have both been vocal about palestine. | 3 | 4 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Somebody let me know what's going on | 3 | 0 | Sarcastic | Corrective | Pushback and Critique |
| jenna ortega literally has had links in her bio for months now and left the scream franchise after her costar was fired for speaking out. don't come for my good sis. | 2 | 2 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Take Jenna Ortega off that list. She's always been pro | 2 | 0 | Defensive | Corrective | Pushback and Critique |
| I'm so confused | 2 | 0 | Defensive | Corrective | Pushback and Critique |
| Katy Perry wasn't there it was an AI pic... ? | 1 | 0 | Confused | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| @Emily Mariko | 1 | 0 | Confused | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| ariana grande just signed a card for joe Biden to ceasefire | 1 | 0 | Informative | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Y'all better stop putting zendaya on these list | 1 | 0 | Informative | Corrective | Pushback and Critique |
| Adding Jenna Ortega but not someone like Amy Schumer to this list literally shows how yall made palestine more about celebrities rather than trying to actually make a change | 1 | 0 | Irritated | Clarification | Pushback and Critique |
| Jill stein for president. End aipac. Free Palestine | 1 | 0 | Irritated | Questioning | Pushback and Critique |
| DJ Khaled, Christine Abraham, Gigi Hadid, French Montana | 1 | 0 | Hopeful | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Whyyy what's going on? | 1 | 0 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Im not blocking Kanye Just for a stupid thing fr | 0 | 0 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| This is cruel | 0 | 0 | Irritated | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| | 0 | 0 | Dismissive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |

| | | | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|
| Mich@el Rappaport, D3bra M3ssIng, Amy Schum3r, No@h Cyru\$, T@yfr Swift, L@na De1 Ray, Hailley, Dr. Phil, Caitlyn J3nner, M@rk H@mill, J@ck B1@ck, Jennif3r Lawrenc3 | 0 | 0 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| don't forget to block on all socials music streaming sites, yt, x, insta, meta, snap. | | | | | |
| where they have a profile with verified accounts | 0 | 0 | Assertive | Call to Action | Activism as Digital Participation |
| CAN WE USE THIS COMMENT TO TAG EVERYONE WE SHOULD BLOCK TJANK YOU | 0 | 0 | Assertive | Suggestion | Community and Belonging |
| let's add trump to this list please | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Black individuals are asked to support Palestinians despite facing their own genocide. Where is their support? #Palestinians #genocide | 0 | 0 | Irritated | Questioning | Pushback and Critique |
| Do some ACTUAL research Swift & Gomez attend charity events to support humanitarian Aid to Gaza. unreal! | 0 | 0 | Irritated | Corrective | Pushback and Critique |
| Is this because I was not there or because California med.managers, security guards+ law enforcement hire idiots who keep me without vocal | 0 | 0 | Unsure | Unsure | N/A |
| We need to create a website or a place where everyone's socials are linked so we can easily click on it get taken to there page and hit block then go back to links and do it again!!! Someone plzz make | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Suggestion | Community and Belonging |
| 117, Tom Holland. now I know the list is rubbish | 0 | 0 | Irritated | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| Can I get your attention please will the person please stand up who is getting off the grid !!!! As the step up in there face a confetti popper !!!! And you are done all contracts cancelled Xoxo | 0 | 0 | Unsure | Unsure | N/A |
| I'd love for these to all be in the comments so we can click, block,back,next the whole gang. | 0 | 0 | Neutral | Suggestion | Community and Belonging |

Appendix I: TikTok #4 Comments

| TikTok #4: "The Hanging Tree" | Likes | Replies | Tone | Purpose | Theme |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|---------|-------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Kanye ain't even say nothing wrong | 4674 | 43 | Irritated | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| I'm following them all now | 4476 | 57 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Not supporting/mentioning you doesn't mean they support israel | 4058 | 236 | Defensive | Criticism | Polarization and Division |
| "That'll show em" this won't change anything | 2574 | 19 | Cynical | Satire/Mockery | Pushback and Critique |
| y'all acting like it's there job to support you guys | 1941 | 109 | Defensive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| You could never make me unfollow Kanye west | 1718 | 39 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Kanye has said that he doesn't know much about the ongoing conflict in an interview. | 1649 | 74 | Defensive | Resistance | Polarization and Division |
| Kanye just trying to worry about his hometown which is valid | 887 | 44 | Defensive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| Leonardo di caprio was also on the Eipstein island list | 793 | 20 | Informative | Suggestion | Community and Belonging |
| Following all of them | 771 | 46 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Kanye real for that | 720 | 12 | Defensive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| ALL EYES ON RAFAH | 492 | 26 | Supportive | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| what that gonna change | 483 | 28 | Cynical | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| I didn't know it was a requirement for all celebrities to publicly say who they support? | 434 | 41 | Sarcastic | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| Kanye's one is fair | 331 | 27 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Yall got too much time on ur hands | 313 | 5 | Dismissive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| yes block all the millionaires. that'll show em | 263 | 12 | Cynical | Satire/Mockery | Pushback and Critique |
| yall online too much | 260 | 22 | Cynical | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| Thanks just followed all of them | 242 | 9 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| damn kanye is so real for that | 177 | 8 | Defensive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| I dont like most of them, but now i do | 173 | 30 | Sarcastic | Satire/Mockery | Pushback and Critique |
| I support kanye cuz u gotta fix your home before some else's | 171 | 5 | Defensive | Resistance | Polarization and Division |
| Excuse me? They have their own opinion | 167 | 18 | Cynical | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| Just followed all of them 🍌 | 165 | 19 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Going to go follow all of these people now, appreciate that big dog | 149 | 3 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| This changes nothing at all | 126 | 6 | Cynical | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| Those people will just end up getting more followers | 120 | 35 | Neutral | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| follow.... Angelina Jolie | 115 | 2 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Can someone please inform me how American celebrities are going to stop an international conflict | 106 | 27 | Confused | Questioning | Polarization and Division |
| What exactly is this accomplishing? | 103 | 43 | Inquisitive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| Followed all of them. Thanks for the list! | 99 | 15 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| do they help Israë...no... | 91 | 19 | Defensive | Satire/Mockery | Polarization and Division |
| People have their own opinions and beliefs. | 90 | 26 | Neutral | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| Harry hurt | 67 | 1 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Im following all of them ❤️ | 60 | 25 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| "Heh... they wont see this one coming!" ahh post | 52 | 7 | Cynical | Satire/Mockery | Pushback and Critique |
| so chronically online | 49 | 7 | Cynical | Satire/Mockery | Pushback and Critique |
| Gotta follow them all now | 45 | 5 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| i Aint doin allat | 43 | 5 | Dismissive | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| following them all | 41 | 4 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| just followed them | 39 | 6 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Following all of them right now | 33 | 5 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| "that'll show em!" ahh post | 32 | 7 | Sarcastic | Satire/Mockery | Pushback and Critique |
| I ain't blocking Kanye | 31 | 48 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Just because someone supports the other side? | 30 | 11 | Inquisitive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| Chronically online | 28 | 3 | Cynical | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| following them | 20 | 6 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| I guess I have to follow them all now | 20 | 11 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Following all of em | 19 | 8 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| can't even participate, cause I'm not following them | 19 | 2 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| The Daily Blockout biting the curb BK on 3D OLED Samsung TV | 18 | 2 | Unsure | Unsure | N/A |
| Kanye real for that | 17 | 0 | Defensive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| Holy chronically online | 17 | 4 | Cynical | Satire/Mockery | Pushback and Critique |
| already blocked these celebs. | 17 | 5 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I'm going home and bumping usher when I get off have you lost it... | 16 | 1 | Dismissive | Satire/Mockery | Polarization and Division |
| Okay following every single one of them | 14 | 0 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Iemme just follow all of them rq | 14 | 3 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Charli - Doesn't have to discuss the topic, best to not take side, especially for a popular creator (1/5) | 14 | 7 | Defensive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| *subscribed to all of them just now* | 12 | 4 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Following all of them rn | 11 | 5 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| I don't understand this makes not impact | 9 | 1 | Confused | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| Ok, I follow them all! | 9 | 7 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Never unfollowing Charli 🙄 | 9 | 2 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Now I like them more. Hope gaza soon will turn into a flat land | 8 | 0 | Dismissive | Satire/Mockery | Polarization and Division |
| Thanks for list! | 8 | 3 | Appreciative | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Now I'm going to follow them | 7 | 0 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| With or without u they still rich | 7 | 0 | Cynical | Resistance | Polarization and Division |
| Thank you for letting us know who to follow | 7 | 3 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| done | 7 | 1 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Kanye js trying to save some kids | 7 | 2 | Defensive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| You guys are funny | 7 | 12 | Sarcastic | Satire/Mockery | Humour/Satire/Irony |
| Oh no someone has a different view on things let's cry about it. Man people are dumb | 6 | 0 | Sarcastic | Satire/Mockery | Polarization and Division |
| Kanye is real for that | 6 | 0 | Defensive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| womp womp they just followed all of them | 5 | 17 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| sorry not Kanye west | 4 | 0 | Dismissive | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| u could never make me unfollow Kanye (2) | 4 | 0 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Are yall okay? Seriously? They have thousands of followers and talking abt Palestine means raising awareness and standing with humanity. Y'all disgust me | 3 | 0 | Supportive | Solidarity | Moral or Humanitarian Alignment |
| Kanye's one makes sense tho | 3 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Activism as Digital Participation |
| So Freedom of Will is not a thing anymore? | 2 | 0 | Inquisitive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| All W's | 2 | 0 | Sarcastic | Satire/Mockery | Humour/Satire/Irony |
| now please do some research on 3 days before october 11 ❤️ | 2 | 0 | Neutral | Unsure | N/A |
| and what if I don't? | 2 | 0 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Y'all are still at it? | 2 | 0 | Irritated | Resistance | Polarization and Division |
| don't forget Justin Bieber | 2 | 0 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| biggest flex I never even liked them | 2 | 0 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| DONT PLAY THERE MUSIC ON SPOTIFY | 1 | 0 | Assertive | Call to Action | Activism as Digital Participation |
| what happened to free speech? | 1 | 0 | Inquisitive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| No thanks. | 1 | 0 | Dismissive | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| I guess I'll have to follow Charli Damelio then | 1 | 0 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| U just gave me idea to follow them | 1 | 0 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Ye the goat | 1 | 0 | Prideful | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| Gonna follow all of them now | 1 | 0 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Polarization and Division |
| all unblocked | 1 | 0 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Polarization and Division |
| thanks for the follow list | 1 | 0 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| okay but what Kanye west said was so real | 0 | 0 | Defensive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| LOL | 0 | 0 | Sarcastic | Satire/Mockery | Humour/Satire/Irony |
| Thx for lettin me know who to follow | 0 | 0 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Polarization and Division |
| lol | 0 | 0 | Sarcastic | Satire/Mockery | Humour/Satire/Irony |
| fr? wake up | 0 | 0 | Dismissive | Satire/Mockery | Polarization and Division |
| that's not right | 0 | 0 | Dismissive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |

Appendix J: TikTok #5 Comments

| TikTok #5: "Blocka" | Likes | Replies | Tone | Purpose | Theme |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|---------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| and zara | 1437 | 18 | Informative | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Hahaha the best use for that audio! | 298 | 2 | Playful | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Pierce Morgan? | 266 | 9 | Inquisitive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| This needs to go viral | 213 | 7 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| I got a list here's the order of my list and it says: Amey, Diddy, Gal, and Drizzy, Kim Kardashian, The Rock, Kendrick, and then Ye (Eminem Voice) | 190 | 3 | Informative | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I was waiting for someone using this one | 168 | 3 | Neutral | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| i don't follow them tho then what should i do? | 156 | 51 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Well I wasn't following them | 155 | 25 | Dismissive | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| done | 108 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Well done, Mayal | 73 | 2 | Appreciative | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| how to block celebrity on tiktok that you are not following, i tried and didn't get the option. can anyone tell me | 46 | 9 | Confused | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| you are the best!! | 37 | 1 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Yes | 32 | 0 | Supportive | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| I'm loving it | 30 | 0 | Appreciative | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| Hellz yeah | 29 | 1 | Supportive | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| What did Rhianna do | 28 | 8 | Confused | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| yes gurl | 19 | 0 | Supportive | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| When Rihana? | 19 | 15 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| SAME | 16 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| I thought about this exact video earlier!!! | 14 | 0 | Neutral | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| I love you sister | 14 | 1 | Appreciative | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| | 14 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| w ana add you and follow | 13 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| keep going | 11 | 0 | Appreciative | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| Let's gooooo | 11 | 0 | Supportive | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| Thank you for sharing this information | 9 | 0 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| frrr | 9 | 0 | Supportive | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| Chicago love it love it from Chicago God bless | 9 | 0 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| This is adorable. And awesome | 8 | 0 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| That looks way too much fun | 8 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| block a block | 7 | 1 | Neutral | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Perfect | 7 | 0 | Neutral | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| | 7 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| 🇵🇸🇵🇸🇵🇸🇵🇸🇵🇸🇵🇸🇵🇸🇵🇸🇵🇸 Free Palestine | 7 | 0 | Hopeful | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| thank you for sharing this post | 7 | 0 | Appreciative | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| we love u | 6 | 0 | Appreciative | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| this sound has been made for years waiting for this golden moment to go viral | 6 | 0 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| This is exactly what I say as I'm doing it | 6 | 1 | Supportive | Participation | Community and Belonging |
| Madel Who else? | 6 | 1 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| MashaAllah, thank you so much for your support | 5 | 0 | Appreciative | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| thank you for sharing this | 5 | 0 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Love you girl | 5 | 0 | Appreciative | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| Louder | 5 | 0 | Supportive | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| done done | 5 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| done | 5 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| love this | 5 | 0 | Appreciative | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| lovely | 1 | 0 | Appreciative | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| Nice | 1 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| this blackout stuff is amazing | 1 | 0 | Appreciative | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| why not | 0 | 0 | Unsure | Unsure | N/A |
| | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| great job | 0 | 0 | Appreciative | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Heart chain | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| ok ok ok...thats right | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| yes | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| boost | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Thank You My sister.... | 0 | 0 | Appreciative | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| Blackout | 0 | 0 | Neutral | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| just saw you in Habibi squad | 0 | 0 | Neutral | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| not me | 0 | 0 | Dismissive | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| done | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| boosting | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| ok | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Community and Belonging |

Appendix K: TikTok #6 Comments

| TikTok #6: "Block Every Met Gala Attendee" | Likes | Replies | Tone | Purpose | Theme |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|---------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Especially Beyonce | 11600 | 123 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I blocked Selena Gomez and that was hard. But i had to do it | 11473 | 252 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| taylor swift shouldn't be forgot in this | 10983 | 121 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Especially the Kardashians | 8325 | 44 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I unfollowed SO MANY including ciara, kelly rowland, beyonce, rihanna, never followed kardashians to begin with, tyrese, kevin hart, usher, Paris hilton etc. | 4024 | 83 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| We're more powerful than we think | 2674 | 19 | Neutral | Power | Polarization and Division |
| without us- they are NOBODY | 2670 | 30 | Assertive | Power | Community and Belonging |
| I never followed any of them | 2332 | 44 | Neutral | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Yes block their brands and the corporations that promote them too 🌟 | 1721 | 9 | Assertive | Call to Action | Activism as Digital Participation |
| don't forget enews, TMZ, etc! | 1632 | 15 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| So proud of your generation | 1273 | 10 | Prideful | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| don't forget Taylor Swift | 1056 | 14 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Not just celebs but "influencers" who don't speak up. | 1048 | 11 | Supportive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| not Bella hadid right | 933 | 67 | Inquisitive | Questioning | Pushback and Critique |
| ALL EYES ON RAFAH. | 925 | 9 | Supportive | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| The rock | 826 | 15 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Love this!!!! Love to see the people taking their power back! The hardest one for me will be Rihanna. I'm about to do it now. | 766 | 19 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Just a temporary trend. | 726 | 90 | Cynical | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| dont forget zendaya | 709 | 33 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I suggest adding politicians and corporations to this list!! | 656 | 13 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Lets do it with influencers | 548 | 10 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Except The Weekend | 486 | 54 | Neutral | Corrective | Pushback and Critique |
| Yes I'm proud to say I follow no celebrities, let's go.... | 484 | 17 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| people r saying it's not gonna do anything,they would still be rich, but remember these celebrities they lived for our adoration that feeling that we worship them that's what they need | 309 | 7 | Prideful | Power | Polarization and Division |
| drew Barrymore | 309 | 13 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| celebrities/influencers, and decide collectively stop it, they'll will try to | 262 | 3 | Prideful | Power | Polarization and Division |
| Also block the influencers who have been silent. | 234 | 6 | Assertive | Call to Action | Activism as Digital Participation |
| This makes me so happyyyyy | 232 | 6 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Macklemore Against the Machine | 228 | 2 | Neutral | Corrective | Pushback and Critique |
| Kendrick wasn't at the met | 213 | 82 | Informative | Corrective | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| TREVOR NOAH | 201 | 7 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Naomi Campbell | 174 | 6 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| but they also get their money from music so should we stop streaming their songs? | 139 | 18 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| even zendaya and Sidney sweeney | 120 | 2 | Informative | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| alllllll of them. | 115 | 3 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Never followed them | 110 | 5 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| I blocked them on spotify and only use spotify mod | 110 | 7 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Do politicians too!!! | 108 | 4 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Please the Kardashians please | 101 | 1 | Hopeful | Engagement | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Except Mark Ruffalo and Macklemore | 98 | 5 | Informative | Corrective | Pushback and Critique |
| slay | 94 | 0 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |

| | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| We can't depend on them, but we have each other. Everyone else with minuscule influence has been doing the work | 93 | 2 | Prideful | Power | Polarization and Division |
| Finally !!! Thank you!!! | 92 | 0 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Bro give me a list lol | 90 | 21 | Sarcastic | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Not Kendrick | 89 | 4 | Neutral | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| even internet celebrities count ,they have the same amount of influence if not more | 76 | 2 | Informative | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Can someone make a list | 74 | 8 | Inquisitive | Call to Action | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| I didn't follow them anyway | 72 | 4 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| met!! | 68 | 0 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Aye!!! Here for it!!! | 63 | 0 | Supportive | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| Same - blocked them all | 59 | 2 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| This is gonna be fun | 58 | 1 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| I never was friends with them | 53 | 8 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| gigi Hadid too? | 52 | 10 | Inquisitive | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| ldk i kinda love this trend | 46 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| YES LETS GO I JUST DID IT U FOLLOW AND BLCK THEM ALL ! ITS NOT THE HUNGER GAMES ITS THE REAL WORLD! AND WE ARE THE ONES WHO GAVE THEM THE ATTENTION AND THE INFLUENCE! #blockout2024 | 46 | 0 | Assertive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| This is the best blockout2024 | 42 | 0 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| I don't follow celeb | 41 | 3 | Neutral | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| THIS!!!! let's goooooooooo | 37 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| what about their music , movies | 36 | 9 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Not Macklemore! | 34 | 0 | Assertive | Corrective | Pushback and Critique |
| I've been stop following celebrities in 2020 | 32 | 2 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| They need us more than we need them for sure | 31 | 0 | Neutral | Power | Polarization and Division |
| Yessir. Besides Macklemore | 31 | 4 | Neutral | Corrective | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| exactly, i did it and i have never felt prouder of doing something digital | 30 | 1 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Netflix. Cancelled t.v. what do these celebrities do for me? nothing! do we know | 29 | 2 | Prideful | Power | Polarization and Division |
| love this trend, thank you for sharing | 26 | 0 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| block out them all...let's they see the power ITS all yours hand | 25 | 0 | Prideful | Power | Polarization and Division |
| They can't bite the hand that feeds them.. those who own everything in Hollywood and music industry. | 25 | 4 | Prideful | Power | Polarization and Division |
| Influencers too!! | 23 | 0 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I don't follow and never did follow any celebrities | 20 | 1 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| I don't even follow any of them sooo... | 18 | 2 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| you can block them even if you dont follow them...it matters to them | 18 | 0 | Informative | Call to Action | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Basically without us they're nothing. | 16 | 0 | Prideful | Power | Polarization and Division |
| doonee | 16 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| kim kardashien _Kylie jenner _kendell jenner _kris jenner _koloe kardashien _kortny kardashien _Taylor Swift _haily bayly _Rihanna _..... | 15 | 3 | Informative | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| LOVEEEE THIS - ALL EYES ON RAFAH | 15 | 1 | Appreciative | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| this is powerful | 13 | 1 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Let's go | 13 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Normalize dis | 11 | 0 | Neutral | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Preach bro | 9 | 2 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| What about corporate companies?? | 7 | 1 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| All those brands that give them money as well and the news outlets that focused on those ridiculous event!!! | 5 | 0 | Angry | Power | Polarization and Division |
| I'm all for it too | 5 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Yes I blocked a lot of them lol | 5 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| this is how we can really make a change | 5 | 0 | Hopeful | Power | Community and Belonging |
| not me already doing this for the past 10 years | 5 | 0 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| YES | 5 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Me who have never followed any celebrity | 5 | 0 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Totally agree ! | 5 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| I blocked all of them long long ago! | 5 | 0 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Do t forget sport celebrities | 5 | 0 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| everybody. actors and musicians | 5 | 0 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Done! | 5 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| win so we can blast it on every celeb account just before unfollowing them | 5 | 0 | Inquisitive | Suggestion | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Yo bro this video was used as a legitimate source in my English exam | 1 | 1 | Neutral | Unsure | N/A |
| true | 0 | 0 | Neutral | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| I always dreamed for this to happt | 0 | 0 | Hopeful | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| No the weekend | 0 | 0 | Neutral | Corrective | Pushback and Critique |
| how??? | 0 | 0 | Confused | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |

Appendix L: TikTok #7 Comments

| TikTok #7: "The Gworls" | Likes | Replies | Tone | Purpose | Theme |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|---------|-------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Rihanna was so harrrrrrd but then I remembered she wouldn't care if I was dying so... it got easy | 9924 | 46 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Yh, no one has mentioned Tyla and she was the most mentioned dress at the Met. | 9640 | 155 | Neutral | Clarification | Polarization and Division |
| Did you Block TAYLOR SWIFT ???????????? | 7210 | 113 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| dont forget about the boys.. chris brown, justin bieber, drake.. | 3869 | 85 | Informative | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Rihanna hurt but I did it | 3191 | 26 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| DONT FORGET SEPHORA | 3122 | 12 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| did ya'll block JayZ, Travis Kelce, Asap Rocky, Drake? | 2559 | 23 | Inquisitive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Can we make an exception for Tyla | 1417 | 123 | Hopeful | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| NO WE DIDNT BLOCK THEM BYE | 1124 | 78 | Assertive | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Yessit was hard chile cause I like Beyonce but she doesn't know I exist...sooo there's that | 1108 | 23 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I've never followed any if these people | 1044 | 28 | Neutral | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| I did! Rihanna was hard but I did it | 943 | 5 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| The only one that hurt my was Keke Palmer. She was on the list and I had do it but then I blocked 100+ after | 870 | 29 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Tyla just arrived | 862 | 15 | Defensive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| Yep and everyone Jimmy Fallon is following... he made it easy, all gathered for us | 791 | 11 | Supportive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I will never block Beyoncé | 645 | 142 | Dismissive | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| check ,check, and more checks. Oprah, Howard stern | 422 | 1 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I can't do that to Beyoncé guys | 313 | 53 | Dismissive | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| THEY CAN NEVER MAKE ME HATE YOU TYLA | 307 | 11 | Assertive | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| All of them were so easy!! The one I struggled with the most was Lana Del Rey but I did it | 236 | 27 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| What did Tyla do? cause it seems like you hating | 132 | 27 | Inquisitive | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| What did tyla do | 125 | 46 | Confused | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| What's happening I'm so lost | 120 | 15 | Confused | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Haibo South Africa has already paid its price in court for the cause, why block Tyla! | 106 | 6 | Inquisitive | Questioning | Polarization and Division |
| Wait someone fill me in!! What the Girlies do?! | 84 | 6 | Confused | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Dolly Parton | 82 | 9 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Yes. All of them. Yes. | 67 | 1 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| All of them!!!! | 61 | 0 | Assertive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Yes rhianna hurt the most | 58 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I am so proud of all people that start doing action instead of watching.. keep going | 55 | 1 | Prideful | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| Yes I did. Rihanna was hard. But I did. | 50 | 1 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I blocked all of them and I'm sitting in the emotion right now. | 46 | 4 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I won't block Beyoncé and Rihanna! | 46 | 0 | Defensive | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| ed sheeran Stella McCartney. . they were there also, this makes me sooooo sad | 37 | 2 | Dismissive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| TJakes Kirk Franklin and the others | 36 | 6 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Don't forget WILL SMITH | 32 | 0 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| beyonce was so so hard for me but i did it | 31 | 4 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I've blocked nobody | 29 | 1 | Dismissive | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|-------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Cupcake and the whole of SA spoke on her behalf remember that she has just arrived | 28 | 13 | Defensive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| So when beyonce drop them tour dates, are we still going? | 28 | 12 | Inquisitive | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Now what did Rihanna do? | 27 | 38 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| the way my wifi starts acting up everything I start my blockspre back up again like they all getting blocked you cannot stahp me!!! | 26 | 3 | Playful | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| I love beyonce sm but it's inevitable | 21 | 1 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Jennifer Coolidge | 21 | 0 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| No Tyla, still very young, just arrived | 17 | 0 | Dismissive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| Ok, fill me in! | 17 | 2 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| should I block them even if I don't follow them? | 14 | 4 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Yes all them | 12 | 0 | Neutral | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| yes to all | 12 | 0 | Neutral | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Yup | 11 | 0 | Neutral | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Yes!!! | 11 | 0 | Assertive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| They were the first to go!! | 10 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| yesssss | 9 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| wait am I missing something? someone help me explain what's happening | 8 | 1 | Confused | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Yes. Yes. Yes. | 8 | 0 | Neutral | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| never followed them to begin with | 7 | 0 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| NO CHERRY PICKING | 7 | 0 | Angry | Criticism | Polarization and Division |
| yes | 7 | 0 | Neutral | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I did | 7 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Yess | 7 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| absolutely | 7 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| YESSS!!!! Everyone getting it!!!! | 6 | 0 | Assertive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I'm confused why are we blocking people? | 6 | 2 | Confused | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| yes | 6 | 0 | Neutral | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Yes | 6 | 0 | Neutral | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I did | 6 | 0 | Neutral | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Yes | 6 | 0 | Neutral | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I did | 6 | 0 | Neutral | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| yes | 6 | 0 | Neutral | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Yesss 🍀🍀 | 6 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| What's happening I'm so confused | 5 | 3 | Confused | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Why we blocking? I live under a rock so excuse me | 5 | 2 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| On FB, IG, And Tik Tok and Apple Music | 5 | 0 | Informative | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| those were the first one | 5 | 1 | Neutral | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Your skin wow | 5 | 1 | Playful | Engagement | Humour/Satire/Irony |
| Miley Cyrus!! No one ever says her | 5 | 0 | Supportive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| someone wanna explain why? | 5 | 6 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| The question isnt didn't you block them... The question is... ARE THEY STILL BLOCKED | 2 | 0 | Inquisitive | Solidarity | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Yes yes and yes | 2 | 0 | Neutral | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| What is going on? Why? What did I miss? | 2 | 0 | Confused | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| yep | 1 | 0 | Neutral | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I did | 1 | 0 | Neutral | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Yes I did | 1 | 0 | Neutral | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Yes. | 1 | 0 | Neutral | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Tyla...pliz dnt | 1 | 0 | Defensive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| What did My girl Tyla do i mean she just arrived | 1 | 0 | Confused | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Did I miss something? | 1 | 0 | Confused | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| YES I DID | 1 | 0 | Assertive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| this though. | 1 | 0 | Neutral | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Yes, happily and immediately. | 1 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Absolutely...truth is I was never following all those artists | 1 | 0 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Yup immediately as soon as someone made it make sense to me. I still have more people to block | 1 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| WAIT WAIT WAIT WHATS GOING ON | 1 | 1 | Confused | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| What about Trevor Noah? | 1 | 0 | Inquisitive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I can't hear a word you're saying..that skin has me mesmerized | 1 | 1 | Playful | Inquiry | Humour/Satire/Irony |
| Whenever you get time, we need to get into this skincare routine cause | 1 | 1 | Playful | Inquiry | Humour/Satire/Irony |
| Why is Tyla on this list? | 0 | 0 | Inquisitive | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Blocked | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Wait what I miss | 0 | 0 | Confused | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| What we blocking for? | 0 | 0 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |

Appendix M: TikTok #8 Comments

| TikTok #8: "Celeb Blocks of the Day" | Likes | Replies | Tone | Purpose | Theme |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|---------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| today I realized Jimmy Fallon and Jimmy Kimmel are not the same person | 14152 | 106 | Playful | Engagement | Humour/Satire/Irony |
| the rock and Oprah were blocked when the fires in Maui happened | 10749 | 60 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| i've had the rock and oprah blocked since their little maui debacle | 8573 | 73 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Selena G AND Rare Beauty | 4032 | 37 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| LOVE THIS TREND | 2381 | 19 | Appreciative | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| Jimmy Fallon I was missing that one! I love blocks of the day! | 1984 | 15 | Appreciative | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| DJ KHALID, CRISTIONO RONALDO,GIGI HADID please | 938 | 263 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I did Malala, Trevor Noah, Beyoncé, all of the Kardashians, Neil Patrick Harris, zendaya, Jerry Seinfeld, Noah schnapp, lizzo, Tiffany haddish, the rock, Oprah, Jimmy Fallon. Let me know if I'm missin | 787 | 91 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| JERRY SEINFELD TOO | 679 | 39 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| The rock, gal gadot and justin b will be my top list since beginning | 505 | 7 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| im following Macklemore and Angelina Joli | 488 | 24 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Jimmy fallon , the tonight show. The rock, kevin heart, Selena gomez, rare beauty | 359 | 12 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| What about the D'amelios | 259 | 8 | Inquisitive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Trevor Noah!!!! | 218 | 34 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Please do not forget, also Bollywood brands of Bollywood actors and actresses and Bollywood magazines | 192 | 12 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Selena??? Nooooooooo | 160 | 172 | Inquisitive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| can you also do lists of celebrities' companies?? so that we don't see those ads either!! | 145 | 13 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Jimmy Fallon hurt too much, but I did it, | 135 | 4 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| followed all 3 of em | 135 | 144 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Did the Rock along with Oprah when Maui happened, then Ellen when Twitch ... | 135 | 3 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Don't forget Taylor Swift. PS: I think I remember Selena Speaking out. | 134 | 8 | Informative | Corrective | Pushback and Critique |
| I'm here everyday on this page. | 125 | 3 | Appreciative | Solidarity | Activism as Digital Participation |
| The Rock was BLOCKED a while ago. I hated that I had to, but haven't looked back. Never followed the other two anyway. | 112 | 8 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| don't forget Balenciaga... | 72 | 2 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| give me more names | 70 | 30 | Appreciative | Engagement | Activism as Digital Participation |
| How bout Jojo Siwa??? | 61 | 2 | Inquisitive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| my fav game | 58 | 1 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| what about mrbeast? | 50 | 73 | Inquisitive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Wait even if u not following them? | 49 | 6 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Thank you for everything you're doing | 42 | 2 | Appreciative | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| why their insta followers number is still the same though ? | 42 | 14 | Skeptical | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Throwing Rupaul and trixie mattel and kevin hart up as tributes | 39 | 5 | Playful | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| the rock was already blocked when he asked us to donate money with a billionaire. that one hurt but i did it | 35 | 0 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| also don't forget the rock's zoa energy and project rock brands!! | 30 | 0 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Done done and done | 28 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| do I have to block them if I'm not even following them? | 26 | 20 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| been done yeehaw | 24 | 1 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Selena? whyyy? | 24 | 47 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Check check and check | 19 | 1 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Let's not forget Oprah , the handler | 18 | 0 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |

| | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| As someone who pays no attention to celebrities, thank you for spoon feeding this to me | 18 | 0 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| What if you were never following them? Should I still block? | 18 | 4 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| ha! already had em all blocked! I feel like an A student | 17 | 0 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Oprah and the rock I'm in | 16 | 4 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| done, who's next? | 15 | 4 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| done and done. this is so fun. can't wait to see who to block en masse | 15 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| It was completed | 14 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| no not jimmy | 14 | 3 | Defensive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| I love this trend, keep them coming | 13 | 0 | Appreciative | Engagement | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Oh these are so easy | 12 | 0 | Playful | Participation | Community and Belonging |
| Whyyy the rock ??? He's not like the others | 12 | 20 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| not gonna lie jimmy fallon and selena hurt a little but Ingotta do what I gotea do | 11 | 1 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| jimmy fallon and the rock hurts so bad... | 10 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| If the celebrity has a company also add items to your cart and go check out! Drain their marketing budget as they will send ads/emails ect | 10 | 0 | Informative | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| WHY IS EVERYONE FORGETTING LIVE FORGOTTEN NOAHH SCHNAPP | 10 | 4 | Angry | Suggestion | Polarization and Division |
| I personally have no issues with these celebrities, I'm just here for the chaos lmaooo I'm curious how this is all gonna play out | 9 | 3 | Skeptical | Satire/Mockery | Polarization and Division |
| My new fav game | 9 | 0 | Appreciative | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| someone else already said it but yeah, this is fun | 9 | 2 | Appreciative | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| Lo! I follow none of em already.. | 9 | 4 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Done boost | 9 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Ohhh jimmy fallon is a good one | 9 | 2 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I love this trend, thank you <3 | 8 | 0 | Appreciative | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| Absolutely love this | 8 | 0 | Appreciative | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| So I like the general idea of this. However, I don't follow any of these people. How does the block help? | 8 | 4 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Is blocking them without following them in the first place has an effect? | 8 | 1 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Trevor noah hurt for me but had to be blocked | 8 | 0 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| the rock what did he do ? | 8 | 39 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| the rock was my #1 !!!!! fxck him after Hawaii | 7 | 0 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Well I never followed them | 7 | 0 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| done and done! | 7 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Real question: I'm not following any celebrity. Does blocking them have an impact? | 7 | 6 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| what about dj Khaled and Justin Bieber? | 4 | 0 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Doneeee | 3 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Done | 3 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Why the rock his so nice to his fans | 3 | 0 | Inquisitive | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Seriously Selena | 2 | 0 | Irritated | Questioning | Pushback and Critique |
| done ✓ | 2 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| done | 2 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Done | 2 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Good job done deal | 2 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| The fact that spotify is.. | 2 | 0 | Unsure | Unsure | N/A |
| You are awesome man | 2 | 0 | Appreciative | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| I forgotten jimmy | 2 | 0 | Neutral | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Awesomel!!!❤️ | 2 | 0 | Appreciative | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| already out | 1 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| the rock done | 1 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| What is the reason behind this blackout trend can someone please | 1 | 0 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| What did Selena Gomez do? | 1 | 0 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| I never follow them anyway | 1 | 0 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Followed thank you! | 1 | 0 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| done done | 1 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Done! | 1 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| the are already made and already u dontean anything to them | 1 | 0 | Dismissive | Resistance | Polarization and Division |
| Done | 1 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| done | 1 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Yes sir | 1 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Heart chain | 1 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| let's do it | 1 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| done ✓ | 1 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| HOW DO U BLOCK | 0 | 0 | Assertive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |

Appendix N: TikTok #9 Comments

| TikTok #9: "Extensive Block List" | Likes | Replies | Tone | Purpose | Theme |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|---------|-------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| I'm loving this, it's like a spring clean | 2255 | 14 | Playful | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| DONT FORGET EDEN GOLAN who is singing for Israel in the Eurovision song contest | 1877 | 39 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| blocking is my new addiction | 1052 | 10 | Playful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Bella Hadid is the only Celebrity who doesn't care about her popularity.. Salute ❤️ | 826 | 15 | Supportive | Engagement | Moral or Humanitarian Alignment |
| not zendaya | 791 | 81 | Defensive | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Gal Gadot is must!!! | 618 | 13 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Jeffree Star - shouldn't he have been blocked years ago | 528 | 5 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| i am NOT blocking anyone | 368 | 51 | Dismissive | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| don't forget TYLA | 350 | 17 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| dont forget lana del rey and gal gadot. also, if anyone knows, what did ariana do? | 328 | 28 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| ALL EYES ON RAFAH | 303 | 3 | Empathetic | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| blocking is my new obsession ❤️ | 271 | 2 | Playful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| chris brown did support Palestine also Billie elish | 255 | 51 | Informative | Corrective | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Billie supports Palestine check her brothers story her mother they all do | 163 | 43 | Informative | Corrective | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| why billie elish ?? she support palestine right ?? | 145 | 28 | Inquisitive | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| hailey Bieber+ | 128 | 9 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Why Billie Eilish? She has spoken up more than once and she didn't attend Met Gala | 122 | 17 | Informative | Corrective | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Why Britney Spears???? She doesn't even know what's going on??? | 95 | 14 | Inquisitive | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Damn the Post Malone one huuuurts But anyways, 🚫 blocked 🚫 | 94 | 7 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Please don't forget DJ Khaled | 90 | 2 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| DONT FORGET TIMOTHEE | 89 | 16 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| So happy Melanie Martinez is informing her fans by posting basically everyday | 83 | 4 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| already | 77 | 2 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| POWER TO THE POOR!! | 73 | 8 | Assertive | Power | Polarization and Division |
| Done! | | | | | |
| And the "let them eat cake" gal. | 3 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I'm not blocking anyone | 3 | 0 | Dismissive | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Drake+ | 2 | 0 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| why Travis Scott | 2 | 0 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Yes | 2 | 0 | Neutral | Unsure | N/A |
| Ariana Grande damn | 2 | 0 | Defensive | Criticism | Pushback and Critique |
| I wanna know where Jennie kim is? | 2 | 0 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Activism as Digital Participation |
| and Taylor Swift and Ariana Grande, what is their fault? | 2 | 0 | Inquisitive | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Ryan REYNOLDS | 2 | 0 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| VALENTINA LIMA REPOSTED!! | 2 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| What did Taylor do | 2 | 0 | Confused | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Justin timberland, Jlo, JHONNY DEPP | 2 | 0 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| LADY GAGA | 2 | 0 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| did I miss some drama why are we blocking celebrities? | 1 | 0 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| ok | 1 | 0 | Neutral | Unsure | N/A |
| Silliness | 1 | 0 | Dismissive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| is it to block or unfollow? | 1 | 0 | Confused | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| What did charli d'amelio did ? | 1 | 0 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |

| | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|-------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| proud to say i blocked all of them 🍌 | 1 | 0 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| all blocked | 1 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| says who? | 1 | 0 | Skeptical | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| leave them alone bro | 1 | 0 | Irritated | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| Billie eilish?? | 1 | 0 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Ive been blocking since Oct 7 | 1 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| i dont play the block list ... such a waste of time | 1 | 0 | Dismissive | Non-Participation | Polarization and Division |
| know | 1 | 0 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Billie??? | 1 | 0 | Confused | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| is there an updated list? anyway Ariana Grande supports palestine I LOVE HER SO MUCH | 1 | 0 | Inquisitive | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| taylor swift...? | 1 | 0 | Confused | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Instead of blocking celebrities, people should raise their voices against governments i don't know is really? | 1 | 0 | Skeptical | Questioning | Polarization and Division |
| ariana grande signed ceasefire????why is she here? | 1 | 0 | Confused | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| sure I do it nowwe | 1 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| All eyes on Rafhaa | 1 | 0 | Empathetic | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| does sabrina carpenter support palestine?? | 1 | 0 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| ok but why?? | 1 | 0 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Where is sabrina | 1 | 0 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| me who haven't even followed them from the start | 1 | 0 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| how does blocking going to help them . | 1 | 0 | Skeptical | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| Blocked | 1 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| wait miley does support israel?? | 1 | 0 | Inquisitive | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| all of them behind close doors support one way or another because they have to do what master says | 1 | 0 | Cynical | Criticism | Polarization and Division |
| i will not be participating but thats fun | 1 | 0 | Dismissive | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Live laugh Lana | 1 | 0 | Playful | Engagement | Humour/Satire/Irony |
| Don't forget Amp world | 1 | 0 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Valentina Lima reposted | 1 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Why taylor???? | 1 | 0 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| I'm starting to think the best think would be delete my social media, then they all are cancelled | 1 | 0 | Sarcastic | Satire/Mockery | Humour/Satire/Irony |
| what did Ari and Taylor do | 1 | 0 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Damn! that's all of Hollywood | 1 | 0 | Assertive | Engagement | Pushback and Critique |
| Teamwork | 1 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Activism as Digital Participation |
| How does it feel to have peace of mind | 1 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Activism as Digital Participation |
| world after the moment of silence | 1 | 0 | Unsure | Unsure | N/A |
| what did Billie do? | 0 | 0 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |

Appendix O: TikTok #10 Comments

| TikTok #10: "Weekly Block List, For Obvious Reasons" | Likes | Replies | Tone | Purpose | Theme |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|---------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Don't forget JLO beauty, Kylie Cosmetics, Fenty Beauty, Skims etc | 5926 | 64 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I have never liked JLO | 1898 | 16 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| I put 3k work of skims bs in my cart and just closed the browser | 1834 | 46 | Neutral | Engagement | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I am done with JLO from the moment of her spitting the gum in her assistant's hand | 1390 | 8 | Supportive | Engagement | Polarization and Division |
| And all the Kardashians businesses are on Kris Jenner's page | 1017 | 7 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Selena Gomez and rare beauty | 692 | 22 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| jlo done ✓ | 563 | 4 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| OMG DONT FORGET DJ KHALED | 547 | 6 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| THE HAYLEE BAYLEE AUDIO????? NAHHH. | 475 | 27 | Angry | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| Don't forget Malala and Halsey too | 409 | 30 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Ed Sheeran he was there | 379 | 33 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Mariah Carey should make a diss track for her | 371 | 11 | Unsure | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| BEYONCE!!!!!! | 343 | 20 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| EYES ON RAFAH | 170 | 1 | Supportive | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| nestle products | 145 | 2 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| What about ed sheeran? | 141 | 25 | Inquisitive | Suggestion | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Everyone keeps forgetting Tiffany haddish | 122 | 6 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Ryan reynold blake lively? | 80 | 9 | Inquisitive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| tiffany haddish and Timothee chalamet | 73 | 3 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I am not following any of them | 69 | 7 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Don't forget DrPhil | 69 | 2 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| You forgot Diddy | 64 | 3 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| North hurt but I did it. | 47 | 6 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Trevor Noah!!!!!! | 39 | 7 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| mummy jenner is planning the release of the next sex tape, only income she'll be earning soon | 36 | 0 | Sarcastic | Satire/Mockery | Humour/Satire/Irony |
| Idk why Hayley haven't got canceled yet like she did so many questionable things | 34 | 1 | Inquisitive | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| I need the names of all the kardashian business sites. I only know of skims and I forgot the lip kit name | 30 | 7 | Inquisitive | Suggestion | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Let's keep it going guys. Let's do what we possibly can. proud of you | 27 | 0 | Supportive | Solidarity | Activism as Digital Participation |
| also : Marie Antoinette never actually said that. it was attributed to her later on | 20 | 2 | Informative | Corrective | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| I literally never clicked on any Kim K and family articles and links | 20 | 0 | Neutral | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| We can't cancel people just because they don't speak out on something that they're not educated on..... | 16 | 11 | Defensive | Resistance | Polarization and Division |
| let them eat cake has been a viral sound for a long time why is it getting cancelled now | 16 | 3 | Inquisitive | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| can we get a SAFE celeb list? | 14 | 2 | Inquisitive | Call to Action | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| scott disick | 12 | 0 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Don't forget Zendaya! | 10 | 2 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Don't forget all the influencers .. Pamela Reif, Chris Olsen, Chiara Ferragni, Caro Daur, Emma Chamberlain, Aimee Song ... | 10 | 0 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I don't understand. Can someone explain. | 10 | 26 | Confused | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| How am I this early I love ur videos | 9 | 0 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| off topic ... your hair is absolutely gorgeous | 8 | 0 | Playful | Engagement | N/A |

| | | | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|---|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| its crazy all you have to say is speak up on the topic in "insert place" and everyone knows what youre talking about, there is nobody else to inform, you can live under a rock and still know | 8 | 0 | Supportive | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| PLEASE TALK ABOUT HOW SILENT ANNA PAUL IS | 7 | 0 | Assertive | Call to Action | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Yall are to much sometimes | 7 | 0 | Cynical | Satire/Mockery | Pushback and Critique |
| what about Madona & Beyonce? | 7 | 3 | Inquisitive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Let's not forget Andy cohen, all Kardashian's Ortego, Tate | 7 | 0 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I love this game let's go | 6 | 0 | Appreciative | Participation | Community and Belonging |
| it's just an audio? and halee's outfit was inspired by Marie Antoinette | 6 | 5 | Skeptical | Resistance | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| gwyneth paltrow, goop, sarah silverman, ben shapiro, jordan peterson | 6 | 0 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| leave the Kardashians pls | 5 | 2 | Defensive | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Kris Jenner on her instagram listed all of the businesses. Makes it so easy to blockkkk | 5 | 0 | Informative | Call to Action | Activism as Digital Participation |
| What of uk celebrities | 5 | 2 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| what about all the designers who made the dresses for these celebrities? Schiaparelli, Prada, Tommy Hilfiger, Diesel... | 3 | 1 | Inquisitive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| girl more names | 2 | 0 | Neutral | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| rare beauty | 2 | 0 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Real talk | 1 | 0 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Exactly | 1 | 0 | Neutral | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| go to settings/content preferences) write whatever person or business you want and repeat the process. that's the best way ❤️ | 1 | 0 | Informative | Call to Action | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Don't forget Amp world (Brent and Lexi Rivera etc) | 1 | 0 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Add Hayley Williams and Paramore please | 1 | 0 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| We love you so much thank you for your support | 1 | 1 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| This is fun | 1 | 1 | Appreciative | Participation | Community and Belonging |
| No I love Haylee Baylee for that lol! it's iconic and it fits the theme lol! | 0 | 0 | Dismissive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| Why did tiktok remove me from #blockout list tiktok back to beyhive/Swiftie tok | 0 | 0 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| goodby👋 | 0 | 0 | Unsure | Unsure | N/A |
| im done... gimmy next list yaow | 0 | 0 | Appreciative | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Thank you kindly | 0 | 0 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| I don't follow any of them away | 0 | 0 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Yay! thank you! subscribing ❤️ | 0 | 0 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| I don't understand... what did Jlo do? | 0 | 0 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| free | 0 | 0 | Unsure | Unsure | N/A |
| What did lil northWest dooo | 0 | 0 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Keemokazi and his sister+ Lala | 0 | 0 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I haven't seen or interested in any of them since Oct 7 | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Solidarity | Moral or Humanitarian Alignment |
| Don't forget these are humans too | 0 | 0 | Defensive | Resistance | Polarization and Division |
| Don't forget Hulu | 0 | 0 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| ❤️❤️❤️ | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| someone PLEASE help me find part 1? | 0 | 0 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| And btw we love you queen you guys are the best side of the actual generations you make us proud and I HOPE we raise our kids good enough to be as strong and human as you cheers from France | 0 | 0 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Has anyone seen the latest post of Voi founder on LinkedIn? | 0 | 0 | Inquisitive | Unsure | N/A |
| ❤️ | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Blockkk | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| the best celebrities forever | 0 | 0 | Sarcastic | Resistance | Polarization and Division |
| i ain't doing allat | 0 | 0 | Dismissive | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| done | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| And beauty influencers | 0 | 0 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Blockkkkkkkk | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Waiting on Netflix, Hulu, CBS, Disney etc. They all need to go | 0 | 0 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| nothing will change because they aren't in charge or own any army/military | 0 | 0 | Cynical | Resistance | Polarization and Division |
| Done. | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |

Appendix P: TikTok #11 Comments

| TikTok #11: "The Block List is Infinite" | Likes | Replies | Tone | Purpose | Theme |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|---------|-------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Block the corporations too! | 4822 | 40 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Kardashians still have like 300 million followers on IG | 2574 | 123 | Skeptical | Awareness-Raising | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| donittttt | 1510 | 30 | Skeptical | Engagement | Activism as Digital Participation |
| It's not just the celebrities themselves, it's their entourage and their own businesses. | 1337 | 3 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| JIMMY FALLON y'all but also COMPANYS not only celebs xx bless u all | 1035 | 30 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| i've not seen anyone say the damelio's? | 735 | 15 | Inquisitive | Suggestion | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| age of Aquarius | 702 | 16 | Unsure | Unsure | N/A |
| Rihanna hurt to do. but I got all the Kardashians, Rihanna, the Jenner clan, haleybalee, and when I see or think of more I'll keep going | 529 | 26 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I've BEEN doing this for YEARS. | 523 | 11 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| 'Let them eat cake' was on of the boiling point | 495 | 6 | Neutral | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| and their networks the platforms that give them revenue. Netflix, Hulu, TLC, and sponsors. | 339 | 36 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I feel like making a list of ones to not block bc it'll be shorter | 325 | 23 | Neutral | Suggestion | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✗ Amy Schumer ✗ Lana Del Ray ✗ Karlie Kloss ✗ Debra Messing ✗ Jennifer Lawrence ✗ Tom Brady ✗ Lo ✗ Oprah Winfrey ✗ Elon Musk ✗ Ariana Grande ✗ Hailey Bieber ✗ Mark Zuckerberg ✗ Doja Cat ✗ Jojo Siwa | 318 | 16 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Who is following celebrities to begin with? | 315 | 13 | Sarcastic | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| What about Alex Earl and Mikala? | 274 | 26 | Inquisitive | Suggestion | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Musicians and artists are so important for humanity sanity. They offer a service to people bringing them peace and an outlet so I don't necessarily agree with blocking them if they're not political. | 252 | 39 | Dismissive | Non-Participation | Polarization and Division |
| p diddy, universal studios, warner bros, Disney, nickolodeon, Kevin hart, the rock | 239 | 9 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| The hardest one to block for me was Oprah but I did it | 235 | 54 | Prideful | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Where is Ashton Kutcher | 179 | 28 | Neutral | Suggestion | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| I'm a Swiftie, but she literally has NOT shown up for & it's been too long, so... I have to block and it hurts | 178 | 33 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| why block them if theyre staying out of politics | 176 | 109 | Inquisitive | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| You'll never make me hate Ryan Reynolds's, Hugh jackman, Jack black and a few others | 127 | 61 | Dismissive | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| I don't follow any anyway as far as I know | 116 | 16 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| Sometimes people need entertainment as a distraction from the real world. I used to work in the news business, so I definitely need a break sometimes, but I think everyone does. ❤️ | 96 | 12 | Dismissive | Non-Participation | Polarization and Division |
| All of them | 74 | 0 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |

| | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| I added a bunch of random clothes from skims to my cart then left them to sit untouched to confuse the companys metrics. | 71 | 2 | Neutral | Power | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I've been getting nothing but ads for their businesses. Made it super easy to block them as I saw them | 59 | 2 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| What about celeb brands as well? | 58 | 30 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| but celebrities don't owe us anything | 57 | 12 | Dismissive | Resistance | Polarization and Division |
| The weekend & kehlanj we love though | 47 | 12 | Defensive | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| This is so good I don't follow celebrities generally but I will be going to block them once I figure out how to | 39 | 3 | Supportive | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Kim kardashian have almost 400k million people in her ig followers | 38 | 8 | Informative | Awareness-Raising | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| And anyone who has stan accounts | 34 | 0 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| lacking a handful of exceptions, all the artists I listen to been dead a few decades. I think Willie and Dolly might be the last 2 still kicking | 29 | 3 | Dismissive | Non-Participation | Polarization and Division |
| Making a list checking it twice | 28 | 0 | Playful | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| ok but what about like Brittany? Hasn't she been through enough | 26 | 18 | Inquisitive | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| I'm so glad we're all finally taking a stand | 24 | 0 | Prideful | Engagement | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I'm proud of you. Thank you so much for speaking out. ❤️ All on R. | 23 | 1 | Appreciative | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| I feel exactly the opposite. I want those pages for my tiktok time. I like other pages too but I like the comedy and dancing as well q | 21 | 5 | Dismissive | Non-Participation | Polarization and Division |
| I get it, I understand but if I block the only people keeping me sane I'll go crazy. So I would block the ones I don't care for but the ones keeping me happy will not be getting blocked. | 19 | 40 | Defensive | Non-Participation | Polarization and Division |
| totally agree | 17 | 0 | Appreciative | Engagement | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I appreciate the list because I don't follow celebs and can't think of who to search. | 14 | 6 | Appreciative | Engagement | Activism as Digital Participation |
| but sometimes I only want entertainment, I'm not following makeup acct to hear political stuff | 12 | 5 | Skeptical | Non-Participation | Polarization and Division |
| ALL OF THEM AND THEIR SPONSORS | 12 | 2 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| I think people are wanting a list bc there is so much content out there, we don't know who does and doesn't just based on some of their profile | 12 | 1 | Inquisitive | Clarification | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Ooo, I can get behind this! | 11 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| block em on Spotify too!!!! | 9 | 0 | Assertive | Call to Action | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Influencers and Celebs just choke up your cup I no longer watch tv news I rely on this platform for REAL info | 8 | 0 | Cynical | Power | Polarization and Division |
| Block them on all social media platforms | 7 | 0 | Assertive | Call to Action | Activism as Digital Participation |
| Yall there's interviews of Mel Gibson talking about hollywoodier too!! | 5 | 1 | Informative | Engagement | N/A |
| teamwork | 1 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| I follow Celine Dion but she's wholesome and lovely | 1 | 0 | Dismissive | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| ♥️ It's the shift!!!!!! | 1 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| RIGHT ON POINT!!! | 1 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| I'm new to social media. Maybe someone can make a big list. I don't know what people do or do not talk about things that are important or not. I have no idea who all the main influencers are. q | 0 | 0 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| I find this a bit funny because I don't have anyone I'd download any socials for. Haven't used Twitter, reddit, or insta for literally anything yes yes yes. I've been doing this for a long time. my fyp now is more about knowledge | 0 | 0 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| You are so brave girl | 0 | 0 | Appreciative | Participation | Activism as Digital Participation |
| far to gone! you're right! | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| Absolutely | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| I don't think they care if you block them | 0 | 0 | Dismissive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| 200% | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Nothing better to do | 0 | 0 | Dismissive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| ♥️ | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Even those advocating for anything, usually have little to no understanding of what it is they are advocating. | 0 | 0 | Neutral | Criticism | Pushback and Critique |
| I'm with it. 🍌 | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Solidarity | Community and Belonging |
| luckily I'm not following any | 0 | 0 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| I love this ♥️ | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Jealous | 0 | 0 | Dismissive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| FACTS!!! | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| why? | 0 | 0 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| Wth?? | 0 | 0 | Confused | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| ALL OF THEM MMM | 0 | 0 | Assertive | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |
| YESSSS | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| @ariana Grande still has 35mil followers. | 0 | 0 | Skeptical | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| thank goodness I don't involve myself with celebrities and influencers.. | 0 | 0 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| I never followed anyone of them | 0 | 0 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| this is ridiculous | 0 | 0 | Dismissive | Resistance | Pushback and Critique |
| I agree, but image striving your whole life for roles and parts and climbing the ladder to the top, just to turn into nothing more than a poster child for the next cause in the world. | 0 | 0 | Dismissive | Resistance | Polarization and Division |
| Why tho? | 0 | 0 | Inquisitive | Questioning | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| I agree with you am in | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Solidarity | Activism as Digital Participation |
| that is good info | 0 | 0 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Preach | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Vote with your wallet and with your block list | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Call to Action | Polarization and Division |
| strong message thank you | 0 | 0 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| Yees! | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| I follow more than 100 celebrities and Bella Hadid and Angelina Jolie are the only 2 who've been speaking since the beginning | 0 | 0 | Informative | Awareness-Raising | Community and Belonging |
| Yes O yes | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| ♥️♥️♥️ | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| too??!!! | 0 | 0 | Inquisitive | Inquiry | Uncertainty and Information Gaps |
| thank you for your video | 0 | 0 | Appreciative | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| I love it! | 0 | 0 | Supportive | Engagement | Community and Belonging |
| I don't follow any celebrities. So I'm good | 0 | 0 | Prideful | Non-Participation | Pushback and Critique |
| politicians too | 0 | 0 | Neutral | Suggestion | Activism as Digital Participation |