

To Profit or Not to Profit?
**A Critical Discourse Analysis of a Non-Profit ‘Unstoppable’ Campaign Contrasted with
Literature on Commercial Femvertising Messages**

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Abstract

The aim of this paper was to find out whether there is a difference between pro-feminist messages in campaigns depending on their source of income and ultimate goal. To this end, I did a literature review of pro-feminist commercial advertisement (femvertising) campaigns and a Critical Discourse Analysis of the 'Unstoppable' campaign by the Global Fund for Women, a non-commercial, non-government organization that helps fund feminist initiatives around the world. I then compared my findings in the discussion section. The results have shown that both types of campaigns employ a neo-liberal rhetoric, but with different focus. The commercial campaigns focus more on individuality, consumerism and freedom of choice for women, while the non-commercial campaigns stress the importance of female empowerment for the development of the economy and prosperity of communities. These findings can be used by both marketing specialists and NGO campaign writers to adjust their messages when they concern women's rights.

Keywords: femvertising, NGO advocacy, empowerment, postfeminism, feminism, advertising campaigns.

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1. Introduction

Every bit of information we receive in the media or in real life is infused with some type of message. Every photo, video, text, post or conversation conveys an idea and aims to achieve a certain communicational goal. The academic discipline of communication studies tries to answer questions about the messages and ways in which they are communicated, be it the ethics of the practice, the ways in which messages represent or misrepresent reality, the influence that messages have, the goals of the message and the means by which these goals are achieved. For me it is most interesting to look for a seeming dissonance between ultimate goals, messages and their covert meanings. An example of such dissonance can be found in femvertising, a term coined by SheKnowsMedia in 2004 with Dove's campaign 'Real Beauty', which refers to the use of female empowerment and pro-female messages in advertising. While the second-wave feminist movement was considered revolutionary and anti-establishment, their ideas of sexual, social and cultural liberation have now been transformed to fit in with the status quo and be used for increasing profits, while the existing power structures remain. The messages, though seemingly feminist, tend to promote neoliberal values of free choice, individualism and consumerism (Genz and Brabon 2009, 8). It is largely agreed upon (Chananie 2005; Sobande 2019; Windels et al 2019) that these messages are hardly challenging to the capitalist patriarchy (Eisenstein 1979), with praise of femvertising appearing mostly just from marketing viewpoints (Akestam et al 2017, Drake 2017) or when the benefit of femvertising is analyzed through women's reactions to it (Abitbol and Sternadori 2016; Jalakas 2016). When the messages themselves were analyzed from intersectional feminism and anti-capitalist points of view, the findings were quite critical as one would expect them to be because a commercial outlet can hardly promote anti-neoliberal values, for example, by arguing for more government control over business malpractices. However, while there has been a thorough analysis of commercial femvertising campaign messages, the campaigns by non-profit organizations to combat gender inequality have hardly ever been analyzed in depth. While some analyses took place (Friedman 2003; Kemp and Berkovitch 2018; McDonald 2015), the messages of profit and non-profit groups arguing for women's rights have never been contrasted to my knowledge. Such comparison can reveal how the feminist movement is understood and portrayed depending on the company's source of income as well as shed some light onto whether the messages of non-government organizations (NGOs) portray women and activism for their rights in a genuinely feminist manner. To this end, in this research I have conducted a literature review of research studying the messages of commercial femvertising campaigns and a literature review on materials, campaigns and overall positioning done by governments or other

non-profit organizations fighting for women's rights. Afterwards, a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of the Global Fund for Women 'Unstoppable' campaign's website was performed and its results were compared to the ones found in the literature review on femvertising. This research tried to answer the question of whether there is a difference between the messages of female empowerment when it comes from a femvertising (a commercial source) campaign or when it comes from the Global Fund for Women (a non-profit foundation) campaign? What are these differences, if any? What are the similarities?

2. Literature Review

2.1 Theoretical traditions and currents of thought for framing the question

This dissertation adopted several different perspectives and theories to create a full picture of the issue. The most prominent perspective that is present throughout the research is that of Critical Media Studies, meaning that media content was analyzed critically and skeptically with a humanistic approach, focusing on politics and power structures (Ott and Mack 2020, 74). Within this perspective, a feminist theoretical framework was adopted the most together with an anti-capitalist stance.

The feminist perspective on media developed here was built on the work of Ott and Mack (2020). In their book 'Critical Media Studies' they explain that in this perspective media texts are interpreted as products of the patriarchy and the goal of the scholar is to perform an analysis of the ways in which the media units 'reflect, support and create systems of unequal gendered power' (Ibid, 646). It assumes that there is a difference between social and individual systems, where an individual may not be consciously sexist in themselves, but when they participate in sexist systems, which surround us they become sexist as a part of the social game. Sexist systems cannot exist without people supporting them and while some individuals might not be sexist, they become that way when they are exposed to the system (Ott and Mack 2020, 643). In their literature on feminist perspectives in communications, Ott and Mack pay much attention to postfeminism (Ibid, 676-685), a sensibility that plays a big role in modern perspectives on women's rights within the media, which I discuss later on in the paper as it is an important concept, but not the adopted framework. Moreover, the authors speak about the importance of using intersectionality in modern feminist analysis of the media. This term, coined by Kimberle Crenshaw in 1989, represents the idea that all oppressions should be understood holistically and that social justice can only be achieved through solidarity. While Crenshaw's work (1989) focused mostly on the intersection of

sexism and racism, more modern authors consider most oppressions to be intertwined. For example, the Ko sisters connect speciesism, ecoism, racism, sexism, classism and colonialism in the media as parts of one oppressive system (2017). While my paper touched on different kinds of oppressions, it mostly focused on the classist, racist and colonialist aspects within feminism, adopting the socialist feminism perspective. This means that it further explored the idea that in order to achieve real, structural changes for women the interdependence of capitalism and female oppression needs to be understood and both have to be challenged (Eisenstein 1979).

The reality that was assumed in the paper is that of capitalism and neoliberal values prevailing in the media. Here I took a critical stance towards it, based on the Marxist perspective in Critical Media Studies described by Ott and Mack (2020, 93-193), where media texts are analyzed as products of class struggles and the capitalist mode of production is seen as inherently exploitative (Ibid). In media such exploitation happens due to different patterns of ownership that emerge, such as multinationalism, which is the phenomenon of corporate presence of media companies in multiple countries leading to monopolization of local markets, or planned obsolescence, a process of building the ‘death’ of a media product into it since conception so that the consumer feels the need to buy a new one. Similar patterns are criticized in the literature of Robert McChesney, where he explores how consolidation of media agencies promoted in capitalism leads to three quarters of global spending on advertisement ending up ‘in the pockets of a mere twenty media companies’ (2001, 7). In his book ‘Rich Media, Poor Democracy: Communication Politics in Dubious Times’ (McChesney 2016) he argues that these neoliberal practices have made modern media antidemocratic, where a handful of wealthy, powerful people are responsible for the creation of public opinion facing virtually no restrictions. A business-run society strips the public of the tools necessary to make informed choices, uninfluenced by the rhetoric benefitting the elites (Ibid, 515).

2.2 Relevant concepts: postfeminism, transnational business feminism and female empowerment

Certain relevant concepts defined in the literature need to be presented here. One of the most often seen ones in the literature on femvertising is postfeminism. This is a sensibility (Gill 2007) that can be considered a backlash against second-wave feminism, but appears more complex than that, because of its ‘double entanglement’ nature, where parts of feminist discourse are taken and transformed into something that largely goes against the ideas of

feminism (McRobbie 2004). Thus, postfeminist is highly ambiguous as in it: empowerment goes together with discipline and surveillance of female bodies done on an unprecedented scale, female sexual liberation is achieved through presenting oneself as a constantly desiring and desired sexual subject, women's choices are encouraged and praised as long as they go in line with what society expects from them (Gill 2007; Genz and Brabon 2009; Windels et al 2019). The main premise for such a change in the discourse regarding feminism is postfeminism assuming that equality between men and women has been achieved (thus the name), but it has taken away what made us men and women, making women suffer loneliness and men suffer metaphorical castration (Gill 2007, 158-159; McRobbie 2004, 257, 260). Thus, it creates nostalgia for simpler times before the second wave when women could want just a pretty dress, a husband, children and a fulfilled life of a housewife (McRobbie 2004, 261-262). The reason why postfeminism has transformed the logic of feminism in such an unusual way lies in its inherently neoliberal values of individuality and consumerism (Genz and Brabon 2009, 8).

While postfeminism is a concept used in the literature on communications and media, the papers which focus on political economy use concepts such as transnational business feminism. This concept is seen more often in papers analyzing the governmental or NGOs' positioning in terms of women's issues. A term coined by Adrienne Roberts suggests that all the major institutions including governments, NGOs and businesses 'have decided that women of the world constitute an untapped resource', which is supposed to save capitalism from its demise (as cited in Eisenstein 2017, 38). In 2006 the term 'womenomics' was coined in 'the Economist', where, citing different research, the author argued that female workforce is key for increased economic growth and productivity, thus gender equality and female empowerment are important factors in each country's economic competitiveness (Eisenstein 2010, ix). Women are supposed to offer some alternative perspective to the previously masculine and dominant view of the economy, thus helping capitalism flourish. This concept is popular among modern 'feminist' authors, but there are certain points that they leave out, for example, the sexual division of labour, where reproductive labour remains unpaid, as well as how the lack of alternatives due to capitalist deregulation of the market pushes women into underpaid, dangerous jobs (Eisenstein 2010, 45-46).

Within the sensibilities of postfeminism and transnational business feminism, the concept of female empowerment has emerged. While the second-wave feminist movement focused on developing a liberation stance, where women were seen as victims of oppression, the 1990s

saw the rise of ‘girl power’ concept. In Naomi Wolf’s book, for example, women are portrayed as pleasure-seeking, sexual, free beings contrasted with forever complaining, weak, prudish victim feminists of the second wave (as cited in Genz and Brabon 2009, 68-70), which seems like a necessary change since the times have changed so drastically. However, this view has been criticized by authors such as Sarah Gamble for its ‘oversimplification of power structures that constrain women and obstruct their aims’ (as cited in Genz and Brabon 2009, 70). This outlook also does not acknowledge that ‘girl power’ often fails to work for women of different social background, where empowerment is still available only to middle-class, procapitalist, white, heterosexual women as it portrays feminism as a form of helping yourself, rather than being a political movement (Ibid). Moreover, it is unclear what empowerment actually entails for women, because, as Zeisler ironically points out, women seem to be ‘living in a near-constant state of empowerment’, where ‘having children, not having children’, wearing flats or heels, ‘cosmetic surgery’ or ‘embracing your wrinkles’ are all considered empowering (as cited in Eisenstein 2010, 44). Thus, both critiques of postfeminism and transnational business feminism agree that female empowerment as understood nowadays is rooted in values of neoliberalism such as consumerism, individualism, maintaining of the capitalist status quo and freedom of choice, where fewer choices are presented to some women.

2.3 Review and critique of related empirical research

2.3.1 Femvertising

While the term ‘femvertising’ was coined in 2004, in practice seemingly pro-feminist messages have been used in advertisement much earlier. An interesting study on femvertising was done by Dee Amy-Chinn (2006). It analyzed the advertisement of lingerie and thus the discourse surrounding sexual empowerment in women by using female empowerment marketing campaigns from the 1990s. It is notable that in these advertisements females were not just passive figures waiting for the man to take them, but rather active participants, who enjoy the sense of power and control they have over men who desire them (Ibid). While this might sound like progress in the views on female sexuality, the women in the advertisements remain subjects to the male gaze and thus no radical change is present, buying sexy lingerie to impress a man is just reframed as an empowering, individual choice. Amy-Chinn also focuses on the role of Advertisement Standards Authority, a body established in the UK that was supposed to rule against inappropriate and degrading ads, which in the end let air the advertisements promoting heteronormative sexual practices with male-centric subtexts, but did not give a pass to advertisements obliquely referencing female masturbation and oral sex (2006, 157-172).

Another relevant study was done by Ruth Chananie in 2006. She analyzed the way empowerment of women was used in direct-to-consumer television advertisements to sell antidepressants and other drugs to female audiences. She identified four different strategies used. First, the medical legitimacy was established usually by using a male narrator in advertisements targeting women; blaming and shaming for example for no longer being attractive to men because of mood swings; the use of supposedly feminist rhetoric, but with a twist like 'I'm a Remifeminist because it doesn't add to weight gain and that's great!' and by offering a sense of empowerment over their flawed mental health if and only if they decide to buy the product (otherwise the shaming will continue to be directed at them) (Chananie 2006). Though Chananie does not speak of postfeminism in her paper, it is not difficult to identify similar patterns to the ones described above. A woman's mental health is carefully monitored for whether it fits with societal expectations of her and as soon as something unflattering is identified she is forced to make the empowering choice and change her ways through consumption. This delivers an especially bleak commentary on marketing and postfeminism, as these types of ads are targeting women and girls who are already in a vulnerable mental state.

However, the concept of postfeminism was most visible in the media in the late 1990s and early 2000s and the previous papers were written on advertisements from that era. While Bridget Jones and 'Sex and the City' characters dared not say 'I am a feminist' and the word 'sexism' rarely appeared in the media (Gill 2016, 614), now being a feminist is a major trend: it's on t-shirts, mugs and in celebrity Instagram profiles. It can be argued though that not much has changed in practice. In her work on 'post postfeminism,' Rosalind Gill argues that while the word feminism has lost part of its stigma and became trendy to an extent, popular feminism still largely misses the point of the political movement (2016). The surveillance of female bodies is now more prominent than ever, but there is also a big emphasis on mental self-surveillance and pressure to always stay positive, feminist activism and struggles are considered more when they are framed in terms of individuals rather than as a systematic issue and the term 'feminist' is used so freely and ostentatiously apolitically that it becomes 'not just feminism-lite but feminism weightless' (Gill 2016, 614-618).

While such blatant exploitation of near-feminist ideas as described in the previous paragraphs may be frowned upon now, the media and marketing industries have found more covert ways of using female empowerment to increase sales. Windels et al (2019) did a content analysis of femvertising award-winners from 2015 to 2018 and 65% of them showed at least one of the

postfeminist discourses identified by the researchers (p 29). The postfeminist discourse most used was unsurprisingly commodity feminism, which is translating certain parts of a feminist discourse into semiotic signs and using it as a part of the brand, thus directly putting feminism up for purchase (2019, 20). It is interesting to see that marketing specialists try to include more diversity in modern femvertising, for example by including plus-size and transgender models. However, these models are still presented as feminine and sexual in traditional ways, with the focus remaining on discipline, self-surveillance and control (2019, 29). Moreover, the researchers highlight how modern postfeminism focuses on surveillance of not just the body, but the mind. Confidence cult(ure) rhetoric appeared most often in advertisements, with a focus on women suffering from lack of confidence due to insufficient psychological efforts on their part and on the necessity of additional mental labour that will empower them in the end, even if now they feel exhausted (2019, 29-30). Such focus on individual empowerment fails to acknowledge that the confidence gap between men and women is a systemic issue (Gill 2016, 614). Interestingly enough, a similar rhetoric of mental self-surveillance has already appeared in Chananie's analysis of older advertisements (2006), but there it was done for mental health medication. In Windels et al example they used it to advertise trucks, showing how the confidence cult(ure) became popular rhetoric in femvertising of any product.

Another researcher that explored femvertising is Francesca Sobande. She published a Critical Discourse Analysis (2019) addressing the content of various advertisements for 'woke' messages on the intersection between race and gender equality. While her main analysis focus was on race, she came to the same conclusion as the scholars that focused on gender – these advertisements promote neoliberal values and messages by implicitly arguing that the struggles of being a black woman can be overcome by sheer determination and that consumption can change the system rather than 'systemic shifts and resistance' (Ibid, 2723). This research is especially interesting because it shows how even when brands try to use intersectional feminism, making it seem like they understand that the movement is not just about privileged women, they still use Serena Williams, one of the richest, most famous women of color, creating a narrative of 'everybody can make it if they just try hard enough'.

While most examples in the literature are from western countries, there is a study on femvertising messages in China. Fei Qiao and Ye Wang (2019) first explain the cultural specificity of modern China and its feminism, where the exaggerated sexuality of the third wave clashes with Chinese traditionality. Both are still endorsed but taken into account by the

marketing specialists. Thus, for example, if the advertisement sexualizes women, they usually are from the west and the conservative values are promoted when Chinese actresses are present, though in a less overt way than before (2019, 4). The femvertising analysis focused on 'left-over ladies' (older women who did not get married) trying to explain to their parents that they can be happy without having a husband, playing on the phonetic similarity between 'victorious' and 'left-over' in Chinese. While the idea of female empowerment is clear here, certain details reveal the double standards. First of all, even though the advertisement is about aging and not being as attractive anymore, all 'left-over' women in it look very young and beautiful. Moreover, when their parents tell them off for not being married, they exhibit a reaction that can be considered typically feminine in China: 'lowered their heads, did not dare to look their parents in the eye', while sobbing uncontrollably (2019, 13). Also, when parents understood that their daughters can be unmarried and still worthy, the focus was on finding a man when the time comes, rather than on not getting married potentially ever (2019, 16). From all this, we can understand that the advertisement's slogan 'no fear of aging' does not actually mean that there is no need to be afraid of becoming older, but rather that with the cosmetic products advertised your face will not show any signs of aging (p 18). The 'double entanglement' (McRobbie 2004) of postfeminism is thus clear here and even more so than in western femvertising. The advertisement tries to manifest support for women and their issues with words like 'victorious', 'confident' and 'empowered', while still inconspicuously reinforcing the stereotypes. While western femvertising might do this in a more obscure way, as there was no Chinese traditionality rise in opposition to third-wave feminism here, this example shows how people-pleasing and self-serving the postfeminist advertisements nature can be at the same time.

What becomes clear after the literature review on femvertising is that mostly it is postfeminist, as even when authors do not use the term 'postfeminism', they describe the phenomenon. While advertisements from the turn of the century were blunter with the way they misused women's rights movement for profit (for example linking feminism and desire to stay thin), later ones still used postfeminist rhetoric. The marketing specialists have tried to make pro-female advertisements seem more intersectional and thus more modern, however, even when different women are shown, they are accompanied either by the rhetoric of being able to achieve anything if you are a woman, no matter the obstacles or the rhetoric of women being powerful through their sex appeal, both of which are postfeminist and highly neoliberal, emphasizing freedom of choice yet failing to acknowledge the lack of options provided to some. The analysis of a more modern Chinese advertisement showed how even when

femvertising tries to break gender stereotypes, it can still implicitly reinforce them by trying to please everyone: both the traditionalists and the feminists.

2.3.2 Non-profit Women's Rights Organizations

As mentioned before, femvertising messages tend to go against the political agenda of feminism. This happens because intersectional feminism's goal is to dismantle the existing power structures in all areas of life and for all women, which clashes with the goals of the ruling classes and capitalism in itself. Businesses can barely oppose capitalism; the messages, therefore, turn out neoliberal. There are two types of non-profit organizations that help advance women's rights – government (for example the UN) and non-government organizations (NGOs). The intuitive assumption might be that such non-commercial organizations do not have the obligation of making their campaign messages neoliberal. The literature, however, suggests otherwise. For example, Hester Eisenstein, the author of 'Feminism Seduced' (2009), argues that the system is built in a way where all institutions no matter if they are corporate, government or non-government promote the same neoliberal values of freedom of choice and women as saviors of their communities. Eisenstein claims that such values make the corporations work together with governments to decrease the state support of the working class while delegating it to NGOs, which do not have any real responsibilities for the women and express the same moral stances as corporations and governments (Ibid). She presents an example of a Hong Kong NGO expressing their opinion on sex work, claiming that it is a woman's choice just like any other job, failing to take into account the encouragement of it and lack of alternatives in certain countries in the Global South (Eisenstein 2009, 154). Thus, the protection of women from this transnational business feminism point of view is rather disempowering than necessary, as it can obstruct their freedom.

Mary McDonald (2015) wrote a paper analyzing the context and underlying rhetorical assumptions of the US government campaign 'Empowering Women and Girls Through Sports'. Two themes emerged the most in her analysis, for which she mostly used interviews with Hilary Clinton and her advisors, the pioneers of the campaign. First, the neoliberal development discourses claim that with enough rigor and opportunity provided, girls can help develop their communities, learn 'necessary economic skills' and overcome gender stereotypes and poverty (2015, 911). This promotes the neoliberal idea of womenomics 'gender equality as smart economics' (2015, 916). Though this view might seem somewhat progressive, it reinforces the idea that women will take care of the economy, community, and country in the same way they take care of their family members. Moreover, such a vision also

helps create a benevolent image of US interests in the Global South. However, McDonald points out the representation of foreign cultures as 'backward' and 'limiting' in the campaign (p 917). She then argues that this campaign adds to the erasure of local efforts to mobilize girls through sports, restricting the 'bottom-up' sports programming (p 918-919). Her research highlights the collaboration between corporations, NGOs and state-led institutions on this campaign, questioning just like Eisenstein whether such entanglement can be beneficial for women if it just provides 'neoliberalism with a human face' (Molyneux as cited in McDonald 2015, 915).

Adriana Kemp and Nitza Berkovitch (2018) present a more positive outlook on the efforts of NGOs. They analyzed different materials released by feminist NGOs advocating for the economic empowerment of women (EEW) in Israel. The scope of their analysis was very wide and the results suggested that these feminist organizations have to use both neoliberal and feminist rhetoric. The feminist rhetoric is used on the outside (when dealing with governments for example) and the neoliberal rhetoric on the inside (when training women) (2018, 515-517). Kemp and Berkovitch (2018, 516-517) uncover that during the EEW workshops the instructors give two types of training: one is about economic knowledge and the other about empowerment and the feeling of being a strong woman. The proportion, however, is usually in favor of the business side, where ideas of social justice are used to justify the creation of businesses. Such a hierarchy, as pointed out by the authors, reminds us of traditional gender roles, where masculine and rational knowledge is 'complimented' by soft skills and emotional intelligence (Ibid). Moreover, it relates to the concept of womenomics, where addition of 'woman's touch' to the economy is considered a potential savior of the system and the key to success. Despite this, Kemp and Berkovitch claim that while this approach may not be perfect, as a lot of feminists wonder how compatible neoliberal goals can be with feminist goals, the NGO leaders are aware of it, yet they see it as the most realistic way to include impoverished women in the system that has deliberately ignored them before (2018, 520). The NGOs have to work together with the institutions of power and, therefore, have to speak their language (Ibid). While this outlook is less critical of the current situation, the authors again claim that the corporate, government and non-government institutions collaborate with each other and promote neoliberal values to women through the logic of female empowerment.

In conclusion of the literature review, there is evidence of both femvertising campaigns and NGO or government campaigns for women's rights promoting neoliberal values. The reason

for this might be that most non-commercial organizations advancing human rights work together with corporations and governments. Some ways in which neoliberal stances are presented are fairly similar. For example, both types of campaigns show the almightiness of women in their fight for gender equality or for a better life. There is an assumption that with enough ‘empowerment’ women can overcome any issue, which devalues the obstacles and struggles women face on a daily basis. In femvertising, empowerment helps pursue individual goals and such campaigns are often framed in individualistic terms. The literature on advocacy campaigns for women’s rights is unclear on how much the importance of movement and unity is stressed in them. There is also evidence of both femvertising and non-commercial campaigns covertly reinforcing gender stereotypes, but in different ways. Femvertising reinforces a range of gender stereotypes, such as women wanting to stay thin, being overly sensitive or needing a husband, while NGOs’ campaigns tend to reinforce mostly one stereotype of women being the selfless caregivers, which can now be used to aid the economy and various less fortunate communities. In both literature reviews the issues of colonialism and racism arose. The femvertising literature focusing on the intersection of race and gender criticized how black women were portrayed as being able to overcome the obstacles posed by their race and gender with just tenacity and consumerism. In the literature on non-commercial feminist campaigns the focus was on the political relations between the Global North and the Global South. The Global North was often portrayed as a benevolent helper to the backward, uncivilized countries of the Global South. The hypotheses were formulated on the basis of those conclusions.

3. Method

3.1 The theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis

The goal of this research was to compare the literature on femvertising campaigns with the analysis of the messages of the ‘Unstoppable’ campaign by the Global Fund for Women (Global Fund for Women 2021) and find out what were the similarities and differences between the two. While Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (and a range of other methods) has been applied to femvertising, no CDA has been done to analyze advocacy campaigns for women’s rights in-depth, nor has there been a connection made between the two types of campaigns, both at least not to my knowledge.

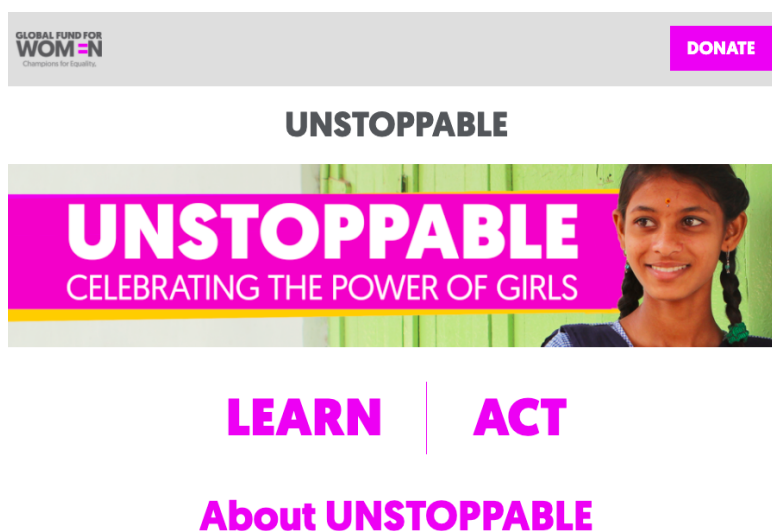
Using CDA for a project like this seemed suitable for multiple reasons. First of all, CDA analyzes the connections between certain rhetoric and power. This method is partly based on Michel Foucault’s analysis of the connections between power and knowledge, which suggests

that power is made real through accepted forms of knowledge, certain discourses about what truth is (Foucault 1972). Thus, for a paper, which goal is to analyze how the power of capitalist patriarchy (Eisenstein 1979) affects feminist messages within advertisements and women's rights campaigns, this type of analysis fit arguably well. It is also of particular interest to use this approach for something seemingly challenging to the power structures, at least to an extent. A practical reason for using CDA would be that it allows me to do a more thorough and systematic analysis of the campaign, seeing how meaning is created through language and visual representation, what messages it carries and how it persuades (Machin and Mayr 2012, 1).

Three different authors and their theories within CDA were used in this paper. First, I used the work of Teun van Dijk to perform a linguistic analysis of the text using various methods from his books such as analysis of lexical and syntactic style (for example sentence structure, lexical choices), semantic strategies (goal-directed argumentations, which aim is to convince the reader in a certain 'truth'), macrostructures (global topics) and implicit meanings (1991). The analysis will also be aided with Siegfried Jäger's perspective. He reinvented Foucault's idea of dispositives (Jäger 2001, 38-46). As one of the theories assumed in CDA is that knowledge forms the reality around us, it is possible to analyze not only discourse, but also physical manifestations, which can include more or less anything that we are able to acknowledge, and also the relationship between the discourse and such manifestations (Ibid). This relationship, 'existing in the form of sensory human activity which mediates between the subject and the object' (Jäger 2001, 41), is understood as dispositives and can be analyzed together with the discourse. This perspective can give the analysis a broader vision, as it acknowledges the entanglement and complexity of the relationship between reality and discourse, where this relationship in itself can be subjected to analysis. Jäger's approach includes analysis of figurative language, metaphors, symbolism and references as well as forms of argumentation and argumentation strategies (Wodak and Meyer 2001, 25). To analyze alternative semiotic modes like images, the work of Machin and Mayr was used. Such analysis included, but was not limited to, looking at the positioning of elements, the repetition of shapes and colors in the picture, the cohesion between the text and the picture (Machin and Mayr 2012, 9). This type of analysis is important as images can convey meanings that would not be included in the text, though a lot of the tools visual analysis uses are similar to the lexical ones (Ibid).

3.2 Site selection and sampling strategy

For the CDA I examined ‘Unstoppable’, a 2017 campaign by the Global Fund for Women. This NGO, which was founded in 1987 by New Zealander Anne Firth Murray and is headquartered in San Francisco, United States (Wikipedia 2021), donates money to various grassroots activist organizations to advance different women’s rights initiatives. According to their website, the Global Fund for Women takes on a movement-led approach, where instead of focusing on policy changes and legal wins they support gender justice movements ‘to emphasize what success looks like on their own terms’ (The Global Fund for Women 2021). Their campaigns usually focus on sharing the stories of women activists and collecting donations for future funding. The goal of the ‘Unstoppable’ campaign was to tackle human rights violations against girls around the world and celebrate them instead. It took place in 2017 and included impact stories, but was also tied to the release of the book about girl activists called ‘Wonder Girls: Changing our World’, where presentation and discussion events as well as sales of the book were included as parts of the campaign. This advocacy campaign uses methods similar to an advertisement campaign, including banners, social media posts and promotional materials. There is a particular focus on girls (younger women) in the campaign, as it was launched on the International Day of the Girl. Most of the stories in the book and on the website feature female activists younger than 18 years old and Alex, the granddaughter co-author of the book, is only 12 years old. My research aimed to analyze the content of the campaign’s webpage, by looking at it as a screenshot first and following all the links posted there afterwards. There were eight links in the text, most of them were repeated after the text and one impact story was added. Thus, there were ten web-pages analyzed in total, but only five of them had information that was relevant to the hypotheses. The analysis was performed not just for the writing, but also for the images. The link to the main campaign description page is as follows: <https://www.globalfundforwomen.org/unstoppable-girls/>.



3.3 Analysis Strategy

Drawing from the literature, one can assume that despite the non-commercial nature of NGOs and government organizations, they still employ the neoliberal discourses when talking about women's rights. The hypotheses were my adaptation of the information found in the literature. They are as follows:

H1= The campaign promotes power over liberation

As has become evident from the literature, the late capitalism discourses surrounding women's rights tend to focus on female empowerment, that is giving women more power similar to the way men have it, rather than on liberation from existing patriarchal power structures. My expectation is that female empowerment rhetoric appears, celebrating women as actors of change, with less focus on hierarchies limiting women's independence.

H2= The campaign is formulated in individualistic terms

It is possible that the 'Unstoppable' campaign reflects the same ideals as advertisement campaigns studied in the literature review. Certain features of postfeminism may appear then, for example the focus on individuality. This means that the individual efforts of each woman will be celebrated and promoted rather than focusing on united movements and structural changes.

H3= The campaign reassures existing economic systems

In the literature review on women's rights NGOs, we saw how the businesses, governments and non-commercial organizations often work together on improving women's position in society. This means that the neoliberal rhetoric is often preserved even in organizations that fight against the consequences of capitalism as seen in Kemp and Berkovitch (2018). A similar pattern may emerge within the 'Unstoppable' campaign.

H4= The campaign presents the Global South as less civilized

As pointed out in the research of McDonald (2015), the Global North is presented as superior, more civilized and educated in comparison to the Global South in these campaigns. Women in developing countries are often shown as suffering from archaic customs and overall backwardness of their culture. The 'Unstoppable' campaign is likely to fall into similar patterns.

H5= The campaign presents women as assets to society

In the literature review of women's rights NGOs' work we witnessed how women's 'empowerment' was framed as a logical, economically sensible choice as others will benefit from gender equality not less than women themselves. It is possible that this campaign shows women as responsible for other people in their community and worldwide. It is possible they are celebrated for being selfless.

As proposed by Van Dijk (1977), I start my analysis by analyzing macro-structures of the text: the big topics, titles, headers, and the overall structure of the text. After that, the analysis of the text on the first page took place. This analysis included the smaller units of semantic structures like word order, linguistic choices, punctuation. Moreover, a broader view aided by Jager's perspective was introduced, analyzing the page's text's symbolic meanings, metaphors and intrinsic logic. After that, the analysis of images was performed with the help of Machin and Mayr's multimodal CDA book (2012). Generally, the three perspectives have much in common and a hybrid of their theories was used. These actions were then repeated for every site link presented on the campaign's official webpage and the detailed analysis of the five links which included useful data can be found in Appendix A. In the Discussion and Conclusion sections, the findings of CDA were contrasted with the literature review and the research questions were answered.

4. Results

In this section, I provide results of the CDA of the 'Unstoppable' campaign for each hypothesis.

4.1 Hypothesis One: The campaign promotes power over liberation

The campaign text is riddled with power rhetoric. Starting with the fund's slogan 'Champions for equality' (Global Fund for Women 2021), the word 'champion' connotes a certain hierarchy of winners and losers, while the word 'equality' suggests being on the same level as others. Such rhetoric covertly suggests that there are winners and losers in equality, metaphorically arguing for strengthening the women's competing side rather than scrapping the power struggle altogether. The words power, empowerment as well as synonyms like 'force', 'strength' appear in text very often together with descriptions of girls as people in the position of power 'leader', 'leadership', 'champion'. Out of 366 words in the campaign description, 14 were connected to the ideas of the power of girls, which is not surprising as the campaign slogan is 'celebrating the power of girls' and the co-author of the book, the

release of which is linked to this campaign, claims that ‘to empower’ was one of the main goals of writing the book (Ibid). While empowerment of women can be considered a positive goal by some, the campaign text proves that such rhetoric can lead to problematic discourse. The name of the campaign itself is ‘Unstoppable’, which refers to girl activists around the world being able to overcome any negative circumstances due to their power. By using such language, which appears celebratory, the authors devalue the level of adversity the girls are facing and raise expectations for girls to be better. Women are presented as powerful fighters for a better world in at least two ways. In one sentence a metaphor of women’s movements as an army is conveyed through the use of the military term ‘the front lines’ (Ibid). In the same sentence, they are celebrated for their resilience, the ability to recover from adversities quickly (Oxford University Dictionary 2021), which shows that the author is not appalled by the fact that these ‘front lines’ exist for women, but is rather in awe of their abilities and believes that they will be able to overcome any adversity. Women are not only compared to troops, the name of the book released together with the campaign is ‘Wonder Girls: Changing Our World’, which is a play on the title of the film ‘Wonder Woman’ (Jenkins 2017). Wonder Woman is a superhero with supernatural powers fighting for good and the girl activists in the book are compared to her. By doing that, the author portrays young girls as having some exceptional power in the fight against injustice and by using the troop's metaphor she expresses the difficulty of their struggle together with the importance of it. Such attitude leads to unreasonable expectations from women and girls, as they are not actually trained soldiers with a salary or supernatural beings, but are treated as such in the text. The 2016 report reads ‘...we awarded 36 grants ... totaling \$499,000 to empower women to respond to crises and natural disasters’, which openly suggests that women are ‘empowered’ by very limited grant money to resolve crises and combat natural disaster, an ambition worthy of a superhero that should hardly fall on local women’s shoulders. Thus, the hypothesis is confirmed.

4.2 Hypothesis Two: The campaign is formulated in individualistic terms

There is conflicting evidence regarding my hypothesis that the campaign is formulated in individualistic terms. On one hand, all the impact stories, that form half of the campaign materials, are about individual girl activists even though each of the girls is a part of either an activist group or a center for girls. The centers are mentioned in the campaign description for example, ‘Shaheen in India’ or ‘Akili Dada in Kenya’, but these links direct you to pages titled ‘Nida’s story’ or ‘Leah’s story’, where each girl is celebrated for her personal efforts. A similar situation arises with the book ‘Wonder Girls: Changing Our World’, it does not describe stories of movements or activist groups, but rather of young women trying to make a

change. However, there is much evidence that points to the campaign promoting unity rather than individualism. For example, in the 2016 annual report, there are multiple images of women marching together during protests with raised fists, which emphasizes the importance of movements in the struggle for gender equality. Moreover, Alex, one of the co-authors of ‘Wonder Girls: Changing Our World’, uses the metaphor of ‘strength in numbers’ suggesting that unity and multiple supporters are important for the success of any cause. She makes it more specific to women’s rights movements by saying that ‘wonder girls’ from their book ‘take action hand-in-hand with their sisters’ creating a sense of family-like unity and closeness being a necessary part of the wonder girls’ activism. The way unity is described here can create a warm feeling within the reader and make her feel like joining a movement will be similar to joining a family or a close group of friends (through the words ‘sisters’ and ‘hand-in-hand’), thus increasing the likelihood of that happening. The phrase ‘stronger together’ appears on three occasions in the campaign materials, once as a slide title in the 2016 report. So, while there is some conflicting evidence regarding the hypothesis, it is refuted in the end.

4.3 Hypothesis Three: The campaign reassures existing economic systems

The existing economic systems are reassured on a few different levels in the campaign materials, which is not surprising as the fund collaborates with corporations, governments and NGOs (Global Fund for Women 2021), just like the NGOs described in the literature review. The campaign often uses business buzzwords like ‘vision’, ‘partnering’, ‘securing bigger wins’, which implies that a charity can be run similarly to a business. Moreover, they allow for a level of ambiguity. ‘Securing bigger wins’ does not answer the question of what is considered a win, ‘share our vision’ is a nonspecific condition, which can allow for almost any corporation to participate. One of the most telling and often used business terms in the campaign is ‘to invest’ when talking about donations to funds and activist groups. Investment suggests the allocation of money for profit. Such language implies an expectation of some reward in the future, the rhetoric of womenomics, where ‘investments’ in women are presented as a fix for the downfall of capitalism. The discourse of the American Dream is also evident in this text, particularly during the interview with the book’s co-authors. The American Dream is an American ethos rooted in neoliberal values of freedom and equal opportunities for success, reiterated almost literally by Alex in the sentence ‘Gender equality is important to me because I believe that everyone deserves the same chance at success’. It is then echoed by her co-author grandmother in ‘Wonder Girls fight for peace, justice, and equality with creativity, confidence, determination, and dreams’ and ‘I dream that girls will be

free, confident, educated, equal, and financially self-sufficient'. Both times confidence and dream are mentioned though the reference to the American Dream is most obvious in the first sentence, as the idea behind it is precisely that with enough determination, hard work and belief in oneself supernatural miracles can happen. Such rhetoric reinforces capitalist ambitions and denies the fact that most of the time dreams are not achieved due to the system's faultiness and not lack of work. Thus, the hypothesis is confirmed.

4.4 Hypothesis Four: The campaign presents the Global South as less civilized

The evidence for the hypothesis that the Global South is presented as less civilized is more subtle but is still quite prominent. All the images presented on the campaign's website are of women of color, every impact story is about them. The only pictures of white women that we see on the main page are connected to the links to '8 ways you can be a champion for women and girls with our toolkit' and authors' Q&A. Women of color are clearly the main focus as the ones who need help and support fighting for gender inequality, while white women are considered the ones who must offer help to the least fortunate. This division enforces the idea that white women are superior to women of color and that the Global North has largely solved the problem of gender inequality and needs to help others now. A similar pattern can be noted in the sentence 'We know that girls and young women are incredible changemakers with potential to change their communities and countries...' since the only white people presented in all the pictures on all webpages analyzed are the ones working for the fund or called on for help, while all the 'helped' women are people of color from developing countries, we can deduce that when the authors speak about changing the countries and communities, they talk about the Global South, suggesting it needs to change. However, the most noteworthy sentence comes later in the campaign description text: 'This year, we intensified our investments in grassroots women's groups working to stem the erosion of girls' rights and advance girls' equality in Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Niger, and Mali — an area where girls are at increased risk due to conservative religious and cultural norms, political instability, conflict, and extremism'. All the countries mentioned are located in the Global South, in Africa. While the author talks about all the cultural 'problems' affecting girls, it fails to mention that many of them are poverty induced and that it is the Global North's exploitation of the region that leads to these issues remaining. Thus, it reinforces the existing economic systems, where the Global South is exploited by the Global North but is still always presented in a worse light. The use of the pejorative term 'extremism' and a list of issues consisting of more than three items, which gives an impression of eagerness to list all the things wrong with the place,

reflects the author's potential prejudice towards this region. Therefore, the hypothesis is confirmed.

4.5 Hypothesis Five: The campaign presents women as assets to society

The evidence for H1 and H5 often appears simultaneously in the NGO campaign. When women are presented as powerful individuals it is often accompanied by the rhetoric of them being saviors for others. There is a reason why the reader is supposed to 'invest' in women, they are the ones 'with potential to change their communities and countries' (Global Fund for Women 2021). This rhetoric is not progressive for the reason that McDonald (2015) points out, family women have long been presented as heroes, who selflessly perform domestic and reproductive labor for free. Now this applies not only to mothers and wives but to all women and on a much larger scale as the organization 'empowers' them 'to respond to crises and natural disasters', meaning a new type of unpaid labor also lies on their shoulders rather than the state's (Global Fund for Women 2021). Such rhetoric is most noticeable in Alex's answers, one of which was posted on the top of the Q&A page in a bright box with bold letters, signifying the similarity between it and the campaign's positioning: 'I dream that girls will see themselves as equal to boys... We can't effect [sic] change to make ourselves equal if we don't believe...'. Alex implies that it is women's job to resolve gender equality by using the phrasing 'to make ourselves equal' and by suggesting that the most important step towards gender equality is women's belief. In another quote, Alex highlights that she would specifically like girls and women to support other female activists, showing that she expects women to do more for others than anyone else would: 'I hope to inspire women and girls to support the groups in the book'. However, I found the most telling evidence for this hypothesis in Nida's impact story. In her own words, she tells the interviewer about the time she, an underaged girl, was used as bait in a sting operation to catch sex traffickers with the help of people from a partner organization. The consequences for the mental and physical well-being of a young girl pretending to be a child bride in front of perpetrators are not considered in the text, which is framed as a success story and instead, her bravery and 'power' are highlighted as well as all the positive consequences for the community. In the text Nida confesses: 'My family still doesn't know I was involved. If my mother knew, she would stop me from coming to the [Shaheen] center'. From this paragraph it becomes evident that the center employees did not ask for the parent's permission before sending a girl to a sting operation. It highlights that the mother worries and cares for her family as a woman, but her daughter, who cares for the well-being of her whole community, chooses to leave her in the dark for everybody's sake. This creates a juxtaposition between older women, who would be

ready to sacrifice something for their family (e.g. good relationship with their daughter to keep her safe) and younger women, who are ready to sacrifice themselves for the community, where the former is preferred and encouraged. Thus, hypothesis number five is confirmed.

5. Discussion

This in-depth analysis of the Global Fund for Women campaign for women's rights shows that non-commercial organizations use neo-liberal rhetoric as much as corporations, which employ femvertising, but with certain differences in discourse. One of the most often seen neo-liberal stances concerns female empowerment and it appeared in both femvertising literature and the 'Unstoppable' campaign. Both of these types of campaigns portrayed women as powerful fighters, able to overcome any adversity that comes their way with enough determination (McDonald 2015; Sobande 2019). However, with great power comes great responsibility. If the rhetoric is that women can do anything, it is only logical that the expectations from them are high. In the literature on the commercial use of the near-feminist rhetoric we saw how women were expected to perform constant mental labor to always stay confident and positive with the help of consumerism, while the confidence gap between men and women was not brought up as a systemic issue (Gill 2016, 614; Windels et al 2019, 21). However, postfeminist advertisements (in the literature review I conclude that femvertising is almost always postfeminist) differ from the 'Unstoppable' campaign as feminism is not political there, but rather is used as a new popular buzzword. Thus, the female responsibilities that come from empowerment are centered around the female herself and her readiness to consume products. Global Fund for Women portrays women as responsible not just for themselves, but for their countries, community and the economy. The almightiness in the face of any adversity that the campaign assumes women have makes them the target for high expectations, which is probably best seen through the words of the 12-year-old co-author of the book, who always stresses that she hopes the book will empower specifically women to make changes. Moreover, it is interesting to note the ways in which femvertising and the 'Unstoppable' campaign reassure existing economic systems to a similar extent, but in different ways. In femvertising literature I often came across the concept of commodity feminism, where a certain product becomes deliberately associated with the movement, thus putting feminism up for direct purchase (Genz and Brabon 2009; Windels et al 2019, 20). In this way non-commercial outlets use social justice to aid their business. On the other hand, the rhetoric of 'womenomics' (gender equality as smart economics) appears constantly in the 'Unstoppable' campaign. By only describing donations as 'investments in women' the campaign authors promote the idea that social justice needs are valuable because they are an

asset to capitalism and all of our collective efforts to help women will be paid off. Thus, feminism is supposed to aid the business and is treated as a business at the same time. Similar exploitation of social justice happens in terms of white supremacy, but again with a slight difference in focus for femvertising and the NGO campaign. While femvertising campaigns that try to target the intersection of race and gender fall short by implying that women of color can overcome any of the issues caused by their race or gender with enough tenacity (Sobande 2019), the 'Unstoppable' raises questions by suggesting that the Global South is very far behind the Global North in terms of progress and culture. In the context of this campaign, girls are supposed to not just push through the discrimination for their own sake like in femvertising, but fight the backward customs and 'extremism' of their communities. Thus, to answer the research question, the rhetoric in the two types of campaigns is similarly neo-liberal, but the execution is different with femvertising focusing more on individual efforts of women to improve themselves and the 'Unstoppable' focusing more on the responsibility of women for others.

6. Conclusion

The goal of this paper was to compare the literature review on femvertising campaigns with the results of a Critical Discourse Analysis of an advocacy campaign for women's rights called 'Unstoppable' done by the Global Fund for Women in order to find out whether the commercial or non-commercial status of an organization creates a difference in its rhetoric. According to the literature, the femvertising campaigns are riddled with postfeminism, a sensibility that promotes neo-liberal values such as individuality and consumerism. Therefore, the femvertising campaigns focus more on the empowerment of women to improve themselves personally and overcome discrimination. The non-profit advocacy campaign analyzed also promotes neo-liberal values, which is not surprising as the fund worked on it together with corporations, governments and other NGOs, being a part of the same system as the commercial campaigns. It, however, promoted them in a different way, concentrating on the idea that empowerment of women is an 'investment', as empowered women will help the economy and their communities. Thus, there is a similarity in both types of campaigns as they are riddled with neo-liberal rhetoric, but the commercial ones focus on individualism and freedom of women to do (read buy) whatever they want, while the non-commercial ones focus on women being selfless saviors helping others.

There were certain limitations to my study. For example, the method of Critical Discourse Analysis in itself can cause doubts. CDA is a controversial method with many different tools

that can be used following the researchers' preferences, which raises a question of how transparent and intelligible it can be (Wodak and Meyer 2001, 31). It is not the most objective and that can be a problem for some scientists. However, it remains the most in-depth method, as it allows analyzing discourse using different approaches and scientific knowledge from multiple academic fields. Another possible limitation would be that since my analysis was an in-depth case study, it did not cover large amounts of text, therefore making the results of it less readily applicable to other non-commercial campaigns advocating for women's rights. However, this type of research has been done before at least once by Kemp and Berkovitch (2020) and my hypotheses were created using similar research. The type of research that has not been done, but is worth doing in the future is the one that would help find alternative ways for the NGOs to design and articulate their campaigns. It could be that the potential authors can receive additional training on intersectionality, where certain pitfalls of modern campaigns could be discussed. It would also be interesting to look into whether the neo-liberal rhetoric in these types of campaigns increases or decreases the amount of positive reactions and donations. While it is difficult to escape the capitalist system in one leap, every step towards showing alternatives for our society counts.

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Appendix A

Template for the analysis (adapted from Xavier Giro).

Table 1. The campaign's main web page titled 'Unstoppable. Celebrating the power of girls.'

Relevant fragment for Hypothesis N	Confirms /Refutes	Relevant element for Hypothesis N	Explanation of the verification of Hypothesis N
The title of the campaign, which can be seen on top of the page in big letters, is 'Unstoppable'.	Confirms	'Unstoppable' -> relevant for H1	This suggests that women cannot be stopped even by objective obstacles, therefore decreasing the importance of such obstacles and putting more pressure on women to be stronger.
In the top left corner of the website there is a logo of the Global Fund for Women, accompanied by their motto 'Champions for equality'.	Confirms	'Champions for equality', one of the main values of this organization considering it is their slogan -> relevant for H1	The phrase is an oxymoron, as the word 'champion' connotes a certain hierarchy of winners and losers, while the word 'equality' suggests being on the same level as others. Thus, it confirms H1, instead of promoting liberation, the rhetoric suggests that there are winners and losers in equality. The winners have more power and supposedly are women.

<p>Subheading under the name 'Unstoppable' titled 'celebrating the power of girls'.</p>	<p>Confirms</p>	<p>'celebrating the power of girls' -> relevant to H1</p>	<p>The language choice here is that of celebration of women's power rather than that of liberating women from abusive power structures.</p>
<p>The photos of women on the campaign's page.</p>	<p>Confirms</p>	<p>Most of the pictures on the webpage are of women of color, they illustrate the stories of girl activists. The only 2 pictures with white women we see on the page are connected to the link '8 ways you can be a champion for women and girls with our action toolkit'. Another picture is of the author of the book related to the campaign-> relevant to H4</p>	<p>Women of color are clearly the main focus as the ones who need help and support fighting for gender inequality, while white women are considered the ones who must offer help to the least fortunate. This division enforces the idea that white women are superior to women of color and that the Global North has largely solved the problem of gender inequality and needs to help others now.</p>
<p>Out of 366 words of the campaign description 14 are: Unstoppable, force, power, empowered, leaders, leadership, empower, leaders, unstoppable, leaders, powerful, champions, unstoppable, power.</p>	<p>Confirms</p>	<p>The ratio of words symbolizing power to other types of words is high in the text -> relevant for H1</p>	<p>The fact that there are such a large number of power words in the text suggests that the authors' want to highlight the importance of empowerment for women and that power rhetoric is in their positioning.</p>
<p>The first sentence describing the campaign is 'It's no secret: girls are an</p>	<p>Confirms</p>	<p>'It's no secret: girls are an unstoppable force for social</p>	<p>'Unstoppable force' – 'force' is a synonym for power and</p>

<p>unstoppable force for social change’.</p>		<p>change’ -> relevant for H1 and H5</p>	<p>together with the campaign title ‘Unstoppable’ creates an image of absolute agency of women when it comes to social change, thus putting the responsibility for resolving social issues on their shoulders. ‘It’s no secret’ adds an assured tone by framing the following information as common knowledge.</p>
<p>The third sentence in the campaign description is ‘We know that girls and young women are incredible changemakers with potential to change their communities and countries, and help to build the world they want to see’.</p>	<p>Confirms</p>	<p>‘... Young women are incredible changemakers with potential to change their communities and countries’ – relevant for H5 and H4</p>	<p>The girls’ responsibility for changing their communities is highlighted here, confirming H5. Moreover, since the only white people presented in all the pictures on all webpages analyzed are the ones working for the fund or called on for help, while all the ‘helped’ women are people of color from developing countries, we can deduce that when the authors speak about changing the countries and communities, they talk about the Global South, suggesting they need change. This confirms H4.</p>

<p>Paragraph two of the description, sentence two ‘From Kenya and India to Nigeria and Brazil, our investment in girls and young women has empowered girls and young women around the world to become leaders, end violence, change laws, and drive lasting change’.</p>	<p>Confirms</p>	<p>‘...our investment in girls and young women has empowered girls and young women around the world to become leaders...’ – relevant for H3</p>	<p>The word ‘investment’ is usually used in business settings, as it suggests allocation of money for profit. The use of such language suggests the expectation of some return in the future as a reward for the current investment – a capitalist rhetoric, which should not apply to human beings.</p>
<p>Paragraph three, sentence one of the campaign description ‘This year, we intensified our investments in grassroots women’s groups working to stem the erosion of girls’ rights and advance girls’ equality in Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Niger, and Mali—an area where girls are at increased risk due to conservative religious and cultural norms, political instability, conflict, and extremism’.</p>	<p>Confirms</p>	<p>‘...in Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Niger, and Mali - an area where girls are at increased risk due to conservative religious and cultural norms, political instability, conflict, and extremism’ – relevant for H4 and H3</p>	<p>All the countries mentioned are located in the Global South, in Africa. While the author talks about all the cultural ‘problems’ affecting girls, it fails to mention that many of them are poverty induced and that it is the Global North’s exploitation of the region that leads to these issues remaining. Thus, it reinforces the existing economic systems, where the Global South is exploited by the Global North, but is still always presented in a worse light. The use of the pejorative term ‘extremism’ and a list of issues</p>

			consisting of more than three items, which gives an impression of eagerness to list all the things wrong with the place, reflects the author's potential prejudice towards this region.
Under the description there are links to 'Impact stories', where the achievements of girl activists are described.	Confirms	All the 'Impact Stories' are stories of individual women and their achievements in their communities -> relevant for H2	While the Global Fund for Women claims its fund allocation to be movement-led, most of the stories are those of individual activists making a change, emphasizing the importance of individual's efforts.

Table 2. The 2016 annual report webpage, link one in the campaign description titled 'our work directly benefited more than 129,000 girls'.

Relevant fragment for Hypothesis N	Confirms/ Refutes	Relevant element for Hypothesis N	Explanation of the verification of Hypothesis N
The pictures of women together during marches and protests, some of them with raised fists, in frame one, two and seven.	Refutes	Women as part of the movement, protesting together -> relevant for H2	In the pictures women are shown together during protests and marches, this type of activism being celebrated implies that non-individual efforts are important in the fight for gender equality.
In frame two titled 'Mission: Possible. Letter from our CEO and Board Co-Chairs',	Confirms	'Resilient women's groups and women's movements on the front lines every day demanding a better world for everyone,	In this sentence women are presented as people who have to go through difficult situations, but ones

<p>sentence two ‘But with resilient women’s groups and women’s movements on the front lines every day demanding a better world for everyone, it’s Mission: Possible’.</p>		<p>it’s Mission: Possible’ -> relevant for H1 and H5</p>	<p>they can definitely push through and help others in the meantime. ‘The front lines’ is a military term and together with ‘demanding a better world for everyone’ there is a sense of a war metaphor, where women are fighting for everyone else in the world due to their capacity to recover quickly (‘resilient’) (Oxford University Press 2021). Such narrative reinforces the stereotypes of women as tough martyrs, who sacrifice themselves for the greater good of everyone.</p>
<p>Frame three titled ‘Getting Resources Where They’re Needed Most’, sentence one ‘A key part of securing bigger wins for gender equality around the world is partnering with other organizations—women’s funds, governments, NGOs, and corporations—th at share our vision’.</p>	<p>Confirms</p>	<p>‘partnering with other organization – women’s funds, governments, NGOs, and corporations’ -> relevant for H3</p>	<p>The Global Fund for Women works in collaboration with multiple organizations that receive their funds from various sources, including businesses. The language in this sentence has business buzzwords e.g. ‘share our vision’, ‘partnering’, ‘securing bigger wins’, which suggests that a charity can be run similarly to commercial enterprises. Moreover, they allow for a level of ambiguity. ‘Securing</p>

			<p>bigger wins’ does not answer the question of what is considered a win, ‘share our vision’ is an unspecified condition, which can allow for almost any corporation to participate. Therefore, it reinforces existing economic systems.</p>
<p>Frame eight, titled ‘Against the Odds Women lead in times of crisis’.</p>	<p>Confirms</p>	<p>‘Against the Odds Women lead in times of crisis’ -> relevant for H1 and H5</p>	<p>The choice of the word ‘lead’ again points to the potential power of women, especially when put next to ‘against the odds’, a symbol of women’s agency overcoming any obstacle. The women here are represented as the ones who take the responsibility in the most difficult situations and the ones who are most suited for this position.</p>
<p>Frame eight, an infographic on the left reads ‘As part of our overall direct grantmaking, we awarded 36 grants in 12 countries, totaling \$499,000 to empower women to respond to crises and natural disasters’.</p>	<p>Confirms</p>	<p>‘...to empower women to respond to crises and natural disasters’ -> relevant for H1 and H5</p>	<p>This phrasing implies that responding to crises and natural disasters is women’s responsibility and it should be celebrated and promoted. The organization ‘empowers’ women to do it by awarding grants, thus further supporting the idea of female omnipotence in the face of adversity instead of the state’s</p>

			responsibility to its citizens.
Frame ten is titled 'Why fund women? Because we are stronger together'.	Refutes	'Because we are stronger together' -> relevant for H2	The title is not formulated in individualistic terms, instead the author calls for unity.

Table 3. Link three in the campaign description is titled 'Shaheen in India'. It forwards to the story: 'Nida's story: Going undercover to help girls'.

Relevant fragment for Hypothesis N	Confirms/ Refutes	Relevant element for Hypothesis N	Explanation of the verification of Hypothesis N
The webpage tells a story of Nida, a 17-year-old girl, who participated in the sting operation to catch sex traffickers as bait with the help of people from a partner organization.	Confirms	The impact story told on the page -> relevant for H5 and H1	On this page the story of an underaged girl being used as bait to catch dangerous criminals is framed as a success story. This shows that women are portrayed as brave saviors of their community and such behavior is encouraged by the Global Fund for Women partner organization as well as by the fund itself, which features this story in both the campaign description as well as a separate link below the text. The consequences for mental and physical well-being of a young girl pretending to be a child bride in front of perpetrators are

			not considered and instead her bravery and ‘power’ are highlighted as well as all the positive consequences for the community.
Paragraph 16 of the text ‘My family still doesn’t know I was involved. If my mother knew, she would stop me from coming to the [Shaheen] center’.	Confirms	‘If my mother knew, she would stop me from coming to the [Shaheen] center’ -> relevant for H5	From this paragraph it becomes evident that the center employees did not ask for the parents’ permission before sending an underaged girl to a sting operation. It highlights that the mother worries and cares for her family as a woman, but her daughter, who cares for the well-being of her whole community, chooses to leave her in the dark for everybody’s sake. This continues the narrative of a strong woman martyr, who is ready to sacrifice herself for the community.

Table 4. Link five in the campaign description is titled ‘Wonder Girls: Changing Our World’. It redirects to the page called ‘Learn how you can change the world with Wonder Girls: Changing Our World’.

Relevant fragment for Hypothesis N	Confirms/ Refutes	Relevant element for Hypothesis N	Explanation of the verification of Hypothesis N
The title of the page is ‘Learn how you can change the world with Wonder Girls: Changing Our World’.	Confirms	The title of the book advertised is ‘Wonder Girls: Changing Our World’.	Wonder girls is a play on Wonder woman – a superhero. This

<p>Changing Our World’.</p>		<p>World’ -> relevant for H1 and H5</p>	<p>further portrays young women as having some supernatural power, which makes them responsible and suitable for ‘changing our world’.</p>
<p>Sentence one of the main text ‘Global Fund for Women believes that girls and young women are powerful change-makers who are using their creativity and determination to build the world they want to see’.</p>	<p>Confirms</p>	<p>‘...girls and young women are powerful change-makers who are using their creativity and determination to build the world they want to see’ -> relevant for H1, H3</p>	<p>The language in this sentence has business buzzwords e.g. ‘change-makers’, ‘creativity’, ‘determination’, which suggests that a charity can be run similarly to commercial enterprises. The words ‘power’, ‘empowerment’ and their synonyms are the most used words in all the text. Here again we see an image of ‘powerful change-makers’ building a new world with enough determination and creativity, which implies that this is all it takes to change the system and girls can do it themselves with the help of annual grants.</p>

Table 5. Link six in the campaign description titled ‘Paola and her 12-year-old granddaughter Alex Sangster’. It redirects to the page with questions and answers from the authors called ‘Meet the inspiring grandmother-granddaughter team behind ‘Wonder Girls: Changing Our World’.

Relevant fragment for Hypothesis N	Confirms/ Refutes	Relevant element for Hypothesis N	Explanation of the verification of Hypothesis N
<p>On the right-hand side of the page in a pink box there is a quote by the 12-year-old granddaughter co-author of the book, which reads: ‘I dream that girls will see themselves as equal to boys. Once this happens, women will see themselves as equal to men. We can’t effect [sic] change to make ourselves equal if we don’t believe that we’re equal first’.</p>	<p>Confirms</p>	<p>‘I dream that girls will see themselves as equal to boys... We can’t effect change to make ourselves equal if we don’t believe...’ -> relevant for H5</p>	<p>The content creators for the campaign decided to put this quote from the interview in a bright pink box with bold letters larger than the rest of the text on top of the page, signifying that this piece of text is important and goes in line with the campaign’s values very well. Alex implies that it is women’s job to resolve gender equality by using the phrasing ‘to make ourselves equal’ and by suggesting that the most important step towards gender equality is women’s belief.</p>
<p>The answer to the question ‘What is one piece of advice you would give to young people if they want to support girls around the world?’ from Alex is ‘My advice is to stand up and get involved...Like I said before, we’re stronger together. If we don’t help girl</p>	<p>Refutes</p>	<p>‘My advice is to stand up and get involved...Like I said before, we’re stronger together. If we don’t help girl activists, they might not accomplish what they’re trying to do’ -> relevant for H2</p>	<p>Here Alex repeats the phrase ‘stronger together’ that was seen in the 2016 annual report. Moreover, by bringing up the importance of teamwork, she takes part of the responsibility from individual girl activists’ shoulders</p>

<p>activists, they might not accomplish what they're trying to do'.</p>			<p>and puts it on everyone, promoting a sense of unity in the reader.</p>
<p>The answers to the question 'What is your dream for girls in the future?' Alex, sentence four 'Gender equality is important to me because I believe that everyone deserves the same chance at success'. Paola, sentence one 'Like Alex, I dream that girls will be free, confident, educated, equal, and financially self-sufficient'.</p>	<p>Confirms</p>	<p>'...everyone deserves the same chance at success' and 'I dream that girls will be free, confident, educated, equal, and financially self-sufficient' -> relevant for H3</p>	<p>The rhetoric in both answers is reminiscent of the American Dream, an American ethos rooted in neoliberal values of freedom and equal opportunities for success, reiterated almost literally by Alex. Paola lists qualities she would like to see in future women and most of them echo neoliberal values: freedom and financial self-sufficiency are core values of capitalist ideology.</p>
<p>Alex's answer to the question 'What impact do you hope Wonder Girls: Changing Our World will have on audiences around the world?' sentences four to seven: 'My second hope is to inspire. I hope to inspire women and girls to support the groups in the book, which is why I wrote the sections "How You Can Change Our World." And number three is to empower. To empower everyone, especially</p>	<p>Confirms</p>	<p>'I hope to inspire women and girls to support the groups in the book' -> relevant for H5 'To empower everyone, especially girls, to be activists and make positive change' -> relevant for H1 and H5</p>	<p>In the first quote Alex highlights that she would specifically like girls and women to support other female activists, showing that she expects from women to do more for others than anyone else would. The second quote promotes empowerment as one of her core values and goals, where girls 'especially' are expected to make social change.</p>

<p>girls, to be activists and make positive change’.</p>			
<p>Alex’s answer to the question ‘Lastly, what does it mean to you to be a ‘Wonder Girl’?’ sentence two and three: ‘They know that there is strength in numbers and that the group is powerful enough to make change. Wonder Girls see a problem, think about it, and then take action hand-in-hand with their sisters’.</p>	<p>Refutes H2</p>	<p>‘There is strength in numbers’ and ‘take action hand-in-hand with their sisters’ -> relevant for H2</p>	<p>‘Strength in numbers’ is a metaphor for the importance of unity and multiple supporters for the success of the cause, which refutes the hypothesis of the campaign being framed in individualistic terms. Moreover, words like ‘hand-in-hand’ and ‘sisters’ suggest a sense of family-like unity and closeness with fellow cause-supporters, refuting the hypothesis again.</p>
<p>Paola’s answer to the same question, sentence two: ‘Wonder Girls fight for peace, justice, and equality with creativity, confidence, determination, and dreams’.</p>	<p>Confirms</p>	<p>‘... fight for peace, justice, and equality with creativity, confidence, determination, and dreams’ -> relevant for H3</p>	<p>The way Paola describes girl activists here reflects neoliberal values. It states that peace, justice and equality can be achieved through confidence, determination and dreams – a potential reference to the American Dream, the idea of which is that you can succeed in anything if you put enough effort in and believe in yourself. Such rhetoric reinforces capitalist ambitions</p>

			and denies the fact that most of the time dreams are not achieved due to the system's faultiness and not lack of work.
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