

This item is the archived peer-reviewed author-version of:

'Hypocritical investor' or hollywood 'do-gooder'? A framing analysis of media and audiences negotiating Leonardo DiCaprio's 'green' persona through his involvement in Formula E

Reference:

Robeers Timothy, Van den Bulck Hilde.- 'Hypocritical investor' or hollywood 'do-gooder'? A framing analysis of media and audiences negotiating Leonardo DiCaprio's 'green' persona through his involvement in Formula E
Celebrity studies - ISSN 1939-2400 - (2019), p. 1-16
Full text (Publisher's DOI): <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392397.2019.1656537>
To cite this reference: <https://hdl.handle.net/10067/1620730151162165141>

‘Hypocritical Investor’ or Hollywood ‘Do-Gooder’? A Framing Analysis of Media and Audiences Negotiating Leonardo DiCaprio’s ‘Green’ Persona through his Involvement in Formula E

Prof. Dr. Timothy Robeers (corresponding author)
Department of Communication Sciences
Antwerp University
Belgium
timothy.robeers@uantwerpen.be

Prof. Dr. Hilde Van den Bulck
Head of the Department of Communication
Drexel University
USA
hdv26@drexel.edu

‘Hypocritical Investor’ or Hollywood ‘Do-Gooder’? A Framing Analysis of Media and Audiences Negotiating Leonardo DiCaprio’s ‘Green’ Persona through his Involvement in Formula E

Abstract

Leonardo DiCaprio has a considerable track-record as a fervent campaigner to save the environment and combat climate change. Drawing from his more recent activist engagements to endorse Formula E, the world’s first fully electric racing series, this contribution aims to analyse how and in what ways this generates additional exposure and appreciation for the series, the environment and DiCaprio. To this end, a qualitative and inductive framing approach is used to examine a sample of online media articles and accompanying audience comments from 2013, 2015 and 2017, resulting in a range of frames found in media coverage and audience reactions. It shows how framing of Leonardo DiCaprio is influenced by both his life story as an actor, activist and party boy, the appreciation he receives from audiences as well as by audiences’ own personal experiences with health related issues and their conversations with peers. Finally, this contribution discusses varying tendencies by media articles and audiences to frame Leonardo DiCaprio as both hero and hypocrite as well as its wider implications.

Keywords

Celebrity activism, Formula E, environmental sustainability, framing analysis, Leonardo DiCaprio

Celebrity Activism: Green Is the New Black

In an era when endorsement of social and political issues and good causes has become an intrinsic part of a celebrity persona (Van den Bulck 2018), stars can increasingly be seen (and covered by the media) as devoting themselves to environmental issues (Brockington 2009, Lester 2010). Unsurprisingly, this coincides with a growing (if debated) concern for the health of the planet, expressed by media, citizens and politicians (Cox 2012). This has accelerated public and political acknowledgement that fighting climate change and global warming requires a focus on environmental sustainability (hereafter: ES), i.e. the ability to steer developments in such a way that present needs are met without compromising the needs of future generations (United Nations 1988). Celebrity environmental activists help to advocate and to create awareness for ES by using their visibility through media presence and their accessibility to widespread audiences (Boykoff and Goodman 2009). One famous environmental figure head is Hollywood actor Leonardo DiCaprio. Much covered aspects of his activist strategy includes speaking out at climate summits such as Cop21 and Paris 2015, committing himself to environmental organisations, commissioning pro-environmental movies and making personal investments in organisations and businesses that further the cause (Furgang and Furgang 2009).

Acknowledging the fact that the automotive industry plays a significant role in the production of greenhouse gasses, DiCaprio directed his green activism towards the support of Formula E, a fully electric motor racing series that promotes itself as the future of motor sport by developing and promoting technological advancements (www.fiaformulae.com). Supposedly, the novelty of Formula E lies in combining the core notions of motor sport and ES, resulting in, for example, the use of green energy to charge cars, reduced noise levels and no carbon dioxide emission during (city-centre) races (www.fiaformulae.com). By means of a qualitative framing analysis, this contribution studies online media coverage and audience reactions to Leonardo DiCaprio's endorsement of Formula E as an inroad to unravel the

complex relationship between a celebrity's activism, his persona, and the mediated communication about this: to what extent and how do media and audiences pick up on DiCaprio's endorsement of Formula E and its ES message as part of his environmental agenda? How are discussions about Formula E and ES affected by DiCaprio's persona, the type of media involved and the audience views of both the actor and the issue? In doing so, this article will at the same time also answer a call to contribute to overcoming an existing bias towards development aid issues by further expanding the focus to celebrities' involvement in other causes such as environmental issues (Panis, 2015).

This introduction is followed by a theoretical framework that deals with key concepts and ideas from the literature on celebrity activism as it relates to the characteristics of the celebrity construct and apparatus, and on ES as it relates to automotive and motor sport initiatives, subsequently focusing on Leonardo DiCaprio, his persona, ES activism and relationship to Formula E. Next, we discuss the empirical set-up, including sampling and the application of framing analysis. This is followed by a discussion of the frames found, comparing and contrasting media and audiences in their framing of DiCaprio's involvement in Formula E and ES. We end with a discussion of the wider implications of this case study. Indeed, while the wider relevance of a single case (DiCaprio's endorsement of Formula E) in understanding celebrity activism may be limited due to its idiosyncrasies, it is precisely this limitation that gives meaning to a case study, as it allows us to understand very specific processes and functions through detailed de- and re-construction (Flyvbjerg 2006, Van den Bulck and Claesens 2013). We argue our study's wider relevance is twofold. First, it draws attention to the fact that many cases of social-profit endorsement, even by iconic celebrity activists as DiCaprio, do not necessarily generate the anticipated amount and type of media and audience attention. Second, it provides a more in-depth understanding of the interplay between various

aspects of a celebrity persona and their impact on the way in which the activism is perceived, thus furthering both empirical and conceptual insights in celebrity activism.

Celebrity Activism, Environmental Sustainability and Formula E

Celebrity Activism and the Celebrity Construct

Celebrity activism refers to various efforts by celebrities to affect social, political, economic or environmental change through fundraising, advocacy and/or awareness creation (Van den Bulck 2018, Huddart 2005). We follow Panis (2012) in his definition of celebrity activists as (1) individuals who enjoy public recognition, (2) known primarily from areas other than that of their societal engagement, (3) who use their fame (4) to volunteer, advocate or lobby, create awareness of, and/or help raise funds (5) for a socio-political cause or non-profit organisation, (6) targeted media, (members of) non-profit organisations, entrepreneurs, policy makers and/or the general public (see Van den Bulck 2018). Efforts can range from one-off (joining a rally, putting something up for auction, performing at an event), over longer term (as spokesperson or figure head), to life-long engagement.

With the celebrity-without-a-cause a thing of the past, celebrity's social-political engagement has become inherent to the celebrity construct, an interplay between the person be(com)ing famous, media and audiences, that critically revolves around various aspects of the celebrity persona (Evans and Hesmondalgh 2005, Van den Bulck 2018). Traditionally, the celebrity persona is seen to consist of the public image generated by professional activities and commodity endorsements; the private images as constructed around family, friends, love and loss; and notions of the real person behind the image as provided by paparazzi (Rojek 2001, Holmes 2005). A celebrity's activism helps to create a, fourth, socio-political persona: an image of the celebrity as someone moving beyond his/her fame and existence as a hyper-commodity to take on important societal problems. At some level, this can be considered as part of the

public persona as it is open and demonstrable. However, following Huddart (2005, p. 40), we consider it a persona in its own right that interacts with the public and private image of a celebrity, connecting private views and emotions with the celebrity's public performances. For some celebrities, like protest singer Neil Young, their socio-political and public persona almost completely overlap, as their public performances make up their societal engagement. Others may incorporate it entirely into their private lives, as the case of celebrity transnational adoptions by celebrity activists such as Hollywood actress Angelina Jolie and pop icon Madonna illustrate (Van den Bulck 2018). For other glamorous models, blockbuster actors or seemingly superficial reality stars, societal engagement suggests a caring person behind the wealth or 'pretty face' (Van den Bulck 2018).

Celebrity endorsement of an issue or cause can help to raise the visibility, credibility and legitimacy of a cause (Cashmore 2006). With regards to ES, Brockington (2009, p. 24) contends that celebrity endorsement functions as 'a means by which environmental narratives appear as more truthful' to audiences, indicating ES efforts can become more effective when endorsed by celebrities. In turn, a celebrity's activism affects his/her visibility and overall image. Samman *et al.* (2009) found that long-term celebrity commitment to a cause results in audiences considering the celebrity as more authentic, especially when (s)he appears knowledgeable about the cause and keeps a low profile about the engagement. Crucially, the strength of a celebrity's societal engagement is determined by the extent to which (s)he manages to obtain a legitimate standing (Meyer and Gamson 1995, p. 189). When media and/or audiences pick up on a celebrity not behaving in accordance with an issue or an organisation's ethos, or on showing secondary motives for his support, e.g. financial gain, such endorsement can be counterproductive to both the cause and the celebrity's image (McCracken 1989, Van den Bulck 2018). Earlier work (e.g. Panis and Van den Bulck 2014) suggests that media attention to and interpretation of celebrity activism varies according to the type of media outlet, while other

research (Van den Bulck and Claessens 2013, Van den Bulck 2017) suggests that audience's reactions to media coverage of celebrity activism is mediated by personal experiences, discussion with peers and parasocial relationships with the celebrity. Parasocial relationship refers to the illusion of a long-term intimacy or friendship that encompasses an emotional connection much like social relationships but is mediated and one-sided (Giles 2002). According to Rojek (2017), parasocial relationships compensate for two forms of isolation that resulting from shift in social circumstances in favour of urban industrial living. First, 'social isolation' occurs as modern individuals relocate to 'anonymous cities' where social relations are 'glancing, episodic and unstable' and helps fuel the demand for celebrity (Rojek 2001, p. 74). Second, parasocial relations with celebrity activists and conservationists help to cope with a separation from natural environments, i.e. natural isolation (Rojek (2017).

Anatomy of a Celebrity Activist: Leonardo DiCaprio's Green Persona

Leonardo DiCaprio's (°1974) acting started out in television series (most famously in 'Growing Pains' (1985-89)), before reaching Hollywood stardom in the 1990s as a heart throb in movies such as 'Romeo and Juliet' (1996) and 'Titanic' (1997). He shows great talent and versatility, playing a diverse range of characters, mostly typified by a refusal to conform or by skirting the law as in 'Catch Me if You Can' (2002), 'Gangs of New York' (2002), 'Django Unchained' (2012), 'The Great Gatsby' (2013) and 'Wolf of Wall Street' (2013). This is alternated with roles in thrillers like 'Inception' (2010) and political movies like 'Blood Diamond' (2006). In 2016, he won the Oscar for best actor for his performance in 'The Revenant' (2015). In this regard, his public persona resembles that of Hollywood star George Clooney (Van den Bulck 2018), playing both heartthrob, cheeky criminal and serious, political inspired issue roles.

DiCaprio, like Clooney, complements this, on the one hand, with a private persona of a 'man's man' (Van den Bulck 2018, p. 120). Media and fans consider DiCaprio as quite the 'player' and 'party boy', regularly changing girlfriends and partying on yachts and in nightclubs

across the globe with his self-proclaimed 'Pussy Posse' companions (Ovenden 2017). Yet, he also developed a political persona as an environmentalist. From the beginning, this green activism has been permeated with political underpinnings through public associations with politicians like Al Gore, Ban-Ki Moon and Barack Obama, appearances at rallies and protests (e.g. Climate Change 29 April 2017) and speaking at major conferences including at the United Nations (e.g. Cop21, Paris, 2015) which also appointed him as United Nations Messenger of Peace. Bridging the public and the political, DiCaprio has produced and featured in environmental documentaries like 'The 11th Hour' (2007), 'Before the Flood' (2016) and most recently 'And We Go Green' (2019) which focusses on sustainability in Formula E. These suggest that DiCaprio has developed a legitimate standing in green issues. However, while a similar trajectory helped Clooney to transition from 'a heartthrob to a heavyweight' (Gulam 2014, p. 231, see Van den Bulck 2018), DiCaprio's case appears more complicated. On the one hand, the relationship between his green activism and some of his filmic work has given his image a sense of authenticity with certain media and audiences considering him an 'environmental champion' (Furgang and Furgang 2009). On the other hand, DiCaprio's private 'party boy' persona has led to criticism from media and audiences, suggesting a level of hypocrisy (e.g. 'Leonardo DiCaprio's Carbon Footprint is much higher than he thinks' (Rapier 2016)) and, in one instance, instigating a call to resign from his climate role for the United Nations (e.g. 'Leonardo DiCaprio urged to resign from UN climate change role' (Mortimer 2016)), compromising DiCaprio's authenticity as an activist. This results in the research question: *if and how does the success of DiCaprio's green efforts depend on media and audience perceptions of the relationship between DiCaprio's political persona and other aspects of his public and private image?*

Leonardo DiCaprio, the Environment and Motor Sport

Recently, DiCaprio has pointed his green activism towards endorsing the fully electric racing series Formula E, an annual, single seater racing series involving big name drivers, teams and celebrities. Set up in 2013, Formula E initially promoted itself by claiming to ‘provide a framework for research and development centered around the electric vehicle [hereafter: EV] to promote clean energy and [environmental] sustainability’ (www.fiaformulae.com). Electric race cars generate lower noise levels and carbon dioxide emissions, allowing races to take place on temporary city centre circuits and for audiences of all ages to attend races and (potentially) learn about the future and benefits of EV’s. The link between automotive/motor sport and environment may appear controversial, yet it is not DiCaprio’s first endorsement of environmentally sustainable automotive products. In 2012, he endorsed Fisker Automotive, a company producing luxury hybrid cars from recycled materials. This endorsement was criticised in 2014 when the company went out of business (yet, relaunched in 2016 as Fisker Inc.). DiCaprio’s association with Formula E is his most significant automotive endorsement yet. Indeed, while celebrities like US actors Matt Damon, George Clooney and Josh Hartnett, amongst others, have promoted energy saving cars, DiCaprio’s involvement in Formula E is more far-reaching. First, as a founder in 2013 and owner, he endorsed the Venturi racing team because, in his words: ‘the future of our planet depends on fuel efficient vehicles. Venturi has shown tremendous insight in their decision to create an environmentally friendly racing team, and I am happy to be a part of this effort’ (www.fiaformulae.com). Second, in 2015, DiCaprio became Chairman of the Sustainability Committee of Formula E, increasing his potential influence on the management of the series. DiCaprio’s choice of connecting environmental issues with motor sport is an unusual one, given motor sports overall negative image with regards to ES (Miller 2016) and given that celebrities tend to prefer supporting an already established cause to avoid damaging their image (Van den Bulck 2018). This results in the

research question *how does Leonardo DiCaprio endorsement of Formula E as ES-friendly affects his political image with media and audiences and how does this relates to other aspects of his celebrity persona?*

As with all celebrity endorsement, DiCaprio's involvement can help raise visibility and goodwill with media and audiences (Tsaliki *et al.* 2011) for a new organisation's brand (Formula E) that is working towards an image (ES) that is different from that of its wider context (motor sport). Indeed, what Formula E brings in innovation, it also brings in uncertainty: ES has not been part of fans' longstanding motor racing values such as speed, danger and glamour (Roy *et al.* 2010), while being criticised for its disregard for the environment (Miller 2016). A study on the representation of ES in Formula E race coverage on British television (Robeers 2019) suggests that, after some original attention to the ecological message of the series, interest in ES faded in subsequent voice-over commentary. However, strong endorsement by a celebrity, known for his green activism, may affect attention in this regard. This leads to the research question: *how and to what extent does media reporting on Leonardo DiCaprio and Formula E feature ES?*

Analysing DiCaprio and Formula E

A Framing Approach

To understand the (mutual) impact of Leonardo DiCaprio association with Formula E through ES advocacy, we subject a sample of online media coverage and audiences' reactions hereof to a framing analysis. Framing is the process of 'selecting certain aspects of a perceived reality in order to make them more salient' (Entman 1993, p. 52). Frames constitute meta-communicative messages, i.e. 'persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organise discourse, whether verbal or visual' (Gitlin 1980, p. 7). Frames display themselves in texts through reasoning

devices that relate to a frame's four functions: problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation (Entman 1993, p. 52). To this end, frames employ framing devices like word choice, catchphrases, depictions and stereotypes (Gamson and Modigliani 1989, Van Gorp 2010) while frame sponsors are used to endorse the frame (Van Gorp 2006).

Framing analysis allows to apply the same framework to the analysis of media coverage and of audience reactions (see, e.g. Van den Bulck and Claessens 2013, Van den Bulck 2017). Inspired by Hall (2013), we analyze to what extent audiences take over the frame provided in the coverage or to what extent they reject it, providing counter frames, or negotiate it, bringing in personal experiences, discussion with other online commentators (peers) and their parasocial relationship with the celebrity.

Steps in the Analysis

Sampling

To analyze media coverage of and audience reactions to DiCaprio's involvement with Formula E, we opted for an analysis of a wide range of online news sources because, first, they have been recognised as rich resources for the study of environmental (and celebrity) activism (Lester and Hutchins 2009, Sima 2011) and, second, their comments section allows for an analysis of audience reactions. An initial Internet search revealed a number of instances when DiCaprio's involvement in Formula E was reported on. We selected the three main occurrences, spread across the time period (09/12/2013 - 09/02/2014; 22/10/2015 - 22/12/2015; 14/07/2017 - 14/09/2017): DiCaprio's announcement of co-founding the Venturi Racing Formula E team in December 2013; his appointment as Chairman of the Sustainability Committee for Formula E in October 2015; and his appearance at the inaugural New York Formula E race weekend in July 2017. A subsequent Internet search for each occurrence covered a two-month period from the day the news was released. The keywords 'Leonardo DiCaprio' and 'Formula E' were

entered into search engine Google, resulting in a total of 186 articles. After removing articles with a mere mention of DiCaprio's name, the final sample contained 118 articles. For these, all accompanying comments were retrieved. Unfortunately, only 9 articles featured audience reactions, and these were limited to online articles from 2013 and 2017 only while no audience reactions for news regarding DiCaprio's chairman appointment were found. Still, a sample of 632 audience reactions was collected.

Coding the Sample

Articles and reactions were coded for type of source (celebrity gossip, automotive, general news) and news event, before being submitted to an inductive framing analysis. Following Van Gorp (2010), we performed a three step coding, i.e. open, axial and selective coding, whereby data were compared and contrasted, looking for similarities and patterns, after which overall consistencies were combined into frame packages (Gamson and Modigliani 1989). Frame salience was operationalised in frequency of occurrence and relationships between frames (dominant, secondary, counter and neglected) (Zhou and Moy 2007).

Framing Leonardo DiCaprio's Formula E Involvement

To discuss our findings, first, table 1 lists all nine frames found across all online articles and subsequent audience reactions for the periods 2013, 2015 and 2017, with media articles featuring six out of nine frames and audience reactions featuring all frames. Second, all frames can be subdivided into two categories, namely non-celebrity related frames and celebrity related frames. The former category is based on frames that deal predominantly with EV's and (Formula E) motor racing. The latter category specifically incorporates and elaborates on specifics concerning DiCaprio's role. Interestingly, the occurrence of non-celebrity related frames in articles from non-automotive and non-motor sport media (e.g. general news websites, gossip websites, etc) indicates that even a minor association with DiCaprio positively impacts

the attention paid to Formula E and EV's. In most cases, DiCaprio did not feature in these frames beyond a mere mention. Therefore, the following section focuses on the celebrity-related frames that were identified.

[Table 1 near here]

Celebrity Related Frames

Frame: 'Saving the Environment'

A first, dominant, frame was identified as 'Saving the Environment' and features in online articles (news media, environmental media, business media, automotive media and sport media) from 2013, 2015 and 2017 and in audience reactions from 2013. The frame is based in defining a global concern for sustainability as climate change is posing one of the biggest challenges for current generations. This is attributed to a global trend and industry of emitting carbon dioxides whereby cities and larger urban areas are presented as 'environmental time bombs' (Lee [Roadandtrack.com] 2015) that are covered by 'blankets of smog' (Casey [Cleantechnica] 2013). Mostly, DiCaprio is used by journalists as a framing sponsor to introduce this issue and its cause(s) by proxy and to legitimise his involvement with Formula E. In both online articles and audience reactions, DiCaprio is presented as one of the good guys who is out to save the environment and whose credibility or legitimate standing rest upon the longevity of his campaign. DiCaprio is also used in online articles to express the solution. For instance, DiCaprio is quoted by public service news outlet BBC as saying: 'the future of the planet depends on embracing fuel efficient clean vehicles' (BBC 2015). Mostly, the solution - sustainable measure, including clean urban mobility including EVs - is made explicit by DiCaprio, for instance in environmental media: 'to promote the mass take-up of electric vehicles [and] discuss how to promote the mass use of electric vehicles, particularly in urban environments' (Nichols [Businessgreen] 2013), as 'the future of our planet depends on [it]'

(BBC 2015). DiCaprio's involvement mostly is given a positive evaluation as he is considered a trusted ambassador by sports media: 'what better way to promote [...] than involving [...] an environmental campaigner and one of the world's most famous celebrities?' (Walsh [Bleacherreport] 2013) and environmental media: 'DiCaprio has more than delivered [on his environmental promise]' (D'Estries [MotherNatureNetwork] 2013). Overall, the articles that introduce this frame by means of DiCaprio's endorsement of EV's through Formula E implicitly acknowledge the need for capitalist economies to achieve smog-free cities and a sustainable future. DiCaprio, again, is used as a framing sponsor to endorse this idea, for instance, in a 2015 online article where he is quoted saying that EV's 'are a moral and business imperative' (Nichols [Businessgreen] 2013).

Frame: 'Hollywood Hero'

Analysis revealed a sub frame to 'Saving the Environment' that sends out the same broad message regarding Formula E and ES, but that focuses primarily on the role of DiCaprio and that is overtly positive in tone: the 'Hollywood Hero' frame. It features in a variety of media sources including news media, environmental media, business media, automotive media, sport media and gossip media. Further, the frame is present in online articles from 2013 and 2015 and audience reactions from 2013 and 2017. The focus is on how DiCaprio brings Hollywood flair to identifying what needs to be done to protect the environment, for example by gossip media: 'DiCaprio isn't just an AH-mazing actor, he is also a huge champion for mother nature. He's always doing some sort of venture to try and make the world a better place' (Perez Hilton 2013). As such, he is depicted as an 'award-winning actor and environmental activist' (Greenlivingguy 2014) in environmental media and generally 'one of hollywood's [sic] good guys' (reaction to Prosser [Pistonheads] 2013), also in automotive media. Automotive media often reference movies he acted in: 'Ever since the titanic split in two and sank in the freezing waters of the Atlantic Ocean, DiCaprio started getting involved in climate change [...]'

(Ungureanu [Autoevolution] 2015). This entails the cause, namely that DiCaprio is a highly successful A-list Hollywood actor who has been actively campaigning for the environment for over two decades: 'He has walked this line for over a decade. He is a good boy as you put it. Raises 100's of millions for worthy causes' (reaction to Prosser [Pistonheads] 2013). The implicit solution is that initiatives such as Formula E and its sustainability committee provide DiCaprio with the option to further his campaign for greener cities, for example by general news media: '[DiCaprio took] another step to help promote sustainable cars and green driving.' (The News Wheel 2015). The moral evaluation is supportive of his influence on the environment and motorsport: 'How a celebrity can choose to finance a racing team with his own cash and be derided for it is somewhat baffling' (reaction to Prosser [Pistonheads] 2013).

Frame: 'Celebrity Hypocrisy'

A frame that was absent from the articles but featured regularly in audience reactions from 2013 and 2017 was that of 'Celebrity Hypocrisy'. This frame has a dual function: as a counter frame to the 'Hollywood Hero' and sub-frame of the larger 'Formula E Hypocrisy Ruins the Breed' frame. This frame appeared most often in general news media The Daily Mail Online and, to a lesser extent, in comments to the automotive media website Pistonheads. The issue at hand is that 'the likes of DiCaprio [...] advocating this cause [the environment] does more harm than good' (Reaction to Parry [Daily Mail Online] 2017). It depicts DiCaprio and other celebrities, like Virgin boss Sir Richard Branson, as hypocrites: 'Dicaprio [sic] travels everywhere by private jet and Branson owns an airline, talk about a couple of hypocrites' (Reaction to Parry [Daily Mail Online] 2017) and 'Both of these guys have the carbon footprint of a city, yet lecture us on climate change? Hypocrites' (Reaction to Parry [Daily Mail Online] 2017). Audiences do not consider these celebrities to have the credibility and legitimacy to inform and activate people to become more sustainable through Formula E and EV's. In addition, in some cases DiCaprio's hypocrisy is interpreted as ulterior marketing motives: 'So, given that

DiCaprio is probably onboard for free or for payment to help promote the race series do we think it will help put bums in seats to watch it?' (reaction to Prosser [Pistonheads] 2013). As such, some audiences recognise DiCaprio's involvement as a profit-generating incentive/ bonus rather than as a genuine effort to increase sustainability: '[...] INVESTING in "green" start ups and taking advantage of huge tax write offs while their (sic) at it' (reaction to Parry [Daily Mail Online] 2017) and 'One makes his fortune polluting the air and one makes his fortune polluting young minds' (reaction to Parry [Daily Mail Online] 2017). The former is ascribed to the fact that celebrities' personal lifestyle and, crucially, the carbon footprint these generate, contradict their activist messages. The suggested solution by audiences is straightforward and implies giving up on carbon emitting transport: 'yes lets (sic) fight climate change, leo [sic]. but first will you give up flying in your dirty jets' (reaction to Parry [Daily Mail Online] 2017) and 'Practice what you cry!' (reaction to Parry [Daily Mail Online] 2017).

Frame: 'Celebrity Health'

This frame appears as a secondary frame in online articles, predominantly gossip media and general news media, from 2017 and as both a dominant and a secondary frame in audience reactions from 2017. The frame is built around DiCaprio's private image and perceived lifestyle, suggesting as a main problem that DiCaprio could be suffering from health problems. This is related, first, to DiCaprio's lifelong partying lifestyle, taking up health defining habits: 'Leo being smoking, drinking and partying for over twenty years.' (reaction to JustJared 2017). Second, during the 2017 New York Formula E Prix, DiCaprio was spotted with a 'device' (reaction to JustJared 2017) holstered around his chest whilst walking the streets of New York. This raised concerns with audiences and speculation as to what the device and any underlying problems could be: 'What's with people talking about a pacemaker? [...] Could there be a less serious explanation? It's got me a bit worried (reaction to JustJared 2017). The suggested, though embedded, solution is that DiCaprio should take better care of his health. As such,

Formula E is used mainly as an inroad to discuss DiCaprio's personal life. The overall tone is one of concern yet careful optimism, indicating that DiCaprio is someone these audiences care about: 'I hope that's what it is, and if so good for him. Quitting smoking is hard!' (reaction to JustJared 2017).

Do Different Media and Audiences Produce Different Frames?

Frame occurrences differ between different types of media and between media and audience reactions. Focusing on the celebrity related frames, it becomes clear that media articles are positive towards DiCaprio, as the frames 'Hollywood Hero' and 'Saving the Environment' dominated the coverage throughout. Importantly, the frames occurred in celebrity gossip media as well as in automotive, technology, general news, environment, sport and business media. This suggests the success of the celebrity in helping to raise awareness for Formula E and ES. The 'Celebrity Health' frame appeared exclusively in the celebrity/lifestyle media, suggesting that the context of Formula E served as a mere means to spot and gossip about a celebrity. The overall tone of media coverage of DiCaprio is positive, though, illustrated by the fact that the 'Celebrity Hypocrisy' frame does not occur.

Audience reactions paint a more diverse picture. All media frames are taken over to some extent, although the 'Saving the Environment frame' only features in audience comments from 2013. However, audience reactions focus more on the 'Hollywood Hero' frame, indicating that audiences do not ignore the ES topic but focus more heavily on the celebrity aspect of DiCaprio's endorsement. The frame, more-over, appears most significantly (2013 and 2017) in comments on celebrity gossip (e.g. JustJared 2017) and, to a lesser extent, on technology related media content (e.g. Savov [The Verge] 2013). The 'Celebrity Health' frame appeared as a dominant frame in audience reactions but exclusively in relation to the media coverage on the celebrity gossip site JustJared that introduced the frame. Beyond this, audience reactions generated some additional and alternative frames (see table 1). With regards to the celebrity-

related frames, the most dominant frame was the ‘Celebrity Hypocrisy’ frame (as well as its overarching ‘Formula E Hypocrisy Ruins Motorsport’ frame). This frame occurs in comments from both 2013 and 2017 and across various types of media, including automotive, technology, celebrity news and general news. This suggests audiences, more than journalists, verge towards an oppositional reading of DiCaprio’s activism and involvement with Formula E.

Audience Reaction Moderators: Personal Experiences, Peers and Parasocial Relationships

To better understand audience reactions to (the framing of) the online news, we analysed if and how comments were moderated by personal experiences, communication with peers and parasocial relationships with DiCaprio (see above). Personal experiences featured to some extent in discussions of ES (in Formula E), serving as a frame sponsor, but, with regard to DiCaprio, personal experiences were mentioned only in 2017 comments, all confirming the article’s health frame. For example, a comment such as ‘My grandma had one [quit smoking device] and this one definitely looks bigger imo [in my opinion] and I would hope that he would stay home and rest [...]’ (reaction to JustJared 2017) suggests that issues pertaining to the private life of a celebrity trigger audiences’ personal experiences more than their public appearance or actual activism, confirming earlier research (e.g. Vanden Bulck, 2017). DiCaprio’s private life also triggered most debate amongst the online community (peers). While the 2013 commenters engaged in elaborate discussions concerning EV’s and Formula E, they did not do so regarding DiCaprio’s involvement. However, commenters on the 2017 ‘Celebrity Health’ frame extensively debated DiCaprio’s health, further suggesting that the celebrity presence serves as a distraction rather than that it helps to create attention to the environmental issue:

It's definitely to [sic] big to be a patch. I'm sure it's nothing serious but it's got me worried.
(reaction to JustJared 2017)

Yes, probably nothing serious. I just googled "stop smoking devices," and saw one that is round in shape and bigger than a typical smoking patch. Looks like it can be attached to any part of the upper body. Maybe this is what he has. (reaction to JustJared 2017)

Audiences' parasocial relationship with DiCaprio proved an important mediator for their reactions with some commenters showing support for DiCaprio's efforts: 'Good on him I say, he strikes me as one of Hollywood's good guys' (reaction to Prosser [Pistonheads] 2013) and affection: 'What's with people talking about a pacemaker? [...] It's got me a bit worried.' (reaction to Parry [Daily Mail Online] 2017). This positive attitude towards DiCaprio's involvement, interestingly, was found with motor sport fans - 'I'm not shocked that DiCaprio is the Hollywood A-lister involved with one of the teams. As an F1 fan, I think this could be interesting' (reaction to Savov [The Verge] 2013) – as much as with celebrity gossip commenters: 'I'm not afraid to admit that Leo's one of my most favorite actors of all time so... I support this.' (reaction to Okulski [Jalopnik] 2013). to. That said, there were those who approved of Formula E but not of DiCaprio: 'Would have been better to stick Patrick Dempsey in there, at least the guy can peddle and is infinitely more likeable than [sic] DiCaprisun! (reaction to Prosser [Pistonheads] 2013). Finally, in a number of cases, different feelings towards DiCaprio resulted in a discussion amongst peers. For instance, some commenters on automotive/motor sport websites countered the criticism of DiCaprio: 'Wow. Some butthurt people. Celebrity invests into motorsports but it's somehow almost criminal. Not true petrolhead [sic]. Get over yourselves. He isn't taking anything from you' (reaction to Prosser [Pistonheads] 2013). The above reveals that (positive and negative) parasocial relationships influenced some audience members' take on media frames.

Discussion and Conclusion

Trying to understand how the involvement of Hollywood actor and green activist Leonardo DiCaprio affected the coverage and audience reactions to Formula E across a range of online media, provides some interesting insights into the impact of mediated communication about a celebrity's endorsement on the issue at hand.

First, media articles tend to report on the topics of DiCaprio's involvement in Formula E in different ways. Our analysis confirms that celebrity involvement helps to attract media attention, in this case for Formula E. DiCaprio's affiliation with the sport incites wider current affairs reporting either on the issue of environment (e.g. 'Saving the Environment' frame) or on the celebrity's involvement in the issue (e.g. 'Hollywood Hero' frame). This implies that Leonardo DiCaprio's advocacy and activism around climate change in relation to Formula E helps to attract new and existing audiences and keep them engaged in finding solutions to the problem at hand (Marshall *et al.* 2018). Not surprisingly, though, the focus of a website's content (sports, automotive, celebrity, general news, ...) is often indicative of the frame and focus of the articles with the 'Hollywood Hero' and 'Celebrity Health' frames dominating celebrity and lifestyle-oriented media content, automotive oriented websites framing DiCaprio's involvement in Formula E more in terms of EV's and motor sport, and environmentally oriented websites in terms of EV's in relationship to the environment.

Second, and as Goodman *et al.* (2016) indicate, the true effectiveness of the celebrity, in this case Leonardo DiCaprio, as a performative mediation device aimed at audiences is not always immediately clear. Results confirm that audiences' reading of the frame presented in the media content can take various directions. The adoption by audiences of the media frames 'Hollywood Hero' and 'Celebrity Health' indicate that, in some instances, audiences follow preferred readings. Yet, the audience frame 'Celebrity Hypocrisy' (and the 'Formula E Hypocrisy Ruins Motorsport' frame) indicates that, at other times, audiences negotiate, i.e.

bypass and/or oppose, media frames by devising new ones. Commenters' views, unsurprisingly, are affected by their parasocial relationship with DiCaprio and they draw from personal experiences to further their arguments as part of discussions with fellow commenters. Importantly, when negotiating the media frames, audiences search for input from both the public and private characteristics and images of the celebrity, as in the case of the 'Celebrity Health' frame. The discrepancy between the 'Hollywood Hero' and the 'Celebrity Hypocrisy' frame further illustrates this intricate relationship between aspects of a celebrity persona and the players in the celebrity construct (Van den Bulck 2017). Both journalists and audiences draw from the range of characteristics that make up a celebrity's public, private and political persona to emphasise certain aspects in various framing packages (Van den Bulck 2017).

Third, from a diachronic perspective, the data reveals some interesting evolutions. Audiences reactions occurred only in 2013 and 2017, indicating that news about DiCaprio's involvement with Formula E as a co-team owner in 2013 and his visit to the NY race in 2017 sparked interest with audiences. In stark contrast though, his 2015 appointment as a chairman of the sustainability committee did not spark audience reactions despite audience comment sections being enable. One plausible explanation is that, after the initial 'breaking news' in 2013, the limited newsworthiness comes into play as the novelty effect – certainly of Formula E and, to some extent, of DiCaprio's involvement - wears off over time (Lester 2010, Cox 2012, Panis and Van den Bulck 2014). This is most often the case for ES-related frames and, as such, the 'Saving the Environment' frame does no longer occur in 2017 audience comments. The 'Hollywood Hero' frame occurs throughout the period, showing that celebrities help to maintain the attention to some extent. However, the 'Celebrity Health' frame that dominates the 2017 coverage and reactions, suggest that the private life of the celebrity has stronger attention pulling power than his political persona. According to Boykoff (2011), this is a frequent occurrence which prevents sufficient context to further the debate on the environment. So, the

emergence of the celebrity health frame in media articles and audience comments in 2017 confirms that when newsworthiness of ES wanes, other novelty items fill its place to continue the story (Lester 2010). That said, the presence of non-celebrity related frames in online articles from 2013, 2015 and 2017 and audience comments in 2013 and 2017 suggest that DiCaprio's succeeded, at least to some extent, in his self-proclaimed incentive of raising the debate on EV's. Building on from Goodman *et al.* (2016) and Kapoor (2012), it remains to be seen, though, to what extent Leonardo DiCaprio's environmental activism in Formula E actually incites audiences to complacency, or rather an illusion that, for example, a parasocial inspired purchase of a hybrid or electric car makes a real difference. This is certainly something to take into consideration in future research. The study has a number of shortcomings. First, the compiled corpus is not exhaustive and, therefore, does not allow for strong generalisations. Second, while a high number of audience comments were found, they all came from just 9 articles. This limits generalisation in understanding what comes into play when audiences deal with media frames. If nothing else, though, it shows that not all celebrity coverage creates enough buzz for audiences to want to respond to it. Despite these limitations, we believe that this study reveals the usefulness of an inductive framing analysis in understanding the complexities of the relationship between celebrity activism, the issue involved and the product or organisation endorsed. Therefore, this study provides valuable insights for celebrity studies, sports-media studies and environmental studies.

Funding details

No funding was relied on for this study.

Disclosure statement

The authors report no conflict of interest.

References

- BBC*, 2015. Leonardo DiCaprio forms racing team to help speed up electric car sales. *BBC* [online], 9 Dec. Available from: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-25300016> [Accessed 18 August 2017].
- Before the Flood*, 2016. Film. Directed by Fisher Stevens and Leonardo DiCaprio. United states: Twentieth Century Fox Home Entertainment.
- Blood Diamond*, 2006. Film. Directed by Edward Zwick. USA: Warner Bros.
- Boykoff, M. T., 2011. *Who speaks for the climate?: Making sense of media reporting on climate change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Boykoff, M.T., and Goodman, M.K., 2009. Conspicuous redemption? Reflections on the promises and perils of the ‘celebritisation’ of climate change. *Geoforum*, 40 (3), 395-406.
- Brockington, D., 2009. *Celebrity and the environment: Fame, wealth, and power in conservation*. London: Zed Books.
- Brown, W.J., Basil, M.D., and Bocarnea, M.C., 2003. Social influence of an international celebrity: Responses to the death of Princess Diana. *Journal of communication*, 53, 587-605.
- Casey, T., 2013. Leonardo DiCaprio Puts The EEE In Formula E All-Electric Racing. *Cleantechnica* [online], 16 Dec. Retrieved August, 17, 2017, from <https://cleantechnica.com/2013/12/13/leonardo-dicaprio-co-founds-formula-e-all-electric-racing-team/>
- Cashmore, E., 2006. *Celebrity culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Catch Me If You Can*, 2002. Film. Directed by Steven Spielberg. USA: Dreamworks.
- Cox, R., 2012. *Environmental communication and the public sphere*. London: Sage publications.

D'Estries, M., 2013. Actor partners with EV manufacturer Venturi Automobiles to compete in the 2014 FIA Formula E Championship. *Mother Nature Network* [online], 9 Dec. Available from: <https://www.mnn.com/lifestyle/arts-culture/blogs/leonardo-dicaprio-just-launched-an-electric-race-car-team> [Accessed 18 August 2017].

Django Unchained, 2012. Film. Directed by Quentin Tarantino. USA: Columbia Pictures.

Entman, R.M., 1993. Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of communication*, 43 (4): 51-58.

Evans, J., and Hesmondhalgh, D., 2005. *Understanding media: Inside celebrity*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Flyvbjerg, B., 2006. Five misunderstandings about case-study research. *Qualitative inquiry*, 12 (2), 219-245.

Formula E. (n.d.). Retrieved May 10, 2015, from <http://www.fiaformulae.com/>

Furgang, K., and Furgang, A., 2009. *Celebrity activists - Leonardo Dicaprio - Environmental Champion*. New York: The Rosen Publishing Group Inc.

Gamson, W.A., and Modigliani, A., 1989. Media discourse and public opinion on nuclear power: A constructionist approach. *American journal of sociology*, 95 (1): 1-37.

Gangs of New York, 2002. Film. Directed by Martin Scorsese. USA: Miramax.

Giles, D. C., 2002. Parasocial interaction: A review of the literature and a model for future research. *Media psychology*, 4 (3): 279-305.

Gitlin, T., 1980. *The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making and unmaking of the new left*. California: University of California Press.

Goodman, M., Littler, J., Brockington, D. and Boykoff, M., 2016

Spectacular environmentalisms: media, knowledge and the framing of ecological politics.

Environmental Communication, 10 (6), 677-688.

Greenlivingguy, 2014. Leonardo DiCaprio and Venturi Automobiles to launch Formula E

electric race car team. *The Green Living Guy* [online], 9 Dec. Available from:

<https://greenlivingguy.com/2014/01/leonardo-dicaprio-and-venturi-automobiles-to-launch-formula-e-electric-race-car-team/> [Accessed 18 August 2017].

Growing Pains, 1991. TV. Created by Neal Martens. USA: Warner Bros.

Gulam, J., 2014. Film stardom gender and philanthropy: Sharon Stone at the World Summit of

Nobel Peace Laureates. *Celebrity studies*, 5 (3): 360-363.

Holmes, S., 2005. Off-guard, unkempt, unready?: Deconstructing contemporary celebrity in

Heat magazine. *Journal of media and cultural studies*, 19, 21-38.

Huddart, S., 2005. *Do we need another hero?: Understanding celebrities' roles in advancing social causes*. Montreal, QC: McGill University.

JustJared, 2017. Leonardo DiCaprio tours the garages before Formula E's ePrix. *JustJared*

[online], 15 Jun. Available from: <http://www.justjared.com/2017/07/15/leonardo-dicaprio-tours-the-garages-before-formula-es-eprix/> [Accessed 18 August 2017].

Kapoor, I., 2012. *Celebrity humanitarianism*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Lee, K., 2015. Leonardo DiCaprio: Movie Star, Playboy and Racing Chairman [online], 22

Oct 2015. Available from [https://www.roadandtrack.com/car-](https://www.roadandtrack.com/car-culture/entertainment/news/a27118/leos-fight-against-climate-change-will-go-on-and-on/)

[culture/entertainment/news/a27118/leos-fight-against-climate-change-will-go-on-and-on/](https://www.roadandtrack.com/car-culture/entertainment/news/a27118/leos-fight-against-climate-change-will-go-on-and-on/)

Lester, L., 2010. *Media and environment: Conflict, politics and the news*. Cambridge: Polity

Press.

Lester, L., and Hutchins, B., 2009. Power games: Environmental protest, news media and the internet. *Media, culture and society*, 31, 579-595.

Mann, W., 2013. Leonardo DiCaprio enters first-ever electric race-car championship. *The Hollywood Reporter* [online], 9 Dec. Available from: <https://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/leonardo-dicaprio-enters-first-ever-664155> [Accessed 18 August 2017].

Marshall, D., D'cruz, G., And Mcdonald, S., 2018. 'Un geste suffit'? Unpacking the inconvenient truths about Al Gore's celebrity activism. *Persona Studies*, 4 (2).

McCracken, G., 1989. Who is the celebrity endorser? Cultural foundations of the endorsement process. *Journal of consumer research*, 16 (3), 310-321.

Meyer, D. S., and Gamson, J., 1995. The challenge of cultural elites: Celebrities and social movements. *Sociological inquiry*, 65 (2), 181-206.

Miller, T., 2016. Greenwashed sports and environmental activism: Formula 1 and FIFA. *Environmental Communication*, 10 (6), 719-733.

Mortimer, C., 2016. Leonardo DiCaprio urged to resign from UN climate change role. *The Independent* [online], 15 Oct. Available from: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/leonardo-dicaprio-resign-from-un-climate-change-role-wolf-of-wall-street-malaysia-1mdb-a7363376.html> [Accessed 18 August 2017].

Nichols, W., 2013. Leonardo DiCaprio aims to shift electric racing series up a gear. *Businessgreen* [online], 9 Dec. Available from: <https://www.businessgreen.com/bg/news/2318018/leonardo-dicaprio-aims-to-shift-electric-racing-series-up-a-gear> [Accessed 18 August 2017].

Okulski, T., 2013. Super dreamy Leonardo Dicaprio starts super dreamy race team. *Jalopnik* [online], 12 Sept. Available from: <https://jalopnik.com/super-dreamy-leonardo-dicaprio-starts-super-dreamy-race-1479545965> [Accessed 18 August 2017].

Ovenden, O., 2017. Leonardo DiCaprio and the 'Pussy Posse' went to see Toby Maguire's daughters play. *Esquire* [online], 6 Jun. Available from:

<https://www.esquire.com/uk/culture/news/a15342/leonardo-dicaprio-pussy-posse-play/>

[Accessed 18 August 2017].

Panis, K., 2012. *Celebrities' societal engagement: A quantitative analysis of non-profit organisations' motivations, public perception and media coverage*. Thesis (PhD). University of Antwerp

Panis, K., 2015. Why research into celebrities' socio-political involvement needs a broader research agenda and sharper conceptualisation. *Celebrity Studies*, 6 (3), 382-384.

Panis, K., and Van den Bulck, H., 2014. In the Footsteps of Bob and Angelina: celebrities' diverse societal engagement and its ability to attract media coverage. *Communications*, 39 (1), 23–42.

Parry, H., 2017. Racing to save the environment! Climate change campaigner Leo DiCaprio and British billionaire Richard Branson join forces to stage New York's first electric car 'Formula E' race. *The Mail Online* [online], 17 Jul. Available from: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4701736/Leo-DiCaprio-town-New-York-Formula-E.html> [Accessed 18 August 2017].

Perez Hilton, 2013. Leonardo Dicaprio helps the environment by partnering with electric car racing team. *Perez Hilton* [online], 10 Dec. Available from: <http://perez Hilton.com/fitperez/2013-12-10-leonardo-dicaprio-partnered-electric-car-formula-e-racing-team&ctn=2#.W0dFgkpuLIU> [Accessed 18 August 2017].

Prosser, D., 2013. *DiCaprio's Formula E team*. *Pistonheads* [online], 10 Dec. Available from: <https://www.pistonheads.com/news/general-pistonheads/dicaprios-formula-e-team/29028> [Accessed 18 August 2017].

Rapier, R., 2016. Leonardo DiCaprio's carbon footprint is much bigger than he thinks. *Forbes* [online], 6 Mar. Forbes. Available from

<https://www.forbes.com/sites/rrapier/2016/03/01/leonardo-dicaprios-carbon-footprint-is-much-higher-than-he-thinks/#659b8c732bd5> [Accessed 18 August 2017].

Robeers, T., 2019. 'We go green in Beijing': situating live television, urban motor sport and environmental sustainability by means of a framing analysis of TV broadcasts of Formula E. *Sport in Society*, 1-31.

Rojek, C., 2001. *Celebrity*. London: Reaktion Books.

Roy, D., Goss, B., and Jubenville, C., 2010. Influences on event attendance decisions for stock car automobile racing fans. *International journal of sport management and marketing*, 8 (1/2), 73.

Samman, E., Auliffe, E. M., and MacLachlan, M., 2009. The role of celebrity in endorsing poverty reduction through international aid. *International journal of nonprofit and voluntary sector marketing*, 14 (2): 137-148.

Savov, V., 2013. Leonardo DiCaprio sets up electric car racing team to promote EVs. *The Verge* [online], 10 Dec. Available from:

<https://www.theverge.com/2013/12/10/5195190/leonardo-dicaprio-formula-e-racing-team> [Accessed 18 August 2017].

Scheufele, D. A., 1999. Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of communication*, 49 (1), 103-122.

Sima, Y., 2011. Grassroots environmental activism and the internet: constructing a green public sphere in China. *Asian studies review*, 35 (4), 477-497.

The 11th Hour, 2007 Film. Directed by Nadia Connors and Leila Connors. United States: Warner Independent Pictures.

The Great Gatsby, 2013. Film. Directed by Baz Luhrmann. USA: Warner Bros.

The News Wheel, 2015. Environmentalist and actor Leonardo DiCaprio joins formula e committee. *The News Wheel* [online], 22 Oct. Available from: <http://thenewswheel.com/environmentalist-and-actor-leonardo-dicaprio-joins-formula-e-committee/> [Accessed 18 August 2017].

The Revenant, 2015. Film. Directed by Alejandro Inarritu. USA: Regency Enterprises.

The Wolf of Wall Street, 2013. Film. Directed by Martin Scorsese. USA: Red Granite Pictures.

Titanic, 1997. Film. Directed by James Cameron. USA: Twentieth Century Fox.

Tsaliki, L., Frangonikolopoulos, C. A., and Huliaras, A., 2011. *Transnational celebrity activism in global politics: changing the world?* Chicago: Intellect Books.

Ungureanu, I., 2015. Leonardo DiCaprio to chair Formula E sustainability committee. *Autoevolution* [online], 23 Oct. Available from: <https://www.autoevolution.com/news/leonardo-dicaprio-to-chair-formula-e-sustainability-committee-101277.html> [Accessed 18 August 2017].

United Nations, (1988). *Our common future - Brundtland report*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Van den Bulck, H., 2017. She died of a mother's broken heart': Media and audiences' framing of health narratives of heart-related celebrity deaths. *International journal of communication*, 11, 23.

Van Den Bulck, H., 2018. *Celebrity philanthropy and activism: Mediated interventions in the global public sphere*. London: Routledge.

Van den Bulck, H., and Claessens, N., 2013. Celebrity suicide and the search for the moral high ground: Comparing frames in media and audience discussions of the death of a Flemish celebrity. *Critical studies in media communication*, 30 (1), 69-84.

Van Gorp, B., 2006. Een constructivistische kijk op het concept framing. *Tijdschrift voor communicatiewetenschap*, 34, 246-256. [A Constructivist View on the Concept of Framing]

Van Gorp, B., 2010. Strategies to take subjectivity out of framing analysis. *In*: P. D'Angelo and J. Kuypers, eds. *Doing news framing analysis*. London: Routledge, 100-125.

Walsh, L., 2013. Leonardo DiCaprio and Venturi Automobiles announce final Formula E team. *Bleacher Report* [online], 9 Dec. Available from:

<http://bleacherreport.com/articles/1882047-leonardo-dicaprio-and-venturi-automobiles-announce-final-formula-e-team>) [Accessed 18 August 2017].

Zhou, Y., and Moy, P., 2007. Parsing framing processes: The interplay between online public opinion and media coverage. *Journal of communication*, 57 (1), 79-98.