

Celebrity Diplomacy

Angelina Jolie speaking up to end impunity for conflict
related sexual violence

Abstract

This thesis recognizes impunity as one of the causes that contributes to the widespread occurrence of and what motivates the use of sexual violence as a tactic of war. Based on a theoretical framework that recognises how gender based violence in conflict historically has been ignored and excluded, this thesis explores through a qualitative content analysis how this is being challenged by celebrity diplomacy and activism, in this case performed by Angelina Jolie. A second framework is applied that enables the study to understand how celebrities can act within humanitarian work to create awareness. The result shows a privileged person using her inherent position to change injustices with tools of affinity, empathy, sympathy and experiential authority. To increase the awareness of sexual violence used as a tactic of war and the injustices this along with ignorance and exclusion has led to. The value of this thesis is the combined understanding of how the definition of security affects measurements being taken to end gender based violence used as a tactic of war. Furthermore, how celebrity diplomacy and activism can work to create awareness and shift normalization and ignorance regarding sexual violence used as a tactic of war to inclusion.

Keywords: sexual violence, celebrity diplomacy, celebrity activism, Angelia Jolie, impunity, shame, justice, rape, security

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1 Introduction

By the adoption of resolution 1820 in 2008, the United Nations recognized that sexual violence¹ has been used both as a tactic of war, implemented by commanders and officers, as well as random acts by individual soldiers (True 2012:117-119). It was acknowledged as a tool to demoralize individuals, tear apart families, humiliate and devastate communities (Eriksson Stern & Baaz 2013:42). Angelina Jolie is one of many celebrities that has been engaging in humanitarian work and worked closely with the UN. Jolie became Special Envoy for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, UNHCR, in 2001, and has during her last years as celebrity diplomat used her position to raise awareness towards warzone rape and end the current idea of impunity for gender related violence during conflict² (Zala & Erjavec 2015:357).

“Sexual violence in conflict [...] is frequently a conscious strategy employed on a large scale by armed groups to humiliate opponents and destroy individuals, as well as whole societies” (Eriksson Baaz & Stern 2013:53). Eriksson Baaz and Stern are two of many scholars that acknowledge the use of sexual violence as a warfare method being used this way, as a tactic for ethnic cleansing and understood to bring shame and guilt to not only the victim but also societies and families of the victim (Nagarajan 2012:108).

An example is the civil war in Bosnia 1994, approximately 20,000 women were raped with the purpose to humiliate, make inferior and feminize the state and its people. Forced pregnancy due to rape, as a way to conduct ethnic cleansing, was one of many brutal ways toxic masculinity and power was shown (Hansen 2001:56,60). As Bergman Rosamond (2016) shows, Angelina Jolie’s celebrity activism concerning sexual violence in war is highly connected to the civil war in Balkan, where Jolie in 2011 released her first directed movie. *In the land of Blood and Honey* shows the brutal use of sexual violence during the civil war in Bosnia, featuring Jolie’s manuscript and local actresses. The movie was screened at the British Foreign Ministry in 2011, followed by a campaign towards ending impunity for sexual violence in war, together with British Secretary William Hague (Bergman Rosamond 2016:109).

¹ Conflict-Related Sexual Violence defined as rape, sexual slavery, forced prostitution, forced pregnancy, forced abortion, enforced sterilization, forced marriage, and any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity perpetrated against women, men, girls or boys that is directly or indirectly linked to a conflict (Guterres, António 2017).

² I will use the definitions provided by Uppsala Conflict Data Programme (UCDP) that defines an armed conflict as 25 battle-related deaths in one calendar year (UCDP).

1.1 Research problem

The reasons for sexual violence being used and widespread are many, but the issue has historically been ignored in and after war by scholars of realist studies and the international community (Hansen 2001:56). A lot of work towards shifting the idea of impunity has been carried out and awareness has been raised of sexual violence in conflict, although the brutality and the crime is still to a wide range being left unpunished. Some scholars have intentionally excluded sexual violence used in conflict from the concept of security leading other scholars to pioneer the field of feminist security studies. Hansen, one of the scholars that have looked in to the use of sexual violence within the field of feminist security studies, acknowledges the historical ignorance and lack of putting perpetrators to justice. Both the historical and current idea of impunity for such crimes will through feminist security studies be explored within this thesis. This would be a first step towards dealing with perpetrators of sexual violence who have often escaped justice - here it is important to increase awareness of the historical ignorance and lack of efforts by the international community and in the future create another truth for both perpetrators and victims of sexual violence. This in turn would entail the perpetrator facing charges and the victim is being treated as a victim and not with shame (ibid.).

To do so, I will investigate how the idea of impunity can be challenged through celebrity activism. Cosima Budabin, Mubanda Rasmussen & Richey (2017:1954-55) along with Bergman Rosamond (2013:565) have argued for the importance of taking celebrities' diplomacy seriously because they, alongside with traditional players, constitute a new set of development actors and are therefore worth analysing. It is specifically important to understand the strategies and tools that celebrities have and can use in order to highlight this often excluded issue of gender based violence.

Below I base my reasoning on the broad contentions of feminist security studies, in particular its position that sexual violence in conflict ought to be part of contemporary debates on international security (Eriksson Stern & Baaz 2013). The feminist security perspective thus argues for an inclusion of gender based violence within the definition for security. Furthermore, the relationship between ignoring and excluding gender based violence as a tactic of war contributes to sexual violence being a warfare method that is both effective and terrifying, that silences and shames victims. Furthermore, this thesis discusses how this can be done by celebrity diplomacy to create awareness in order to shift normalization and ignorance from the field to inclusion.

1.2 Purpose and research question

This thesis aims to raise awareness of the importance of including sexual violence as a tactic of war, as part of the way in which we conceptualise security. Furthermore, to explore how the idea of impunity as a practice for sexual violence during conflict can be challenged by celebrity activism with Angelina Jolie as a stated example for speaking up and raising awareness (Jolie 2013b, 2015). By exploring Jolie's speeches I will analyse how she as a Goodwill Ambassador and celebrity diplomat uses authenticity to shift normalization and ignorance from the field of regularity to inclusion of gender based violence in future peace agreements and tribunals. The primary objective of this thesis is to zoom in on sexual violence in conflict secondly to see how Jolie's celebrity activism is performed.

To do this, I will look at feminist security studies to understand how reasoning about impunity contributes to keep the method both effective and suitable. Where victims of sexual violence in warfare in this lead become an easy target for both stigma and double victimization. With an aim to understand how celebrity diplomats can use their influence and power and possibly contribute to changing of norms and ideas in the international community. Exploring how celebrity diplomacy and activism can enable such awareness is thus a key task in this study. On the basis of these thesis objectives I pose the following research question:

How can celebrity diplomacy and activism function to create awareness and shift normalization and ignorance of sexual violence during conflict from regularity to inclusion in future peace agreements and tribunals?

1.3 Delimitations of the study

The purpose of this study has, as outlined, a focus to zoom in on sexual violence in conflict secondly to see how Jolie's celebrity activism is performed accordingly to the conceptualization of gender based violence used in war. The purpose is thus not to moralize, but to understand how Jolie's activism and diplomacy is performed. This will be done through analysing speeches. I will use both activism and diplomacy as concepts when I explore the celebrity engagement within the field. Hence, for the purpose of this thesis a distinction of Jolie's engagement moves between diplomacy and activism is not needed. The focus lays in understanding the connection between the orthodox definitions of security and how this can be connected to discourses and development in practises in the international community in relation to gender based violence. I have therefore not looked at other factors of why gender based violence is being, and has been used in conflict, although the literature review will deliver some explanatory factors.

2 Literature Review and Theoretical framework

In this section previous research from the two main fields of this study is presented. First, a conceptualization of sexual violence as a tactic of war followed by the discussion of an orthodox or wider definition of security in relation to gender based violence during conflict. Secondly, I present scholars and theories that have been used to study the field of celebrity diplomacy and activism. Together the two theoretical fields provide me with frames to build a method to implement the qualitative content analyses of Jolie's celebrity activism performed towards ending impunity for sexual violence in war.

2.1 Sexual violence as a tactic of war

In this part I outline previous research and discussions within the field of conceptualizing sexual violence as a tactic of war. Valuable to later on explore the discussion of an orthodox or wider definition of security in relation to gender based violence during conflict.

Skjelsbæk (2001) and Nordås (2013) are two of many scholars looking at the use of sexual violence as a tactic of war and who recognize its widespread occurrence. Both scholars discuss and try to explain the effects and causes of sexual violence used in war. Nagarajan (2012) focuses on the genocide in Rwanda and how survivors of sexual violence experienced taboo and shame post-conflict. Eriksson Baaz & Stern (2013:2) also investigate how the focus of guilt and shame is being put on the victim and also what kind of role and shame the perpetrator holds. The research also separates and defines different kinds of sexual violence. Eriksson Baaz & Stern's (2013:58) research for example presents what is meant by biological warfare and how it is performed during conflict. Where the purpose of the biological warfare is to attack the fertility of women, by for example use a tree branch or a rifle butt to shred the inside of the vagina. This action sometimes performed by fathers that let their children watch to state example and further humiliate the victim (Smith 2010 in Eriksson Baaz & Stern 2013:58).

Previous research from Enloe (2000) also explores how rape persuaded in peacetime by a husband who returned from a foreign warzone can be understood as a conflict related rape, in the same field additional feminist scholars along with Davies & True (2012, True 2015) advocates for sexual violence being a weapon of war within the war, as a second front and war against women. Bergman Rosamond & Kronsell (2017:1) use feminist security studies to zoom in on

Danish and Swedish women soldiers in Afghanistan, where the feminist security studies consider the narratives of what women experience during war, taking in to account that the everyday experience differs and that there is more than one story to be told. Bergman Rosamond & Kronsell (2017:1) also contributes with the explanation of how military intelligence seen through racial, gendered and imperialist power relations contributes to a victimhood being put on the local women. A feminist critique also enables us to see how women are constructed as victims while men are constructed as protectors.

True (2012:123), and Davies & True (2015:496) further emphasizes that coherent arguments and understanding all rely on assumption that gender based violence and sexual violence during war only has to do with power structures. This just recently further explored by Eriksson Baaz & Stern (2018:4) that investigates this well-rehearsed notion of wartime rape being about power and violence and that has nothing to do with sex. Furthermore, Brownmiller (1975:171-83), not arguing against the underlying power structures, but is one of several scholars that explains the distinction between peacetime and wartime rape resting on different ideas of who the crime is committed against and for what purpose this can be done. Rape during war is understood as a collective threat to the nation, while rape during peace is considered as an individual-based crime. The victim of rape during wartime is raped due to power structures that rely on religious, national or ethnic identity and secondary due to gender. Rape during war, set apart from the agreed power structures, is therefore less connected to the individual and instead contextualized outside the personal frame (Hansen 2001:59).

As we can see, sexual violence in conflict is being and has been performed in many different ways and historically in conflict with several motives and explanations. Although, for the purpose of this thesis I will now shift focus and present following discussion of how gender based violence in conflict has been historical ignored before reaching today's acknowledged status as both a tactic of war and a global security threat.

2.1.1 Security and impunity

The international community has long argued for how the phenomenon of sexual violence can and cannot be understood and be recognized as a warfare tactic and also how it could and should be recognized as a security threat. Finally, in 2008 resolution 1820 was voted through by the General Assembly, which recognized sexual violence as an explicit tactic of war (True 2012:117,9). Followed by the international community recognizing conflict-related sexual violence as a global security threat, by adopting the Security Council resolution 2106, in 2013 (Eriksson Baaz & Stern 2013:1,2).

Although, Sexual violence as a tactic of war, today, has been acknowledge, it has throughout the ages been excluded and ignored in many ways due to what should be seen as war, a cause of and effect of war. The historical ignorance and exclusion by the international community has been explored by scholars of

feminist and security studies like Sjoberg (2009:185) that stresses how the gender perspective historically have been excluded while analysing practises and policies of international security, which in turn have had an affect on the debate and efforts made to understand who experience what kind of threat during conflict.

David and True (2015:507) argues that the culture of impunity for sexual violence during conflict should be seen from the gendered context, as both part of the problem and that it has been historically side-lined and ignored. Followed by, Wibben (2016:137) that argues for an broadening, deepening, and opening of the security concept by asking questions like, who, how, by whom, when and where etc. to understand, that by asking these questions you will be able to understand how security effects people in more ways. Wibben (2016:148) provides us further with the understanding of how exclusion and an orthodox version of security contributes to create another dimension and form of violence that by limiting what we can act upon and see, we ignore what otherwise would be possible to see and acknowledge.

Former UN Special Representative for combating Sexual Violence Margot Wallström, is one of several top diplomats that argued for an inclusion, with following argument Wallström aims to raise awareness of the historical tendencies of exclusion. *“It has to be understood that this is a security problem, not just men behaving like men. It’s not an inevitable consequence of war – it’s something that is planned. It can either be commanded, condemned or condoned. We need to say that we can stop it. It’s not inevitable.”*- Margot Wallström (Eriksson Baaz & Stern 2013:1).

Wallström’s work has been preceded and followed by several scholars, politicians and celebrities. Hansen, (2001:56) is one of many scholars that have had an effect and put a frame on conflict related sexual violence, its causes and effects, conceding that rape during war not is a new phenomenon in conflict and that it has historical roots. One of Hansen’s (2001:57) main arguments builds on the understanding of rape through the eyes of inclusion and exclusion within security studies and how this in turn has an affect on how the phenomenon is being treated as a crime during and after war.

Moreover, Hansen (2001:57) discusses debates on how the concept of security in realism terms is connected with military-security of the state. The realist definition of security is therefore to narrow. Scholars, like Hansen, arguing for an expansion of the security concept, see the importance in understanding how states also can be a threat to its citizens and not only security provider. Even though security and state has a historical connection based on the principle of state sovereignty Hansen (2001:59) along with Wibben (2016:137, 148) emphasizes that due to what women threats during conflict is based on the idea of how to destroy national security through feminizing and destroying the feminine part of the nation. This motivation and tactic presented by Buzan and Hansen, (2011:140) emphasized by Tickner, relies on structures created within the orthodox version of security, but not recognized in the narrow version, creating a discourse that leaves the victim of the gendered violence without acknowledgment (Hansen 2001:58).

Hansen focuses on the civil war in Balkan and how the discussion of a widening or narrowing version of the security concept affected the reasons for a

non-intervention contra an intervention from the international community and NATO. Hansen (2001:59) stressing that the orthodox version of security delayed the intervention in Bosnia, although the gendered security and real threat a lot of women experienced was well known by the international community. The following debate and norm shift of Responsibility to Protect, R2P, took form after the delayed interventions in Rwanda and Bosnia (Bellamy & Dunne 2016; 2,4 and United Nations office on Genocide prevention and the responsibility to protect). R2P have since then been a positioning within the UN that generally refers to within resolution 60/1 2005 World Summit Outcome, resting on the UN charter of declaration (General Assembly 2005). I will for the purpose of this thesis use Hansen's argument and understanding along with the formation of R2P, as a background for analysing how Jolie urges for the responsibility to protect victims from gender based violence during conflict also including how she understands R2P leading the way for how UN should take on the responsibility for keeping and assuring international peace.

The peace negotiations followed in the Dayton agreement shows the post conflict struggling with mass rapes. The legal framework for prosecuting perpetrators of sexual violence has historically been weak. However, charging and putting perpetrators to justice due to rape and related incidents has been done on several occasions (Hansen 2001:68). Although a lot of the perpetrators will not be prosecuted, partly because of difficulties putting together cases due to lack of information. The need of collecting information and making it possible for victims to testify against their perpetrators will for the purpose of this framework and thesis be important while analysing Jolie's speeches.

Eriksson Baaz & Stern (2013) presents research from DRC (Congo) focusing on, by interviewing soldiers and officers, to understand mechanisms for why rape occurs, what soldiers and officers understand rape to be. The discourse of rape as a weapon of war is comprehended by looking at how impunity affects the understandings of both the effectiveness and occurrence of sexual violence as a tactic of war. Eriksson Baaz & Stern (2013:45) suggested that wartime rape do not have to be an obligated occurrence in war, neither politicized nor uncontrolled. It is manageable and can be avoided, if needs are taken and promises of justice is kept. Eriksson Baaz & Stern (2013:45) emphasises that absent of acknowledgements in cease agreements and at the peace table is crucial for fighting sexual violence as a tactic of war. Acknowledgment is needed for durable peace, especially since sexual violence used as a tactic of war lingers long after the conflict is ended in military terms. The need for regulations and the international community to take action towards putting perpetrators of sexual violence to justice will for the purpose of this thesis be valuable for analysing how Jolie argues for actions and responsibility within the international community as a way to take control over and end impunity and occurrence of sexual violence during war.

With prosecution not being done for wartime rape this also contributes to a non-development in international practice of prosecuting perpetrators of sexual violence. UN action has also recognized the lawlessness perpetrators could act within and how victims have been left without option or recognition and that

sexual violence has been seen as an inevitable consequence and a by product of war that encourages impunity for perpetrators and silence survivors (Eriksson Baaz & Stern 2013:53, 60 and Buzan & Hansen 2011:140). The level of which the crime is underdressed understands to be because lack of weak national protection, disorganised services for survivors and inadequate judicial redress.

The understanding of sexual violence as an inevitable consequence of conflict and displacement also encourage impunity for the crimes and contributes to silence survivors. With a warfare like sexual violence, well and strategically commanded and calculated. Eriksson Baaz & Stern (2013:45) stress that we have to understand that it is not about some ineluctable Lord of the Flies version, if we include gender based violence and acknowledge its occurrence implement it in international norms and regulations, the tactic and calculation can be challenged and perpetrators held responsible (Eriksson Baaz & Stern 2013:49).

Eriksson Baaz & Stern (2013:57) stresses within their research that the jurisdiction needs not only to put perpetrators of the actual act to justice it also needs to follow the chain of commanders, to the source of the tactic. The idea of impunity has to be challenged in order to create real justice in post conflict societies. It is therefor crucial to putt perpetrators and commanders to justice so that warnings can be served, and a glint of hope can be given to victims of sexual violence. Ending impunity does not only mean a brighter future for victims that are already struggling with fact that they have been raped or humiliated, it is also a way to prohibit future rapes and crimes of sexual violence during conflict (Eriksson Baaz & Stern 2013:59). This last arguments also following to create tools to analyse how Jolie argues for the international community's responsibility to take action against and include gender based violence during conflict and how this can be done. With celebrity diplomacy representing one of many ways of how awareness and inclusion of gender based violence can be lifted and argued for, it will for the purpose of this thesis represent a way to raise awareness that can use more than a diplomatic professionalism to affect policy- and decision makers.

2.2 Celebrity activism and diplomacy

Celebrity activism and engagement in humanitarian work can, according to, Richey & Ponte (2008:716) be traced to the 1960s and the US civil rights movement led by Martin Luther King. This was followed by a second wave of activism during the anti- (Vietnam) war movement and a third wave closely following during the 70's of activism aiming to respond towards global concerns. Richey & Ponte (2008:716) have studied the different ways celebrities have pursued their activism, for example, by exploring how Bono through creating a business have marketed and run a company that sells products and using the profit for aid work. This is one of many ways of how celebrities have worked, using their position and celebrity status for a better cause.

Academia has followed how celebrities act and engage concerning international issues and sometimes pointed critique to the elitist grounds and

north-south dimensions it has had. Bergman Rosamond (2013:561) along with Marshall (1997:24) emphasise the expression of global capitalism the celebrity status represent within the economical and cultural process. Where their celebrity status gives advantage in for example media attention along with the possibility to become representatives for organisations although their position is neither democratically elected nor representable from the perspective of whom they and their followers imagine them to represent (Bergman Rosamond 2013:567). Although, Bergman Rosamond (2013:563) emphasise that the link between the celebrity and the decision makers not always is a fact, which in turn impacts what kind of purpose the celebrity actually is able to realize.

Historically, celebrity participations has bin linked to international institutions, humanitarian agents and NGOs (Cosima Budabin et al. 2017:1953). Within the United Nations (UN) celebrity diplomacy has been used to both legitimize and delegitimize actions and interventions. Kofi Annan, after becoming General Secretary in 1997 for the UN, started recruiting celebrities as spokespersons to create public opinion and awareness with an aim to legitimize UN actions and interventions (Cooper 2008). When Annan stepped down from his position in 2007, over 400 UN Goodwill Ambassadors had been established within the UN as celebrity diplomats carrying a message of peace (Wheeler 2011:55). One of the celebrity diplomats recruited during Annan's time, as Secretary General, was Angelina Jolie. Bergman Rosamond (2013:564) argues for Jolie diplomatic status as seen to be trustworthy and acknowledge as a competent celebrity diplomat. Jolie has besides her position within the UN been elected to the prestigious think tank *The Council on Foreign Relations*.

As we can see, celebrity diplomacy has been performed in many different ways and it will for the purpose of this thesis be valuable to understand how a celebrity diplomat can work to affect the international community and decision makers in question of matter, I will therefor further explore the framework Cosima Budabin et al. (2017:1954) previously have used to analyse authenticity of celebrities who engage in humanitarian work.

2.2.1 Authenticity and Identity

Cosima Budabin et al. (2017:1954, 1955) argues for how celebrities, today, alongside with traditional players constitute a new set of development actors, contributing with a work that needs to be taken serious. Research further presented by Bergman Rosamond (2013:561-3) within this field understands how celebrities with their famous position have different kinds of tools to reach out than regular diplomats and emphasises how their authentic life experiences, character and social background along with their profession creates a personal identity that in a unique way can mobilize people and enter the political debate. The direct effect celebrity diplomats hold is difficult to determine, although international organisations interests and strive to get support from celebrities' for example the UN, witnesses on that celebrity diplomats brings out some kind of sought result (Bergman Rosamond 2013:563).

Bergman Rosamond (2013:564) recognizes that a lot of celebrity diplomats are driven by humanitarianism based on cosmopolitan values, where liberal ideas lead to the understanding of human nature to be good and obligations reaching further than state boundaries. Although, most of the celebrities engaging in humanitarian work are aware of their limits of creating and solving all of the political problems the world today face, their motivation generally rely on the idea of that they with their privileged positions have some kind of obligation trying to make the world a better place.

Cosima Budabin et al. (2017:1952) present, in their article, a theoretical framework set up to analyse the aid programmes and initiatives applied on Madonna's and Ben Affleck's celebrity activism. The framework consists off authenticity, accountability and credibility, which form a framework studying the celebrities' legitimacy together with their two aid organisations. I will for the purpose of this thesis focus on presenting and working with the authenticity concept since the aim is to study Jolie's celebrity activism through speeches, whereas accountability and credibility focus on operationalizing parts of a business which is outside of the purpose of this thesis.

By authenticity Cosima Budabin et al. (2017:1957) mean a set of communicative practises that focus on how the celebrity's engagement is being performed. Cosima Budabin et al. (2017:1957) are themselves inspired by scholar Brockington (2014) to categorize authenticity in to four main pillars: Expert or Experiential Authority, Affinity, Empathy and Sympathy. By Expert or Experiential Authority they mean how intellectual knowledge or practical life experiences provides a special insight to other people's condition. Affinity aims at structural similarities with other, like being a parent or living on the wrong side of unequal power structures. Empathy aims at understanding how the person uses shared emotions or shared experiences with others. Sympathy is understood as the emotions one has with others, which is a result of particular shared experiences.

How Jolie uses her personal identity and understands the world through the cosmopolitan values will together with the framework presented by Cosima Budabin et al (2017:1957) of authenticity be analysed. In next chapter coding and operationalizing of this framework together with the connection between security and impunity will be further explained.

3 Method

To be able to explore how the idea of impunity and impunity as a practice for sexual violence during conflict can be challenged by celebrity activism, I have provided a qualitative content analysis based on speeches performed by Angelina Jolie. The advantage with a qualitative content analysis is that it enables the analysis to identify the key features of the texts explored. I decided to pursue this study and present the analysis by speeches. By doing this, I am able to analyse the speeches from the two angles at the same time. I therefore present each speech according to claims being made along with purposes led by context and year of performance (Bergström & Boréus 2012:54-7, 85).

I have created a coding schedule based on the theoretical framework presented in the literature review (Halperin & Heath 2017:321-8). The theoretical framework taking its standpoint by understanding that exclusion of gender based violence in the security concept goes hand in hand with impunity for such crimes and contributes to give the phenomenon space to continue (Hansen 2001 and Eriksson Stern & Baaz 2013). Work towards affecting and changing international norms and regulations have been done and can be done in several ways, one of them through celebrity diplomacy. I have therefore, looked at how the argumentation for inclusion and acknowledgment for gender based violence is performed through the concept of celebrity diplomacy, with authenticity and Jolie's celebrity identity as leading guidelines.

3.1 Material

I have decided to use six speeches given by Jolie as empirical material for understanding how Jolie conducts her work to raise awareness about gender based violence in conflict. A close study of Jolie's speeches within their contexts enabled me to both analyse Jolie the artist and also Jolie the celebrity activist and diplomat (Bergman Rosamond 2016). The selection of speeches is motivated due to the focus and context valuable to analyse gender based violence in relation to international regulations and norms. These six speeches limits the timeframe to the years between 2013 and 2018, which is manageable according to the timeframe and at the same time this selection provides a focus of what I aim to analyse. Furthermore, how Jolie speaks up to raise awareness of gender based violence used in conflict and why it is important to recognise it as security problem in order to end impunity.

I start by presenting at the announcement speech performed by Jolie to media that summarize a meeting with ministers and representatives for G8 countries held

in 2013 (Jolie 2013a). The purpose of the meeting was to discuss gender based violence in conflict and to make agreements on how to combat rape during conflict (Spillius 2013).

Secondly, I have looked at Jolie's two speeches as a special envoy for UNHCR represented in the Security Council in 2013 and 2015 (Jolie 2013a and Jolie 2015). Jolie was invited to the Security Council in 2013 for attending the meeting addressing gender based violence in conflict. During the meeting previously mentioned, resolution 2106 was voted through recognizing conflict-related sexual violence as a global security threat. Two years later, Jolie attended her second meeting in the Security Council, this time with the aim to discuss the situation in the Middle East. With the Syrian civil war as main topic of the meeting, Jolie was again invited as a special envoy for UNHCR and had a focus on the situation for refugees as a consequence of the civil war (Jolie 2015). The two speeches given in the Security Council will be presented separately according year of appearance.

Thirdly, I present a speech from what I would like to call Jolie's *home arena*, where her celebrity status is her main role and where her activism is secondary. For the purpose of collecting a speech representing this arena, I employ Jolie's acceptance speech for the Jean Hersholt Humanitarian award at the Governors Ball from 2013 (Jolie 2013c). The purpose of analysing Jolie's speech at the Governors Ball Awards is to understand how her work as an activist is brought to the red carpet of glamorous Hollywood. In this way I can capture Jolie's activism represented all the way from the diplomacy performed within the UN and NATO to the red carpet.

I continued with Jolie's opening speech from the global summit on ending impunity for sexual violence in war from 2014 (Jolie 2014). Jolie co-chaired the summit together with Hague in June 2014. The summit was the largest gathering ever set up to work towards ending sexual violence in conflict and gathered 123 countries and delegations. During the summit agreements on practical steps to tackle impunity for the use of rape as a weapon of war was set up (UK Gov. - Preventing Sexual Violence Initiative).

Followed by, Jolie's speech next Secretary General for NATO Jens Stoltenberg at NATO headquarters in January 2018 (Jolie 2018). Jolie for the first time visited NATO headquarters and the purpose was to discuss how to prevent sexual violence in conflict and protection of women in conflict zones (ibid.). The speech is the latest performed speech that I have chosen to analyse, it therefore represent some kind of development from Jolie's previous given speeches along with showing that her celebrity activism has moved outside of both the UN and celebrity rooms all the way to a institutions with international and European security as main focus.

3.2 Analytical framework

I pursued the analysis of the six selected speeches from two angles that together complement each other in understanding how Jolie through speeches in these different settings performs celebrity diplomacy and activism. Firstly, how Jolie argues for ending impunity by including gender based violence as a matter of security, and secondly how she does this by using her celebrity status and authenticity to engage and motivate her ambitions.

The framework is based on research presented in the literature review on how the use of sexual violence as a tactic of war historically has had an unacknowledged status in both the international community and on a local level. The theoretical framework relies on understandings of the connection between exclusion of gender based violence within the security concept and impunity. I therefore looked for indicators that argues for inclusion, ending impunity, accountability for gender related crimes, action, responsibility, international law, regulations, ignorance, protection, silence, denial, prevention, justice. This is not a quantitative analysis and I have therefore not counted words, Accordingly to the method of a qualitative content analysis (Bergström & Boréus 2012:85), I looked at argumentations within her speeches and how she argues regarding gender based violence in conflict accordingly to words on this theme.

The second angle helps me to capture her means as a celebrity to push her agenda. The framework of authenticity together with her identity as a famous person captures Jolie's advantage as a celebrity diplomat when she present her arguments and will therefore be used as indicators for understanding how her celebrity status is used to create awareness and change (Bergman Rosamond 2013:562-3). Correspondingly to Cosima et al. (2017:1955-7) I have looked at Expert or Experiential Authority to see how intellectual knowledge or practical life experiences is used to show a special insight to other people's conditions. I also looked at how Jolie performs affinity to show structural similarities with others, like being a parent for example and how empathy is used to show understanding and shared emotions or experiences with others. And lastly I have looked at how she uses sympathy to show emotions to others.

In the next section the qualitative content analyses will take place, building on the six presented speeches performed by Jolie and analysed trough the two presented angles.

4 A qualitative content analysis of Angelina Jolie's celebrity activism and diplomacy

In this section, I perform a qualitative content analysis of six speeches given by Angelina Jolie in order to analyse how she frames and argues for the inclusion of seeing gender based violence and sexual violence as a tactic of war within the security concept. I present the speeches according to year of appearance and introduce each speech with a selected main claim analysed from her speech. The inclusion of gender based violence in global discourses and practices on peace and security involves recognising the centrality of holding perpetrators of sexual violence accountable to International law. Furthermore, the inclusion of gender based violence within the security concept is understood to be an important step towards ending impunity for war related sexual violence. In line with the methods presented in my previous chapter, I focus on analysing the speeches from two angles, a) how Jolie argues for ending impunity by including gender based violence as a matter of security, and, b) how she does this by using authenticity, understood here as experiential authority, affinity, empathy and sympathy and her celebrity identity to engage and motivate her ambitions.

4.1 Voices have been heard

In 2013, Jolie met with representatives from the G8 countries. During the meeting these countries agreed on the importance of delivering a promise to victims of sexual violence and made funding commitments to address gender based violence in conflict. Jolie summarised the conclusions made during the meeting with "Millions of people have been waiting for the commitments you have just made" (Jolie 2013a). Jolie emphasising that their voices have been heard. The meeting delivered a landmark declaration along with commitments to make sure perpetrators of sexual violence during conflict not will escape justice for their crimes (ibid.).

Jolie concludes that what was decided on the meeting during that day was an important step towards dealing with impunity for gender related violence in conflict. Jolie also commented on the fact that that the world has failed to prevent abuse and hold perpetrators of sexual violence during conflict responsible. She also acknowledged that ignorance and the idea of gender based violence as an inevitable consequence of war have sent a message to perpetrators that they can

get away with wartime rape and that victims thus are being denied justice. The decision made during the meeting includes a promise of working “together to raise awareness of sexual violence and to bring down the barriers to justice”. From the analytical framework these augmentations from Jolie are well recognized and capture the similar problematic of how injustice keeps the method effective and practised as a tactic of war (Jolie 2013a).

“Wartime rape is not inevitable. This violence can be prevented, and it must be confronted” (Jolie 2013a). I interpret that Jolie uses both experiential authority sympathy and empathy within this speech along with arguments closely connected to those given by Hansen (2001) and Eriksson Stern & Baaz). Experiential authority is used to address that she has heard survivors of rape. Followed by Jolie expressing understanding towards that they feel like the world does not care about them. After that her understanding reflects further by expressing sympathy and empathy by saying, “And who could blame them? For too long they have been the forgotten victims of war: responsible for non of the harm but bearing the worst of the pain” (ibid.)

Jolie makes it clear that she is there to make their voices heard and bring hope back to these victims. Jolie underscores that there is no choice between peace and justice, and that peace requires justice, Accordingly to the pledge agreed upon during the meeting, rape and sexual violence in armed conflict should be seen as a grace breaches of the Geneva Convention and that no amnesty to perpetrators should be given (Jolie 2013a).

On behalf of the victims of sexual violence Jolie stressed that millions of people have been waiting for the commitments just made by the G8 countries, the promise of working together to raise awareness of gender based violence and to bring justice to the victims by putting perpetrators to charge. Jolie concludes by stating that rape-time war is not a women’s issue, it is a global issue and it belongs at the top table of international decision-making. Jolie calls for governments to make this cause a priority so that a global alliance against warzone rape and sexual violence can be created and in the future punish and prohibit gender related violence (Jolie 2013a).

4.2 There is a person behind each number

When Jolie, in 2013, for the first time took up her seat in the Security Council she was there to represent refugees, and to speak on behalf of these people that are not normally heard in that setting. Jolie continuously speaks of remembering that behind each number there is a person, and that person relies on actions and responsibility taken by the Security Council. Jolie defines herself as their representative, but the Security Council holds the responsibility for their security, and their responsibility contains and includes establishing and maintaining international peace and security (Jolie 2013b).

Jolie recognize that the exclusion and ignorance of gender based violence in conflict by the Security Council during the 67 years since the establishment

consequently has led to a shortage of addressing and combating sexual violence as a tactic of war. Jolie also reminds the listeners of the wide range of people that has suffered gender based violence during conflict and that "behind each number there is someone with a name, a personality, a story and dreams no different from ours and those of our children" (Jolie 2013b). Jolie uses both affinity and empathy by pressing the similarities with the victims through identifying a special mother-child bond coupled with the understanding of how individuals are affected by gender based violence in conflict (ibid.).

Already in the first section of Jolie's contributions she uses experiential authority, by referring to her own experiences meeting with refugees, to express how she interprets what and how victims of gender based violence in conflict feel and how they are affected by the conflict (Jolie 2013b). Jolie is there to tell the stories of all these people who cannot tell it themselves. Therefore, I understand her appearance and argumentation of her purpose of being there is to represent and convince the Security Council to stop ignoring what gender based violence leads to. "Young girls impregnate before their bodies are able to carry a child, causing fistula; boys held at gunpoint and forced to sexually assault their mothers and sisters; women raped with bottles, wood branches and knives" (ibid.). I argue for Jolie not simplifying the complexity of gender based violence and purpose of wartime rape. Furthermore, her understandings and arguments are similar to those presented by scholar like Hansen and Eriksson Stern & Baaz, where the systematic and devastating outcome leaves no room to argue for ignorance any longer (ibid.).

Jolie (2013b) refers back to the Charter of the United Nations and stresses the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security that the Council holds. Jolie further stresses that "rape as a weapon of war is an assault on security [...] and therefore the Council's responsibility, as well as the duty of the Government and countries afflicted by it" (ibid.). Pressing that when the government does not take responsibility, the Security Council must step in. Jolie stresses that the responsibility lies on the Security Council when she refers to how the five-year-old girl she met in a refugee camp was raped. She argues that this rape was able to occur because the attacker knew that he could get away with his crime, saying, "those crimes happen not because they are inherent to war, but because the global climate allows it" (ibid.).

Jolie emphasizes that the down prioritised status sexual violence during conflict has had comes with consequences. "Because the world has not treated sexual violence as a priority, there have only been a handful of prosecutions for the many hundreds of thousands of survivors. They suffer most at the hands of their rapists, but they are also victims of a culture of impunity. That is the sad, upsetting and, indeed, shameful reality (Jolie 2013b). In this citation Jolie argue for the double way of how sexual violence is experience according to lack of acknowledgment and justice. Jolie's reasoning follows the same logic as the arguments presented by Eriksson Stern & Baaz, where the inevitable consequence of wartime should not be regarded as uncontrollable due to instincts nor a "Lord of the Flies" version, referring to that it is not uncontrollable. The only thing

uncontrolled is rather the regulations and tribunals following with peace agreements.

The logic in her claim lies in the understandings of that this is not just a responsibility the Council holds, it is also their legitimacy as a security provider. I interpret that Jolie, along with Eriksson Stern and Baaz, not understand nor treat gender based violence as a bi-effect of war or as uncontrolled. Implied by the message Jolie sends by referring to the previously mentioned example of the five-year-old girl being raped, where Jolie argues for the responsibility lying on the Security Council and that this responsibility therefore lies on each of the participating states represented in the council (Jolie 2013b).

Furthermore Jolie notes, “I understand that there are many things that are difficult for the Security Council to agree on, but sexual violence in conflict should not be one of them. That it is a crime to rape young children is not something that I imagine anyone in this chamber would not be able to agree on” (2013b). I interpret that Jolie argues on the basis of both empathy and sympathy. By basing her arguments on empathy and sympathy Jolie wants to mediate these same feelings; feelings of what is supposed to be right and wrong and how she along with the people in that rooms should feel responsible to act towards that. Her own persuasion of what is unjust is mediated through empathy and sympathy striving to spark those emotions to the listeners.

One of the ways that Jolie does this is by using stories of people she met in refugee camps. The stories of these individuals is mediated by Jolie to representatives in the Security Council, with the aim to urge responsibility to protect these victims of war and conflict. The responsibility is motivated along with resolution 60/1 on R2P for example, a resolution adopted by the Security Council in 2005. Jolie concludes by pushing for the inclusion of impunity action among the responsibilities of the Security Council and to shift a global security focus on this issue. “Together you can turn the tide of global opinion, shatter impunity and finally put an end to this abhorrence” (Jolie 2013b).

4.3 Obligations to be of use to others

Moving on to the third speech given at The Governors Ball Awards in 2013, where Jolie gave an acceptance speech for receiving the honour price that she was rewarded due to her humanitarian work. The acceptance speech brought out her vision and idea of how she as an actor can, and should; act to contribute to other people. Jolie focused on her motivations, Relying on words Jolie’s mother told her as a child “that nothing would mean anything if I didn’t live a life of use to others” (Jolie 2013c). After Jolie started traveling the world and meeting refugees, she understood what her mother had tried to tell her (ibid.). Through the speech, Jolie step by step expresses experiential authority that she has gained through meeting displaced people and victims of war in different parts of the world, she show affinity based on this understanding. Lastly, she expresses that these

understandings makes her, and other people in the room, obligated to be of use to others (Jolie 2013c).

The speech performed differs from previously presented speeches in many ways. Jolie talks to an audience, which does not have international law and justice as their main focus; instead, the listeners are celebrities. Jolie's speech is built on her understandings and experiences of what all of the participants in the room have in common. They are privileged people, and therefore also according to Jolie under a responsibility to be of use to others. Jolie does not debate the security issue or law regulations for gender based violence in this speech. She is instead using her voice to show experiential authority, affinity, empathy and sympathy with others that experienced conflict in order to mediate this understanding to the audience, so that they can get the same understandings and experience as she gained while meeting refugees and travelling around the world. "It was first when I began to travel and look and live beyond my home, that I [understood] my responsibility to others" (Jolie 2013c). This experience translated in to experiential authority explains how she through travelling understood other people's life situations and destinies. This created a new understanding of life for Jolie, and she states seeing her privileges as an obligation to help others (ibid).

The experiential authority is also acting as a background for the sympathy she shows when expressing how affected she was by seeing other humans struggling with keeping their families safe from the terrors of war along with famine and rape. "When I met survivors of war and famine and rape, I learned what life is like for most people in this world and how fortunate I was to have food to eat, a roof over my head, a safe place to live and the joy of having my family safe and healthy" (Jolie 2013c). Even though this speech was performed to a different crowd given the setting of the evening, Jolie manages to make space for creating awareness of injustices and to inform how different life can be for others less privileged. (ibid.).

Jolie finished the speech at the Governors ball by expressing affinity towards how she struggles to understand why she has been fortunate enough to grow up in a safe place, with her family safe and all other possibilities in her life. With this Jolie compares her life and her mother role with other mothers she met during her work in a refugee camp and through this delivers her understanding of her life path. I interpret the motivation and struggle Jolie gives in this last section of her speech to motivate the obligations she feels and also what makes the diplomacy and activism performed by Jolie powerful. I therefore argue for that her motivation presented in this speech goes beyond her own life meaning, extended to her recently past away mother all the way to another mother sitting in a refugee camp (Jolie 2013c). Within this, I recognise the very same motivation based on humanitarian values that Bergman Rosamond argues to be especially taken by celebrities. Cosmopolitan values and liberal ideas interpreted as obligations to work with humanitarian issues reaching outside state boundaries.

4.4 Justice must be served

The next speech to be analysed in this chapter is when Jolie held an opening speech at the Global Summit in London 2014. Jolie emphasizes that she strongly believes in the importance of action being taken in order to end impunity for sexual violence in conflict. The idea of impunity for conflict related sexual violence must be challenged and justice be served seen by Jolie, as a first step towards ending sexual violence in conflict. The goal with this global campaign was to with combined voices make it possible to create awareness that together contributes to building a global alliance that work to end sexual violence during conflict (Jolie 2014).

Jolie starts her speech at the summit with stating that it is a myth that rape is an inevitable part of conflict. “It is a weapon of war aimed at civilians. It has nothing to do with sex, everything to do with power. It is done to torture and to humiliate innocent people, and often very young children” (Jolie 2014). The very same arguments were given in previous speeches and also recognized with the understandings presented by Eriksson Baaz & Stern (ibid).

Jolie expresses experiential authority based on her experiences of meetings with refugees from the spectrum of Afghanistan to Somalia. She argues that the big difference between them and us is that “we live in safe countries with doctors we can go to when we’re hurt, police we can turn to when we’re wronged, and institutions that protect us. They live in refugee camps or bombed out streets in areas where there is no law, no protection, and not even the hope of justice” (Jolie 2014). This structural difference calls for action and for the international community to step in and make commitments (ibid.).

Jolie acknowledges the struggle refugees face, including keeping their children safe and the likeliness of facing more violence and social rejection if victims of sexual violence admit that they have been subjected to gender based violence. Jolie presses that either if the conflict is still going or if the war is over, the peace rarely reaches justice due to victims of sexual violence, and that it is the international community that stands responsible for that. Jolie urges that the culture of impunity must be shattered and the norm must bring justice for the victims of sexual violence during war, there should be no exceptions for these crimes and priority and political will is needed to change this idea. “We need to see real commitment to go after the worst perpetrators, to fund proper protection for vulnerable people and to step in and help the worst affected countries” (Jolie 2014).

Jolie also argues for education and prevention of sexual violence in conflict as a part of the training for all; armies, peacekeeping missions and police forces sent to conflict-zones as a way to take control over gender based violence in conflict (Jolie 2014). Jolie notes, moreover, that the subject of sexual violence as a tactic of war has been taboo for too long. “War zone rape is a crime that thrives on silence and denial” (Jolie 2014). Ignorance and the idea that sexual violence during conflict has anything to do with normal sexual impulses feeds this ignorance and allows the rapists to get away with it. Perpetrators “feel above the

law because the law rarely touches them and society tolerates them” (ibid.). Jolie stresses the importance of sending a message to victims of sexual violence, that the shame is not on them, but should in addition to the punishment be placed on the perpetrator. It is on the listeners of the summit this responsibility lays and also where efforts must be made (ibid.).

With a famous quote by Eleanor Roosevelt, Jolie shows how and why this responsibly lies in the listeners of the summit. ”The destiny of human rights is in the hands of all of our citizens and all our communities” (Jolie 2014). Jolie followed by building further on Roosevelt’s quote “and this evil will continue to ruin lives’ of millions of people unless we make this summit a turning point - and we can” (Jolie 2014). Jolie expresses that the responsibility is held by the people who listen and that they are a part of creating different and inherent of the power to change injustice to justice (Jolie 2014). This strategy, stressing that Jolie along with other people’s responsibility to act upon their knowledge, is very similar to her arguments of humanitarianism and responsibility previously stressed in both her speech at the Governors ball and the meeting held with the G8 countries. I argue for that this is a form of authenticity used building on structural similarities, although not with the victims of gender based violence. Moreover, structural similarities she feels towards people in positions of power to change and their common responsibility to take action.

Jolie is by this speech reaching out to global leaders around the world and asking for their awareness in this issue, motivating through her emotional spectrum of experiences that these issues should not be left without attention or mainly action. “We need to shatter that culture of impunity and make justice the norm and not the exception for these crimes” (Jolie 2014). The global summit put together under the leadership of Hague aimed to end this silence and ignorance of gender related violence in conflict. Jolie shows that she strongly believes in the possibility of changing these norms by ending the speech with “We must work together in new and unprecedented ways [...] and tackling the problem from every possible angle. And by doing this we can end the use of rape and sexual violence as a weapon of war once and for all. We really can do it” (Jolie 2014).

4.5 The United Nations must shoulder their responsibility

“Our times will be defined not by the crises themselves but by the way we pull together as an international community to address them” (Jolie 2015). Jolie address the importance of the Security Council and the UN nations to be prepared with multiple of resolutions that creates instrument to prosecute perpetrators of crimes committed during the conflict in Syria and to shoulder their responsibility of protecting the civilians, according to the praxis of R2P, of the on going conflict in Syria, with preparations to make sure that accountability for sexual violence during conflict, as a part of this, will be manageable (ibid).

With a focus on the on-going conflict in Syria, special representative for UNHCR Jolie attended the meeting, to speak on behalf of the refugees as an effect of the conflict. Jolie started her announcement by referring to a mother she met in a refugee camp recently in Iraq, and with her experiential authority stresses the suffering from one mother to another. She expresses the emotions she understands this woman to have felt when her young daughter was ripped from her arms and taken as a sex slave. Jolie also notes that "any one of the Syrians I have met would speak more eloquently about the conflict than I ever could, but they can not come here, so I am here for them" (Jolie 2015). Jolie shows a committed focus on the wider range of how she has understood emotions and experience's refugees' holds. Empathy, sympathy experiential authenticity and affinity monitored the speech through argumentations of inclusion and accountability along with her expressed knowledge of what is happening on the ground (ibid.).

Although the purpose of the meeting was to discuss a diplomatic solution in Syria in all spectrums of the conflict, Jolie's attendance and arguments followed by several arguments focusing on gender based violence and accountability for such crimes. Jolie argued for the importance of reporting and monitoring gender based violence for the purpose of in the future hold perpetrators accountable. Jolie emphasizes three pleas from the Syrian refugees, the third one recognizes the systematic sexual violence and what kind of great response the United Nations and the international community needs to take. Jolie urges for a signal that the United Nations takes these crimes serious and especially accountability for such crimes and refer to how that is the only hope for establishing any deterrence (Jolie 2015).

Jolie argues for preparations to start, to make sure that "Syrian women are fully represented in future peace negotiations, in accordance with multiple Security Council resolutions" (Jolie 2015), so that the UN is ready to take action and charge perpetrators of sexual violence. The need of collecting information as emphasised by Hansen (2001) is and will be important in order to be able to both prosecute perpetrators of gender based violence and thereby prevent impunity. "We must send a signal that we are serious about accountability for such crimes" (Jolie 2015). Setting the standard and sending that message, which Jolie also refers to, is not only an important by for already exposed victims it also sets the standard and norm for future regulations and international norms and challenged the idea of impunity for gender related crimes (ibid.). An argument I recognise from scholars like Eriksson Baaz & Stern (2013) that also understands the long effect it has on the development of international law by not putting perpetrators to justice or taking it into account in tribunals and peace agreements.

Jolie also referred to that the UN has adopted the concept of the responsibility to protect and therefore has the powers to do something, but those powers go unused. By powers lying unused and measurement not taken by the Security Council and all of the good things the UN through the years has done, are undermined and a message of that laws can be flouted and all with impunity (Jolie 2015).

4.6 NATO shouldering gender based violence as a security issue

In the speech given by Jolie at NATO headquarters in January 2018 Jolie argues for inclusion, ending impunity, justice, accountability, prevention action and responsibility. The commandments made during the speech are already decided on together with Secretary General Stoltenberg. The purpose of giving the speech is to mediate these already made decisions on how to further collaborate towards tackling how sexual violence is being used as a tactic of war. Further, recently understood by NATO to be included as a security threat (Jolie 2018).

Jolie's presentation of the agreements that were decided on during the day at NATO indicates her interpretation of NATO as a security provider bearing a responsibility to act upon gender based violence during conflict. Jolie address the historical ignorance of gender based violence by the international community and how it has been regarded as an inevitable feature of conflict that has been too uncomfortable or too difficult to address. Just like scholars like Hansen, Eriksson Stern & Baaz have argued, Jolie pays tribute to the historic injustice this has brought to the international peace and security. Also using the same arguments as Margot Wallström, Former UN Special Representative for combating Sexual Violence, Jolie notes that that rape is used as a weapon of war, to achieve military or political goals and that men, boys, women and girls are targeted. Jolie argues for the responsibility has concerning gender based violence and argues for how it affects refugee flows. Wherever gender based due to conflict occurs, peace is far harder to reach and more costly to achieve, and therefore gender based violence always should be seen as a global security problem. This connects to her own argumentation in the Security Council in 2013, along with resolution 2106 voted through by the Security Council in 2013 recognizing conflict-related sexual violence as a global security threat (Jolie 2018).

The aim of the meeting was to discuss how NATO can contribute to establish and maintain international security by addressing sexual violence during conflict, and in that way become a greater global leader that focus on accountability and deterrence for such crimes. This logic also figures in the scholarship by Hansen and that of Eriksson Baaz & Stern who argue by widening the security concept to include gender based violence during conflict the awareness along with tools to work to end it are created, which Jolie together with Secretary General for NATO, Stoltenberg have worked out a plan for during the day. Their agreements building on accountability and deterrence, achieved through training, reporting and monitoring awareness. Jolie invited for two main purposes, to bring knowledge about how NATO can contribute and also to create awareness, awareness that according to Stoltenberg is a first step to create action (Jolie 2018). Jolie's celebrity status, here outspoken by Stoltenberg as important witnesses on the contribution Jolie provide NATO with by making her appearance also pressing why celebrity activism is worth studying.

Jolie, focus on addressing the importance for including gender based violence within the security concept and also women in general. When it comes to international politics and whose perspective that counts Jolie makes a point of the contribution of women being crucial for creating a real peace. Also addressing that “it is not only a question of protecting women, this is a question of valuing women” (Jolie 2018). This sustains the thesis pursued by scholars such Hansen and Eriksson Stern & Baaz who argue that the framing of women need to be included and that crimes that targets women and girls needs to be taken seriously in order to in the future prohibit these mass crimes against women (Jolie 2018).

5 Conclusions

I have through this study followed the work performed by Angelina Jolie to raise awareness about gender based violence in conflict. I will argue for that the efforts made and the contribution of her work in the field should not be underestimated. Jolie, a Hollywood celebrity has during the last 17 years worked within and together with the United Nations, NATO and G8 representatives', to bring attention to the pressing issue of gender based violence during conflict. She has argued for that it is a crime that needs acknowledgment and efforts to make sure perpetrators are being held accountable. Due to the understandings of an orthodox version of security leads to crimes of war and conflict are left unpunished where Jolie with her privileged status has engaged in work to change these injustices.

The six given speeches perform authenticity in several ways, by building experienced knowledge and affinity towards victims of gender based violence. I have found a committed and serious attitude in Jolie's appearances that stresses the importance of tackling gender based violence as a matter of security and address the responsibility of ending impunity for sexual violence in war. The argumentation for a widening of the security concept in order to establish deterrence for gender related violence in conflict follows the arguments presented by Hansen and Eriksson Stern & Baaz. Furthermore, I interpret Jolie's standpoint and argumentation in general to be closely connected to Hansen and Eriksson Stern & Baaz and follow the same logic. With Jolie arguing for the same core values and the importance of establishing norms and regulations on a international level to enable actions being taken and perpetrators put to justice for gender related violence in war.

Even though the speech given at the Governors ball awards, leaves out many of the hard facts and horrible story's of rape and sexual assault, Jolie's contribution with showing authenticity strongly affects my understandings of her motivations for humanitarian work. The speech builds on Jolie's understandings and experiences of what it is to be privileged enough to live in a safe country and free to live a life where justice can be served and how that makes you obligated to be of use to others. Jolie is not debating the security issues and law regulations but she is expressing that everyone privileged enough to be in that room are obligated to use their position of privilege to bring justice where justice for a long time has been missing.

It has been interesting to follow the work of Jolie throughout this thesis. The six analysed speeches performed by Jolie show a variety and development of both her celebrity activism and diplomacy as well as how the issue of gender based violence has passed changes during these years. The analysis starting with the speech given in front of representatives for the G8 countries along with her appearance in the Security Council in 2013, where an argumentation for inclusion

and acknowledging gender based violence as a security problem took form. Followed by, the opening of a summit and campaign created in co-operation with Hague, speaking at glamorous Hollywood galas, pressing for action to be taken in the Security Council, and finally, being invited to NATO headquarters by secretary General Jens Stoltenberg to discuss how NATO as a global leading security provider could and should work towards ending impunity for sexual violence in conflict.

This thesis contributes and outlines an understanding of how celebrity diplomacy can be performed in different settings. There are many different ways to contribute further in the understanding of how celebrities can engage in international politics is a field where more research can take place. Building on this work a measurement of what impact celebrity diplomacy creates would be a way to further expand the motivations for celebrity activism.

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