A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS
OF U.S. FAMOUS PEOPLE'S TWEETS ON THE OVERTURN
OF ROE V. WADE (1973)

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Abstract: The overturn of Roe v. Wade (1973) in 2022 has triggered a rally as to abortion rights in the States, flooding both the news, online discussions and debates. On the day of the decision, 80 U.S. famous people instantly reacted through their tweets. This paper qualitatively analyzed these tweets using Fairclough's CDA framework. Three prominent patterns were found regarding these people's political ideologies on abortion rights. First, the sole pro-life tweeter maintained that pro-choice were only hypocrites, and the constitution text was the most legitimate reference for the Supreme Court's work. Second, the other 79 tweeters' ideologies were identified as convergent in that: (1) pro-life was grounded in blind religious faith and filled with conservative hegemony; (2) anti-abortion was associated with resistance to democracy, justice and social progress; (3) voting for the Democratic would be the solution to the problem; and (4) the celebrities' advocacy of pro-choice was righteous. Third, the representation of pro-choice ideologies among these 79 tweeters were found to be differentiated due to the tweeters' various backgrounds and expertise. Many tweets also used paradoxical argumentation such as the idea of democracy that excluded pro-life individuals. The discussion of the research findings suggested that the participants' short expressions on Twitter not only proved ineffective for compelling social mobilization in such a case like this but also reinforced polarization as the mediated perspectives overtly showed intolerance.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, celebrities' tweets, Roe v. Wade overturn

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PHẢN ỨNG CỦA NGƯỜI NỔI TIẾNG Ở HOA KỲ
VỀ ĐẠO LUẬT CẤM PHÁ THAI THỂ HIỆN TRÊN TWITTER:
GÓC NHÌN TỪ PHÂN TÍCH DIỄN NGÔN PHÊ PHÁN

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Tóm tắt: Việc lật ngược phán quyết vụ Roe kiện Wade (1973) vào năm 2022 đã gây ra một cuộc biểu tình về quyền phá thai tại Hoa Kỳ. Bài báo này phân tích định tính dòng trạng thái trên Twitter của 80 người nổi tiếng tại Hoa Kỳ vào ngày phán quyết được đưa ra. Nghiên cứu đã chỉ ra ba quan điểm nổi bật liên quan đến hệ tư tưởng chính trị của những người này về quyền phá thai. Đầu tiên, người ủng hộ cấm phá thai duy nhất cho rằng những người ủng hộ quyền phá thai chỉ là những kẻ đạo đức giả, còn văn bản hiến pháp là tài liệu tham khảo hợp pháp nhất cho công việc của Tòa án Tối cao. Thứ hai, ý thức hệ của 79 người dùng Twitter khác đồng nhất ở những điểm sau: (1) ủng hộ cấm phá thai bắt nguồn từ đức tin tôn giáo mù quáng và chứa đầy sự bá quyền bảo thủ; (2) chống phá thai là kẻ thù của dân chủ, công lý và tiến bộ xã hội; (3) bỏ phiếu cho đảng Dân chủ sẽ là giải pháp cho vấn đề; và (4) việc những người nổi tiếng ủng hộ quyền phá thai là chính đáng. Thứ ba, nghiên cứu phát hiện sự thể hiện tư tưởng ủng hộ quyền phá thai trong số 79 người dùng Twitter này có sự phân tách do sự khác biệt trong chuyên môn và lĩnh vực hoạt động. Nhiều bài đăng cho thấy tư duy nghịch lý, ví dụ như ý tưởng về dân chủ bình đẳng nhưng không bao gồm những cá nhân ủng hộ phá thai. Thảo luận các kết quả nghiên cứu cho thấy cách diễn đạt quan điểm trên Twitter của đối tượng nghiên cứu không những kém hiệu quả trong công cuộc huy động xã hội trong trường hợp này mà còn củng cố tư tưởng chia rẽ đảng phái khi những quan điểm được truyền tải tỏ rõ thái độ kỳ thị.

Từ khóa: phân tích diễn ngôn phê phán, dòng trạng thái trên Twitter của người nổi tiếng, vụ kiện Roe v. Wade

1. Introduction

In 1970, under the alias "Jane Roe", the plaintiff Norma McCorvey filed a federal class action against Henry Wade, the district attorney of Dallas County, Texas, in the United States District Court for the Northern District of Texas (Michels, 2022). This case eventually became known as Roe v. Wade, 410 U.S. 113 (1973). Roe, a single pregnant woman, sought to overturn Texas' criminal abortion laws by arguing that they were unconstitutional and that women should be allowed to end their pregnancies as they saw fit. Ultimately, in 1973 the Supreme Court of the United States (henceforth the SCOTUS) ruled in favor of Roe by a vote of 7-2.

On May 2, 2022, Politico, a Virginia-based political journalism outlet, reported the SCOTUS's plan to overturn earlier Roe v. Wade decisions (Gerstein & Ward, 2022). This immediately created a wave of debate between opposing forces with pro-choice contending that abortion was a fundamental right of women, while pro-life believing in the sanctity of all people's lives, including unborn children (Hafsa, 2015). The final decision, delivered on June 26th, 2022, in a 6-3 vote, officially overturned Roe v. Wade, putting an end to the 50-year-old legal permission to abortion (Liptak, 2022).

Discussions and debates surrounding this issue had been going on for months in the U.S.

and around the world in a variety of forms, ranging from civic and forum discussions, press articles, and academic research to social media posts. Particularly, a number of American famous people heatedly raised their voice on social networks like Twitter and Instagram. In responding to the controversy of the abortion rights in the U.S., this research aims to investigate American famous people's tweets as to the overturned Roe v. Wade that took place on 24th June 2022. We attempt to answer the questions: What political ideologies were demonstrated in the U.S. famous people's tweets on the overturning of Roe v. Wade? In order to do so, we employed Fairclough's critical discourse analysis to qualitatively analyze eighty American famous people's tweets on the day of the decision.

2. Literature Review

2.1. The U.S. Supreme Court and the Overturning of Roe v. Wade

The 19730 lawsuit Roe v. Wade concerned one of the top controversies of the century in the U.S.: access to abortion. Prior to the case, abortion and even contraceptive pills had been outlawed in several states such as Texas, New York and Connecticut (Brennan Center for Justice, 2022). Since the late 19th century, the right to abortion has been the focus in a number of prominent court cases between U.S. citizens against their state laws, becoming one of the most important federal concerns. Abortion opponents have always looked forward to the Supreme Court's reconsideration of the 1973's decisions through a number of cases, for example, Planned Parenthood v. Danforth in 1976, Maher v. Roe and Colautti v. Franklin in 1979, Rust v. Sullivan in 1991, Hill v. Colorado and Stenberg v. Carhart in 2000, Gonzales v. Carhart in 2007, Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey in 1992 and Dobbs v Jackson Women's Health Organization in 2022.

The Supreme Court's decision on Roe v. Wade in 1973 has given ways to various interpretations of the right to abortion and state legal practices. On the one hand, many US citizens have wanted to believe that Roe v. Wade legalized abortion. On the other hand, the case did affect state's approaches to more rigorous abortion laws involving complex officialdom for clinic operations and abortion procedures, which in fact discouraged the medical practice in the following years (Temme & Marshall, 2023). In his majority opinion in Dobbs (2022), Justice Samuel Alito explained that access to abortion was not among the explicitly cited rights originating from the nation's history nor implied in ordered liberty (SCOTUS, 2021). This was supported by the majority of the Supreme Court's justices since 1973 in their decisions in favor of pro-life stance.

From a cross-cultural perspective, the Supreme Court acknowledged in Justice Blackmun's majority opinion of Roe v. Wade 1973 that the controversy of abortion was subject to polarized ideologies which resulted from people's contrastive experiences, religious beliefs, and conceptualizations of morality, family, medical ethics and life in general (SCOTUS, 1973). However, it was also asserted by the legislature that the legal access to abortion was never absolute due to state legitimate interests in protecting health, medical standards and prenatal life. During its 50 years' effect after Roe v. Wade (1973), protection to abortion had been treated on different levels across the states. The SCOTUS majority opinion maintained that the decision was now returned to the people and the representatives they voted for. In other words, the decision regarding abortion was put in the hand of each state's legislature.

2.2. Previous Studies on Social Media Famous Users and Politics

According to McCracken (1989), celebrities are more likely to have the audience's trust

in marketing than when voting for political candidates. For example, Pease and Brewer (2008) found that Oprah's endorsement had no impact on the degree to which participants held favorable opinions of Obama or perceived him to be likable. However, the same authors also found that reading about the endorsement increased participants' perceptions of Obama's chances of winning the nomination and their likelihood to support him. As can be seen, celebrities are good at getting the public's attention on a topic; it is difficult, however, to assess the effectiveness of their influence on how people feel or act about a topic (Majic et al., 2020).

Former U.S. President Donald Trump also attracts much attention from researchers due to his active presence on Twitter. Kerbleski (2019) studied Trump's tweets as a new form of the political discourse surrounding the 2018 California wildfire, showing Trump's communicative strategies such as timing updates, brevity, authority, and blaming game. Another study by Bustan (2020) sought to analyze Donald Trump's use of language in his tweets addressing Middle Eastern nations in order to better understand his linguistic traits and political philosophy. Bustan discovered the linguistic features of Trump's tweets that expressed his ideology towards Middle Eastern countries, such as the use of derogatory and disparaging adjectives to express his hatred for Middle Eastern nations.

Today's celebrities' political engagement is frequently witnessed in their support for social change. Celebrity advocacy refers to the actions and initiatives taken by well-known people who engage in public political and humanitarian discourses, promoting charities, calling for solidarity and changes. Celebrity advocacy frequently aims at raising awareness for a cause in which famous people offer the symbolic support that can attract the public's attention or trust. Thrall et al (2008) investigated celebrity advocacy using a random sample of 247 stars selected from the Forbes 100 list of 2006 and the Celebopedia website, revealing that most of these people were involved in a variety of advocacy causes and organizations, and that their status had a significant impact on how much media attention one received for their advocacy work. Nevertheless, celebrity advocacy is viewed critically by academia as a socio-cultural, communicative self-presentation practice rather than as humanitarian activism (Chouliaraki, 2012).

Discussions about famous people's use of Twitter for fan communication (e.g., Stever & Lawson, 2015), the manifestation of fan and star identities through the platform (e.g., Giles, 2017), and how their Twitter practice projects social presence (e.g., Kim & Song, 2016) are at the center of the science of psychology and celebrity studies research. However, famous people as producers of tweets on contemporary controversial socio-political issues have not gained enough academic examination as they should. In the face of the extensive civic exposure to commercial social networks which deem prone to fake news, materialism promotion and public opinion direction, it is imperative to carry out more studies on celebrities' political engagements via social media.

3. Methodology

3.1. Data Collection

The data of this research comprised publicly available posts from famous people's Twitter profiles on 24th June 2022, the day of official decision on the overturn of Roe v. Wade. The U.S. famous Twitter users in question were defined as those who worked in the entertainment industry, or were activists or politicians, with more than 500 thousand followers on Twitter. The related keywords and hashtags including: *Roe v. Wade, pro-life, abortions, women's rights, reproductive rights, SCOTUS* were used with Twitter's advanced search engine

to filter all the relevant posts within a specific time. As a result, the sample consists of 168 tweets from the first eighty famous posters on the day. Due to the constraint of research resources, the research focused on analyzing only direct tweets (not including their comments on other Twitter users' posts) regarding the issue[1].

3.2. Data Analysis

Correspondingly, this research followed the qualitative design of critical discourse analysis which is "concerned with the critique of relations of power and ideology in society at large" (O'Regan & Betzel, 2016, p. 282). According to Holliday (2016), the critical paradigm directs our attention to the formation, protection, justification of a group's socio-cultural and political practices as well as the manner in which these practices approach, include or exclude members. This approach to analyzing texts about socio-political issues allowed us to investigate the famous people's perspectives represented in their language use, whereby we could uncover their "implicit, presupposed and often naturalized worldview, or overarching perspective" on the discussed legislation change (O'Regan & Betzel, 2016, p. 282).

Fairclough's analytical framework of discourse was employed to uncover the tweeters' political ideologies regarding the right to abortion through their texts. According to Fairclough (2010), the production of texts reflects at the same time people's cognition and representation of the world as well as their social interactions with others. Ideological manifestations can be found in different properties of texts such as vocabulary, grammar, politeness conventions, speech-exchange systems, generic structure, and style (Fairclough, 1995). There are three fundamental steps in Fairclough's critical discourse analysis. The description of text deals with the features of vocabulary and rhetorical tools (e.g., metaphor, simile, metonymy, euphemism, etc.), sentence structures and word order, presuppositions and implicatures, and so on. This first step focuses on three aspects, namely the text producer's knowledge and beliefs about the world, the social relations established about the text in discourse, and the producer's evaluation. The second step of interpretation deals with the relationship between text and interaction, addressing discourse processes and their dependence on background common-sense assumptions. The final step explains the relationship between the interaction and its social context. Accordingly, each tweet was analyzed following the three steps

4. Findings

This section demonstrates our findings of the U.S. celebrities' perspectives toward the Supreme Court's overturning of Roe v. Wade (1973) in their tweets.

4.1. The Sole Pro-Life Tweeter

Our analysis ended with an intriguing overarching pattern that 79/80 surveyed tweeters appeared to be pro-choice. The only seemingly pro-life famous figure in our data was Jedediah Bila, a podcast and television host of political programs, maintaining that most pro-choice people were just hypocrites who would not care for the deemed damaging consequences of new vaccine injection, unemployment or poverty.

> Reminder: The vast majority of these "my body, my choice" activists were totally fine with you being forced to take an experimental "vaccine" or lose your job, your livelihood, your ability to

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put food on the table. They're phonies at their core (Jedediah Bila).

This media influencer even stressed the importance of the Constitution by satirically remarking: 'As it turns out, the Constitution matters. Not to Leftists, but to those who rule based on what it actually says.' Bila seemed to be reminding her readers that the Constitution, while appearing meaningful when mentioned in the left-leaning argumentation, actually only made sense when considered in its original meaning in setting the objective standards for interpretation by judges and other legislature entities.

4.2. The Convergent Majority of Pro-Choice Tweeters

In contrast, the other 79 posters expressed seemingly convergent ideologies on the abortion issue, comprising the main findings of our study as follows.

4.2.1. Pro-choice Believed That Pro-Life Perspective was Religious and Hegemonic

The first downside ascribed to pro-life perspective by the surveyed tweeters was its connection to Catholic religious belief. In such a multi-cultural context as the U.S., religious diversity and intolerance is not uncommon. The most shared strategy deployed by the tweeters was to categorize pro-choice as the "positive us" against Catholic pro-life as the "negative them." This was manifested clearly in Johnathan Van Ness's tweet that '[…] this personal medical decision has been made by people enforcing their evangelical beliefs on all of us.' Billy Eichner even took it further by capitalizing his tweet of command filled with offenses, asserting the incredibility of gospel preaches: 'GET YOUR FICTIONAL HATEFUL BIBLE STORIES AND YOUR FAKE FICTIONAL RELIGIOUS BULLSHIT OUT OF OUR FUCKING LIVES.' The paralinguistic feature of capitalization expressing anger or emphasis, and functioning as shouting showed Eichner's bold confrontation against the system. The famous people in question even affirmed that pro-life stance resulted from the inherent relationship between Catholic evangelism and the Republican polity, which was illustrated in Rob Reiner's generalized tweet that '[s]eparation of Church and State [was] being obliterated.' In the same tweet, he also categorized pro-life politicians as 'an autocratic minority' (Rob Reiner), who were 'all radical traditionalist Catholics […] shoving America ever further to the right' (Bette Midler). Midler's metaphorical use of "shoving America […] to the right" denoted a forceful subjugation of the Republican, imposing their conservative political ideologies on the whole nation.

That being said, two actresses did not perceive the pro-life perspective as religion-bound. In defense of their religious beliefs, these celebrities asserted that Christian belief of life treasuring was just a disguise and excuse for banning abortion by a small group of 'Christian nationalists' who were 'not Christian in any sense of the word' (Valerie Bertinelli) because 'I'm a Christian and know that,' tweeted Yvette Nicole Brown. As claiming their authority as a Christian, these celebrities denied the so-called humanity in the arguments of Catholic pro-life individuals that a fetus or unborn child should also have a choice.

Moreover, the alleged illegitimacy of pro-life perspective was also documented in the tweets based on its perceived attachment to Republican hegemonic motives rather than scientific or humanistic grounds. Apart from straightforwardly referring to the Republican Party as the manipulative force behind the overturn of Roe v. Wade, the participants also associated the motivation of the policy with white supremacy, patriarchy and misogyny. Twenty-one famous figures repeated the remark 'This is about controlling […]' and used strong expressions such as 'tyrannized,' 'forcing,' 'keeping systemic poverty,' 'come for all of our rights,' 'make slavery legal again,' 'disproportionately hurt,' 'completely ignoring the will of the majority,'

'dictating,' 'policy violence,' and 'weaponize the womb,' to explain the hegemonic nature of the policy and its legislature. According to these posters, the primary targets of this policy was to further weaken women, preventing them from quality healthcare accessibility, financial independence, and other common human rights. Being forced to carry unwanted pregnancies to term was believed to harm women in many and every way, confirmed through three-part lists like 'this is about controlling women, keeping them down, keeping them without rights', or parallelism like 'keeping women unequal and unsafe' (Maria Shriver), 'controlling women and trans men' (Alyssa Milano) and 'controlling bodies and keeping people in systemic poverty for generations' (Jonathan Van Ness).

Of note was that these Republican entities were described by the tweeters as an evil dominant minority. Sarah Kate Ellis used a metaphor of 'stand[ing] between' to emphasize the minor scale of the legislature (nine people) compared to its massive power in intervening with the people's 'rights to bodily autonomy, […] jobs, […] families, and […] healthcare.' Dysphemism and similes were employed in many tweets to categorize the Republican representatives as hegemonic villains such as 'an autocratic minority' (Rob Reiner), 'crazy-ass gerrymandered districts' (Jason Isbell), 'this crowd' (Bette Midler), 'Isis-like group of dried up old men' (Ron Perlman). These judges of the SCOTUS were not only considered as sinners but also liars due to their failure to keep their words in the Senate confirmation hearings that Roe v. Wade 'was settled law' (Bette Midler, Ron Perlman, Megyl Kelly, Sarah Silverman).

What is more, the overturn of Roe v. Wade was believed to be the kick-off of the Republican subjugation over other marginalized populations in the U.S. Specifically, seven celebrities explicitly expressed concern about the Supreme Court's future decisions by making predictions and allegations that other societal groups, especially, LGBTQ+, would become targeted subjects to the next disadvantageous policies. George Takei metaphorically regarded the overturn of Roe v. Wade as the 'tip of the iceberg' which had been initially put on the 'chopping block' of the 'fundamental rights [they] ha[d] assumed [they] enjoyed'. Besides, the posters also anticipated the affected realms after Roe v. Wade being overturned, showing the profound and comprehensive impact of this policy on the people's lives, including 'Contraception, same sex relationships, same sex marriage' (Andy Cohen), 'the right to consensual sex in the privacy of our own homes, the right to contraception, and the right of same-sex couples to marry' (George Takei), and 'right to privacy, contraception, marriage equality' (Neal Katyal). The disappointment evoked by the overturn of 50-year-old Roe v. Wade seemed to cause these people to worry about the possibility of more prohibitions and impositions being enforced on the populations who had been already socially underprivileged.

4.2.2. Pro-Choice Believed That Pro-Life was Opposing to Democracy, Justice and Social Progress

This ideology was expressed through the anticipated severe consequences of the ruling. Six tweeters inferred the unexpected yet inevitable aftermath as follows:

They will never end abortion. Only safe abortion. (Sophia Bush)

This will only prevent safe, legal abortions from taking place. (Padma Lakshmi)

You didn't ban abortion, you banned access to SAFE abortion. (Jessica Biel)

This won't stop abortion from happening, it will just make them dangerous to get. This is horrible for reproductive rights. (Marti Gould Cummings)

Banning abortions does not stop the need for them, it just bans their safety. (Gloria Steinem)

Overturning Roe and outlawing abortions will never make them go away. It only makes them more dangerous, especially for the poor + marginalized. People will die because of this decision. (Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez)

A presupposed consensus was shown among these tweets that banning abortion necessarily led to the emergence of illegal unsafe abortion, hence the pointlessness and counter-productivity of the ban.

Additionally, democracy and justice were said to be deteriorated in the face of the new policy because they manifested intolerance and inequality. According to the tweets, the new ruling represented a misogynistic ideology. In most of the tweets, women of colors and low-income women were depicted as the policy's main targets, being 'vulnerable' and 'unsafe, unseen, unprotected' (Maria Shriver). Some celebrities cited history as a lesson of how hard and how long the people of the U.S. had fought for the 50-year-old right for women. The overturn of such law case thus represented as a wrong way around progress, particularly, 'a disgusting step backward for women' (Jessica Biel), 'a socially backwards decision' (Sheryl Lee Ralph), 'an unjust and unacceptable setback' (Bill Gates) which evoked the feeling that 'all of […] progress ha[d] been rolled back in an instant' (Maria Shriver). Such ideological opposition to pro-life was also supported by the celebrity liberal politicians such as Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton, who asserted respectively that progress was 'not always a straight line' and 'Supreme Court decision [would] live in infamy.' More importantly, this policy was believed to be 'out of step with the vast majority of Americans' (Maria Shriver, Sheryl Lee Ralph), which in turn showed that 'democracy [was] crumbling before [their] eyes' (Marti Gould Cummings).

Last but not least, the attitude deeming pro-life as enemy to democracy, justice and social progress was strongly expressed through the tweeters insults towards the government apparatus and their condemnation of the judicial system. To begin with, more than 20 posters used imprecations like *f****, *b***s****, *a*** to directly challenge the SCOTUS and those behind it for overturning Roe. Personal attacks occurred constantly, targeting the involved judges, the president, and pro-life individuals. Calls for bullying and pressure for resignation were present in these tweets. As Justice Alito wrote the overturn's majority opinion, he became the target of cyberbully, not only once, such as 'We have to raise hell--in our cities, in Washington, in every restaurant Justice Alito eats at for the rest of his life' (Samantha Bee) or 'I'll bet that draft of the overturn of #Roe was leaked by #Alito himself, to get the anti-abortion states ready for this decision' (Bette Midler). Likewise, hatred towards pro-life could be found in their maledictions against the pro-life persons, such as Megyn Kelly's hope for the SCOTUS leaker to be 'ruining his/her future legal career.' Talking about the severe aftermath of abortion ban in extreme situations to rebut the pro-life stance in a very harsh way, Yvette Nicole Brown tweeted:

And I hope all the smug women who are pro-life realize that if they have a life-threatening pregnancy or if they or their daughter is raped or the victim of incest and a pregnancy is the result THEY or their precious little gumdrop will have to carry that child to term too.

Glennon Doyle even alienated male individuals who appeared calm amidst the breaking news by stating how hard he was being in public with them, and imposed his personal assumption that 'want[ed] to ask how many abortions they'[d] required in their lifetimes' and 'need[ed] them to find a way to at least f****** appear concerned.'

The posters either explicitly referred to Donald Trump as the key sinful representative of the unwelcomed policy enforcement like in 'This is Trump & the GOP. Forcing pregnancy on people' (Jonathan Van Ness) or insinuated the former president, not forgetting to add some

satires about his weaknesses like '[b]y someone who lost the popular vote and tried to steal an election' (Chelsea Handler). Audra McDonald remarked that '[t]his man [wasn't] going to stop until his own marriage [was] declared illegal', accusing Trump for being indifferent of and irresponsible for the people's wellbeing. Bette Midler Bette even referred to Trump as a womanizer and father of unwanted children who were dealt with through legal abortion in her tweet: 'What absolute irony that the death of #RoevWade should be brought to us by #DonaldJackassTrump, who undoubtedly paid for a hundred of them himself.' This once again asserted that the governors overturning Roe were absolutely unreliable in the eye of these famous people.

Meanwhile, eleven famous tweeters pointed to legislative absurdity by juxtaposing excessive liberal gun rights with the rejection of abortion rights, including Elizabeth Banks, Andy Cohen, Lea Thompson, Halle Berry, Chris Redd, Rob Reiner, Yvette Nicole Brown, Aly & AJ, Patricia Arquette, Sheryl Lee Ralph, and Marti Gould Cummings. The contrastive pairs of "guns for everybody" and "women's bodily autonomy"/ "women's reproductive health decisions" replicated by these people highlighted the perceived irrationality in the SCOTUS's decisions, especially, when the approval of life destructive weapon happened nearly at the same time as the dismiss of abortion rights which involved civic liberty and privacy. Moreover, the tweets exposed the bias and partisanship of the current Supreme Court through norm expressions, confirming that the SCOTUS was now 'absolutely tone-deaf to the will and even the actual needs of the American people' (Better Midler) and 'making justice into a mockery' (Ron Perlman) despite their mission to 'act without political bias' (Sarah Kate Ellis). Samantha Bee sarcastically updated the news: '26 states will likely move to ban abortion immediately. Which is a shame, because the only interesting thing to do in North Dakota is get an abortion'. This remark criticized Republican governor Doug Burgum's quick response to the Supreme Court's move about Roe v. Wade in signing the ban to abortion in North Dakota while there must have been other urgent issues to deal with. Yvette Nicole Brown summarized the aspects of the current SCOTUS with a three-part list and generalization: 'A corrupt, racist, money AND power hungry imp got to put THREE Supreme Court justices on the bench. The patriarchy and white supremacists in this nation will not stop until only white men get to live free in this country.' Apparently, the celebrities seemed to believe that under such an incapable cabinet, democracy and justice were being undermined in the hand of a paradoxical legal system.

4.2.3. Pro-choice Believed That Voting for the Democratic Party was the Solution

In the face of being governed by such a political hegemony, the investigated tweeters emphasized the significance of voting. Not only did the tweets repeat the buzz phrase 'voting matters' but they also indirectly demonstrated through counterfactuals of wrong voting, either due to 'single-issue' voter mindset (such as tax) (Busy Philipps) or voter apathy (Hayley Kiyoko, Lynda Carter, Sheryl Lee Ralph). Yevette Nicole Brown even stressed on the importance of people's sensible voting for 'leaders that care about everyone — not just the people who think, love and look like them.' Particularly, the tweeters explicitly showed support for the Democratic Party and its representative Hillary Clinton, blaming voters for not voting in her favor, which in turn led to the conservative destructive decision on abortion:

> So when you voted against Hillary, this is what we got. (Maria Shriver)

> I hope the 53% of white women who just couldn't stomach voting for @HillaryClinton are happy that they've just ensured that their daughters grow up in #Gilead. (Yvette Nicole Brown)

On recognizing the vitality of voting for the Democratic, the celebrities went on to call for mid-term voting, with a strong belief that the party's representative would reverse the

situation. Apart from encouraging people to raise awareness of voting, the celebrities constantly demanded for democrats' actions like Bette Midler did in her post 'DEMOCRATS! COME OUT FOR THE MIDTERMS!' or Sheryl Lee Ralph's 'November VOTE them all out!!!' The capitalized messages once again expressed the urgency of the imperatives as well as the writers' temper. For other tweeters, clearer explanations of what to do were devised:

> If you are a voter, now is the time to make a pledge to cast a ballot this November. If you are not yet a voter it is time to register. Make a plan this November to vote. Donate. Organize. And above all, turn out. There is too much at stake, and we have come too far, to let it all slip away (George Takei).

> Nothing matters except voter registration and turnout (Judd Apatow).

Apparently, among the possible resolutions to the issue, the surveyed celebrities expected the only and best one in the attention and actions of the Democratic Party.

4.2.4. Pro-choice Regarded U.S. Celebrities' Advocacy of Legal Abortion as Righteous

This last ideology of the pro-choice famous tweeters was identified in their argumentation for the legitimacy of abortion rights, their attempts to inform the society of the happenings, and their call for political engagement.

In the first place, in order to boost credibility of their protection of the rightful access to abortion, the tweeters referred to so-called factual statistics such as the United States ranking '50th in the world for mortality deaths' (Sheryl Lee Ralph), or in case of Roe overturned, 'pregnancy-related deaths could increase 21 percent nationwide, and 33 percent among Black women' (Alyssa Milano). Apart from the number game, these celebrities also increased the authority of their arguments by citing remarks of experts or examples from outside about the serious consequences of anti-abortion. For instance, while Alyssa Milano reminded readers of three judges Breyer, Sotomayor, and Kagan's dissent opinion in the Dobbs case, Samantha Bee presented medical experts' declaration that 'these prosecutions [were] often based on faulty science' and presupposed that 'we already [knew] that the same bans in other countries led to women dying, because doctors were too afraid to treat them.' Echoing the speech on anti-abortion's aftermath in similar tweets, these celebrities continued to galvanize the public opinion about how the ban disproportionately impacted the vulnerable people. In sum, the overturn of Roe v. Wade was considered a tragic twist to the whole nation as it would 'shatter women's lives, make children and families poorer, increase the financial burden on men and erode the American economy' (Aisha Tyler).

The tweeters also demonstrated their empathy for affected populations. Hyperbolic negativity was found in 45 tweets with repetition of such wording like 'devastating/devastated', 'sick', 'outraged', 'appalled', 'gutted', 'heartbreaking/heartbroken', 'disgusting/disgusted', 'enraged', 'unbelievable', 'sad' and 'very bad'. These emotions were mostly attached to singular first pronoun "I" to emphasize the tweeters' update of and reaction to the news. This strategy thereby showed their autonomy and activeness in political engagement, stating their societal role not only as famous individuals but also as responsive citizens. In some cases of male celebrities, the use of pronoun "I" also categorized the speakers as enthusiastic companions supporting "you" – the women potentially affected by the ban, as in 'Sometimes you need a shoulder to cry on, a hand to hold or a partner to fight alongside. To every woman in fear today, I will be all of the above' (Josh Gad), 'However far you take this fight, I am with you' (Ron Perlman), or 'I feel afraid too' and 'I feel this. Sure do' (Glennon Doyle). In most of the tweets, inclusive "we" and "our (rights)" were used to engage readers' similar emotion,

calling for empathy and agreement.

Having their recognition of the severe effects of the ban coupled with intense emotions, the celebrities went on to call for people's updating and spreading deemed accurate information such as '#AbortionIsHealthcare' and perceived proper implicatures of liberty and privacy regarding abortion, which in this case were understood as 'deeply personal and complex', 'treated with compassion and empathy, not vilified or criminalized' (Padma Lakshmi). Moreover, for these celebrities, the correct awareness was also about seeing the advantages of implementing equality for women because 'women in control of their own reproductive health [was] essential to well-being & protection of their families, communities, & the environment' (Dr. Jane Goodall & the Jane Goodall Institute). Several celebrities even provided readers with prestigious addresses for political engagement, which implied the legitimacy of the cause:

> The National Network of Abortion Funds is a registered 501(c)(3) that supports local, grassroots organizations across the country to provide funding, travel, lodging, & hands-on support for those seeking abortion, no matter where they are Donate through ActBlue,PayPal or Venmo (Mandy Patinkin).

> If you're looking for ways to respond, @PPFA, @USOWomen, and many other groups have been sounding the alarm on this issue for years—and will continue to be on the front lines of this fight (Barack Obama).

> Elections have consequences, please join us. Text CHOICE to 855-812-VOTE (Pearl Jam).

Finally, imperatives were used in most of the tweets, 26 of which directly call for actions and social movements to turn the situation around. Inclusive pronoun "we" implied solidarity and consensus of the people. "Fighting" against the system was the most frequently mentioned with its variation ranging from sharing the information and the vibe, to voting and donating to abortion funds. Parallelism was also employed in multiple tweets to juxtapose the people's fighting spirit with the Republican government' conservative ideology. For instance, the following tweeters made their messages clear and strong with repetitive structures:

> They want us to be apathetic. We can't. They want us to crumble. We don't. They want us to concede more rights and freedoms. We won't. Grieve today. Fight tomorrow (Josh Gad).

> I refuse to be silent. I refuse to give up […] We cannot give in or give up. We must rise up, speak up, and stand up. We must ask others to join […] (Maria Shriver).

> We will stay active, we will not back down and we will never give up (Pearl Jam).

> Our freedom matters. Our rights matter. We will not be still (Stacey Abrams).

The most interesting and concise imperative for social movement was perhaps the one by Gloria Steinem: 'Don't agonize. Organize.' The pun not only captured the common reaction evoked by the policy, which explained the righteousness of the celebrities' advocacy of movement, but also suggested the righteous remedy, which was to arrange actions properly.

4.3. The Differentiated and Paradoxical Demonstrations of Pro-Choice

Our other noteworthy result was the varied demonstration of identity politics within this left-leaning celebrity collective. Well-known Democratic politicians like Hillary Clinton, the Obamas, Elizabeth Warren, Ari Melber, Nyal Katyal while remaining their calmness in their wording still succeeded in providing readers with clearer and practical information that explained the complexity of the issue, and at the same time sharing the mood with the public. Of note was the way the Obamas both encouraged citizens to keep going on with their cause and reminded readers of the Bipartisan Safer Communities Act, thereby emphasizing the significance of cooperation in the face of divisive issues:

> Today's Supreme Court decision is wrong but Congress passing the Bipartisan Safer Communities Act is a modest but real step forward. And the fight will go on, thanks to the activists, survivors, and families who continue to demand action (Barack Obama).

> The Bipartisan Safer Communities Act is a step in the right direction in protecting our children and communities. It demonstrates how much we can accomplish when we work together (Michelle Obama).

In contrast, most of the non-politician tweeters, on the one hand, anxiously showed their emotions and thoughts via strong and figurative expressions, such as, 'fight like hell' and its variations by ten tweeters, 'GUNS HAVE MORE RIGHTS THAN MY DAUGHTERS' (Lea Thompson), '[…] this would have been dystopian sci-fi' (Seth MacFarlane), and rhetorical questions like 'Wow where are we living????' (Garcelle Beauvais), 'How u overturning the wrong things? So many things to overturn that make sense. But this is what you chose??' (Keke Palmer), 'What's next gay marriage?' (Patti Stanger), or 'But the most vulnerable of our community? What choices are those individuals, who are mostly BIPOC, left with?' (Padma Lakshmi). On the other hand, the tweeters cursorily called for actions in general terms apart from 'fight', for instance, 'We can't just post about it, we must DO SOMETHING about it' (Halle Berry), '[…] we have to use our voice and power!' (Viola Davis). Among 26 tweeters who called for social movements, only five explicitly proposed voting (Lea Thompson, Pearl Jam), fund raising (Mandy Patinkin, Nina Turner) or getting down onto the streets (Sophia Bush, Mandy Patinkin).

Faced with this comparison, we suppose that the non-politician tweeters resembled Chouliaraki's participants whose advocacy expressed on social media was more of a socio-cultural, communicative self-presentation practice rather than humanitarian activism (2012). This conclusion could be undergirded by the fact that a number of these celebrities had their own conceptualizations of equality which ideologically excluded their opponents. Despite their support of pro-choice as a manifestation of democracy and justice, or their inclusive expressions like 'to my sisters' (Maria Shriver) or 'to all the women in this country' (Josh Gad, Ron Perlman), these celebrities still overtly expected bad things to come to those who did not share their view, calling them 'bitch' (Bette Midler) or 'smug women' (Yvette Nicole Brown), and refusing to hear their voice on the media (e.g., 'Hey @cnn enough with interviewing the pro-life people. No one wants to hear what they have to say,' tweeted Ever Carradine).

Another pattern showed that no tweeter could provide detailed and credible sources of statistics or professional declarations cited in their commentaries. Nevertheless, they still accused pro-life decision as 'faulty science' (Samantha Bee) and totally wrong and backward. Presuppositions occurred in a range of tweets contending that abortion was a constitutional right that was taken away; whereas the majority opinions of both Roe v. Wade (1973) and its overturn (2022) asserted the otherwise. It seemed that apart from partisan ideological conflicts, the problem also lay in incompatible interpretations of the language used in the Constitution and distinct conceptualizations of "constitutional rights" between the citizen and the legislature.

5. Discussion

This section demonstrates our critique on the ideologies found in our data. The formulation of such critique followed two certain principles, namely, rational argumentation and democratic standards. First of all, according to Reisigl and Wodak (2009):

> [rational argumentation] include the freedom of arguing, the obligation to give reasons, the correct reference to the previous discourse by the antagonist, the obligation to 'matter-of-

factness,' the correct reference to implicit premises, the respect of shared starting point, the use of plausible arguments and schemes of argumentation, logical validity, the acceptance of the discussion's results, and the clarity of expression and correct interpretation (p. 114).

Medically, abortion harmfully affects women's fertility, health and future pregnancies; and post-abortion complications may be fatal. In fact, while not forgetting to aid their arguments with maternal mortality death rate of the U.S. women, the pro-choice tweeters seemed to have blanked out the documented decrease in women's death of abortion after stricter requirements for abortion procedures had been established following Roe v. Wade (1973) (Brennan Center for Justice, 2022). This neglect weakened their argumentation in support of the pro-choice stance in front of their conservative counterparts. Furthermore, despite their claim that anti-abortion was unscientific, the tweeters did not provide counter-evidence of abortion being scientific with logical validity. Some tweeters even refused to listen to their opponents' arguments while unreasonably holding on to their own interpretations of the constitutional legal effect that abortion was encompassed in right to liberty and privacy as provided under the Amendments 1, 5, 9 and 14. The matter of fact was that abortion was never explicitly included anywhere in the U.S. Constitution, which laid the solid foundation for the SCOTUS's decisions. As a result, we could conclude that the way the tweeters expressed their perspectives and calls for movement may not achieve expected outcomes.

The second issue we want to address in our data is about the representation of democratic conventions which refer to unspoken conduct including "civility across party lines, acceptance of election outcomes, and tolerance for dissent" and many more (Bergan, 2021). Apparently, in our data, political defamation seemed to be overriding reasonable and credible civic discourse. The paradoxical thing was that right in the supposed movement for justice and progress, most famous figures in question radically excluded, derogated and alienated their opponents. The tweeters' discursive strategies were mobilized to categorize the others as unconscionable villains while considering themselves as the righteous ones.

The pitfalls in the famous tweeters' argumentation may result from the limitation of Twitter. Although many famous people tended to count on Twitter to keep themselves and their followers staying in tune with social updates, especially those that concerned people's wellbeing and required quick social mobilization, Twitter did not allow enough space for the posters to schematize their argumentation in the most convincing way. Instead, posters may have to attach another link to their status as a medium for readers to follow more detailed, comprehensive and compelling information. Michelle Obama and Elizabeth Warren had to attach their opinions in other forms like screen captures of longer texts. Meanwhile, half of the surveyed tweeters had to break down their messages into sequences of tweets or chopped up sentences. All of these seemed to impede the cohesion and coherence of their expressions, especially when the issue was highly controversial.

This phenomenon suggests that as an interactive medium, Twitter had not proved to be an ideal platform where conflicts could be reduced. In contrast, according to Banerjee and Duflo (2019), social media is actually another virtual public place 'where like-minded people whip themselves into a frenzy by listening only to each other' and the algorithm makes sure that happens (p. 130). As a result, in spite of knowing their motivation of tweeting was for democracy and justice, we could not assure whether their pro-choice perspective should be the taken-for-granted or the righteous one instead of pro-life.

6. Conclusion

In an attempt to answer the questions as to what ideologies were expressed in the U.S. celebrities' tweets on the overturn of Roe v. Wade (1973), we have identified three main patterns. Firstly, there was only one seemingly pro-life among the surveyed famous figures. She saw abortion rights advocates as hypocrites, and the constitution as important and the deciding factor in how the Supreme Court worked. Meanwhile, 79 other tweeters maintained that (1) anti-abortion was grounded in blind religious faith and filled with conservative hegemony, (2) banning abortion was associated with resistance to democracy, justice and social progress, (3) voting for the Democratic would be the solution to the problem, and (4) the celebrities' advocacy of pro-choice was the right thing to do. These pro-choice people deployed a number of discursive strategies including authority, categorization, presupposition, generalization, empathy and history citing, armed with rhetorical tools of three-part lists, parallelism, sarcasm, metonymy, metaphor and uses of pronouns to position the democrats as the "righteous us" and the republicans the "villain them." The final result documented differentiated and paradoxical demonstrations of the pro-choice ideology among the majority of democrat tweeters, which expectedly affected their credibility and conduct of democratic norms.

Although implemented on a small purposeful data set, hence its biased nature, this study could still offer some implications for communication and research. Firstly, social media platforms characterized with short contents like Twitter may not be the ideal environment for convincing social mobilization. The limited space may hinder posters from appropriately and fully demonstrating their thoughts and devising their argumentation, while at the same time triggering the urge to push things hastily. Further research on similar complex issues could be conducted on other media platforms where rich demonstrations of thoughts could be found. Moreover, it would be better for researchers to involve local experts in implementing critical discourse analysis on texts produced in different contexts from their own cultures, which could optimize the interpretation of the data.

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