

Celebrity Diplomacy in the Current Global Economy:
A Feminist Perspective

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Abstract

Using gender lenses, this dissertation examines the emergence of celebrity diplomats as viable political actors, providing diplomatic services focused on negotiation and humanitarian aid, in current international politics and the global economy. More specifically, this dissertation uses feminist political economy literature to examine how neoliberal globalization has contributed to the growing role of celebrity diplomats in international politics. I argue that the increased presence and involvement of celebrity diplomats in the post-9/11 era are the result of neoliberal globalization and the neoliberal state's shift toward privatization of the public sector, increased militarization, and increased emphasis on commodification and consumption. In order to examine this phenomenon, this dissertation examines two celebrity diplomats as case studies of, Angelina Jolie and George Clooney. More specifically, this study provides an in-depth analysis of Jolie and Clooney's roles and involvement in international politics. Moreover, this dissertation examines the gender roles of celebrity diplomats.

Therefore, this dissertation provides a gender analysis of Jolie and Clooney's diplomatic endeavors. Therefore, I argue that Jolie's diplomacy reflects her role as mother, while Clooney takes a masculine approach to his diplomatic agenda. Finally, the dissertation concludes with an analysis of the ways in which celebrity diplomacy can further promote a neoliberal agenda.

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Introduction

Entertainment celebrities' involvement in political affairs, whether domestic or global, is not a recent phenomenon. Some celebrities, such as Ronald Reagan, Arnold Schwarzenegger, John Glenn, and Sonny Bono, have sought and won political offices. Others, such as Jane Fonda, Susan Sarandon, Bono, Danny Kaye, John Lennon and Yoko Ono, and Audrey Hepburn, pursued political agendas through various organizations or individually.¹ The celebrities who did not hold a public office often served as spokespersons for various non-profit and nongovernmental organizations, but they rarely engaged world leaders face to face to discuss global issues or negotiate or broker agreements independent of their state governments.

In the post-Cold War era (and even more so in the post September 11 era), however, celebrities have become increasingly visible fixtures in international and global affairs. It is not uncommon to witness celebrities, of varying nationalities, engaging heads of state in political discourse or attending international summits, such as the World Economic Forum in Davos or G8 or G20 summits. Celebrities have also made their presence known in war torn or impoverished countries through strategic

¹ Kaye and Hepburn began their political activism in the 1950s with UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund) (Cooper 2008). Fonda, Lennon, and Ono were politically active throughout the 1970s and early 1980s. Fonda and Ono are still politically outspoken. Sarandon and Bono are very politically active today.

media coverage and public service announcements. Moreover, these celebrities are receiving worldwide acclaim from the general public and global leaders for their foray into international affairs. For instance, Bono, U2 lead singer, was nominated for the 2005 Nobel Peace Prize (Djansenzian 2005, par.1). George Clooney and Don Cheadle received the 2007 Peace Summit Award for their efforts to bring attention to the genocide occurring in Darfur (Falconi, 2007, par. 1).

Several celebrities immerse themselves in their chosen issues. The more "hands on" involvement of high profile celebrities, such as George Clooney and Angelina Jolie, in international politics is intriguing inasmuch as they lend their celebrity status, image, and voices to global issues. Celebrities now discuss their political agendas and interests on the red carpet, tour war-torn nations and/or impoverished nations as government liaisons or on behalf of various international organizations, attend global conferences on economic issues, peace, and global poverty, and publicly acknowledge and discuss their humanitarian efforts through interviews with prestigious journalists. These exploits are related to the general masses worldwide via a continuous stream of 24-hour news coverage and interactive gossip outlets. Their messages and exploits not only shine the spotlight on the celebrity, but also on the issue that they are addressing, which

has the ability to prompt public awareness and insight action from their fans, organizations, and increasingly governmental officials.

These actions and the increasing presence of celebrities in global affairs seem to be having an impact on diplomacy, particularly what is coming to be known as public diplomacy. This is occurring during a time when the neoliberal state is under attack and failing to address global leaders and issues diplomatically. Some celebrities tend to command as much respect from the international community and governmental officials, domestically and abroad, as official diplomats from varying countries or the United Nations. These celebrities are invited to participate in negotiations, attend global conferences, and address governmental bodies in regards to the issues and agendas they are pursuing. Thus it is no longer just sanctioned governmental officials that are able to engage in political discourse with world leaders—celebrities who may have little to no official governmental capacity or diplomatic training, nonetheless become diplomats through their active participation in negotiating and the molding international policies.

This dissertation is a study of the impact of such individuals in global politics—an area neglected by much of the International Relations literature. Daniel Byman and Kenneth M.

Pollack note that political scientists and international relations scholars tend not to focus on the individual or the "first image" (Waltz 1959; Byman and Pollack 2001, 111) and instead focus on the "third image" in international relations. Byman and Pollack argue that political science research has marginalized the "crucial impact of individuals on war and diplomacy" (2001, 109), which is evident as many political scientist and international relations scholars use the state as the primary unit of analysis. As Steve Smith notes, "The point here is that the discipline has tended to treat the state as the analytical focus of its enquiry, thereby privileging it. It is the security of the state that matters in International Relations; it is the unit of analysis, and, crucially, it is the moral unit, the moral referent point" (Smith 2004, 504). Therefore, the fields of political science and international relations have marginalized the study of the individual and culture in international relations. This study of celebrity diplomats not only examines the phenomenon, but also the role and impact of individuals in international and global politics. They contend that the study of individuals' goals and abilities is essential to the intentions, capabilities, and strategies of the state (Byman and Pollack 2001, 109). Byman and Pollack (2001, 109) write that individuals and their personalities shape actions and reactions between states, as well as shape domestic

opinion and bureaucratic politics. Furthermore, they suggest that individuals (or what Kenneth Waltz has termed, the first image) interact with and shape the second and third image in international relations (Byman and Pollack 2001, 141).² In other words, individuals shape state and international politics. Thus this dissertation will examine one way that the power concentrated in personalities—celebrity diplomats—have the ability to shape actions and reactions of state governments, domestic opinion, and bureaucratic politics (Byman and Pollack 2001, 109).

More specifically, this dissertation examines the emergence of the new celebrity diplomat in the post September 11 era. I argue that these celebrity diplomats are products of the downside of the neoliberal state. I contend that not only has the neoliberal state heightened their celebrity status through the culture industry's emphasis on the commodification and consumption of celebrity culture/status, but also how the failure of the neoliberal state and international regimes to effectively engage in diplomacy and humanitarian efforts has resulted in the emergence of the celebrity diplomat. This project further examines celebrity diplomacy from a feminist perspective to reveal the gendered nature of celebrity diplomacy in the current global economy. I contend that a gender analysis

² Kenneth Waltz first discussed the "images" of international relations in *Man, the State, and War* in 1959.

of celebrity diplomacy and the neoliberal state from a feminist perspective is essential to understanding celebrity diplomats and their function in international affairs today.

Research Questions:

There are several research questions that guide this study. The primary research question is as follows:

- 1. How do feminist lenses see the relationship between that celebrity activists are diplomats for the 21st century?*

In order to address this question, I use the lens of feminist political economy literature³ to demonstrate that celebrity activists in the post 9/11 era have emerged as the leading diplomats of the 21st century as a result of the failures of the neoliberal state and international regimes to effectively engage in diplomatic endeavors globally, particularly with nations considered to be in the Third World and/or Global South. I identify specific facets of a neoliberal political economics that have contributed to the failure of the state. This includes the neoliberal state's and culture industry's emphasis on commodification and consumption, the privatization of the

³ A feminist lens refers to a theoretical perspective through which one is able to "see" how the world is shaped by gendered concepts (Peterson and Runyan 1999, 1). These lenses aid an individual to focus their attention and research, which enables one to use the knowledge that the researcher has already attained (Peterson and Runyan 1999, 2). I have chosen to explore the phenomenon of celebrity diplomacy using a feminist lens grounded in feminist political economy.

public goods and services, and the increased emphasis on militarized solutions to international problems in lieu of diplomacy. Therefore, a supplemental research question has been identified:

2. How do feminist lenses see the relationship between the failure of the neoliberal state and international regimes and the emergence of celebrity diplomacy in the 21st century?

The use of the feminist political economy literature not only allows me to analyze celebrity diplomacy in the global economy, but also examine celebrity diplomacy as a gendered practice of the global political economy. Therefore, this study also explores the manner in which diplomacy and diplomats have traditionally been gendered, and whether celebrity diplomats represent an additional or further gendered form of diplomacy. An examination of this element particularly incorporates a discussion of the gendering of celebrity, again primarily utilizing feminist political economy literature, as well as literature pertaining to the construction of gender and commodification of the culture industry. Exploring this element requires an examination of how celebrity diplomacy (and celebrity in general) is produced and reproduced in a global economy, which will include an examination of how mass media commodifies celebrities and their activities. As a result, two

additional research questions have been identified for this study:

3. *How does the phenomenon of celebrity diplomacy represent a further gendering of diplomacy and diplomats? And are celebrity diplomats gendered in a different way from "traditional" diplomats?*
4. *How is celebrity diplomacy produced and reproduced in a global political economy?*

Research Design and Methodology:

As previously stated, this study will be conducted from a feminist perspective. Feminism has become an important approach to the study of international relations, contributing to the engagement of gender and theory in a field (political science/international relations) that is typically gender-blind (Ackerly, Stern, and True 2006, 1). Moreover, "since all power relations are essential feminist perspectives and to the feminist research process, feminist methodologies are highly relevant for the study of global politics" (Ackerly, Stern, and True 2006, 1). In other words, feminist research explores a broad range of power relations in international politics, going beyond a more traditional state-centric approach to power relations. Feminist methodologies allow for the study of multiple facets of international relations. Yet according to

J. Ann Tickner, there is no single "feminist methodology" or standard "feminist way" of doing research (Tickner 2006, 21). Feminists employ a variety of methodologies to their research. Tickner writes, many feminist scholars "describe their research as a journey or an archeological dig, that draws on different methods or tools appropriate to the goals at hand, or the questions asked, rather than on any prior methodological commitment more typical of IR social science" (Tickner 2006, 21; citing Reinharz 1992, 211; Charlesworth 1994, 6; Jayaratne and Stewart 1991, 102; Sylvester 2002). Therefore, this study does not employ a "feminist methodology," but rather takes a feminist "epistemological perspective" (Tickner 2006, 21) to examine celebrity diplomacy in global politics. In other words, this study utilizes my perspective, understanding, and "knowledge" of international relations and celebrity diplomacy to draw conclusions. My feminist perspective explores gender in global politics through the lens of feminist political economy. In particular, this dissertation is concerned with the role that gender and gendering plays in constructing celebrity diplomacy in the current global economy.

Admittedly, I approach this study from an American/Western perspective. As Charlotte Hooper (2001) notes, Anglo-American culture is the hegemonic perspective in international relations

and global politics. Anglo-American hegemony⁴ exerts a disproportional amount of influence in the world, particularly due to neoliberal ideology.⁵ Like Hooper, my intention is not to perpetuate an Anglo-American, neoliberal stereotype, but rather to “unpack” them and “reveal the power moves that keep them influential” (Hooper 2001, 9). More specifically, this study seeks to reveal the role and power of neoliberal ideology and gender in celebrity diplomacy in the global economy, which has been constructed from an Americanized, Western perspective.

Feminist scholarship in IR has paid special attention to the relationship between the knower and the known. According to Mary E. Hawkesworth, there are various issues that have inspired feminist interest in knowledge (Hawkesworth 1989, 535). As a result, three models of for a feminist theory have become prominent within feminist scholarship: “feminist empiricism, feminist standpoint theories, and feminist postmodernism” (Hawkesworth 1989, 535; Harding 1986; also see Harding 1998;

⁴ I define Anglo-American hegemony as the domination of Western perspectives and policies in international relations.

⁵ Hooper is referring to the British and American (and by extension Western) dominance in international relations. Western perspectives and policies, particularly American and Western European, dominate international relations and politics whereas policies and perspectives from developing or underdeveloped regions are marginalized. This is particularly evident when considering the imposition of neoliberal economic policies, such as structural adjustment policies, on Latin American and African nations by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). I will discuss neoliberal ideology and neoliberal economic policies in more detail in Chapter I.

Sylvester 1994, 10-11). Hawkesworth writes that feminist empiricism contends that knowledge is influenced by sexism and androcentrism, but can be deterred if the knower maintains a "rigid adherence to neutral procedures designed to produce identical measurements of the real properties of objects" (1989, 535; also see Sylvester 1994, 10). Feminist standpoint theory "holds that members of dominant and subordinate groups have systematically different experiences deriving from their different social positions" (Weldon 2006, 64; Hartstock 2003; also see Harding 1998; Hawkesworth 1989, 536; Sylvester 1994, 10). In other words, feminist standpoint theories argue that marginalized groups have different experiences and thus different knowledge and perspectives of the world. Last, feminist postmodernism "rejects the very possibility of a truth about reality" (Hawkesworth 1989, 536). Christine Sylvester notes that feminist postmodernism allows feminists to question the social construction of gender and gendered knowledge (Sylvester 1994, 11). Therefore, feminist postmodernists are able to question the invention of knowledge (Hawkesworth 1989, 536).

Given feminist commitment to self-reflexivity in knowledge, it is important to note that my situated knowledge comes from situated understanding of gender and power relations in society and global politics, which allows me to analyze and critique gender relations, celebrity, and celebrity diplomacy. My

background as an American, who has been immersed in American popular culture, television, and film, allows me the to understand the context from which I am working and the context of the subject matter I am analyzing. My situated knowledge has made me acquainted with gender stereotypes, the creation of celebrity culture, and the influence of the culture industry on mainstream media, society, and politics. In addition, I am from a working/lower middle class background and have a distinct understanding of the role of capitalism and neoliberal ideology in global politics and political economy. Possessing this knowledge affords me the opportunity and perspective from which I can critique the topic of my study. Given that all knowledge is perspectival, my voice and analysis of this subject matter is but one of many. However, as Sandra Harding (2004) asserts, "strong objectivity" is achieved through the compilation of different voices. Insiders' critiques of power are particularly necessary.

This dissertation employs case studies of two celebrity diplomats, George Clooney and Angelina Jolie, who will be discussed in more detail below. This dissertation includes both descriptive and exploratory research. Descriptive research allows a researcher to "document and describe" a phenomenon of interest (Marshall and Rossman 1999, 33). An exploratory analysis/research design can be employed by a researcher to

investigate a little-understood phenomenon, identify or discover important categories of meaning, and/or help the researcher generate hypotheses for future research (Marshall and Rossman 1999, 33). First, I employ the use of descriptive research to describe and document the phenomena of celebrity and celebrity diplomacy. In addition, descriptive research aids in analyzing how gender is socially constructed in Western culture. I employ an exploratory analysis to gain an understanding of celebrity diplomacy and the role of celebrities in international affairs. Moreover, I use an exploratory analysis to examine and gain an understanding of the gender roles and norms adopted by celebrities. Through an exploratory analysis this study helps to provide an understanding of the diplomatic topics that celebrities address and if those topics coincide with Western gender norms. In order to make such assessments, I examine the roles the celebrities addressed in this study and their diplomatic practices through the lens of feminist international relations (IR) theory.

This study primarily employs the use of content and critical discourse analysis. Content analysis is "the study of recorded human communications" (Babbie 2007, 320). It is traditionally considered to be an objective and neutral way of attaining a quantitative description of the content of various forms of communication (Marshall and Rossman 1999, 117).

However, qualitative researchers have adopted it as well as a method for describing and interpreting the "artifacts of a society or social group" (Marshall and Rossman 1999, 117). Researchers employ content analysis for several reasons—it is unobtrusive and nonreactive, the researcher is able to determine where the most important information for their study lies within the context of the data collected, the procedures used are typically clear, and the data and information collected can easily be reviewed and checked by other researchers (Marshall and Rossman 1999, 117). I utilize content analysis as a method to describe and interpret (Marshall and Rossman 1999, 117) information regarding Clooney and Jolie's diplomatic endeavors.

According to Earl Babbie (2007, 325), content analysis is "essentially a coding operation," which is "the process of transforming raw data into a standardized form." Babbie (2007, 328) states that the first step when conducting qualitative content analysis is an examination of data. Second, the researcher searches through "all data to find all cases that contradict the initial hypothesis" (Babbie 2007, 328). He contends that the researcher must then review all of the disconfirming cases and either give up the hypothesis or revise the hypothesis (Babbie 2007, 328).

First, I analyze the content of news footage and articles discussing Clooney and Jolie's engagement in diplomatic

practices.⁶ An examination of the news footage and articles provided information regarding the involvement of these celebrities in various international and global issues, as well as some information regarding the role they take when addressing such issues.⁷ News footage was obtained from a range of news sources, such as CNN and other cable news syndicates, differing nightly news programs, and magazine programs like Dateline or 60 Minutes. News articles from print media was also be analyzed. Specifically, I analyze news articles found in varying online newspapers, including *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *BBC News*, *The Guardian*, and other news sources, for information relevant to celebrity politics and celebrity diplomacy, as well as Jolie and Clooney's diplomatic endeavors.

Furthermore, it was necessary to locate and analyze to articles in popular entertainment magazines and publications, such as *People Magazine* or *Rolling Stone Magazine*, since these publications also tend to publish articles regarding the role of

⁶ I analyze the content of the news footage and articles regarding Clooney and Jolie separately, and then together.

⁷ I conducted my search for the majority of new coverage using Google News and Google Scholar. Some news articles were also obtained through the use of LexisNexis. In addition, I activated the news alerts function on my Yahoo! email account, specifying that news coverage related to Angelina Jolie or George Clooney be forwarded to my email account. I would then read each story to determine if they were relevant to the dissertation.

specific celebrities in international and global affairs.⁸ Entertainment magazines offer more in-depth and/or different coverage of a celebrity diplomat, as the analytical frame and context through which these periodicals "cover" the celebrity are often more sensationalized and crafted for different audiences from other mainstream news outlets. The Internet is the primary source of these news and magazine outlets.⁹

I also analyze interviews conducted with Clooney and Jolie by journalists (entertainment and mainstream)¹⁰. Clooney and Jolie often release public statements regarding their work and intentions for becoming involved in specific issues. Therefore, I critically analyze these public statements for content pertaining to the actions taken by these celebrities and their motivations for their commitment to various international and

⁸ While some may contend that entertainment magazines, such as *People* and *Rolling Stone* may not take the celebrity activism as seriously as other news outlets, they do present coverage of celebrities and their activism in a different light. In addition, the fact that these periodicals are published for entertainment value highlights aspects of the celebrities' activism that other news outlets ignore or underscore. Thus examining these sources will provide an additional perspective or show a different side of a celebrity's activism. On the other hand, these news outlets are specifically designed to bring the public information about celebrities and their activities. Therefore, it may be that these news outlets provide more information and take celebrity activism more seriously than other news outlets, such as the *New York Times* or *Washington Post*.

⁹ Again, I primarily used the Google search engine to locate news coverage.

¹⁰ These interviews were obtained from many of the same media sources mentioned above.

global issues. These public statements include messages articulated on behalf of the United Nations. These statements were obtained from the United Nations' websites. I also analyze public statements made by Clooney and Jolie at international and/or global forums such as the United Nations Security Council or the World Economic Forum in Davos.¹¹

I then use discourse analysis to interpret the content of the information obtained.¹² Critical discourse analysis, like many feminist approaches to epistemology, acknowledges that knowledge is local, social, and situated in the knowledge of individuals. Ruth Wodak defines critical discourse analysis as "fundamentally concerned with analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control as manifested in language" (Wodak 2001, 2). Discourse is the site of power struggles and is the stake in power struggles (Fairclough 1989, 74). It is also a form of social practice, through the use of language in speech, writing, body language, etc, that contributes to the social construction of identities, norms and interests (Wodak 1997, 6). Therefore, critical discourse analysis investigates

¹¹ Clooney addressed the U.N. Security Council in 2006 regarding the genocide in Darfur (Fromm and Silverman 2006, par. 1) and Jolie attended and participated in proceedings at the 2005 World Economic Forum in Davos (Weber 2005, par. 3).

¹² The potential weaknesses of content analysis and discourse analysis will be discussed in the limitations section of the dissertation.

social equality as it is “expressed signaled, constituted, legitimized and so on by language use (or in discourse)” (Wodak 2001, 2); it also entails a discussion and examination of social practices, processes and structures that produce and reproduce texts and discourses. For this study, I specifically use critical discourse analysis to analyze and investigate the social construction of gender as it is applied to celebrity diplomacy, as well as celebrity and the culture industry, in the current global economy.

After obtaining articles, interviews, statements, etc. and conducting a thorough content analysis, I employed critical discourse analysis to analyze any gestures, emotions, and the other body language of the subject during interviews, as well as the context in which gestures, emotions, and body language is conveyed. Examining these elements offer further insight into how the celebrity perceives their role in their diplomatic endeavors as they may emphasize a particular point with a gesture or become emotional when discussing a particular aspect of their activism. I also use critical discourse analysis to examine footage and photographic images of the chosen celebrities to note the portrayal of gendered social norms and values.

I also utilize critical discourse analysis to examine the gendered and political discourses in Clooney and Jolie's films.¹³ An examination of these films contributes to the understanding of these celebrities' personalities, as well as their how their performance as characters in a film overlap with their performance and image in reality and global politics.

Case Studies:

This dissertation focuses on two celebrities who are very involved in international and global affairs: George Clooney and Angelina Jolie. Clooney and Jolie provide "information-rich cases" (Marshall and Rossman 1999, 73) as they are both extremely visible in the film industry, international politics, and are often scrutinized and followed by the media. In addition, Clooney and Jolie were chosen because of their sex and gender: Clooney as the male (sex) and masculine (gender) and Jolie the female and feminine.

Clooney and Jolie were chosen for the study because they share several commonalities. Not only are both Hollywood actors, but also they were both raised in Hollywood by visible and politically active families. They have starred in several politically charged films, which have influenced their activism

¹³ I limited the study to 3 movies from each celebrity. This was done primarily due to time constraints. A list of Clooney and Jolie's films that were reviewed for this study can be found in Appendix B.

and diplomatic endeavors. Clooney and Jolie are both representatives for the United Nations, as a Messenger of Peace and a Goodwill Ambassador respectively, and are they extremely active participants in these roles. Furthermore, both are extremely visible in mass media culture; each are topics of scrutiny in the media on a daily basis for matters as superficial as their relationship status to more significant issues such as touring a war torn region on behalf of the UN.

Time Frame:

The time frame of these case studies is limited to a post-September 11, 2001 time frame. This recent time period was chosen for several reasons. First, it narrows the focus of this study to an eight-year time frame, which allows more flexibility in the study and provides a more concentrated body of literature to explore for the study. This time frame covers a period in which Clooney and Jolie are extremely active in their acting careers (films for both are often box office sensations) and diplomatic activities, which as previously stated, are both widely covered by the media.

Furthermore, this study is interested in exploring celebrity diplomacy in the twenty-first century, and situating the study in the post-9/11 era fits within that time frame. Following the 9/11 terrorist attacks, global politics changed

dramatically, as states began to consider the role of third party actors, whether they were celebrities, terrorists, nongovernmental organizations, or individuals, in global politics. Moreover, (mainstream) political scientists, international relations theorists, and politicians shifted or more visibly began to consider the role of Third World nations, particularly in the Global South, more seriously in their conceptualizations of global politics. This is partially due to the further development and understanding of postcolonialism and the ways in which discourses of neoliberal globalization have fostered Western ideological dominance and the subordination of previously colonized nations, the racial Other, as well as cultures, religions, values, norms, and peoples typically located in the Third World and/or Global South.

The Western dominance displayed by the neoliberal state has resulted in an undervaluing of ideologically and culturally subordinated geographic regions. These regions tend to be the most impoverished and war-torn regions on the globe. However, Western states and their diplomatic entourages only render "lip-service" to these regions unless there is an immediate interest by the Western government in the affairs of the subordinated region. Therefore, celebrity diplomats tend to focus much of their attention on the Third World and/or Global South. In particular, Clooney and Jolie often center diplomatic endeavors

in these regions. Thus this geopolitical aspect will be taken into account when analyzing their diplomatic activities.

Limitations:

In order to locate data sources that are relevant to this study, I found it necessary for me to carefully read and locate sources that are reliable and provide pertinent and sufficient information. Time constraints have limited the number of documents and interviews that I was able to locate and analyze. Time also limits the number of celebrities I am able to study.

Since my case studies consist of extremely prominent and busy celebrities and the time frame I allotted for the completion of my dissertation is so narrow, I was not be able to conduct the interviews for this study myself. As a result, I rely on interviews conducted with celebrities by other individuals. Thus I refer to the questions the interviewers posed to the celebrity rather than questions that I would have asked in an interview conducted by myself. Moreover, the inability to simply interact with the interviewee limits the experience of interviewing and eliminates the personal interaction with the interviewee.

The number of documents that I analyze was limited by their accessibility. It can be difficult to locate filmed footage of celebrities while addressing the international issues because

footage and articles are sometimes removed from Internet sites and then replaced with different material. The Internet is a good source for locating such footage. However, I was cautious regarding this footage because such footage, as found YouTube and similar site, is often edited and altered.

Celebrities are also produced and reproduced by the media. The lives of celebrities are performances, as they promote their films and try to maintain a perceived image within the culture industry; thus it may be difficult to study and/or ascertain truth and from performance in their actions and words. Therefore, I examine the ways in which the media and the culture industry produce and reproduce celebrities.

Additionally, content and discourse analysis is entirely subject to interpretation by the researcher. Therefore, I found it necessary for to take care to display "the logic of interpretation used in inferring meaning" from the data collected (Marshall and Rossman 1999, 116).

Project Overview:

Chapters I, II, and III are primarily an overview of the literature of gender and feminist political economy, celebrity status, and diplomacy respectively. Drawing from the literature relevant to gender and political economy, Chapters II and III, also include my theorization and understanding of the

gendering of celebrity and diplomacy in the current global economy. Chapter IV provides a broad overview of celebrity diplomacy in the global economy. In this chapter, I explain how the celebrity diplomat has become increasingly more prominent in international affairs as a result of neoliberal globalization. Chapters V and VI move to an examination of my two case studies, Angelina Jolie and George Clooney. Each chapter begins with an overview of their family histories and backgrounds as actors, specifically noting that each are from celebrity families with strong political ties. The chapters then diverge focusing on each individual's diplomatic endeavors, political interactions, and motivations. Both chapters include an examination of the gendered nature of each celebrity's diplomatic activities, media portrayal, and a critique of how their on and off-screen personas coincide or divert from their diplomatic roles. Finally, Chapter VII, the concluding chapter, discusses the potential impacts of celebrity diplomacy. More specifically, the chapter argues that celebrity diplomat also promotes a neoliberal agenda as a result of their diplomacy.

Chapter I, *Feminism, Gender and Political Economy*, introduces the concept of gender and the field of feminist political economy. It is necessary to begin this dissertation with an overview of gender, feminism, and my feminist perspective since I have chosen to explore the subject of

celebrity diplomacy through a feminist lens. Therefore, the chapter will first provide a conceptualization of gender, feminism, and my feminist perspective, which will draw from the foundational works of feminist IR scholars. The chapter will proceed to provide an understanding of gender, gender norms and values, and expected gender roles, placing specific emphasis on the distinctions between biological sex and gender. Once providing this context, the chapter will then shift to a discussion of feminist political economy. It will provide an overview of the field and understanding neoliberalism¹⁴ and globalization through feminist lenses. In particular, the chapter will provide a discussion of the neoliberal state and international regimes, noting the impact that neoliberal globalization has on the current political economy. The chapter will conclude with an examination of the gendered nature of neoliberal globalization in the current global economy.

Chapter II, *Framing the Celebrity in the 21st Century*, will provide an historical and theoretical overview of the construction and framing of the contemporary celebrity. The chapter applies cultural and mass media theory to provide an understanding of the definition of celebrity in a contemporary context through. It will focus on the role of the media in

¹⁴ Throughout this dissertation, I will be using David Harvey's definition of neoliberalism to from my own understanding of the current global economy. I will discuss Harvey and neoliberalism more in Chapter I.

framing today's conceptualization of the contemporary celebrity, specifically discussing the manner in which the media aids in selling and commodifying the celebrity and production of celebrity culture, which enhances celebrity power and recognition becoming "intimate strangers" (Schickel 2000) to audiences. The chapter will also provide an in depth discussion of the commodification of the celebrity (as a facet of the culture industry) in the neoliberal state, thus demonstrating how the celebrity helps to perpetuate a neoliberal agenda. I will begin by applying feminist political economy and elements of cultural theory to the contemporary celebrity. I contend that the production and reproduction of celebrity is yet another facet of neoliberal globalization that contributes to commodification of the celebrity. Finally, I explore the gendered nature of celebrity and fame in the culture industry.

Chapter III, *Celebrity Diplomacy, Public Diplomacy, and Power*, begins by defining celebrity diplomacy, which includes an overview of the ways in which it can be framed as a form of public diplomacy. This discussion also includes a synopsis of the characteristics often associated with celebrity diplomacy, as well as a discussion of the varying typologies of celebrity diplomacy that are most prevalent today. The chapter then proceeds to provide context regarding the necessary qualifications, training and education that is required of an

official state diplomat and a celebrity diplomat, which includes an explanation of the responsibilities of diplomats. In addition, the chapter examines the role of state ambassadors to the United Nations and the role of political appointments, party contributions, and corporate ties that are associated with the appointment of diplomats and ambassadors to foreign posts. I then contrast these appointments and influences on official state ambassadors with the appointments of celebrities to honorary positions as either U.N. Messengers of Peace or U.N. Goodwill Ambassadors. In particular this section focuses on the criteria of Goodwill Ambassadors and Messengers of Peace appointees. The chapter concludes by framing celebrity diplomacy as a form of soft power. Moreover, I explain the gendered nature of soft power and thus celebrity diplomat.

Chapter IV, *Merging Worlds: Celebrity Diplomacy in the Global Economy*, will then proceed to discuss the manner in which the celebrity has become a political actor, engaging in domestic and international affairs. More specifically, this chapter contends that celebrity diplomats have emerged as dominant political actors as a result of neoliberal globalization. I argue that neoliberal globalization's emphasis on privatization, commodification, and militarization are primary contributors to the increased presence of celebrity diplomats in international politics. This occurs through governments shifting to the

privatization of the public sector, thus causing the need for civil society, nongovernmental institutions, and now celebrities to intercede in social and political issues that are no longer addressed by the government. Moreover, I argue that government dependence on militarization has contributed to the subversion of diplomacy, which has prompted non-state actors, such as celebrity diplomats, to take on the task of engaging in negotiations and political discourses with world leaders. In addition, I argue the increased emphasis on commodification and consumption allows celebrity diplomats to exploit their celebrity status and capitalism to promote a political agenda on behalf of a multilateral organization, institution, government, or themselves. The chapter concludes with an examination of the gendering effects of neoliberal globalization on celebrity diplomacy, concentrating on the manner in which celebrity diplomats are gendered in international affairs and also how their diplomatic endeavors are at times indicative of expected gender roles in international affairs and the global economy.

Chapter V, *Angelina Jolie: Maternal Diplomat*, begins with an introduction to Jolie, her family history, acting career, and foray into international politics. The chapter will then explore her role as a UN Goodwill Ambassador for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which will include an examination of her geographical and population focus.

The chapter then discusses her interaction with states governments and world leaders, as well as her interactions with other multilateral and international institutions/organizations, such as the International Criminal Court (ICC). I will also discuss her collaboration and creation of the Maddox Jolie-Pitt Foundation (MJP) and the mission of the organization. In addition, I suggest that Jolie's adoption of three of her children is an element of her diplomatic endeavors. While discussing each of these facets of Jolie's diplomatic endeavors, I demonstrate how they each are facets of the neoliberal state and can attributed to the failure of the neoliberal state. Once I have established a foundation for understanding her role as a celebrity diplomat, I argue that Jolie's diplomatic activities are gendered and depict expected gender roles associated with femininity. In particular, I contend that Jolie's diplomatic activities are often demonstrative of a maternal agenda, specifically focusing much, but not necessarily all, of her attention on children and women.

Chapter VI, *George Clooney: From the ER to the UN*, also begins with a discussion of Clooney's family history, acting career, and entrance into the political arena. The chapter then proceeds to examine Clooney's role as a UN Messenger of Peace, as well as his interactions with the UN Security Council and on behalf of the organization. The chapter pays particular

attention to Clooney's geographical and population focus, which has been somewhat dominated by his advocacy for the people suffering the genocide in Darfur. The chapter then shifts to examining Clooney's interactions with state governments and world leaders, as well as other multilateral and international institutions/organizations, such as Darfur Now and the One Campaign. Like the previous chapter, I critique these interactions, arguing that Clooney's diplomatic endeavors are the result of the failure of the neoliberal state, but at the same time help to perpetuate a neoliberal agenda. I then argue that Clooney's diplomatic endeavors are also gendered and often illustrate expected masculine gender roles.

Chapter VII, *The Impacts of Celebrity Diplomacy in a Globalized World*, concludes with a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of the emergence of celebrity diplomacy in international affairs. I argue that celebrity diplomacy does provide some benefits in that celebrities are able to reach a larger audience than official diplomats, and thus are able to bring more attention to global issues. However, I also contend that these benefits are two-sided as they continue to perpetuate a neoliberal agenda. While these individuals, bring attention to international issues, they also bring attention to themselves. In addition, as commodities and symbols of the culture industry, celebrities commodify that which they are

associated with. Therefore, I suggest that celebrity diplomats have the potential to commodify the international issues they are attempting to address through their promotion of merchandise, documentaries, their own films, and possibly adoptions. Celebrity diplomats also have differing responsibilities than official diplomats; they are not beholden to a set criteria of state regulations that must be followed while engaging world leaders in political discourse or when pursuing international issues. Therefore, I contend that celebrity diplomats may pursue their own political agendas internationally in any manner that they chose; they may or may not speak on behalf of a state or organization, but are most likely are engaging in political discourse to appease their own political agendas. The chapter concludes with a summary of the findings of the dissertation arguing that celebrity diplomats, particularly Angelina Jolie and George Clooney, are products of the neoliberal state and its failure to effectively engage in international diplomatic affairs due to increasing reliance on the private sector (privatization), military strength (militarization), and the spread of global capital (commodification). Moreover, I conclude that as players in the neoliberal system, celebrity diplomats act on the basis of their expected gender roles and help to perpetuate a gendered political economy. I provide suggestions for future research

regarding celebrity diplomats and the future of celebrity
diplomacy in the international arena as we proceed into the 21st
century.

Chapter I: Gender, Feminism, and Political Economy

Introduction:

International relations and international political economy can be viewed from multiple perspectives. Each of these perspectives encourages its audience to view the world from a particular lens. One often underemphasized, but growing, perspective in the study of international and global politics is feminist political economy. This discipline seeks to examine international political economy through "gender-sensitive lens" (Peterson and Runyan 1999, 1), which can assist in examining the gendered nature of a multifaceted political economics. Utilizing gendered lenses allows for a simplification or framework from which to explore and understand the gendered dynamics of the world around us. I chose this as my theoretical framework because gendered meaning and understanding impact the international structure.

Feminist international relations theory explores gender as a category of analysis in international relations (Tickner 1992, 5). V. Spike Peterson and Anne Sisson Runyan (1999, 7) writes that gender is the feminist theorist's primary lens because "the worldwide institutionalization of gender *differences* is a major underpinning of structural inequalities of significance in world politics." Tickner notes that the study of gender and women have been marginalized in international relations scholarship due primarily because the disciplines of international relations (and political science) analyze international politics from a

masculine perspectives (Tickner 1992, 5). In other words, men dominate the field of international relations, which means that the majority of assumptions and explanations attributed to the field are derived from the experiences and interpretations of men (Tickner 1992, 6). Thus she argues that these masculine perspectives ignore critical values, interpretations and assumptions about the construction, structure, and function of the international systems, which constrains the options available to policy makers and states (Tickner 1992, 17).

Feminist perspectives of international relations are constructed out of women's situated knowledge and experiences. However, Tickner (1992, 18) cautions that feminist theories "must go beyond interjecting women's experiences into different disciplines and attempt to challenge the core concepts of the disciplines themselves." She argues that feminist theories should be utilized to examine and critique the meaning of concepts such as power, sovereignty, and security, which can be reformulated into new ways of thinking and solving problems in international politics (Tickner 1992, 18). Gender is about power; therefore, taking up the study of gender allows feminist scholars to explore the dynamics of international relations, whether it is a more traditional study of the interactions between nation-states or involvement of celebrities in international and global affairs. The incorporation of gender

as a category of study in international relations, contributes to a new understanding of how power is constructed, maintained, and executed in international politics.

One of the primary pitfalls of traditional international relations theories, such as realism and neorealism, idealism and liberalism, and constructivism, is the avoidance of the individual in the study of international relations, power, and politics (see Waltz 1979; Kegley 1993; Wendt 1992). Typical IR theorists contend that the personal is not political, and therefore not a category of study. Yet this eliminates a crucial area of study: the interaction between the public and the private spheres. Feminist theory, on the other hand, suggests that the personal is political, and thus examines distinctions between the public and private and gender hierarchies at all levels of analysis (Tickner 1992, 18-19). As a result, feminist theory is able to include often ignored or underestimated levels of analysis, such as interaction between individual or the family with the state, and subsequent impact on the international system and structure.

This chapter begins with a discussion of the conceptualization of feminism. Feminists have various understandings of what feminism means to them and how it should be defined in scholarship. These varying interpretations are based in ontological and epistemological differences regarding

the subordination of women and gender hierarchies. The next section of this chapter explores the social construction of gender and the manner in which gender hierarchies are created through the "naturalization" of expected gender roles. This section provides further insight into the dichotomy between masculinities and femininities. The following section of this chapter includes an overview of neoliberalism and globalization (neoliberal globalization), which will provide a historical account of the emergence of neoliberalism as the predominant economic ideology today, which has been able to expand due to globalization. The remaining section of this chapter will discuss the emergence of feminist political economy as a critical approach to understanding and challenging traditional perspectives of global economy. It includes a discussion of feminist perspectives regarding the gendering nature of neoliberal globalization, which further subordinates women, perpetuates gender hierarchies, and furthers the goals of capitalist patriarchy.

Feminists and Feminisms

Individuals who label themselves feminists have yet to come to a consensus of what the label should and should not entail. There are varying typologies of feminists and feminist theory. As Sara Ruddick contends, there is no way to identify a feminist

because feminism is a multifaceted social movement (1995, 234). Brooke Ackerly writes that a feminist is "engaged in activism on scholarship organized by women to transform themselves and their world" (2000, 17). These action and social movements are driven by the need to advocate for women and gender rights (Sjoberg 2006, 31), while contesting the institutional frameworks that seek to subordinate women.

Therefore, one can argue that feminism is a theoretical approach that not only seeks to understand and explain the world, but is also dedicated to an action oriented approach, articulated through scholarship and actions, that addresses the role of gender and the oppression and subordination of women in everyday society. Feminism is a political struggle that coexists and interacts with other political movements (Sjoberg 2006, 32). In conjunction with other political movements, feminism seeks to struggle against social, racial, economic and physical abuses of women (Ruddick 1995, 235), while identifying and challenging a gender order which privileges the masculine over feminine values.

However, as Sjoberg (2006) and Mohanty (2003) point out, feminists are often criticized for the assumption that there is a commonality between women despite their culture. Mohanty claims that many Western feminists essentially lump all Third World women into a single group thus insinuating that these

women despite their social, cultural, and historical backgrounds (and experiences), all face the same problems and struggles based on their shared oppression or the "suppressed feminine" (Mohanty 2003, 113). She contends that Western feminists define Third World women as victims of male dominance, and women are therefore dependent and powerless. In other words, she asserts that Western feminists approach the study of Third World women with an analytical framework characterized by ethnocentric universalism (Mohanty 2003, 21). Mohanty further argues that Western feminists desire to articulate a feminist solidarity or sisterhood erases "ideological power differences within and among groups of women, especially between First and Third World women" (Mohanty 2003, 116). While Mohanty's assessment may seem radical, there is merit to her argument. Western and Third World women do not have the same ontological backgrounds. All women may experience some form of oppression as a result of patriarchal society, but their oppression and subordination within society varies based on ideological power structures.

Constructing Gender

Not to be conflated with biological sex, which is determined by one's anatomical makeup, gender is a socially constructed set of behaviors and characteristics (Peterson and Runyan 1999, 5) or "the difference between masculine and

feminine roles, or men's and women's personalities" (Connell 2002, 33). Connell notes that the distinction between the two provided feminists and other scholars to explain women's subordination, particularly using this breakthrough to point out that such subordination is not based in biology, but rather in socially preconceived notions of gender roles (Connell 2002, 33).

Gender consists of a set of behaviors and characteristics that are performed and repeated throughout history and one's life. Judith Butler states that gender does not originate with the individual. As these gender characteristics are repeated throughout time, they appear to become natural. Humans, regardless of sex, race, ethnicity, etc. frame their individuality and autonomy based on how they are recognized, which is confirmed by societal norms. Butler writes, "norms of recognition function to produce and reproduce the notion of the human" (Butler 2004). In other words, these norms are regulations in the form of laws and regulations that are not necessarily enforced by an official institution, but are conferred and forced on the individual by society. Those who do not conform to such norms are cast as the other; thus by adhering to the social norms prescribed by society, we react to what is considered to be the other. Therefore, Butler contends gender norms are a form of regulation, often designed to further

binaries male/female, masculine/feminine, as well as enforce the system of compulsory heterosexuality (Butler 2004).

With that said, gender is not fixed or predetermined (Peterson and Runyan 1999, 7). Gender roles and gender norms change over time and are shaped by context. However, individuals are expected to exhibit and perform specific gendered behaviors and characteristics. Gender roles are produced from what Peterson and Runyan call a "gender dichotomy" (1999, 7). In other words, masculinity and femininity are fixed binary oppositions that legitimize the meaning of masculine and feminine (Tickner 1992, 7; citing Scott 1988). The masculine is defined and identified as the feminine is identified. It is only by opposing masculine and feminine characteristics that a distinction can be drawn between the two.

It is not uncommon to see more positive characteristics in politics associated with masculinity. For instance, politics tend to associate "manliness" with characteristics such as courage, toughness, strength, power, independence, etc. Therefore, masculine attributes have been afforded more value in international politics (Ticker 1992, 5), whereas feminine characteristics, such as weakness, emotionality, "softheadedness," and passiveness are devalued and often cast in a negative light in international politics (Peterson and Runyan 1999, 8).

Understanding Neoliberal Economics and Globalization

Before exploring feminist critiques of neoliberalism and neoliberal globalization, it is necessary to discuss and define these concepts as they apply to the current global economy. Neoliberalism has been the hegemonic economic theory in the current global economy for more than 30 years. David Harvey defines neoliberalism as "...a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedom and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade" (Harvey 2005, 2). Moreover, it is the responsibility of the state to preserve these freedoms and maintain this institutional framework via the police, military, and various legal structures (Harvey 2005, 2). Moreover, freedom is defined in terms of economic freedom. This is necessary because in order to secure individual political freedoms, one must first have economic freedom (Frieden 1962, 8-9).

Neoliberalism did not emerge overnight, but rather was the result of a gradual shift in international economic policy. Following the Great Depression and both world wars, the United States and other nations became determined to avoid such political and economic crises in the future. They wanted to

avoid the "re-emergence of inter-state geopolitical rivalries that had led to the war" (Harvey 2005, 10). As a result, they policymakers turned to John Maynard Keynes.

Keynes, one of the most influential economists of the 20th century, promoted a new form of economic liberalism. His theory, which is often referred to as Keynesian theory or Keynesian political economy, "Combines state and market influences in a way that, while still...relies on the "invisible hand" over a narrower range of issues, and see a *larger but still limited* sphere of constructive state intervention" (Balaam and Veseth 2008, 46). In other words, Keynes recognized that there were times in which markets *do* fail, and that it is the responsibility of the state to intercede in the market when these failures occur. Keynes argued that individuals and markets make unwise decisions when faced with situations in which the future is unknown (Balaam and Veseth 2008, 47). There are times when an individual or a state may be acting rationally and in their own self interests, but may not reflect the collective interests of the state, which can lead to both irrational and destructive consequences in which there is no effective way to share the risks or coordinate market actions (Balaam and Veseth 2008, 47). Therefore, it is necessary for governments to intercede in the market to coordinate market actions and mitigate risks that will ultimately result in the

collective good of the individuals, the market, and the state. However, once the state has achieved its goals in regulating the market, it must once again refrain from intervening in market actions.

One of the results of Keynesian theory was the creation of the Bretton Woods system, which resulted in the creation of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) (which later became the World Trade Organization (WTO)). Each of these institutions were created to help promote free trade, eliminate tariff and eventually non-tariff barriers, prevent future economic collapse, and aid in economic reconstruction in the post-war era. According to David Harvey, it was during this time that free trade was encouraged "...under a system of fixed exchange rates anchored by the U.S. dollar convertibility into gold at a fixed price" (Harvey 2005, 10).

Keynesian economics proved to be rather successful through the 1940s and 1950s, which many nations experiencing tremendous economic growth, low unemployment, and stable prices (Frieden 2006, 278). Jeffrey A. Frieden contends that Asian nations, particularly Japan, benefited the most from this system as they embraced new technologies and industrialize (2006, 280). However, by the end of the 1960s, many nations' economies began

to stagnate or decline as unemployment rose and inflation became rampant.

As a result, many capitalist nations began to turn towards the economic theories posited by Friedrich von Hayek and Milton Friedman. Following the teachings of Adam Smith's invisible hand theory, these economists and others melded neoclassical economics principles of free markets with neoclassical political thought (Harvey 2005, 20; Rapley 2004, 75). Both economists opposed Keynesian economics because they saw it as a possible shift towards a command economy, socialism, and/or Communism. Frieden in particular argued that placing economic control in the hands of the government would result in the elimination of economic, as well as political freedoms. He claimed that the government is a coercive power that should not be given more power over the individual via the market. In *Capitalism and Freedom*, he states, "By removing the organization of economic activity from the control of political authority, the market eliminates this source of coercive power. It enables economic strength to be a check to political power rather than reinforcement" (Frieden 1962, 15).

The theories of Hayek and Frieden became the cornerstone of neoliberal economic theory, which gained further credibility after each received the Nobel Prize in economics in 1974 and 1976 respectively. Political leaders, such as Jimmy Carter,

Ronald Reagan, and Margaret Thatcher, championed these theories and integrated them into their economic policies, which focused on deregulation and privatization. Carter turned to Paul Volcker, then chair of the Federal Reserve and now the Chairman of the Economic Recovery Advisory Board for the Obama administration, to develop monetary policies to stop further inflation. Following neoliberal principles, Volcker engineered "...a draconian shift in U.S. monetary policy" (Harvey 2005, 23), which eventually became known as the Volcker Shocks, that sought to reduce inflation without regard to the effects that it might have on employment. This resulted in a raise in interest rates, closure of factories and outsourcing, and had devastating affects on the bargaining power of trade unions (Harvey 2005, 23). Furthermore, this coincided and exacerbated the increase in Third World debt ultimately leading to bankruptcy for many developing and underdeveloped nations (Cavanagh and Mander 2002, 57).

Reagan and Thatcher also decreased or eliminated social expenditures at an alarming rate. Thatcher also thought it necessary to attack all forms of social solidarity. Thus she was hostile towards unifying groups, such as trade unions and other social movements, because they would resist or restrain capital accumulation (Harvey 2006, 25-26). She even went as far as to declare that there is "no such thing as society, only

individual men and women" (Harvey 2005, 23). Harvey remarks, "All forms of social solidarity were dissolved in favour of individualism, private property, personal responsibility, and family values" (2005, 23). The neoliberal economic policies of Reagan and Thatcher resulted in reduced taxes, tax breaks to firms that invested in emerging economic sectors, and further deregulation of public collective goods.

Neoliberalism is spread globally by globalization, and in turn globalization is perpetuated by neoliberal ideology. Globalization is not an easy concept to define. Scholars in varying disciplines have each defined globalization in a different way, while focusing on various aspects of the phenomenon. Moreover, there are critics such as Kenneth Waltz (1999, 694), who assert that globalization is a fad and does not actually exist because it is not truly global in scope. Waltz contends that regions throughout the world, particularly in underdeveloped and developing regions, have been left behind in the global economy. Only certain regions in the world are able to participate in the global economy (Waltz 1999, 695). Those whom acknowledge the existence of globalization often define it in terms of varying types of interconnectedness, whether it be economic, cultural, political, or social, via increased communication and the ability to rapidly transfer information and ideas. Joseph Stiglitz defines it as "...the closer

integration of the countries and peoples of the world which has been brought about by the enormous reduction of costs of transportation and communication, and the breaking down of artificial barriers to the flows of goods, services, capital, knowledge, and (to a lesser extent) people across certain borders" (Stiglitz 2002, 9).

There are differing reactions among scholars to globalization. For instance, there are those who declare that globalization has been extremely beneficial to the global community due to the opening of markets, the promotion of free trade, and the spread of unbridled capitalism and liberal democracy (Fukuyama 2006). On the other side, anti-globalization movements and protests deplore the ill effects of globalization, contending that it results in exploitation of the Third World, furthers the North/South Divide, and continues to widen the gap between rich and the poor (Stiglitz 2002; Cavanagh and Mander 2002). "It [Globalization] was designed and created by human beings with a specific goal: to give primacy to economic—that is, corporate—values about all other values and to aggressively install and codify those values globally" (Cavanagh and Mander 2002, 33).

Globalization is perpetuated by differing typologies of governance, including firms, governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and multilateral institutions.

Multinational and transnational corporations and institutions such as the IMF, World Bank, and WTO, attempt to transform "all of the economic, political, and cultural forms it encounters" through the promotion of production, consumption, and the free flow of capital (Bergeron 2001, 983). Therefore, "the power of transnational capital is nearly absolute, as it constructs a universal world economy and culture, squashing and replacing all local alternatives with universal markets (via neoliberal economic policies) and cultural products that transnational corporations such as Disney and McDonald's produce and market" (Bergeron 2001, 985; cited from Brecherand Costello 1994; Gill 1995).

Feminists Perspectives of Neoliberal Globalization

Feminist theorists can explore gender in world politics from multiple angles and perspectives. Feminist political economy is a fairly young and growing field within the study of political science and economics. Dominant forms of international political economy (IPE) tend to focus on men, states, and markets from a masculine understandings of the economy and human nature. This model of understanding is therefore gendered in the perceptions of states, markets, wealth, and power (Robinson 1999, 129). Traditionally, economics is seen as a "hard" discipline that is grounded in

quantitative information, while other fields in the social sciences that are more open to qualitative study are considered to be "soft" disciplines (Waylen 1997, 206). Peterson states, "feminists note continuing resistance to the breadth, depth, and specifically theoretical implications of feminist political economy scholarship" (Peterson 2005, 500). Therefore, Peterson (and others) argue that there is a need to "correct androcentric bias by *adding women* and their experiences" to existing analytical frameworks and understanding of global political economy (Peterson 2005, 501).

Many feminist political economists examine capitalism as a patriarchal system furthering women's subordination. J.K. Gibson-Graham and Jenny Cameron have specifically encouraged a feminist rethinking of "dominant capitalocentric conceptions" of the global economy (Cameron and Gibson-Graham 2003, 146). However, the ultimate goal of feminist political economy (grounded in feminist economics) is "about understanding how gender relations and inequalities are imbedded in what might appear to be hidden economic interactions (Beneria *et al.* 2000, x).

Much of feminist political economist literature explores several elements of global political economy. One common element is the study and impact of gender on neoliberal globalization, as well as the gendering effects of neoliberal

globalization. Taking a critical approach to the study of political economy, feminist political economists tend to agree that the study of globalization and its impacts often exclude an examination of gender, and therefore the study of globalization suffers from "gender blindness or male bias" (citing Isabella Bakker 1994; Waylen 1997, 213). "Much of the theorizing about globalization is either gender-neutral or gender-blind, ignoring how globalization shapes gender relationships and people's lives materially, politically, socially and culturally at all levels and treating its differential effects on women and men as similar. Gender is basically taken for granted, as if it does not matter" (Chow 2003, 444).

However, globalization is not a gender-neutral phenomenon. Peterson (2005, 507) asserts, "Globalisation is a gendered process that reflects both continuity and change" because men and masculine thinking continue to dominate institutions and economic policy. At the same time, however, it has "disrupted gendered patterns by altering conventional beliefs, roles, livelihoods and political practices worldwide" (Peterson 2005, 507). Feminist political economy literature facilitates an understanding of the gendering of globalization; thus providing an understanding of the ways in which gender is embedded in discourses of globalization. Carla Freeman writes that a

gendered understanding of globalization provides new ways of looking at the global political economy:

A gendered understanding of globalization is not one in which women's stories or feminist movements can be tacked onto or even "stirred into" the macropicture; rather, it challenges the very constitution of that macropicture such that producers, consumers, and bystanders of globalization are not generic bodies or invisible practitioners of labor and desire but are situated with social and economic purposes and cultural meanings that are central to globalization itself. (Freeman 2001, 1010)

She continues, noting that globalization subsume specific notions of masculinity and femininity, as well as expected gender roles of women and men (Freeman 2001, 1011).

Freeman and other feminist political economists contend that there is a global restructuring of globalization that demonstrating the gendering aspects of globalization (Freeman 2001, 1014; Peterson 1996, 5). Waylen (1997) notes that like other scholars of international political economy (IPE), feminist political economists explore the processes of globalization and the restructuring that occurs as a result of this global phenomenon. Structural hierarchies, based in expected gender roles, are created through the practices and the "naturalization" of neoliberal globalization (Peterson 2003, 8).

These hierarchies become internalized and institutionalized within the discourses of neoliberal globalization and institutions to support neoliberal objectives, which work to "...obscure the significance, perpetuation, and intensification of inequalities today" (Peterson 2003, 9).

Like other political economists, feminists do tend to examine the impact of neoliberal globalization on the global North and South. Most economic analysts agree that neoliberal globalization has impacted the North and South, resulting in:

Restructuring in the last decade, heightened international competition, shifts in centers of economic power, and rapid technological change. There has been an increased emphasis on markets. National governments have deregulated and imposed fiscal restraint, while international institutions like the IMF and World Bank have imposed policies of structural adjustment. (Cited from MacDonald 1995, 180; Waylen 1997, 212).

Such policies and the Washington Consensus in general have resulted in the polarization of the labor market in both regions. Typically the global North attracts and encourages highly skilled labor in advance technologies, while the South tends to be more labor-intensive that relies heavily on cheap labor. Feminists have noted that these labor-intensive regions tend to be dominated by women workers. Both male and female

workers are exploited in these regions. However, feminist scholars have noted propensity for women to experience a "labor market disadvantage" because of their "willingness to accept more flexible terms of employment" (Beneria, et al 2000, xii).

Feminists have taken multiple perspectives when assessing the current global economy. Traditional understandings of the global economy tend to ignore or undermine women's paid and unpaid labor in the public and private sphere. However, there are several feminists that focus more on the work of women in the private sphere in evaluations of the exploitive nature of women's contributions to social reproduction and the care of the family (Peterson 2003; Bakker and Gill 2004; Braedley 2006; Luxton 2006; Bezanson and Luxton 2006). Like many conceptual ideas, there are multiple definitions and accounts of social reproduction. However, Isabella Bakker and Stephen Gill contend that these varying definitions relate to three main components: 1) the biological reproduction of the species (childbearing); 2) reproduction of the labor force; and 3) reproduction of caring needs (Bakker and Gill 2004, 32). Previous accounts of the global economy have articulated a discourse that separates the home and work from each other, thus ignoring the contributions of "homework" and the "housewifization" of women to the furthering of capitalist patriarchy (Prugl 1999). Moreover, the examination of social reproduction allows feminist scholars and

others to develop an understanding of the impact of the politics and ethics of caretaking and mothering on the global economy.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to provide a brief overview of my own conceptualization of feminism, gender, and neoliberal globalization, while introducing feminists' critiques and understanding of the current global economy. Through this chapter, I have presented the theoretical perspective and understanding that will be applied throughout this dissertation. The forthcoming chapters will use these conceptualizations and approaches to gender and neoliberal globalization to explain the gendered nature of the celebrity diplomacy in the current global economy.

Chapter II: Framing the Celebrity in the 21st Century

Introduction

Culture shapes every facet of life. Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno contend that culture today infects everything with sameness (Horkheimer and Adorno 2002, 94). They write that film, music, and various forms of literature all comprise a system that circulates culture. However, celebrities are also a component of that system. Celebrities have a huge impact on the ways in which culture shapes society, consumption, and the ways in which individuals present themselves and perceive reality. P. David Marshall writes, "Celebrity status operates at the very center of the culture as it resonates with conceptions of individuality that are the ideological ground of Western culture" (Marshall 1997, x).

Celebrity typically refers to an individual who is famous, well known, and/or celebrated (Marshall 1997, 4). Drawing on the French term *célèbre*, the contemporary definition of celebrity implies that an individual is a well-known *public* persona that has an impact on the public consciousness (Rojek 2001, 9-10). Celebrities are able to have this type of impact on the public because the celebrity is also a system for valorizing meaning and communication (Marshall 1997, x). Through this system, celebrities are able to exude a discursive power that allows

them to appear as if they are above all others and that their voice and demeanor carries a certain level of legitimacy.

However, very few individuals possess ascribed or predetermined celebrity status. Most celebrities must achieve or have their status attributed to them. In other words, a celebrity must derive their status from a perceived accomplishment (achieved status) or be considered a noteworthy or exceptional individual by cultural intermediaries (Rojek 2001, 18). Celebrities are producers of art as well as a physical embodiment of art. Like a work of art, celebrities are molded, painted, and displayed in specific ways for the purpose of conveying a certain message or sign values (which will be discussed in more detail below). Celebrities must be produced as they are derived from the field of cultural production. Therefore, celebrities must undergo a refined process of applying makeup, choosing appropriate and trendy wardrobes, and other regiments of beautification and primping in order to be able to portray themselves as objects of beauty, glamour, sophistication, etc. Various individuals and representatives of the culture industry carry out this process and the marketization and commodification of the celebrity. The celebrity comes to create a fabricated and simulated representation of reality that seeks to promote capitalist system.

This chapter demonstrates how a celebrity is created by and for the culture industry through different forms of mediation. In addition, this chapter explores how celebrity emerges in the field of cultural production, develops and exudes sign value, and creates fabricated authenticity in ways that help to assert the primacy of the culture industry.

Creating Contemporary Celebrity and the Role of the Culture Industry

Celebrity status is not obtained on whim. The history of fame confirms that individuals must seek fame by garnering attention for themselves and gaining power over others (Braudy 1986, 3). Leo Braudy's thorough genealogy of the history of fame explores the rise of celebrities throughout human history, observing the fame is exuded by various ancient individuals like Alexander the Great, Homer, Jesus, Charlemagne, and Jonathan Swift to name a few. Yet these celebrities differ from the celebrities of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In the early Western tradition, fame was limited to those who had power to control their images on objects such as coins or frame their image in oral stories and traditions (Gamson 1994, 17). With the rise of the market system, fame began to be associated with one's ability to sell oneself on the open market. The market system broadened fame's producers and audiences, which allowed

fame to be conceived as form of stratification of class distinction.

The contemporary definition term *celebrity*, coined in the 19th century, appeared with the rise of print media. Celebrity is cultivated and enabled by various forms of media. Numerous scholars agree that the primary means through which celebrities are able to reach the masses is by an elaborate organization of media (Newbury 2000, 276). The media provides a platform through which the celebrity can be created and then exploited to the masses (Franck and Nuesch 2007, 220). Likewise, Friedrich Kittler writes that media "determine our situation" and define reality (Kittler 1986, xxxix and 3). Therefore, media determine and define the cultural environments in which we live. The utilization of the celebrity is one means through which the media are able to shape and manipulate the everyday lives of individuals. Mass media provides an apparatus through which ordinary individuals first be introduced to celebrities and then develop a received relationship with the celebrities they view and discuss on a daily basis.

The contemporary celebrity began to emerge as the circulation of newspapers became a popular form of information distribution. Through newspapers, information could be bought and sold and disseminated to a larger audience. Furthermore, mass circulation of newspapers prompted the introduction of

"yellow journalism," which highlighted stories about people (Gamson 1994, 20). Richard Schickel notes that Joseph Pulitzer and Randolph Hearst (celebrities in their own right) believed that it was essential to have stories that portrayed individuals as symbols: "human symbols whose terror, anguish, or sudden fortune, whatever, seemed to dramatically summarize some local event or social problem or social tragedy" (citing Schickel 1985, 40, Gamson 1994, 20). Photography provided an additional aspect to journalistic stories about individuals. Through photographs, consumers were able to link names and stories to actual, realistic images.

The invention of the phonograph and cinematography also had a huge impact on the production and creation of the contemporary celebrity. The phonograph allowed for the reproduction of sound, which allowed individuals to also put a voice with the images and stories that they were receiving in the media. Moreover, it allowed for the distribution of music, sermons, speeches, and other forms of verbal communication. Therefore, ordinary individuals become connected to the sounds of individuals who possess some form of oratory and vocal talent. Cinema merged sound, image and story into one single media, thus prompting further dissemination of information about individuals. As the popularity of film grew, the culture industry adopted the "star system" or celebrity culture to fit

the needs of the industry (Gamson 1994, 25). "The development of motion pictures marked a solidification of celebrity culture" (Kruzman *et al.* 2007, 352). Thereafter, individuals (fans) began to distinguish films by stars and demand that production companies and movie studios provide information about the celebrities they saw in films. The culture industry then began to utilize the image of the celebrity for various purposes, such as promoting products, upcoming films, other celebrities, etc.

Technological advancements continue to reframe the role and definition of the contemporary celebrity. The advent of the World Wide Web, or "Web 2.0," has produced helped to alter the way in which individuals gain success or attention. For example, individuals can now upload footage of themselves onto websites such as YouTube, MySpace, or Facebook, which can then be shared with multiple individuals around the world. In many instances, these individuals will only get their "fifteen minutes of fame," but others may "discovered" or achieve a heightened amount of attention. Kruzman *et al.* note that such phenomena is exhibited by the Internet success of Cindi Margolis and Mahir Cagri, "who bypassed the usual gatekeepers of the celebrity industry" (citing Gamson 2000, Kruzman *et al.* 2007, 354).

Inevitably, the contemporary celebrity demonstrates the "potential of capitalism, a celebration of new kinds of values

and orders, a debunking of the customary divisions of traditional society..." (Marshall 1997, 6). Thus celebrities are "creature[s] of capitalism" and as such become an extension of what Horkheimer and Adorno refer to as the culture industry (Kruzman et al. 2007, 353).¹⁵ Rojek observes that the contemporary celebrity is conceptualized by the culture industry as one of the primary means through which capitalism is able to subsume and exploit the masses (Rojek 2001, 33). The culture industry transforms the celebrity into a commodity that can be consumed on a daily basis. More specifically, "The celebrity...is the product of dominate interests that reproduce themselves in consumer goods and cultural forms" (Newbury 2000, 279). As commodities, celebrities are consumed on a daily basis: when someone watches their movies or television series, reads their books or a magazine or gossip column detailing their "personal life."

The culture industry exploits and manipulates celebrity appeal to market other commodities. Consumers can drink from mugs, purchase bedding, school supplies, or cell phone

¹⁵ Kruzman et al. (2007, 353) refer to celebrities as a creature of capitalism because "they involve the commodification of reputation as noted by Charles E. Hurst (2005: 116-22), and the construction of audiences." However, it is important to reiterate that the contemporary celebrity is also a product of the invention of print media, particularly as yellow journalism became more popular (Gamson 1994, 20). In addition, it is also necessary to point out that celebrities did not just exist in capitlialist nations.

faceplates with the celebrities' image. Celebrities have also become entrepreneurs, using their celebrity status to market their own perfumes and designer clothes and makeup. Thus the ordinary individual can purchase the fragrances created by Britney Spears or Antonio Banderas, while wearing the clothing lines and makeup series from Jennifer Lopez, Jessica Simpson, or Gwen Stefani. Moreover, the culture industry exploits the image of the celebrity to endorse various products. Celebrity endorsement generates a greater likelihood that consumers will purchase a product since the celebrity endorsement tends to make an advertisement believable and provides name recognition to brand name products (Agrawal and Kamakura 1995, 56).

The Cultural Production of Celebrity

In addition to the media, various representatives of the culture industry contribute to the production of celebrity culture. Bourdieu asserts that artists are not the only producers of "the meaning and value of the work—critics, publishers, gallery directors and the whole set of agents whose combined efforts produce consumers capable of knowing and recognizing the work as such" (Bourdieu 1993, 37). In order for an individual to attain celebrity status, they must too rely on agents to manage and market their celebrity image to the public. Rojek writes that a collective team of "agents, publicists,

marketing personnel, promoters, photographers, fitness trainers, wardrobe staff, cosmetic experts, and personal assistants" to mold the image of the celebrity; thus these individuals are necessary to create the culture of celebrity that is appealing to an audience of fans (Rojek 2001, 10). Kurzman *et al.* (2007) makes a similar observation, explaining that the rise of the public relations industry has had a significant impact on the production of the celebrity. For example, Rita Hayworth was a little-known actress until her agent created a fictitious organization that proclaimed that she was the best dressed actress in Hollywood; the agent then convinced *Look* magazine to do a layout of the actress, while also convincing Saks department store to supply Hayworth's wardrobe in exchange for her endorsement of the store (Kurzman *et al.* 2007, 353). Other celebrities attained celebrity status through the aide of gossip columns, fan clubs, and entertainment magazines (Kurzman *et al.* 2007, 353).

The celebrity only exists to the extent that he or she is believed to be a celebrity. The celebrity, who is an embodiment of artistic form, is a subject of art, as Bourdieu would say, only by the virtue that the collective belief of the masses perceives and considers the celebrity to have artistic merit, which entails not only that the celebrity be recognized as an artist, but also a work of art themselves (Bourdieu 1993, 35).

However, like all forms of artistic expression, one must take into consideration all that is needed to produce artwork, or in the case of celebrity, what is needed to produce the belief that the celebrity is an embodiment of artistic expression. Bourdieu writes "the sociology of art and literature has to take as its object not only the material production but also they symbolic production of the work, i.e. the production of the value of the work or, which amounts to the same thing, of belief in the value of the work" (Bourdieu 1993, 37). Similarly, celebrities are only considered celebrities if they accepted and recognized by individuals (fans, the paparazzi, and mass media) as a celebrity; thus celebrities, as the embodiment of artistic expression, must by accepted by the masses as a symbol of fame. Therefore, it is necessary to consider the audience and the producers of meaning and value associated with the symbolic and material production of celebrity.

The relationship that the celebrity has to their audience is primarily economic and political in nature. Bourdieu would argue that this relationship is dependent on the heteronomous market. He contends "producers and products will be distinguished according to their degree of success with the audience, which, it tends to be assumed, is evidence of their interest in the economic and political profits secured by success" (Bourdieu 1993, 46). In other words, an individual's

success as an artist and the art they produce is dependent upon the degree to which their audience economically and politically purchases their art. The level of celebrity status achieved by an individual is dependent on the degree to which their audience purchases their image and the artistic forms they produce. Thus an individual achieves their status as a celebrity as audiences pay to watch the a celebrity's films, television programs, interview, listen to the music they produce, and read tabloids, magazine articles, or books about the celebrity; ultimately, the a celebrity reaches celebrity status once audiences "buy into" their image, and the degree to which audiences "buy into" that image determines height of that celebrity's fame. Furthermore, heightened celebrity status is complemented with an increase in value and thus capital accumulated for their services as an artist and the artistic expressions that are marketed in the image of the celebrity.

For instance, the mass appeal of George Clooney was initially accompanied by high television ratings of the medical drama *ER* (which is dependent upon high viewing ratings from audiences), critical acclaim from reviewers, and mass media coverage spurred by audience acceptance of the actor. Before Clooney's popular success on *ER* and various blockbuster movies, his recognition as a celebrity was still primarily linked to the success of various family members and associated with several

short-lived television roles.¹⁶ Following his success on *ER*, Clooney became one of the most highly sought out actors in Hollywood as well as one of the most known faces in mass media. This heightened success, which resulted in his acceptance as a “powerhouse” celebrity, was due primarily to the audience’s recognition of him as an artist and artistic form as an actor, icon, and film character and his gradual increase in value as an actor and the capital accumulated as a result of the marketing of his image.

As noted above, the scale of economic profit derived from the success of an artwork or artist is established through the size of an audience. Bourdieu argues that there are three competing principles of legitimacy associated with economic profit: art for art’s sake, legitimacy associated with bourgeois, and the “popular” (Bourdieu 1993, 50). Art for art’s sake includes artwork that is created solely for the producers of art, while bourgeois art is recognized by its place in society and determined by the dominant class. Popular or industrial art, on the other hand, is provided legitimacy by the mass audience or ordinary consumers (Bourdieu 1993, 50-51).

¹⁶ Prior to Clooney’s success on *ER*, he was cast in several television series including *The Facts of Life*, *E/R* (not *ER*), *Roseanne*, *Sisters*, *Baby Talk*, *Sunset Beat*, and *Bodies of Evidence* (IMDB 2009). He did well in these series and was making \$40,000 a week prior to his appearance on *ER*, which made him “the best-paid unknown actor in Hollywood” (Zenger 2005, par. 9).

Dependent on mass success and extensive profits for stature and recognition, the celebrity must be a product of popular or industrial art. This is not to say, however, that artists or the bourgeois does not also impart legitimacy. On the contrary, mass audiences are influenced by the critiques of the artists and the dominant class when attributing celebrity status on an individual. Mass audiences are influenced when artistic peers and the dominant class award recognition to artists for their artistic expressions in films, music, journalism, etc. through honors such as Academy Awards, Grammy Awards, and Pulitzers. Recognition bestowed by the artists and the bourgeois entices mass audiences to explore the reasons for such recognition, which can sometimes result in additional appeal and recognition for celebrities.

The Sign of Celebrity

Jean Baudrillard contends that commodities and consumption are the center of society. According to Charles Levin, Baudrillard states that consumption has become a form of labor, "an active manipulation of signs," a sort of *bricolage* in which the individual desperately attempts to organize his privatized existence with meaning" (Baudrillard 1981, 5). However, the consumer only consumes a system of objects, which have sign value or a symbolic exchange value—"the value of social

prestation, of rivalry and, at the limit, of class discriminates" (Baudrillard 1981, 30-31). Once an object is exchanged it is transformed into a sign. Furthermore, he claims that the object then signifies or confers social meaning and prestige and is then able to produce revenue.

Like all commodities, celebrities are bought and sold on a daily basis, and thus have sign value. Celebrities they represent the renown, beauty, public recognition, wealth, and fame. However, not all celebrities have the same sign value. Some celebrities are considered to be more prestigious, which is determined in a number of ways: the amount of money they are paid per movie or television episode, how many accolades they have received throughout their career, the number of tabloids they appear in weekly, etc. Yet the concept of the celebrity implies that an individual is considered to be of higher status than another. Films that include a high profile celebrity is more likely to be consumed by a larger group of people, in part because audiences wish to consume the actor or actress in the film rather than the plot of the film. The mere presence of the high profile celebrity—the value they bring to the film—elevates the appeal of the film. In addition, the sign value of the celebrity increase as he or she draws a larger audience, which is perpetuated by an amplification of popularity and the

accrue ment of more pay for services rendered for the culture industry.

The products endorsed by celebrities have an elevated sign value simply by virtue of the fact that the celebrity, who is considered to be of higher status, promotes the product. For example, Catherine Zeta Jones endorsement of T-Mobile or Penelope Cruz's endorsement of L'Oreal cosmetics signifies to some consumers that these products carry with them more prestige and value since they are also used by individuals that have been deemed famous. The consumer develops the perception that if they use the products endorsed by a specific celebrity, they will have something in common with that celebrity. Furthermore, one could contend that the consumer could develop that the belief that consumption of a product endorsed by a celebrity will eventually elevate them to the same status as the celebrity, which will then give them the same sign value as the celebrity endorser.

An additional example of the sign value associated with celebrity endorsement includes Bono's Product Red campaign, which was launched at the World Economic Forum in Davos in 2006. The charity convinced various retailers throughout the world, including Gap, Armani, Apple, and Motorola, to make and sell special red products and donate a portion of the sell of those products to The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and

Malaria (Butcher 2006, 561). Various celebrities throughout the globe, including Bono, then endorse these products. The consumer who purchases these products can then "position themselves as holding a status above everybody with designer products that do not represent the exploitation of the most downtrodden—these products actually help them" (Cooper 2007, 126).

However, Marshall argues that the sign of the celebrity is strictly a sign of image, which is inevitably ridiculed. According to Marshall, celebrities are often ridiculed because they represent "the center of false value" because some individuals contend that they are attributed success without merit and through a lack of work (Marshall 1997, xi). Furthermore, he contends that the sign of the celebrity lacks materiality and productivity, and is therefore just a sign of "exchange value cleaved from use value," which as mentioned above indicates that the celebrity is only a commodity (Marshall 1997, xi).

Celebrities and the Representation of Authenticity and Reality

As celebrities become ingrained in the everyday lives of individuals, they do so through their production of portrayal of authenticity. However, celebrities are inauthentic; Newbury, citing Daniel Boorstin (1982), notes that celebrities "reek of

inauthenticity of cultural declension from a prior age in which "heroes" were admired for "greatness in some achievement. [The hero] is a man or women of great deeds... The hero created himself; the celebrity is created by the media" (citing Boorstin 1982, 46 and 61, Newbury 2000, 272). Yet celebrities, with aide of the culture industry, "fabricate authenticity." Richard A. Peterson states that the fabrication of authenticity implies that authenticity is not an inherent trait of an object—or individual, in the case of the celebrity—but is socially constructed (Peterson 1997, 5).

The culture industry creates a fabricated, but accepted, representation of reality and celebrity. Horkheimer and Adorno assert that film in particular "reproduces the world of everyday perception," which dictates how individuals (consumers perceive reality) (Horkheimer and Adorno 2002, 99). In addition, as the culture industry become better equipped and more effectively able to portray a fictional reality, that representation of life becomes more accepted by the masses as the norm. Celebrities, as the personification of the culture industry, are one of the primary mediums used by the culture industry to create this fictional reality. Celebrities are marketed in and by film, television, and various representatives of the culture industry as ordinary people who go through the same experiences as their audience. Therefore, celebrities in conjunction with the

culture industry dictate what and ordinary, everyday life should consist. The culture industry denies audience with the freedom to freely imagine their lives due in part because they are trapped in the ideal portrayed by the celebrity on behalf of the culture industry. In other words, the culture industries and its representatives (celebrities) "train those exposed to it to identify film directly with reality" (Horkheimer and Adorno 2002, 100).

To further expand on this notion, Baudrillard concentrates on the notion of the simulacra or simulation. Baudrillard argues that reality is only a simulation:

Baudrillard evokes the disturbing possibility that capitalism has triggered a dynamic in which society begins to understand itself *critically*, to be sure, but only from the standpoint of the repressive system itself as it moves operationally to a "higher logic level," thus permitting detection of the simulation model which it is already leaving in its wake. (Baudrillard 1981, 28)

Therefore, individuals live in a fictional reality that has been completely constructed by the capitalist system and the culture industry. Furthermore, Baudrillard (1981) contends that this fictional world "facilitates the pleasures of consumption" (Newbury 2000, 278). Celebrities are not only signs of that fictional reality, but they also help to encourage the

consumption of a simulated reality. Celebrities create a reality in which they simulate and stage their own demeanor and personality. For example, celebrities typically appear to be well groomed, with the perfect wardrobe and accessories creating the perception that they are always ready to step in to the spotlight, which then creates a standard of beauty and glamour that must be achieved by ordinary people. However, celebrities must go through hours of primping with the assistance of multiple stylists before appearing in a public setting or on the red carpet.

Ordinary people do not only want to imitate the unreality conveyed by the celebrity. The ordinary individual also wants to feel as if they are able to connect to celebrities—they believe that they are able to relate to a celebrity. Moreover, the personal lives of celebrities are displayed and discussed daily in tabloids, magazines, entertainment programs, and at times national news programs. Thus ordinary individuals feel as if they have an intimate relationship with the celebrity. Gamson points out, "Celebrities are like neighbors who nearly everyone knows, in nearly every social setting, and "stuff" about them is easier to find and share than information about friends or colleagues" (Gamson 1994, 176; Franck and Nuesch 2007, 225). Schickel points out that through television and other media sources, individuals develop the belief that they

know a celebrity. Celebrities become internalized, and are unconsciously made a part of the ordinary person's consciousness (Schickel 1985, 4).

Conclusion

The celebrity is sought, but not self-made. Historically, celebrities have been those who pursue power and then become public figures through images—paintings or imprints on coins—and through oral traditions. Print media transformed the ways in which ordinary people became familiar with those in power. Yet it was only through technological advancements, such as the newspaper, phonograph, and film, that the contemporary vision of the celebrity was able to take form. These forms of mediation allowed for the dissemination of stories, images, and sounds of people who were considered to have achieved greatness or possess some exceptional talent. Thereafter, the masses (fans) began to demand information about the celebrities—names and details about the celebrities' personal lives. The culture industry found a way to capitalize on the popularity of celebrities. Celebrities became commodities that could be exploited to promote the capitalist system.

However, the culture industry has to mold the contemporary celebrity in order for them to garner the fame needed to be able to fulfill the needs of the industry. Therefore, celebrities

are created through the field of cultural production, which allows them to be marketed to the general product. As a result, the celebrity becomes a dominant figure in the reigning cultural environment and are able to "feed the everyday world with horrific standards of attraction that encourage people to emulate them," which then allows them to cement and unify society (Rojek 13).

Chapter III: Celebrity Diplomacy, Public Diplomacy, and Power

Introduction: Hollywood and Global Affairs Collide

The study of celebrity diplomacy thus far tends to focus on what some individuals would refer to as activism rather than diplomacy. Many previous studies and observations focus on celebrities who have entered into public office, such as Arnold Schwarzenegger or Ronald Reagan, or campaigned for various politicians or issues (Giglio 2005; West and Orman 2003; Cooper 2008; Marshall 1997; Gamson 1994). Ernest Giglio (2005, 8) argues Hollywood and Washington D.C. have created a relationship that "is best expressed in terms of political campaigns and elections, support for issue oriented causes, ally and partner with government during national crises, and lobbyists for policies that directly affect the industry and its members. The main premise of Giglio's research discusses Hollywood's portrayal of political issues and events and the use of film as propaganda and the actors' pursuit of careers in government/public office. However, since Andrew Cooper's intriguing work, *Celebrity Diplomacy*, academics have begun to take a deeper look into the involvement of celebrities in international relations as a form of public diplomacy.

Cooper's work presents an interesting conceptualization and primary examples of the phenomenon. Cooper's discussion provides a basis from which one can begin research on the

subject. Cooper's examination of this phenomenon provides a preliminary context through which celebrity diplomacy can be defined. Therefore, this chapter will first define celebrity diplomacy, which will clarify the extent to which it is status that exceeds activism and can be undertaken by various categories of celebrities. This section of the chapter will also explain the relationship of the celebrity diplomat to mass audiences, international and multilateral institutions, governments, and world leaders. Moreover, the chapter is will discuss the manner in which celebrity diplomacy is a form of public diplomacy.

The chapter will then contrast the qualifications, training, and responsibilities of traditional diplomats with those of celebrity diplomats display and undertake. As I am looking at American celebrities who interact predominantly with the United States government and the United Nations, I will limit my discussion of the qualifications, training, and responsibilities of traditional diplomats to the United States State Department (Foreign Service) and those who work with the United Nations. Therefore, this section examines the educational and professional qualifications needed to pursue a career as a traditional diplomat, as well as the potential responsibilities and training that a traditional diplomat will be required to fulfill in their position. However, celebrity

diplomats do not have to meet the same qualifications or training requirements in order to become a "diplomat." They are not held to the same professional or educational standards as traditional diplomats. With that said, it is still necessary to understand what qualifications, training and/or education the typical celebrity diplomat does possess. Thus I will discuss what qualifications a celebrity diplomat typically does possess in order to be considered a diplomat working on behalf of or in conjunction with the government or the United Nations. I will also provide discussion of the responsibilities that celebrity diplomats have once they have been acknowledged as a diplomat, particularly as an emissary for the United Nations.

The chapter will continue with a discussion of the appointment process to the United Nations for traditional diplomats and celebrity diplomats. I will examine of the Messenger of Peace and Goodwill Ambassador programs, providing an explanation of their creation and the purpose of appointing celebrities to such positions. Finally, the chapter concludes by examining the manner in which celebrity diplomacy is gendered in international politics. In particular, I will examine diplomacy as soft power and the gender connotations associated with soft power.

Celebrity Diplomacy: Definition and Typologies

Celebrities have long been involved in varying political and humanitarian issues. To some extent, one could argue that it is possible to assert every celebrity in Hollywood, whether they be an actor, musician, or model, has an affiliation with some sort of humanitarian cause or organization. "Finding a celebrity with a cause is about as easy as finding a plastic surgeon in Los Angeles" quips *Forbes.com* writer, Saabria Chaudhuri (Chaudhuri 2006, par. 1). However, simple activism or philanthropic work does not confer the title of diplomat to a politically/socially active celebrity. Celebrities who have been deemed "diplomats" by the press, government officials, multilateral institutions (i.e. the United Nations), or nonprofit organizations engage in many of the same activities that "official" diplomats perform as part of their professional duties despite their lack of official training.

However, celebrities are not simply deemed diplomats because they are interested in one or more international issues. For instance, Jude Law would not be characterized a celebrity diplomat solely because of his interests and associations with organizations that focus on the elimination of global poverty, the promotion of world peace and the education of African children.¹⁷ While Law's support of such causes is commendable,

¹⁷ Law has been an advocate Education Africa, Make Poverty History, Peace One Day, and several additional NPOs that have an

he has not meet certain criteria that is attributed to celebrity diplomats, including meeting with international leaders about these issues or regularly discusses these political issues when addressing the media.

Celebrity diplomats have embraced the Latin root of ambassador—*ambactiare*—meaning to go on a mission (Cooper 2008, 3). Celebrity diplomats have a clearly defined mission that they have set themselves. For example, Bono seeks to eliminate AIDS and debt in Africa, while Mia Farrow is an advocate for children's rights and stopping genocide and wars against humanity. They remain consistent and enthusiastic in their focus, but do not shy away from visibly expressing their outrage (Cooper 2008, 3). Furthermore, their mission is international or transnational in scope. They go beyond domestic affairs and politics, acknowledging the existence of a global civil society. Angelina Jolie does not simply attend fundraisers or only appear in public service announcements (PSAs) to raise awareness for refugees around the world, while never leaving the comfort of her Hollywood home and lifestyle. Instead, she actually travels to refugee camps, interacts with refugees, and meets one-on-one with world leaders.

The involvement of celebrities in international affairs can be contributed to the shift in diplomatic agendas by both the

international missions
(<http://www.looktothestars.org/celebrity/145-jude-law>).

United States and United Nations. The most widely discussed and utilized diplomatic agendas are traditional and public diplomacy. Traditional diplomacy, or government-to-government diplomacy, is "just not enough" in the post-Cold War and post-9/11 eras (McHale, 2009). Judith Hale, the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, contends the United States (followed by the rest of the world) must now focus on building partnerships around the world while simultaneously bolstering credibility with the global community (McHale, 2009). Therefore, public diplomacy, which "refers to 'government-sponsored programs intended to inform or influence public opinion in other countries,'" has become one of the most utilized form of diplomacy by the United States (Jansen 2005, 51; cited from U.S. Department of State, Dictionary of International Relations Terms 1987, 85)) and arguably the United Nations. Public diplomacy employs "publication, motions pictures, cultural exchanges, radio and television" to deliver its message to the general public and world leaders (Jansen 2005, 51; cited from U.S. Department of State, Dictionary of International Relations Terms 1987, 85)). Celebrities are vital components in these delivery mechanisms as the vessels for cultural exchanges through various forms of mass media. Not only are they cultural icons, but also they deliver messages (at times political)

through their professional performances and in their personal lives when they engage in international political debates.

Those that can be defined as celebrity diplomats tend to “combine assertive individualism of the West with an appreciation of universal or cosmopolitan values” (Cooper 2008, 2). In other words, celebrity diplomats openly adhere to and purport Western notions values of community, political/social justice, and human rights as universal. Cooper also asserts that celebrity diplomats “abhor violence” (2008, 2) in international politics, including war, genocide, etc. While most celebrity diplomats do tend to be more liberal in their political ideologies, there are some celebrities (not necessarily diplomats, but rather activists) that have supported war and military interventions. For instance, Jon Voight, Angelina Jolie’s father, openly stated his support for the Bush Doctrine, including the military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq. Furthermore, celebrity diplomats may appear to deplore violence in reality, but often portray violent characters or engage in violence in their films.¹⁸ In addition, celebrity diplomats go beyond simple activism and philanthropy by engaging international leaders and diplomats in face-to-face

¹⁸ It should be noted that they may deplore violence in reality, but they do not do so when it comes to their films. In the next two chapters, I will discuss how George Clooney and Angelina admonish violent responses to international issues, but often portray characters in their films that resort to violence to accomplish their goals.

dialogue regarding the issues they address. Celebrity diplomats who engage world leaders tend to do so continuously through various forums, including the media, summits, etc. Some celebrity diplomats also align their political agendas with the missions of multilateral institutions and/or nonprofits, such as the United Nations or the ONE Campaign, to lend credibility and legitimacy to their efforts.

As Cooper notes, a celebrity diplomat is also defined by the ways in which they do not meet the traditional standards of diplomacy. First, he argues that celebrity diplomats are not members of an official "formalized guild" in that they do are not employed and paid by a government or multilateral institution (Cooper 2008, 2). However, celebrity diplomats are a part of a formalized guild—Hollywood. They may not be employed directly by a government entity or a multilateral institution, but they are representatives of the culture industry, which shapes society and culture on a daily basis. Furthermore, if the celebrity is a United Nations Goodwill Ambassador or Messenger of Peace they do hold a title with the institution; but those positions are strictly voluntary and the celebrity diplomat can pursue "diplomatic" activities that are outside the scope of their position with the U.N.

Secondly, Cooper claims that celebrity diplomats cannot claim to speak for a constituency (Cooper 2008, 2). Cooper

asserts that traditional diplomats are appointed by elected officials and can claim to work for a particular government body. Although celebrity diplomats do not have the traditional constituency that a government appointed diplomat possesses, they do have an unofficial constituency that they do represent—their fans. Each time an individual pays to see a celebrity diplomat's film, buys one of the albums, or watches one of their sporting events they are casting an unofficial vote through their consumption. Consuming a celebrity's product enables them to become a more prominent public figure, which boosts their status, reputation, and possibly clout in Hollywood and abroad.

Additionally, many celebrity diplomats have created their own non-profit organizations to address the issues that they pursue as diplomats. For instance, Bono is a co-founder of DATA (Debt, AIDS, Trade, Africa) and the RED campaign¹⁹, which takes many donations and sells merchandise each year for various causes that have been identified as important by the singer. Donating to these organizations or purchasing a RED product elevates and serves an indicator that the general public supports the causes espoused by the star and other celebrity diplomats associated with the organizations.²⁰ Lastly, many celebrity diplomats are

¹⁹ DATA was created in 2002 by Bono, Bob Geldof, Bobby Shriver, Jamie Drummond and Lucy Matthew ("ONE History" 2010).

²⁰ According to the RED Campaign's website, the organization has raised \$150 million to help eliminate the threat of AIDS in Africa (<http://www.joinred.com/red/#impact>).

officially or unofficially exchanged through social media and the Internet. Many celebrities have official and unofficial Facebook/MySpace fan pages and Internet fan sites, which provide some indication of the number of individuals who are supportive of the stars and most likely their actions.²¹

There are varying typologies of celebrity diplomats differing in how their celebrity status was achieved, what career path they follow, and what international issues they pursue. The most notable celebrity diplomats thus far have been actors/actresses and musicians. Other categories include individuals who are sports figures, artists, writers, and business entrepreneurs (most notably Bill Gates). Some celebrity diplomats were diplomats or politicians prior to becoming celebrities. Individuals such as Al Gore, Bill Clinton, Desmond Tutu, and Nelson Mandela, have been elevated to celebrity status since venturing into politics. In other words, their celebrity status is derived primarily from their forays into politics. Like any other celebrity, their personal lives, backgrounds, and career choices are the subject of media scrutiny. Furthermore, these individuals have already achieved stature in the political realm; thus, unlike celebrities such as

²¹ These numbers can be assessed through the number of subscribers to the Internet fan sites or the number of "hits" the pages receive each year. Additionally, individuals can "fan" or "like" the celebrity's Facebook/MySpace page, with the total number of "likes" and/or "fans" displayed on the celebrity page.

Bono or Angelina Jolie, their involvement, political knowledge, and legitimacy is not scrutinized in the same manner.

Qualification and Training: Traditional v. Celebrity Diplomacy

The Traditional United States Diplomat:

While some have become involved in United States diplomacy via contacts or their expertise in a certain region or international issue, most employees at the United States State Department must go through a battery of tests and training before becoming an active participant in the United State's official foreign affairs agenda. First those seeking a career in U.S. diplomacy must register to take the Foreign Service exam, which is proctored approximately three times a year. However, prior to taking the exam, all applicants must be aware of and have chosen a Foreign Service career track, which include: Consular, Economic, Management, Political and Public Diplomacy (United States State Department 2010, 3).²² Once the applicant has taken the test, they are notified of their scores via email. If the applicant has passed the exam, they are

²² It is also recommended that any applicant/candidate should have mastery of the English language, knowledge of "U.S. society, culture, economy, history, government, political systems and the Constitution; world history and geography; and world political and social issues" (United States State Department 2010, 14). In addition, they should possess basic mathematics and statistics skills, computer usage, an understanding of management, interpersonal communications, and basic economics (United States State Department 2010, 14).

allowed to continue to the Qualifications Evaluation Panel (QEP). The applicant must submit a personal narrative to five personal narrative questions (United States State Department 2010, 4) to the QEP. In addition, if the applicant indicates that they are fluent or have knowledge in a particular language, they may be invited to a telephone language test.²³

After the QEP has made their evaluation, the most competitive applicants must take a day long oral assessment conducted in Washington D.C. and other major cities across the United States. This oral examination assesses applicants in the following dimensions: composure, cultural adaptability, experience and motivation, information integration and analysis, initiative and leadership, judgment, objectivity and integrity, oral communication, planning and organizing, quantitative analysis, resourcefulness, working with others, and written

²³ According to the State Department, this portion of the test is referred to as Super Critical Needs Language Testing (SCNL). Applicants that indicate a knowledge base in "Arabic (Modern Standard, Egyptian, and Iraqi), Chinese (Mandarin), Dari, Farsi, Hindi, and Urdu at a limited working level or better will be invited to a telephone language test" (United States State Department 2010, 4). The State Department website does not indicate that a language proficiency is required. However, candidates who pass all phases of the Foreign Services exam and the SCNL test may add "SCNL bonus points" to their score on the hiring register (United States State Department 2010, 5). In other words, those that pass the language test could have a higher chance of being offered a position at with the State Department.

communication skills (Rosenberry 2009, 2-3).²⁴ Once a candidate has passed the oral assessment, the Office of Medical Services of the Department of State must determine if the candidate is medically fit to proceed and if they can serve overseas. Finally, a final review panel will assess the applicant's completed record (with the exception of their medical files) and make a determination as to whether they qualify for employment. The candidate's name and file is then placed on the Register, which is a rank-ordered list of successful candidates, grouped by career track" (U.S. Department of State: Careers Representing America 2010). Placement on the Register does not, however, guarantee that the candidate will receive employment from the State Department. Employment is contingent upon the needs of the Foreign Services (U.S. Department of State: Careers Representing America 2010).

If hired by the Foreign Service, new officers will begin with several weeks of basic orientation and training at the George P. Shultz National Foreign Affairs Training Center in Arlington, Virginia. During the orientation, new officers are introduced to the structure and function of the State Department. They receive information regarding the Department's

²⁴ In order to make an assessment of these dimensions, throughout the day candidates will be given several tasks to accomplish, including a group exercise, structured interview, case management exercise, and exit interviews (Rosenberry 2009). For further information, refer to http://www.careers.state.gov/docs/3.0_Oral_Assessment.pdf.

role in developing and implementing foreign policy (U.S. Department of State Careers-Assignments and Training 2010, par. 2). The orientation process is comprised of in-class and out-of-class training. New officers have the opportunity to visit Capitol Hill and other federal agencies, as well as interact with guest speakers and U.S. State Department officials. Once orientation is concluded, the officers will receive their first assignments.

While the orientation session lasts only five weeks, the State Department asserts that new officers can expect to have approximately three months to one year of training prior to their overseas deployment. New officers may receive the following training: public diplomacy training, consular training, political-economic tradecraft, or management training (U.S. Department of State Careers-Assignments and Training 2010, par. 4). Furthermore, the State Department does provide continual training throughout an employee's career, offering additional classes for civil service employees, leadership and management training, a mentoring program, opportunities to obtain a Master of Business Administration and/or Master of Science of Strategic Intelligence Degrees, and opportunities for Civil Service employees to work in the Foreign Service Hard-to-Fill Program (U.S. Department of State Careers-Training and Development 2010).

Individuals wishing to work for the United Nations can receive official appointments from their home governments. However, it is possible for individuals to also apply to various U.N. programs. Much like the Foreign Services, the United Nations requires that applicants meet specific requirements and take several proficiency exams before being considered for a career at the United Nations. First, applicants to the U.N. must have completed a "first level university degree," be 32 years old or younger, and speak fluent English or French ("United Nations Careers" 2010). Second, applicants must apply and be accepted to take the National Competitive Recruitment Exam (NCRE), which is given worldwide and is available to nationals of all member states ("United Nations Careers" 2010). In addition, individuals can also take several language proficiency tests. Again, like the Foreign Services, the U.N. seeks applicants that have academic backgrounds in politics, economics, social issues, legal work, and administration who are professional, possess good communication skills, bring diversity to the organization, is creative, organized, etc. ("United Nations Careers" 2010).

Once an individual passes the NCRE, they are put on a roster of potential employees. Therefore, appointment is not immediate. If a suitable position in the organization becomes available, qualified individuals will be appointed. According

to the United Nations Career portal, appointees will then go through an orientation process and mobility training to better adapt them to the tasks ahead (“United Nations Careers” 2010).

Qualifications and Training of Celebrity Diplomats

While the average (non-celebrity) individual seeking employment with their home government or the U.N. must meet explicit qualifications and at times go through a vigorous training program, celebrity diplomats typically do not have any official or professional training as diplomats for governments or other organizations. Many celebrity diplomats also do not have college degrees, or if they do possess a college degree, it is not in the fields of international studies/relations, political science, or economics.²⁵ As a result, academics, politicians, political pundits, the mass media, and the general public often question the qualification of a celebrity to speak on behalf of or address an international issue.

Therefore, many celebrities ally themselves with academics and government officials in order to increase their knowledge and increase their legitimacy as an authority on international issues. Several celebrities, such as Bono, Angelina Jolie,

²⁵ George Clooney pursued a degree in Broadcasting from Northern Kentucky University before dropping out to pursue a career in acting (Rose 2007; Blackman 2010). Don Cheadle has a degree in Fine Arts from the California Institute of the Arts (Biography for Don Cheadle, 2010).

Madonna, Brad Pitt, and George Soros, have aligned their work with the teachings and economic policies of Jeffrey Sachs (Cooper 2009; Looktothestars.org 2010). Each of the aforementioned celebrities have become involved with Sach's Millennium Development initiatives and the idea of a Millennium Village (Cooper 2009; Looktothestars.org 2010). George Clooney addressed the U.N. Security Council with Elie Wiesel on the genocide in Darfur (Nobel laureate Elie Wiesel, actor George Clooney to address Security Council on Darfur" 2006).

Even though the typical celebrity diplomat may not possess a college degree or any formal training in diplomacy, they often obtain the majority of their information and knowledge of the international issues they are addressing through discussions with representative from the State Department or United Nations. On the other hand, there are some celebrity diplomats that have taken a more direct approach to obtaining information by traveling to the regions and meeting the people that they are addressing. For instance, Don Cheadle traveled with John Prendergast and members of Congress on a fact-finding mission to the Sudan in 2004 (Cheadle and Pendergast 2007). While on that trip, Cheadle (now a U.N. Goodwill Ambassador) saw first hand the crimes and terrible conditions that the people of Darfur experience on a daily basis, thus prompting him to become one of the strongest advocates for U.S. intervention in Darfur. Other

celebrities, like Cheadle, have become more determined and knowledgeable regarding international issues after witnessing poverty, war, disease, etc. firsthand.²⁶

Ambassador Appointments and the United Nations

Appointing an American Ambassador:

To receive an official post as an American ambassador to the United Nation, one must have significant political influence and the attention of the current presidential administration. The American ambassador to the U.N. is nominated by the president of the United States and confirmed by the Senate's Foreign Affairs Committee. The confirmation process can be quite rigorous and "painful" (Riordan 2003, 26). However, many ambassadors are political appointees and therefore are at times appointed to their posts because of past presidential campaign contributions and are often a personal friend of the President or the Vice President (Riordan 2003, 28). There are some ambassadors who have been appointed without political ties to an administration, but these individuals are not as widely known and may have lower level appointments. Riordan states that an appointee will most likely have had a career outside of diplomacy prior to an appointment, either in private sector,

²⁶ Chapter V and VI will provide an in-depth examination of Angelina Jolie and George Clooney's roles as celebrity diplomats and the manner in which they have become familiar and knowledgeable of the international problems they pursue.

academia, or other areas in politics (2003, 28). The ambassador's "non-diplomatic experience and personal relationships will give him weight in society not enjoyed by a normal ambassador, strengthening his capacity for representational work" (Riordan 2003, 28).

Messengers of Peace and Goodwill Ambassadors:

Much like the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, a celebrity diplomat receives his or her appointment to the Messenger of Peace or Goodwill Ambassador programs due to their visibility (name recognition), clout, and past political involvement in various international issues. These celebrity diplomats are chosen because of their interests, related work, and ability to serve as advocates for the United Nations (Blackman 2010, 136). Those appointed to the Messenger of Peace program or Goodwill Ambassador posts agree to volunteer their time to represent the U.N. and its mission, as well as travel on behalf of the organization (Fasulo 2009, 197).

Messengers of Peace tend to support the U.N.'s overall agenda. However, many Messengers are also concerned with a particular area of interest, such as George Clooney's interest in Darfur. Other celebrities are appointed to the position of Goodwill Ambassador. Goodwill Ambassadors tend to focus their work on very specific international problems. For example,

celebrities that are committed to children's issues will most likely be appointed as an Ambassador to the UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund). However, these celebrity diplomats are not restricted to the political and international issues associated with their UN designation. A celebrity diplomat has the ability to speak and act on issues that the UN considers controversial or may not necessarily be reflective of the UN's overall agenda.

The Messenger of Peace and Goodwill Ambassador programs receive much of their funding via the United Nations Fund (UNF). The UNF was created with the goal of "promoting a more peaceful, prosperous, and just world" through the publication of U.N. goals worldwide (Fasulo 2009, 198). Much of the funds that UNF has received have been from celebrities. For instance, Ted Turner donated \$1 billion to the United Nations Fund in 1997 to support U.N. causes (Fasulo 2009, 198). However, Mark Alleyne contends that one of the purposes of further promoting celebrity involvement in the Messenger of Peace and Goodwill Ambassadors programs was and still remains to secure funding sources for U.N. programs (Alleyne 2005, 178). Alleyne claims that former Secretary General Kofi Annan touted the involvement of celebrity diplomats with U.N. initiatives in order to tap a previously untouched funding source—civil society. Thus like a government appointed ambassador, celebrity diplomats are also appointed to

designated U.N. positions due to their financial status and contributions (past or potential) to the organization.

Celebrity Diplomacy as Soft Power

As stated previously, celebrity diplomacy is a form of public diplomacy. As a form of public diplomacy, celebrity diplomats exert soft power, as well as utilize the resources that are employed when exercising soft power. Joseph S. Nye, Jr. contends that soft power is the power of attractiveness and seduction, which rests on various "assets such as attractive personality, culture, political values, and institutions" (Nye 2008, 95; also see Nye 2004a and 2004b). More specifically, soft power is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments" and "arises from attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies" (Nye 2004, 256).

Hollywood films have long been instruments of public diplomacy, and celebrities are the perfect vehicles for exercising soft power (Nye 2008, 95). First, celebrities are (typically) physically attractive and possess a mystique that encompasses celebrity status, which garners attention from the their fans and from elites around the world, including world leaders. While Nye would not consider the physical appearance to be an individual, particularly celebrities, to be a means of

exerting soft power, such attractiveness does provide celebrities the opportunity to capture the attention of soft power resources like the media, as well as the attention of the public. The majority of A-list celebrities, especially the celebrity diplomats who are the subject of this dissertation—Angelina Jolie and George Clooney, are hounded by the paparazzi follow celebrities in hopes of getting pictures or stories that focus on what they are wearing, who they are wearing, how it accentuates their figure, etc. Such photographs and stories may not possess any political substance, but it provides a tool that can be used by the celebrity in the future to convey political and humanitarian messages to a rapt audience.

Second, celebrity diplomats become attractive to world leaders and the masses because they possess wealth. Celebrity diplomats can utilize their qualities that make them attractive to further their own, institutional, or governmental political agenda. For instance, at the 2010 World Economic Forum, Bill Gates, not only dedicated \$10 billion of his own funds for vaccine research over the next ten years, but called upon governments and corporate elites to follow his example (Hirschler 2010, par. 4). Using his financial clout and status as one of the world's most successful entrepreneurs, Gates was attempting to attract and persuade other members of the private sector to join in this chosen cause. Yet Gates would most

likely never have received the media coverage or invitation to Davos if he were not considered to be one of the richest men in the world. Similarly, actress Sharon Stone pledged \$10,000 to fight malaria in Tanzania at the World Economic Forum in Davos in 2005. After making her pledge she asked others, primarily businessmen, to follow suit. Tim Weber, journalist for BBC News, claims that after making her donation and challenge, "...business leaders in the audience forget their thrifty basic instincts and within 10 minute have made pledges worth \$1m" (Weber 2005, par. 7). World leaders have also made it very clear that they meet with celebrity diplomats or offer them positions within an organization because of their financial clout. As previously mentioned in chapter II, Kofi Annan promotes appointments to the Messenger of Peace and Goodwill Ambassador programs in hopes of attaining financial support from the stars, and that the financial positions of power possessed by celebrities garners more attention to the United Nations and its overall mission.

Third, celebrity diplomats are able to wield soft power because they typically possess an attractive, charismatic personality that is able to draw attention to themselves and the issues they champion. The mystique and cult of personality associated with celebrity status affords celebrities a seductive nature that is able to capture the attention of masses around

the world, including world leaders. Bono, for example, has become one of the most (if not the *most*) prominent celebrity diplomats because he is able to use his charm to his advantage. He has taken "...what has made him famous—charm, clarity of voice, an ability to touch people in their secret heart—combine those traits with a keen grasp of political game and obsessive attention to detail, and channel it toward getting everyone, from world leaders to music lovers, to engage in something overwhelming in its complexity" (Travers 2005, par. 5). In other words, Bono uses his personality and celebrity status to not only "get in the room" with political leaders, but to get others in "the room" to discuss international issues, such as African debt relief or AIDS. Celebrity diplomats possess more than physical or personality traits that enable them to exercise soft power. The soft power resources that are typically used by governments through public diplomacy are also available, sometimes more so, to the celebrity diplomats. Nye states that most governments employ the Internet, varying broadcasting mediums, face-to-face negotiation, multinational corporations (MNCs), and NGOs (Nye 2008, 104) to convey messages to the general public and other nations. Like governments, celebrity diplomats use the same soft power resources to persuade others. As media and cultural icons, celebrity diplomats are the subject of a continuous news cycle that is disseminated through the

Internet, radio, and television. Many celebrities now use this news cycle to their advantage by discussing genocide, refugees, world hunger, or global conflict on the red carpet (Cooper 2008). In addition, celebrity diplomats have harnessed the power of the Internet to disseminate information; thus it is not uncommon to find public announcements issued by celebrities on behalf of an organization or the U.N. on sites such as YouTube or Facebook. The celebrities affiliated with the ONE Campaign, for instance, make several public announcement videos or commercials, which are released through the organization's website and through their mailing list. It is not uncommon for recipients of these emails to see that the message has been sent from Matt Damon, Bono, or other celebrities associated with the cause.²⁷

However, like other attempts at producing soft power, celebrity diplomats and their agendas may not be widely accepted and therefore not result in soft power. Nye argues, "exporting Hollywood films full of nudity and violence will not be accepted by conservative Muslim countries" (Nye 2008, 95). It can also be assumed that countries that have long histories of oppression would not accept other values, ideals, or actions expressed in Hollywood films. Therefore, it is likely that such nations

²⁷ This information was obtained from emails I have received from the ONE Campaign since signing up for the organization's mailing list.

would not be accepting of a message presented by a star of such films.

In addition to the backlash that celebrity diplomacy may experience as a form of soft power, it must also contend with gendered perceptions that have been attributed to soft power. As a soft power, public diplomacy and by extension, celebrity diplomacy, are subject to gendered meanings and stereotypes. Stephanie Anderson writes that hard power is typically couched in masculine rhetoric—*independence, autonomy, militaristic, powerful, etc.* (Anderson 2010, 33). However, soft power is associated with feminine classifications, such as *passive, dependent, vacillating, weak, etc.* (Anderson 2010, 33), which evoke negative connotations. Such terms and classifications are often used to scrutinize or even undermine the work of celebrity diplomats. Celebrity diplomats are often attacked as being too *passive, simplistic, and naïve* in their understandings of international politics. Additionally, Anderson points that institutions, states, and regional powers, including the European Union, are often framed as weak soft powers particularly when they defer to international law, international opinion or conventions (Anderson 2010, 33; citing Kagan 2002). According to Anderson, critics of soft power, such as Robert Kagan (2002), argue that weakness (while reifying a gendered stereotype) is displayed by favoring diplomacy and negotiation

over more aggressive means of solving disputes. Many (but not all) celebrity diplomats explore diplomatic options before promoting a military response to resolve disputes.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the definition and complexities of celebrity diplomacy. Moreover, this chapter distinguishes between varying aspects of traditional and celebrity diplomacy, highlighting differences between the qualifications, training, and appointments of each. Thus revealing the extent to which celebrity diplomats and the institutions and governments that they are affiliated with, exploit their fame, connections to Hollywood and elites around the world, and wealth to convey political and humanitarian messages and promote international dialogue between states and/or institutions. Moreover, celebrity diplomats use their positions of power and influence to act on behalf of individuals and causes as representatives of Hollywood, American culture (low-culture and at times high culture), their fans, the institutions they represent, and as unofficial representatives of United States foreign policy.

Celebrity diplomacy, like other forms of public diplomacy, seeks to persuade world leaders, governments, and the general public to want the same political, social, and economic outcome

for a particular global and/or humanitarian issue that dominates their personal and professional agendas. Like governments, they utilize tools, such as the Internet, television, and films, to project their messages to the global community. However, unlike the government, they have somewhat easier and more access to these resources and a continuous audience receiving their messages. While these messages may not necessarily be taken as credible and/or knowledgeable sources of information, which is a problem that government also potentially face, they are able to reach large numbers of people from varying spectrums of the socioeconomic divide. The following chapter will discuss the manner in which celebrity diplomacy acts in the current global economy. Therefore, chapter IV provides an account of how and in what ways celebrity diplomacy's emergence as an important political actor can be attributed the neoliberal globalization.

Chapter IV: Merging Worlds: Celebrity Diplomacy in the Global Economy

Introduction

In order to understand the role of celebrity diplomacy in international politics, it is necessary to explore the conditions and policies that have contributed to the increased presence of celebrity diplomats in a post-9/11 world. Cooper's *Celebrity Diplomacy* provides an analysis of how and why celebrity diplomacy has arisen and why it seems to be more prominent today. Cooper suggests that celebrity diplomacy has become more prominent in the 21st century for three reasons: 1) there is a psychological/emotional development link to celebrity culture that lends them credibility because "celebrities are taken to have some intrinsic attributes that provide them not only with status in their own realm but credibility outside of it"; 2) globalization and the advancement of information technology allows celebrities diplomats to connect with a large audiences through media outlets such as MTV or blog about their experiences in war torn regions; and 3) in the post-Cold War era, diplomacy itself is a more scrutinized subject in international relations as being too elitist and/or losing relevance (Cooper 2008, 10-11). In addition, Cooper also suggests that there is a question as to who are diplomats now; which prompts that response that they are everybody, including

NGOs, firms, private citizens, as well as government trained professionals (Cooper 2008, 11).

This chapter does not dispute any of these claims. Celebrities are revered and often glorified in a capitalist culture, which lends them attention and at times credibility outside of the realm of Hollywood. The advancement of information technology allows celebrity diplomacy to be informed by an element of spectacle (Cooper 2008; Kellner 2010). Douglas Kellner states, "...when daily cable news, presidential campaigns and major media events are presented in the form of media spectacle it is likely that the media attention and often spectacle produced by celebrity activism will publicise their issues, and make such celebrity diplomats more public and perhaps effective advocates for their causes than normal diplomats" (Kellner 2010, 121). Thus celebrity diplomats receive more attention and airtime on various news outlets than official traditional diplomats. In particular, celebrity diplomats have access to soft news outlets, such as *Entertainment Tonight*, *People Magazine*, or MTV, which are consumed more readily than or as an alternative to hard news sources (Baum 2002). Moreover, the events of September 11 and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have prompted academics, legal scholars, and the media to examine the role that traditional

diplomacy plays in international relations; thus highlighting the involvement of failed practices and new actors.

While I agree with Cooper's initial observations, I would further argue that these reasons are products of a larger practice—neoliberal globalization and neoliberal policies. This chapter contends, as I briefly argued in the Introduction of this dissertation, that it is ultimately neoliberal globalization that has contributed to the rise and further popularization of celebrity diplomacy in the 21st century. The media spectacle itself would not exist without the advent of globalization and the continuing emphasis on commodification. Furthermore, the neoliberal state's turn to privatization and militarization has created a need for private individuals (celebrities), multilateral institutions (the United Nations), and civil society (non-profit and non-governmental organizations) to provide the diplomatic services and humanitarian aid/intervention that are no longer being provided by governments or that have been diminished due to increased reliance on military solutions for international problems.

In other words, this chapter argues that the failure of the neoliberal state to provide diplomatic alternatives to international problems in lieu of militarized solutions, the increased emphasis on privatization of international aid and civil society, and the promotion of the consumption and

commodification of all facets of society have created an environment that allows the celebrity diplomat to become a prominent non-state actor in global politics. The chapter will conclude with a general discussion of the manner in which these celebrity diplomats are gendered in international politics and the current global economy as demonstrated in their diplomatic endeavors.

Celebrities and the Neoliberal State

Privatization:

As discussed in Chapter I, neoliberal globalization and neoliberal economic policies began to emerge after World War II as a response to Keynesian economics. In addition, the Bretton Woods agreement was created to prevent the possibility of another economic depression, thus establishing the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which is now known as the World Trade Organization (WTO). These institutions were created for specific purposes: the IMF was tasked with regulating international finance; the World Bank was tasked with providing long-term development loans to developing nations; and the GATT established rules for international trade (Barker and Feiner 2004, 100). In other words, the Bretton Woods institutions promoted Western ideals regarding economic trade and monetary

policies. These institutions, particularly the World Bank and IMF, required developing nations to implement policies that contributed to the deregulation and privatization of national social welfare programs, which in many cases increased national debt among Third World nations.

The shift from the public to the private sector encourages the development of what many scholars refer to as global governance and civil society. Bergeron argues that since the labor markets and therefore globalization is beyond the control of the national community, it is thus therefore necessary to rally the global governance (Bergeron 2001, 993; also see Ehrenberg 1999; Chandler 2007; Harvey 2006). Others will claim that such a shift brings into existence a global civil society lead by grassroots movements and international organizations. One could argue that this is the primary goal of the celebrity diplomat—to fill the void that the government has created with the privatization of social welfare, entitlement, and foreign aid programs.

The neoliberal state relegates many social, political and economic issues to the private sector in an attempt to reduce and/or eliminate the social responsibility of the governments to its citizens. Therefore, it is left to nongovernmental organizations and other international institutions to take on the issues that have been "individualized." Celebrity diplomats

have become one of these entities. Many celebrity diplomats such as Bono, Bob Geldof, Angelina Jolie, George Clooney, and Don Cheadle, act through nongovernmental or multilateral organizations in an attempt to lend legitimacy to their plights and agendas. More specifically, several celebrities have become the "face" of transnational and international causes and organizations. For instance, Jolie has become one of the most prominent faces of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees program. She speaks on behalf of the organization at various international summits, with refugees around the world, and even world leaders, in an attempt to promote further discussion and solutions to issues regarding the displacement of refugees around the world (Cooper 2008). Jolie "is not at all reluctant to issue directives about what is wrong and right about global issues" (Cooper 2008, 34).

The need for a celebrity face for an issue like mass internal and external displacement of refugees may not be necessary if not, in part, for the implementation of neoliberal economic policies in developing areas. Many of the neoliberal economic policies that are implemented (usually through coercion) create the conditions that lead to mass displacement. Debt and poverty created by development programs have also led widespread displacement of various populations throughout the global South (Ganguly-Scrase, Vogl, and Julian 2005, 10; citing

Kothari, 1999; Robinson, 2003). This poverty and debt often results in struggles for control over scarce resources and power. Many Third World nations are plagued with violence as groups within the nation struggle to control such resources, which inevitably fuels the oppression of minorities. Often this oppression results in not only violence, but also extreme poverty. In turn, groups (predominantly women and children) become not only political refugees due to violence but also economic refugees (Ganguly-Scrase, Vogl, and Julian 2005, 10; citing Castles 2003; Lahiri-Dutt and Samanta, 2004).

Several celebrity diplomats have also contributed to the growing trend towards building a global civil society by founding their own nonprofit or nongovernmental organizations.²⁸ Many of these organizations were founded to address a specific global issue that does not necessarily receive enough attention from international leaders or is underfunded by governments that have cut spending on international assistance programs in favor of domestic programs or defense, such as the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. For instance, some of these organizations (i.e. DATA, the ONE Campaign²⁹, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation) have implicitly been created to deal with the aftermath of

²⁸ The success of such organizations will be discussed in detail in chapter VII, which will provide an analysis of the benefits and disadvantages to celebrity diplomacy.

²⁹ DATA and the ONE Campaign have merged to become one entity. (refer to one.org).

neoliberal economic policies in the Third World. In particular, these organizations were founded or created to address issues caused by structural adjustment policies.³⁰ "Structural adjustment policies, which were implemented (but not always) as a result of IMF and World Bank conditionality agreements, have led to cuts in funding for social services and have realigned economies toward export production" (Bergeron 2001, 991). These structural adjustment policies were typically forced upon states primarily in the global South (usually Third World nations), requiring governments to privatize public goods and services that were previously under control of the state. States that were forced to adopt these policies experienced extreme debt, which lead to internal struggles over resources, a further widening of the distribution of wealth internally, and a privileging of the global North (First World nations) over the global South.

As a result of development policies, international organizations and NGOs have sought debt relief and other ways to improve the infrastructure of these exploited states.

Celebrities, either as representatives of organizations or on

³⁰ Structural adjustment policies were implemented long before many celebrities, including Bono and Gates, became celebrity diplomats and founded their organizations. However, my argument is that celebrity diplomats and their organizations are unknowingly addressing the after effects of structural adjustment policies, particularly when addressing issues that are the result of a failed socioeconomic infrastructure.

their own volition, have also attempted to address the issues and problems that have resulted from structural adjustment policies. For example, Bono and Bob Geldof have been leading figures in the "fight" to eliminate Third World debt. They have served as both traditional and public diplomats in this area. They have engaged the public masses world wide through public service announcements, media interviews, and other forms of popular culture, such as the Live Aid and Live Eight concerts (Cooper 2008). They have engaged world leaders through traditional diplomacy (not necessarily on behalf of any state), but in face-to-face negotiations in hopes of discussing and resolving world issues. Bono and Bill Gates³¹ have also created the organization DATA (Debt, AIDS and Trade for Africa) "to focus the world's attention on issues confronting Africa" (CNN 2002, par. 1).³² Through this organization, these celebrities are able to engage both world leaders and the public in a simultaneous dialogue about global and Third World debt.

³¹ While at the 2010 World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, Bill and Melinda Gates, in conjunction with the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, pledged \$10 billion to be used over the next decade for the purpose of creating new vaccines to be distributed to the poorest countries. At the event, Gates encouraged governments and corporations to follow suit, saying that with this funding this could become the "decade of vaccines" (Higgins 2010, par. 3).

³² After reviewing many of the webpages on the One.org website, it would appear that the organization is primarily focused on sub-Saharan Africa (refer to One.org).

Celebrity diplomats, whether through discussions with Jeffrey Sachs (i.e. Bono and Angelina Jolie's academic/professional relationship with the scholar) (Cooper 2008, 33), consultation with their political advisors, or their own research and observations, become aware of the impact of Western society on developing regions. For instance, Madonna called Sachs to ask him what she could do to alleviate poverty after reading his book, *The End of Poverty* (Watts 2006, par. 4). Trevor Neilson, founder of the Global Philanthropy Group and former advisor to President Clinton, serves as a political consultant to many celebrity diplomats, including Angelina Jolie, Bono, Bill and Melinda Gates, and Shakira (Global Philanthropy Group 2011; also see Holson 2010). Although, it is unlikely that the celebrity diplomat would publically refer to the AIDS crisis in Africa or world hunger as a direct result of Western exploitation. They must maintain a positive self-image, which could be damaged if they accused their home government or the West for the problems of the global South. Instead, the celebrity diplomat is going to frame the problem as something that the West can fix or alleviate through "humanitarian intervention", which typically equates to monetary support. Those celebrity diplomats that publically acknowledge and criticize the West's (especially the U.S.) culpability in the exploitative policies and measures that have lead to the

conditions in the global South are labeled activists by conservative media and even political moderates (see Cooper 2008, 109), who wish to maintain a positive image, rather than diplomats or they are considered radicals. For instance, Danny Glover and Harry Belafonte, both UNICEF Goodwill Ambassadors, appeared with Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez in 2006. In that appearance, Belafonte condemned President George W. Bush and expressed support for Hugo's "revolution" (Cooper 2008, 109). Belafonte was then shunned by American political figures and the UN released a statement claiming that he was not speaking on behalf of the organization, but as a private citizen (Cooper 2008, 109).

Commodification and Consumption:

Neoliberal globalization fosters a culture in which greed and materiality are celebrated, and hyperconsumerism is a facet of everyday life. Hyperconsumerism fosters the belief that "pleasure comes from the consumption of material stimuli (including bodily stimuli, which would allow for a stress on the sexual aspect), and the greater happiness that comes from constantly rising levels of consumption" (Rapley 2004, 68). Therefore, neoliberal globalization creates a culture in which products and symbols of consumer culture, which are disseminated through the culture industry, creates a cultural and economic

environment that not only allows the celebrity diplomat to emerge, but also encourages the interplay between celebrities and international politics. As the culture industry produces the celebrity, the celebrity is morphed into a symbol that can be readily consumed by audiences. Moreover, part of the appeal of the celebrity is hypersexualization. The majority of celebrities are marketed as sex symbols, especially the two case studies of this dissertation, and are then consumed through film, television, virtual reality, and print. Celebrity diplomats not only acknowledge their appeal, whether it is sex appeal or the appeal associated with any high-priced commodity, and use their audiences' desire to promote their political and humanitarian agenda.

The celebrity diplomat is able to utilize the tools and resources of the culture industry to attract audience attention to an international issue. Matthew Baum points out that a large number of Americans watch soft news sources, such as entertainment magazines (Entertainment Tonight, Access Hollywood, Inside Edition, etc.) and late night and day time talk shows (Oprah, Jay Leno, Conan O'Brien, Bill Mahr, or David Letterman) (Baum 2002, 93). These soft news outlets, and others like them, do cover international crises. However, Baum's study concludes that "rather focus on the more arcane aspects of these crises, such as military tactics or

geopolitical ramifications, the soft news media tended to focus on highly accessible themes likely to appeal to viewers who were not necessarily watching to learn about military strategy or international diplomacy" (Baum 2002, 94). In other words, audiences turn to soft news sources for entertainment value. For instance, Nicholas Kristof is attempts to draw in readers of his Darfur articles with the promise that George Clooney will be a featured aspect of the article. In one story, Kristof begins "I was going to begin this column with a 13-year-old Chadian boy crippled by a bullet in his left knee, but my hunch is that you might be more interested in hearing about another person on the river bank beside the boy: George Clooney" (Kristof 2009, par. 1). Kristof is using Clooney's popularity and appeal to audiences as an entertainment figure to frame a serious topic—the suffering of Darfurians.

Not only do celebrities use their celebrity to draw attention to an issue, they allow the organizations that they represent to use them as well. As previously stated, celebrity diplomats are representative of public diplomacy efforts because of their representation of not only the dominant culture within a state, but they also have the means to shift or influence public opinion and promote propaganda espoused by a neoliberal organization or government they represent. For instance, the United Nations, for example, utilizes its Messengers of Peace

and Goodwill Ambassadors for its "public information" program (Alleyne 2005, 175). While serving as Secretary General, Kofi Anan made changes to the Department of Public Information. These changes included transforming the department's image from passive to a more active player in changing the "character of international relations" and promoting "strategic communication" (Alleyne 2005, 177).

In addition, neoliberal organizations and institutions use the celebrity diplomat to attract new donors, invigorate old donors, and encourage the celebrity diplomat to donate their own finances to the organization. In other words, the United Nations, for example, turns to the more consumption driven aspect of celebrity diplomacy—celebrities had an abundant amount of money they could donate to the organization. On the other hand, celebrity diplomats are used as symbols by the United Nations (and their native countries) to endorse UN programs, initiatives, and overall agenda. Annan, "...wanted celebrities to be the tools the United Nations would use to eventually get reluctant governments to take seriously the rhetorical pledges they make during every General Assembly" (Alleyne 2005, 179). He wanted celebrity diplomats to try to persuade their governments to adhere to the resolutions that had passed and pledged to follow during General Assembly sessions. Moreover, as symbols, celebrity diplomats could inspire world leaders, the

average citizen, and "mobilize global opinion, which governments would be impelled to follow" (Alleyne 2005, 179).

Other celebrity diplomats supplement their diplomatic endeavors with fundraisers, donations, and other methods of obtaining funds for the international issue of their choice, again using their image to draw attention to garner donations from others. Once again, celebrity diplomats use their "star power" to draw in not only attention, but also money from attendees of such fundraisers and/or rallies. However, celebrity diplomats do not always turn to the private functions to garner donations. Celebrity diplomats will use the foundations and organizations that they have created to draw in these donations or promote products and merchandise under the auspice of raising funds for humanitarian causes. Thus celebrity diplomats have not only created their own NGOs or NPOs, they have also created product lines that can be bought and sold with the promise that the proceeds of the merchandise will go towards a humanitarian cause. Again, Bono, provides one of the prime examples. Bono introduced the RED product line in Davos, Switzerland in 2006 ("RED campaign" website; *Africa Research Bulletin* 2007, 17537). According to Bono, the line would "harness the force of conscious consumerism to save African lives" (*Africa Research Bulletin* 2007, 17537). Some of the most prominent brand names signed on to this campaign, including

Apple, GAP, and even Armani. Therefore, Bono was able to convince some of the most prominent corporations in the world to donate half of the profits from RED products to the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria (*Africa Research Bulletin* 2007, 17537). While one could argue that this is more of a form of corporate philanthropy, it still does not diminish the fact that this is publicity tool used by a celebrity diplomat to promote his diplomatic agenda, which includes the fight against AIDS in Africa. Furthermore, celebrity diplomats, like Bono, are able to fuse their work that as seen to reflect traditional diplomatic behavior with business and philanthropic endeavors. This is a characteristic that sets the celebrity diplomat apart from a traditional diplomat—they are able to meld their private ventures with their political personas.³³

Militarization:

Yet another facet of the neoliberal state is its adherence to militarized solutions, and the protection of neoliberal economic policies through militarized actions (Harvey 2005). The neoliberal state needs the military and militarized populations to continue its agenda of expanding the reach of global capital. As Harvey asserts, the neoliberal state must

³³ In the chapters to come, I will discuss the manner in which Angelina Jolie and George Clooney are able to fuse their business ventures (onscreen and off) and their charity work with their role as a celebrity diplomat.

maintain a military, form of defense, police force, and legal structures to secure important facets of neoliberalism, including private property rights and the functioning of markets (Harvey 2005, 2). Moreover, Cynthia Enloe (2007) argues that as militarization occurs, states, its representatives, and its citizens (often through propaganda) become overly concerned that there are threats lurking across borders. Neoliberals attempt to create this element of fear to ensure that citizens will continue to exchange their adherence to the status quo for security.

As more emphasis is placed on militarized solutions, diplomacy is subverted. According to Jansen, this trend began after the Cold War and has continued to evolve since 9/11. Following the end of the Cold War and the increase of terrorist activity worldwide, the military once began to play a larger role in political decisions and perceived diplomatic negotiations. The promotion of militarized solutions is demonstrative of the actions taken by the Bush Administration post 9/11 in Iraq. While the Bush Administration was concerned with physically battling the world's new enemy, Al Qaeda, traditional and public diplomacy dwindled. Thus the act of settling disputes through negotiation and arbitration are undermined in favor of often-aggressive military behavior and actions. The U.S. government found alternatives to engaging in

through diplomatic negotiation, cultural understanding or peacekeeping.

Any reliance on diplomacy was reformulated in ways that promoted a neoliberal agenda. Jansen states that the Bush Administration sought to “reinvent public diplomacy in the face of neoliberalism” because it had helped to bring about the end of the Cold War through the promotion of consumerism and popular culture (2005, 58). Public diplomacy’s reliance on consumerism and popular was (and still remains) further exacerbated by the invention and integration of new technologies into the global economy. Globalization increased global connectivity through advanced technologies the Internet, and a 24-hour news cycle. Therefore, the American government could reach new audiences around the world, and had additional means of conveying their message to a new international audience. Television networks, news outlets, and popular culture venues, such as CNN and MTV, and celebrities became synonymous with American culture and democracy; thus they became *de facto* public diplomats (Jansen 2005, 58). In other words, public diplomacy in the United States in the post-9/11 era is reduced to the promotion of mediascapes (Appadurai 1996).³⁴ These mediascapes allow for the

³⁴ Arjun Appadurai states that mediascapes “...provide (especially in their television, flim and cassette forms) large and complex repertoires of images, narratives, and ethnoscapes to viewers throughout the world, in which the world of commodities and the

construction of an imagined world based in consumer and popular culture to be desirable. Moreover, the government uses the films, television series, and music of celebrity diplomats (and non-celebrity diplomats) to convey a particular impression of the West.

Yet celebrity diplomats are more than conveyors of Western culture. Rather than promote the militarized responses to actual international issues, celebrity diplomats have responded with overt challenges to military intervention through negotiation techniques. In other words, celebrity diplomats engage world leaders through negotiation and peace discourses because the governments no longer do so. Moreover, celebrity diplomats are able to make their opposition to militarized actions known without the fear of losing their "day job" as a traditional diplomat would. For instance, some celebrity diplomats, including Don Cheadle and Matt Damon, issued public statements condemning U.S. intervention in Iraq³⁵. Neither Cheadle nor Damon stopped their diplomatic endeavors. This is not to say that celebrity diplomats do not face public backlash. The celebrity diplomat may not beholden to the government's agenda, but they face public criticism from the general public,

world of news and politics are profoundly mixed" (Appadurai 1996, 35).

³⁵ A list of celebrities who petition President Bush to rethink the Iraq war and not enter into a conflict with the country can be found at <http://www.celebrity-websites.com/celebritypetition.htm>.

particularly citizens in support of military intervention. Several celebrities and politicians who openly opposed the war in Iraq were depicted in a deck of playing cards issued by Newsmax.com, which referred to the celebrities as "weasels"³⁶ including celebrity diplomats George Clooney (Parker 2008), Sean Penn, and Harry Belafonte.³⁷

Other celebrity diplomats, such as Sean Penn, take an even more proactive stance against the U.S.'s militarized position by engaging political leaders in Iraq in dialogue and touring the nation. Penn meet with former Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz ("Sean Penn urges peace with Iraq" 2002).³⁸ Other celebrities have made a point to promote support of troops abroad rather than the military solutions that result in deployments. In demonstrating support for soldiers, celebrity diplomats are able to remain in opposition to a military conflict, while also demonstrating their patriotism and support of human life by interacting with soldiers abroad.

Finally, there are some celebrity diplomats who have become involved in international politics because they are addressing

³⁶ Celebrity diplomats depicted on these playing cards include George Clooney, Sean Penn, and Harry Belafonte.

³⁷ Information regarding the "Deck of Weasels" playing cards can be found at <http://archive.newsmax.com/archives/articles/2003/5/7/124825.shtml>.

³⁸ Penn's meeting with Aziz did not have an impact. Moreover, Aziz is currently serving a lengthy jail sentence in Iraq. Initially, Aziz was sentenced to death for his role in the Baathist party and as a senior advisor to Saddam Hussein (Chulov 2010, par. 1).

the aftermath of conflicts around the world. More specifically, these celebrity diplomats become are responding to the aftermath caused by military interventions and war, as well as the human rights violations committed during times of conflict. The celebrity diplomat typically does not limit their involvement to a particular kind of conflict or military incursion. They address the humanitarian problems that can be attributed to all forms of militarized violence, including government sponsored military campaigns (i.e. Iraq and Afghanistan), civil war, terrorism, and fighting amongst ethnic groups. Clooney became involved with Darfur after learning about the genocide, violence and gender-based crimes that were occurring in the region. Jolie's diplomatic work revolves around refugees that have lost their homes due to fighting in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Darfur, etc. ("Angelina Jolie Fact Sheet" 2010).³⁹ In responding to consequences of conflict, celebrity diplomats are able to highlight specific conflicts and effected populations that have been previously marginalized. Such attention has the potential to draw public international support to these conflicts and populations, and inspire world leaders and other celebrity diplomats to denounce these conflicts and become involved in preventing future conflicts.

³⁹ I will discuss more regarding Jolie and Clooney's responses to conflict in the following two chapters.

Gendering the Celebrity Diplomat

The gender constructions of celebrity diplomats are not only associated with the perceived gendering of diplomacy and/or Hollywood. Just like any other individual, a celebrity diplomat interacts within society on the basis of expected gender roles. Celebrity diplomats are not pre-given subjects—their ontological being is constructed through a "*stylized repetition of acts*" (Butler 1988, 519). In other words, the gendered identity associated with celebrity diplomats is performatively enacted through their actions and gestures in international affairs, and in their professional careers.

Gender expectations are based upon the discursive construction of sex (Butler 1988, 528) and the perceived gender roles associated with identification as either masculine or feminine. Judith Butler contends that gender conceals its own origins as individuals collectively perform, reproduce, and sustain the binary gender constructions. As these constructions are produced and reproduced, they become cultural fictions, which are "obscured by the credibility" of their own production (Butler 1988, 522). Thus the producers of these gender constructions do not recognize the reiteration of gender as a fiction. Instead the reproduction and performance of expected gender roles in society appears to be necessary and natural, and become entrenched in social being. The action of performing

these perceived gender roles is not forced or a conscious choice. Butler asserts, "...the gendered body acts its part in a culturally restricted corporeal space and enacts interpretations within the confines of already existing directives" (1988, 526). Therefore, gender constructions are performed by individuals on the basis of pre-existing gender norms, and the individual actions reinforce the interpretations of societal gender norms.

As performers by trade, celebrity diplomats further reinforce gender constructions in their professional performances in Hollywood and what they understand to be the role of diplomacy and diplomats in international relations. As performers, celebrities continually make a living through impersonation and societal understanding of gender and sex. It is through their performances in reality and onstage that they are able to repeat and project their gendered understanding of the world. Much like Butler (and Cynthia Weber) explains drag performances, celebrity performances as either actors or diplomats imitate what is considered to be 'natural' expressions of sex and gender (Weber 1998, 80). More specifically, the performances of the celebrity diplomats in international politics reproduce the gendered actions and understanding of discursive understanding of the perceived "nature" of diplomacy, celebrity, sex, and gender roles in international politics. For example, celebrity diplomats describe diplomacy as what many

would call soft power, which is often characterized or defined in terms associated with femininity (i.e. seduction, attractive, morality, etc.). In addition, celebrity diplomats will act in ways that reinforce or reiterate the manner in which Hollywood has attempted to "transfer moves codes of masculinity and femininity onto male and female actors and their real lives" (van Zoonen 2005, 93).

Conclusion

There are conditions that help to create an environment in which celebrity diplomat emerge as viable political actors. In this chapter, I contend that the neoliberal state's increased emphasis on privatization, commodification and consumption, and militarization allows and encourages celebrities to become more involved in international politics. I first argue that the privatization of governmental services and the reliance on civil society institutions, such as NGOs and NPOs, provides celebrity diplomats the opportunity to address the issues that were once previously addressed by government through international institutions. Moreover, I explain the manner in which privatization of services and the imposition of Western development policies on the global South produce international problems, such as debt, poverty, and forced migration, that many celebrity diplomats tackle in their diplomatic endeavors. I

then discuss how commodification and consumption provide the celebrity diplomat with the opportunity to utilize their celebrity status to draw attention to humanitarian issues. I contend that the celebrity diplomat's function in the culture industry makes them desirable additions to multilateral institutions, such as the UN, and world leaders. The UN is able to draw on the celebrity diplomat's fame to endorse the mission of the organization, as well as their financial donations to the organization. World leaders are attracted to celebrity diplomats because they are readily consumed through media coverage. Therefore, a world leader can draw attention to himself or herself through interaction with a celebrity diplomat. The celebrity diplomat also utilizes the emphasis on consumerism to produce, endorse, and sell products and merchandise pertaining to an international issue. The proceeds from the sell of those products are then donated to a related international cause. I then discuss the manner in which increased militarization has contributed to a reduction in public diplomacy efforts. The celebrity diplomat then steps in to fill the void of state-to-state diplomacy and public diplomacy efforts. In addition, I argue that many of the conditions and international problems addressed by celebrity diplomats are often the result of some militarized conflict. Finally, this chapter concludes with a brief discussion of how

the celebrity diplomat is gendered in international politics. I suggest that the celebrity diplomat is performatively constructed through their actions as political actors, as celebrities, and their perceived understanding of traditional gender roles.

Chapter V: Angelina Jolie: Maternal Diplomat

Introduction

Dubbed as one of the most beautiful women in the world, Angelina Jolie has become more than just a pretty face in Hollywood. Jolie is considered to be a combination of many things. She has been named the most beautiful woman in the world by *Vanity Fair* (*Vanity Fair* 2009) and recently named one of *People* magazine's most beautiful people again (*People Magazine* 2010). She has been named Jolie is touted as one of the most popular celebrities in Hollywood. She is considered one of the biggest, if not the biggest, actress in Hollywood. Jim Slotek writes that Jolie is "the biggest box office draw among Hollywood actresses these days, with a price tag of \$15 million-plus per movie" (Slotek 2007, 38). Throughout her acting career, Jolie has taken numerous roles in action films, including "Lara Croft: Tomb Raider," "Wanted," "Mr. and Mrs. Smith," and "Salt." She has also been labeled a Hollywood "bad-girl" due to her strange, controversial relationship with Billy Bob Thornton, her tattoos, and even her relationship with Brad Pitt (who she is accused of have an extramarital affair with prior to his divorce from Jennifer Aniston). However since 2001, she has been able to add a new label to her persona—diplomat. Jolie's appearance in refugee camps around the world has prompted the some media sources to dub her "St. Angelina"

(Aaron 2009; "Saint Angelina: How Hollywood's Most Dedicated Humanitarian Stays Gorgeous Inside and Out. Plus 99 More Stunners of People's Most Beautiful List" 2006, 66). Pegah Aarabi, a journalist for *Hilary Magazine*, describes Jolie as "a biker chick, political activist, and mother all rolled into one" (Aarabi 2010, par. 2).

This chapter will first provide a short biography of Jolie's life. In this section I will discuss Jolie's film career and how she became one of the most sought after actresses in Hollywood. In addition, this section will highlight the events that prompted Jolie's interest in her humanitarian work with the U.N. and foray into parenthood. The chapter will then proceed to an analysis of Jolie's inactions and diplomatic work through the U.N., NGOs and NPOs, and on her own. More specifically, I will discuss the manner in which Jolie's diplomatic work is impacted by neoliberal globalization. The next section of the chapter will discuss the ways in which Jolie combines her work as a celebrity diplomat with her role as a mother. I contend that Jolie embraces "maternal thinking" in her diplomatic agenda. Sara Ruddick claims that women can exert power in international politics through maternal thinking. She contends that all women possess maternal power, which is derived from a woman's capacity to bear and nurse infants (Ruddick 1980, 343). This power arises out of one's thinking regarding child-

caring practices and biological parenting. However, Ruddick does note that neither it is not necessary to give birth or have children to practice maternal thinking. Nor is it necessary to be female (Ruddick 1980, 346). Finally, the chapter will conclude with a brief discussion of Jolie's career as an actress and as a diplomat. In this section, I will discuss the relevance of three films to Jolie's diplomatic work, as well as the ways in which Jolie's on-screen persona diverges from her off-screen agendas.

Biographical Background

Jolie, born Angelina Jolie Voight, is the daughter of actor Jon Voight and French actress Marcheline Bertrand ("Angelina Jolie Biography" 2010, par. 1). She did some acting as a child, but did not actively pursue a career in Hollywood until later in life. When Jolie was 11 years old she began attending the Lee Strasberg Theater Institute (IMDB 2010, par. 4) and New York University to study film. She also modeled and appeared in several music videos when she was in her mid teens (around 16 years old) (IMDB.com 2010, par. 2 and 4).

It was her performances in "George Wallace" (1997) and "Gia" (1998) that brought Jolie critical acclaim and her first major awards, including Golden Globes and Emmy nominations for

each (Burns 2010, par 3).⁴⁰ Her status as a powerhouse celebrity and talented actress was further solidified after she was awarded an Academy Award (an Oscar) for Best Supporting Actress in the film "Girl Interrupted" in 2000. Her status as a sex symbol was solidified with her performance in "Lara Croft: Tomb Raider" (2001) (and its sequel, "Lara Croft Tomb Raider: The Cradle of Life" (2003)). Due to her roles in many action films, she is considered to be the "first female [action star] to transcend gender" (Chang 2010, par. 2).⁴¹ Philip Noyce, director of Salt, claims, "Angelina combines the skills of a great dramatic actress with an ability to perform action sequences as convincingly, as hard hittingly, with as much power as any male movie star out there. And that is a rare combination" ("Salt" DVD Commentary). She has received critical acclaim and accolades for her performances in films such as "The Changeling" (2008) and "A Mighty Heart" (2007). Throughout her acting career she has made several politically charged films: "A Mighty Heart," "Beyond Borders," "A Good Sheppard," and "Salt."⁴²

⁴⁰ She also received a Screen Actor's Guild award for her performance in "Gia" in 1999 ("Angelina Jolie" 2010, par. 6).

⁴¹ I will discuss Jolie's and gender in later sections of the chapter.

⁴² Jolie will be making her directorial debut with a film set during the war in Bosnia. This project has received criticism from the Association of Women Victims of War following rumors that the film depicted a Muslim rape victim who falls in love with her Serbian rapist, which Jolie and others working on the film have denied ("Angelina Jolie wins back Bosnian film permit" 2010, par. 6).

Yet despite the accolades, Jolie was plagued by media scrutiny for what many news outlets and fellow celebrities, including the actress's father, considered to be rather disturbing behavior, as well as her openness regarding her sexuality. Following her split from first husband, Jonny Lee Miller, Jolie began a relationship with a female co-star ("Angelina Jolie" 2010, par. 4). During her marriage to her second husband, Billy Bob Thornton, she would wear a vial of his blood around her neck (Burns 2010, par. 5). In addition, the media made accusations of an incestuous relationship with her brother, James Haven, when the siblings were photographed kissing on the lips after her 2000 Oscar win ("Angelina Jolie" 2010, par. 8). She was later accused of having an affair with her partner, Brad Pitt, while he was still married to Jennifer Aniston.

Despite the media speculation and her strained relationship with her father, Jolie continued to pursue her acting career. In 2000, she was offered the role of Lara Croft, which was filmed in Cambodia. While filming in Cambodia, she became interested in the plight of Cambodian refugees in the region. However, Jolie's interest in the displacement of refugees actually began before filming "Lara Croft." Jolie claims that her interest in humanitarian work began after first reading the script for *Beyond Borders* in the late 1990s ("I Have Found

Purpose" 2003, par. 4). In an interview with *Newsweek*, Jolie states that the script prompted her desire to become educated about international crises and affairs. Even though the film was postponed, she decided to still contact the United Nations office in Washington D.C. about the refugees in Sierra Leone, which she had been following in news coverage ("I Have Found Purpose" 2003, par. 4). She travelled to Sierra Leone and then Tanzania from February 22-March 9, 2001 with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (Jolie 2003, 1). She then travelled to Cambodia in July 2001, Pakistan in August 2001, and Ecuador in June 2002 on behalf of UNHCR (Jolie 2003). During these trips, she kept a journal of her experiences, which she eventually posted on the UNHCR website and was later published as a book, *Notes from My Travels: Visits with Refugees in Africa, Cambodia, Pakistan, and Ecuador* ("I Have Found Purpose" 2003, par. 27; Jolie 2003).

On August 27, 2001, Jolie officially became a UN Goodwill Ambassador with UNHCR by Rudd Lubbers, former U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (Jolie 2003, ix; "Angelina Jolie Fact Sheet" 2010, par. 1). Since her appointment, Jolie has traveled to more than 20 countries around the world, including Sierra Leone, Thailand, Afghanistan, Chad, Ecuador, etc. ("Angelina Jolie Fact Sheet" 2010). In 2006, Jolie and Pitt announced the creation of the Jolie-Pitt Foundation. In addition to her work

with the UN and the Jolie Pitt Foundation, Jolie helped to launch the National Centre for Refugee and Immigrant Children organization, serves on the board of the Education Partnership for Children of Conflict, and was invited to be a member of Council on Foreign Relations ("Angelina Jolie Fact Sheet" 2010).

The impact of her work with the United Nations and various trips to refugee camps around the world moved beyond her desire to simply be a humanitarian. In 2002, she adopted her first child, Maddox, from a refugee camp in Cambodia. At this point, Jolie began to intertwine her humanitarian work with motherhood. She and partner Brad Pitt, later adopted daughter, Zahara, from Ethiopia and son, Pax, from Vietnam. Jolie adopted Zahara and Pax after touring orphanages in the children's respective home countries ("Angelina Jolie Biography" (people) 2010, par. 20; "Angelina Jolie Biography" (bio.com) 2010, par. 11). She was able to somewhat combine her humanitarian efforts with the birth of her first biological child, Shiloh, in Namibia. Jolie and Pitt claimed that they wanted to have Shiloh in Namibia because they were attempting "to avoid the media frenzy that seemed to follow them wherever they went" ("Angelina Jolie Biography 2010, par. 9). However, the trip resulted in more media attention for the country. The couple continued to expand their family; Jolie gave birth to twins Vivienne and Knox in 2008. Jolie and Pitt sold the first photographs of their twins to *People* and *Hello!*

magazine for \$14 million ("Angelina Jolie Biography" (bio) 2010, par. 12), which was donated to charity (Thomson 2008, par. 12).

The Rise of a Diplomat

As previously stated, Jolie became an official Goodwill Ambassador in August 2001. When she began traveling to refugee camps with UNHCR, she did not have cameras and journalists following her. As she became more familiar with UNHCR and the situations she was going into, she began to allow cameras to follow her. She also claims that she was shy of the camera. Jolie states, "I was shy about sitting on the floor and talking to a woman and having a camera take a picture because I thought it was making less of my conversation with her" (Dickey 2007, par. 6). She eventually decided that the camera allows the refugees to speak for themselves through their image, and that her presence draws attention to these individuals. However, she naively assumes that an audience will be looking at the refugee rather than her. In an interview with Christopher Dickey, she says, "And if I can draw you in a little because I'm familiar then that's great. Because I know that at the end you're not looking at me, you're looking at them" (Dickey 2007, par. 6). Dickey rightfully points out that anyone looking at the picture is looking at her. Refuting Jolie, Dickey states, "I think it's fair to say people start out by looking at you, Angelina"

(Dickey 2007, par. 7). This interchange between Jolie and Dickey indicates that Jolie is aware that her presence alone draws attention. In other words, Jolie admits that she is using her "familiarity" as a celebrity to bring awareness to the plight of refugees.

Jolie's interactions and emphasis on cooperation through multilateralism and neoliberal institutionalism is not limited to her position with the U.N. Jolie has been a very outspoken advocate for the International Criminal Court (ICC) and other international tribunals for war crimes. In a 2007 *Washington Post* editorial, Jolie argued that the international community should put more support behind the ICC to promote accountability in Darfur (Jolie 2007a). In the article, Jolie argues that the refugees she meet want a trial (2007a, par. 7), and that the indictments against the Sudanese minister of state and the janjaweed are encouraging even though many argue that such indictments could further exacerbate the violence in the region (2007, par. 7-9). Jolie also attended the war crime trial of Thomas Lubanga at the Hague (ICC trial) (Green 2009, par. 1). She became interested in Lubanga's trial because he was accused of using and recruiting child soldiers

In addition to her work with the ICC and UN, Jolie is known for making a very public appearance at the World Economic Forum in Davos in 2006. Despite Jolie's keen interest in the

world economy, Jolie has not been invited to Davos in several years. According to *The Economist*, this is not due to inappropriate behavior or lack of interest on the part of Jolie. Instead, it is due to her status as a sex symbol. The Economist claims, "As for Angelina Jolie, she hasn't been invited {to Davos} in several years, not due to any frivolity on her part, but because all of the drooling chief executives (and journalists) following her around proved too disruptive" ("Mountain reboot: Can Davos Man save capitalism?" 2009, par. 8). Footage of the panel in which Jolie was a discussant demonstrates the chaos that followed her throughout the conference ("Angelina Jolie in Davos World Economic Forum 2009). In the footage, one can see audience members clamoring to catch a glimpse of the star prior to the panel discussion.⁴³

Jolie does not limit herself to multilateral institutions, like the UN, the World Economic Forum, or the ICC. Like many celebrities, Jolie attaches her name and image to several NGOs and NPOs. In 2003 she created the Maddox Jolie Project (MJP) (Maddox Jolie-Pitt Foundation 2010). The organization is named after her oldest son, whom she adopted from Cambodia in 2002. According to the organization's website, its mission is

⁴³ It is interesting that many of the audience members in the footage look to be in their early to mid 20s (some possibly younger). It could be argued that her presence at Davos prompted a new sect of audience members to emerge and participate in the conference.

dedicated to "...eradicating extreme rural poverty, protecting natural resources and conserving wildlife" (MJP 2010). The site further states that it was created "for the conservation of Cambodia's endangered Cardamom Mountains' northern territory" (MJP 2010). Initially the organization's focus was on protecting the natural wildlife and environment of the region. The organization now performs services and provides assistance with agriculture, education, micro-credits, healthcare, rural planning, and infrastructure projects (MJP 2010). While many people are aware that Jolie has had a interest in Cambodia, many are unaware of her interest in the environment and wildlife of the region. It was not until Brad Pitt joined the Foundation that many became aware of its existence.

In 2007,⁴⁴ the Maddox Jolie Foundation became the Maddox Jolie-Pitt Foundation (still MJP) (MJP 2010), which reflected the adoption of Maddox by Pitt and the expanding scope of the organization's projects. Jolie and Pitt launched the organization through two \$1 million contributions to the Global Action for Children and Doctors Without Borders (Green 2006, par.2). The foundation now focuses on humanitarian causes throughout the world (Green 2006, par. 1). The foundation

⁴⁴ There is some discrepancy as to when the foundation changed its name to the Jolie-Pitt Foundation. The organization's website states that name and focus change of the organization occurred in 2007 (MJP 2010). However, People magazine writes that the Jolie-Pitt Foundation was formed in 2006 (Green 2006, par. 1).

periodically donates funds to areas in crisis, such as Haiti following the 2010 earthquake and Pakistan (through UNHCR) in 2009. It is through these donations, which were highly publicized that the general public became aware of the Jolie-Pitt Foundation (for examples, see The Associated Press 2007; BBC News 2009; E! Online 2009; The Times of India 2009). Moreover, the headlines of the articles discussing these donations made no mention of the foundation. Instead, headlines such as, "Jolie-Pitt donate to Pakistan" (BBC News 2009) or "A Jolie-Pitt Million going to Pakistan" (E! Online 2009), suggest that the actors are simply donating the money. However, if one does read the articles further, it is apparent that the donations are made through the foundation.

The majority of the donations made by Jolie or her visits to refugee camps are to areas that have been devastated by war or some other form of violent conflict. Jolie is not an advocate of war and militarized conflicts.⁴⁵ However, the majority of her diplomacy is in response to militarized conflicts that have forced millions to become refugees. She has made an effort to visit with and highlight the displacement of

⁴⁵ Although Jolie does not promote direct violence, war, or militarized conflicts in real life situations, she is more than willing to take on roles that are extremely violent and depict her as a perpetuator of such violence. I will discuss this facet of Jolie's life in more detail in a upcoming section of the chapter.

refugees as a result of the civil war in Sierra Leone, the Bosnia War, the Iraq and Afghanistan wars, the conflict in Darfur, Rwanda, and the Congo, and many other regions. When discussing these areas with the media, she does not usually advocate military intervention. However, Jolie does promote peacekeeping efforts backed by the international community. Usually these references are vague in nature, and she does not highlight a particular country or organization, with the exception of discussing the importance of UNHCR or other aid workers, that should provide peacekeeping forces.

Yet on a mission to Iraq and Syria in 2008, Jolie did meet with U.S. military personnel to discuss the ways in which the U.S. military could offer peacekeeping assistance to Iraqi refugees. Therefore, demonstrating that even through she may not promote military interventions, she is willing to rely on the militaries to provide peacekeeping assistance. During the 2008 trip to on behalf of UNHCR, Jolie meet with General David Petraeus and under secretary of state for global affairs, Paula Dobiensky, to discuss the displacement of more than 2 million Iraqi refugees ("Petraeus Meets With Angelina Jolie" 2008, par. 2 and 5). While in Iraq, Jolie meet with Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al Malkiki, migration officials, and U.N. officials to discuss the refugees ("Petraeus Meets With Angelina Jolie" 2008, par. 6).

When discussing her trip to Iraq in 2008, Jolie interestingly interesting frames refugee assistance as a national security interest to the US. Jolie writes, "Today's humanitarian crisis in Iraq—and the potential consequences for our national security—are great. Can the United States afford to gamble that 4 million or more poor and displaced people, in the heart of the Middle East, won't explode in violent desperation, sending the whole region into further disorder" (Jolie 2008, par. 12)? In framing the displacement of refugees in Iraq as a national security issue for Americans, she is appealing to American fears of insurgency and terrorism. Moreover, she is using a rhetoric that implies militarism. When scholars discuss security, the first presumption is foreign policy and a military situation.⁴⁶

The Maternal Diplomat

When Jolie first became interested in issues concerning refugees, she simply wanted to become more aware of the suffering of the refugees. However, as she became more involved in this issue, she began to frame her diplomatic work around "maternal thinking" (Ruddick 1980; Ruddick 1989). Ruddick contends that to understand maternal thinking, we have to

⁴⁶ Although there are several other types of security including, economic security, human security, food security, environmental security, bio-security, etc.

understand maternal practices. Ruddick claims that mothers experience pride in their "reproductive processes, a sense of activation of maternal power" (Ruddick 1980, 344). In addition, she claims that mothers also develop maternal competence, which allows them to protect and foster the growth of their children. To be a "mother" one must be willing to take on the responsibilities of taking care of a child and the demands of maternal work (Ruddick 1989, 17). The demands of maternal work can include many things. However, Ruddick argues that the demands that are most attended to through maternal practice (and thinking) are preservation (protection), growth (nurturing), and social acceptability (training) (Ruddick 1989, 17; Ruddick 1980, 348). Maternal thinking arises as mothers think daily about strategies of protection, nurturing, and training (Ruddick 1989, 23). Therefore, maternal thinking arises out of mother's thoughts and strategies—"the intellectual capacities she develops, the judgments she makes, the metaphysical attitudes she assumes, the values she affirms" (Ruddick 1989, 24).

Jolie's may have become interested in the plight of refugees because of a script ("Beyond Borders"), but through her diplomatic work she found an additional calling that would change her life and her diplomacy--motherhood. Jolie has admitted that she never thought of herself as capable of being a mother. "I always felt I wasn't going to be a mother. I new

that to be a parent, nothing about me could be self-destructive, or unsure day to day. I never thought I could be that balanced" (Davidson 2004, par. 4). However, when she held Maddox in a Cambodian refugee camp her life changed. Since Maddox, Jolie has adopted two other children, Zahara and Pax. She has also given birth to three children. When asked in an interview what her part in the world is, she responded, "As my mom did, raise the kids with a lot of love and make sure they grow into the individuals they were born to be" (Davidson 2007, par. 19).

While Jolie's work as a celebrity diplomat focuses primarily on the plight of refugees, she tends to discuss the women, particularly mothers, and children that she meets in refugee camps. Jolie has expressed that she particularly likes interacting with female refugees, describing them as "like any girlfriends I've ever talked to...They were just sweet and funny and kind and great mommies" (Sutton 2009, par. 14). In describing these women this way, she is trying to make a point that they are like any other women in the world. However, she is also demonstrating the fondness she has for interacting with female refugees and a desire to form a bond with other women who are also nurturers. Furthermore, in the same interview, Jolie's tendency to connect her diplomacy with maternal thinking and nurturing is demonstrated as she discusses visiting families who lack the resources and supplies to provide their children with

enough food. When discussing this experience she states, "And I think about my kids. And I think, God, on a daily basis, for them {the refugees} to go days and days and not have anything to give your children has got to be the most difficult thing as a mother" (Sutton 2009, par. 16). In this statement, it is possible to see the extent to which Jolie allows the protection, perseveration, and nurturing of her children to shape how she views when she is performing her diplomatic work. Jolie did not just think that it would be a dire situation to have to live in. Instead, she thought about being a mother in that situation, and how she could not imagine, as a mother, not being able to properly provide for the basic needs of her children.

Maternal thinking provides a position from which one can criticize from war and promote peace (Ruddick 1989; Robinson 1999). In particular, Ruddick argues that peacekeeping and peacefulness can be accomplished through maternal practices that focus on the protection and nurturing of children (Blanchard 2003, 1289; Ruddick 1980; Ruddick 1989). Ruddick contend that maternal thinking and practice allows a mother (and feminists) to think about militarism differently. Ruddick writes, "Like women's politics of resistance, feminism shifts the balance within maternal practice from denial to lucid knowledge, from parochialism to awareness of others' suffering, and from

compliance to stubborn decisive capacities to act" (Ruddick 1989, 236).

As Ruddick suggests, Jolie uses her maternal diplomacy to promote peace. However, she does not limit her rhetoric to simply peace. She claims that there can be no peace without justice. In an Washington Post editorial, Jolie called on U.S. politicians and world leaders to hold perpetrators of the genocide in Darfur, including Omar al-Bashir and the janjaweed, accountable for their crimes (Jolie 2007a). She writes, "It is clear to me that there will be no enduring peace without justice...What the worst people in the world fear most is justice. That's what we should deliver" (Jolie 2007a, par. 16 and 17).

A final component of maternal thinking and practice is social acceptability or training. Ruddick states, "Many mothers find that the central challenge of mothering lies in training a child to be the kind of person whom others accept and whom the mothers themselves can actively appreciate" (Ruddick 1989, 104). Therefore, Ruddick argues that mothers have the challenge of instilling moral values and to be a responsible individual. As Jolie continues her work as a celebrity diplomat, she has made a point to not only to further her education and understanding of refugees, but she has also encouraged and fostered the education of her partner, Brad Pitt, and their children. In several interviews, Jolie has made it clear that she intends to provide

her children with a "global education" ("Jolie give kids 'global education'" 2009). According to Jolie, she tells her children, "there are other families in the world that aren't as fortunate as fortunate as ours and other kids and their mommies...are somewhere in a country that's not safe. So I tell them that it's important for all of us to do what we can an then go to places and understand what's happening" ("Jolie give kids 'global education'" 2009, par. 3; citing Cooper 2009, par. 13). To further her children's "global education," Jolie often takes her children with her when she visits refugee camps or foreign nations for diplomatic missions. Larry Sutton writes, that her son Maddox has visited one refugee camp with the actress (Sutton 2009, par. 3). According to *People*, Jolie, along with Pitt, took Maddox and Zahara to Pakistan in 2005 to visit refugees ("Saint Angelina: How Hollywood's Most Dedicated Humanitarian Stays Gorgeous Inside and Out. Plus 99 More Stunners of People's Most Beautiful List" 2006, 68). Furthermore, Jolie wants her children to learn from and befriend the refugees they will visit. She states, "I want them {her children} to see it (countries like Afghanistan and Pakistan) as an area where they can go down the street and play football with those kids and get to know them and, as they grow up, see them as friends they spend time with" ("Jolie regrets not learning about refugees' plight at an earlier age" 2009, par. 5). However, such

statement demonstrate her naïve, or overly optimistic, view of the world and the future of refugees in countries like Afghanistan and Pakistan.

While Jolie's work has been applauded worldwide⁴⁷, she has also faced criticism for her means of "educating" her children about the world. Several tabloids have accused Jolie of being careless with the welfare of her children and acting outside of her role as a mother when acting as a diplomat. For instance, gossip site, Entertainment Wise writer, Cher Tippetts, reported that Jolie and Pitt argued about her taking Maddox to Iraq in 2009. According to Tippetts, Pitt told Jolie that taking Maddox to Iraq was "ridiculously dangerous" (Tippetts 2009, par. 5).⁴⁸ Jolie has also been called an irresponsible mother simply because she travels to regions of the world that are dangerous. Refuting the claims, Jolie states, "I do no service to my children by staying home and allowing the world to be what it is. "That's not teaching them anything, it's not raising them properly" (Contactmusic.com 2007).

However, Jolie's attempt to educate and inform is not limited to her children. She also attempts to educate an audience, whether they be politicians or the average citizen,

⁴⁷ Jolie was honored at the Arab Children's Congress in 2009 for her humanitarian work (contactmusic.com 2009).

⁴⁸ In this particular instance, however, it is important to note that Maddox was never actually photographed in Iraq with Jolie. The only photos of Maddox and Jolie were of them returning to from the trip in Los Angeles.

about the problems that refugees face on a daily basis and how these refugees can be assisted. Moreover, she uses different media outlets to get her message to different audiences. To address politicians, and presumably the upper class, she has taken the opportunity to write editorials and articles, which have been discussed above, for high culture sources, such as the *Washington Post* and *The Economist*. While some citizens will turn to these more traditional hard news sources, like the *Post* or *The Economist*, the average citizen will rely on soft news or "entertainment-oriented, quasi-news media outlets" (Baum 2002, 91) to get their information. Therefore, Jolie has been willing to provide information to soft news sources such as *People* or *Hello!* magazines about her trips to refugee camps around the world. She has also participated in several public service announcements (PSA) for the U.N., particularly on World Refugee Day, that can be publicly accessed on the UNHCR website and YouTube. However, her attempts at educating the public are not always accepted. One blogger, Daryl D, refers to Jolie's World Refugee Day PSA as a "publicity stunt" claiming that she "sounds colds, calculated and is an embarrassment to real humanitarians" (Daryl D 2009, par. 1). When asked about the criticism of her involvement in international affairs, Jolie states:

If someone had a direct criticism of my opinion on the issue, if someone had a direct criticism of the image shown

because they think it hurts somebody then I will take that into consideration. But there are a lot of people that simply have an immediate gut reaction and they just don't want to combine artists with foreign policy. And hey, I understand. I get it. I know where you're coming from. And to each his own.... (Dickey 2007, par. 9)

Reality v. Fiction

Although Jolie's diplomatic style embraces the perceived gender characteristics of motherhood—nurturing, caretaking, and peace seeking—she often depicts a different image in her films. In many of Jolie's films, she is militaristic and aggressive—playing a skilled assassin in *Wanted* or *Salt* or an gun slinging archeologist/tomb raider in the *Lara Croft* films. Furthermore, she becomes a hypersexual being in her films and on the Hollywood red carpet. Jolie's filmography includes a long list of critically acclaimed performances and varying character archetypes. However, for the purpose of this dissertation I choose three films for my analysis: "*Lara Croft: Tomb Raider*" (2001), "*Beyond Borders*" (2003), and "*A Mighty Heart*" (2007).

The first film I chose for my analysis is "*Beyond Borders*." Even though *Beyond Borders* was not filmed until 2001 (and released in 2003), Jolie was aware of the script in the late

1990s ("I Have Found Purpose" 2003, par. 4).⁴⁹ The film is about a London socialite who becomes an international aid worker, and falls in love with a doctor providing medical care in the campus in which she works ("I Have Found Purpose" 2003, par. 2; "Plot Summary for Beyond Borders" 2010, par. 1). After reading the script, Jolie became curious about the world and international issues in order to prepare for the role. The film was put on hold, but Jolie decided to still educate herself and travel to various regions of the world to see what was happening in those areas for herself ("I Have Found Purpose" 2003, par.4). It was not long after this realization that Jolie contacted the U.N. and began traveling on behalf of UNHCR.

The film is not significant just because it provided the impetus for her career as a celebrity diplomat. The film also converges with her humanitarian work as a celebrity diplomat. When asked if her real-life experiences in refugee camps affected her portrayal of Sarah (her character in "Beyond Borders"), Jolie replied that she added a few things to the character's demeanor and behavior. She said:

I added a few things to her naïveté in the beginning because there is a real sense of thinking you can change the world. There's also a lot of me staring at things.

⁴⁹ In an interview with Newsweek in 2003, Jolie states that she read the script for "Beyond Borders" five years prior to the interview ("I Have Found Purpose" 2003, par. 4).

But that's what you end up doing. I had to do one scene and I remembered things from my own experience—you think about the first child you saw die and suddenly you can't stop crying. ("I Have Found Purpose" 2003, par. 10)

Therefore, it is apparent that Jolie has allowed her humanitarian work to affect how she portrays herself in her films, particularly those that are relevant to her work as a diplomat.

However, this does not top Jolie from performing in films that completely contradict her humanitarian persona. Second, I chose "Lara Croft: Tomb Raider" because Jolie became even more entrenched in her humanitarian and diplomatic work while filming this movie, but also differs from her real life persona as a humanitarian. A portion of the film was shot in Cambodia, where Jolie adopted her first son, now has a home and citizenship, founded a wildlife sanctuary, and periodically visits with refugees on behalf of UNHCR. In addition, this was Jolie's first major action role.

In "Lara Croft: Tomb Raider"⁵⁰, Jolie plays Croft, a wealthy, British aristocrat who spends her time raiding tombs to collect ancient artifacts ("Plot Summary for Lara Croft: Tomb Raider" 2010, par. 1). Croft is trained in hand-to-hand combat, how to use several types of weapons, and extremely educated in

⁵⁰ The film is actually based on a popular video game.

ancient history and several foreign languages. In the film, Croft battles the Illuminati, a secret society that seeks to use an ancient talisman that was hidden by Croft's deceased father. The talisman allows its possessor to control time. Therefore, Croft must prevent this leader of the society from controlling the talisman's power ("Plot Summary for Lara Croft: Tomb Raider" 2010, par. 1). Throughout the film, Croft/Jolie is depicted in tight, form fitting outfits that accentuate her physique. Croft/Jolie's appearance in the film and the character's personality, which is often sexually aggressive and seductive (refer to "Lara Croft: Tomb Raider" 2001), presents a hypersexualized female archetype to audiences. Throughout the film, Croft/Jolie is featured wearing hot pants, short-shorts, and T-shirts that appear more appropriate for a young child to wear rather than a grown woman. Her look is completed with a small arsenal of weapons strategically placed in areas that draw attention to her well-toned figure. Therefore, it is apparent that the film (as well as Jolie) exploits Jolie's sexuality in order to appeal to a male audience.

Croft's personality and life is different from Jolie herself. As previously stated, Jolie is not actually a gun slinging vigilante/action hero, and often speaks out or admonishes acts of violence and war (see Jolie 2003; Jolie 2007a and 2007b; Jolie 2008). However, it is apparent from this role

and others ("Mr. and Mrs. Smith", "Wanted", "Salt", "Taking Lives", and "Sky Captain and the World of Tomorrow"), that she does not mind portraying a violent character in her films. Her film *Wanted* was highly criticized for its depiction of violence. The television advertisement for her film, "Wanted", was banned by the Advertising Standards Authority in the United Kingdom "glorifying" violence by giving the impression that "using guns was sexy and glamorous" ("Jolie gum film advert is banned" 2009, par. 1 and 2). Her willingness to take such roles contradicts her work as a diplomat. Rather than making films that promote peace, she makes films that help to further a culture in which violence is normalized. When discussing feminist militarist politics, Ruddick notes that a female soldier is often depicted as sexy, heroine that "simultaneously domesticate violence, expand women's imaginative aggressiveness, and rewrite, in a manner titillating and scary, the sexual scripts of battle" (Ruddick 1989, 235-236). While Jolie may not actually depict a soldier in many of her action films, she does play the sexualized heroine, who uses violence and aggressive behavior as a means to an end. In other words, she takes roles in which the sexy heroine must naturally use violence to overcome some problem. Therefore, making it appear as if the normal course of action is the use of violence and force to achieve one's goals.

Finally, I chose "A Mighty Heart" because of the political nature and timeliness of the plotline. Based on a true story, "A Mighty Heart" is a film about Mariane Pearl's (played by Jolie) search for kidnapped husband Daniel Pearl, a journalist for the Wall Street Journal. The film begins with providing the audience with some background information about the Pearls and the reasons they are in the Middle East—both are journalists. Daniel, who is also Jewish, is pursuing a story lead regarding a Islamic fundamentalist cleric. While pursuing the lead, Islamic extremists kidnap Daniel. When Daniel does not return from a meeting with a lead, Mariane begins the search for her husband with officials from the United States, Pakistani intelligence officers and police, and fellow journalists. The film chronicles the leads and struggles that Mariane endured throughout the search for Daniel. Ultimately, the extremists kill Daniel before he could be rescued.

Prior to filming, Jolie met with Mariane Pearl to get a feel for how to portray her on-screen. During the time that Daniel had been kidnapped, Mariane was six months pregnant with their son. While preparing for the role, Jolie was also six months pregnant. Jolie has commented that she could not imagine how difficult it would be to handle that type of situation while pregnant. However, it was Mariane's courage and desire to discuss the issues she faced and the problems in the Middle East

that drew her to the role (Davidson 2007, par. 15). The role itself is extremely emotional. When her character learns that her husband has been executed, she retreats into her bedroom where she screams and cries uncontrollably for several minutes (Winterbottom 2007).

Despite the emotionality of the film, there were political (and personal⁵¹) underpinnings for her decision behind her decision to take the role. First the film was shot in Pakistan and India. While filming Jolie travelled to refugee locations in the region on behalf of UNHCR (Slotek 2007, 38). In addition, she stated in an interview that the film brought together people of different religious backgrounds: "To shoot the film, people from Pakistan, India, Britain, America, Muslims, Christians came together. It's an example of what is possible" (Davidson 2007, par. 15). Such statements indicates that Jolie saw this film as an opportunity to make a political statement about the conflict in Afghanistan (and possibly Iraq), religious fundamentalism, and her beliefs that individuals of differing religious backgrounds can come together despite their religious, ideological, and political differences.

Conclusion

⁵¹ Plan B, Brad Pitt's production company, produced the film (Slotek 2007, 38).

This chapter has discussed the diplomatic endeavors of Angelina Jolie. Moving away from her bad-girl image that followed her throughout her early acting career, Jolie has become one of the most talked about celebrity diplomats in the world. As an UNHCR Goodwill Ambassador, Jolie has traveled around the world attempting to bring attention to the plight of refugees. Her work as a celebrity diplomat has fostered a relationship with several multilateral organizations, such as the UN and the ICC. In addition, she has created her own organization, the Maddox Jolie-Pitt Foundation, to address and provide assistance (usually through) donations to many international causes. However, her priority as a celebrity diplomat remains with UNHCR and the displacements of millions of refugees. It is through her work with refugees that Jolie found another purpose in life—being a mother—which she now melds with her diplomacy. The chapter concluded with a brief analysis of three of Jolie's films: "Beyond Borders," "Lara Croft: Tomb Raider," and "A Mighty Heart." Jolie has used her films as a segue way into her diplomatic work. She became intrigued by international aid work and problems after reading the script for "Beyond Borders," which mirrors much of her own diplomacy. While filming "Lara Croft" in Cambodia, became further involved in her work with UNHCR and met her son. "A Mighty Heart" allowed Jolie to take on a role that addresses current political

issues in the Middle East. However, this analysis also revealed that Jolie film persona does not always coincide with her off screen persona. In "Lara Croft" and similar films, Jolie is willing to take on extremely violent roles despite her aversion to violence in reality.

Chapter VI: George Clooney: From the ER to the UN

Introduction

George Clooney is one of the most talked about, photographed, and acclaimed actors in the world. It is not unusual to see his face grace the cover of a magazine or find one of his movies on television at any given time. However, Clooney has become more than just an actor, director, and producer. He has become a prominent and highly visible political actor, both domestically and internationally. When many people think of Clooney and politics, they first think of Darfur. Clooney, like other celebrity diplomats, has identified one international issue (Darfur and the Sudan) and has become more educated on that issue in order to speak on behalf and advocate for the people of Sudan. His involvement in the Sudan is not limited to simple advocacy. Clooney has travelled to meet with leaders around the world, including Egypt, China, (Mamdani 2010) and the United States. In addition, he has become a UN Messenger of Peace and spoken to the UN Security Council on Darfur. He continues to report to the UN on the devastation that he sees in Darfur, other areas of the Sudan, and refugee camps in surrounding nations. His

This chapter will explore George Clooney's role as a celebrity diplomat. First, I provide a short biography of Clooney's life. This is to provide background information

regarding his rise to fame and the events that led to his foray into domestic and international politics. I will then discuss his diplomatic work through the UN, NGOs and NPOs, and on his own. The section will draw linkages between his work as a celebrity diplomat and neoliberal globalization. The following section will explore the gendered nature of Clooney's diplomacy. I argue that Clooney emphasizes masculine solutions international problems, while using masculine rhetoric and characteristics to frame his diplomacy. The final section of this chapter examines highlights and examines the contradictions that can be found in Clooney's films and work as a diplomat.

Through the Years: A Brief Biography

George Clooney was born into a family that has been in the spotlight in one way or another. Clooney's father, Nicholas Clooney, was a very prominent television personality and news anchor in various locations throughout Kentucky and Ohio when Clooney was a child and teenager ("George Clooney Biography" 2010, par. 1). Clooney's father made a point to discuss current events with his family; thus introducing various political and social issues Clooney. As a small child, Clooney also made short television appearances on his father's talk shows. In the years following, Clooney "struggled with his talent for

expression when he developed Bell's palsy", which he eventually overcame ("George Clooney Biography" 2010, par. 4).

Clooney also had connections to Hollywood at an early age, as his aunt Rosemary Clooney, was a successful singer and actress. After high school, Clooney attempted college, studying broadcast journalism at Northern Kentucky University. However, he later dropped out of college and worked around the Cincinnati area ("George Clooney Biography" 2010, par. 7). It was not long until he received a call from his cousin, Miguel Ferrer, son of Rosemary Clooney and Jose Ferrer, asking if he was interested in taking a small part in a film the Ferrer and his father were shooting in Kentucky ("George Clooney Biography" 2010, par. 7). Clooney worked as an extra, which would spark his interest in acting.

He then moved to Los Angeles, and began searching for work in "the business." Clooney began to land some recurring roles on several television series, such as *The Facts of Life*, *Roseanne*, *Bodies of Evidence*, and *Sisters* ("George Clooney Biography" 2010, par. 9). He had roles in several low budget films, such as "Return of the Killer Tomatoes" and "Return to Horror High" (gclooney.com 2010, par.4). In 1994, Clooney received his real break in Hollywood by winning the role of Dr. Doug Ross on NBC's *ER* ("George Clooney Biography" 2010, par. 11). The show and Clooney quickly became household names.

Clooney landed several roles in major films, such as "Batman & Robin" and "Out of Sight", which further boosted his career.

In 1999, Clooney departed from his role in *ER* to pursue more movie roles. He then starred in several films that received critical acclaim, including "Three Kings" (about the first Gulf War), "O' Brother, Where Are Thou?"⁵², and the "Ocean's" movies ("George Clooney Biography" 2010, par. 13 and 14). In the following years, Clooney would begin to star in, produce, and direct several political films. In 2004, he starred as a CIA in "Syriana" (focus throughout the film is on an ongoing conflict in the Middle East), which earned him an Academy Award for Best Supporting Actor. He also directed, co-authored the screenplay, and starred in "Good Night, Good Luck"; a movie about the contentious relationship between Edward R. Murrow and Senator Joseph McCarthy ("George Clooney Biography" 2010, par. 16).

Clooney's political perspectives and participation in politics were widely known outside of his films. He claims that his interest in politics began in 1992 during the L.A. riots (Blackman 2010, 129). By 2000, he was more politically active and a very outspoken liberal. After the 9/11 attacks, Clooney organized "A Tribute to Heroes," a telethon for the victims of the attacks (Blackmun 2010, 130). Right-wing pundit, Bill

⁵² Clooney won a Golden Globe for Best Actor for his performance in *O' Brother* ("George Clooney 2010, par. 14).

O'Reilly, attacked Clooney and the United Way claiming that the proceeds from the telethon were misappropriated ("George Clooney" 2010 (yahoo), par 10). This was the beginning of a long (and still) contemptuous relationship between the two celebrities. Since 2001, O'Reilly has attacked Clooney personally and his organization of the telethons for victims of the South Asia tsunami in 2004 and the "Hope for Haiti" telethon in 2010. Clooney received more criticism for the right, when he spoke out against the war in Iraq. In a German interview, Clooney referred to President George W. Bush as "dim" and stated, "I think a war against Iraq is as unavoidable as it is senseless. I think it's coming. But I also think the real danger is going to be what happens after it" ("George Clooney Biography" 2010, par. 17).

In 2006, Clooney became aware of the atrocities that were occurring in Darfur after reading columns by *New York Times* columnist, Nicholas Kristof (Blackmun 2010, 133). These columns prompted Clooney and his father to contact David Pressman, a human rights lawyer and former State Department official, about traveling to the region (Blackmun 2010, 133).⁵³ Clooney and his father then traveled to Darfur, seeing the devastation first hand. It was at this point that Clooney became committed to

⁵³ Pressman insisted on meeting with Clooney to determine if he was really sincere in his interest in helping (Blackmun 2010, 133).

brining attention to the Darfur region and seeking the assistance from governments, the U.N., and NGOs/NPOs. Clooney, along with fellow "Ocean's Eleven" co-stars, Don Cheadle, Brad Pitt (Jolie's domestic partner), and Matt Damon, and David Pressman and Jerry Weintraub founded the nonprofit organization Not On Our Watch.

Becoming a Celebrity Diplomat

Secretary General Ban Kim-moon officially designated Clooney as a "Messenger of Peace" for the United Nations on January 31, 2008 (Worsnip 2008, par. 1). Clooney's willingness to become a Messenger of Peace indicates his acceptance of his role as diplomat. Even though Clooney does not need the United Nations to purport his message, the acceptance of an official position as a Messenger of Peace solidifies his position as a celebrity diplomat. Moreover, an extremely public ceremony allows him and the United Nations to present him as a symbol of the organization and their overall mission. Clooney's participation also indicates the extent to which he takes his mission to alleviate the suffering in Darfur seriously.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Admittedly there have been several celebrities that were conferred a position as a United Nations Goodwill Ambassador, but did not follow through on their commitment. These individuals include the likes of Sophia Loren, Geri Haliwell, and Sarah Ferguson (Cooper 2008). Thus far, Clooney has remained committed to the U.N.'s mission.

The ceremony served as a spectacle as well, which is what Clooney and the U.N. want. Clooney has framed his existence as a celebrity diplomat around his ability to draw attention from the media, including the paparazzi. Moreover, the U.N. has stated that his ability to draw attention is the primary reason he was asked to be a Messenger of Peace. According to UN spokesperson, Michele Montas, Clooney was offered the position because he has been "recognized for focusing public attention on crucial international political and social issues" (Worsnip 2008, par. 3). Yet the spectacle of the event did not stop at simply drawing attention to the mission of the UN Messenger of Peace program. It was an event that boosted Clooney's reputation as a "do-gooder" and helped legitimize his involvement in international politics. His continued presence at the UN continues to boost his image. In other words, Clooney's involvement with the UN projects an image of Clooney as a "good person" off-screen, which in turn has the potential to make him more popular among fans and possibly attract new fans. Ian Parker, a journalist for the *New Yorker* noted that as Clooney exited the UN, "one heard shouts, and even applause, but in his wake that was a kind of cooing, like a cinema audience shown a puppy" (Parker 2008).

However, it also illustrated the extent to which Clooney is regarded primarily as a sex symbol. When he attended the

official ceremony, he was provided with a tour of the UN Headquarters and was he was meet with fascination and acceptance. Moreover, he was "greeted with "oohs and "ahs" from dozens of people, mostly women" (*Huffington Post* 2008, par. 2). The media's need to discuss the manner in which Clooney was swooned over while at the UN, indicates the extent to which his appeal as a celebrity diplomat is underscored by his sexual appeal to audiences. Thus Clooney is able to rely on his good looks and his hypersexual identity created by Hollywood to further promote his agenda. In other words, Clooney is willing to objectify his sexual appeal not only in the film industry, but also in the political arena to attract attention to serious and often underreported international issues.

However, Clooney does not only rely on his looks to garner him attention. He is able to get attention for Darfur simply because he is a successful celebrity. During an interview with Wolf Blitzer, Clooney states that he became interested in his Darfur and international affairs because he "felt like it was probably a good time to cash in whatever celebrity credit card you get from having a good year" (Blitzer 2006, par. 9). After receiving the Bob Hope Humanitarian Award at the 62nd Primetime Emmy Awards, Clooney stated that he was only using his celebrity status ("cashing in") deflect attention to worthy causes (Associated Press 2010, par. 1). Therefore, it is Clooney

recognizes that he is a symbol, a commodity that draws in attention.

However, it is not just in the field that Clooney "cashes" in on his celebrity status. Since the events of September 11, Clooney has coordinated and executed, with the help of other celebrities and several major media outlets, three telethons: *America: A Tribute to Heroes*, *Tsunami Aid: A Concert of Hope*, and *A Hope for Haiti: A Global Benefit for Earthquake Relief* (Chi and Leonard 2010). *America: A Tribute to Heroes* raised \$100 million that was donated to the United Way and the New York Community Trust, and the tsunami telethon raised \$18.3 million for the American Red Cross International Response Fund (Chi and Leonard 2010, par. 5 and 12). The *Hope for Haiti* telethon raised over \$57 million, which was split among several organizations: Oxfam America, Partners in Health, the Red Cross, UNICEF, United Nations World Food Programme, Yéle Haiti Foundation, and the Clinton-Bush Haiti Foundation" (Coulton 2010, par. 1 and 4). In addition, the months following the *Hope for Haiti* telethon, individuals could go online to iTunes and purchase the soundtrack, with the proceeds also going to the organizations listed above. Clooney is credited with the success of the telethons. One journalist notes that the success of the *Hope for Haiti* telethon is due to Clooney's class and wit. Richard Henley Davis says of the events success, "But what

do you expect coming from George Clooney? the man oozes class and is very aware of what works on the screen and the £35 million pounds raised thus far is testimony to the great work and vision of Mr. Clooney" (Davis 2010, par. 3).

Like Jolie, Clooney also uses his fame and fortune to pursue his diplomatic agenda through the private sector. "Not on Our Watch is a nonprofit organization (check on status) that attempts to focus global attention on various areas of the world, most notably Darfur, Burma (now Myanmar), and Zimbabwe (Not on Our Watch). In the organizations mission statement, they specifically state that the organization was formed and engages international problems because of the lack of government intervention global atrocities. The organization's website states, "Where governments remain complacent, Not on Our Watch is committed to stopping mass atrocities and giving voices to their victims" (Not on Our Watch: Who We Are" 2010 par. 1). This sentiment is echoed throughout the organization's website, often citing "government inaction" and stating that "the international community has failed to act" in Darfur (and other regions of the world). Therefore, it is apparent that the organization and the celebrities that work through it—including Clooney—acknowledge that their organization is the product of the absence of government intervention in international atrocities.

Clooney has called on an international community to act several times throughout his career as a celebrity diplomat. During his 2006 address to the UN Security Council, Clooney admonished members of the council for not acting to stop the genocide in Darfur. Clooney states, "Now, I know there are members of you here that, for what I'm sure are sensible reasons, have failed to use leverage at time to keep the—to get the peacekeepers on the ground" (Clooney 2006, par. 3). He continues the by encouraging the Security Council to send peacekeepers to the region before more slaughtering can occur. Although, he is reprimanding the Council, this speech also demonstrates that he believes, or perhaps simply hopes, that an international community will step forward.

Gender Roles: On and Off Screen

Clooney does not simply focus on "soft" solutions to international issues. Even though Clooney promotes diplomacy first, he usually suggests that the U.S. and UN employ robust and aggressive diplomacy. After meeting with Vice President Joe Biden (in 2009) to discuss the U.S.'s role in Darfur, Clooney exited the White House to find several journalists and media outlets waiting to hear what he discussed with the VP. Clooney immediately took the opportunity to address the media and the public. In particular, Clooney gave an interview to CNN host,

Larry King. In that interview, King asked what the Obama administration and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton should do about the situation in Darfur. Clooney indicates that he was aware that neither the U.S. nor the UN is going to send troops (King 2009, par. 27).⁵⁵ Clooney goes on to say that what is needed is "good robust diplomacy all across the world" (*Larry King Live: George Clooney on Darfur* 2009). Clooney discusses the need for robust and aggressive diplomacy in several other interviews, but never actually elaborates on or is questioned about what he means by "robust" and "aggressive" diplomacy. The fact that Clooney uses the terms robust and aggressive interchangeably indicates that he views robust diplomacy as a form of negotiation that is strong and firm, but possibly coercive. It is also highly likely that Clooney is also using the rhetoric expressed by official diplomats in order to appear more knowledgeable regarding the response to international issues. For instance, Hilary Clinton often uses similar rhetoric when he discusses U.S. diplomatic policy. When she took the position as Secretary of State on January 22, 2009, she stated that she would be using robust diplomacy throughout her tenure: "I will do all that I can, working with you, to make it abundantly clear that robust diplomacy and effective development are the best long-term tools for securing America's future"

⁵⁵ This information is from a partial transcript of King's interview with Clooney.

(Kaufman 2009, par. 3). In addition, Clooney's use of the terms robust and aggressive includes gendered connotations. As discussed in Chapter I, aggression, strength, and firmness are terms that are typically associated with masculinity (see Tickner 1992; Hooper 2001; Peterson and Runyan 1999).

Dueling Realities: Clooney the actor v. Clooney the diplomat

As one of the most successful actors in Hollywood, Clooney has a long list of blockbusters and television appearances on his resume. Like Jolie, Clooney has embraced film to deliver political messages and to provide commentary on public policy. In order to remain consistent between by two case studies, I have chosen three of Clooney's films to illustrate the manner in which his acting career overlaps and at times contradicts his role as a celebrity diplomat. The three films that I have chosen are: "Three Kings" (1999), "Syriana" (2005), and "Ocean's Thirteen" (2007).

Even though "Three Kings" was filmed prior to September 11, the plot of the film remains relevant to present day politics and demonstrates Clooney's willingness to take on political roles prior to his interest in international affairs. The film is set in Iraq during the end of the first Gulf War. A small group of soldiers, Clooney included, decide to steal a cache of gold that has been hidden near their base ("Plot Summary for

Three Kings" 2010, par. 1). On their quest, they discover a small town where the civilians of the town are being persecuted by the Iraqi army after they were encourage to fight against the Iraqi government by the United States. However, the United States will not provide them assistance from their persecutors.

The second film I chose for this study is "Syriana." Clooney described the film as one like from the 1970s in which they are willing to "discuss geopolitical issues without, sort of, pointing fingers directly at a specific person" (Clooney 2006). The film is extremely political and complex. The films follows the lives of several characters, ranging from industrialists, to an Arab prince, to oilfield labors turned suicide bombers, to spies, that are all unknowingly connected in an economic and political rivalry for power and oil in the Middle East. In the film Clooney plays CIA Agent Bob Barnes tasked with a final mission before his retirement. Clooney's character is based on a real former CIA agent Robert Baer. The role the character plays in the film was derived from actual political controversies surrounding the CIA, particularly the financial cutbacks made by government and the aftermath of September 11 (Clooney 2006).

When discussing the film Clooney claimed that he was happy it was filmed in the Third World because it was a good way of informing actors, and that the element of danger that is

associated with traveling to Morocco was one of the reasons he felt he needed to do the film (Clooney 2006). However, Clooney also states that it was hoped that the film would not appear to be taking a political stand and would be considered apolitical (Clooney 2006). Admittedly, it is difficult to believe Clooney's statement that he and the film's director and producers did not want this to be a political film. The film is overtly political, and the timing in which the film was released (five years after September 11, while the U.S. is engaged in two wars in Middle East) highlights the political nature of the film. Moreover, the fact that the film is centered on the oil industry also does not support Clooney's claims. Clooney himself is very interested in the role of oil in the Middle East, especially as it pertains to Darfur.

In both "Three Kings" and "Syriana" Clooney portrays characters that do not fit the humanitarian persona that he projects through his diplomacy. In both films, he plays characters that have been aggressive, calculating, and violent. He is willing to forego his diplomatic persona to play a fictional character that resorts to violence rather than looking for a diplomatic solution. Yet these are not the only films in which Clooney embraces a violent character. He plays similar roles in "The American," "Michael Clayton," and "The Peacemaker." Furthermore, in "Syriana," he shed his normally

well-groomed and lean appearance. He gained 30 pounds for the role (Clooney 2006). Therefore, he was not playing the handsome male lead; his status as a sex symbol did not matter for the role. .

Finally, "Ocean's Thirteen" continues to follow the exploits of Danny Ocean, played by Clooney, and several of his friends/fellow thieves. In this film, the Ocean's crew must travel back to Las Vegas after one of the group, Reuben, suffers from a heart attack. The crew learns that Reuben suffered the heart attack after being double-crossed by his business partner and losing all of his finances. Therefore, the crew decides to avenge Reuben (who is still alive) by robbing his double-crossing business partner Willy Bank. Throughout the film, Ocean and his team develop a scheme that will bust Bank's new casino during its soft opening (a trial run) and prevent his new hotel/casino from receiving the Five Diamond Award, which Bank has received for all of his hotels thus far.

I chose "Ocean's Thirteen" rather than one of the previous "Ocean's" movies because when the film was released, Clooney was more established as a celebrity diplomat. With that said, all of the "Ocean's" films have had an impact on Clooney's career as a celebrity diplomat. Several of the cast members (Brad Pitt, Matt Damon, and Don Cheadle) of the "Ocean's" films eventually joined Clooney in founding NOOW. Moreover, Clooney and the

other founders of NOOW used the film's popularity and hype to aid the victims of Darfur (Grossberg 2007, par. 2). According to Grossberg, the cast used a series of benefit screenings to raise funds for the International Rescue Committee (IRC) and increase the political pressure on the international community (Grossberg 2007, par. 3). Jerry Weintraub, producer of the film, said, "What we are trying to do is bring our celebrity to raise money and bring a spotlight on Sudan again" (Grossberg 2007, par. 7). Building off of the film's themes (casinos, poker, gambling) NOOW also partnered with an online gambling site, PokerStars, to hold two charity tournaments in Cannes and Los Angeles to benefit Darfur victims (Grossberg 2007, par. 13).

The character of Daniel Ocean is much more similar to the real Clooney, with the exception of affinity for thievery. Like Ocean, Clooney is suave, charming, and uses his attractive personality to achieve a desired outcome. Even more so, both Ocean and Clooney are individuals that avoid violence. Ocean never (this includes all of the "Ocean's" films) uses weapons to achieve his goals. While Clooney touts, as previously discussed, the importance of diplomacy and peacekeeping, rather than military interventions.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the diplomatic endeavors of George Clooney. Clooney became involved in international affairs after reading several articles about the violence in Darfur in the *New York Times*. Clooney's interest in Darfur then lead him to the United Nations, where he was later invited to become a Messenger of Peace. Clooney continues to act on behalf of the UN, but also engages in private (personal) travels to Sudan and the surrounding areas. Moreover, Clooney created his own organization, Not On Our Watch, with several of his "Ocean's" costars to address political issues in Darfur, Burma, and Zimbabwe. However, Clooney sees his diplomacy as a way to "cash in" on his celebrity status. Since he has been successful, he believes that he must speak on behalf of those who cannot—Darfurians. He advocates for robust and aggressive diplomacy in order to deter further violence in Darfur. This chapter concluded with an analysis of three of Clooney's films: "Three Kings," "Syriana," and "Ocean's Thirteen." Like Jolie, Clooney is willing to take on political roles, and use his films to further his diplomatic agenda. The analysis revealed that like Jolie, Clooney takes on roles that do not necessarily reflect his off-screen persona. In both "Three Kings" and "Syriana," Clooney plays characters that are not opposed to using violence to accomplish their goals. While "Ocean's Thirteen" is not a political film, Clooney uses the publicity from the film, as

well as the popularity of the cast, to attract attention to Darfur through benefits and fundraisers associated with the film.

Chapter VII: Conclusion: The Impacts of Celebrity Diplomacy in a Globalized World

The question that is often asked when individuals start discussing celebrity diplomacy is: Are they successful in their diplomatic endeavors? In other words, does the work of celebrity diplomats bring about an effective, long term, and visible change in international relations? Instead of pursuing this question, which would require far more research and data, this concluding chapter seeks to address another question: What impact are celebrity diplomats having on international politics? While celebrity diplomats have become more prominent due to the failures of the neoliberal states, they continue to further a neoliberal agenda in three ways: 1) utilizing their celebrity status to bring attention to international issues; 2) through their relationship with multilateral institutions, NGOs, and NPOs; and 3) their resistance to militarized conflict.

This conclusion first discusses my overarching conclusions regarding the emergence of celebrity diplomacy in the neoliberal state, and the extent to which gender roles affects the actions of celebrity diplomats, Angelina Jolie and George Clooney. It will then proceed to explore the manner in which celebrity diplomacy helps to further perpetuate a neoliberal agenda. I suggest that celebrity diplomats inadvertently perpetuate a neoliberal agenda by commodifying oppressed groups and

international problems. I contend that they do this on behalf of NGOs, NPOs, and even the UN in their attempt at drawing attention to international problems. In addition, I argue that in drawing this attention, celebrity diplomats bring attention to themselves and their acting careers. Moreover, the I assert the presence of celebrity diplomats reinforces Western cultural and political agendas, thus subverting the peoples they seek to help and the international problems they wish to solve. I will then conclude with a discussion of additional criticisms (sometimes founded, and other times unfounded) that celebrity diplomats face today and as they continue to lend their time and image to humanitarian and political causes around the world.

Overarching Conclusions

This dissertation examines the emergence of celebrity diplomats as viable political actors, providing diplomatic services focused on negotiation and humanitarian aid, in the current international politics and the global economy. My analysis examines how neoliberal globalization has contributed to the growing role of celebrity diplomats in international politics, attributing this phenomenon to the neoliberal state's shift toward privatization of government provided programs and services, commodification and consumption, and militarization. Celebrity diplomats, particularly Jolie and Clooney, admit that

they use their celebrity status to draw attention to humanitarian causes. Furthermore, Clooney claims that it is his "job" to speak on behalf of the victims of Darfur. In his 2006 speech to the UN Security Council Clooney told the council, "Now, my job is to come here today and to beg you, on behalf of millions of people who will die—and make no mistake they will die—for you to take real and effective measures to put an end to the {the genocide in Sudan}" (Clooney 2006b, par. 5). Their status as icons and the consumption of their image and lives through films, television, and other media outlets allows them to garner attention to the issues that they have deemed to be important to international politics.

Unlike traditional diplomats,⁵⁶ celebrity diplomats are able to commandeer the media without actively seeking out attention. Celebrities have paparazzi following them everywhere they go so that they can get a glimpse of a new love interest, a fashion mishap, or any other tantalizing piece of information about a celebrity's life. As Nicholas Kristof points out, "celebrities

⁵⁶ Since taking office in 2009, President Obama has proposed increases in the State Department's budget to increase diplomacy. He proposed an increase in the State Department's budget from \$36.7 billion in 2009 to \$51.7 billion in 2010 ("2010 Budget Blueprint: Agency by Agency" 2009). Despite the increased emphasis on the use of diplomacy and the overall budget of the State Department, the general public remains unaware of the United States' diplomatic agenda. Citizens who are more inclined to watch or read the daily news may have some inkling of Secretary Clinton's (who is a celebrity diplomat herself) trips to the Middle East, but many are still unaware of the agenda for these diplomatic discussions.

carry a spotlight with them, and if they can use some of that glow to highlight the needs of Darfur, Congo, or Chad, that saves lives" (Kristof 2008, par. 5). Celebrities are hounded by paparazzi and their public/private lives are splashed throughout tabloids, entertainment news programs, and the Internet on a daily basis. Americans and other citizens of the world get immediate and often highly publicized soft news coverage of Angelina Jolie visiting refugees in some remote location or George Clooney attending another meeting with world leaders to discuss the crisis in Darfur. They get this coverage because Jolie and Clooney are cultural icons, sex symbols, and entertainment. Thus audiences are introduced to international problems via intrigue of celebrity diplomats. This attention has both positive and negative consequences. Therefore, the celebrity diplomat can use their "celebrity credit card" to attract media outlets to report on an issue that may be ignored, under-reported, or unknown. The traditional diplomat, on the other hand, does not have this type of appeal. It is likely that the average citizen will turn the channel or skip over a story about the same issue if an unknown diplomat is championing the cause. When celebrities attach themselves to an issue, the issue become trendy and sexy, and thus a topic that is worth paying attention to.

Furthermore, celebrity diplomats use private institutions and multilateral institutions to legitimize and convey their diplomatic agendas. For instance, Jolie is an official Goodwill Ambassador for UNHCR, and travels on behalf of the organization to refugee camps around the world several times a year. However, Jolie present herself as more than just a spectator. She engages world leaders, such as Iraqi officials (Jolie 2008) or Haitian President Rene Preval (Charles 2010), in dialogue when she travels on behalf of UNHCR. Jolie attempts to engage the general public and media in a dialogue about through editorials (see Jolie 2007a; Jolie 2007b; Jolie 2008; Jolie 2009). Clooney views himself as part of the UN, but also views the UN as another audience for his message, and an additional means of conveying his message. He typically serves as a fact finder for the UN, and even the White House . Often reports back to the UN about what he saw after a trip to the Sudan. He has also had two meetings with President Obama and/or Vice President Biden since Obama took office (see King 2009a; Calmes 2010). However, unlike Jolie, Clooney is more vocal of his criticism of the U.N. As discussed in Chapter VI, Clooney reprimanded the United Nations for their inaction in the Sudan during his 2006 UN Security Council Address. Moreover, Clooney's outspoken nature has prompted him to arrange private trips to Sudan, rather than traveling on behalf of the United

Nations. During a 2009 trip to Sudan, Clooney was not provided a security detail by the UN. Clooney has stated that the trip was private and the UN was under no obligation to provide him with protection. However, *New York Times* columnist, Nicholas Kristof, who was traveling with Clooney at the time, claims that the UN pulled Clooney's security escort because they were fearful that he would say something overly critical about Omar al-Bashir (Kristof 2009, par. 15).

As mentioned previously, Cooper posits that celebrity diplomats abhor violence and conflict. Cooper never states why he came to this conclusion. However, if one looks at the work of celebrity diplomats like Bono, Clooney, or Jolie, it is evident that much of their diplomatic agenda is centered on the prevention or aftermath of violent conflict. For instance, in a recent editorial in the *Washington Post*, Clooney and John Pendergast wrote about the aftermath of war and violence that they had witnessed while on a traveling through Sudan. In the editorial Clooney and Pendergast inform readers that the United States and the international community have an opportunity to prevent further violence in the coming months through diplomacy (Clooney and Pendergast 2010). They write, The United States and its diplomatic partners can influence Bashir and his administration's calculations over whether to go to war in the south by creating bigger benefits for peace (in both the south

and Darfur) and bigger consequences for war than are currently on the table" (Clooney and Pendergast 2010, par. 14). Moreover, neither Jolie nor Clooney promote military intervention or war. However, they are willing to allow military forces to provide "peacekeeping" assistance to regions of the world that suffer from conflict. Moreover, both actors are willing to take on film roles that are excessively violent. Jolie is willing to play the gun slinging action hero in films such as *Lara Croft* and *Wanted*, while Clooney plays a soldier in *Three Kings* or a CIA assassin in *Syriana*.

Through my analysis of Jolie and Clooney's diplomacy it can be argued that celebrity diplomacy is not a gender-neutral phenomenon. Celebrity diplomats act according to perceived gender roles. In particular, my dissertation explores the diplomacy and political agendas of two very prominent celebrity diplomats, Angelina Jolie and George Clooney. Both portray themselves and frame their diplomacy around traditional gender roles. Jolie fashions her diplomacy around her role as a mother, focusing on the nurturing and caretaking of children around the world. Clooney, on the other hand, appears to exhibit more masculine traits in his diplomacy. He often speaks of aggressive diplomacy, and appears calm and rational, rather than overly emotional when addressing the media.

My analysis did reveal one facet of celebrity diplomacy

that I did not previously consider—the celebrity diplomat's feelings of guilt for having such success and wealth, while seeing others suffer. Both Jolie and Clooney mention in interviews and their own writings (Jolie) that there is an element of guilt that is associated with their diplomacy. Jolie writes of coping with her ability to return to a life of material luxury after one of her diplomatic missions is complete. She states, "Maybe I think I should feel guilty for my ability to come and go from these places when others have no choice. I know one thing. I know I appreciate everything more. I am grateful for my life (Jolie 2003, 79). Clooney makes a similar admission, stating that he feels guilty that he has so much wealth. In an interview with David Ansen, reporter for *Newsweek*, Clooney discusses the guilt that has prompted him to become active in international affairs. Clooney told Ansen, "I'm in this weird place: I have this beautiful house in Italy and I have these social agendas. I don't want to give up that lifestyle because I enjoy it, but I also feel that I have a responsibility. So the way I try to rationalize that, and it may just be Irish-Catholic guilt, is, for instance, with this casino 25 percent of anything it makes will go to the Make Poverty History campaign. It's the only way I can reconcile being successful" (Ansen 2005, par. 10).⁵⁷ Jolie and Clooney are able

⁵⁷ The casino that Clooney refers to is a business endeavor that

to engage in their diplomatic endeavors because of Western privilege. They have the finances to travel as they please and to donate funds when they have deemed a cause worthy. They ultimately have this ability because they are Western, and have benefited from Western capitalism and social structures.

Repercussions of Celebrity Diplomacy: Continuing a Neoliberal Agenda?

Of course the critics of this form of public diplomacy argue that it is a disguised version of propaganda, a tool of U.S. hegemony, and a form of wasteful spending that employs and subsidizes "bureaucrats, artists, performers, scholars, and intellectuals with unreliable, internationalist loyalties" (Jansen 2005, 52). To some extent, these critics would be correct. Governments, NGOs, and the United Nations use celebrity diplomats to convey a very specific message. This message could be as simple as highlighting a problem, like the displacement of refugees. The UN is able to convey this problem through publicizing Jolie's visit to a refugee camp in Cambodia or Iraq.

Once the celebrity diplomat brings attention to a disenfranchised or marginalized population and/or various

he and business partner, Randy Gerber, had opened in Las Vegas (Ansen 2005, par. 10). However, the plan lost many of its financial backers in 2006, and the plan to open the casino was abandoned (contactmusic.com 2006, par. 1).

political problems, that population and their problems are subsumed into the globalized market. As Gibson-Graham point out, globalization allows capitalism to "penetrate" a previous untapped market base (Gibson-Graham 1996, 125). In other words, globalization allows capitalism to find new markets and consumers to exploit, which will generate new means of profit. Therefore, through the presence of the celebrity diplomat and the attention they produce, a population that was once outside the periphery of the global market and their problems become commodified and able to be exchanged in the global market through celebrity endorsements for donations or the creation of products bought and sold with the assumption that all proceeds will go towards alleviating some international problem. Take for instance Bono's RED product campaign. Bono and other celebrity diplomats (or celebrity activists) who promote this program encourage the average citizen to buy one of the various RED products—all of which are produced and sold by major MNCs—to help stop the spread of AIDS in Africa. However, in order to encourage consumers to purchase such items, Bono and others must exploit the images of starving Africans or AIDS patients dying in unclean, run-down hospitals/clinics. It is only through these depictions and the promotion of a profit-oriented solution that an international crisis will be taken seriously by the West. It then appears as if celebrity endorsers and MNCs are

trying to generate profit by exploiting the misery of a suffering population. As Lucy Bernholz, founder and president of Blueprint Research and Design, points out, buying a charity endorsed product is "virtuousness as a marketing gimmick run amok" (Strom 2007, par. 5).⁵⁸ Moreover, one must question whether the individual purchasing a RED product is doing so to help sick Africans and prevent the further spread of AIDS, or if they are making the purchase because it is the trendy thing to do. Is a RED iPod just another variation of the "must have" product of the season? Or does owning a RED product make an individual appear as if they are a charitable person? In other words, owning a RED product, like putting a yellow or pink ribbon magnet on one's car, makes it appear as if someone is championing a cause without having to actually understand the political, social, or economic underpinnings of the problem. However, there is evidence that the initiative has been rather unsuccessful. According to Daniel W. Drezner (who cites *Advertising Age*), the program has not netted enough capital to

⁵⁸ Not only are many companies and celebrities exploiting the misery of the victims of some horrible atrocity or disease, but there many charities that are unaware that they are supposed to be receiving donations (Strom 2007, par. 7). Admittedly, the RED Product program does have detailed contracts between the corporations and the Global Fund (the distributor of the donations) regarding RED products and the profits generated from their purchase (Strom 2007, par. 15).

match the expenditures used to advertise the campaign (Drezner 2007, 26).⁵⁹

Some international issues championed by celebrities have also become clichéd. One journalist notes, "Celebrity interest in Africa has become something of a cliché these days, thanks to over-hyped events like Madonna's adoption of a child from Malawi" (Chaudhuri 2006, par. 4). Continual interest in Darfur, has spurred a trend that is referred to as "Darfur chic" (Beam 2007, par. 1), which refers to events that are sponsored by well known individuals, including Ambassador Swanee Hunt, in an effort to bring in donations affected by the conflict in the region. However, the movement is not limited to special events. It also includes the "obligatory "I Care" wristbands, this one green, with words "Not on Our Watch."⁶⁰ The Save Darfur Campaign sells car ribbon magnets and of course those lawn signs you see in better communities everywhere" (Beam 2007, par. 5). However, Beam points out that nothing in Darfur has changed as a result of the purchase of wristbands or lawn signs. Instead, his article demonstrates the extent to which Darfur has become a gimmick, because he, like many others, point out that nations do not want to send people to intervene and possibly lose their

⁵⁹ Drezner notes that the RED campaign brought in \$18 million during the first year of the program, but spent an estimated \$100 million on marketing the initiative (Drezner 2007, 26).

⁶⁰ Clooney's non-profit organization.

lives to overthrow the Sudanese government. Instead, "we'll make do with wristbands and fashion shows" (Beam 2007, par. 17).

Zine Magubine's takes this argument a step further declaring that celebrity culture has "branded and stylized" (Magubine 2007, 4) international problems. For instance, she notes that a *New York Times* journalist wrote that Madonna a, "preeminent arbiter of style and taste" used images of African children with AIDS as a backdrop during concert performance (Magubine 2007, 4). The journalist (and Magubine) assert that "demonstrating concern about Africa, much like toting a Prada bag or wearing a Prada shoe, was indication of having cutting-edge style" (Magubine 2007, 4). Magubine contends that celebrities are a "new generation of philanthropists [who] have taken up the 'White Man's Burden'" (Magubine 2007, 4). In other words, she asserts that celebrities have taken it upon themselves to take up Africa as an issue because they see themselves as having the ability to bring awareness to the problems in the continent. However, what these celebrities do it exploit the images of African peoples they are claiming to help, and "Africans are made to function as little more than objects, useful for implementing plans beyond themselves [celebrities]" (Magubine 2007, 5). Therefore, celebrity diplomats are able to use the images and interactions with African people to portray themselves as saviors of the

disenfranchised. There are celebrity diplomats that see themselves as the voices of abused and oppressed peoples of African nations, like the Sudan, or Middle Eastern and Asian populations. Clooney has himself declared that he regards himself as the voice for Darfurians and other oppressed people in Sudan. Include Clooney quote here. While Clooney and other celebrity diplomats may see their pleas on behalf of Darfurians or other marginalized groups to be altruistic, they have the potential to silence the voices of the marginalized group. In many respects this is an accurate assessment.

Magubine's observation illustrates the extent to which celebrity diplomacy can be used in a neocolonial manner, further imposing the dominance of Western/Northern perspectives dominating the flow of ideas and capital in the global South. As Cooper points out, celebrity diplomats, for the most part, are "dominated by Northern actors" (Cooper 2008, 271). That is not to say that there are celebrity diplomats from the global South; but many of these celebrity diplomats have been "Westernized" as they have aligned their political agendas with Western multilateral institutions, NPOs and NGOs, and corporations. Additionally, Western celebrities seek to impose Western values and ideals upon populations in the global South. For instance, Oprah Winfrey—although not a celebrity diplomat, but still a celebrity that is becoming more and more involved in

international issues—decided to build a school in South Africa. The project received praise by many, including Nelson Mandela and Bill Clinton, but also was criticized by others for being too elitist. In fact, *Newsweek* reporter Allison Samuels writes “the South African government had planned to build the school with her, but it pulled out amid reported criticism that the academy was too elitist and lavish for such a poor country” (Samuels 2007, par. 2). The schoolhouses lavish décor, a beauty salon, a yoga studio, and the list of extravagant amenities go on (see Samuels 2007, par. 2) reinforce Western materialism and economic dominance. Therefore, it is not just an education that Winfrey is offering the attendees of this school; the school is also inculcating the schoolgirls into a world of Western consumer culture that has been defined by luxury and extravagance of material goods.

Yet celebrity diplomats do not just inadvertently exploit the people they are purporting to help by facilitating the commodification of global crises and marginalized populations. By drawing attention to global crises and marginalized peoples, celebrity diplomats are also drawing attention to themselves and their upcoming films or albums. As discussed in Chapter VI, Clooney is aware that the media follows his every step. Depictions of Clooney or Jolie in a refugee camp in Darfur elevate their personal image. They are seen as people who care

about more than just their Hollywood lifestyles, thus making them more appealing to the average person.

By championing the causes of the marginalized, celebrity diplomats are able to portray themselves as possessing a moral efficacy that has been lacking in representative politics. Similar to Chandler's argument regarding leaders of grassroots movements, celebrity diplomats are able to depict themselves as figureheads of humanitarian movements and organizations, thus suggesting that they possess a supposed moral and ethical authority that separates them from other politicians, which lends them then credibility in the worldview.⁶¹ Alternatively, when such figureheads engage in diplomatic relations with world leaders, world leaders exploit the limelight that follows a celebrity and in turn use the celebrity diplomat's mass appeal to bolster their own public appearance. Chandler writes, "...Elites hope that the moral authority of global civic actors can rub off on them. The minimal effort of opening the doors of high-level meetings to NGO representative can be passed off as turning an attentive ear to the oppressed..." (Chandler 2007, 162).

Unfounded Criticisms?

⁶¹ This is not a commentary on the validity of this statement. This paper does not question the moral authority of celebrity or whether such authority exists.

While some criticisms of celebrity diplomacy (and activism) may be well founded and cause for concern, there are others that are rather far-fetched. There are those who claim that celebrity involvement in political matters demonstrates their lack of patriotism to their country, especially American celebrities. Citing Jane Fonda's VIP tour in Vietnam and Sean Penn's trip to Baghdad in 2002 to meet with Iraqi officials, Thomas Kilgannon makes an attempt to demonstrate how these two isolated events indicate that American celebrities are universally undermining the American government when they become involved in international politics.⁶²

Kilgannon asserts that the UN is utilizing celebrities or "Virtual Americans" who are "willing to publicly denounce the United States and espouse the goals and ideals of the United Nations" (Kilgannon 2006, 168). He argues that the United Nations, particularly former Secretary General Kofi Annan, approaches and inducts celebrities that harbor resentment for

⁶² I would not classify Fonda as a celebrity diplomat. She is a very political person, and continues to be an avid opponent to war. Fonda has since admitted that her trip to Vietnam was a mistake stating, "The image of Jane Fonda, 'Barbarella,' Henry Fonda's daughter ... sitting on an enemy aircraft gun was a betrayal ... the largest lapse of judgment that I can even imagine" on *60 Minutes* in 2005 ("Fonda: 'Hanoi Jane' visit was a mistake" 2005, par. 2). However, it is possible that this quasi-apology was an attempt at revamping or bolstering her image. At the time that his interview was conducted, Fonda was appearing in her first major film, "Monster-in-Law" (2005), since her performance in "Stanley & Iris" which was released in 1989. Thus one could argue that the interview and the statement was more about show business than actually making an apology.

their country. According to Kilgannon, the resentment is demonstrated by celebrities who have complaints that are "myriad, harsh, and contradictory," such as: the U.S. does not spend enough money to prevent hunger or to find a cure for AIDS, U.S. policy incites terrorist retribution, too much money is spent on the military, and the U.S. does not do enough to prevent genocide (Kilgannon 2006, 169). In other words, Kilgannon is lashing out at celebrities and the UN for encouraging the U.S. to help others around the world and question how some of the U.S.'s policies affect other nations and individuals worldwide. It appears as if Kilgannon equates the perceived moral imperative espoused by many celebrities with a lack of patriotism.

Moreover, Kilgannon has chosen to base his assessment of celebrity involvement with the UN on some of the most radical and outspoken members of Goodwill Ambassadors and Messengers of Peace. Danny Glover and Harry Belafonte, for example, are two of the most outspoken American celebrities at the UN. They have both made it known that they adamantly oppose several U.S. policies and favor UN policies. Yet, Kilgannon refuses to acknowledge that many of the concerns of Glover, Belafonte, and other celebrities have some merit. Instead he contends that their claims are foundationless, inaccurate, and based solely in animosity towards the United States.

While there is no doubt that there are some celebrities that may not be fond of their country and opt to consider themselves a global citizen as a member of the UN or a global civil society, there are celebrities that are involved with the United Nations that have been quite supportive of the United States. For instance, he does not mention that former and present Messengers of Peace, Muhammad Ali, George Clooney, and Stevie Wonder all participated in the "America: A Tribute to Heroes" telethon following the September 11 attacks. In addition, a number of celebrities including, George Clooney, Angelina Jolie, Susan Sarandon, Don Cheadle, and Stevie Wonder to name a few, were extremely supportive of the citizens affected by Hurricane Katrina. Admittedly, many of these celebrities have been critical of the government's response to the tragedy, but multiple government officials have echoed similar criticism.

Future Research

The study of celebrity diplomacy offers multiple avenues for future research. As I began collecting and compiling data, I found that there were several areas that I would like to expand upon in future research. I found many of the interviews conducted with Jolie, Clooney, and other celebrity diplomats by news anchors, journalists, and television personalities, such as

Oprah or Anderson Cooper, to be superficial. Often the journalists would ask a simple question regarding the celebrities' involvement, which the celebrity would then respond with vague or obtuse responses, thus foregoing a more substantive response for a sound bite. Furthermore, the interviewer rarely followed up on the celebrities' responses. Without access to additional resources and the celebrity diplomats themselves, it is unclear whether they realize they are promoting a neoliberal agenda or a form symbolic politics. Therefore, this dissertation could be thoroughly expanded upon after conducting one-on-one interviews with the celebrities that are the focus of the research. Most likely these interviews would have to be conducted in coordinated with representatives from the United Nations Goodwill Ambassador and Messenger of Peace programs.

Additional research could expand my feminist critique of celebrity diplomacy to examine a possible relationship between celebrity diplomacy and social reproduction or cultural feminism (or an essentialist perspective); thus analyzing the role of celebrity diplomats as caretakers and nurturers. The research would employ Fiona Robinson's conceptions of an ethics of care and Sara Ruddick's maternal thinking thesis to provide a more in-depth study of female celebrity diplomats and how diplomatic activities are framed according to cultural expected gender

roles as mothers, sisters, and daughters. An additional study celebrity diplomats and gender roles could examine the issues that garner the most attention from female and male celebrity diplomats; thereby attempting to determine if there are gendered underpinnings that can be attributed to a celebrity's choice of diplomatic interests and actions.

My dissertation examined a particular typology of celebrity diplomat, Hollywood actors. There are several other typologies of celebrity diplomats, and an analysis of these typologies of celebrities may render different conclusions. Thus there is need for future research that simply takes a more in-depth approach to develop an understanding of the varying categories and typologies of celebrity diplomats and the celebrities that qualify as such. In addition, there are a multitude of additional questions that arise regarding these typologies: Again, how do these celebrities choose different global issues to address? What kinds of relationships emerge from the interaction of celebrity diplomats from varying backgrounds? How do these relationships impact and/or alter the role of the diplomat?

It is important to remember that the findings of my analysis are limited to Western celebrity diplomats. Celebrity diplomats from developing countries may perform their diplomatic agendas in ways that are reflective of non-Western traditions.

However, further study of Western and non-Western celebrity diplomats will give scholars insight as to how culture impacts the dynamics of celebrity diplomacy.

Concluding Thoughts

This dissertation has sought to examine why celebrity diplomacy has become such a prominent aspect of international relations and politics. Much of the scholarship (though not all) on the subject of celebrity diplomacy questions their motives, legitimacy, and intellectual understanding of international politics; thus arguing that as celebrities they are not qualified to serve as diplomats or weigh in on political/public policy decisions. However, bemoaning the presence and involvement of celebrity diplomats in international politics (or domestic politics for that matter) does not negate the fact that they ARE political actors and will most likely become more prominent in politics for years to come. Some celebrity diplomats, like Belafonte, may quit acting to focus their attention on their work with the UN or private organizations. Others may run for public office or simply continue to pursue their career in Hollywood while continuing their diplomatic endeavors. In fact, some celebrity diplomats may become permanent fixtures in international politics, taking on official roles with the UN. There is, of course, need for

further research on celebrity diplomacy, which should be examined from multiple perspectives.

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Appendix A: Acronyms

U.N.: United Nations

UNHCR: United Nations High Commission on Refugees

UNICEF: United Nations Children's Foundation

DATA: Debt, AIDS, and Trade for Africa

QEP: Qualifications Examination Panel

SCNL: Super Critical Needs Language Test

IMF: International Monetary Fund

GATT: General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

WTO: World Trade Organization

NGO: Non-governmental organization

NPO: Non-profit organization

ICC: International Criminal Court

MJP: Maddox Jolie-Pitt Foundation

NOOW: Not on Our Watch

MNC: Multinational corporation

CDA: Critical discourse analysis