

An Introduction to the Celebutante Effect: A Rhetorical  
Analysis of the HeForShe Campaign

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## **ABSTRACT**

In 2014 Emma Watson launched the HeForShe campaign with her well-received speech about gender inequality. After the speech the campaign received generous media attention from traditional and social media. The goal of the campaign was to recruit as many men and boys as possible to join the fight for gender equality. The focus of this rhetorical analysis is specifically directed toward Watson's kickoff speech. With today's technology it is important to understand the effect and influence celebrity endorsers have on the general public. What I term the "celebutante effect" explains how celebrity endorsers persuade their audiences. This research looks at celebrity mobilization and recruitment tactics through framing perspective as well as Debord's Spectacle in order to analyze discursive formations of feminism in the HeForShe campaign. The research revealed that, while Watson used her celebrity status to gain numbers, the campaign failed to move beyond the social movement phase of emergence.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I INTRODUCTION .....	1
Politics, Celebrity and Technology .....	4
Celebutante Effect and Social Movements .....	7
Overview of Chapters .....	11
II LITERATURE REVIEW .....	13
Gender Equality an Extension of Feminism .....	13
Representing a feminist history .....	14
Defining Feminism .....	19
Social Movements and Campaign Success .....	20
Issues surrounding campaigns .....	25
Social media success .....	25
Leadership .....	26
Gender and social movements .....	29
Oppressive language .....	30
HeForShe campaign development .....	33
Celebrity endorsements/effects .....	35
Mobilization .....	38

III THEORY AND METHODOLOGY .....	40
Feminist Theories versus Framing.....	40
Framing Perspective.....	40
How frames perform .....	44
Core framing tasks .....	46
Ways campaigns use framing .....	48
Leadership framing .....	50
Spectacle .....	51
Commodities .....	52
Consumption .....	53
Technology .....	53
Celebrity Spectacle .....	55
Method.....	58
IV ANALYSIS.....	60
Campaign Purpose.....	60
Framing Feminism Against Competing Persuasive Forces .....	61
Linguistic framing and social movements .....	62
Strategic issues .....	64
Participants and Supporters.....	65
Watson’s Ethos .....	67
Character roles .....	68

Leadership inspiration.....	71
Celebutante Effect.....	73
Rhetorical Goals within Social Movement Phases .....	74
V. DISCUSSION .....	82
Significance.....	82
Limitations .....	86
Future Research .....	87
Conclusion.....	89

## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

On September 20, 2014, Emma Watson, known best for her role as Hermione Granger in the *Harry Potter* films, delivered a “game-changing speech” (Robinson, 2014, title) on behalf of the HeForShe campaign at U.N. headquarters in New York City. She sparked a discussion about feminism and the ideals behind it (Robinson, 2014). The HeForShe campaign is an attempt to reignite the debate about men’s role in gender equality on a worldwide platform. The campaign affirms a unified fight for gender equality, thus allowing both men and women to equally contribute their struggles in gender equality. Watson has brought renewed visibility to the campaign due to her celebrity status and UN involvement. The campaign itself has gained publicity through social media with Twitter and Facebook. At the time of this study the Facebook page had 416,101 likes and the YouTube video of Watson’s kickoff speech had received 7,624,212 views since it was published on September 21, 2014. The goal of the campaign was to “mobilize 1 billion men by July 2015 to help communities around the world develop sustainable and transformative programs to promote gender equality” (“HeForShe|Action Kit,” 2015, p. 4). This goal emphasizes the aim of the HeForShe campaign while striving to expand the meaning of feminism through gender equality.

According to an article in *Vanity Fair*, Watson was said to hold “power in person” and was met with a “thunderous standing ovation” (Robinson, 2014, para. 3). CNN stated that Watson “stirred the internet with her recent moving speech” (France, 2014, para. 1). *Conscious* magazine also added that her speech “changed the conversation” and “through



her words, she opened the door to a new way of thinking with gender equality” (Lechlitter, 2014, para. 1). The speech even “inspired” an “incredible letter from a 15-year-old boy” to proclaim his views about gender equality (Alexander, 2014, title). Watson’s speech was not just an inspiration to this one young boy. The speech enticed support of several celebrities such as “Joseph Gordon-Levitt and Douglas Booth” (Alexander, 2014, para. 7). Celebrities taking a stance on a long standing social movement such as feminism brings lots of attention and support from fans through admiration (Brubaker, 2011). Actress Emma Watson takes on the part of a celebrity activist for of the HeForShe Campaign. Her speech reclaims feminism by repackaging it as gender equality. Celebrity support has an astounding influence on people due to the fame they hold. Arnold Schwarzenegger, Hollywood star and former body builder gained votes and made the transition to Governor of California. Bruce Springsteen backed John Kerry’s campaign and brought in several other well-known bands (Brubaker, 2011). Emma Watson has an “automatic in with male and female [Millenials]” as the dearly loved heroine in *Harry Potter* films (Robinson, 2014, para, 7). Fame is in Watson’s favor due to her large fan base.

This study is a rhetorical analysis of the HeForShe kickoff speech. The speech given by Emma Watson was the official launch of the campaign. Analyzing this speech offers important insight about celebrity influence on political movements and political buy-in. In this paper, I will argue that the HeForShe campaign has given the appearance of effective mobilization without the political reformation. I argue that the visibility of the campaign, in part, is due to the celebrity ethos of Emma Watson. The time frame of this study is from the launch on September 2014 to the intended goal stated to be July

2015. In order to understand Watson's role in the movement, I will be using the framing perspective as the theoretical lens as well as Debord's Marxist critique of the Spectacle.

I will use Emma Watson's UN Speech to better unravel the mobilization tactics used to rally supporters. First, the global sphere legitimizes the HeForShe campaign. In working with the UN and being created by the UN Women, this campaign has a global outreach and immediate connection to a large, diverse group geographically and ethnically. The second important aspect of the campaign is that the tactics that were used to encompass the large group were not typical. Watson uncharacteristically invites men formally as participants in the gender equality mission. She not only asks for the help of men, who have often fought for feminism, but also boys. Third, the high profile celebrity activist Emma Watson brings a large audience to the cause.

Analysis of the HeForShe campaign will help give insight into the communication discipline in the aspect of mobilizing and persuading audiences to obtain a successful campaign. Understanding what I term the "Celebutante Effect" will contribute to the field's advancement in understanding rhetoric in a technological age in favor of celebrities. In addition to the theories, it is important to note the social movement phases. Christiansen (2009) explains that there are four stages of social movements. These stages consist of emergence, coalescence, bureaucratization, and decline. Depending on the social movement, some "have been revolutionary in their aims, some have advocated reforms to the existing system, and others still have been conservative in their orientation and have worked to oppose changes in society" (Christiansen, 2009, p. 1). Feminism and women's rights movements are not new to this day and age, however the HeForShe

campaign with Emma Watson as the spokeswoman is changing the type of commitment people have toward a cause.

This chapter explains the rationale as to the significance of analyzing Watson's HeForShe campaign speech. I will justify the relevance of the artifact by, first, discussing the relationship between celebrity culture and feminism. Next, I will outline how technology has intervened to make celebrity more accessible and transformed the traditional rhetorical framing of social movements. Lastly, I will briefly explain the celebutante effect as a modern day term that would add to the field of communication. In today's world the celebutante effect will help to explain the sway that celebrities have not only on the general public, but also on other celebrities to take part in social movements such as feminism.

### **Politics, Celebrity, and Technology**

According to CNN there is a "cadre of celebrities who have used their star power to bring attention to gender issues" Charlize Theron and Tim McGraw (France, 2014) to name a few. Celebrities are sharing their views on highly contested issues such as gender equality by claiming to be feminists. Megastar female celebrities such as Beyoncé and Katie Perry have taken the stance. Male celebrities have stated their stance as well, including royal Prince Harry, Ryan Gosling, Will Smith, and John Legend who stated, "All men should be feminists" (Huffpost, 2014). Although many of these celebrities have been associated with feminism for years, Watson's speech helped reinforce the idea that feminism is both a political and popular discourse in need of continued support. But the term "feminism" is not without its detractors. November 12, 2014, *Time* magazine released an article stating that the word "Feminism" should be excluded from public

discourse. The magazine questioned the representational politics of the word feminism by asking: “when did it become a thing that every celebrity had to state their position . . . quit throwing this label around like ticker tape at a Susan B. Anthony parade” (Steinmetz, 2014, p. 1). After receiving tremendous backlash, the editor claimed that the word should not have been included in the list of words to be banned (Steinmetz, 2014). The contentious debate surrounding the label reveals an ongoing cultural, historical, and political divide in the public sphere. The celebrity claim on feminism, both male and female has a great influence on young adults because they have so often been created and seen as role models creating a “relationship with the commercial world and sexualized culture” (Allen & Mendick, 2013, p. 77). Celebrities are found on television shows, commercials, and are photo shopped in magazines to become images that young minds consume as role models.

Social media is another way that feminist ideals are transmitted. Technology today is so advanced that at the click of a button the world can see one idea promoted by hundreds or thousands of celebrities and role models. Beyond just technology, ideas and views have become largely dependent on celebrity endorsers. Campaigns need people to represent their causes in the world, a famous face, a well-known celebrity, is best at becoming an endorser (Brubaker, 2011). A celebrity brings attention to a cause through media. A famous face offers a sense of authority making the cause more credible (Brubaker, 2011). Fans want to be involved with the celebrities they like and adore, and one way to accomplish that involvement is to immerse themselves in the same causes the celebrities believe in and/or represent. This modern day lifestyle of culturally acceptable fanship “illuminates the role of popular and commercial media as an inextricable and

embedded aspect of young people's everyday lives" (Allen & Mendick, 2013, p. 80). The influence of keeping up with celebrities has spilled over not only in television with reality TV, but also in social media through Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and YouTube.

Technology intertwined with social media, education, and culture contributes to the construction of our gender identities. We all have a schema in life that advises our behavior created by our culture, how we are socialized, and social conditioning (Phillips, 2015). The problem is that our cultures have become dependent on technology. Debord (1967) explains, "Everything that was directly lived has moved away into a representation" (p. 1). Social media gives the feel of interaction without the human connection. There is an immensely large amount of advertisements, endorsements, and unrealistic information ambushing daily lives. According to Debord (1967), "the Spectacle is the present model of socially dominant life" (p. 2). Society is wrapped into a falsified reality that cannot be physically touched or obtained in most instances. The Spectacle is what warrants human social life through appearance (Debord, 1967). You do not have to have to be anything as long as you have the appearance of what you want. Basing social conditioning on a false reality of others will soon lead to an unknown self-reality according to Debord (1967). Social media and this falsified world with celebrity input will replace the social world formerly passed down through cultures.

With our social media being saturated with advertisements, videos, scandals, and celebrity endorsements, we are shaping our lives with false realities. We are heading in a direction where fame equals fact and our beliefs are based on celebrity rhetoric. Life has then become aligned completely around entertainment (Brubaker, 2013). Rapper Kanye West whom is a songwriter, record producer, and fashion designer is a prime example as

to where celebrity life crosses into politics. While accepting the Video Vanguard Award on August 30, 2015 at the MTV Video Music Awards, West finished his speech with announcing his candidacy for United States President in 2020 (Kaufman, 2015).

According to Brubaker (2011), the transition of being an actor to a politician is not difficult because politics and Hollywood use the same techniques and skills in gaining popularity. Now that celebrities understand the communication techniques they use in Hollywood can be used on a larger platform, they are using this tactic to endorse social movements as celebrity activists.

### **“Celebutante Effect” and Social Movements**

Few scholars in the field of communication have studied the techniques of celebrity endorsements (Allen & Mendick, 2013; Brubaker, 2011). With the abundance of celebrity endorsers, it would be wise to adapt our strategies to understanding the celebutante effect. The celebutante effect is the use of celebrity fame by character representation and devotion of fan base to influence opinions. Celebrities make the cause jump out at fans, making the issue feel more important to them (Brubaker, 2013). In politics according to Brubaker (2013), the fame may not lead necessarily to votes; instead, it can lead to high rates of donations. Support in turn will lead to more exposure possibly leading to more votes or more support. Celebrity characters are so embedded as a reality in today's world that it becomes hard to separate a celebrity's character from the person they are. Representations have become truth and the celebrity then becomes the Spectacle. By using the image the celebrity has portrayed, people are swayed to follow. The “false reality” of the character and the way it has an overwhelming influence on the public needs to be understood in the communication field. To help explain this

phenomenon I will use the “Spectacle” to explain the celebutante effect as my theoretical contribution. The celebrity as a person does not endorse a cause; instead, the image from media, managers, and characters-played endorse the cause. Therefore, the celebutante effect does not define worthy celebrities as a celebutante. Instead the celebutante effect embodies the characters celebrities portray, regardless of the character’s association or knowledge base to the cause or endorsement. Additionally, the celebutante effect allows celebrities to project their fame to sway opinions and add support to a cause. The celebutante effect does not mean that the celebrity is without ethos; rather, the terminology points to the fact that the credibility of the celebrity is overshadowed by the Spectacle in the sense that the image a celebrity portrays is a false reality. Therefore, the celebutante effect is based on the fabricated image and embodiment of ethos regardless of its authenticity or lack thereof. When applied to a social movement, the cause can become famous simply due to the leader being famous creating the celebutante effect. Strong leaders have often led social movements. Sometimes those leaders have even become the celebrity such as Martin Luther King, Jr.

Today, social movements work differently. In order to mobilize the celebrity endorser gives the campaign or movement a renewed visibility causing the celebrity to be seen as the face, voice, or leader. Social movements that have been around for a long time, such as feminism, have celebrity icons to give the issue a famous face. However the celebrity or leader is not the only driving force behind a campaign or movement.

Social movements start as an idea or a cause and then move to something monumental as they gain attention and support. Each idea leads to a cause, campaigns, and then reform on the issue at hand. Recognizing that a social movement is a process

and does not happen immediately is necessary. For instance, feminist movement in the Western civilizations has proceeded through three waves. Social movements generally have four specific stages.

Emergence, the first stage of a social movement, “can be thought of as widespread discontent” (Christiansen, 2009, p. 2). The idea that genders are not equal has resided in the feminist movements from the start. Coalescence is the second stage, which many movements tend to achieve, but never pass. This second stage “is characterized by a more clearly defined sense of discontent” (Christiansen, 2009, p. 3). The idea of gender equality has been popularized. The movement has also been able to start “high profile” campaigns (Christiansen, 2009, p. 3) such as the HeForShe Campaign. The UN Women is a prominent group and their voice is widely disseminated around the world. In the Coalescence stage “prominent leaders of the movement begin to emerge” (Christiansen, 2009, p. 3). Watson has become the face of the HeForShe campaign giving the appearance of a leader.

In the third stage there is formalizing organizations. This stage is the bureaucratization. At this point the social movement “must rely on trained staff to carry out the functions of organizations” (Christiansen, 2009, p. 3). Finally, movements move into the fourth stage, decline. The movement can decline in one of four ways by repression, co-optation, success, or failure. Repression is defined as being “the authorities, [using] measures (sometimes violent) to control or destroy a social movement” (Christiansen, 2009, p. 4). Co-optation happens “when movement leaders come to associate with authorities or movement targets more than with the social movement constituents” (Christiansen, 2009, p. 4). Success of a movement is the



achievement of goals. Failure then, would be the “[collapse] into different factions” (Christiansen, 2009, p. 2). Analysis of Watson’s speech while looking at the stages of social movements will help to explain the effectiveness of the mobilization tactics and the lack of substantive change or reformation in the campaign.

Other scholars have looked at campaigns and social movements through several different theoretical lenses. Men’s movements have been looked at using critical communication pedagogy (Kahl, 2015) as well as masculinity frames (Jordan, 2014). Feminist standpoint theory is often used to analyze feminism (Campbell, 1973; Edmonds-Cady, 2009). Using other lenses can help to involve a larger audience. Social movement campaigns in general are often studied using the social movement theory (Buechler; Ferree & Mueller, 2004). Although these are most commonly used, theories are broadening due to changes in society and campaigns are changing to adapt to our present technology. For instance the Dove campaign is using branding techniques allowing for semiotics to be an effective approach (Murray, 2013). Celebrity endorsement campaigns have been studied using third-person effects (Brubaker, 2011), Neoliberalism (Allen & Mendick, 2013), and Spectacle (Chouliaraki, 2012; Elliott, 2010; & Kellner, 2009). Although any of these approaches would be appropriate, my central interest is social/political mobilization and the effects of celebrity. Therefore, the framing perspective will be effective in understanding branding of the Spectacle.

For the purposes of this study, I will limit the analysis to Emma Watson’s kickoff speech. The speech will be analyzed to understand the mobilization tactics used in the campaign. The overall message in the speech and campaign embodies several topics to capture a large audiences’ focus. Hot topics such as gender equality, the issues of

feminism, and the male role in gender equality arise in the speech. The campaign captivates a large audience including men while endorsing feminist issues by stating, “Now it’s time to unify our efforts” making the campaign seem all encompassing (“HeForShe,” 2014). This analysis will focus on the campaign mobilization tactics throughout the speech as well as Watson’s communication to the audience as a celebrity endorser. Examining the campaign through the kickoff speech from the framing perspective and utilizing Debord’s “Spectacle,” will offer a new angle in campaign communication with awareness of the celebutante effect. Recognizing the underlying social movement of gender equality in the HeForShe campaign will further add to the understanding of the appearance of support in this campaign without the reform.

The shift in social media and celebrities adding to the rhetoric in gender equality is advancing quickly; therefore, it is important to understand the influences of the HeForShe campaign. Within the fight for feminism and the strides for gender equality this campaign is not the first nor last of its kind. The purview and timing of this campaign as well as the tactics used make it different from previous campaigns making it notable for study.

Recognizing the type of campaign HeForShe stands for with a general understanding of context and background, there are three research questions that will be guiding this discussion. First I will review the ways in which the campaign is successful and effective in achieving its rhetorical goals. Second, I will look at how the speech frames feminism in the pursuit of gender equality. Third, I will analyze how celebrity status shapes the rhetorical strategies of the campaign. In order to answer the first question, the goals of the campaign will be analyzed with where they fall in the social

movement phases. Understanding how the speech frames feminism will be examined through the use of the framing perspective. Finally the third question will be acknowledged through analysis through the use of Spectacle.

### **Overview of Chapters**

This chapter gave an introduction of the UN HeForShe campaign, presented the introduction to celebrity influence, defined the celebutante effect, and the theoretical lens to be used in this study. After defining feminism and its history, chapter two will establish the foundation for the HeForShe campaign, and review the literature of gender equality campaigns as well as celebrity influences and how they have shaped development of current campaign mobilization tactics. Chapter three will then provide the theoretical frame and methodology for this paper. Chapter four will be composed of the analysis of the HeForShe kickoff speech presented by Emma Watson. Chapter 5 will then conclude the significance of the rhetorical analysis, as well as limitations of this study and future research. To be able to analyze the HeForShe campaign it is imperative to understand feminism and other campaign tactics. The next chapter will unfold celebrity influences on different campaigns

## **CHAPTER II**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The previous chapter was an introduction to the HeForShe campaign and gave an overview of the celebutante effect with respect to celebrity endorsers. This chapter will provide the political context of feminism by tracing its historical development and reviewing the research on its discursive representation. Next, this chapter will explain the psychology of social movements and campaigns before turning to the research on gender and social movements. Finally, I will discuss the HeForShe campaign in order to understand the progression and tactics of social movements. Finally, the chapter will conclude with celebrity endorsements in other campaigns.

#### **Gender Equality an Extension of Feminism**

To fully understand the goals of gender equality it is pertinent to understand feminism, feminist rhetoric, emerging concepts and definitions. Rhetoric itself “must include the study of how rhetoric resolves differences; promotes mutual understanding; and in short facilitates communication across barriers” (Foss, 1978, p. 328). Feminist rhetoric embodies feminist struggles in an array of areas including race, sex, economic, social, and philosophical (Foss, 1978). Feminist rhetoric is used to correct inaccurate, prejudiced, and hegemonic issues concerning women and their experiences. Campbell (1973) explains that along with “dealing with public issues, structural analysis, and social action, . . . women’s liberation emphasizes acts concerned with personal exigencies and private, concrete experience, and its goal is frequently limited to particular, autonomous

action by individuals” (Campbell, 1973, p. 207). Understanding the voice in feminist rhetoric and highlighting women’s experiences is important for analysis. Feminist rhetoric embodies “unique rhetorical qualities” and “it attacks the entire psychosocial reality, the most fundamental values, of the cultural context in which it occurs” (Campbell, 1973, p. 199). Female gender roles play a part in understanding feminist rhetoric because it goes against socially constructed ideas of gender roles. This is a major key factor in the HeForShe campaign in its use of mobilization tactics. Feminist rhetoric is frequently utilized in several arenas (Foss & Foss, 1983); for example, political campaigns such as the Sex and the City Voter campaign (Anderson & Steward, 2005); gender related campaigns stated by Daughton (1994); and, beauty campaigns including Dove with it’s movement for self-esteem (Murray, 2013). Feminist writing also includes, but is not limited to, literature and education (Descarries, 2014; Sjoberg, 2012); entertainment; and technology through social media (Shaw, 2014). Feminism is sometimes linked to some very unpleasant thoughts; man hating (Watson, 2014), bra burning, and liberal extremism (Rodino-Colocina, 2012). These negative connotations allow for several different interpretations of what feminism and gender equality stand for. Before defining feminism we must first look at where it started.

**Representing a feminist history.** It has been a long, hard fight in the gender equality struggle to obtain the freedoms and rights that many, but not all women have today. Campbell (1973) explained that women’s liberation was a mindset because there had been minimal changes in western society. Women have had to fight for the right to vote (David & Clegg, 2008; Kinser, 2004). Feminists have struggled to obtain an education and attend colleges with men (David & Clegg, 2008; Wrye, 2009). There has

even been a fight to work in the same workplace and obtain some of the same job titles as men (Wrye, 2009). People who believed in gender equality by using feminist ideas, motives, movements, and campaigns obtained these great accomplishments.

Less than 50 years ago there were things a woman could not do in the United States. One such example is sitting on a jury. Before 1970, women could lose their jobs if they were pregnant, yet could not refuse sex with her husband to prevent pregnancy, and even further could not have a legal abortion if pregnancy occurred (Turner, 2013). Women could not easily divorce without substantial proof of fault by her husband. Marriage was a contract, a duty, and based on property (Campbell, 1973). Moreover, a woman could not apply for credit and there was no definition or recognition of sexual harassment in the workplace (Turner, 2013). In the aspects of entertainment, a woman had to exert time and effort to obtain media coverage of women's issues and to gain positions of power within the media network (Foss & Foss, 1983). These fights have led to some great changes over the years.

Feminists spearheaded these historical changes but "Feminism" has never been a one-size-fits all movement. Varied political agendas, distinct leadership styles, and conflict over who represents "feminism" have continued to challenge the rhetoric of social change within the feminist movement. The feminist movement has progressed through three feminist waves. The first of the three began in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, feminism existed before the first wave. In 1776, Abigail Adams wrote a letter to her spouse and "urged her husband and his colleagues to remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them" (Anderson & Stewart, 2005, p. 595). In the eighteenth century, there were two political theorists Mary

Wollstonecraft and Olympe de Gouges who wrote what became the “framework for actual mobilizations of women” (Ferree & Mueller, 2004, p. 582). The abolitionist movements were another preexisting example of feminism. Fifteen years before the first wave actually started, African American women were creating their own movements that coincided with feminism (Kinser, 2004); however, the “first full-scale women’s rights convention, held in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, is most often attributed as the beginning of American feminism” (Kinser, 2004, p. 127). First wave feminists fought for equality through crucial issues and rights to items such as property and retaining wages, custody of children, options to equal education, and political acceptance especially in the right to vote (Kinser, 2004). These issues were highly orchestrated public campaigns that gave many women the opportunity to step into the public sphere. First wave feminism “marked the campaign for women’s suffrage” (Anderson & Stewart, 2005, p. 597). Women of color were previously ignored in the fight for feminism. It was not until 1851 that Sojourner Truth made a revolutionary speech inviting other races to join their own version of feminism (Kinser, 2004). Sojourner Truth and Maria Stewart were exceptions to black women whose “contributions were restricted from public recognition and historic record both from within the movement and from the larger public arena” (Kinser, 2004, p. 128). These women helped bring the diverse voices of feminism to a larger audience. First wave feminism was all about “political change, [igniting] the suffragette’s successful lobby for women’s right to vote, championed the abolition of slavery, and broadly supported women’s education” (Wrye, 2009, p. 185). When campaigning for political change, political parties can use the ideas surrounding feminism to portray the parties’ policies.

Political change was just the start of what feminists wanted and needed to accomplish to achieve gender equality. The second wave of feminism was officially “coined by Marsha Lear when women of the 1960s sought to connect their ideas to those as reasonable, and by then noncontroversial, as the right to vote” (Kinser, 2004, p. 129). Second wave feminism targeted issues such as “reproductive freedom, equity in educational and professional spheres, and representation in language and culture” (Anderson & Stewart, 2005, p. 597). The scope of issues for women had broadened. Women were obtaining status in different arenas and needed to confront new challenges and inequalities. The second wave focused more on women’s rights in the sense of women’s liberation while still acknowledging the work of first wave feminists (Kinser, 2004). It was important to understand the ideas and foci of those preceding them to understand what needed to be accomplished next.

This wave was associated with both personal and political feminist issues (David & Clegg, 2008). Obtaining a right to education led to more open doors for women. Through academic advancement, women had the opportunity to create new methodologies and theories from a different point of view. Dorothy Smith’s *The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology* became an “emblematic” representation for feminists through the “movement to develop a theory and method of institutional ethnography ‘from the standpoint of women’” (David & Clegg, 2008, p. 485). Second wave feminism was different in that it “critiqued rigid sex roles; claimed economic parity; validated women’s desire for sexual pleasure; and widened feminism’s scope to take in critical differences among women, from sexuality to class to race and ethnicity” (Wrye, 2009, p. 185). Women gained a more human role as opposed to being



thought of as property. This wave was focused on the body and self-discovery and sexuality (Anderson & Stewart, 2005). Third wave feminism was a broad spectrum of significant achievement for it was concurrent with gay rights movements “in which sexuality came out the closet” (Coleman, 2009, p. 7). Second wave feminism opened doors for a grander scheme of gender equality.

The 1990s were the start of third wave feminism, which emerged from discourses concerning the junction of racism and feminism (Kinser 2004). This wave embodied two notions. The first notion was the scholarly “insights of poststructuralism, postmodernism, and post colonialism into feminist theories” (Anderson & Stewart, 2005, p. 598). The second notion was pop culture and popular media where younger women “positioned themselves in opposition to feminists of earlier generations . . . focusing on self-transformation rather than on collective political action” (Anderson & Stewart, 2005, p. 598). With the accomplishments of the previous waves, third wave feminism took a different path. Third wave feminism was geared toward younger women with the stressed significance of race (Kinser, 2004). Some of the leaders of this wave were “Cherrie Moraga, Gloria Anzaldúa, bell hooks, Chela Sandoval, Audre Lorde, [and] Maxine Hong Kingston” (Kinser, 2004). Third wave feminists however “emphasized the body as a personal expression . . . sex positivity, and subject positionality, incorporating theories of postcoloniality, queer sexuality, transgenderism and transexuality, and disability activism” (Wrye, 2009, p. 185). The third wave gave way to a larger scale audience with issues tied to feminism that were not only politically and economically pertinent, but also appealed to a global level of issues.

These issues took many forms including campaigns and some of these campaigns led to movements. Feminism and women's movements did not always start as a fight for women. Women gathered for issues that initially may not have been solely focused on feminism such as antiracism, social justice, and terms of peace, but the movements progressively evolved into a more explicitly feminist agenda (Ferree & Mueller, 2004). After obtaining these feminist components, feminist groups each had their own specific agendas and their group names were "feminist adaptations of traditional accepted bodies of theory" (Coleman, 2009, p. 4) pertaining to race, patriarchy, hegemony, the body, and legal issues. These specific political representations led to campaigns and feminist groups that led to larger social movements. The feminist identity politics that these movements embody make it difficult to describe exactly what feminism is due to the large range of issues and types of movements.

**Defining feminism.** The fight to define feminism has been a longstanding battle, and feminist goals are often misunderstood. Offen claims, "the word 'feminism' continues to inspire controversy and to arouse a visceral response-indeed, even to evoke fear among a sizable portion of the general public" (Offen, 1988, p. 119). The problem in this task is agreeing on what the word really means. Dependent on the way that feminism is framed in a campaign it has the constitutive ability to bring an audience into being. The rhetorical framing can help to create new audiences with a message that portrays the "feminist position [arguing] for social change of oppressive social structures" (Murray, 2013, p. 86). Feminism can also exclude certain audiences by targeting a specific group such as young, single, women in the Sex and the City Voter campaign (Anderson & Stewart, 2005), excluding men and married women. In the 2010 campaign, senatorial

candidate Christine O'Donnell used the term "authentic feminist" (Rodino-Colocina, 2012, p. 83). Using the word "authentic" has the ability to negate any other group not aligning with that limiting label.

Feminism has many forms and angles depending on the issue being grounded to the campaign (Ropers-Huilman & Winters, 2011). The oppression of women has often left out the inclusion of men. However, men play a pertinent role in gender equality and the multiple interpretations of the definition of feminism are sometimes misconstrued. Feminism does not imply that it must be opposed to men; there have been several important men advocates in the realm of women's causes (Offen, 1988). However, men's role in feminism as a social movement is still largely contested as invested subjects debate how men should support or speak for women. When it comes to discussing feminism, if you bring up a "masculine perspective, you're disregarded just because masculine equals patriarchy and patriarchy is the opposition or the oppression of feminism" (Contestable & Massie, 2006, p. 73). This struggle has been slightly alleviated with the HeForShe campaign as feminism is linked to gender equality. Thus allowing for a more comprehensive audience. Targeting a larger audience creates potential for a successful campaign and social movement.

### **Social Movements and Campaign Success**

Social movements have the ability to make changes in the social world and potentially make things better, however a social movement cannot make things better by themselves (Walzer, 2012). Movements must have campaigns, find supporters, and make their way through Congress. Success in a campaign depends on various aspects. The

effort that these movements require takes strategic planning to be successful. Their mobilization tactics to gain support are important.

For mobilization to be effective in social movements there are certain items that must be assessed to gather members. Ferree and Mueller (2004) explained that “ social changes initiate (1) new political opportunities and threats, (2) shifts in mobilizing structures of communication, coordination, and commitment among potential actors, and (3) reframing of claims, identities, and culturally resonant meanings” (p. 587). This agenda allows for mobilization. There must be an opportunity that excites people. Lines of communication must be open for people to hear the cause. People must then associate meaning to the cause in order to want to become a member.

Different movements use different tactics in accordance with this agenda. The postpartum movement was an attempt to support and treat women undergoing “serious postpartum psychiatric illness” (Taylor, 1999, p. 12). This movement had three principal strategies consisting of direct service, raising consciousness, and lobbying (Taylor, 1999). Their efforts were directed specifically toward women with postpartum. They made sure that communication was not only directed to these women but raised awareness about the illness. Third they tried to obtain change by lobbying. In the civil right movements mobilization tactics included the use of music and narratives, traditions including participation, and religious doctrines used to create commitment in the black church (Morris & Staggenborg, 2004). These items resonate back to community identity. Tradition and religion bring in strong emotional ties. Music and narratives help to attach personal experiences and shared stories.

In order for a social movement to be successful, there are two elements it must obtain. The group must either “win recognition as a legitimate actor in politics, and/or gain new advantages for itself or its beneficiary constituency” (Meyer & Whittier, 1994, p. 280). A movement must accomplish these items to achieve substantive change.

There have been many successful and unsuccessful social movements in the United States when it comes to dealing with gender issues. Women’s movements have been some of the most enduring and successful of social movements (Ferree & Mueller, 2004). This in part is due to the fact that so many different campaigns fit into the Woman’s movement. It is not a singular issue or problem, but an array of issues that have accomplished change.

According to Ferree and Mueller (2004), women’s movements are defined as “mobilizations based on appeals to women as a constituency and thus as an organizational strategy” (p. 577). These movements addressed all types of women, each having their own agenda and mobilization strategy to empower women. They help to gain equality and overcome what are considered limitations for women. Equality such as the introduction into the work force, education limitations, and even motherhood roles has all been challenged. These limitations are not confined simply to the United States; there have been global mobilizations of social movements for women. They fight for equal rights and against authoritarian rule; they demand peace, drug and gun control, as well as alcohol abuse (Ferree & Mueller, 2004). Different countries require different movements with the array of culture around the globe.

Since these movements have several different targeted issues, it is hard to establish a definition of what feminism is and how it associates with social movements in

particular women's movements. Ferree and Mueller (2004) state "in stressing that all women's movements are rooted in gendered structures of oppression and opportunity, we stress that they all have some actual or potential relation to feminism, whether this is currently a primary goal for them or not" (p. 579). Within the many feminism movements there have been mobilizations for women's educations, the right to vote, property and self-identity in the nineteenth century as well as struggles of nationalism, race, and colonialism (Ferree & Mueller, 2004). These women's movements have also had an ever-changing scope.

Researchers must look not only at the political structures of women's movements but also the mobilization of them. Edmonds-Cady (2009) used the political structures of feminism to study Welfare Rights. This study analyzed gender, race and class from a feminist standpoint to furnish lessons for social movement work. This study focused on how women of different races could work together for a better outcome of their welfare rights. Yet, women's movements are not the only social movements to be analyzed.

In the fight for gender equality there have also been several men's movements. Heinrich (2014) conducted a study that looks at men's movements and how they failed at their attempt to gain awareness. Heinrich (2014) suggests that we should be conscious of the reality that authentic liberation should not contribute or cultivate oppression in any way. The success in movements and campaigns is about finding a balance.

The balance in men's movements is presented with the idea that first we should "bridge the ideological gulf that currently exists in the discourse of masculinity" and then "offer men a more progressive and incremental model of masculinity" (Heinrich, 2014, p. 241). Reorganizing and reestablishing gender roles is helpful in providing progressive

models of what masculinity and femininity can be. On one spectrum of the men's movement's, the Mythopoetic Men's Movement felt no guilt about the male gender and said "this is what I am as a man-take it or leave it" (Heinrich, 2014, p. 243) being a man to them was either accepted or denied. On the other side of the spectrum, men's movements have left them emasculated. Men are helpless and scared left with feelings of inability and lack of confidence to fight back (Heinrich, 2014). These representations are the extreme sides of men's movements that have left them rhetorically conflicted.

In Heinrich's (2014) research of missteps of men's movements he found that they did not have balance. He found that to be successful, a movement must "reject those characteristics of hegemonic masculinity that have afforded men unearned power and prestige and that have disadvantaged women and certain groups of men" (Heinrich, 2014, p. 239). Rejecting hegemonic masculinity allows for a more open audience without rendering the "us verses them" mentality. Heinrich, (2014) then found that men should take pride in and celebrate masculine characteristics of value that have contributed in a constructive and significant way. This tactic of rejecting the bad and embracing the good has led to attitude changes about gender roles. For example, the success of the Swedish paternity Leave Campaigns was obtained by a shift in attitude (Klinth, 2008). By switching the way people felt about fatherhood and the attitudes that are associated in gender relations led to substantial changes (Klinth, 2008). Giving men a role in fatherhood as opposed to being singled out as a breadwinner has helped men to obtain paternity leave rights and allows for less controversy for a working mother. Slight advances in gender politics can lead to structural changes for all gender identities.

Social movements are not limited to one actor or one specific idea. Social movements are informal networks, several formal organizations, and backed by people who want change (Meyer & Whittier, 1994). When people work together to unify change, all interests can prosper. The balance of men and women in gender equality helps in changing attitudes toward gender identity.

**Issues surrounding campaigns.** Daughton (1994) conveys that designating inequality as, specifically, a women's issue is counteractive. Inequality is just as much a men's issue. The language of designating the issue to a gender reiterates the "us verses them" idea that Watson is trying to eliminate. Marking inequality as a woman's issue leads to the idea that women are of the exceptional interest groups that within political realm denotes a selfish minorities causing suspicion that they are not of interest of the common good (Doughton, 1994). This leads back to negative stereotypes of feminists. On the opposite side of the spectrum men's movements are constructed and targeted to the audience because they identify as men; therefore driving the presumption of having unique men's issues (Jordan, 2014). Specifying men's issues leads back to negative hegemonic masculinity. Father's rights are family rights. Men's oppression and women's oppression of voice are intertwined. Seclusing the issues has made advances for men and women; however, in this day and age combining the issues for gender equality is more fitting. A single issue can reach several people at once with today's technology and thus will encompass a larger audience to motivate.

**Social media success.** Today's technology has advanced in ways that we could not have imagined just 20 years ago. Technology is not only entertainment-based, it is also used for information, and especially, education, and social movement mobilization



and awareness. Teens and young adults are certainly the epitome of an Internet generation where having a Facebook page is a must and YouTube is not just a video but a noun and verb used in every day life used for social interaction (Sjoberg, 2013). Social interaction includes social issues and injustices. Schools incorporate smart boards in the same way that smart phones have been introduced as almost a necessity in everyday life. School information is disseminated through webpages, tweets, and texts. Celebrities, politics, news, entertainment, research, education, medical help and the most current social issues and social movements are all available in some fashion on a blog, tweet, or app. Social movement and campaign information is immediately available at your fingertips. Social media success is so large that “web pages and blog posts are read by more people than our published research, often exponentially more” (Sjoberg, 2013, p. 383). The ability for people to access social media and Internet media is readily available today. It was only a matter of time before campaigns were introduced to social media success.

A prime example of Internet success was during Obama’s presidency campaign.

According to Kellner (2009), Obama

Raised an unprecedented amount of money on the Internet, generated more than two million friends on Facebook and 866,887 friends on MySpace and reportedly had a campaign listserv of over 10 million e-mail addresses, enabling his campaign to mobilize youth and others through text-messaging and emails (p. 718).

Obama’s campaign is representative of the beneficial adaptation to technology. His use of technology was favorable in allowing him to become a leader.

**Leadership.** Leaders are pertinent to social movements. A good leader will create motivation for activism, which in turn can induce change in policies or attitudes. Leaders

can be used as critical decision makers or the face used to influence, motivate, and assemble participants (Morris & Staggenborg, 2004). In order to develop a successful movement there must be some type of leadership mobilizing others to join. Without support in a movement there will be no drive. Leaders are there to “inspire commitment, mobilize resources, create and recognize opportunities, devise strategies, frame demands, and influence outcomes” (Morris & Staggenborg, 2004, p. 171). Morris and Staggenborg (2004) explain the four leadership tiers in social movements. The first tier is that of formal leaders in positions of social movement organizations. These leaders produce outcomes by influencing people who are not within the movement but are considered elites to build connections. The second is those in secondary formal positions. These are the team members under formal leaders. Third tier leadership is based on bridge leaders, which are community members who carry out action plans. The fourth tier then is comprised of those who organize and connect members to develop organizations. These leaders engage in start-up tasks for organizations. In order to organize participants and inspire them, the leader must know how to mobilize people. They are to inspire those who are already participating as well as reach out to those who could be connected to the movement in some way (Morris & Staggenborg, 2004). Leaders must be able to stimulate and influence a large audience. They have to spark interest in people who have not yet been associated with the cause.

Depending on the campaign type, the goals, and the feedback, leaders can be “charismatic leaders, oligarchical leaders that later become the power elite, and leaders that gain member apathy leading in radical directions” (Morris & Staggenborg, 2004, p. 180). Leaders must use certain tactics to help mobilize. In the beginning stages leaders

share their personal stories, help to socially establish meaning, and help the audience to examine new and different ideas (Morris & Staggenborg, 2004). Connecting with the audience by sharing the same experiences helps mobilize them. Mobilization requires leaders to frame, use an array of tactics, participate, and help to build and organize a collective identity for the group participants (Morris & Staggenborg, 2004). A collective identity ties people together and immediately creates a relationship. Other tactics used are the abilities and attractiveness of a leader, using personal experiences and cultural traditions, using gender norms in positive and even negative ways to target audiences, and even using social networking between people and corporations that are associated (Morris & Staggenborg, 2004). Each of these tactics embodies connection that play on emotions, building association to the audience furthering a psychological need to participate furthering the success of the social movement mobilization.

According to Ferree and Mueller (2004) certain emotional strategies may not translate across all genders in the fight for social justice. When women expel emotions such as rage, they may be discredited due to the association of emotional concern with irrationality instead of a “realistic appeal” (Ferree & Mueller, 2004, p. 597). As a leader one must be cautious of the types of emotions that are directly related to the personal stories or experiences that are being shared. Moreover, there must be a certain balance between Aristotle’s ethos, pathos, logos, and mythos. Presenting too much pathos could lead to a loss of what Aristotle would consider a fair-minded person (Tindale, 2011). Ethos can then be directly tied to mythos, which can be associated as character development and plot, or ethics and religious nature (Sulmasy, 2013). The balance in these modes of persuasion is pertinent to the leader connecting to the audience. If there is

not a balance within the message, a leader will fail to mobilize people. The message that leaders present must also pertain to the right issues.

### **Gender and Social Movements**

In the fight for gender equality, women's rights should not be projected as only women having specific gender issues leaving men to be seen as genderless (Sjoberg, 2013). Men are often seen as independent in the world; however, their "dependence on women (e.g., for sex, sexual reproduction, homemaking, and child care)" (Rudman & Glick, 2001, p. 744) forces a gender role. In contrast to the views of men, women are often seen as sexual objects. In the findings in a study using undergraduates, "male undergraduates perceived supporters of women's liberation as less physically attractive than non-supporters, and that female undergraduates perceived supporters as more attractive" (Johnson, Doiron, Brooks, & Dickinson, 1978, p. 218). Rudman and Fairchild (2007) revisited this idea in their study and found beauty is still not compatible with feminism and seen in the same manner it was 30 years ago. This perception is further reinstating specific gender roles and deteriorating to the goals of gender equality.

There is a clear relationship between gender and social movements as outlined in Taylor's (1999) article on the Women's Self Help Movements, which focused particularly on postpartum issues. The study looks at women's protests and gender as an extensive component of social moments (Taylor, 1999). Gender bias through gender hierarchy is an important aspect of how social movements are based around gender; thus a prevalent part of mobilization can be gender in itself (Taylor, 1999). Taylor (1999) describes how gender is used for organizing members, invokes collective action, and can be used as a cultural belief. Although there is much discussion over how gender operates

within social movements, Taylor (1999) argues for a shift in the dialogue toward “how social movements contribute to the social construction of gender” (p. 26). Taylor’s research on the postpartum support group movement provides three relevant factors for explaining social movements. These include “the political and cultural context that supports and constrains protest, the mobilizing structures and strategies through which protest is expressed, and the frames of meaning challengers use to identify their grievances and collective commonalities” (Taylor, 1999, p. 13). Changing the social construction of gender starts with changes in attitude toward gender roles.

Aside from gendered contexts, women working beside men create a space where gender is being redefined. The rise in women in the labor force gains support for a rise in more “egalitarian gender role attitudes” (Cotter, Hermsen, & Vanneman, 2011, p. 264). For example, some campaigns have been helpful in changing parenthood gender roles. Paternity Leave Campaigns were able to redefine traditional gender roles and identity for men where men became more of a father figure rather than just an income (Klinth, 2008). This campaign allows for the shared idea of parenting roles, gives men a positive gender identity, and helps to change the hegemonic gender roles. In support of such movements, the HeForShe campaign tries to eliminate gendered exclusions by being all-inclusive. Men must feel as though they have a part in gender equality. The HeForShe campaign attempts to make feminism all encompassing by relabeling and shaping the movement and identity politics of gender equality even if those politics are already a part of the definition of feminism.

**Oppressive language.** Identity politics can be framed by language and influence the social construction of gender. The use of oppressive language can be seen in Dow and

Wood's (2014) study of SlutWalks. This movement was a way to show that feminism still exists and how it has shifted in culture. The idea behind the SlutWalks was the perceived notion that women dressing like "sluts" would be subject to sexual assault. Dow and Wood (2014) pointed out that the walks were "successful in attracting worldwide interest and inspiring women . . . yet it is unclear whether SlutWalks are activism that can produce change" (p. 24). The SlutWalks were not a new type of feminism but a "continuation of feminism's past as nostalgia for the radical second wave's" with groups such as W.I.T.C.H, the Bitch manifesto, Dyke March tradition, and V-day (Dow & Wood, 2014, p. 27). The rhetorical readings allowed for a look at gender-constructed words leading to stereotypes of women. Using the word spicy to allude to Latinas, submissive for Asian women, exotic for those who are Middle Eastern, and sexual prowess for women of color results in misogynistic labeling of women (Dow & Wood, 2014; Friedman, 2011). The study ends with the idea that media portray feminism and the elaborate ideas and expressions behind it as a weakness rather than strength. The multiple definitions and stereotypes that feminism is associated with is, in part, due to the language that frames the movement.

Other researchers have studied the effect that language has on students in the classroom and the restrictions that come about. In a commentary by Contestable and Massie (2006), a student explains, "[critiquing] feminism . . . seems very confining and restrictive" (p. 73). Language can reinforce gender roles causing people to often fall back on blaming rather than constructive support. This nature of thinking keeps gender equality from becoming a combined effort.

A crucial component in reshaping language is changing the way we communicate about gender and gender roles. The aspect of voicing men's issues is just as important in voicing women's issues. Heinrich (2014) states that the "masculine model that might appeal to the majority of American men, adolescent males remain disturbingly distanced from these conversations that have such direct relevancy to their lives as young men" (p. 249). If young men and boys are not introduced to men's issues they will never accept a problem. Men will then become gender-less if they are excluded from the communication of gender equality.

Language correction and awareness is not easily formulated. Campaigns that focus on violence against women such as the V-Day campaign focus on victimhood instead of women as fighters (McCaughey, 2013). Language used to frame campaigns can also be very misleading. This is seen in the way that political movements have promoted women. In American politics 1992 was considered "year of the women" when the numbers of women in the U.S. Senate tripled to a whopping six (Daughton, 1994, p. 106). The campaign was to be empowering for women yet failed to acknowledge the irony in celebrating an increase in still meager representation. Further, the motto limited women to a confined 12-month period to produce social change that normally takes much longer to achieve (Daughton, 1994). More than 10 years later, women still only make up 20% of the U.S. Senate and just over 19% of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Language can limit a campaign's audience as well as become oppressive. Another campaign, which focused on promoting women, was the 2004 Sex and the City Voter. This campaign was directed to the "young, unmarried, upwardly-mobile woman primed to vote on domestic issues such as choice, the economy, and the environment" (Anderson

& Stewart, 2005, p. 596). The language in this campaign projected an image from the hit TV series *Sex and the City*. The campaign image was that of “young women voters as a homogenous group of white, middle-to upper-class professionals, as consumers rather than citizens, and as sexually appealing and available” (Anderson & Stewart, 2005, p. 597). Several problems arise from this campaign image. Not only does it disregard all other women that do not fit into the image, it also negates focus on intelligence perpetuating the sexualization of women. The campaign it focuses on what women look like and possibly creating larger self-esteem issues and reiterates the focus on social class. Desirable traits such as those illustrated in the Sex and the City Voter can be portrayed through image and language.

Language that has been previously used in women’s movements and men’s movements may have been acceptable at the time for change. The question that should be asked is not can or will there be change but alternatively how is there change (Heinrich, 2014)? The rhetorical framing of social movements can have a significant impact on how an audience is constituted. The ways that social movements have obtained success is only partially due to the language. Other aspects of success include the broad spectrum of organizations that the social movement appeals to.

**HeForShe campaign development.** Transnational organizations, which promote feminism and support gender equality, are not newly established. Organizations such as the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, International Women Suffrage Alliance, the Inter-American Commission of Women, and the International Council of Women were the model for early global women’s mobilizations (Ferree &



Mueller, 2004). National Organization for Women, and the United Nations have their own feminist groups that speak out for equal rights.

This paper focuses on the HeForShe definition of feminism, as it is most appropriate for the text. Using Watson's kickoff speech will help to frame the goals and tactics of the HeForShe campaign. Watson (2014) explains "Feminism by definition is: The belief that men and women should have equal rights and opportunities. It is the theory of the political, economic and social equality of the sexes" (para. 4). The intentionality of this definition is to incorporate a large audience in the campaign for the fight for gender equality. UN women with the HeForShe campaign are working to obtain a greater impact on gender equality by making it a focus around the world.

Communication in the form of technology, language, and even religion are advancing, creating new viewpoints that help women work toward equal rights and equal status. UN Women was created in July 2010 by the United Nations General Assembly "as part of the UN reform agenda, bringing together resources and mandates for greater impact" ("unwomen.org," 2015). The particular focus is empowering women and gender equality. Education options have widened (Kinser, 2004), political issues have broadened to include voting on gender gap issues (Kinser, 2004), and even issues surrounding divorce (Turner, 2013) have all changed with the accomplishments in women's equality.

The HeForShe campaign is not only working toward women's empowerment but is working toward more of a shared concept across genders. The campaign "is about crafting a shared vision of human progress for all" (heforshe.org, 2014, p. 4). Since the HeForShe campaign is tied in with the UN, the outreach for their message is global. The campaign is focused on gender equality however it differs around the world. Every

country has different accomplishments when it comes to feminism and every country has different gender roles and cultural ideologies.

**Celebrity endorsements/effects.** Celebrities have an immense impact on cultural ideologies. Celebrity endorsers as leaders have an advantage; they have experience in public speaking and as entertainers they understand how to communicate with people to obtain fans. Knowing how to carry themselves and speak to the public can influence people. By influence, they “can both reproduce and, importantly, resist dominant classed and gendered discourses of selfhood: discourses which make moral distinctions between celebrities and construct fame as an inappropriate ambition” (Allen & Mendick, 2013, p. 78). Fans mimic celebrities and often try to imitate them. Impersonation then leads to the reproduction of celebrity discourses. Brubaker (2011), points out that although celebrities are popular and admired they lack credibility, respect, and trustworthiness. Celebrity visibility becomes its own source of fame, and audiences seem willing to overlook a lack of practical credentials when it comes to celebrity politics. Even without the credibility of political experience, “Hollywood’s biggest celebrities have become some of the most influential political activists” (Brubaker, 2011, p. 6). Celebrity endorsers as leaders can be highly effective. Even with no credibility, celebrities somehow build authenticity. The celebutante effect in turn would account for how these celebrity activists obtain credibility.

In the Sex and the City voter campaign, actress Jennifer Aniston was a celebrity endorser who obtained credibility through fame. Anderson and Stewart (2005) stated that even though she was “slightly above the age-range” Aniston’s “fictionalized television personae invoke cultural norms of whiteness, physical attractiveness, and traditional

femininity” (Anderson & Stewart, 2005, p. 604). This tactic embodies the celebutante effect. Aniston was known on the show *Friends* as Rachel, who was in her twenties, single, from a rich family in New York and worked in the fashion industry (Anderson & Stewart, 2005). Aniston’s credibility came from her character. Pop culture is also used in the Declare Yourself Campaign with the celebrity endorser Christina Aguilera. Aguilera relinquishes her Latina roots to play the part of a Marilyn Monroe type model. This use of celebrity “erases her own cultural heritage” and shows that “power lays within women-especially those who are white, rich, and attractive” (Anderson & Stewart, 2005, p. 604). The target audience fits into the campaign’s power scheme.

Leaders help frame identities by targeting a particular audience. Within collective action people do not bring their own identities, instead they conform identities to other participants from their experiences, the common interest of the group, and solidarity (Taylor, 1999). The celebrities by themselves can be a common interest, thus inducing collective identity. Even if the celebrity portrays an identity of a character they are well known for, the common interest of the character can be seen as the real person. Celebrity is used “by way of association, by putting a famous ‘name to a message’ and having ‘people like you in our corner’ that the performance of humanitarian discourse can amplify the power of organization” (Chouliaraki, 2012, p. 3). The celebutante effect allows for celebrity actions or characters to be associated with ordinary people. Celebrities use people or groups that have no way of speaking themselves and give them a voice and representation (Chouliaraki, 2012). Celebrities, however, do not only lend their voice, in the long run the issues become skewed to the reality of the celebrity and

seen from their viewpoint (Elliott, 2010). The cause then becomes what the celebrity frames it as or who the celebrity “is.”

Celebrities have the ability to shape the cause as it reflects their personality and actions. The effect that this has on social movements is that the primary and pervasive information source is the celebrity (Elliott, 2010). The information supplied by celebrities is exceedingly influential amongst the public and dispersed through several mediums including especially those most popular (Elliott, 2010). The explosion of media outlets on particular social media has only broadened the reach to the public sphere. Celebrities can have millions of followers on a single media outlet. The information that is put out by a single celebrity can reach millions of people in an instant.

Celebrities “are regarded as trendsetters, they create, reinforce, and promulgate our popular truth” (Elliott, 2010, p. 147). Each trend set allows for the ability to gain more fans and followers. Celebrities can help causes in physical and practical ways. First, they can use their fame and wealth to raise money and donate to their cause (Elliott, 2010). The number of fans they already have can automatically gain followers for a campaign or cause. Second, they have a large range of eyes and ears allowing them to gain the attention of policymakers and Politian’s especially with the input of other high profile friends (Elliott, 2010). Since celebrities are well known and have other friends with wealth it is easy for them to talk to other high-class entities such as policy makers. Third, they inspire others to help, serve, and support the cause. With the millions of fans each celebrity can have, they imitate and follow celebrity actions. This can lead to automatic followers for a cause or campaign. Fourth, celebrities make a cause more glamorous (Elliott, 2010). Being a part of the campaign can make a person feel as if they

touch a part of celebrity lifestyle. However, if a campaign is too glamorous it may lose its authentic appeal.

**Mobilization.** Celebrities gain their authentication by disassociating the celebrity from Hollywood and legitimizing them through the role they play in the cause (Chouliaraki, 2012). Watson, for instance, disassociated herself from celebrity by using her humanitarian efforts and by serving as a goodwill ambassador. When the celebrity is seen as an ordinary person or as an active member in the community, it breaks up the skepticism of how effective they can be in connecting with, persuading, and convincing their publics (Chouliaraki, 2012, p. 5). After persuasion, mobilization follows, and then a means for change.

Gender is an effective mobilization tactic used by many celebrities. Gender identity is associated with personal and cultural beliefs legitimizing the ideology, which in turn encourages collective action (Taylor, 1999). When a movement or campaign is gendered, then that gender is automatically part of the collective identity. Scholars who study social movements use collective identity to explain the “question of who we are” and the concept of “us verses them” (Taylor, 1999, p. 23). If we are ‘a’ then we are not “b,” therefore we are against “b.” This tactic can arouse rage or anger causing the “us verses them” mentality.

Celebrities are often calm and can project the idea that they are comfortable.) When speakers feel secure they can get positive audience attention toward political matters (Daughton, 1994). When more people feel it is comfortable for them to speak on a matter, it makes it easier for them to join. The 2004 campaigns used the “ease of decision” in political matters such as choosing which candidate to vote for. In able to gain

votes “politics [was] marketed as a lifestyle decision” by “[peddling] political engagement like the latest runway sensation” (Anderson & Stewart, 2005, p. 601). By giving people a choice of marketed products, the people felt in charge. They were able to casually choose their decision.

### **Summary**

Each movement and campaign has their own set of tactics that have different variances of effectiveness. To understand the mobilization tactics in full it is imperative to understand the theory that backs the mobilization. This chapter reviewed the history of feminism and social movements, defined terms, and explained mobilization as well as celebrity effect on campaigns. Chapter three introduces the methodology used to analyze the HeForShe campaign as well as the theories that help explain mobilization and celebrity tactics.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **THEORY AND METHODOLOGY**

Chapter two presented the historical development of feminism, as well as the psychology of social movements, the research associated with gender and social movements, and how this all led to the progression of the HeForShe campaign and celebrity endorsements. To understand the impact of celebrity endorsement in the HeForShe campaign, this chapter will justify the use of the Framing Perspective and the Spectacle. Next, the chapter will discuss how the two theories compliment each other. Finally, the chapter will close with the method of analysis for this paper.

#### **Feminist Theories versus Framing**

Social movements and campaigns have been analyzed using an array of theories. Some theories tend to be more gender oriented, placing an emphasis on gender as the primary organizing structure (Ropers-Huilman & Winters 2011). Feminism and feminist movements can be structured and approached differently depending on which theory is at its basis (Ropers-Huilman & Winters, 2011). For the analysis of the HeForShe campaign the purpose is to look at all the mobilization tactics and not limit it specifically to gender. Kramarae (2005) argues that there is “no universal woman, women’s experience, or women’s movement” (p. 56); therefore, in order to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the celebutante effect and the analysis of the HeForShe campaign, the Framing Perspective and the Spectacle are most complementary.

#### **Framing Perspective**

Framing perspective is a part of building and defining how we view the world. Benford (1997) explains, the framing perspective “is particularly fundamental to the issues of grievance construction and interpretation, attributions of blame/causality, movement participation, the mobilization of popular support for a movement cause, resource acquisition, strategic interaction, and the selection of movement tactics and targets” (p. 410). People construct their worldview with the use of “frame, schema, and script” (Oliver & Johnston, 2000, p. 2). Each person’s understanding of the world comes from specific life experiences and how that person particularly experienced it. These experiences and the way they are seen create a mix of cultural conditions that allows social actors to revise past experiences or common experiences to make them seem conventional (Oliver & Johnston, 2000). Social actors can take personal experiences and shift the meaning behind them through the use of the framing perspective. Giving new meaning to experiences can lead to new social movements.

In terms of social movements the framing perspective allows for actors, or invested political subjects, to articulate and shape how the public comes to understand a perceived injustice, assign responsibility or blame, and give reasons for movement participation. Actors target certain audiences and can give reasons as to why they should join a movement. In fact, the framing perspective has been an important part of the social movements field. It has assisted with “the analysis of ideational, interpretive, constructivist, and cultural dimensions of collective action” (Benford, 1997, p. 410). Collective action is in part motivated by collective identity. Collective identity can be shaped through the rhetorical process of framing social interactions, experiences, beliefs, and values as the basis of collective action (Oliver & Johnston, 2000). The framing



perspective is fundamental in explaining how collective action is driven by the way cultural foundations help to create meanings (Morris & Staggenborg, 2004). The common ground is the cultural framework. This allows members of the culture to obtain a collective identity, which then powers collective action.

Social movements rely on the collective action of its members for mobilization. Leaders and social movement actors attempt to transform realities of diverse audiences for mobilization (Benford, 1997). Finding a common ground or shared belief system of cultural values on an issue is what helps bring support. To find this common ground, actors must provide a related connection of ideas with the organization and political identity of the social movement cause (Oliver & Johnston, 2000). This type of linking can be done with the use of the framing perspective. The framing perspective ties ideas together through frame alignment. Frame alignment can link former ideas to new concepts or older movements to newer movements (Meyer & Whittier, 1994; Oliver & Johnston, 2000). For example, linking the oppression of African Americans to the oppression of women, peace and feminism (Meyer & Whittier, 1994), or linking women's oppression to gender equality are examples of frame alignment. Oppression of one group can tie into the oppression of another in the same way working for gender equality can be tied to working for peace. The framing perspective is "a meta-communicative device that set parameters for 'what is going on'" (Oliver & Johnston, 2000, p. 2). By understanding what is happening, what the issue is, and whom it affects, framing perspective can also give meaning by tapping into personal experiences that formulate a criterion that help motivate and guide political positions and attitude.

Framing perspective has evolved and has been used in an array of areas such as media studies, social movements, injustice, and contemporary movements (Benford, 1997). Within each of these areas different frames have been used. When a frame covers a wide scope of issues, it will target a larger more diverse audience, leading to greater mobilization capacity (Benford & Snow, 2000). The larger the mobilization capacity the more potential a social movement has to become effective.

However, the framing perspective also has its limitations. Within the use of framing the concept of ideology has been used synonymously in the use of frame theory (Oliver & Johnston, 2000). Framing and ideology concepts, however, are not the same. Ideology is a structured set of beliefs, complex values and ideas, and judicious principles (Oliver & Johnston, 2000). Framing on the other hand can effectively persuade someone with a particular set of ideologies to understand an issue, but it cannot make people embrace new ideologies (Oliver & Johnston, 2000). This is a critical distinction in understanding the framing perspective and how it works. The way a message is understood is indicated by the way actors use the framing process to present one meaning over another as they communicate the intended message (Oliver & Johnston, 2000). Frames are all about delivery and perception. Benford (1997) explains framing is not a “single reality” instead framing is made up of “multilayered complexities” (p. 422). Each person can understand the message differently and depending on the delivery the message can reach more than one group or culture. The ways that we decode frames and meanings are not only culturally constructed, they are also socially constructed (Benford, 1997). Thus, issues are not framed by social movements rather they are framed by the actors,

leaders, or participants (Benford, 1997). These actors use frames to identify with and mobilize participants.

In order to gain new participants actors must construct a common interest. Framing perspective is a way to induce a construction of reality (Benford & Snow, 2000). To induce a new reality there has to be some sort of existing belief. Actors of social movements must use pre-existing frames of potential recruits and align or link those frames with the current political identity of the event or social movement (Meyer & Whittier, 1994). The new reality is then delivered through actors. According to Benford & Snow (2000), movement actors are “viewed as signifying agents actively engaged in the production and maintenance of meaning for constituents, antagonists, and bystanders” (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 613). To understand the full impact of actors maintaining and producing meaning, it is necessary to fully understand what frames can accomplish.

**How frames perform.** Frames allow us to distinguish meaning from personal and social experiences. Frames assist by allowing people to label and organize where events fit within everyday life and social positions (Benford, 1997). By compartmentalizing different events, it helps to distinguish what is important to us and where it falls within our ideology. Events and occurrences that are most meaningful tend to direct actions (Benford & Snow, 2000). Action in social movements would be that of supporting and joining its ranks. Frames can do many things for campaigns good and bad. They help to manage and organize interpretations of experiences that are an important piece of collective action (Oliver & Johnston, 2000). Frames emphasize particular issues and “as they are shared by enough individuals [they] channel individual behaviors into patterned social ones” (Oliver & Johnston, 2000, p. 4). When enough people share the behavior

they can obtain their own culture. Frames can also help to label and categorize which issues and cognitive orientations are most important and effective in a social movement (Oliver & Johnston, 2000). Understanding which issues and items supporters share can help to induce change.

Frames can also act as a microscope by “simplifying and condensing aspects of the ‘world out there,’ but in ways that are ‘intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists’” (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 614). In order to assemble supporters and confront critics they must share a uniting viewpoint or create mutual understanding. Benford & Snow (2002), refer to this as “negotiating shared meaning” (p. 614). Shared meaning does not imply that supporters and antagonists must share the same viewpoints; however, they must not promote oppression or offend antagonists. There should be some portions of the movement or message that is equally legitimate or justifiable so that all parties are connected in that they accept the same cause.

In order for a shared meaning to be accepted by all participants, frames must prompt change in a way that helps or does not disturb antagonists. Actors must construct a situation, event, or condition that is defined as a problem and requires change, identify or suggest the source of blame, communicate a possible solution, and finally urge or convince others to act on the proposed solution (Benford & Snow, 2000). Within framing several different steps need to be taken to fully accomplish a shared meaning. First, a problem must be stated that allows for change in some way. Next, blame is assigned so that participants can have a common enemy and/or so that there is a target for change.

Framing then allows for others to join and help change the problem. Finally, the supporters take measures and act out the plan (Benford & Snow, 2000).

**Core framing tasks.** According to Benford and Snow (2000), there are three core tasks that allow for change. Identifying the problem is not the only task in framing. Within the problem there must be a “source(s) of causality, blame, and/or culpable agents” so that there is a shared meaning and motivation by directing blame or issuing responsibility (Benford & Snow, 2000). The second core task, prognostic framing, requires some type of solution. Prognostic framing involves suggestions to solve the problem, procedures or steps to be taken to solve the problem, or objectives to be met to implement a plan to solve the problem. Benford and Snow (2000) call this action mobilization. This is where participants are actually implementing procedures for change. The last core framing task is motivational framing. Motivational framing is “a ‘call to arms’ or rationale for engaging in ameliorative collective action, including the construction of appropriate vocabularies of a motive” (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 617). The rationale that each person has to fulfill his or her duty in the social movement is different for every person. Dependent on the understanding of vocabularies, each person’s rationale may be different. Vocabularies of a motive are terms used to appeal to motivation. Terms such as “severity, urgency, efficacy, and propriety” (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 617) allow participants to keep their focus on the issues. Severity gives the issue depth. Urgency allows for the interpretation that people must act now. These vocabularies are used to produce collective action amongst participants.

In order to produce collective action among participants, factors other than vocabularies need to be addressed. When identifying problems actors must be credible in

stating claims. There are three factors that contribute to framing, “frame consistency, empirical credibility, and credibility of the frame articulators or claimsmakers” (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 619). Consistency can be framing the same problematic issues of the past and linking it to a new movement. Inconsistent points will cause participants to lose interest. Empirical credibility is not that the argument or issue itself is truth; rather, it is that the idea can be believable. The final step in terms of credibility must be toward the frame articulator. The articulator must be knowledgeable, have a status, and seen as somewhat of an expert (Benford & Snow, 2000). Articulators need to know about the cause in some fashion. Knowledge can be produced through status, experience, or research. Without credibility and consistency the frames and articulator will be not be as effective. Frame articulation is how fluent and fitting events are so that they may be persuasive. Frame amplification includes emphasizing and stressing certain issues as a main belief or with their importance.

Strategic frames are more like motivations. Strategic frames are constructed and utilized to attain a particular purpose such as recruiting participants, mobilizing supporters, and obtaining resources to help further the cause (Benford & Snow, 2000). Within the strategic process there are four key frame items: bridging, amplification, extension, and transformation (Benford & Snow, 2000). Bridging is the overlapping or linking of different beliefs, ideologies, or movement issues. Frame amplification, as listed in the discursive process, involves the understanding and highlighting of current ethics or beliefs. Frame extension is the outreach to other organizations or people of importance to the cause, campaign, social movement, or change. Finally, frame transformation is taking current meanings and understandings and changing them into new meanings or new ways

of understanding. Social movements and campaigns can use these processes in framing to help gain support for their cause.

**Ways campaigns use framing.** Using framing in campaigns can help or hinder in gaining support. In framing women's social movements there are "blind spots" by using "men as a standard" (Ferree & Mueller, 2004, p. 595). Women's movements can target just women supporters using patriarchy and hegemony as a forefront issue. They can also focus on one aspect of equality for women such as the wage gap or available jobs. Blind spots can be the lack of targeting certain groups to participate, misusing language, amplifying the wrong items, or misinterpretations or representations.

An example of a misinterpretation or representation is the SlutWalk strikes. Dow and Wood (2014) expressed how television media outlets framed the SlutWalk strike as "sheer spectacle and absurdist entertainment rather than reasoned protest" since women's bodies were on display (Dow & Wood, 2014, p. 25). The SlutWalks were an attempt to motivate and liberate women from discrimination in their choice of clothing, however the media framed the strike as absurd. Another misrepresentation in an attempt to inspire women was the 2004 *Sex and the City* Voter campaign. In this campaign women were pressed to "be fun and fearless first, then educate yourself on the issues, and do not forget to condition" (Anderson & Stewart, 2005, p. 606). The framing surrounding this campaign was that women were superficial. Beauty was as equally important, if not emphasized as more important, than brains in this campaign. The appeal was directly associated with women at the time. Nail files were designed "with slogans like 'Nail the Election,' 'Shape the Oval Office,' and 'File your Complaint'" (Anderson & Stewart, 2005, p. 606). The appeal to women was not framed simply around beauty. The framing

was also highly sexual to obtain the aura of the *Sex and the City* theme. Women's magazines such as "Ms. Magazine, 'adopted the panty theme, marketing briefs and thongs with anti-Bush slogans' such as 'Weapon of Mass Seduction' and 'My cherry for Kerry'" (Anderson & Stewart, 2005, p. 606). The framing of this campaign brought on a misogynistic and superficial image that was detrimental to the political identity of women (Anderson & Stewart, 2005). The close relation to the show, which aimed to be playful, ended up being framed as degrading. In the end the campaign caused women to be seen as sexual beings first as opposed to political individuals (Anderson & Stewart, 2005). The frame people used surrounding the campaign caused a set back for women because they were seen as a typical stereotype.

Alternatively, Dove created a movement in 2010 based on self-esteem. The goal was "to create a unified global image to generate brand loyalty" (Murray, 2013, p. 84). In order to achieve this goal, the campaign had to transition from what was perceived as fake and photo-shopped to what represented reality. Therefore, the campaign was framed with actual women with real shapes, varied sizes, and of all ages (Murray, 2013). Framing the brand as real helps in persuasion by easily transforming the brand as a part of everyday life (Murray, 2013). Framing helped this brand appear as if its priority was to connect with everyday people and make the brand a source of identity.

Sometimes social movements and campaign actors reach an audience far beyond their target demographic. Meyer and Whittier (1994) explain, "explicitly-articulated goals, including changes in state policy, the private sector, and cultural norms, [can] also influence indirect targets" (p. 278). Changes in state policy or private sectors can affect several people expanding beyond the target audience. Changes in cultural norms can



affect all those within the culture as opposed to just one group. Social movement actors can also bring on indirect targets. Indirect targets can “include the practices, perspectives, and outcomes of their collective actors, as well as the lives of participants” (Meyer & Whittier, 1994, p. 278). Influences of people, actors, and leaders can directly affect collective identities.

**Leadership framing.** Social movement actors and leaders can be very influential on the social movement participants. Leaders help shape the movement and mobilization because they can construct frames, employ tactics, and offer organizational mediums that enable the construction of collective identity among participants as well as participation at different levels for collective action (Morris & Staggenborg, 2004). Participation is the basis of social movements and they must be able to reach a large audience. Leaders, framers, and social actors must use effective discourses while being sensitive to various audiences (Morris & Staggenborg, 2004). As these discourses are delivered to different audiences they can motivate different groups to participate. Social movement leaders, especially celebrity endorsers, have pre-existing roles and characteristics that are deeply rooted in the publics that follow them (Morris & Staggenborg, 2004). Leaders are influential and can be more so with the use of framing.

The use of already rooted institutions of leaders or those with celebrity status can add elements to the framing of social movements. Morris and Staggenborg (2004) state some of these elements include

Collective action relevant frames; mass bases of people who share those frames; populations with a collective identity; safe spaces; solidarity and commitment producing rituals; social networks of people imbued with high levels of trust; and

skilled leaders who have access to institutionally embedded frames and the legitimacy to set them in motion. (p. 184)

Celebrities as leaders have a fan base that allows for a pre-existing collective identity of a large amount of people with potentially different social and cultural backgrounds.

Celebrities are always in the limelight allowing for people to look into their life on a constant basis. This constant look in helps create a safe space and a level of trust since fans are already invested in the celebrities. Celebrities and skilled leaders can bring legitimacy to a cause because they are both in positions of assumed authority and have a status.

These leaders and celebrity activists are framing the movement by formulating strategies in the media, making decisions in regard to information the media receives, and managing press conferences. They are deemed movement spokespersons the media seeks out (Morris & Staggenborg, 2004). Incorrect language, wrong judgments, and mishaps in front of the press can cause leaders to be seen as ill suited for the role and the movement. Framing can either create a productive or deconstructive image for a celebrity. The image that is produced becomes what is known as the Spectacle.

### **Spectacle**

Debord's (1967) Marxist critique of the Spectacle provides an understanding of how our representations have been divorced from reality creating a superficial and Spectacle-like existence. Life is presented with vast amount of accumulated Spectacles (Debord, 1967). Our lives are made up of the influences and experiences we are exposed to. We are exposed to experiences and images yet "the Spectacle is not a collection of images, but a social relation among people, mediated by images" (Debord, 1967, para. 4).

The way that we see the world is shaped by our consumption habits and our relationships have become commodified (Debord, 1967). Objects and images are represented as truth. Through life we are given rules, images, and norms that we see as the way things should be; rather, it is only a representation, an accumulation of Spectacles. The Spectacle is represented as immensely positive, unquestionable, and untouchable (Debord, 1967). But the Spectacle is inaccessible because it no longer represents a tangible reality. The Spectacle is a simulacra of our own version of reality and what we believe to be truth.

The Spectacle is not one single idea nor does it have only one representation. The Spectacle exists and is a fantasy. The Spectacle is a superficial fabrication of reality, our lives, images, and truth. To describe the formation of the Spectacle it is important to first distinguish its parts. Therefore, the Spectacle is best understood by breaking it down to its conceptual elements.

**Commodities.** The impact commodification has on society is that it replaces traditional social relations. Commodities are the exchange of products, material, and tangible items such as labor (Debord, 1967). Traditional relations in the Spectacle are transformed into value. Social relations in the Spectacle are valued through the need of survival (Debord, 1967). The economy becomes a hierarchy of value that transforms into power. Power is where the “Spectacle indicates that it has crossed the threshold of its own abundance” (Debord, 1967, para. 39). Commodity Spectacle consumes social life by allowing production to become more important than personal relations. Every aspect of the social relation is based off of its perceived value. The exchange value of commodities becomes the real illusion and the Spectacle its manifestation (Debord, 1967). Commodities create a feeling of satisfaction and drive social relations. This satisfaction is

formed from the ability to manage the need of survival; therefore, a genuine need is superseded by a continuous exaggeration and falsification of pseudo-needs (Debord, 1967). Through the fabricated need of commodity, consumption arises.

**Consumption.** Consumption is a pseudo-need that cannot be challenged or put up against a genuine need or any desire because consumption is brought about by an accumulation of social needs (Debord, 1967). Consumption fills what we think we need; although, the need may not be genuine to survival. The Spectacle disseminates artificial realities pertaining to social life (Debord, 1967). The consumption Spectacle describes a society that is consumer and media based and organized for the full consumption and production of not only images, but also staged events, and commodities (Kellner, 2005). The pseudo-need to be the image, obtain the item, and be at the event has become so valuable that the hierarchy of genuine needs has become skewed. In the United States alone, “the entertainment industry is now a \$480 billion industry, and consumers spend more on having fun than on clothes or health care” (Kellner, 2005, p. 26). The idea of what is advertised in the Spectacle has become the reality of what is a necessity. With advances in technology, there are even more avenues for consumption within the Spectacle.

**Technology.** Technology advancements have made an astounding impact on the public, social practices, consumption, and every day life. Not only have media and technology become more advanced to dazzle the public, they are also becoming increasingly important in day-to-day life (Kellner, 2005). Social media have made their way into everyday lives and can be as easy as the touch of a button on a smart phone. Advertisements are photo-shopped and television has the illusion of being real with high

definition. These items, however, are only aware of an endless present, or the now (Debord, 1967). Technology is advancing so fast that there is always something new and more dazzling. There are constant upgrades and new apps to explore.

Technology can be seductive. The technology Spectacles “fascinate the denizens of the media and consumer society and involve them in the semiotics of an ever-expanding world of entertainment, information, and consumption, which deeply influence thought and action” (Kellner, 2005, p. 25). Social media itself have adapted to the world of entertainment, released information such as the news, and advertised to consumers. Technology has assisted media to evolve to more innovative and modern Spectacles able to capture audiences, leading to raised profits and intensifying their power (Kellner, 2005). The broad spectrum of the media Spectacle has advanced with technology.

With advancements in technology media Spectacles are everywhere. Within these media Spectacles there is “an arena of heightened competition between 24/7 cable television networks, talk radio, Internet sites and blogs” as well as social media sites including MySpace, Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube that are all in competition for the audience’s attention (Kellner, 2009, p. 716). These media sites are all flooded with information, advertisements, and forms of the Spectacle. This also includes the more common television and radio, as well as the growing Internet, and the most up-to-date wireless devices (Kellner, 2005). All these media outlets have some type of function. They relay music, news, television shows, advertising, and celebrity updates, which are all numerous Spectacle forms (Kellner, 2005). Each of these media forms has the ability to reach a substantial number of audiences.

In order to develop effectively, the media Spectacle has gradually captivated a global culture (Kellner, 2009). Technology advancements and media sites are used on a corporate and common level. Corporate media use shocking sensationalized stories in different media forms to gain the attention of audiences for as long as they can until another Spectacle arises (Kellner, 2009). With the use of the Internet, large corporations such as Adobe, GM, and Toyota to name a few, can reach customers around the world and update their status with social media and other traditional media forms. The Internet is then a hi-tech Spectacle used for commodity by means of advertisement, production and duplication, transmission and circulation as a method to boost sales (Kellner, 2005). This use of hi-tech Spectacle can produce images and stories to urge or intimidate an audience. Audiences can also be dazzled by the stories produced. According to Kellner, “media Spectacle refers to technologically mediated events, in which the media forms - like broadcasting, print media or the internet - process events in spectacular ways” (Kellner, 2009, p. 716). These events can range from health issues, celebrities, to politics.

**Celebrity Spectacle.** The celebrity can become a Spectacle in different ways. For one they can portray an extravagant lifestyle that most people cannot obtain. The celebrity Spectacle has a way to use various methods and media to make the public see the world in a way that cannot be directly touched (Debord, 1967). Without high power, money, or fame these things cannot be obtained. Celebrities can “act out various styles of living and viewing society unfettered, free to express themselves globally” (Debord, 1967, para. 60). They can live in mansions or give their money away. Fame works as a mediator for the celebrity. The celebrity becomes the focal point or item of verification of what should be as opposed to the realities that are truly lived (Debord, 1967). Fans start

to believe they need to be or imitate the celebrity. People are flooded with celebrity images that replace the physical world causing a false reality of what should be and what excellence is (Debord, 1967). Celebrity lifestyle consumption is also dependent on the medium from which people are receiving information. Celebrities convey numerous personalities and personality traits within different shows and entertainment venues that are marketed for easy consumption (Debord, 1967). Celebrity Spectacles depend on which personality or character reality the public associates with the celebrity.

Secondly, Celebrity characters can also become the Spectacle. Characterization of the celebrity changes reality. Characters can be formed as plain or ordinary images that convert into real people that effectively motivate with mesmerizing behaviors (Debord, 1967). The celebrity themselves are disassociated as who they really are as people and transformed into the character role they play. According to Debord (1967), the celebrity as “the spectacular representation of a living human being, embodies this banality by embodying the image of a possible role” (para. 60). The characterization of the celebrity is then seen as the real person. The character then is what is seen rather than the person himself or herself. As the celebrity Spectacle lines of reality are crossed and the difference between true and false are what is being portrayed as an appearance (Debord, 1967). Celebrities can use a beloved character to embody what they want to be seen as and the public will then see them in that light.

Thirdly, the celebrity Spectacle can come about with the use of celebrity activism in the same fashion that they can use characters. As a celebrity endorser of a cause, the persona and the idea they support become inextricably linked. The impression celebrities can make on their fans can be immense. Elliot (2010) states “the current supremacy of the

Spectacle and its dangers is illustrated forcefully by the contemporary phenomenon of celebrity activism” (p. 146). Celebrities can be extremely persuasive on their fans and they embody several characterizations.

These different characterizations further the supremacy of the Spectacle. Celebrities can create a truth without the voices of those they represent (Elliott, 2010). Celebrities have the power of fame and can be seen in an authoritative manner. They can talk about issues in Africa and people will believe them simply because they are an activist of the cause and vow they witnessed an event (Elliott, 2010). In the Spectacle, the reality is that the celebrity is right and you must join to be right or you deal with the consequence of being portrayed as wrong or simply left out of the portrayal altogether.

The political celebrity uses similar methods of voicing for the public. The outreach of the political Spectacle with media and technology is growing every day. Kellner (2009) points out examples of political events becoming Spectacles such as “the Clinton sex and impeachment scandal in the late 1990s, the death of Princess Diana, the 9/11 terror attacks” (Kellner, 2009, p. 717). The amount of media and attention these very serious events obtained led them to eventually become transformed into the commodified Spectacle.

Celebrities fill the media as Spectacles. They are packaged as commodities to be effortlessly consumed. In order to obtain the celebrity distinction, one must be recognized as a lead performer within the media Spectacle (Kellner, 2005). Whether it is in the news, social media, or reality TV, to become a celebrity your image or framing must speak to a wide audience. A celebrity must be able to use the correct methods of framing to be able



to speak effectively to the audience. Framing will also determine the ways that a celebrity is being consumed.

Celebrities use framing so that they can be seen a certain way. With the use of image managers and other advisors, celebrities can be portrayed positively and consumed positively by the public (Kellner, 2005). The better the product, the more people will want it. In the same way that brand names sell in corporate organizations, celebrities can also become a brand to sell through either their image or the product/issue they are associated with (Kellner, 2005). To be successful, social movements need to captivate an audience. The celebrity can captivate the audience by representing power and a false promise; they give the impression that a single person can produce change against injustice (Chouliaraki, 2012). The celebrity as a Spectacle can frame the idea of social change. The use of the framing perspective and the Spectacle allows for an in-depth analysis of social movement tactics and discourses.

### **Method**

To understand this analysis fully, I will be using two theories that complement each other. I will be using the Framing Perspective to understand how framing helps with the mobilization of the HeForShe campaign. I will also be using Debord's (1967) Marxist critique of the Spectacle to show how celebrity is tied to the way the campaign is framed. The Spectacle will help to explain, "Under what conditions do people believe in a particular version of reality? In multiple versions of reality?" (Benford, 1997, p. 412); while framing will help to understand "the ways in which movement actors produce, orchestrate, and strategically deploy emotions in pursuit of their collective goals"

(Benford, 1997, p. 419). These two discourses produce valuable insights into the rhetorical artifact.

For the purposes of this paper I will be doing a close textual analysis of the Emma Watson kickoff speech to launch the HeForShe Campaign. Analyzing Watson's kickoff speech allows for a more in-depth examination of the goals of the campaign and the tactics used. Watson delivered the kickoff speech at the United Nations Headquarters, New York, NY, to launch the campaign. While serving as a UN Women Global Goodwill Ambassador, Watson also doubles as a celebrity endorser. Her speech can be found on the HeForShe website (See Appendix).

### **Summary**

The first portion of this chapter explains the fundamentals of the Framing Perspective by outlining what framing can accomplish within campaigns. The chapter then prepares an overview of the Spectacle and its many forms and how they can operate together. The last part of this chapter explains other theories used and why these two theories work well together. The chapter then closes with the method to be used in this analysis. The chapter following will apply the theoretical foundations to the HeForShe campaign kickoff speech to investigate the celebutante effect and mobilization of the campaign.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **ANALYSIS**

The preceding chapters laid out the development and context of the HeForShe campaign, discussed the current literature relating to campaigns, social movements, and celebrity endorsers, as well as established the theoretical frameworks for analyzing this campaign. As discussed in the first chapter, the focus of this analysis is the campaign kickoff speech delivered by Emma Watson at U.N. Headquarters in New York. This chapter utilizes the theories discussed in chapter three to analyze the framing, goals, and celebrity aspect of the campaign.

#### **Campaign Purpose**

The main purpose of the HeForShe campaign is to “end gender inequality” (Watson, 2014, para. 2). The function is to obtain advocates for tangible changes. Watson’s speech addresses many specifics in the fight to end gender equality. She structures the speech with continuing problems and offers reasoning for participation. She touches on women’s rights including the wage gap, personal body decisions, human rights, and privileges that not all women are afforded. Watson (2014) specifically mentions that there is “no country in the world [that] can yet say they have achieved gender equality” (para. 6). Watson references global “feminist” issues that were addressed almost two decades ago in 1997 by Hillary Clinton and reiterates how they are still crucial problems to this day. In her speech Watson also points out that there is yet to be a uniting word that encompasses all genders to join the fight for gender equality.

## **Framing Feminism Against Competing Persuasive Forces**

Within the fight for feminism there have been antagonist groups including antifeminists who often see the word feminism as distorted and vilified. Watson frames feminism in a way that alleviates some of the rhetorical concerns of antagonist groups. Watson explains how her research reveals that the word feminism has “become an unpopular word” (Watson, 2014, para. 5), thus causing people not to associate with feminism. The word is unpopular because feminists are seen as “too strong, too aggressive, isolating, anti-men, and unattractive” (Watson, 2014, para. 5). Watson first clearly defines the word as to how it pertains to the campaign and in the dictionary. Stereotypes and critical language associated with feminism is in part due to the multiple definitions. Watson explains that she does not understand why the word feminism is so controversial. She attempts to deconstruct the politics behind the word by explaining the stereotypes associated with feminism in hopes of anticipating the discursive strategies of antagonist groups. Watson states that the misconception about feminism “has to stop” (Watson, 2014, para. 3). Throughout her speech, Watson attempts to reconstruct the idea of feminism by reconstituting her audience through a transformation of the terminology.

Watson said that gender equality is also a male problem. Taking away the standard women’s issue replenishes the interest of the common good. She frames the speech so that men are discursively constituted through the fight for equality as well. In talking about Hillary Clinton’s speech about women’s rights, Watson (2014) focuses on men mentioning that men made up “less than 30 percent” (para. 8) of the audience. The statistics shared about Clinton’s audience was relevant to Watson’s claim that men may feel unwelcomed. The goal in her speech is to “galvanize as many men and Boys as

possible” (Watson, 2014, para. 2). While referring to men Watson talks about “being imprisoned by gender stereotypes” (Watson, 2014, para. 10). Along with feminism this topic relates to other movements dealing with oppression and, consequently, socially constructed gender roles. Watson attempts to reestablish what gender roles are in the sense of masculinity and femininity with her language. Changing the language normally associated with men and women can lead to a change in social norms.

Watson (2014) touches on hegemonic gender roles referring to males who are unable to express feelings, fathers who are not valued in society (para. 9), and sympathizes with both male and female sides of gender stereotypes stating that both women and men should be able to feel strong and sensitive (para. 10). It is a hegemonic problem that women define themselves as “anxious, nervous, hasty, careless, fearful, dull, childish, helpless, sorry, timid, clumsy, stupid, silly, and domestic” and then condoned as “understanding, tender, sympathetic, pure, generous, affectionate, loving, moral, kind, grateful, and patient” (Campbell, 1973, p. 202). The way that men and women describe themselves is closely related to the gender roles they have become accustomed to. Watson (2014) claims “if men don’t have to be aggressive in order to be accepted women won’t feel compelled to be submissive” (para. 10). Watson (2014) states that she herself breaks gender roles and is seen out of the norm and “among the ranks of women whose expressions are seen as too strong, too aggressive, isolating, anti-men, and unattractive” (para. 5). Watson accepts these titles to frame herself as one of the stereotypes.

**Linguistic framing and social movements.** The rhetoric of social movements is fundamentally about framing the events and, in turn, constituting or reconstituting an

audience. Watson frames feminism in a way that reiterates common stereotypes associated with the word. She then continues to state that the word is uncomfortable and unpopular. She also frames the word feminism as dispensable. This tactic seeks to broaden the audience for increased mobilization. In fact, Watson invites men to join the fight and further relinquishes the importance of feminism by ending her speech with the idea that we are still struggling for a word that is uniting.

Watson uses the strategy of relabeling to describe the word feminism as gender equality: remarketing the movement to be framed as all encompassing. Watson is trying to move beyond simply changing the word; she wants gender roles to be deconstructed. Watson articulates what feminism is perceived as and why that label no longer needs to be the central source of identity for gender equality. Watson reiterates that gender should be seen on a spectrum; yet she leaves out an important aspect to not evoke gender inequality. Within Watson's speech there is still gender bias. Gender equality should be gender neutral to truly incorporate all genders. The extension of feminism is seen with the joint effort in fighting for all genders and understanding the oppressions of all genders is unique to this day and age. While gender equality is framed in a positive light it is still seen as a divided construction of binary norms of men and women leaving Watson's speech to still remain based on a gender hierarchy. Watson leaves out genderqueer issues, trans feminism, and other LGBTQ audiences and issues that have also been associated with feminism. Therefore feminism is not framed favorably on a spectrum of true gender equality.

The HeForShe campaign melds feminism, male movements, and gender equality. As a result, feminist culture becomes absorbed into other political movements and

feminism is pushed to the side. Watson merges the movement into gender equality and leaves feminism behind as she distances herself and the gender equality movement from the word.

**Strategic issues.** One of the feminist issues used in the speech was the wage gap between men and women. The issue feminists have been fighting for is to have equal pay for equal work regardless of gender. The issue of the gender gap is still a real problem today even with the passing of the Equal Pay Act of 1963. Women make up a large portion of the labor force and still struggle to be paid equally to their male counterparts. In addressing the wage gap, Watson estimated that it would take 75 years to close the gap. This statistic incorporates women in the labor force as well as families in general. Watson uses the statistic as a tactic for recruiting. The mention of women's rights in the speech is thus intrinsically linked with socioeconomic struggles and a historical recognition of inequality.

Additionally, Watson echoes past feminist discourses as she addresses issues of ownership of one's own body. She revealed that within 16 years 15.5 million young girls still considered to be children would become wives. In the realm of education, Watson gives statistics that some girls will not be afforded the option of a secondary education until the year 2086. Watson uses these issues to pull in audiences previously associated with feminism and the feminist identity as well as to reiterate the need for gender equality globally. Mentioning these statistics connects existing beliefs about women's rights to the movement Watson is trying to promote. Additionally, Watson tries to link historical injustices to the fight for equality by referencing Edmund Burke's quote; "All that is needed for the forces of evil to triumph is for enough good men and women to do

nothing” (Watson, 2014, para. 12). Quoting Burke frames gender inequality and women’s rights as a long line of injustices in the progression of history. Thus, not joining the movement allows for continued inequity. This leaves the power of change within in the hands of the audience.

### **Participants and Supporters**

There are contradictory rhetorical claims in this speech in terms of identifying with the audience. In fighting for women’s rights this speech targets the opposite sex. The idea to recruit men and boys forms the notion that there are enough women fighting already. This limits women as an audience framing the notion that all we need is men to join the fight. The attempt Watson uses to extend her audience by formally inviting men to eliminate the “us versus them mentality” poses a paradox for feminism. The invitation allows the campaign to centralize men and men’s issues, which in turn reinforces the “us versus them” rhetoric. Watson frames the campaign as if all feminist issues affect everyone alike. However, with her centralization of men and boys in the campaign, it allows for issues to remain gendered. Watson (2014) declares, “If men don’t have to control, women won’t have to be controlled” (para. 10). De-centralizing women, because men feel left out, allows men to regain power and thus reverts back to some of the original feminist fights including hegemony, patriarchy, and subordination to men. As Watson mentions different issues and audiences she takes on separate personae for each. Black (1968) describes this relationship as the second persona, which can be favorable to the discourse. With each persona Watson can captivate a separate audience.

The immediate audience consists of the “UN Secretary-General, president of the General Assembly, Executive Director of UN Women” as well as distinguished guests



present at the UN (Watson, 2014, para. 1). Watson addresses these members not only due to them being present but also because they can make an impact on a global level. By stating that she is from Britain and quoting English statesman Edmund Burke, Watson purposely takes on another personae include the United Kingdom as a participating country. Watson furthers the global outreach by mentioning Beijing women's rights, thereby, allowing for China's transnational organizations to be another target audience. China is tied to several other governments such as Japan, Germany, Norway, and Italy (Lei, 2011). Watson accounts for these indirect audiences through historical and political references to their countries. Watson also tries to link her platform to Hillary Clinton. As a first lady and a former member of Congress, these political ties can be useful in policy changes. Watson (2014) also mentions problems in education for "rural African girls" which connects yet another country to the campaign's audience (para. 13). Secondary education is a right that only some women around the globe are afforded and Watson is intent on the audience recognizing their privilege.

Watson mentions privileges in her life including her ability to obtain an education. By merely mentioning privilege, she opens the door to her being seen as having white privilege. This could limit the audience again by not including certain races. Social movement leaders or actors "tend to come from the educated middle and upper classes . . . and usually share the race or ethnicity of their supporters" (Morris & Staggenborg, 2004, p. 174). The idea that Watson has privilege reiterates that she is reflective and recognizes a socioeconomic disconnect from many of the women for which she advocates.

Apart from the mentioned audiences and targeted audiences, advances in technology have allowed for a global outreach of participants, corporate and public. With the use of the HeForShe campaign website, Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, and other social media sites, the speech reaches a mediated audience of anyone who shares or passes through these sites. The public's fascination with pop culture and the Internet leads to the public seeing themselves as activists with the use of social media (Sowards & Renegar, 2006) causing the media Spectacle to arise. Anyone who is a friend or follower of Emma Watson can become part of the audience of the speech. This includes other celebrities associated with Watson, high-class policy makers, and those who fit into her speech target audience.

### **Watson's Ethos**

To rhetorically disassociate herself from her celebrity, Watson must constitute herself as one with the public. Her speech immediately starts off with "Your excellences" addressing the elite few creating a respectful persona (Watson, 2014, para. 1). Since Watson is a celebrity, her respectful tone is an attempt to create less distance between herself and the audience while recognizing that she has her current platform as a consequence of her celebrity status. Although she takes on a humbled approach at first with announcing that she is honored to be speaking, Watson is very direct in speaking about the issues associated with this campaign. She states that she does not "want to TALK about it, but make sure it is tangible" to achieve change (Watson, 2014, para. 2). Watson continues her disassociation of celebrity to build a relationship with the public. In sharing stories about her past, Watson creates a realistic appeal that her audience can relate to. As she becomes relatable so do the issues of gender equality and the testimonies

she shares. With these shared experiences, audiences can share Watson's perspective allowing her to gain credibility as a leader.

**Character roles.** To instill her authenticity and prove her credibility Watson uses her testimony as a celebrity, leader, and everyday person. Watson also relies on statistical evidence to back up her testimonials and obtain her legitimacy. Watson's status and knowledge is sufficient enough for her to obtain a positive and effective collective action frame. Therefore, Watson can use her character roles to obtain "action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaign" (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 614). Watson uses her ethos to reach a diverse audience. She has immense status as a celebrity and enough background in activism and education to be perceived as an expert in her cause.

First and foremost Watson is a woman, meaning that, her claims and experiences for women's oppression are valid and central to the movement. Scholars refer to this form of credibility as rhetorical enactment (Campbell & Jamieson 1978). Watson materially embodies the ethos she is trying to convey. While using a timeline, Watson (2014) shares her personal experiences at eight years old to testify that she was called "bossy" (para. 5) and was sexualized by the media at age 14. Teenagers can relate to these experiences, as they are common to many girls. As a young adult at 18, she sees her male friends unable to express how they feel. Her stories are conventional so that several people can feel connected. Watson also talks about her parent's love, her school, and those who have influenced her to become the feminist she is today.

Watson proudly states that she is from Britain but that gender equality touches every continent, validating her cause as a global movement. Watson is direct when she

declares that she is a Goodwill ambassador for the UN. This raises her stature as a prominent activist. Watson is adamant about “fighting for women’s rights” (Watson, 2014, para. 3). Watson claims her identity as a feminist with pride. Declaring that she is a feminist continues the activist role enhancing her reputation. Increasing her integrity and adding to her authority, Watson references her scholarly credentials. She obtained an education in Providence, Rhode Island, at Brown University. Affirming her expertise, Watson (2014) states, “For the record-Feminism by definition is” (para. 4) framing herself as an expert. She also gives the appearance of having a long-standing intuition about this knowledge as she questioned “gender-based assumptions a long time ago” starting at the young age of 8 and continuing to present day (Watson, 2014, para. 5). Being an active humanitarian with an Ivy League education helps Watson to gain valid authority in the eyes of the audience.

When Watson claims that her life was “a sheer privilege” (para. 7), not only does this make her less threatening to antagonists, it also gives her the ability to proclaim a voice for the people. She may have opportunities others may not have been so fortunate to experience; yet, the issues are still universal. In this case, Watson has rhetorically constructed herself as both a celebrity, one of the elites, and a relatable young woman; yet, the fact remains that she grew up with privilege and this helps her to be seen as higher status, gaining more influence with the intended audience.

In the aspect of celebrity fame, Watson has an impressive status. She appeared in numerous films, approached the fashion world with her appearance on Vogue and as a Lancôme model, and is most known for her role in *Harry Potter*. When mentioning the series, Watson officially takes on the role of a celebrity. Exerting her status as though

everyone should know her role in the movie. Watson uses a humorous approach in stating, “who is this *Harry Potter* girl? And why is she speaking at the UN” (Watson, 2014, para. 12). She does not try to hide her onstage presence; instead, she incorporates her fame, bringing in audiences of previous beloved Hermione Granger fans as well as those who watch *Harry Potter* in general. Watson as a celebrity has a massive following of fans. Her character and what she stands for is already deeply imbedded into the minds of her fans and the community that follows her.

Watson has been most known as Hermione Granger in the extremely successful *Harry Potter* series since she was a young girl at 9 years old. The popular series lasted 11 years in full, bringing in fans from all over the world grossing “more than \$974 million worldwide [and] on opening day in the United States, the film made a record-breaking \$33.3 million” (Grimm, French, & Pak, 2015, p.1). Watson became a celebrity at a young age allowing her fan base to follow her not only as she grew up, but also as her fans grew up following her and connecting with her since childhood. They literally and figuratively have grown with her. As an adult Watson’s decisions and passions translate to these fans bringing more followers for important causes.

In the *Harry Potter* films, Watson’s role was that of Harry Potter’s best friend who was not only an intelligent strong female, but also a straightforward conscience for Harry. Her persistence and logic allowed her to be able to cast any spell. Young girls from all over the world could see this girl in *Harry Potter* and grow to be smart and reasonable in the ways that Hermione was being portrayed in the films. By the logic of association, Hermione as a character is a strong female model in the sense that she was knowledgeable, witty, and she did well under pressure. Watson will do the same. Thus,

the celebutante effect allows for Watson to embody the character she plays to obtain her credibility even though she appears to rhetorically distance herself from that same celebrity status in her speech.

**Leadership inspiration.** Watson takes on the role of a social movement leader expressing that she indeed cares about the problem and wants to make things better. Watson (2014) announces that HeForShe is “about freedom” (para. 10) reverting back to feelings of oppression. When naming off numerous women’s rights, Watson is stating that these are “human rights” (Watson, 2014, para. 7), allowing her to take on the role of a moral leader. In her formal invitation to men Watson becomes the face of the campaign. She is speaking on behalf of feminists, women, the HeForShe campaign, and gender equality in general. Watson (2014) directs men to “take up this mantle” (para. 11) issuing orders in a manner of authority. She explains that by changing gender stereotypes there will be a natural change. Watson portrays a leader when she states that she does not simply want to talk about changing the issues but wants to make sure that they are tangible. Watson is framing these issues as moral injustices.

As a leader however, Watson has to use her credibility as a celebrity and pull from other famous leaders to embody the demands of social movement leadership. The repetition of Watson’s statement, “If not me, who, if not now, when” (Watson, 2014, para. 13) is a call to duty for her audience giving them a sense of responsibility to join the cause. Watson is portraying herself as “a single person fighting against structures of injustice” (Chouliaraki, 2012, p. 4). Even though this line is not new or original, it still leaves an empowering impression. Watson uses this as a moment to rhetorically constitute herself as both a victim of gender oppression and a leader of the movement.

Although great men such as Rabbi Hillel, George W. Romney, Robert F. Kennedy, Ronald Regan, and Barack Obama (Popik, 2014) have used this statement, Watson can rhetorically embody it. Emma uses this passionate statement as a call to action for her audience.

Using the repetition of this already impactful quote allows for Watson to be seen in the same light as the previous leaders. Watson is trying to make clear rhetorical associations with global leaders and activists. Watson also uses aspects of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s, "I Have a Dream" speech. By use of these elements, Watson can be framed as a leader. Dr. King is associated with civil rights, effective leadership, and equality, which is exactly what Watson, is striving for.

In many ways Watson's speech mimics the ideas of Dr. King's speech. Her dream is for gender equality and she presents this idea as a unified problem. This problem is not one of simply men versus women; but rather, it is a global concern for countries all over the world. It is everyone's issue. Watson uses her invitation to men to change the idea and preconceived notions associated with feminism. The presentation of the speech was similar to Dr. King's in leaving a landmark quote that makes "the call-and-response of the audience . . . definitely apparent" (Ohlhauser, 1996, p. 346). Watson (2014) uses the repetition "I think it is right" (para. 6) utilizing the same rhetorical strategy as Dr. King's "dream" sequence in showing that human rights should one day be a reality. By distinguishing a right, Watson arouses memories of historical injustices. Watson (2014) also repeats, "I've seen" (para. 9) as a way to witness the injustices perpetrated against men in the fight for gender equality. She makes gender equality something universal and attempts to coordinate social action through commitment. Ohlhauser (1996) explains, that

“it does not require that the discourse itself be a unique revelation” (p. 345) to be an effective spiritual intervention. As Dr. King’s “I Have a Dream” line captures hope, Watson does the same by the use of the same elements of timeliness, presentation, and purpose. Personifying the leadership role takes distinct framing. Watson has used her ethos and celebrity status to help shape the rhetorical strategies of the campaign.

### **Celebutante Effect**

Watson as a celebrity activist increases the influence of the Spectacle (Elliott, 2010). As explained in chapter three, the Spectacle, according to Debord (1967), “is the concrete inversion of life, is the autonomous movement of the non-living” (para. 2) and “the social relation among people, mediated by images” (para. 4). Therefore, the Spectacle is what the celebrity is portraying, a superficial manifestation. Representations of celebrity are made up of images and framing to be consumed by the audience. The celebute effect allows Watson to be influential in several ways and allows her to reveal information as a source. As the public relates to Watson’s many different personas, her words then become “truth” or reality. These different personas are the basis of the celebute effect. As Watson takes on each character role, those characters are consumed by the public and regarded as real. The authenticity of each character role through the Spectacle, or the commodification of social relations through the mass media, allows for an immense influence on the public leading to the celebute effect.

Within the Spectacle the celebrity voice becomes the voice of all audiences. Watson claims that a title such as feminism is not important, only the actions behind the gender equality fight matter. Not having a rhetorical label leaves a realm of political and historical unknowns. No label means no brand to obtain, no identity, and no culture to



derive traditions. The pre-existing commonality is that of the celebrity character being marketed. When the common interest of the campaign is the celebrity or characters presented, it gives the celebrity power leading to the Spectacle.

The celebutante effect fulfills a pseudo need or purpose derived from consumption of the Spectacle. Joining the cause allows for a momentary feeling of greatness and self-worthiness created within the Spectacle to make the participants feel as though they have really made a difference. Watson captivates the audience with a false promise of changing injustice. The celebutante effect and the Spectacle make it “ultimately impossible to separate the thread of reality from the thread of performance” (Hambrick, 2012, p. 7). With all the different personas that Watson embodies and portrays there is no single real character only representations. There is only one face in the speech with several different appearances to appeal to different audiences. Hence, authenticity then comes from within the Spectacle. However, the celebrity in itself cannot simply be authentic because it is only a fabrication of perception or a perception of a representation. Watson herself, then, is not the influence, only her personas and their presumed authority create the celebutante effect; thus, the notion that the movement has been trivialized by the celebrity endorsement but also made valid because of it. Watson’s celebrity identity has been branded into the campaign; therefore, we must understand rhetorical goals of the campaign to understand the effectiveness of the celebutante effect.

### **Rhetorical Goals within Social Movement Phases**

According to Meyer and Whittier (1994) “Social movements must bring their politicized interpretations of events, or frames, into alignment with potential recruits’ pre-existing frame. (p. 287). Watson was very effective in her frame transformation. Starting

with the use of a concrete definition of feminism, Watson obtained an agreeable term “gender equality,” and then moved to an agreeable movement. The agreed upon movement aroused a diverse audience to claim the movement, however, did not do much else. The positive accomplishment of labeling gender equality is that it allows for the perceived reality of a new movement. The negative side of this new movement is that it did not produce dramatic change only dramatic viewing numbers. Watson motivated participants that had nothing to participate in other than in the realm of the Spectacle. Stereotypes associated with older terms are relinquished with the change of language and allow for a change in mindset, but the progress associated with the old label is disassociated as well.

The success of a campaign focuses on “changing discourse about a particular topic, challenging the symbolic meaning of objects, or overturning behavioral norms” (Meyer & Whittier, 1994, p. 280). Watson changed the discourse but she executes it by changing topics. There is no combined symbolic meaning for the campaign only several meanings linked together. The speech gave no symbolic meaning to the HeForShe emblem. Watson overturns behavioral norms by allowing men to be the focus of joining the campaign; however, this creates dissonance for feminist culture.

Campaign culture is drawn from “the dominant culture as well as incorporates new symbols, reconstruct discourse, and display alternative norms” (Meyer & Whittier, 1994, p. 281). Watson is effective in creating a safe place for many audiences to feel welcomed. Watson frames the campaign in a way to seem all-inclusive and uses terms less threatening to antagonists. She changes the language to gender equality resulting in changing thought about gender roles. Watson does not specify a target audience instead

she uses testimonies that can apply to many different publics allowing for many to feel included in her speech. She brings in previous audiences and groups with mentions of women's issues, also touching on oppression and other hot topics to draw in numerous audiences validating their cause and gender equality at the same time. However, there were no new symbols to display. Discourse was marketed as gender equality rather than reconstructed within feminism. The HeForShe campaign was unsuccessful in gaining a collective culture and obtaining collective action.

The tactics she uses do not allow for purposeful collective action. The actions aroused by the speech are nothing more than supporting the idea of gender equality. There is no plan of attack and no policies in place to lobby. In order to obtain a successful movement the movement must move past stage one. Within the basic model of social movements there should be an initiation of "new political opportunities and threats, (2) shifts in mobilizing structures of communication, coordination, and commitment among potential actors, and (3) reframing of claims, identities, and culturally resonant meanings" (Ferree & Mueller, 2004, p. 587). As a leader Watson should employ tactics to construct identity, yet there are no articulated goals, no explicit changes in policies to lobby, and no cultural identity to associate with within the HeForShe campaign.

Watson does not use strategies previously successful for campaigns such as direct service or lobbying. Instead she focuses on mobilization. There is no political process stated, only global problems. Watson uses several different tactics to raise the number of supporters; however, her speech does nothing to actually move past launching the campaign. Audiences are able to identify with Watson's testimonies and celebrity ethos, which helps her gain fans but not comrades. Watson's fans look over the credentials

needed to build the cultural identity as the celebrity has made the issue famous. There is no collective identity to obtain cultural bonding. Watson as a leader should be framing and motivating audiences and supporters in a way that allows for a common interest and experience to bring them together. The way that the HeForShe campaign is framed only allows for common interests and experiences to be commodified into artificial interactions with celebrity rather than be used for identity. Watson failed to create meaning that would inspire action.

Watson's call to arms produced mobilization, but there was no activation. Her testimonies allowed her to relate meaning to many different experiences. These different experiences helped her to appeal to several audiences with different interests, beliefs, values, and knowledge (Benford & Snow, 2000). Watson's use of motivational framing was successful in obtaining a diverse range of social groups but it lacked a tangible action to produce change or issue policies. Watson framed herself as open and used a broad scope of experiences and links to other movements. Watson was able to tie in several different movements and audiences and made them seem relevant to her cause. The examples and testimonies that Watson used effectively resonated with the audience.

Watson was very effective in her frame articulation by connecting men and women in her experiences as well as bridging other issues such as suicide to her cause. Watson uses frame amplification to back up her ethos and punctuate issues with the use of her "if not me, who, if not now, when" (Watson, 2014, para, 14). Frame amplification used in this fashion helps make the slogan impactful as it resonates with leaders. Previous issues such as women's rights in Clinton's speech were adapted into the gender equality movement and reestablished.

Social movements, with the use of campaigns, seek to change a problem or situation. Watson's speech only stated problems and issues with no direction to action only a commitment to the cause. A social movement leader is successful when they can arouse action for change. Watson was successful in obtaining a leadership role; however, she did not fulfill the duties of a successful leader past mobilization. Watson failed to attribute blame through diagnostic framing and she failed to articulate a solution or action plan through prognostic framing. There was no direction of whom to blame or how to change the problem at hand. Watson did not produce tangible outcomes or devise a game plan; she merely used her fame to become a movement actor that influenced participants.

The most effective mobilization tactic Watson had was her celebrity ethos. She was able to influence and inspire easily but her lack of efficacy may stem from the fact that audiences connected to a representation of a celebrity rather than a leader of a movement. Watson achieved commitment from participants because she was able to excite them, yet she failed at some of the other leadership tasks. There were no resources provided and no strategies to obtain change. There were no demands voiced for the people to rally and no outcomes to be achieved. There was only enthusiastic consumption of her image.

Watson is able to use frames to guide the interpretation of the audience's experiences with her own testimonies. However, she was unable to change behaviors into patterned social routines. The interpretations of experiences did not allow for a basis of cognitive orientations that are shared by participants. Their ideas and experiences remain separate.

The HeForShe campaign allows for a strong sense of moral passion and solidarity as well as commitment. The problem with the campaign is that the commitment meant simply joining the movement by embracing the image. There were no other strings attached to allow for committed action. It was simply a spark of motivation and passion that faded out without substantial change. Watson is able to organize and achieve large viewing numbers through her speech, but the participants have no direction to act within the movement. The call to arms left no duty to fulfill after commitment. Therefore, Watson and the HeForShe campaign have only reached emergence, the first phase of social movements. Watson mobilizes enough participants to achieve phase two, coalescence, making the campaign extremely popular around the globe; however, there are no demonstrations and no demands to obtain the steps within phase two. Watson leaves out a source of causality, leaving no one to blame an important factor in framing and obtaining collective action. Though the speech is directed toward political activists, there are no policies to formalize bureaucratization, the third phase of social movements. The campaign lacks a plan of action to obtain the fourth phase of decline or to even predict a success or failure since there are no official goals set within the speech for this campaign.

The HeForShe campaign had rhetorical potential and created heightened visibility; however, it did not achieve the material change needed for a successful social movement. The most crucial implication of this analysis is the purpose of the Spectacle, where illusion is more valuable than truth (Debord, 1967). Participants are consumed with the idea of the movement as Watson frames it to be so appealing; it has empirical credibility. The consumption of illusions produced by Watson's celebrity creates a false

consciousness of social action that is completely ineffective at producing change. The campaign is commodified with Watson and her celebrity image. The celebutante effect helps to fulfill participants' pseudo needs to be a part of the celebrity--and by extension—a part of the movement.

The Spectacle allows participants to feel as though they are activists for gender equality without having to act differently or adopt a new identity. Debord (1967) calls this the “affirmation of appearance” (para. 10). The movement is merely superficial in its purpose. The participants have no collective identity and represent nothing more than viewing numbers. The rhetorical goal of the campaign is entangled with the celebrity image. The act is an illusion of righteousness that deeply resonates with the participants. The HeForShe campaign is the perfect representation of the Spectacle to maintain structures of inequality amongst star-struck followers.

### **Summary**

This analysis first utilized the framing perspective to understand how the speech frames feminism. The analysis revealed one, that feminism was constructed as an obstacle to social change. Second, feminism was cast as disposable and unimportant. Thirdly, this led to men being the focus of the campaign, counteracting previous feminist ideologies.

This analysis then reviewed the celebrity aspect of the campaign and the celebutante effect with the use of the theoretical foundations of the Spectacle. The analysis revealed that Watson's ethos was a fundamental aspect in obtaining the rhetorical strategies of the campaign. The celebutante effect allowed for Watson to obtain her leadership persona adding to the number of supporters.

Finally, this analysis looked at how successful the HeForShe campaign was in achieving its rhetorical goals with the application of social movement phases. This analysis revealed that the campaign did not move past phase one; although, it had the potential to do so.

The potential for the campaign to achieve social movement success is immense. The mediated audience through Internet media and social media alone allowed frame diffusion on a global level. Although the HeForShe speech and its accompanying campaign reached audiences around the world, no discernible policy or economic changes have taken effect since its inception. The HeForShe campaign remains in the realm of the Spectacle. It has no structural goals for organizing because collective action within the campaign does not really exist.

The celebutante effect helps give an understanding as to how future campaigns can be more successful and purposeful with the use of celebrity. The celebutante effect also helps in exposing falsifications of reality so that supporters can comprehend the commitment they are making. Within the field of communication the use of the celebutante effect is pertinent to the advances in technology and how they are used. The way that the world communicates is changing and we must adapt our consciousness-raising strategies in accordance.

This chapter reviewed the ways feminism was framed and how it removed cultural identity from the campaign. The rhetoric surrounding the campaign was reviewed in two ways; strategically with celebrity and goal oriented through social movement phases. The final chapter will summarize this analysis; discuss implications, as well as limitations and future research.



## **CHAPTER V**

### **DISCUSSION**

The prior chapter analyzed the HeForShe campaign kickoff speech delivered by Emma Watson. The campaign was analyzed through two theoretical lenses, the framing perspective to understand how the campaign was marketed and Debord's Spectacle to recognize the celebutante effect of the campaign.

The media attention Watson received after delivering her HeForShe kickoff speech to launch the campaign was intensely positive. Watson was seen as an inspiration changing lives and attracting approval from young men and celebrities alike. Watson's celebrity status brought exposure to new audiences. Through her speech Watson was able to change the discourse about feminism giving the movement a new appearance.

This analysis was centered on the campaign launch. The kickoff speech offers important insight into celebrity influence on political movements and its corresponding mobilization and activation. In this paper, I argued that the HeForShe campaign appears to obtain effective mobilization however it has not obtained any political reformation. I argued the visibility obtained by the campaign is a result of the celebrity ethos of Emma Watson.

Through the resulting analysis, I can now place my research of the campaign in a broader perspective for the field. This chapter will explain some of the significance of the kickoff speech as well as suggest areas for future research.

#### **Significance**

In theory, the HeForShe campaign challenges audiences to fight for gender equality. The impact of the campaign is two-sided in its rhetorical goals. The campaign reaches a large and diverse audience but public enthusiasm is not the same as participation. There are three major implications surrounding this campaign.

First, Watson attempts to use feminism as a continuum for gender equality. She brings in several feminist issues in accordance with women's rights; however, Watson frames feminism in a way that is somewhat unfavorable. Watson rejects previous ideologies associated with feminism and makes the central focus of the movement the recruitment and identification of men. Watson's formal invite to men threatens the women's voice within their own issues. It is the message that needs to be voiced and not the messenger that counts (Yuval-Davis, 1999). The rhetorical disassociation from feminism also produces a loss in cultural identity. The campaign had no collective identity; it only allowed for a broad but loosely constituted audience. Feminism is further framed as nonessential where supporters must simply articulate the intention of social change. The label that helps form meanings and collective identity is regarded as unnecessary.

Watson then markets gender equality as the new uniting movement. Although her testimonies are versatile and relatable for men and women of all ages, they remain ineffectual. The testimonies do not affect men and women the same; instead, Watson uses separate testimonies that simply reinforce gendered audiences. The campaign appears to be all encompassing and inviting, but the reality is that it still remains gendered and limiting. Gender remains the central source of identification with notions of masculinity and femininity being "produced and naturalized" as well as "deconstructed and

denaturalized” (Butler, 2004, p. 42). This masculine/feminine binary is harmful to gender equality leaving non-binary gender identity and expression to remain invisible and unaccounted for. The shift from equal rights for women to true gender equality is masked with the aim strictly on binary genders. True gender equality would incorporate “equality of opportunity” as well as “equality of outcome” for all gender identities alike (Skjeie, & Teigen, 2005, p. 194). For example, young men will “[continue] to use practices characteristic of hegemonic masculinities, such as the objectification of women and violence to other men, to stabilize their claims to authentic maleness” (Haywood & Ghail, 2012, p. 579). A preconceived male gender-role negates what gender equality is trying to achieve. According to Haywood and Ghail (2012), in order to achieve gender equality, gender identity and gender roles must undergo a shift. This shift must reconfigure gender roles and “undo gender” (p. 585). The HeForShe campaign attempts this rhetorical move with Watson’s formal invitation to men in her speech but is unable to reconstruct gender roles and attitudes. Watson does not undo social gender attitudes; instead, she only changes the discourse surrounding the issue. Watson fails because her discursive reconstruction does not push politics forward; rather, she reinforces the categorization of male and female gender identities and issues.

This brings us to the second implication of the campaign’s rhetorical goals. Although Watson is able to gain viewing numbers and excite participants, her tactics fail to produce material change. With the launch of the campaign the physical goal was to reach one billion male participants by July 2015 (“heforshe.org,” 2014). To date the movement has 494,382 men who have joined HeForShe (“heforshe.org,” 2015). Rhetorically the goals within the speech were simply to galvanize men and boys to

become advocates for change (Watson, 2014). The other rhetorical goal was to end gender inequality. Watson failed to produce policy that allowed for gender gap issues to be resolved and failed to be inclusive of all gender identities. Watson uses testimonies to identify with the masses to inspire commitment, but commitment without activism produces minimal structural change.

The campaign was not successful in proceeding through the social movement phases. Instead the movement is stagnant. Without policies, resources, and an action plan, the HeForShe campaign does not move past phase one: emergence. The campaign is now stuck in a rhetorical limbo with no official quantifiable or tangible goals beyond the one billion-membership drive.

Watson uses her ethos to shape the rhetorical strategies to gain viewing numbers. Identifying the mobilization tactics Watson uses helps us gain insight into the celebutante effect. Watson is able to reach a diverse general audience as well as other influential celebrities through her speech. The media venues linked with the campaign create an instant outreach. The message produced by the speech is instantly disseminated to audiences around the world. Social media sites produce instant gratification with the ability to join the movement with a click of a button.

Watson uses her celebrity status to influence and attract a multitude of participants. She used her association with *Harry Potter* as an avenue to create a fabricated reality. As she embodies the character role of Hermione Granger, she inadvertently creates a space for her fans to be a part of her lifestyle and values. As participants associate with her fame they become an extension of her commodification and the Spectacle of politics--and the politics of the Spectacle--becomes the newest trend

to be consumed. As Watson embodies different character roles, the audience consumes the illusion, thus, legitimizing the campaign and Watson's authority. Watson makes sure to frame her celebrity personae with just enough glamour and charisma to keep a balance in the campaign so that it does not lose its authenticity. By using tactics from successful leaders in the past, Watson is able to embody the leadership role. The use of celebrity and the character roles Watson portrays within the speech illustrate the power of the Spectacle as her identities attract a following and become a substitute for real political engagement. The purpose becomes an illusion and the participants become part of the Spectacle.

The campaign was not successful by traditional measures; it was a sheer illusion of activism, discursive but not material. Participants were able to join a movement without having to act for reformation. The campaign disconnects from feminism while using feminist ideologies as its platform. There is no political identity or collective action to push the movement beyond the Spectacle.

### **Limitations**

The depth of this research was limited in three ways. First, the analysis was limited to one particular textual artifact produced by the campaign. Since the kickoff speech is the only textual analysis, it is difficult to grasp the complete success or failure of the campaign. There are several other sites that could have offered different perspectives such as the HeForShe website, social media sites, and other media. The goals associated with each of these other sites could offer a different outcome of success. The other sites could also apply different rhetorical and physical goals not listed or stated in the kickoff speech.

Second, there are several other campaigns associated with the HeForShe Facebook page that could apply additional support for success in the gender equality movement. These additional support campaigns could potentially add to the feminist rhetoric and framing of the campaign. The other campaigns within HeForShe bring in different audiences and meanings as well as separate issues relating to gender equality.

Third, Watson followed her kickoff speech with other interviews and speeches. The follow up speeches could potentially bring insight to the rhetorical goals of the campaign. The other speeches could allow for the continuum of the social movement phases. Without analysis of these texts it is unknown as to how much more effective the campaign could have been. Therefore, the implications of success are difficult to assess beyond the kickoff speech.

### **Future Research**

This study was merely a starting point in comprehending the rhetorical implications of celebrity endorsements. This analysis focused on one version of how the celebutable effect can be analyzed. The function of celebrity and the effects cannot be fully addressed and understood within one campaign. This study primarily focused on Watson's celebrity ethos and how it constituted and affects the campaign participants; however, there are several areas that arise for future research.

First, there can be additional long-term studies that follow Watson through the HeForShe campaign to grasp the full use of her celebrity. Specifically, the other speeches she uses to promote the HeForShe campaign can embody several different character roles, which could be used to analyze and note recurring themes. This could be beneficial in learning the use of celebrity —and by extension--which character roles are most

effective in achieving rhetorical goals. This would help to interpret motivations of participants and decipher their responses to the celebutante effect on a broader scale.

Second, the campaigns associated with the HeForShe campaign could offer greater insight as to how and if feminism is being replaced by gender equality. This would allow for an explanation of how feminism is being framed within all aspects of the movement and if there is a common theme. An analysis of the other campaigns can help to identify if men are at the center of all components in the HeForShe movement and if they are then, rhetorically, becoming a “men’s movement.” Follow up research would need to incorporate studies on hegemony, patriarchy, and masculinity for a more in-depth analysis.

Third, the HeForShe campaign can be studied from a feminist perspective allowing for a closer analysis of gendered social movements. The gender equality movements, with use of the HeForShe campaign, can open doors to show how feminists are relating to the movement and how they are being portrayed. Using a feminist standpoint could further the implications of an unfavorable feminism frame perspective.

Fourth, the movement can be looked at through the theoretical lens of technological invention and intervention. Looking specifically at the technology advancements in this campaign can help scholars depict how audiences socially and politically participate through technology. Would the campaign have been able to gain as many supporters without the use of technology or only one media? A study in this manner could explain how technology has impacted our lives furthering Debord’s Spectacle.

Another important aspect for future research could be the use of qualitative and quantitative studies to illustrate if the HeForShe campaign has had any success in changing attitudes. The participants and antagonists could both be used in a study to see if the campaign or speech changes their opinions on gender equality, feminism, and the stereotypes associated with feminism. Research along these lines can reveal shifting attitudes and beliefs associated with the marketing of gender equality.

Finally, the celebutante effect has the potential to expand future research in two ways. First, the celebutante effect can assist in the production of social movements and their mobilization with the understanding of how celebrity endorsers affect the general public. Second, the celebutante effect can help relinquish the power that a celebrity holds as the general public can then recognize celebrity tactics and interpret false realities. The celebutante effect however is not limited to celebrity endorsers in campaigns but celebrity endorsers in media, advertisements, and even religion. There are several avenues in which the effects of celebrity need to be understood. Researchers have indicated that celebrities do indeed make an impact, yet it is not fully understood how. It is important to decipher how celebrity perceptions influence and change realities and meanings. There are many characters that can be embodied by a single celebrity. These characters influence publics and project fame onto social experiences. The celebutante effect is a phenomenon that needs to be further understood.

## **Conclusion**

As publics become more mesmerized by celebrities and pop culture, the depth of celebrity influence increases. The celebrity thus becomes a more dominant force leading to consumption and commodification of politics and the Spectacle. Disputes over reality



and perceived or fabricated reality become inseparable. The loss of reality would then result in a loss of self and autonomy.

On a general platform this study added visibility to the effects of celebrity and how the celebrity can perform to obtain false realities and produce numbers and commitment without acts of change. This study revealed that the vision of gender equality is counteractive to feminism but not feminist issues. Furthermore, the activist remains an image within the Spectacle; there is no protest or action to obtain change. Simply joining the movement represents the depiction of what constitutes as fighting for a cause. If the ability of a celebrity influence or celebutante effect can change reality to the point where social movements are successful by viewing numbers, will there ever be any real change?

Watson was deemed to be a game changer by changing the discourse and attracting a global audience. If social movement actors are too focused on attracting universal audiences, the movement becomes stagnant and the idea of effectiveness is misconstrued; thus, a social movement simply morphs into nothing more than a social cause with no motion or action. As social movement participation becomes less politically based and more popular, we run the risk, as Debord warns, of remaining “partial in a partially historical society. It is the sense of a world which hardly makes sense” (para. 183). As a technologically based society we cannot afford to be fictionalized characters within our already fabricated reality.

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## APPENDIX

### **HeForShe Kickoff Speech**

Your Excellences, UN Secretary-General, President of the General Assembly, Executive Director of UN Women and distinguished guests it is an honor for me to be here today.

Today we are launching a campaign called 'HeForShe'. I am reaching out to you because I need your help. We want to end gender inequality - and to do that we need everyone to participate. This is the first campaign of its kind at the UN: we want to try and galvanize as many men and boys as possible to be advocates for change. And we don't just want to TALK about it, but make sure it is tangible.

It was appointed as a Goodwill ambassador for UN women 6 months ago, and the more I have talked to about feminism the more I've realized that fighting for women's rights has too often become synonymous with man-hating. If there is one thing I know for certain, it is that this has to stop.

For the record – Feminism by definition is: “The belief that men and women should have equal rights and opportunities. It is the theory of the political, economic and social equality of the sexes”.

I started questioning gender-based assumptions a long time ago. When at 8 I was confused at being called 'bossy' because I wanted to direct the plays we would put on for our parents - but the boys were not. When at 14 I started to be sexualized by certain elements of the press. When at 15 my girlfriends started dropping out of their beloved

sports teams because they didn't want to appear 'muscly'. When at 18 my male friends were unable to express their feelings. I decided I was a feminist and this seemed uncomplicated to me. But my recent research has shown me that feminism has become an unpopular word. Women are choosing not to identify as feminist. Apparently I am among the ranks of women whose expressions are seen as too strong, too aggressive, isolating, anti-men and, unattractive. Why is the word become such an uncomfortable one?

I am from Britain and think it is right that as a woman I am paid the same as my male counterparts. I think it is right that I should be able to make decisions about my own body. I think it is right that women be involved on my behalf in the policies and decision making that affect my life. I think it is right that socially I am afforded the same respect as men. But sadly I can say that there is no one country in the world where all women can expect to receive these rights. No country in the world can yet say they have achieved gender equality.

These rights I consider to be human rights but I am one of the lucky ones. My life is a sheer privilege because my parents didn't love me less because I was born a daughter. My school did not limit me because I was a girl. My mentors didn't assume I would go less far because I might give birth to a child one day. These influencers were the gender equality ambassadors that made who I am today. They may not know it, but they are the inadvertent feminists who are changing the world today. We need more of those. And if you STILL hate the word - it is not the word that is important but the idea and the ambition behind it. Because not all women have been afforded the same rights that I have. In fact, statistically, very few have been.

In 1997, Hilary Clinton made a famous speech in Beijing about women's rights.

Sadly many of the things she wanted to change are still a reality today. But what stood out for me the most was that less than 30 percent of her audience was male. How can we affect change in the world when only half of it is invited or feel welcome to participate in the conversation?

Men – I would like to take this opportunity to extend your formal invitation. Gender Equality is your issue too. Because to date, I've seen my father's role as a parent being valued less by society despite my needing his presence as a child as much as my mother's. I've seen a young man suffering from mental illness unable to ask for help for fear it would make him less of a man – in fact in the UK suicide is the biggest killer of men between 20-49; eclipsing road accidents, cancer and coronary heart disease. I've seen men made fragile and insecure by a distorted sense of what constitutes male success. Men don't have the benefits of equality either.

We don't often talk about men being imprisoned by gender stereotypes but I can see that that they are and that when they are free, things will change for women as a natural consequence. If men don't have to be aggressive in order to be accepted women won't feel compelled to be submissive. If men don't have to control, women won't have to be controlled. Both men and women should feel free to be sensitive. Both men and women should feel free to be strong . . . It is time that we all perceive gender on a spectrum instead two opposing sets of ideals. If we stop defining each other by what we are not and start defining ourselves by what we just are - we can all be freer and this is what HeForShe is about. It's about freedom.

I want men to take up this mantle. So their daughters, sisters and mothers can be free from prejudice but also so that their sons have permission to be vulnerable and

human too - reclaim those parts of themselves they abandoned and in doing so be a more true and complete version of themselves.

You might be thinking who is this Harry Potter girl? And what is she speaking at the UN. It's a good question and I've been asking myself the same thing. I don't know if I'm the right person to be speaking. All I know is that I care about this problem. And I want to make it better. And having seen what I've seen – and given the chance – I feel it is my responsibility to say something. English statesman Edmund Burke said: “All that is needed for the forces of evil to triumph is for enough good men and women to do nothing”.

In my nervousness for this speech and in my moments of doubt I've told myself firmly – if not me, who, if not now, when. If you have similar doubts when opportunities are presented to you I hope those words might be helpful. Because the reality is that if we do nothing it will take 75 years, or for me to be nearly a hundred before women can expect to be paid the same as men for the same work. 15.5 million girls will be married in the next 16 years as children. And at current rates it won't be until 2086 before all rural African girls will be able to receive a secondary education.

If you believe in equality, you might be one of those inadvertent feminists I spoke of earlier. And for this I applaud you. We are struggling for a uniting word but the good news is we have a uniting movement. It is called HeForShe. I am inviting you to step forward, to be seen to speak up; to be the 'he for she' - and to ask yourself if not me, who, if not, now when. Thank you.