

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

# **Celebrity Humanitarian Activism in Conflicts: A Critical and Descriptive Study.**

Kendra / Stoffberg / STFKEN001

A minor dissertation submitted in *partial fulfilment* of the requirements for the award of the degree of Masters of Social Science

Faculty of the Humanities  
University of Cape Town  
2012

## **COMPULSORY DECLARATION**

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## **Abstract**

The phenomenon of celebrities becoming involved in humanitarian activism is by no means new, and yet recently the amount of international attention that it attracts has increased dramatically. It appears that certain advances in media technology, coupled with shifts in international political power relations, have allowed for celebrity humanitarian activism to develop into a prominent international phenomenon. Academic studies on the topic are still relatively scarce. It is therefore the intention of this dissertation to help fill this gap by providing a descriptive analysis of the emergence and development of celebrity humanitarian activism. Using the Darfur conflict as a case study, it describes three different features of celebrity humanitarian activism, namely the history of the phenomenon, the types of activities that celebrity activists engage in and the criticisms that it has inspired. The nature of the subject matter is such that articles and interviews from 'hard' as well as 'soft' news outlets are drawn upon (in other words established, reputable news outlets, as well as gossip journalism from celebrity enthusiasts). The study is conducted within the theoretical framework of liberalism. It highlights three particular themes: the actors involved, their motivations, and the type of power that they wield. By focusing on these three issues the study draws three conclusions in relation to the growing phenomenon of celebrity humanitarian activism in the international arena. With regard to the actors involved, this study shows how the plurality of actors in international relations has grown and how international civil society has expanded as a consequence. In relation to the motivation of the actors, the study shows how celebrity humanitarian activism is indicative of an international moral consensus on humanitarian values. Finally, the study highlights how 'soft' power is becoming popular as an effective way of ensuring cooperation between international actors.

**Key Words:** Celebrity humanitarian activist, humanitarianism, humanitarian activism, media, liberalism, 'soft' power, international society, actors' motivations, Darfur

## Table of Contents

|  |          |
|--|----------|
| <b>Chapter 1. Introduction</b> .....   | <b>1</b> |
| <b>1.1 Literature review</b> .....   | <b>1</b> |
| <b>1.2 Celebrity humanitarian actors and liberal theory</b> .....  | <b>4</b> |
| 1.2.1 Core elements of liberal theory.....   | 4        |
| 1.2.2 Liberalism in relation to celebrity humanitarian activism .....  | 5        |
| 1.2.2.1 Actors.....  | 6        |
| 1.2.2.2 Actors' motivations.....   | 6        |
| 1.2.2.3 Types of power .....   | 7        |
| <b>1.3 Definitions</b> .....   | <b>7</b> |
| 1.3.1 Celebrity.....   | 7        |
| 1.3.2 Humanitarianism.....   | 7        |
| 1.3.3 Humanitarian activism .....  | 7        |
| <b>1.4 Chapter Outline</b> .....   | <b>7</b> |
| <br>   |          |
| <b>Chapter 2. History of celebrity humanitarian activism in conflicts</b>  | <b>8</b> |
| <b>2.1 Introduction</b> .....  | <b>8</b> |
| <b>2.2 The history of celebrity humanitarian activism in conflicts: ideas, motivations and organisations</b> ..... | <b>8</b> |
| 2.2.1 Introduction.....  | 8        |
| 2.2.2 Humanitarianism as an idea .....   | 8        |
| 2.2.2.1 Humanitarianism: as restraint in war .....   | 8        |
| 2.2.2.2 Humanitarianism: as common humanity .....  | 9        |
| 2.2.3 Claiming responsibility for humanitarianism: organisations and actors.....                                   | 10       |
| 2.2.3.1 International organisations.....   | 10       |
| 2.2.3.2 Governments .....  | 11       |
| 2.2.3.3 NGOs .....   | 12       |
| 2.2.3.4 Celebrities .....  | 13       |
| 2.2.4 Conclusion .....   | 14       |

|   |    |
|---|----|
| <b>2.3 Celebrity humanitarian activism in conflicts</b> ..... | 14 |
| 2.3.1 Introduction.....                                       | 14 |
| 2.3.2 Humanitarianism as an expanded idea.....                | 14 |
| 2.3.3 Humanitarian activism in conflicts: celebrities.....    | 15 |
| 2.3.3.1 Film actors .....                                     | 15 |
| 2.3.3.2 Musicians .....                                       | 16 |
| 2.3.3.3 Media .....   | 17 |
| 2.3.4 Audiences.....  | 18 |
| 2.3.4 Conclusion .....  | 19 |
| <b>2.4 Conclusion</b> .....                                   | 19 |

## **Chapter 3. Activities of celebrity humanitarian activists.....20**

|  |    |
|--|----|
| <b>3.1 Introduction</b> .....  | 20 |
| <b>3.2 Classifications of the activities of celebrity humanitarian activists</b> ..... | 20 |
| 3.2.1 Introduction.....  | 20 |
| 3.2.2 Previous classifications versus alternative classifications .....                | 20 |
| 3.2.3 Conclusion .....   | 21 |
| <b>3.3 Governments and celebrity humanitarian activists</b> .....                      | 21 |
| 3.3.1 Introduction.....  | 21 |
| 3.3.2 Political mobilisation .....   | 21 |
| 3.3.3 Political lobbying .....   | 22 |
| 3.3.4 Political criticism .....  | 24 |
| 3.3.5 Conclusion .....   | 25 |
| <b>3.4 International organisations and celebrity humanitarian activists</b> .....      | 25 |
| 3.4.1 Introduction.....  | 25 |
| 3.4.2 Incorporation of celebrities .....   | 25 |
| 3.4.3 Political opposition .....   | 26 |
| 3.4.4 Conclusion .....   | 27 |
| <b>3.5 Non-governmental organisations and celebrity humanitarian activists</b> .....   | 27 |

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| 3.5.1 Introduction.....  | 27        |
| 3.5.2 Celebrity humanitarian activists incorporated into NGOs..... | 27        |
| 3.5.3 Celebrity humanitarian activists form NGOs .....             | 29        |
| 3.5.4 Conclusion .....   | 29        |
| <b>3.6 Conclusion .....</b>  | <b>29</b> |

## **Chapter 4. Criticisms of celebrity humanitarian activists .....31**

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| <b>4.1 Introduction .....</b>                                  | <b>31</b> |
| <b>4.2 Benefits of celebrity humanitarian activism .....</b>   | <b>31</b> |
| 4.2.1 Introduction.....  | 31        |
| 4.2.2 Tools for political mobilisation.....                    | 31        |
| 4.2.3 Increase in public awareness.....                        | 32        |
| 4.2.4 Funds.....   | 34        |
| 4.2.5 Conclusion .....   | 35        |
| <b>4.3 Criticisms of celebrity humanitarian activism .....</b> | <b>36</b> |
| 4.3.1 Introduction.....  | 36        |
| 4.3.2 Loss of complexity.....                                  | 36        |
| 4.3.3 Celebrity narcissism.....                                | 37        |
| 4.3.4 Reproduction of colonial stereotypes.....                | 40        |
| 4.3.5 Conclusion .....   | 41        |
| <b>4.4 Conclusion .....</b>                                    | <b>41</b> |

## **Chapter 5. Case Study: Darfur .....43**

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| <b>5.1 Introduction .....</b>                     | <b>43</b> |
| <b>5.2 Outline of the conflict in Darfur.....</b> | <b>43</b> |
| 5.2.1 Introduction.....                           | 43        |
| 5.2.2 The conflict in Darfur .....                | 43        |
| 5.2.3 Conclusion .....                            | 45        |

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| <b>5.3 Illustrations of the classifications of celebrity humanitarian activists</b> | <b>45</b> |
| 5.3.1 Introduction.....   | 45        |
| 5.3.2 Governments and celebrity humanitarian activists .....                        | 45        |
| 5.3.2.1 Tools for political mobilisation.....                                       | 45        |
| 5.3.2.2 Political lobbying .....  | 46        |
| 5.3.2.3 Political criticism .....   | 47        |
| 5.3.2.4 Conclusion .....  | 48        |
| 5.3.3 International organisations and celebrity humanitarian activists.....         | 48        |
| 5.3.3.1 Incorporation of celebrities .....  | 48        |
| 5.3.3.2 Political opposition .....  | 49        |
| 5.3.3.3 Conclusion .....  | 49        |
| 5.3.4 Non-governmental organisations and celebrity humanitarian activists .....     | 50        |
| 5.3.4.1 Celebrity humanitarian activists incorporated in NGOs.....                  | 50        |
| 5.3.4.2 Celebrity humanitarian activists form NGOs .....                            | 50        |
| 5.3.4.3 Conclusion .....  | 51        |
| 5.3.5 Conclusion .....  | 51        |
| <b>5.4 Illustrations of the benefits of celebrity humanitarian activism</b> .....   | <b>52</b> |
| 5.4.1 Introduction.....   | 52        |
| 5.4.2 Tools for political mobilisation.....   | 52        |
| 5.4.3 Increase in public awareness.....   | 54        |
| 5.4.4 Funds.....  | 57        |
| 5.4.5 Conclusion .....  | 58        |
| <b>5.5 Illustrations of the criticisms of celebrity humanitarian activism</b> ..... | <b>58</b> |
| 5.5.1 Introduction.....   | 58        |
| 5.5.2 Loss of complexity.....   | 59        |
| 5.5.3 Celebrity narcissism.....   | 60        |
| 5.5.4 Reproduction of colonial stereotypes.....                                     | 61        |
| 5.5.5 Conclusion .....  | 62        |
| <b>5.6 Conclusion</b> .....   | <b>63</b> |

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| <b>Chapter 6. Conclusions .....</b>                                      | <b>64</b> |
| <b>6.1 Actors .....</b>  | <b>64</b> |
| 6.1.1 Celebrity humanitarian actors: autonomous actors.....              | 64        |
| 6.1.2 Celebrity humanitarian activists: international civil society..... | 65        |
| 6.1.3 Conclusion .....   | 66        |
| <b>6.2 Actors' motivations .....</b>                                     | <b>66</b> |
| 6.2.1 Motivations of celebrity humanitarian activists.....               | 66        |
| 6.2.2 Conclusion .....   | 67        |
| <b>6.3 Types of power .....</b>  | <b>68</b> |
| <b>6.4 Conclusion .....</b>  | <b>69</b> |
| <br>   |           |
| <b>References .....</b>  | <b>70</b> |

University of Cape Town



## **Chapter One**

### **Introduction**

How has celebrity humanitarian activism developed in contemporary world politics? And how is this growing phenomenon interpreted?

The involvement of celebrity figures in humanitarian activism is by no means a new phenomenon. In the contemporary era, however, this phenomenon has grown and developed to the extent that it is beginning to attract scholarly attention. Academic studies of celebrity humanitarian activism are still, however, relatively scarce. This dissertation tries to advance this scholarship: I analyse the phenomenon and the criticisms it has inspired within the framework of liberalism.

#### **1.1 Literature review**

It is difficult to put an exact date on the emergence of the phenomenon of celebrity humanitarian activism. If the definition of ‘celebrity’ is very broad, one may count such figures as Florence Nightingale and Mark Twain among the ranks of early celebrity humanitarian activists. The evolution of the ‘celebrity’ has much to do with the evolution of media technology, a declining trust in national governments and the consequential expansion of an international audience. Authors such as West (2007), Keele (2007), Catterburg and Moreno (2005), Damico, Conway and Damico (2000) and Yambura, Albarron and Goff (2000) all touch on these points but fall short of really emphasising the link between these historical developments and the emergence of celebrity humanitarian activism.

Most academics cite the 1930s as being the period during which celebrity humanitarian activism truly emerged. Leander (2008) and Koppes and Black (1990) note how political inclination in Hollywood grew in general during this period as a result of the World Wars. Early celebrities who are particularly noted to have been some of the first to become involved in the international promotion of humanitarianism are Danny Kaye and Audrey Hepburn (UNICEF, 2010). Although the UNICEF website provides a fairly detailed account of how these two became involved in humanitarian activism and what it meant for the humanitarian efforts of the organisation, very little else has been written on what this involvement signified in terms of the emergence of celebrity humanitarian activism as a

phenomenon. Accounts of later celebrity activists such as Jane Fonda (Rampell, 2005), John Lennon (Easterly, 2005) and Bob Geldof (Jackson, 2008) place greater emphasis on the significance of celebrity figures becoming involved in international politics. The weakness of these accounts, however, is that they seem to take the involvement of celebrities in humanitarian activism for granted. It is the aim of this dissertation to provide a more concise description of the emergence of the phenomenon of celebrity humanitarian activism and to highlight those historical factors which affected its emergence, including the development of the concept of humanitarianism, declining trust in government and advances in media technology.

Very few academics attempt to explain the phenomenon of celebrity humanitarian activism. The studies that have been made (most notably by Jackson (2008), Easterly (2010) and T'Hart and Tindall (2008)) all focus on the *activities* of celebrity humanitarian activists. Easterly, for example categorises these activities in terms of the amount of government opposition/support they inspire. Support/criticism is a very difficult element to measure conclusively and such a categorisation technique is therefore relatively limiting. Jackson and T'Hart and Tindall look at the type of activity engaged in. According to T'Hart and Tindall (2008: 17), celebrity humanitarian activists may be sorted into three basic classifications, according to the types of humanitarian activities in which they engage. The staging of 'symbolic dramas' is the first category, by which the authors are referring to the running of campaigns, the staging of concerts and tours of conflict areas. In a second category, T'Hart and Tindall put 'face-to-face lobbying of political and business elites', and in the final one they group those activities which involve direct action such as donating money to causes, and actually becoming involved in humanitarian projects and initiatives.

Although such categories may be useful as a reference this study recognises celebrity humanitarian activism as a political phenomenon and will therefore attempt to provide a method of categorisation which will look at the nature of the *relationships* between celebrity activists and the organisations/institutions that they deal with in these instances. Although there are a number of authors who do focus on the relationship that exists between a celebrity activist and other international actors in particular instances (for example Dieter and Kumar (2008), Alleyne (2005), Cooper (2008), Puccinini (2008) and Saunders (2007)), none of these use the nature of this relationship as a method of categorisation. It is therefore my intention to illustrate how, by categorising the activities of celebrity humanitarian activists in terms of the nature of their relationships, one is left with a much better understanding of the political implications behind celebrity humanitarian activism.

In terms of analysing the phenomenon a good portion of the literature that is available is concerned with the criticisms of celebrity humanitarian activism. In relation to its disadvantages, some of the most prominent authors are De Waal (2008), O'Neil (2006), Hammond (2010), Yrjölä (2009), James (2006) and Huliaras and Tzifakis (2010). In relation to its advantages, prominent authors are Cooper (2008), Willoughby (2008), Bergner (2010), and Harman (2007). It appears to be the trend, however, for academics to take a stand either for or against celebrity humanitarian activism. In very few cases are both sides of the argument dealt with in one paper or article. This study draws on the arguments of all of the authors mentioned above so that a description may be given of the criticisms of celebrity humanitarian activism in general, both positive and negative. All of these authors use different examples and place different amounts of emphasis on different points, but there are a number of themes that stand out in each case, and it is these that I investigate.

Because of the massive amount of international attention the Darfur conflict received, a number of significant articles have been written looking at the role played specifically by celebrity activists. The advantage of this is that the Darfur conflict provides examples of virtually all of the points that will be raised in the present study. In terms of categorisation of activities, Hunt (2006), Kron (2010) and Straziuso and Fick (2011) all look at celebrity humanitarian activists and national governments in Darfur, while Goffe (2011) and Hutson (2011) discuss celebrity activists and international organisations and non-governmental organisations in Darfur respectively. It has been mentioned that it is the tendency of academics writing about celebrity humanitarian activism to focus on one particular point or to take one particular stand on the topic. The same trend is apparent here. Avlon (2011), for example, looks solely at the good that celebrities have done in Darfur, while O'Neil (2006) looks predominantly at their negative impact. It will therefore be the objective of the final chapter of this dissertation to demonstrate not only the different types of activities that celebrity humanitarian activists may be involved in, but also that an analysis of the potential effects of celebrity involvement in bringing aid to conflict victims can illustrate both a positive and a negative side.

To summarise, gaps exist in the study of celebrity humanitarian activism in three main areas: the history of the phenomenon; the categorisation of the activities of celebrity activists; and the critical assessment of celebrity humanitarian activists. The conflict of Darfur will be used to demonstrate these points.

## **1.2 Celebrity humanitarian actors and liberal theory**

This dissertation addresses celebrity humanitarian activism within the framework of liberalism. To this end, I first identify the core elements of liberalism and secondly investigate how these elements relate to the phenomenon of celebrity humanitarian activism.

### 1.2.1 Core elements of liberal theory

There are many varieties of liberalism (for example, pluralism; neo-liberalism; liberal institutionalism) yet each of these shares certain key characteristics (Doyle, 1986: 1152).

First, liberalism, as a critique of realism, denounces the latter's assumption of the state as being the only actor in international relations. Liberals argue that there are in fact many actors of significance in the international arena (Nel, 1999: 61). With the number and magnitude of global networks on the rise during the 1960s/1970s, international theorists began to realise that they could no longer talk about international relations solely in terms of relations between nation states. Such a notion was believed by the liberals to be considerably limiting as there was now a plurality of actors all of whose influences needed to be taken into consideration (Dunne, 2001: 193).

Secondly, liberal theory emphasises co-operative behaviour. While realists argue that international actors (states) are motivated by power above all else, liberals argue that international actors are variously motivated, and are likely to stress co-operation more than competition between actors (Nel, 1999: 60). Liberals argue that international actors understand that mutual co-operation is in their best interest and that they facilitate this co-operation through, for example, international organisations (Burchill, 1996: 66). A shared understanding of acceptable behaviour thus emerges and through such structures and organisations, an international standard of moral conduct is established. Co-operation facilitates progress (Nel, 1999: 60-61).

Thirdly, liberals argue that the nature of power is "soft" as much as "hard". Hard power is wielded through threats and rewards (usually military or economic). Soft power is wielded through attraction – one's ability to achieve goals because they are made to seem appealing to others as well (Keohane and Nye, 1998: 86). One way of doing this is through systems of norms and common values – by presenting the attainment of a particular goal as normative, one has no need to use threats and rewards; others will work towards accomplishing what one wants them to because it is seen as being the 'right' or the 'best' thing to do (Keohane and Nye, 1998: 86). Liberals argue that 'soft' power, channelled

through for example international institutions, is important for helping international actors to recognise a common goal, such as peace, and to work towards it for the benefit of all.

### 1.2.2 Liberalism in relation to celebrity humanitarian activism

How does celebrity humanitarian activism relate to the core elements of liberalism? The first aspect which would be of interest to a Liberal theorist is how its emergence signifies an increase in the number of actors entering the international arena. While it would probably be naive to talk about the impact of nation states having disappeared entirely, the increasing number of non-state organisations becoming involved in international relations does imply that it may have diminished somewhat (Huntington, 1973: 224). Liberals would point out that national governments are no longer the only international actors influencing their citizens' lives (Dunne, 2001: 198). Non-governmental organisations are on the rise and are beginning to make use of celebrities in their humanitarian projects and campaigns apparently for added emphasis and impact. Even more significant is the increasing number of celebrity humanitarian activists acting on their own accord in the international arena. Liberals would see the rise of individuals in international relations as representative of a new development in the understanding of what constitutes an 'international actor'.

The growing phenomenon of celebrity humanitarian activism is also significant for the study of international civil society. International civil society can be explained as an entity which exists in both the domestic and the international spheres simultaneously (Lawson, 2003: 107). While it is separate from the formal institutions of the state and national government it has the ability to influence them by amplifying the wishes and/or grievances of the public through various non-governmental organisations and institutions (Clark, Friedman & Hochstetler, 1998: 2). The fact that a celebrity's power stems from their massive public fan-base would prompt liberals to enquire as to whether celebrity humanitarian activists are becoming new alternative channels through which the public may make their wishes and grievances known. They might also then question exactly how effective this may be in terms of, for example, international reach, impact and scope.

The amount of work that celebrity humanitarian activists do alongside national governments, international organisations and non-governmental organisations would also raise the subject of co-operative behaviour for liberal theorists. They would ask questions such as to what extent celebrity activists are co-operating with these institutions and how effective this co-operation has proven to be in terms of improvement and progress. Regarding motivation, liberals would probably examine the claim that celebrity humanitarian activists

generally make that their actions or goals are morally influenced – the claim, in other words, that they are doing what they are doing because it is the ‘right’ thing to do.

Finally, liberals would look at the use of ‘soft’ power as opposed to ‘hard’ power in the activities of celebrity humanitarian activists. Since conventional forms of ‘hard’ power (in other words those considered to be at the disposal of national governments) are technically unavailable to celebrities, liberals may want to look at whether celebrity activists might have other means of acquiring ‘hard’ power or whether they must make use of ‘soft’ power exclusively, and how effective this may be.

Certain issues thus characterise the relationship between celebrity humanitarian activism and liberalism: the type of actors in the international arena; their motivations; and the type of power which governs these actions.

#### 1.2.2.1 *Actors*

As the number of actors involved in international relations increases, international civil society expands because celebrities rely so much on grass-root support and are therefore more than usually conscious of public opinion. Celebrity humanitarian actors therefore may be viewed by liberals as new-age agents of an expanding international civil society.

#### 1.2.2.2 *Actors’ motivations*

Liberal theory argues that the motivations of international civil society and celebrity humanitarian activists show that there is a cultural and/or a moral consensus regarding the undesirability of conflict. This consensus is inspired by humanitarian principles such as:

- a) *Altruism* – Understood as acting out of genuine, unselfish concern for others.
- b) *Aid* – Understood as material efforts to help those in need.
- c) *Alleviating unnecessary suffering* – Understood generally as helping conflict victims.
- d) *Accountability* – Understood as making sure that those responsible for war crimes or who have caused unnecessary suffering are made to answer for their actions.
- e) *Peacemaking* – Understood as efforts to lower the violence and bring conflict to an end.

### 1.2.2.3 Types of power

Liberal theorists argue that different actors may use different techniques in order to achieve their goals. Liberalism de-emphasises the use of 'hard' power and instead highlights:

- a) *'Soft' power* – Understood as power wielded through attraction; the ability of one to achieve goals because those goals are made to seem attractive/desirable to others as well
- b) *Cooperation* – Understood as non-confrontational mutual efforts among two or more actors to achieve a certain goal.

## 1.3 Definitions

In this dissertation, the following terms are used as defined.

Celebrity – referring in this case specifically to those Hollywood actors and musicians whose international fame is such that they may be considered an “A-lister” or an elite celebrity.

Humanitarianism - understood as the promotion or the safeguarding of human welfare (Jacobsen, 2010: 89). It stems from the understanding that by virtue of their 'humanity' (of being human), people are entitled to a basic standard of living (Douzinas, 2007: 1).

Humanitarian Activism – referring to those efforts made from afar (for example political lobbying and mobilisation) as well as in the field (for example handing out food parcels and medication) to alleviate the suffering specifically of those whose lives have been negatively affected by conflict.

## 1.4 Chapter outline

Chapter 2 looks at the history of celebrity humanitarian activism by focusing first on the development of the concept of humanitarianism and then on who traditionally promoted/acted on/advanced humanitarianism in relation to conflicts. Chapter 3 describes the types of activities celebrity humanitarian activists engage in, while Chapter 4 describes how the phenomenon has been interpreted by looking at the various criticisms that it has inspired. Chapter 5 uses the Darfur conflict as a case study in which the points brought up in Chapters 2, 3, and 4 are illustrated. Chapter 6 discusses what may be concluded with regard to the relationship between liberalism and celebrity humanitarian activism.

## Chapter Two

### History of celebrity humanitarian activism in conflicts

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the history of celebrity humanitarian activism in relation to conflicts. The focus is first on the history of humanitarianism in conflicts, including the concept itself (the ideas or motivations behind it) and who has claimed responsibility for it (organisations, governments, *including* celebrities). The second section examines the history of celebrity humanitarian activism in conflicts. Each section has two components that are stressed: *what* humanitarianism is (as an idea/motivation/custom), and *who* traditionally promoted/acted on/advanced humanitarianism in relation to conflicts.

#### 2.2 The history of humanitarianism in conflicts: ideas, motivations and organisations

##### 2.2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this section is to outline broadly the history of humanitarianism in conflicts. The first part focuses on the development of humanitarianism as an idea. The second part looks at who has claimed responsibility for humanitarianism in conflicts.

##### 2.2.2. Humanitarianism as an idea

What ideas are contained in the historical emergence of humanitarianism in conflicts? This section looks at the concept of humanitarianism and how it emerged first with regard to restraint in war and then in terms of a shared humanity.

##### *Humanitarianism: as restraint in war*

While different sources trace the history of humanitarianism from different periods, it is clear that the concept is a relatively modern one. Neither the Athenians nor the Romans had any sense of ‘humanity’ in the same way as it is understood today – as a unifying characteristic. They distinguished between *homo humanus* being the cultivated man and *homo*



*barbarus* being the uncivilised man. The former was regulated by the *jus civile*, while the latter was regulated by the *jus gentium* (Douzinas, 2007: 1). During war however, in recognition of similar interests and common circumstances, the notion of *bellum justum* or ‘just war’ was introduced. This ensured the protection of envoys and protected prisoners of war as well as outlining acceptable (righteous intent and good reason) and unacceptable (greed or revenge) motivations for starting a war (Nussbaum, 1952: 682).

The Ancient Greeks and Romans were the first to identify a common ‘humanity’ amongst people, although for the most part they limited this recognition to those whom the state considered to be citizens. The first traces of the idea of a common humanity existing for *all* people are identified in these ancient nations’ attempts to establish a conduct of ‘just war’ in which subjects were accorded the same protection and treatment as citizens in similar situations. At this point, therefore, humanity was a term defined in a political or a legal sense, and applied specifically, rather than generally.

#### *Humanitarianism: as common humanity*

Humanitarianism has developed from a vague notion of similar interests during wartime, into a concrete concept, protected by international law, of all individuals sharing a common humanity. It has its roots in a number of different schools of thought.

The idea of a shared human ‘essence’ is found in a number of religions. In Christian theology, for example, Paul states that there is no difference between Greeks, Jews, free men or slaves and that, in fact, all men are universally equal in a spiritual sense (Douzinas, 2007: 2). Judaism emphasizes that relations between all individuals, irrespective of religion, should be based on the principle of ‘Do not do to anyone what you hate’ (Breslauer, 1993: ix). In Islam, saving lives and alleviating poverty are seen as divine acts and its followers are expected to engage in acts of charity and to show concern for all other living beings (Abuarqub and Phillips, 2009: 3).

Humanitarianism, in terms of a common humanity, also slowly began to emerge in philosophical thought. During the eighteenth century phrases such as ‘natural affection’ were used to describe the relationship between a parent and his/her child (Fiering, 1976: 198-199; 202). The idea of ‘natural compassion’ was also widely discussed thanks to Henry More’s *Enchiridion Ethicum* (Fiering, 1976: 198).

With the emergence of liberalism and utilitarianism in the eighteenth century came new theories about the concept of ‘natural rights’ that every individual is entitled to by virtue of being human and they helped expand the notion of what constitutes humanitarianism.

By the end of the following century the unifying concept of ‘man’ emerged from what Douzinas (2007: 2) refers to as a mixture of ‘classical and Christian metaphysics’. In this instance ‘man’ was understood to denote all the basic common denominators that united all living beings. With it developed the idea of human beings possessing an inherent capacity for compassion which could stretch even beyond family bounds and which could inspire individuals to engage in acts of ‘humanitarianism’, giving aid to, or protesting against the plight of complete strangers. The principle of humanitarianism required that every individual, even one’s enemy, be recognised as sharing a common basic humanity which entitled him/her to a certain standard of treatment without discrimination (Chandler, 2001: 679).

The Hague conventions (1899 and 1907) and the Geneva conventions (1864, 1906, 1929 and 1949) have been credited by legal historians as the major channels through which the concept of humanitarianism first entered into the political and legal imagination. The Hague and the Geneva conventions both produced a body of law which effectively codified the humanitarian principle of all humans deserving a certain standard of treatment, indiscriminately (Baxter, 1975: 2). Human suffering during wartime situations was the first area to be addressed in these conventions (Draper, 1979: 193). Technological advancements had dramatically increased the destructive force of weapons and demonstrations of this made international powers realise that human welfare would become increasingly endangered unless legal and political resolutions were made to curb such power (Morgenthau, 1964: 1390).

By the twentieth century humanitarianism had become such a prominent feature of modern political thought that various institutions began to feel obligated to defend it. It is this point that is discussed in the next part of this chapter: the various actors who have claimed responsibility for humanitarianism.

### 2.2.3 Claiming responsibility for humanitarianism: organisations and actors

#### *2.2.3.1 International organisations*

The post-Second World War period saw the emergence of a number of international organisations which sought to claim responsibility for the promotion and protection of humanitarianism and which incorporated humanitarian ideals in their manifestos accordingly.

The impact of the First World War was so devastating and so widely and indiscriminately felt that it prompted the international community to try and prevent further warfare by means of international organisations whose objective would be to regulate relations between states (Waltz, 1959: 1). The development of such organisations was inspired by the perception of there being a common desire to avoid mass destruction and protect human welfare (Osiander, 1998: 410).

The League of Nations consequently became the first international organisation to include social and humanitarian issues amongst its responsibilities. In its first couple of years the League engaged in humanitarian projects that dealt specifically with the devastation that had been left in the wake of the war (Crowdy, 1927: 1537).

The United Nations, which effectively replaced the League of Nations (Goodrich, 1947: 3), extended and developed this humanitarian agenda. The UN set up a number of committees, each of which identified and dealt with a specific aspect of humanitarian aid. The result was not only the creation of specialised areas of humanitarianism, but also of a deeper, more refined understanding of the concept in general (Chandler, 2001: 680).

The Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) emerged as a result of the Helsinki conference in 1975. It was used to keep channels of communication open between opposing nations during the Cold War so that human rights issues could be highlighted and dealt with as quickly as possible (Brett, 1996). The OSCE was one of the world's first human rights organisations whose primary function was to promote and protect humanitarian values.

Post-World War circumstances resulted in new emphasis being placed on the promotion and protection of humanitarianism as a means of preventing any other major outbreaks of war. Humanitarian principles were therefore incorporated into the manifestos of a number of international organisations. Such developments heralded the beginning of the formal institutionalisation of humanitarian values.

### *2.2.3.2 Governments*

The Cold War moved international thought away from traditional ideas of the sanctity of state sovereignty. It was realised that the internal problems of one state could have a ripple effect that would be felt beyond its own borders, causing a wide sphere of disruption (Weiss, 1994: 59). With 'humanitarianism' becoming a more prominent feature in socio-political thinking what started as selfish concern by neighbouring/related states for their own survival

eventually developed (or at least was *perceived* to have developed) into a mission to fulfil one's humanitarian 'duty' as part of the emerging international community.

Relations between states were becoming more numerous and complex, signifying greater interdependence than before, and as they did the term 'international community' developed. On the one hand, the term is used in reference to the existence of an international law binding national governments – for example in relation to conduct during war (Simma and Paulus, 1998: 267). On the other hand the term had come to suggest how relations between states had brought these actors into a kind of community structure with shared values and understandings (Simma and Paulus, 1998: 268-269), such as the 'responsibility to protect'.

The post-Cold War era is significant because it represented a change in the way in which state sovereignty was viewed by the international community. For the first time it became not only acceptable but expected for state governments to intervene in the internal issues of another state, in defence of humanitarianism.

#### 2.2.3.3 NGOs

The role that non-governmental organisations play in humanitarian action has grown immensely since the founding of the International Committee of the Red Cross in the nineteenth century. Since its inception, the International Committee of the Red Cross had been spearheading humanitarian projects and fighting for the official international recognition of a basic standard of welfare to which all of humanity was entitled (Spoerri, 2009). The efforts of this committee finally culminated in the Geneva conventions towards the end of the Second World War.

While significant for the breakthrough that they made for international humanitarianism, the Geneva Conventions were just the tip of the iceberg. Other non-governmental organisations besides the Red Cross began to grow in prominence, such as Amnesty International, CARE and Oxfam (Yaziji and Doh, 2009: xiii).

Donations towards humanitarian relief funds grew from \$2 billion dollars in 1990 to \$6 billion dollars in 2000 (Barnett, 2005: 723). Non-governmental organisations dedicated to providing humanitarian assistance to those in need have not only grown in number, but have also advanced in the sophistication of methods used to distribute aid. Personnel are now well-trained and often provided with equipment and relatively generous budgets which allow them to go about their tasks in the most efficient manner possible (Barnett, 2005: 723).

According to Yaziji and Doh (2009: xiii), recent post-Cold War studies have shown a 400 per cent increase in the number of NGOs participating in global politics. In particular, NGO response to the Biafran famine of 1968 is cited as being the event that really launched humanitarian NGOs onto the political radar as significant international actors. The aid relief mission to Biafra was the first large-scale humanitarian operation that had been organised exclusively by NGOs. It was to set a precedent for the nature of future humanitarian action by NGOs (Chandler, 2001: 683).

The role that non-governmental organisations have taken in promoting and protecting humanitarianism has grown immensely. From being isolated bodies pursuing their own agendas, humanitarian NGOs are now collaborating with each other and various other international actors so as to more effectively address humanitarian issues as they arise. This development signifies not only the growing emphasis that was being placed on humanitarianism, but also the growing complexity of the relationships between the various actors concerned with its promotion.

#### 2.2.3.4 *Celebrities*

As the international arena has become less state-centric, influential non-governmental individuals, such as celebrities, have come to take an interest in the promotion and protection of humanitarianism.

From as early as the 18<sup>th</sup> century there have been a number of individuals, for example Florence Nightingale and Emily Hobhouse, who have stood out on account of their dedication to humanitarian principles. Such individuals are now recognised as being early examples of celebrity humanitarianists. While both Nightingale and Hobhouse made a transition from humanitarianist to celebrity it was not until quite a few years later that the opposite began to occur – celebrities transitioning into humanitarianists.

Recognising the potential advantages of having a celebrity involved in their humanitarian aid projects (increased public awareness and subsequently better chances of attracting donations etc.), organisations now seek out famous individuals who are willing to become involved in humanitarianism activism. Initially such involvement would stretch no further than occasional attendance at charity dinners/auctions, large donations, etc. – ‘grip n’ grin celebrity stuff’, as it has been referred to (Bragman, cited in Traub, 2008: 1). In exchange, celebrities were given a new way to stay in the public eye (West, 2007: 5).

The role that celebrities play in humanitarian aid has since developed not only in terms of the extent of their involvement, but also in terms of the nature of the relationship

between celebrity and organisation as each becomes increasingly aware of the advantages of association with the other.

#### 2.2.4 Conclusion

The concept of humanitarianism has become an established feature of international relations and a powerful motivation for political conduct. This is demonstrated by the continuously increasing variety of actors who devote their energy to promoting and protecting humanitarian values.

### **2.3 Celebrity humanitarian activism in conflicts**

#### 2.3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this section is to describe the history of *celebrity* humanitarianism in conflicts.

#### 2.3.2 Humanitarianism as an expanded idea

This section looks at how the idea of humanitarianism has evolved in both outlook and implementation.

In previous eras most conflicts had been inter-state related. The post-Cold War period, however, is noted for the massive number of intra-state conflicts that erupted. As less significance was placed on state borders, the variety of conflicts increased enormously (Heyes, 2003: 178). It became not enough for humanitarian activists to spring into action *during* these conflicts in an effort to try and mitigate suffering: the pressure was now building for activists to try and *prevent* conflicts from erupting in the first place. The idea was to try to do this through the promotion of humanitarian ideals. By doing this humanitarian activists believed they could mitigate animosity between populations before it erupted into violence (Douzinas, 2007: 2).

The promotion and protection of humanitarianism was now being understood as something above and beyond the legal sphere. Humanitarianism had become the basis upon which entire civilisations were built; a *culture* of humanitarianism was emerging. Not just activities during war were expected to be humane, but economic structures, socio-political policies and even day-to-day social conduct. The expansion of the concept of

humanitarianism, in other words, is closely linked to the emergence of ‘liberal society’<sup>1</sup> (Sznajder, 1998: 118). The relations between international actors had brought them into a kind of ‘international community’ in which not only interests but also *values* were shared (Simma and Paulus, 1998: 267), in particular humanitarian values.

From its inception, humanitarianism has been the concern of governments and political actors primarily (Macrae and Leader, 2001: 290). In the second half of the twentieth century, however, humanitarianism has expanded beyond this isolated sphere to the point where it is now considered a concern for inter-governmental organisations, non-governmental organisations and even celebrities.

### 2.3.3 Humanitarian activism in conflicts: celebrities

How have celebrities begun taking responsibility for humanitarian activity? What follows is a description of the growing involvement of Hollywood film actors, musicians, media and audiences in humanitarian activism.

#### 2.3.3.1 *Film actors*

Hollywood’s interest in politics is not particularly recent. During the Second World War, for example, censorship laws gave wartime governments the power to edit images and storylines and even rewrite certain sections of dialogue if it was believed that might aid the war effort (Koppes and Black, 1990: vii-viii).

Over the years this trend has grown and it is fairly common nowadays for films to focus on conflict-ridden areas (often in Africa) and attempt to engage socially and politically with the situations that they claim to be reflecting (Leander 2008: 3).<sup>2</sup>

On a different track, Prunier (cited in Hammond, 2008) explains the emergence of celebrities humanitarian activism by highlighting the growing trend, specific to the contemporary era, of what he calls ‘the mass-consumption need for brands and labels’. Since the early 90s it has become a ‘fashion’ for celebrities to use their involvement in third world conflicts to market their own positive brand image (Drezner, 2007: 23). In order to ‘sell’ themselves to the public, celebrities use third-world crisis situations to help present their activities as noble enterprises and themselves as modern day ‘heroes’ (O’ Neil, 2006a: 5).

---

<sup>1</sup> Democracy and the free market, in particular, are understood as being key features of ‘liberal society’. Both humanitarianism and liberal society, therefore, place particular emphasis on the value of the individual (Sznajder, 1998: 118).

<sup>2</sup> Leander (2008: 3) calls these films ‘Hollywood documentaries’ and lists *The Constant Gardener*, *Black Hawk Down* and *Shooting Dogs* as examples.

Hume (cited in West, 2007: 5) explains the growing relationship between Hollywood and politicians as being a symbiotic one which satisfies the image that celebrities want to portray to the public, while at the same time giving political figures the ability to highlight their campaigns and socio-political causes. T'Hart and Tindall (2008: 7) refer to association with a celebrity as having 'attention-getting, interest-riveting and profit-generating value'. Celebrity/institutional relationships are therefore often encouraged from both sides.

Since the war years, Hollywood and politicians have begun discovering the benefits of a shared association. Due to these advantages the number of Hollywood actors who have begun to claim responsibility for humanitarian activism in conflicts is noticeably on the increase.

### 2.3.3.2 *Musicians*

In the 1960s and 70s it became relatively common for celebrity musicians to organise concerts or to take part in benefits with political or charitable agendas. Arlo Guthrie, for example, would do political benefits to raise awareness and support for Chilean freedom fighters. Singer and songwriter George Harrison, with the help of Ringo Starr, Bob Dylan and others, organised the Concert for Bangladesh in 1971 (West, 2007: 3).<sup>3</sup> The focus for these early celebrity humanitarian activists tended to be on generous donations rather than any kind of structural or policy changes. Their campaigns made few political comments and those that did always reflected and even promoted the agendas of their national government (Jackson, 2008: 10).

Today, celebrity musicians are still organising concerts and public benefits to raise funds and awareness for various humanitarian causes, but one major difference is that they are becoming much more concerned with the humanitarian nature of the political policies and socio/economics structures that affect these conflicts.

According to Easterly, Bono is probably one of the best examples of a contemporary celebrity musician/ humanitarian activist. While earlier celebrity humanitarian endeavours have tended to rely, for their success, principally on the charisma of the celebrity, Jackson (2008: 5) argues that Bono makes use of a combination of knowledge expertise, charisma and a strategy of 'non-partisanship and inclusion' in order to campaign humanitarian causes.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> The concert raised \$240 000, which was donated to the United Nations Children's Fund for Relief to Refugee Children of Bangladesh (West, 2007: 3).

<sup>4</sup> Jackson refers to this technique as the 'Bono-model' (2008:5).



This section has illustrated how musicians, in the same manner as film actors, have gradually begun to move into a more central and influential position on the international stage. Such a development seems to be motivated by the spread of humanitarianism.

### 2.3.3.3 Media

In considering how celebrities have come to claim responsibility for humanitarianism in conflict situations, it is important to look at how their ability to reach mass audiences increased dramatically with certain significant developments in media technology.

Gutenberg's invention of the printing press around 1450 generated an information revolution which allowed for groups and individuals to express ideas and opinions unrelated to the Church and its leaders who were dominant at the time (Yambura, Albarron and Goff, 2000: 218-219). There are many examples of individuals who over the years made use of the printing press and the right to freedom of expression to challenge authority figures, criticise social or political circumstances or influence public policy. Mark Twain, for example, would circulate satirical pieces targeting prominent political figures, and Harriet Beecher Stowe could distribute copies of her *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in order to protest against slavery. (Easterly, 2010; West 2007: 2).

The invention of the photograph in 1839 and the invention of the telegraph in 1844 were the next significant events in the timeline of the modernisation of the media. From them evolved the electronic media, which could essentially mimic all the sensations of real life. Furthermore they allowed for large quantities of stories and images to travel across time and space instantaneously, meaning that state borders were no longer hindering factors in the communication and spread of information. The term 'CNN effect' consequently emerged in reference to the impact of 'real time' electronic media and their ability to evoke mass public responses in relation to a particular world event/crisis (Robinson, 1999: 301).

As the pace of media coverage picked up, reporters began to pad their newspapers, magazines or web pages with stories and images taken from the fast-paced and glamorous lives of Hollywood celebrities. Such journalism is often referred to as 'soft news' and was found to sell extremely well and to a much larger public than other news (Easterly, 2010).

There have been a number of important developments in the evolution of media technology that have dramatically increased the reporting abilities, audiences and impact of the media. The influence that celebrities have over media sources has thus put them in a powerful position to communicate with mass international audiences, and this has given them

a valuable tool (should they care to use it in this fashion) to defend and promote humanitarianism on an international scale.

#### 2.3.3.4 *Audiences*

The influence of celebrities would be minimal without the existence of an audience. Why is there an audience for celebrities' humanitarian activism? One answer is that there is, in political life, a need for trustworthy figures. Governments used to hold this position but as trust in government has declined the public have begun to place their trust in celebrities. Damico, Conway and Damico (2000: 378) point out: "Not all governments deserve trust, and it is doubtful that any government deserves trust all of the time." Yet there are still expectations for governments to act in a trustworthy manner.

The rise in humanitarianism was accompanied, and actually accelerated, by a gradual decline in political trust and authority worldwide. Catterberg and Moreno (2005) point out that technological developments in travel and communication have made today's youth much more accepting of diversity and therefore substantially less tolerant of a government's attempts to frame strangers as enemies in its attempts to regain mass support for its policies.

According to Keele (2007: 241), when forming an opinion on national governments citizens are likely to use the conduct and governing performance of one state president as their basis for framing an opinion on their national government in general – virtually irrespective of time periods or changes in personnel. In the wake of certain national disasters and political scandals etc. it is therefore very difficult for a national government to regain the trust of its citizens once it has been lost.

Many academics have noted that the international decline in political trust first became apparent during the post-world war years and has been slowly increasing ever since. It seems to have been most marked in the USA from around 1960 to the 1980s (Dalton, 2004: 1). According to surveys, in the 1950s approximately two-thirds of American citizens trusted the decisions made by their government. This was not the case by the late 1960s, however (West, 2007: 5). It was during this period that the USA pulled out of Vietnam and the government was humiliated by the Watergate scandal (Rampell, 2005).

Public support of the American government did skyrocket immediately after the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks in 2001. This wave of patriotism, however, could not be sustained and public support polls slumped again as the government was criticised for the manner in which it dealt with the crisis. It became apparent that the USA was wasting the money as well as the lives of its taxpayers in the interventions in the Middle East.

A space had begun to open up in the United States for new leaders to emerge. It was this development which helped to create an ‘audience’ for celebrity humanitarian activists, a group of followers which would strengthen the influence that celebrity activists have over humanitarianism in relation to conflicts.

#### 2.3.4 Conclusion

The idea of humanitarianism has expanded in recent years, changing the whole manner with which humanitarian activism is conducted. This development has allowed for alternative actors, such as celebrities, to begin claiming responsibility for humanitarianism in conflicts. Various technological developments in media as well as a decline in public trust for their governments are two factors which have contributed to the rise of celebrity humanitarian activism.

### **2.4 Conclusion**

Humanitarianism developed from a limited term reserved for a certain category of legal citizens and used in reference to restraint during war, into a notion of all humans sharing a common ‘essence’ entitling them to a basic standard of treatment. Once humanitarianism had become a political, and in particular a legally protected value it was the responsibility of international organisations, non-governmental organisations and governments to protect humanitarian interests. Technological developments in media as well as openings created by declining trust in political leadership have allowed for a number of Hollywood celebrities to become involved in humanitarian activism. Humanitarianism is a form of ‘soft’ power in that it has developed into a common set of values which influence day-to-day living, explaining why its promotion and protection has become such a priority for such a large number of international actors.

## Chapter Three

### Activities of celebrity humanitarian activists

#### 3.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is the activities of celebrity humanitarian activists. Specifically, the *types* of activities related to celebrity activists bringing aid to conflict victims are described with emphasis on the relationships that they inspire.

#### 3.2 Classification of the activities of celebrity humanitarian activists

##### 3.2.1 Introduction

Academic discussion on the phenomenon of celebrity humanitarian activism is still in its infancy, and as a result there have not yet emerged any fixed categories into which the activities of celebrity activists are expected to be sorted – this leaves room for alternative ideas and suggestions.

##### 3.2.2 Previous classifications versus alternative classifications

As academic interest in this phenomenon has grown, various approaches to the study of celebrity humanitarian activism have emerged. This is also true of studies looking specifically at the types of activities that celebrity activists engage in.

Though useful as references, previous methods of categorisation<sup>5</sup> tend to merge and overlap in actual examples. While touring a conflict zone, for example, a celebrity may also be distributing food parcels. According to T'Hart and Tindall's categories it is unclear whether this should then be considered an example of a 'symbolic drama' or one of 'direct action'. More importantly, these categories fail to describe who or what other types of individuals and organisations may also have been involved in these activities and what the nature of their relationship is with the celebrity humanitarian activist.

As the number of actors involved in humanitarian activism increases such details become more and more important. By focusing on the nature of the relationships between celebrity humanitarian activists and other parties, one's classifications become more political (in terms of focusing on the relationships between entities) rather than merely behavioural.

---

<sup>5</sup> For more information on previous methods of categorisation refer to the literature review in Chapter 1.

They may give one a better understanding of the complexities that surround the phenomenon of celebrity humanitarian activism and the different actors who are involved. In discussing relationships rather than simply actions more may be understood about how and why celebrities have become involved in humanitarian activism. In an attempt to gain a more nuanced understanding, therefore, this chapter will discuss types of celebrity humanitarian activities by using three alternative classifications: celebrity humanitarian activists and governments; celebrity humanitarian activists and international organisations; and celebrity humanitarian activists and non-governmental organisations. In each section, a selection of the different types of relationships that may exist between these different international actors will be described and examples given.

### 3.2.3 Conclusion

In light of the limitations of previous methods of classification, this chapter suggests an alternative means for the classification of the types of activities engaged in by celebrity humanitarian activists. First, the types of actors involved other than celebrities are looked at, and then the types of relationships that exist between the two.

## **3.3 Governments and celebrity humanitarian activists**

### 3.3.1 Introduction

Diplomacy and humanitarian activities have traditionally been considered the exclusive domain of national governments and politicians (Cooper, 2007:126). This section looks at how politicians have now begun sharing the international spotlight with celebrities.

### 3.3.2 Political mobilisation

Recently politicians have discovered that association with popular celebrities often has the effect of raising their personal popularity as well as the popularity of their campaigns and projects (T'HartandTindall, 2008: 4-5). In this light, one may consider certain of the humanitarian-inspired activities that celebrity activists and politicians engage in to be acts of political mobilisation.

The growing association between governmental figures and celebrities is becoming more and more pronounced in modern times. In earlier days of celebrity involvement in politics this dual focus of the public eye may have been somewhat resented by politicians, but more recently they have begun to appreciate the advantages of a shared spotlight and have

increasingly become involved in humanitarian projects and activities which incorporate celebrities.

The amount of media attention celebrity figures are accustomed to is part of the source of their 'soft' power. Their ability to manipulate international media coverage allows them to appeal more easily to public emotions and thereby mobilise large groups of people (T'Hart and Tindell, 2008: 9). The expanding influence of the tabloids has been noted by politicians and they may attempt to combat voter mistrust by associating with popular celebrity activists in humanitarian activities. These activities attract large amounts of media coverage and put the politicians in a favourable public light (T'Hart and Tindall, 2008: 4). The modern era has consequently been noted for a previously uncharacteristic type of humanitarian activity, which deliberately stresses camaraderie between celebrity and politician. For example Bono, lead singer of U2, is frequently requested to participate in photo-ops with political leaders in relation to humanitarian projects aimed at bringing aid or relief assistance to conflict-inflicted areas (Easterly, 2010).<sup>6</sup>



**U2's Bono meets with US President Barack Obama. Original caption reads: "BFFs" (Picture source: Petersen, 2010)**

### 3.3.3 Political lobbying

---

<sup>6</sup>These leaders include US President Obama, former US president, George W. Bush, and former British prime minister, Tony Blair (Busby, 2007: 1)

In today's consumerist culture celebrities are constantly under pressure to 'market themselves'. Acts of public good have become a fashionable and popular manner with which to shape one's 'brand image' (Traub, 2008). The massive amount of media coverage that celebrities receive gives them a certain amount of 'soft' power over public emotions and opinions,<sup>7</sup> but it is still, finally, politicians and government officials who hold the institutional power.

Not being democratically elected, celebrities lack an official mandate to become involved in international humanitarian affairs – they are required to derive their legitimacy from association with legitimate political actors (Dieter and Kumar, 2008: 262). MacDonald (2004) makes the point that celebrity humanitarian activists may be able to alleviate situations that come about as a result of violent conflict, but it is politicians and national governments who can use 'hard' power if necessary to find solutions for the issues that might have caused the fighting in the first place.

For this reason, many of the activities that involve celebrity humanitarian activists and government figures take the form of political lobbying. For example, in 2000 Bono met with numerous American statesmen (including North Carolina's Senator Jesse Helms and Chair of the House Budget Committee, John Kasich) in a successful effort to sway American political opinion on issues of debt relief and increasing aid to Africa (Busby, 2007:1). Actor George Clooney is known to have attended meetings with US President Barack Obama in order to discuss the conflict in Darfur (Dieter and Kumar, 2008: 260).<sup>8</sup> On 2nd August 2004, a letter was published in the British newspaper the *Independent* which had been signed by a group of celebrities, including Bono, actor Jude Law and filmmaker Richard Curtis. It praised the British government for committing itself to increasing aid to Africa by 2013, and encouraged it to set an example for other first-world nations to follow. The authors' argument was that

---

<sup>7</sup>This is not to say that every celebrity has the same degree of success in highlighting a particular issue, or rallying support for a particular cause. According to T'Hart and Tindell (2008:12-13) a number of factors may affect the success of such endeavours. For example, they stress that the initial source of a celebrity's notoriety (whether merit-based or scandalous), as well as his/herranking on the celebrity ladder and the scope (geographical, numerical and temporal) of his/her fame, often has a significant effect in contributing to or diminishing their ability to aid the promotion of humanitarian causes. Goodman and Barnes agree, saying that in order to become known as humanitarian activists, it is not enough for celebrities to involve themselves suddenly in humanitarian aid projects; they need already to be recognised as rooted, knowledgeable and self-reflective individuals – some kind of public credibility and respect must *already* have been established (2010: 11).

<sup>8</sup>Politicians are reported as often actually being pleasantly surprised at the amount of knowledge regarding the conflict in question that celebrities possess, as demonstrated in their contributions during the political meetings and conferences that they attend (Jackson, 2008: 5). In most cases this knowledge is a result of mentorship by some or other expert in the field who has recognised the potential in a famous face for taking a legitimate lead in humanitarian activism (Cooper, 2008: 267).

even with the aid of celebrity endorsement humanitarian initiatives could not bring effective assistance to conflict victims without the backing of powerful national governments which can actually address the root causes of the conflict (MacDonald, 2004).

### 3.3.4 Political criticism

Over the years many celebrity humanitarian activists have come out and openly criticised governments for ignoring, not doing enough for, or even for worsening the already critical situation in a conflict location.

The relationship between celebrities and governments/political figures has not always been amicable. In certain examples celebrity humanitarian activists and national governments have opposed one another. During the 1960s and 1970s, for example, John Lennon's campaigning to end the war in Vietnam was viewed as an act of rebellion against the US



**John Lennon and wife Yoko Ono protest against the US war in Vietnam (Picture Source: Alfred: 2008).**

government. As a result of the 'threat to authority' that he supposedly posed, Lennon was monitored and even occasionally threatened by the FBI and immigration officers (Easterly, 2010). Actress Jane Fonda's 90-minute documentary *Fuck the Army*, also with a strong anti-Vietnam theme, was viewed in a similar light by governmental officials and banned accordingly (Rampell, 2005). Actor Sean Penn's public criticism of the policies of former US president George W. Bush and his handling of the war in Iraq was followed by an outcry and accusations of being unpatriotic and treasonous. Singers The Dixie Chicks were pulled off the air in 2003 because of similar criticisms that they made public (Yrjölä,

2009:1).

There is thus an alternative side to the activities of celebrity humanitarian activists and governments, one in which there is not necessarily a moral consensus motivating the parties, and in which co-operation is therefore not an option. In these instances of political criticism, government figures use 'hard' power to retaliate against the potential threat posed by celebrity humanitarian activists.



### 3.3.5 Conclusion

This section has looked at those activities of celebrity humanitarian activists which involve governments and political figures. Three different types of activities have been looked at: political mobilisation, political lobbying and political criticism. Each demonstrates a different relationship which exists between the celebrity and the governmental party, exposing differing motivations and forms of power used.

## **3.4 International organisations and celebrity humanitarian activists**

### 3.4.1 Introduction

International organisations have emerged as prominent actors in international political relations. A number of them have become particularly motivated by humanitarian principles and ideals. This section looks at the activities of celebrity humanitarian activists that involve international organisations. It must be noted here that the phrase ‘international organisation’ will be used to refer to permanent organisations which have an established headquarters/secretariat and which comprise state actors and/or governments.

### 3.4.2 Incorporation of celebrities

The post-Second World War era saw the emergence of numerous international organisations with humanitarian agendas. Over time these organisations began to incorporate celebrity figures in their activities in order to attract publicity (and, consequently, funding) for their causes.

International organisations are prevented from directly appealing to national populations by international conventions that govern respecting national sovereignty. These organisations have discovered, however, that the incorporation of celebrity figures into their activities is an effective and subtler way of using ‘soft’ power to access and influence public emotion and opinion (Alleyne 2005: 179). Celebrities may therefore aid international organisations in rallying mass support for humanitarian campaigns and projects. From the celebrity activist’s point of view actress Angelina Jolie argues that one is motivated to participate in an organisation’s humanitarian activities by the sense of self-satisfaction that one acquires from doing the morally correct thing. Secondly, incorporation into the humanitarian activities of an international organisation also gives a celebrity a degree of prestige, a general ‘edge’ over other celebrities that increases his/her personal market value (Willoughby, 2008).

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) was one of the first organisations to enlist the help of celebrity humanitarianists. The first celebrities to become involved with UNICEF and its projects were Danny Kaye and Audrey Hepburn, the former joining in 1954, the latter joining in the late '80s. When Danny Kaye joined in 1954, the organisation was apparently struggling to be recognised nationally. Its solution was to incorporate Kaye into its projects and make use of his ability to attract support (UNICEF, 2010).<sup>9</sup>

After Kaye, Audrey Hepburn became the famous face of UNICEF and took the role of 'involved celebrity' one step further. Hepburn also used the 'soft' power of her celebrity status for lobbying purposes, trying to raise official political support for the organisation's activities.<sup>10</sup>

The United Nations has been using Hollywood singers and actors to help spotlight the organisation for years, but recently the number of celebrity humanitarian activists involved in the UN has increased exponentially. By 2004 the list of celebrity UN Goodwill Ambassadors had risen to over 80, with an additional nine holding the title of UN Messengers of Peace<sup>11</sup>. The activities of these individuals vary and involve representing the organisation or different sections of the organisation at certain councils and meetings, or even in the conflict area. While a Goodwill Ambassador may represent one or other of the specialised agencies within the United Nations, the nine Messengers of Peace actually represent the United Nations *itself* (Alleyne, 2005: 175).

### 3.4.3 Political opposition

There have been a number of celebrities who, believing that certain international organisations are acting against humanitarian principles, have become involved in activities of political opposition. Actress Valerie Harper, for example, has been very vocal in her criticism of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank for charging third world countries 'user fees' for primary health care and education. She was reported calling the situation a 'terrible tragedy' that could not be accepted (Global Exchange, 2000). A number of celebrities have also been active in opposing the European Union's drive for reciprocity

---

<sup>9</sup> Officially, UNICEF maintains that Kaye and Hepburn were approached because they had demonstrated dedication and a commitment to the humanitarian values upheld by the organisation. The organisation does admit, however, that the celebrities' power to draw the focus of the media and the support of the masses was definitely a contributing factor (Hood, 2010: 86).

<sup>10</sup> Hepburn's efforts were officially recognised in 1992 when she received the United States' highest citizen award, the Presidential Medal for Freedom (UNICEF, 2010).

<sup>11</sup> This post was created by Secretary General Kofi Annan in 1997 (Alleyne, 2005: 175).

from third-world countries who receive aid from and have privileged access to EU markets (The Economist, 2005).

A number of the UN Goodwill Ambassadors/Messengers of Peace have used their positions within the UN to actually protest against the actions (or lack thereof) of the organisation. For example, Goodwill Ambassador Angelina Jolie has been using her status to oppose the UN's neglect of Iraqi refugees and to fight for an increase in the organisation's distribution of aid (Willoughby, 2008).

Celebrity humanitarian activists may not always agree with the actions of certain international organisations, even ones that they may be a part of. Their international popularity, projected and expanded through the media, gives celebrity activists a type of 'soft' power that international organisations may not have access to. As a result their influence in the international arena has grown to the extent that celebrity activists are now venturing to engage in activities which oppose the conduct of certain international organisations.

#### 3.4.4 Conclusion

The post-Second World War era has seen numerous international organisations spring into existence. Over the years the influence of celebrity humanitarian activists has grown to the extent that it is becoming common for these celebrities to occasionally oppose the organisations in their activities. This development indicates how the influence, the 'soft' power, of celebrity humanitarian activists has grown to the extent that they no longer have to rely on the backing of established international organisations.

### **3.5 Non-governmental organisations and celebrity humanitarian activists**

#### 3.5.1 Introduction

The end of the Cold War is significant for the number of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that emerged as international actors.

#### 3.5.2 Celebrity humanitarian activists incorporated into NGOs

The proliferation of humanitarian NGOs during the post-Cold War era gave celebrities the opportunity to expand their humanitarian agendas through these organisations.

During the Cold War the nature of the international landscape was such that it demanded organisations that were independent from national loyalties. Consequently the likes of Oxfam, Doctors Without Borders, Human Rights Watch and Adopt-a-Minefield emerged. These NGOs often use celebrities' ability to access large audiences to bring attention to and raise support for those victims of violent conflict whose governments could no longer support them and who were, therefore, in need of assistance from an alternative source. In these cases celebrities joining NGOs participated in activities orchestrated by these organisations – heading up rallies, giving speeches and interviews in which they discuss the organisation and what it does, hosting charity events, etc.



Gwyneth Paltrow (above) in the I AM AFRICAN campaign (Picture source: Mack, 2008)

In some cases, as with Don Cheadle and Bob Geldof, celebrities go on tours of conflict areas and keep detailed diaries of their travels which are then published upon their return and read by fans who are consequently educated about the relevant crisis and what efforts particular NGOs are making in order to help (Barron, 2009: 210).

One interesting, and indeed controversial, humanitarian project that a number of celebrities participated in on behalf of an NGO was the 2006 I AM AFRICAN campaign. Conceptualised by the New York-based non-profit NGO Keep a Child Alive, the idea was to try and ignite enthusiasm in the American public for what was being done in Africa to aid those whose lives had been destroyed by violence. The organisation hoped to achieve this by reminding Americans of what made them similar to people from Africa (Mack, 2008: 1-2). The use of celebrities was the key ingredient of the whole campaign. The idea was that if fans saw their idols advertising a connection to African people, they too would accept the presence of a connection and dedicate themselves, as their celebrity idols had done, to aiding Africa (Mack, 2008: 1-2).<sup>12</sup>

Not being affiliated to any state actor has meant that celebrity humanitarian activists have the power to engage in activities with much more freedom, even to be controversial if necessary. This development has represented a new phase in the activities of celebrity

<sup>12</sup>The I AM AFRICAN campaign ended up being highly controversial and most critics actually remain highly sceptical about the degree of success (if any) it had (Mack, 2008: 1-2).

humanitarian activists - one which illustrates their growing power as well as their growing presence in the international arena as international actors.

### 3.5.3 Celebrity humanitarian activists form NGOs

In recent years a stage in the evolution of the phenomenon of celebrity humanitarian activism has been reached where celebrities have actually begun to stage their own charity events and awareness-raising campaigns, independent of existing NGOs. Some have even gone so far as to form their own humanitarian non-governmental organisations.

Bob Geldof is often referred to as being something of a trail-blazer for celebrity humanitarian activists,<sup>13</sup> but Bono is also widely noted for his independent humanitarian endeavours. Since performing in Live Aid, Bono has taken an ardent personal interest in humanitarianism in Africa. The motivation to bring humanitarian aid to Africa has seen Bono touring conflict areas and lobbying everyone – from fans to political leaders and international organisations – in an effort to increase the amount of food, aid and healthcare given to conflict-stricken African countries; decrease third world debt; establish fairer trade relations, etc. He even went so far as to found his own non-governmental organisation, a US-based think tank/lobbying firm dedicated to advancing humanitarian assistance to Africa called DATA. DATA (a dual-acronym standing for both Debt, AIDS, Trade, Africa, and Democracy, Accountability, Transparency, Africa) which is a manifestation of Bono's ultimate humanitarian goal – to aid Africa (Jackson, 2008: 3-4).

### 3.5.4 Conclusion

Independent, non-governmental organisations have become increasingly prolific in the international arena, and it is not uncommon for a number of these NGOs to be run by celebrities themselves. In either case, the involvement of celebrity humanitarian activists in NGOs has empowered them to engage in a much wider variety of activities than what they might otherwise have been able to do.

## **3.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has focused on the nature of the relationship between the celebrity and the international organisation/ government/ NGO, as being indicative of the type of activity engaged in. In each case the nature of the relationship between the celebrity and the

---

<sup>13</sup> It was Geldof who was largely behind the 1985 Live Aid concert, a feat which made him the first rock star to be nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize (Jackson, 2008: 3).

government/international organisation/non-governmental organisation, and therefore the nature of the activity, is dependent on the degree of moral consensus that exists between the two parties. Different motivations bring about different relationships, which in turn affect the types of activities engaged in.

This chapter has highlighted the point that the types of activities that celebrity humanitarian activists engage in can only really be understood by looking at the nature of the relationships between these individuals and other concerned international actors. By focusing on the political aspects of these activities, one can offer a far more nuanced study of the various *types* that have presented themselves. This chapter has shown how wide the scope of activities is that celebrity humanitarian activists engage in, and how complex and multi-faceted the phenomenon has become.

## Chapter Four

### Criticisms of celebrity humanitarian activists

#### 4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to identify the pros and cons of celebrity humanitarian activism and to engage in a critical analysis of the debate.

#### 4.2 Benefits of celebrity humanitarian activism

##### 4.2.1 Introduction

The growing number of actors and singers who are involved in charity drives, political lobbying and aid relief programmes has invited much criticism, some of it positive, some negative. This section describes some of the common arguments that have been made in favour of celebrity humanitarian activism.

##### 4.2.2 Tools for political mobilisation

The 'star status' of celebrities often means that they are given special treatment and granted favours that would be denied to many others. Celebrities can therefore be particularly helpful in the promotion of humanitarian activism as they are better able to inspire political mobilisation. This section aims to describe this phenomenon and why, for three reasons, it is considered as one of the benefits of involving celebrities in humanitarian activism.

The first point is that celebrities have a far greater chance of gaining access to those who have the ability to affect change in conflict situations. Doors which remain closed for everyone else are often opened for celebrities. In 2004, for example, actress Natalie Portman was invited to address Congress on behalf of the Foundation for International Community Assistance. On the question of why she and not another, maybe more experienced, member of the foundation was chosen to speak, Portman opined that "in [the United States of America she] can get a meeting with a representative more easily than the head of a nonprofit can" (Traub, 2008: 1). This was confirmed by her colleagues, who stated that they "got the meetings because of [her]" (Traub, 2008: 1). One reason for this is that most politicians are just as star struck and in awe of celebrities as the rest of the masses; another could be that they covet the media attention that celebrities bring with them (Traub, 2008: 7). Either way, in these meetings, celebrities give voices to the victims of conflict. The international attention

that they bring with them into these meetings helps to mobilise political figures on behalf of those suffering in conflict regions.

The second way in which celebrities aid political mobilisation for humanitarian activism is by taking away some of the power that politicians have over political change and redistributing it to the public. Celebrity humanitarian activism has been described by t'Hart and Tindall (2008: 6) as an 'unorthodox but potentially effective way of breaking the hold of established elites on political agendas'. According to these two academics (2008: 12-13), depending on the initial source of their notoriety, as well as their ranking on the celebrity ladder and the scope of their fame, a celebrity may often exercise an influence that may not be available to most conventional politicians.

The third that illustrates how celebrities may be used as tools for political mobilisation concerns their ability to attract media attention. There are those who gather information about the world solely from 'soft' news outlets, and as celebrities dominate the world of 'soft' news it is understandable that politicians may want to associate with celebrities in order to increase their own media coverage (Drezner, 2007: 23-24). Therefore, even though they lack any formal or institutional power, their access to 'soft' power through the media means that celebrities often have relatively easy access to those who possess institutional or 'hard' power. This access to policy makers puts them in the position, potentially, to affect policy. Celebrities who wish to aid or assist conflict victims therefore have a much greater chance of influencing governmental policies in order to do so than a regular humanitarian would do (Puccinini, 2008: 14).

The influence that celebrity activists have over the public as well as over policy makers gives them the power to open doors which would generally remain closed for anyone else. The advantage of this is that celebrity humanitarian activists stand a better chance of effecting political mobilisation. They can therefore give conflict victims a voice in international civil society.

#### 4.2.3 Increase in public awareness

For years most international diplomatic relations have been conducted out of the public eye. The involvement of celebrities in international aid activism and international humanitarian assistance, however, has done a lot to change this trend, bringing humanitarian activism to the attention of international civil society.

The first way in which a celebrity increases public awareness of humanitarian activism is by helping to define the issue in a much more user-friendly manner. Borrowing



techniques from consumerists, celebrity activists make use of colloquial language and easy-to-remember slogans, making humanitarian activism a lot more accessible to the public than it once was (Cooper, 2007: 125). In an interview conducted in February 2001, Clooney admitted to using catchy slogans to define an issue, stating: “The trick is to be really concise – it’s a one-liner on a poster, right? You have to make it clear. ‘You can stop a war before it starts,’ [or] ‘If you had a chance to prevent the next Darfur, what would you do?’” (Avlon, 2011: 3). Celebrity musicians may also use catchy song lyrics to define an issue so that it is easier for public consumption. Kanye West’s remix of his song ‘Diamonds are Forever’ is a popular example of pop music being used to educate audiences on the conflict in Sierra Leone. The first verse starts: ‘Good morning, this ain’t Vietnam still/ People lose hands, legs, arms for real/ Little was known of Sierra Leone /And how it connect to the diamonds we own’ (West, 2005). The song then goes on to describe how Sierra Leone blood diamonds are connected to the drug trade. Although the story in the song lacks details of the situation, the message that blood diamonds and the Sierra Leone conflict are linked and that this is ‘bad’ comes across clearly.

The second way in which celebrities help to increase public awareness is by promoting issues in such a way that they catch the public interest. Audiences follow celebrities because they have entertainment value and add a degree of glamour and even spectacle to virtually any activity they may wish to engage in (Cooper, 2007: 125). This means that should a celebrity choose to help aid conflict victims, the average fan, while meaning only to follow the movements of their favourite star, may end up learning about the situation in the Sudan or the plight of children affected by conflict, and may choose to add their support to the cause as a consequence (Drezner, 2007, 24). In the words of actor George Clooney when he was named UN Messenger of Peace: ‘I think what they’re looking to gain from [awarding me] is cameras following me to places that they’re trying to get attention to and that’s fine. That’s a good use of celebrity if you ask me’ (Willoughby, 2008).

Celebrity involvement seems to encourage politicians at least to give causes a bit more priority. As has been discussed, celebrities are highly talented at increasing public awareness, and when dealing with politicians this becomes a serious advantage (Drezner, 2007: 23). Celebrities may use their ability to attract the spotlight in order to highlight the efforts or lack of effort that politicians make to aid conflict victims (Cooper, 2008: 269). By keeping them in the public eye, celebrities are helping to hold politicians accountable for the promises that they make, especially with regard to aid and relief programmes. For example, Bono is reported as having reprimanded attending nations for using ‘labyrinthine

language' (Cooper, 2008: 270) which furnished the G8 with escape clauses in the event that goals are not reached and promises are not kept (Cooper, 2008: 270).<sup>14</sup> According to Clooney, politicians are much more likely to honour their commitments if they find that they are being closely watched by the public – and celebrities have the ability to make sure that this happens (UN News Centre, 2006). Western diplomatic countries are generally particularly sensitive to public opinion, and positive publicity is therefore a valuable commodity. As Traub (2008: 6) says in his article, no politician really wants to be seen on the wrong side of a popular figure such as Bono.

When celebrities involve themselves in humanitarian causes, cameras inevitably follow them and their actions are watched by large international audiences. The involvement of celebrities in humanitarian activism, therefore, may benefit a conflict by helping to raise public awareness and understanding, and consequently support and assistance.

#### 4.2.4 Funds

Celebrities are very effective when it comes to raising funds for humanitarian aid projects and organisations.

As *The Worldwide Fundraiser's Handbook* explains (Norton, 1996: 9), "People prefer to give to organisations and causes that they have heard of." Celebrities have proven to be an effective way of making sure that certain causes and organisations *are* heard of. Over the years the manner in which celebrities have helped raise funds has begun to change. Traub (2008: 1) refers to previous efforts by celebrities to raise money for various charities as 'grip 'n' grin celebrity stuff', supposedly because they required very little effort on the part of the celebrity. As an example he highlights the charity dinners which would often be attended by celebrities, particularly in the 1930s. Such events would raise a substantial amount. In 1992 alone, it is estimated that these charity dinners raised approximately \$162 million for various charities and humanitarian organisations (Feinberg, 1991). Very little is required of celebrities in these instances, except one night's attendance at a function.

Paul McCartney, who became very involved in the Adopt-A-Minefield organisation, was not expected to do anything more than attend Adopt-a-Minefield dinners and charity benefits in order to attract donations. The organisation's association with Paul McCartney was enough to help it advertise itself and its agenda to the public and consequently raise a substantial amount of funds (Lange, 2002). Now, however, as public acts of philanthropy

---

<sup>14</sup>Bono's efforts are credited with contributing to the G8's resolution, at the 2005 Gleneagles summit, to double the amount of aid given to third world countries in need (Drezner, 2007: 25).

have become almost standard requirements in a Hollywood star's career, more is being expected from these individuals than attendance at charity dinners.

Celebrities now organise benefit concerts such as Concert for Bangladesh and BandAid, the proceeds of which also went towards aiding the victims of various conflicts (De Waal, 2008: 54).<sup>15</sup> They also approach political leaders in an effort to persuade them to increase the amount of humanitarian aid given to victims of violent conflict. For example, one may look at George Clooney's plea to the UN Security Council to increase the amount of aid given to those suffering in Darfur (James, 2006) or Angelina Jolie's campaign to give more aid to Iraqi refugees (Willoughby, 2008).

As Scarlett Johansson proved when, in aid of the charity organisation Harvest, she sold a tissue she had sneezed into for \$5 300, celebrities literally can sell almost anything (BBC News, 2008). The bottom line is that 'celebrity sells' (t'Hart and Tindall, 2008: 4). This includes the ability to 'sell' causes. Celebrities have become very similar to brand labels which, if attached to a cause or a humanitarian organisation, have the ability to increase its value and importance in the minds of the public. Although celebrity involvement may not be enough to convince someone to donate to a cause if they had no prior plans to do such a thing, in those cases where someone is inclined to make a donation anyway, the cause with the celebrity face on it is more likely to stand out (Petersen, 2010).

For years, the ability that celebrities have to attract funds has been used to help raise money in aid of humanitarian causes. What has begun to change is their degree of involvement. In each case, however, it is the celebrity rather than the action that attracts funds. In other words, it is doubtful whether another individual, without the advantage of a celebrity status, would have the ability to raise funds to aid a cause as quickly or effectively.

#### 4.2.5 Conclusion

The influence of celebrity status has open doors for activists not only into political gatherings, but also into the public conscience. Celebrities have the ability to inspire humanitarianism in others. This ability to attract interest in humanitarianism is appreciated by many humanitarian organisations and is being used to help aid reach conflict victims.

---

<sup>15</sup> Allegations have been made that only 5% of the \$100m raised by BandAid actually reached those suffering in Ethiopia. Although celebrity musician and principle instigator of Live Aid, Bob Geldof, denied these claims, they highlight the important point that although celebrities may raise an enormous amount of money in the name of humanitarian causes, in some instances it is only a percentage that reaches the conflict victims (Jones and Robinson, 2010).

### 4.3 Criticisms of celebrity humanitarian activism

#### 4.3.1 Introduction

While the first section of this chapter looked at what has been said in praise of celebrity humanitarian activism, outlining the advantages of involving celebrities in aid work, this section looks at what has been said *against* celebrity involvement in humanitarian activism.

#### 4.3.2 Loss of complexity

One of the most frequently noted disadvantages of celebrity activism is that due to amateurism there is a tendency for celebrity activists to over-simplify conflict situations as stock-standard stories of good versus evil (O'Neil, 2006).

Hammond (2008) states that 'if the proverbially first casualty of war is truth, then the first casualty of activism is complexity'. Many critics seem to think that this is particularly the case when it comes to celebrity humanitarian activists because despite having no real institutional power they are treated as though they do (t'Hart and Tindall, 2008: 7). In certain cases celebrities may acquire expertise from an expert in the field (for example Bono's relationship with Jeffery Sachs of Columbia University) and shape their campaigns, lobbying efforts and humanitarian projects accordingly (Dieter and Kumar, 2008: 261). For the most part, however, celebrities who get involved with humanitarian aid projects have very little idea about the history of the conflict or the complex interests of the conflict victims whom they are trying to help. These are referred to by t'Hart and Tindall (2008: 10) as 'jumping on the bandwagon' celebrities, who use giving aid to conflict victims solely as a means of gaining fame and increasing popularity. Amongst professionals, the abilities of most celebrity activists are therefore considered questionable and as a result, their efforts to engage in humanitarian activism are often not taken very seriously. For example, when Angelina Jolie became a Goodwill Ambassador for the United Nations, staff members were apparently taking bets as to how much luggage she would bring and whether or not she would wear high heels to the refugee camps etc. (Vallely, 2009).

The authority which celebrities possess, in Andersson's opinion (2007: 24), tends to come from their possession of charisma more than from any concrete examples of their leadership potential or organisation skills. What gives celebrity humanitarian activists their power is a mass of adoring fans rather than a mass of discriminating voters. They therefore use tactics designed specifically to gain the support of other amateurs. For the sake of their fans (who may be assumed to have little or no interest in or prior knowledge of the conflict in

question and are only showing an interest now because of the involvement of their favourite celebrity), celebrities often ‘dumb down’ the conflict situation. They tend to brush over complicated historical details, disregard the individual plights of those involved and dispense with jargon that might cause confusion. Critics argue that by simplifying the conflict and ignoring the nuances of the situation, celebrities hinder rather than help aid initiatives because the true underlying causes of the conflict are often then ignored (Hammond, 2008).

The second point that critics often make is how in an effort to simplify a cause celebrities borrow tactics from consumerists. They break the story of the conflict down into more manageable slogans and key words such as ‘save Darfur’ and ‘genocide’ (Hammond, 2008). Traub (2008) calls these ‘rallying cries’, whose purpose is to excite rather than to actually educate. The result is that the real hopes, aspirations, grievances and interests of those concerned are lost in this representation of the conflict as a ‘kind of Grimm brothers fairytale featuring goodies and baddies’ (O’ Neil, 2006).

The third criticism is that celebrities’ tendency to ignore the complexities of the conflict means that they tend to ignore the complexities of the solution as well. The trouble with seeing a conflict situation in black and white, according to Flemming (2010), is that the solution then appears in black and white as well, which is seldom the answer.

Since celebrities do not always have a firm grasp on the nuances of the conflict they are dealing with, nor of the techniques of conflict mitigation in general, the power that they have to affect public opinion and policy may therefore, at times, be more of a liability. Celebrity involvement therefore may hinder efforts to assist conflict victims rather than aid them.

#### 4.3.3 Celebrity narcissism

There are many celebrities who involve themselves in humanitarian activism not so much because concern for the conflict victims motivates them, but because it is a good tactic to increase one’s popularity and ‘brand image’. The result is that in some cases the focus shifts from aiding the conflict victims to following the movements of the celebrity.



Leonardo DiCaprio in the foreground, surrounded by refugee children in Darfur (Picture source: Save Darfur, 2008)



Matt Damon (main focus of the picture) plays with Darfur orphans. (Picture source: Save Darfur, 2008)

The use of celebrities to promote humanitarian aid projects has become so popular in recent years that many organisations actually have their own celebrity ‘handlers’ (Harman, 2004), who scout out and recruit celebrities who would make appropriate advertisers for the organisation and its agenda (James, 2006). While in some cases it may be genuine anxiety for



Scarlett Johansson plays with school children in India. (Picture source: Kramer, 2011)

the plight of the conflict victims that draws celebrities to humanitarian activism, for some it is the lure of the opportunity to ‘play the hero’, of being *seen* to be caring about conflict victims (De Waal, 2008: 45). Sophia Loren arriving at a UN meeting in a brown Rolls-Royce which reportedly matched her brown fur coat would appear to be one such example where a celebrity is more concerned about being *seen* to be involved in humanitarian activism rather than actually being involved (Vallely, 2009). Presumably, because they have become so used to playing the hero in films, celebrities may use humanitarian activism as an opportunity to portray themselves as ‘heroes’ in real life. The result is that their acts of humanitarianism become epic sagas in which they feature as the principle protagonist whereas

the conflict victims get reduced to nothing more than a theatrical backdrop for the celebrities’ journey of ‘moral self-discovery’ (Hammond, 2010).

Since it is the 'image' here which is important, it is common for celebrities to go on what Goodman and Barnes (2010: 8) have referred to as a 'poverty/crisis 'tour''. This is usually a well-organised expedition into the conflict area for the celebrity as well as an expansive group of media personnel. Much as they do on set, the celebrity is required to take part in a 'performance' of sorts in front of the cameras – handing out food parcels, playing with under-privileged children, helping locals to carry water buckets to their huts etc. The more attention that surrounds the tour the better. Scarlett Johansson, for example, created a huge stir when she decided to go on an Oxfam tour of India and Sri Lanka rather than go to the Academy Awards. The amount of press Johansson received on this tour actually forced her party to change hotels after their first night in India (Garratt, 2008).

In some cases celebrities will keep a diary of their experiences on these 'tours' which is published upon their return. Once again though, it is the celebrity and not the conflict victims that feature as the main subject of these works (Goodman and Barnes, 2010: 8-9). Very often captions to the photos of celebrities with conflict victims give only the name of the celebrity and not of the people whom they are with. For example, in Bob Geldof's 'Africa diary' the individuals in the photographs are given labels such as 'happy drug dealer', 'rubbish girl', 'Nuer woman', or even just 'Kinshasa, Congo' (Yrjola, 2009: 14). Each African pictured in the book has effectively been stripped of an actual personal identity and reduced to their functional value in relation to the celebrity – what 'rubbish girl' meant to the celebrity, what it was that the celebrity did for her etc. Bono even goes so far as to dedicate his book to 'to the little boy on page 17 ... who changed my life. I can't remember his name' (Bono, 2006, cited in Yrjola, 2009: 13). Such a practice of essentially de-humanising conflict victims and reducing them to 'props' in a story about a Hollywood hero is fairly common in instances of celebrity humanitarian activism. In portraying the conflict victims as two-dimensional, their issues are portrayed as two-dimensional as well, which greatly reduces the effect of the assistance given.

In certain cases celebrity humanitarian activism may be motivated not so much by a moral consensus on humanitarian issues, but rather by an opportunity to play the 'hero'. In these instances, the involvement of a celebrity in humanitarian activism becomes more about attracting media attention than about bringing assistance. By positioning conflict victims as props in their own heroic dramas, celebrities cut these people off from receiving proper concern and attention and, therefore, from receiving effective humanitarian assistance.



#### 4.3.4 Reproduction of colonial stereotypes

The criticism has been made that celebrity involvement in humanitarian activism has the effect of reproducing discriminatory colonial stereotypes. By ‘colonial stereotype’ what is meant is that images are portrayed that present conflict victims as being childlike in their helplessness and in need of help or guidance from an outside (Western) power.



**Ben Affleck arrives in the Congo with Republican Cindy McCain. Arms folded, assessing the situation, Affleck adopts a typical hero stance while the refugees appear to be standing back submitting to his presence. (Picture source: Blackburn, 2011)**

internationally famous celebrities are Westerners (Andersson, 2007: 58). This picture of a helpless third world needing aid from a powerful Western figure is a depiction of the type of hegemonic relationship typical of colonialism (Yrjola, 2009: 10). Yrjola (2009: 10) refers to this as ‘subjugation through objectification’ and blames these images for projecting colonial-type messages of the third world being in need of western leadership.

As an example, one may look at the types of photos that were published after each of Ben Affleck’s ‘tours’ to the refugee camps in the Congo. In each picture it is Affleck who appears in the centre foreground. The victims of the conflict, supposedly the focus of the tour, appear much smaller (if they appear in the picture at all), in the background, and often slightly out of focus.



The claim that celebrity involvement in humanitarian activism helps reproduce colonial stereotypes is linked to celebrity narcissism. In those instances where celebrities are motivated not so much by humanitarianism but by the opportunity to ‘play the hero’, the result is an image which portrays the celebrity as ‘saving’ the otherwise helpless victims of third-world conflict. What aggravates this in particular is the fact that the majority of



**Affleck in the Congo. Conflict victims appear much smaller and in the background, making Affleck appear dominant. (Picture source: Chi, 2009)**



How such situations are shaped in the public eye affects both the way that the conflict is understood and the way in which it is dealt with (Leander, 2008: 3). If Hollywood celebrities continue to construct such images, the understanding will be that the third world is incapable of helping itself and that it is only through the patronisation of Western aid that it can be saved. Celebrities therefore run the risk of actually doing more harm than good by portraying

**Affleck is shown explaining something to a conflict victim while the man listens quietly. (Picture source: Lerner, 2010)**

Western guidance as the principal means by which peace may be achieved in these countries (Dieter and Kumar, 2008: 261).

#### 4.3.5 Conclusion

While there are exceptions to each case, if celebrity activists are motivated more by what humanitarian activism can do for them and less by humanitarianism itself the results may be dire. Celebrity activists are in danger of drawing focus away from conflict victims, distorting the circumstances of the conflict and therefore what is done about the conflict, often resulting in more harm than good.

### **4.4 Conclusion**

When motivated by the principles of humanitarianism the power that celebrity activists wield over not only the public but political figures as well may benefit humanitarian efforts. Because of their star status, celebrities can often make a greater impact than a regular activist. Celebrities have the ability, therefore, to make it a lot easier for effective support and assistance to reach conflict victims more quickly, and therefore to benefit humanitarian activism.

In some circumstances, however, the power that a celebrity has over public opinion may jeopardise humanitarian activism if the motivations of the celebrity are not based on aiding conflict victims. In such cases celebrities have been criticised for hampering the quality and type of aid, the speed at which it is received, and even who gets it.

The purpose of this chapter was not to promote one view over the other but simply to describe what the criticisms of celebrity humanitarian activism are and to try and understand where they stem from. As the presence and power of celebrities in the international arena grows, especially in the field of humanitarian activism, it has become increasingly important to look at and identify these potential advantages and disadvantages so that improvements can be made where necessary and benefits multiplied.

University of Cape Town

## **Chapter Five**

### **Case Study: Darfur**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

It is the aim of this chapter to use the example of the Darfur conflict to illustrate the points which have been made above regarding liberalism, the classification of activities and arguments for and against celebrity humanitarian activism.

#### **5.2 Outline of the conflict in Darfur**

##### 5.2.1 Introduction

The Darfur conflict has frequently been presented as a fight between the ‘Arab’ and the ‘African’ populations of the state (De Waal, 2004: 721). The general consensus amongst academics, however, is that this is a very narrow explanation of the conflict. The aim of this section is therefore to try and provide a more detailed description of the history of the Darfur conflict and how it came to international attention.

##### 5.2.2 The conflict in Darfur

The crisis in the Southern region of Sudan, Darfur, has claimed the lives of over 70 000 civilians and uprooted many more (Straus, 2005: 124). In fact, the conflict rose to such immense levels that in 2004 it was officially labelled as ‘genocide’ by former US Secretary of State Colin Powell (De Waal, 2008: 31). This declaration, however, implies that the situation is nothing more complex than an ethnic cleansing movement by the ‘Arabs’ against the ‘African’ population of Darfur (Yrjölä, 2009: 2). There are, however, anywhere between 40 and 90 ethnic groups in the Darfur. Some of these groups are of ‘Arab’ descent, whose ancestors are said to have arrived in the area around the fourteenth century as nomadic cattle/camel herders. Other ‘African’ groups have been settled in the region for much longer as subsistence farmers. Despite these different origins, there has been so much subsequent intermarriage that according to the New Internationalist (2007), “For much of its history division between ‘Arab’ and ‘African’ has been blurred at best,” to the extent that “all may claim mixed ancestry”. Therefore, in contradiction to what has been said about the Darfur conflict emanating from ancient Arab/African ethnic tensions the two actually lived together in comparative peace for many years before the fighting broke out. The ‘root cause’ of the

Darfur crisis is therefore unlikely to be ‘natural animosity’ or ‘irreconcilable differences’ between ‘Arab’ and ‘Africa’ ethnic groups, and other explanations must be sought.

Pre-colonial Darfur existed as an independent sultanate until the nineteenth century (Miller, 2007: 114). Two ancient trade routes passed through the sultanate, one into Egypt and the other into Libya. It was also in the path of Muslims making a pilgrimage towards Mecca from the east. For these reasons Darfur was considered a ‘sensitive border region’ by Khartoum and Cairo (Brewer, 1982: 206). In subsequent years, therefore, Darfur was used as a political tool by the various powers that annexed it (including Egyptian, British and Sudanese); useful more as a pawn in certain power games than anything else (New Internationalist, 2007).

In 1956, when Sudan was officially given its independence by the British, it was expected that Darfur would finally be able to cast off its sideline-status and be incorporated as an important and active part of the newly formed Sudanese state (New Internationalist, 2007). This was not the case, however. Successive governments made attempts at building up local services in the region but funds were not forthcoming from the capital (De Waal, 2004: 719). Dissatisfaction at government ineptitude in the south sparked tensions which erupted into what is referred to as the first Sudanese Civil War, which lasted from 1955-1972 (Ali, Elbadawi and El-Batahani, 2005: 3). The violence was brutal on both sides and many civilians were killed, until in 1972 it was agreed that Darfur be granted greater administrative autonomy to manage its own affairs (Murphey, 2008: 233).

Conditions failed to improve, however, and by 1980 the region of Darfur was bankrupt (De Waal, 2004: 719). Despite previous expectations, Darfur continued to be treated as a tool for gaining strategic and/or political advantage. In the 1970s and 80s Colonel Qadafhi used the region as a military base for his Islamist wars in Chad. Unchecked, Darfur was flooded not only with weaponry but also with promoters of Arab supremacism, which may have laid the foundations of the ‘genocide’ (New Internationalist, 2007). Numerous conflicts broke out during this period. The situation deteriorated further during the 1980s in the wake of drought and famine. When little was done by their government, the people of Darfur armed themselves and more fighting broke out over scarce resources (De Waal, 2004: 719). Having been abandoned by their national government, rebel groups from the south turned against it, resulting in the Second Sudanese War of 1983 (Murphey, 2008: 233).

According to De Waal (2008: 30), Darfur’s desperate situation only really began to draw international attention in 2003, when the rebel group the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA), joined eventually by the Justice and Equality Movement, launched attacks on government

garrisons in central Darfur. In response, the government is believed to have sent the Janjaweed militia to target the rebels' civilian support base.<sup>16</sup> The touches of Arab culture in the Janjaweed (for example the name – an Arabic word loosely meaning a man with a gun on a horse) helped to strengthen the notion of an Arab versus African fight (Read, 2006). The atrocities committed by the Janjaweed were numerous and included violent attacks, murder, rape, burning, looting and poisoning water sources (De Waal, 2008: 30). It was at this point, when vicious and wide-scale attacks on civilians commenced, that international actors finally highlighted the Darfur conflict as a major international concern.

### 5.2.3 Conclusion

The conflict in Darfur has often been presented as a fight between 'Arabs' and 'Africans', but by looking deeper into the history of the conflict and the region it becomes apparent that this is not the case. As has been illustrated, by referring to the conflict simply as 'genocide' one is giving a narrow explanation which excludes the numerous contributing factors outlined above.

## **5.3 Illustration of the classifications of celebrity humanitarian activities**

### 5.3.1 Introduction

This section considers how one may classify the types of activities of celebrity humanitarian activists in Darfur. It uses the suggestion in Chapter Three of focusing on the nature of the relationships between celebrity humanitarian activists and governments, international organisations and non-governmental organisations.

### 5.3.2 Governments and celebrity humanitarian activists in Darfur

This section looks at those humanitarian initiatives in Darfur which have involved celebrity humanitarian activists as well as governments.

#### *5.3.2.1 Tools for political mobilisation*

Politicians have begun using association with popular celebrities in order to engage in political mobilisation. They have begun to recognise the ability that celebrities have to sway popular opinions and preferences. This ability is a form of 'soft power', and it has enabled

---

<sup>16</sup> The Sudanese government has denied such allegations (Read, 2006).

celebrities to work with governments and governmental figures in an effort to relieve the suffering in conflict-stricken Darfur.

With regard to the Darfur crisis, actor George Clooney has undoubtedly been one of the most involved celebrity humanitarian activists. His status as an 'elite' celebrity has given his humanitarian projects a lot of positive media attention and as a result he has attracted the subsequent support of numerous government figures wanting to become associated with him. For example, in 2006 Senator Barack Obama supported Clooney in a rally against genocide in Darfur (Hunt, 2006). Later that year in an interview with 'Good Morning America Weekend' Clooney stated that in his opinion Obama would make a very good president. Then in his interview with PBS he went even further to state that Obama was the 'best candidate [he had] ever seen' (O'Keefe, 2006). Subsequently Obama and Clooney's shared interest in Darfur has led to the formation of a relationship which, since Obama's election as president, has involved numerous meetings and lunches (in which the plight of the region is discussed), and of course photographs together (Straziuso and Fick, 2011).

When celebrities and politicians meet on behalf of a conflict such as Darfur, there is the potential for all parties involved to reap numerous benefits. The 'soft' power of a celebrity activist is such that through association with one, a politician may gain greater public support. In exchange a celebrity activist gains all the benefits of close association with an individual in possession of official institutional power. Motivated by these advantages, politician and celebrity thus often unite to encourage international political mobilisation in aid of conflict victims such as the Darfuri.

### *5.3.2.2 Political lobbying*

Celebrity humanitarian activists only have a certain degree of influence over political proceedings. At the end of the day they rely on the backing of governments and politicians for policy change and increases in international aid to conflict regions. This section looks at how, in the event that political figures are reluctant to become involved in celebrity humanitarian activism, celebrity activists have engaged in activities of political lobbying in order to aid the conflict victims of Darfur.

In the words of George Clooney, "[Celebrities] can't make policy, but [they] can 'encourage' politicians more than ever before." There are numerous ways in which celebrities have gone about 'encouraging' politicians to assist the people of Darfur. Angelina Jolie placed a full-page advertisement in the American newspaper *USA Today* in April 2006 encouraging the US to give more money to Darfur peacekeepers. It was her hope that this

public statement would pressure Congress into action (La Bella, 2009: 54-55). From 2003 she has also met with various congressmen on over twenty occasions in order to discuss humanitarian agendas in Darfur (Look to the stars, 2011). In an interview with *Forbes* magazine Jolie commented on her resorting to political lobbying by saying that “as much as [she] would love to never visit Washington, that’s the way to move the ball” (La Bella, 2009: 59).

Celebrities rely on their power to attract media attention to highlight the grievances of the Darfuri and consequently to lobby governments to provide aid. George Clooney, for example, has admitted that his agenda in visiting the conflict-stricken region of Darfur is to bring the paparazzi to these victims so that their plight may be brought to the attention of the international community (Avlon, 2011).

The emphasis that celebrity humanitarian activists have placed on political lobbying illustrates that ‘soft’ power is not always enough to inspire action. Because they lack formal authority, to bring on policy change celebrity activists need national governments. It is to this end, to gain the support of politicians, that celebrities have found creative ways to use the power and influence that they do have to engage in activities of political lobbying in aid of Darfur.

### 5.3.2.3 *Political criticism*

In order to effectively bring about change in situations such as Darfur celebrities need the cooperation of authority figures such as governments and politicians. This section looks at those instances, in the case of the conflict in Darfur, when celebrities have resorted to political criticism in order to pressurize political figures into cooperation with humanitarian endeavours.

Celebrity humanitarian activists have not always been happy with the action (or lack of) taken by national governments in the case of the Darfur conflict, and when this is the case they have, on occasion, resorted to political criticism. In some cases protests against the failure of national governments to take action in Darfur have taken the form of rallies. On 1st May 2006, approximately 75 000 demonstrators gathered in Washington to hear George Clooney criticizing the US government for not doing more to stop genocide from taking place in Darfur (Gorman News Agency, 2006). Slogans such as ‘Not on Our Watch’ and ‘Never Again’ were reported to be visible on placards as Clooney urged the crowds not to let up, to keep protesting until such a time as national governments chose to take action (Hunt, 2006).

Mia Farrow's hunger strike was also a form of protest, criticizing the Sudanese government for expelling aid agencies from the region. Her fast was eventually taken over by Sir Richard Branson, and thousands are reported to have followed their lead and fasted in order to express their outrage at (according to a statement issued) "a world that has allowed the suffering of millions of innocent people" (Admin, 2009).

In the case of the conflict in Darfur, celebrity-led protests helped to keep the plight of the conflict victims in the international limelight. While the previous examples have shown a more amicable relationship between celebrity and government, it should be noted that this is not always the case. As has been illustrated above, in an effort to pressure political figures into supporting a cause, celebrities are not averse to using the influence that they have to encourage mass criticism of governments and their actions or lack thereof.

#### *5.3.2.4 Conclusion*

In a world where international civil society is growing and non-governmental actors are slowly becoming more and more dominant, it is interesting to see that in the example of the Darfur crisis a lot of emphasis was still placed on the involvement of political figures.

#### 5.3.3 International organisations and celebrity humanitarian activists

International organisations play a prominent role in the conduct of international relations. As a result, celebrity humanitarian activists have found engagement with these organisations (whether it be to work with them or against them) necessary in their humanitarian missions. This section looks at how, in the case of Darfur, celebrities were involved in certain types of activities with international organisations.

##### *5.3.3.1 Incorporation of celebrities*

Due to the power that a celebrity figure has over mass public opinion, numerous international organisations are recognising the benefits of incorporating celebrity figures into their projects, campaigns and even into their staff. In the case of Darfur the United Nations approached actress Mia Farrow and requested that she use her influence as a famous celebrity in order to put pressure on rebel leaders in Darfur to come to the negotiation table (Sheridan, 2009). In September 2006 Clooney was asked to address the UN Security Council on the



urgency of the situation in Darfur and the necessity of taking immediate action (Global Solutions, 2006).<sup>17</sup>

Having the backing of an international organisation such as the United Nations increases a celebrity's influence because it means that they may address policy makers from a professional rather than merely an enthusiast level. In the case of Darfur, incorporation of celebrities into international organisations has ensured that their voices, and therefore the voices of the conflict victims, are heard in the highest echelons of international relations.

### 5.3.3.2. *Political opposition*

The influence of celebrity humanitarian activists has grown to the extent that they are not averse to criticizing international organisations such as the UN, should they feel that these bodies are failing to act effectively in crisis situations. Celebrities have the power to spotlight the failures of international organisation and thereby increase the pressure for such organisations to perform better in the future.

Some celebrities, such as George Clooney with the UN, have voiced their criticism directly to the organisation (James, 2006). There have also been, however, less direct approaches. One example is the celebrity musician campaign 'Beat for Peace'. Musicians including Cold Play's Will Champion and Pink Floyd collaborated to put together a music video advocating peace in Sudan. The video's release was due for the eve of the meeting of the United Nations General Assembly in which the Sudan crisis was scheduled to be discussed. 'Beat for Peace' was described as a 'warning cry' and as an expression of disappointment that the preparations for peace in the Darfur region were so behind schedule (Admin, 2010). Campaigners in 'Beat for Peace' issued a list of expectations that they had of the UN Security Council, including reaffirming the Darfuri right to self-determination, increasing funds to the region, and supporting preparations for a free and fair referendum. They hoped, through 'Beat for Peace', to highlight the previous shortcomings of the UN so that they would not be repeated in the future (Admin, 2010).

### 5.3.3.3 *Conclusion*

International organisations play a prominent role in today's international society and it is undoubtedly in recognition of this that celebrity humanitarian activists are expressing an increased interest in the activities of the organisations. They present an alternative means by

---

<sup>17</sup>He was also asked to address the General Assembly on the situation in Darfur. This speech never actually took place, however, due to objections by France and Germany (Philip, 2008).

which national governments may acquire the institutional power often needed for bringing aid to conflict victims.

#### 5.3.4 Non-governmental organisations and celebrity humanitarian activists

This section focuses on those non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that became involved in the Darfur conflict alongside celebrity humanitarian activists.

##### 5.3.4.1 *Celebrity humanitarian activists incorporated in NGOs*

Recognising the potential benefits of celebrity affiliation, a number of NGOs have begun recruiting celebrity humanitarian activists. NGOs and celebrity activists worked together to bring aid to the conflict victims of Darfur.

The Enough Project (an initiative concerned with ending genocide and crimes against humanity, particularly in Darfur) has a fairly established relationship of mutual cooperation and aid with celebrity activists. Celebrities have participated in interviews, written articles and travelled with the organisation into conflict areas, bringing the world's attention with them. In exchange for their support, the Enough Project created an online database listing what they termed 'Celebrity Upstanders'. The database gives details about and praises the involvement of each celebrity in Enough Project activities and their relationship with the project itself (Hutson, 2011).

In another example, Hollywood musician Les LaMotte helped to organize a charity event in which a pre-production of his film *Without a Voice* (set in Southern Sudan), would be shown. The proceeds of the fundraising gala went to Sudan Hope, an organisation dedicated to improving the lives of conflict victims from Darfur by building libraries, medical clinics and schools as well as caring for those that have been handicapped, widowed or orphaned during the war (Sudan Hope, 2009).

What the above examples have shown is that celebrity humanitarian activists are not necessarily limited to interactions with governments and international organisations. Mutual concern for the plight of the Darfuri coupled with the potential advantages of collaboration has resulted in a number of celebrities and NGOs coming together to bring international attention to a conflict which claimed the lives of thousands.

##### 5.3.4.2 *Celebrity humanitarian activists form NGOs*

The most recent step that celebrity humanitarian activists have taken is to form their own non-governmental organisations.

Of the NGOs concerned with the plight of Darfur that celebrities have founded, Not On Our Watch is probably the most significant and definitely has the highest profile. It was started by actor Don Cheadle (Meldrum, 2010).<sup>18</sup> It was Not On Our Watch that provided Clooney with the \$750 000 that he needed in order to fund his Satellite Sentinel Project. It is hoped that the images from this satellite will help authorities anticipate conflicts and deal with them before they break out (Meldrum, 2010).

Fund4Darfur is another example. It was launched by actress Mia Farrow in association with Aegis Trust (Saunders, 2007). It initiated a fact-finding mission to refugee camps in order to discover the most pressing needs of the schools in the camps and then managed to have 2 220 books delivered to these schools in time to coincide with the start of the new school term (AEGIS, 2009). Fund4Darfur was also involved in a project to provide Darfuri women with fuel-efficient stoves. The idea was that by decreasing the need for women to wander far away from their homes in search of fire wood, the stoves would make these women less vulnerable to attacks and rape (Plummer, 2011). Fund4Darfur has also been active in London, helping and supporting Darfur conflict survivors who have fled there (AEGIS, 2007).

Celebrity humanitarian activism has grown to the point where celebrities are now forming their own non-governmental organisations. It may be argued, therefore, that celebrity humanitarian activism is becoming an independent phenomenon. The above examples have illustrated how the relationships between celebrity activists and non-governmental organisations have begun to change in that there are now examples of NGOs being dependent on celebrities rather than the other way round.

#### 5.3.4.3 Conclusion

The examples quoted above show that the relationship between celebrity humanitarian activists and NGOs is beginning to change. Celebrities are no longer as reliant on the backing of these organisations as they once were and are beginning to realize the power that they have to create their own NGOs and conduct their own humanitarian affairs accordingly.

#### 5.3.5 Conclusion

Using Darfur as a case study, this section of the chapter has focused on the differing

---

<sup>18</sup> Other celebrity partners influential in the founding of the organisation include George Clooney, Brad Pitt and Matt Damon (Friedman, 2007).

relationships that are manifest in the activities between celebrity humanitarian activists and government/international/non-governmental organisations.

From the examples it may be deduced that celebrity activists are conscious of the amount of institutional power that government and politicians hold and of their ability to bring about policy change. However, the attentions of celebrity activists are beginning to focus beyond governments, on alternative international actors such as international organisations and non-governmental organisations. This move away from the more established and traditional forms of authority is an indication of the growing independence of celebrity humanitarian activists. They are becoming their own and independent force in the international arena and their relationships with governments, international organisations and NGOs are beginning to change accordingly.

## **5.4 Illustrations of the benefits of celebrity humanitarian activism**

### **5.4.1 Introduction**

This section uses examples from the Darfur conflict to illustrate some of the potential benefits of celebrity humanitarian activism. It uses the same structure as that of Chapter Four. The first section looks at how celebrity humanitarian activists aid political mobilisation; the second at how they may increase public awareness of a cause; and the third at how celebrity activists may help to attract funds for humanitarian initiatives.

### **5.4.2 Tools for political mobilisation**

The star status of celebrity humanitarian activists often means that they stand a greater chance of gaining access to important political figures and meetings than regular activists would. Being able to access, and potentially to influence, policy makers more easily also means that celebrity humanitarian activists are helpful in redistributing power to the masses. Finally, celebrities are generally given constant attention from media outlets. This section looks at how these three factors, access, ability to redistribute power and media attention, have made celebrities powerful tools of political mobilisation for Darfur.

George Clooney was said to have been slightly embarrassed when he discovered that important members of Congress apparently treat him 'with awestruck deference' (Traub, 2008: 8). Nevertheless he has used this awe to his and Darfur's advantage. He has spoken about Darfur in front of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the United Nations (Avlon, 2011) and met with individual politicians such as US President Obama and Vice-

President Biden (Cooper, 2011). In 2006 Clooney, along with actor Don Cheadle, travelled to China in an attempt to convince the Chinese government to back the Darfur effort (Traub, 2008: 8).

It is unlikely that this level of access to governments and international committees could be achieved by regular activists not of celebrity status. Celebrities are therefore more easily able to put themselves in positions where they might mobilize politicians and policy makers to aid humanitarian causes. Reports have shown that celebrity input, in particular Clooney's views on Darfur, is generally valued by policy makers. US Vice President Biden is said to have welcomed the information that Clooney brought with him after the actor's 2009 trip to the Darfur refugee camps in Chad. He called it a valuable contribution which helped increase public and political understanding of the conflict and what should be done in aid of it (Bellantoni, 2009).

In many of these instances Clooney's access to policy makers has opened the gateway for regular Darfur activists as well, thus helping to redistribute political power. For example, Not On Our Watch teamed up with Enough Project to write a book entitled *Not On Our Watch: The Mission to end Genocide in Darfur and Beyond*, in which readers are encouraged to do what they can to pressurize their governments into taking action when situations like the conflict in Darfur arise (Inskeep, 2007). In another example, President Obama has taken a personal interest in George Clooney, often inviting him to meetings at the White House, and upon occasion Clooney has taken Enough Project's John Prendergast with him to these meetings. Referring to one such occasion, Prendergast confesses that '[he] wouldn't be getting a 45-minute meeting with the president if it weren't for Clooney' (Bergner, 2010). This meeting gave Prendergast the opportunity he had reportedly been craving for months. He was finally able to appeal to those in power to help pressurize Northern Sudan into allowing Southern Sudan to hold their referendum in peace and not to undermine the result. Prendergast, along with Clooney, also highlighted for the Obama administration the need for the US to have an important figure at the pre-referendum negotiations. It cannot be pure coincidence that after this meeting Obama dispatched a special envoy to Darfur to assess the situation. Then, after a second meeting with Clooney and Prendergast on a similar theme, the President sent Senator John Kelly to the Sudan with instructions to offer Northern Sudan the incentive of being taken off America's list of states who sponsor terrorists, in exchange for not undermining the results of the South's referendum (Avlon, 2011).

Celebrities have easy and almost constant access to media attention, which gives them the power to sway mass opinion. Clooney's influence, for example, has been credited for sparking the interests of NBC, CNN and Newsweek reporters in the Darfur conflict (Straziuso and Fick, 2011). Consequently, by increasing the amount of attention that a cause gets from the media, and therefore the public, celebrities may increase the attention that such a cause gets from policy makers. In the words of Avlon: 'Stars can generate attention and then generate the political will to do something about a problem' (2011). For an example one may look at the reaction caused by the media blitz that Clooney launched exactly 100 days before the referendum – within that space of time the White House reportedly received around 95 000 emails demanding that the American government offer support to Darfur (Avlon, 2011). In a more drastic measure, in 2008 celebrities threatened to boycott the Beijing Olympics unless China (which had been defending Khartoum) supported the initiative for the entry of UN peace-keeping troops into the region of Darfur. The campaign received a massive amount of publicity, making it a big enough issue that China eventually succumbed and used their influence to ensure that UN peace-keepers were accepted into conflict-ridden Sudan (Cooper and Schrumm, 2007).

Such attention and public pressure can be relatively difficult for policy makers to ignore. A celebrity activist's ability to attract international attention and influence opinions makes them an ideal candidate to prompt political mobilisation.

As they become increasingly interested in humanitarianism, celebrities are beginning to find ways in which they may use their stardom to the benefit of a particular cause. As has been demonstrated, policy makers generally find it difficult to ignore individuals whom they meet face-to-face and who have the backing of the masses and the media, making celebrity involvement in a cause such Darfur potentially extremely beneficial.

#### 5.4.3 Increase in public awareness

Celebrities are almost constantly in the spotlight and as a result they have the ability to keep certain issues in the spotlight as well. This section demonstrates how celebrity activists manage this in the case of Darfur by illustrating how they define the issue for an audience, capture public interest and give the issue more priority than it may previously have had.

Intensive study, advice from experts and numerous field trips to the region have given celebrities such as George Clooney and Don Cheadle an impressive grasp of the Darfur conflict, and as a result the two of them are now becoming respected, credible voices on the situation (Traub, 2008: 7). Senator John Kelly, referring to Clooney and Cheadle, has said

that the two of them have ‘spent more time on the ground in Abyei than most American officials have’ and that consequently ‘the White House has been listening to them’ (Avlon, 2011). What is becoming apparent, therefore, through these reports, is that celebrity humanitarian activists are beginning to be taken seriously by governmental figures and policy makers. Traditional figures of authority are beginning to turn towards the likes of Clooney and Cheadle in order to define a conflict-related issue.

Not only policy makers but the public in general are beginning to rely on celebrity humanitarian activists to define an issue for them. According to Hahn (2010), many people, in particular those from the western hemisphere, only know what they do about conflict situations from following news on a particular celebrity. With this in mind Clooney has said that he is making a conscious effort to share his spotlight with the victims of Darfur, whose grievances may be ignored otherwise. “My job is to amplify the voice of the guy who lives here...” says Clooney about his role in helping to define the Darfur conflict for the public. “He wants to shout it from the mountaintops, but he doesn’t have a very big megaphone or a very big mountain... He finds me and asks, ‘You got a big megaphone?’ and I say, ‘Yes.’ ‘You got a decent-sized mountain to yell it from?’ ‘Yeah, I got a pretty good-sized mountain.’ ‘Will you do me a favor and yell it?’ And I go, ‘Absolutely’” (Clooney, cited in Avlon, 2011).

One way in which Clooney has helped to define the issue of Darfur while at the same time increasing public interest in the conflict is through the repetition of slogans and rallying cries. Cries of: “If we turn our heads and look away and hope they will disappear, then they will” and “Never again” and “We need deeds, not words” (Hunt, 2006) help excite crowds into campaigning for conflict resolution in Darfur and pressurizing local governments into taking action. Celebrity involvement has turned Darfur into a ‘sexy conflict’ (Fleming, 2010). The mere fact that an elite celebrity such as George Clooney is involved is enough to draw an enthusiastic crowd. When Clooney spoke about Darfur to the UN he was probably one of the first UN speakers ever to be “mobbed by squealing officials bearing cellphone cameras” (Traub, 2008). As the son of a newsman, Clooney claims that he knows the trick of making sure that an issue stays as front page news: “I understand how hard it is to keep stories on the front of news and sometimes entertainment and news can be meshed together if you do it properly” (Straziuso and Fick, 2011). After Clooney launched his news blitz 100 days before the South Sudan referendum, in the month that followed mentions of Darfur in magazines, newspapers and websites increased from six to 165 and the conflict was mentioned in 96 news stories, with Clooney’s involvement being the hook one third of the time (Avlon, 2011).

What these examples have shown is that the very fact that Clooney is interested in the Darfur conflict is enough for others to become interested in it too, and this, coupled with a concerted effort by celebrity activists such as Clooney, makes it difficult for the conflict in Darfur ever to be forgotten.

Another example of how celebrities are used to spark interest in and glamorise a cause may be seen in the photo shoot that a number of celebrities, including Thandi Newton and Matt Damon, participated in which sought to raise awareness about the plight of children in Darfur. The dramatic images of children's toys being destroyed spark particular interest because of the celebrities that feature in them. The juxtaposition of a well-liked individual and the horrific act of destroying a child's toy is what gives these images their impact (Palmer, 2008).



**Actress Thandi Newton (left) blowtorches a child's Barbie doll while Matt Damon (right) smashes a doll's house in an effort to raise awareness about the plight of children suffering in the conflict in Darfur (Picture source: Palmer, 2008).**

A celebrity's ability to define an issue and raise public concern about it understandably has an impact on the amount of priority it gains. Projects such as George Clooney's Satellite Sentinel have been effective in this regard. The difference between Clooney's satellite and governmental satellites is that Clooney's images are made public. Clooney argues that by keeping their images private governments can take action or refrain from taking action without having to worry about a public outcry. The aim of Clooney's satellite is to publicize any major preparations for conflict in the hope that the publicity may incite a mass outcry and consequently persuade national governments to take steps to prevent the conflict from actually breaking out (Meldrum, 2010). In August 2011, for example, the satellite produced new evidence, in the form of photos, of mass graves created by the Sudanese government in South Sudan. According to Clemens (executive director of Harvard University's Carr Centre for Human Rights), these reports confirmed allegations of



systematic killings conducted by the Sudanese government. The evidence will apparently be referred to the International Criminal Court, increasing the pressure on the United Nations to step in to protect civilian lives (Meldrum, 2011). Projects such as Satellite Sentinel, popularized by celebrity support, make it very difficult for authorities to claim ignorance of the atrocities taking place in a conflict area and therefore increase their obligation to act (Avlon, 2011). Clooney calls this keeping a 'constant drumbeat' (Straziuso and Fick, 2011). By keeping this drumbeat going, keeping the public and politicians informed and alert to the situation in Darfur, Clooney in particular with his Satellite Sentinel project may have helped to prevent further atrocities.

It would be difficult to determine the exact extent of celebrity influence on raising awareness of a cause. The fact remains, however, that celebrity humanitarian activists have the potential to raise public and political awareness about a cause such as the Darfur conflict to the point where it is impossible to sit back and ignore it any longer.

#### 5.4.4 Funds

Their ability to make a cause 'popular' means that celebrity humanitarian activists can have a lot of success when it comes to encouraging groups and individuals to make generous donations. Taking the Darfur conflict as an example, this section looks at how celebrity humanitarian activists have aided fundraising initiatives.

There are two principle ways in which celebrity humanitarian activists help to bring funds to a cause. Either they donate money themselves, or they encourage others to donate it. In May 2006 the Jolie-Pitt Foundation (founded by actors Brad Pitt and Angelina Jolie) donated \$1 million to aid humanitarian efforts in Darfur. The donation was divided between three agencies believed to be key in the Darfur effort – the UN refugee agency, the International Rescue Committee and SOS Children's Villages (Good News Network, 2007). George Clooney also used his own money to build a well, huts and a community centre for the people of a particular village in Darfur.

Celebrities have also proven to be effective in encouraging others to donate to the Darfur cause. For example, in 2007, Not On Our Watch also hosted a fundraising event on a yacht in Antibes Harbour in Cannes celebrating the launch of the movie *Ocean's 13. OK!* magazine is said to have paid a lot of money for the exclusive rights to photos and interviews with the stars present at the event (Friedman, 2007). The total raised for the evening is reported to have been \$5,5 million, all of which was put towards humanitarian relief in Darfur. In that year the celebrity-affiliated organisation also donated \$1,1 million to the UN

World Food Program, \$2,75 million to the International Rescue Committee, \$750 000 to Oxfam and \$1 million to Save the Children, all in aid of projects and humanitarian activities in Darfur (Ewing, 2007). Simply by appearing on the Oprah Winfrey show in 2006 to talk about the conflict, Clooney managed to inspire people to give money to aid Darfur, and donations to UNICEF rose by 20% as a result (Huliaras and Tzifakis, 2010: 46). Celebrity musicians involved in Waxploitation, an initiative started in 1997, donated the money that they raised from their albums 'Genocide in Sudan' and 'Causes 1: Darfur' to Doctors Without Borders, Human Rights Watch and Oxfam in order to bring aid to those suffering in Darfur. They also held a number of Darfur benefits and sent the money raised to help the approximately 2 million people who have been forced to leave their homes because of the fighting (Saunders, 2007). Mia Farrow set up an online charity, Fund4Darfur, which allows people to make online donations from the comfort of their homes. Money raised from this charity, according to Farrow, will be used to help protect those Sudanese people whose lives have been threatened by the conflict.

What the above examples have shown is that the ability of celebrities to raise funds for humanitarian efforts is not limited to personal donations of their own. The ability of celebrity involvement to make a cause seem more appealing to potential donors has been used to raise money for various organisations involved in the Darfur effort. Once again, though, it is difficult to determine exactly how much money celebrity activists are responsible for raising (in addition to their own contributions). The evidence has shown, however, that celebrity involvement does seem to increase the likelihood of donations for that cause. This has been described as one of the principle benefits of involving celebrities in humanitarian assistance projects.

#### 5.4.5 Conclusion

The focus of this chapter has been some of the potential benefits of involving celebrities in humanitarian activism. In each section the point has been reiterated that although it is difficult to say *exactly* how much good a celebrity humanitarian activist may do for a cause, their power and influence in the international sphere means they have the *capacity* to benefit it a great deal.

## **5.5 Illustrations of the criticisms of celebrity humanitarian activism**

### 5.5.1 Introduction

By drawing on examples from the Darfur crisis this section sets out to illustrate some of the criticisms of celebrity humanitarian activism outlined in Chapter Four.

### 5.5.2 Loss of complexity

In any humanitarian effort there is the danger of the story of the conflict being over-simplified, either consciously in order to make it more palatable for the masses, or unconsciously as less and less emphasis is placed on the details of the conflict. This section examines the claim that, due to amateurism, certain celebrities may have simplified the story of the Darfur conflict to its detriment.

Celebrity humanitarian activists have been accused of having very little grasp of the reality of the Darfur situation. While celebrity interest in Darfur has made the conflict a pet favourite amongst humanitarian activists, it seems this was achieved by over-simplifying the issue, reducing it to ‘evil’ Arabs committing ‘genocide’ of ‘innocent’ Africans, and by reportedly drastically over-exaggerating the death-toll (Hammond, 2010). According to De Waal (cited in Hammond, 2008: 8-9), initial celebrity outcry over Darfur, that ‘things were getting worse’ and that ‘millions of people [will] die’ (Clooney), came in 2004, at a time when the level of violence was technically falling and the death-tolls were considerably lower than the drastic numbers being quoted by Clooney.<sup>19</sup>

The biggest problem that critics have identified in relation to celebrities’ tendency to simplify the story of the conflict is that it inspires solutions which may bear little or no resemblance to the complex circumstances on the ground. For example, the Save Darfur coalition, led by the likes of George Clooney and Mia Farrow, has been criticised for its influence in the 2006 Darfur peace agreements. Critics claim that the organisation’s two-dimensional representation of the crisis as a war between rebels and the government meant that many other influential players were left out of the negotiations and their issues left unresolved. It is therefore supposedly understandable that the fighting continued very soon after (Flemming, 2010).

Celebrity humanitarian activists have also been criticized for the terms in which they talk about the Darfur conflict. Clooney’s statements that Darfur is ‘not a political issue’ and that ‘there is only right or wrong’ have been slammed for reducing the conflict to nothing more than a child’s morality tale featuring ‘goodies’ and ‘baddies’ (O’Neil, 2006a). These

---

<sup>19</sup> According to Mamdani, death toll figures have been given of around 400 000 while they are probably much closer to 100 000. A number of activist groups as well as international bodies such as the ICC have apparently verified Mamdani’s claim (Farrell, 2009).

kinds of statements encourage support for one side of the debate only and consequently encourage solutions that may only deal with one aspect of the fighting (O'Neil, 2006c: 10). Jonathan Steele (cited in O'Neil, 2006c: 10), for example, argues that celebrity involvement prolonged negotiations over peace agreements as their support inspired Darfur rebels to increase their demands, secure in the knowledge that a majority of the world's supporters were on their side.

Mia Farrow's investigation into the possible deployment of Blackwater in the Darfur region to aid the forces of the African Union has also been highly criticized and labelled as a prime example of celebrity humanitarian activists having very little idea about how to go about solving conflict issues. Ignoring for a moment Blackwater's shady reputation and allegations of the organisation targeting civilians in Iraq (Hammond, 2008: 10), experts argue that Farrow is naïve if she thinks that a 'quick fix' like Blackwater would work (Schechter, 2008). Sudan expert J. Steven Morrison is reported to have called Farrow's idea 'preposterous' because the situation in Darfur is far too complicated for it to be sorted out by a private security force such as Blackwater (Schechter, 2008). Morrison argued that an action like what Farrow was suggesting could do more harm than good in Darfur because it could disrupt aid programmes and refugee initiatives, resulting in more casualties rather than fewer.

It appears that, rather than demonstrating a firm grasp of the nuances of the conflict situation, celebrity humanitarian activists tend to become caught up in the drama of causes such as Darfur. By giving a misconstrued account of the conflict, they may inspire solutions that do not necessarily fit the problem. While their involvement may excite mass public interest and support this may not necessarily benefit the cause. By failing to explain the conflict adequately and therefore inspiring inadequate solutions, celebrity humanitarian activists may make the situation worse or even lay the foundations for a continuation of the conflict to take place in the future.

### 5.5.3 Celebrity narcissism

A number of accusations have been made that celebrity humanitarian activists involve themselves in causes not out of concern for the victims of conflict but out of concern for their own personal public image. Examples from the Darfur conflict illustrate this criticism.

Critics have identified a tendency for celebrities and Western powers to use third world conflicts such as Darfur as a source of moral clarity or as an opportunity to assert a positive 'brand image' for themselves (Hammond, 2008: 4). It has become so important for a

celebrity to be seen as being concerned with humanitarianism that many celebrities actually have ‘philanthropic advisors’, who help them pick and then campaign for popular causes (Huliaras and Tzifakis, 2010: 29). There is no doubt that Darfur has become a popular cause, or even a ‘sexy’ conflict, as Fleming (2010) chooses to describe it. The argument is that celebrities have framed Darfur in a context of good versus evil because it gives them the chance to be represented as the hero fighting on the side of good (O’Neil, 2006a: 8). According to these critics it is the label of ‘genocide’ and not the plight of the Darfuri which attracts celebrity support (O’Neil, 2006c: 4).

Capps (2009) complains that celebrity involvement in Darfur has distracted international attention away from the ‘main thing’ – the crisis – and redirected it onto the celebrities themselves. For example, he relates how, in the event of a celebrity visit to the refugee camps of Darfur, regular activities such as patrols may end up being cancelled, or else security personnel may be required to work extra shifts in order to accommodate the highly publicized visit.

Clooney’s visit to the area was so highly publicized that UN officials worried that any negative comment by Clooney about the Sudanese government would put strain on the UN’s already tense relations with it. In a pre-emptive effort not to be associated with such comments the UN cancelled the security envoy they had been planning to send with Clooney. In Capps’ opinion far too much attention was given to this situation and others like it. Whether or not Clooney needed security to visit the region took the focus away from the provision of security for those who really needed it – the Darfur victims.

Celebrities have the power to bring media attention with them when they visit a conflict area. The danger, however, is that the focus of the cameras may remain on the celebrities while the conflict victims are ignored. Critics have argued that this may in fact be the intention of celebrity activists visiting Darfur – that they have chosen to aid the conflict in order to be seen supporting the popular cause rather than for the sake of the cause itself. As the examples have shown, the hype around celebrity visits may actually do more to hinder humanitarian aid operations than to help them.

#### 5.5.4 Reproduction of colonial stereotypes

Celebrities who get involved with humanitarian activism have been criticized for patronizing those that they are supposed to be helping and for reproducing colonial stereotypes of the West having to aid the third world because the third world is unable to help itself. This section gives examples of celebrities who have been in danger of doing exactly that in Darfur.

The criticism has been made that upon occasion celebrities use conflicts such as Darfur as an opportunity to display their moral virtue (O'Neil, 2006a: 3). They have therefore gone to extra lengths to demonstrate how much they care by visiting Darfur, trying to advise the Sudanese government (Mia Farrow and her hunger strike), and encouraging outside powers such as the USA and the UN to get more involved. What this has done, some critics argue, is create the impression that the Darfuri are unable to help themselves and that support from the West is vital. According to O'Neil (2006c: 2), there are many examples throughout history when Western intervention has actually prolonged a war, doing it more harm than good – and it is possible that the same could happen with Darfur.

Some argue that it has already happened. Hahn (2010) opines that military intervention in the oil-rich region may have been the original goal of the US government and that they merely used celebrities to gain support for such a move from the public. The outrage of celebrities such as Farrow, Clooney and Cheadle at the violence that was going on in the country, their pleas to various international bodies to take action, and their encouraging of the public to put similar pressure on their national governments may have promoted the idea of intervention. They may have helped to create the impression that Darfur *needed* an outside power to intervene and that they would be helpless without it. In actual fact, according to Hahn (2010) military intervention benefitted no one more than US oil interests who have been eager to oust China from the region and who could probably do so if they had a military force stationed in Southern Sudan.

Celebrity humanitarian activists have been praised for their ability to increase media attention and public awareness of a cause. The hype that they create around this cause may, however, not necessarily benefit it. By pressurizing Western powers to intervene, celebrity activists may be reproducing the colonial stereotype that third world countries are unable to help themselves in times of trouble. As the example of Darfur has shown, this may result in a country suddenly finding itself occupied by a western power who may have ulterior motives, besides providing aid for conflict victims, for being there. This situation may make things worse rather than better for the third world state.

#### 5.5.5 Conclusion

The focus of this section has been to draw on the example of Darfur to illustrate the criticisms of celebrity humanitarian activism and its potential disadvantages. In each section the point has been stressed that celebrity humanitarian activists have the potential to hinder rather than aid initiative. While at times this may be an unconscious result, it is particularly the case in

those instances where celebrity activists have motives other than humanitarianism. The Darfur example has illustrated that while it may be difficult to ascertain exactly how much damage celebrity involvement has actually done it is important to acknowledge the potential danger and to check these individuals accordingly.

## **5.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has used the example of celebrity humanitarian activism in Darfur in order to illustrate various points that have been made in previous chapters.

The fact that celebrities are able to influence governments and international organisations and influence and even form their own NGOs is indicative of the rising power of the individual in international society. Because of the public support that their star status gives them celebrities are no longer restricted to the confines of traditional power structures and governing systems. Darfur is useful as a case study because in it can be found examples of the various types of activities that celebrity activists engage in as well as demonstrations of the benefits and disadvantages of such activities as already discussed.

## Chapter Six

### Conclusions

How has celebrity humanitarian activism developed in contemporary world politics? And how is this growing phenomenon interpreted? I have analysed the phenomenon and the criticisms it has inspired within the framework of liberalism, with a focus on actors, their motivations, and the type of power they exert.

#### 6.1 Actors

##### 6.1.1 Celebrity humanitarian actors: autonomous actors

According to liberal theory, celebrity humanitarian activists operate as autonomous individuals. This may appear to be the case because when humanitarian projects and/or campaigns which involve celebrities are portrayed in the media public attention is generally drawn directly to the celebrity, to the extent that the celebrity may actually eclipse all others involved. How accurate would it be to refer to celebrity humanitarian activists as being autonomous?

Chapters Three, Four and Five show that in fact, more often than not, celebrity humanitarian activists have some or other international/non-governmental organisation backing them. They are seldom involved in solo initiatives. While they may get the credit for certain actions (such as George Clooney launching a satellite), upon closer inspection one generally finds some established organisations behind them. Clooney was in fact operating in cooperation with Not on Our Watch, the Enough Project, UNOSAT, the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, Google and Trelton (Meldrum, 2010). The organisations aid the efforts of the celebrity by providing them with, for example, funds, legitimacy or expertise. Examples have shown that it is not uncommon for celebrities to form their own charities or organisations to help bring aid to a particular crisis. While such a step suggests autonomy, what becomes more obvious is that celebrity humanitarian activists seldom act of their own accord, without the support of an official organisation.

How do celebrity humanitarian actors relate to state governments? Chapters Three and Five demonstrated how much effort celebrity activists actually put into influencing national governments. The amount of time that is spent lobbying, mobilising and criticising governments would suggest that even though celebrity activists appear to be acting autonomously, they are still very aware that they lack the institutional power and thus the



capacity to effect system change that national governments have. They have demonstrated, through their activities, that they recognise their own lack of formal authority and the advantages of acquiring the support of those that have it. This suggests that although there may be a plurality of actors operating in the international arena, as liberals suggest, governments may still be the dominant ones.

The depiction of celebrity humanitarians as autonomous actors must be reassessed. My analysis suggests power in world politics still lies more with established institutions and organisations than it does with individuals, no matter how famous they may be. While celebrity humanitarian activists do contribute to the proceedings of the international arena they cannot be viewed as independent actors (yet), seeing that they have still to break away from the association with national governments, international organisations and NGOs.

#### 6.1.2 Celebrity humanitarian activists and international civil society

Liberals think international civil society is an actor in world politics. The most obvious problem that scholars would have with such an idea is that the celebrities who have been the most active in humanitarian efforts appear to be those who herald from the West. While they may involve themselves in African and/or Eastern conflicts the majority of them appear to be Euro-centric. There must be a number of celebrities involved in humanitarian activism who are not Western in origin, but much less seems to have been written about them. The absence of alternative viewpoints makes the descriptions given and conclusions reached in these studies appear to be universal, when in fact they may be distinctly Western. In other words, while the phenomenon itself might not be entirely Western, the literature is. One must therefore be cautious before linking the growth of celebrity humanitarian activism with the expansion of *international* civil society. The discussion of examples brought up in Chapters Four and Five looked at exactly this claim when they illustrated how celebrity humanitarian activists have been accused of reproducing colonial stereotypes. What was illustrated was how, thanks to the amount of attention Western celebrity humanitarian activists have been given by scholars and the media, what is depicted as the norm is a first world-third world relationship where the first world is always coming to the rescue of the third world. It is unlikely that such a representation is conducive to the expansion of an *international* civil society.

One must therefore conclude that the notion that celebrity humanitarian activists are contributing to the expansion of an international civil society is incorrect. Celebrity humanitarian activism tends to be predominately euro-centric in terms of selection of

conflicts and activities, as well as the images portrayed in the media. From the examples given in previous chapters one may deduce that while celebrity activists may contribute to the expansion of a civil society, this society may be far more Western than international.

### 6.1.3 Conclusion

Two of the core elements of liberal theory have to do with the actors who participate in international relations. The first element is that international relations feature a variety of actors, and the assumption is made that these actors are in fact autonomous from the state in particular and that in this respect (the second element) they make up an international civil society. Examples in previous chapters, however, have shown that celebrity humanitarian activists seldom operate in isolation; they are almost always backed by some established institution or organisation. This would suggest that celebrity activists recognise that, as of yet, despite the advantages of fame, they lack formal authority. The reliance of celebrity humanitarian activists on established institutions should prompt one to question whether they should in fact be considered autonomous international actors. With regard to the expansion of an international civil society, the tendency of these activists to come from Western backgrounds would suggest that this civil society is not so much international as euro-centric. The examples and discussions of the previous chapters have shown that while celebrity humanitarian activism is a phenomenon which is growing in prominence it is not yet of such proportions that celebrities may be considered as independent influences on international relations or of international civil society.

## **6.2 Actors' motivations**

### 6.2.1 Motivations of celebrity humanitarian activists

Liberal theory assumes that individuals are more likely to act out of an innate, genuine concern for others than to act out of selfishness. How reasonable is this assumption?

Liberals believe that all individuals are inspired by similar values and considerations. These values are assumed to be international, and liberals would therefore argue that the actions of celebrity activists are inspired by international humanitarian principles. However, the extent to which these principles may be considered international is arguable. As has already been mentioned, the majority of celebrities involved in humanitarian activism are Western, which would imply that their values may be more euro-centric than universal. Both Chapters Four and Five discuss the tendency of celebrity humanitarian activists to reproduce

colonial stereotypes as a by-product of their humanitarian pursuits, reiterating this point that to refer to a value/principle as international may be a way of reasserting Western domination.

It is exceptionally difficult to try and gauge, accurately, the motivations of any one celebrity humanitarian activist, never mind trying to draw conclusions about all of their motivations in general. In Chapter Four various criticisms regarding the suspected motivations of celebrity humanitarian activists were discussed. While celebrity activists generally claim to be acting in the light of humanitarian principles and genuine concern for others, accusations are sometimes made that they are in fact acting in order to gain publicity for themselves, or to help create their own positive 'brand image'. It would be virtually impossible to prove either of these claims conclusively, as both camps appear to have strong arguments. Indeed, it would be more accurate to acknowledge the presence of both selfish and selfless motives in every actor, and to assume that celebrities are inspired by both as well. Single motivations are rarely (if ever) present in any action. It would be unrealistic to assume that a celebrity who enters into humanitarian work for the sake of publicity does not also possess some concern for the victims they encounter as well, just as it would be unrealistic to assume that those who have become involved for the sake of the cause are not also aware of the positive publicity it is bringing them.

More than this, however, one should consider the actual relevance of establishing the motives of celebrity humanitarian activists. In terms of the effectiveness of humanitarian assistance, purity of motivation may be irrelevant. Examples have shown that even supposedly with the best intentions aid endeavours may do more harm than good, while at the same time arguments have been made that any kind of attention that celebrity activists bring to a cause, regardless of their motivations for doing so, has some kind of positive effect in drawing international focus and concern. In fact one may argue that so long as they receive aid and assistance, conflict victims in particular may consider the motivations of activists fairly irrelevant. One can only presume that for a conflict victim day-to-day survival takes preference over considerations of the possible motives of aid workers.

### 6.2.2 Conclusion

From these observations it may be concluded that it is virtually impossible to deduce conclusively the motivations of a celebrity humanitarian activist. It is unlikely that a celebrity activist, much like any other individual, is inspired by any single motivation. Rather one should assume that their actions stem from a mixture of both altruistic and selfish motivations which are culturally influenced rather than inspired by universal principles of

humanitarianism. Furthermore, examples have shown that motivations can have very little impact on the effectiveness of humanitarian activism. Therefore one might have to accept that both realism and liberalism may have an impact on the motivations of celebrity humanitarian activism, and that motivations may not be the most accurate scale on which to measure the effectiveness of aid.

### **6.3 Types of power**

In the opinion of liberals, 'soft' power is more common and more desirable than 'hard' power in the conduct of international relations. Can this be observed in the relationships of celebrity humanitarian activists?

Celebrity humanitarian activists lack formal institutional power and therefore the manner with which they achieve objectives in the international arena poses an interesting topic. Although Chapter Three presented a number of examples of celebrity humanitarian activists applying pressure, through public criticism, on governments and international organisations/NGOs in order to persuade them to take certain actions/initiatives, this seems to be a less common technique. Many other examples, elaborated on in Chapters Three and Four, have shown that celebrities tend to rely more on 'soft' power than on 'hard' power to achieve their objectives. In other words rather than using threats, celebrity activists tend to appeal to the general public by virtue of their physical (or even seemingly moral) attractiveness. Celebrities, especially the top celebrities, tend to be both physically attractive and charismatic, which immediately makes it that much easier for them to attain mass support from the public. Charisma and physical beauty also allow for a celebrity activist to portray moral purity in a manner that may be difficult for the majority of politicians and international figures, who do not enjoy the benefits of make-up artists and wardrobe consultants. Such advantages allow for celebrity humanitarian activists to wield a fair amount of 'soft' power in the absence of formal institutional power. Their actions are portrayed as being 'right' or 'honourable', especially those that have to do with humanitarian activism.

Soft power can be fickle, however. Should attractiveness fade, the ability to wield 'soft' power will most certainly fade with it. While 'soft' power may be more readily available to a celebrity due to good looks and charisma, they have to work hard not only to access it but also to maintain it. It is possible that involvement in humanitarian activism is one manner in which to do this. Humanitarian activism has the potential of making any individual appear significantly more noble or honourable and thereby more worthy of public

admiration and support. By engaging in humanitarian activism celebrities often increase their public appeal, making themselves more attractive to the masses and thereby increasing their 'soft' power.

By virtue of their attractiveness celebrity humanitarian activists may inspire others to support their endeavours because it appears to be the 'right' or the 'honourable' thing to do. According to liberals this use of 'soft' as opposed to 'hard' power is far more preferable as it diminishes the likelihood of violent conflict, which in relations to humanitarian efforts in this respect is exactly the point.

## **6.4 Conclusion**

Liberals argue that the growing presence of celebrity humanitarian activists in international relations illustrates the increasing plurality of actors in the international arena. Examples in this study have shown, however, that although celebrity activists are indeed participating in international affairs, they rarely do so of their own accord. Celebrity activists have yet to break away from established governments and organisations and become independent international actors in their own right.

Liberals argue that the actions of celebrity humanitarian activists are motivated by genuine concern for others. Many critics strongly disagree. They argue that celebrity activists are inspired by selfish, narcissistic motivations of 'looking good' or 'playing the hero' and thereby gaining further public support. Unfortunately it is highly unlikely that one will ever conclusively establish the motivation behind celebrity humanitarian activism, and in fact it is unlikely that there is just one single motivation. Most humans are inspired by a mixture of motives at any one time and one can only assume that the same is true of the celebrity humanitarian activist.

Finally, with regard to the power wielded by these celebrity activists, although they may have the ability to place pressure on governments and organisations through public protests, in reality they are limited by their lack of formal institutional power. Nevertheless, what they lack in 'hard' power, they make up for in 'soft' power. By virtue of their charisma and physical attractiveness, most celebrities are able to persuade the public that their actions are both admirably and morally correct. This ability to make the pursuit of certain objectives seem appealing and desirable to others is what liberal theorists would refer to as 'soft' power, the use of which liberals credit with helping to reduce international violence.

## References

- Abuarqub, M. & Phillips I. 2009. A brief history of humanitarianism in the Muslim world. *Islamic Relief*. Birmingham: Islamic Relief Worldwide. July. [Online] Available: <http://www.islamic-relief.com/indepth/downloads/A%20Brief%20History%20of%20Humanitarianism%20in%20the%20Muslim%20World%20New%20Format.pdf> [Accessed 30 August 2010]
- Admin. 2010. Celebrities and activists warn of diplomatic meltdown in Sudan. *Arab coalition for Darfur*. September 20. [Online] Available: <http://acdarfur.net/en/?p=93>
- Admin Category. 2009. Richard Branson takes over fast for Darfur from Mia Farrow. *Fast Darfur*. May 8. [Online] Available: <http://fastdarfur.org/?cat=37>
- AEGIS. 2007. Home office wins Darfur asylum test case. *Sudan Tribune*. November 14. [Online] Available: <http://www.sudantribune.com/Home-Office-wins-Darfur-asylum,24744>
- AEGIS. 2009. Thanks to Fund4Darfur, thousands of text books reach Darfuri refugee schools. *AEGIS: Preventing crimes against humanity*. November 9. [Online] Available: <http://www.aegistrust.org/Campaigns-Policy-and-Research/thanks-to-fund4darfur-thousands-of-textbooks-reach-darfuri-refugee-schools.html>
- Alfred, J. 2008. Scary Times: 'The US versus John Lennon' lays out a government conspiracy against one very famous peace activist. *Pasadena Weekly*. November 13. [Online] Available: [http://www.pasadenaweekly.com/cms/story/detail/scary\\_times/6616](http://www.pasadenaweekly.com/cms/story/detail/scary_times/6616)
- Algozo, D. 2011. The halo effect and the personal mission creep: Clooney, Smith, Jordan, Schwarzenegger, Gates, Bono and Bieber. *Find what works*. January. [Online] Available: <http://findwhatworks.wordpress.com/2011/01/27/the-halo-effect-and-personal-mission-creep-clooney-smith-jordan-schwarzenegger-gates-bono-and-bieber> [Accessed 8 October 2011]
- Ali, A. A. G., Elbadawi, I. A. & El-Batahani, A. 2005. The Sudan's civil war: why has it prevailed for so long? (In P. Collier and N. Sambanis (eds.) *Understanding civil war: evidence and analysis. Volume 1: Africa*. Washington DC: World Bank.). 193-220. [Online] Available: <https://woc.uc.pt/feuc/course/Dout-PIRC/2008-2009/Ali%20et%20al%20-%20Sudan.pdf> [Accessed 25 October 2010]
- Alleyne, M. D. 2005. The United Nations' celebrity diplomacy. *SAIS review*. 25(1). 175-185. Johns Hopkins University Press. Winter-Spring.
- Andersson, J. 2007. *Pop-culture icons as agents of change? The roles and functions of celebrity activists in peace and development related global issues*. Växjö, Sweden: Växjö University (MA thesis). [Online] Available: <http://lnu.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2:205555> [Accessed 7 October 2011]
- Avlon, J. 2011. A 21st century statesman. *Newsweek*. February 20. [Online] Available: <http://www.newsweek.com/2011/02/20/a-21st-century-statesman.html>

Bannon, A. L. 2006. The responsibility to protect: The UN world summit and the question of unilateralism. *The Yale Law Journal*. 115(5). 1157-1165. March. [Online] Available: <http://www.yalelawjournal.org/pdf/115-5/Bannon.pdf> [Accessed 19 May 2011]

Barnett, M. 2005. Humanitarianism transformed. *Perspectives on politics*. 3(4). 723-740. American political science association. December. [Online] Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3688176>[Accessed 6 March 2011]

Barron, L. 2009. An actress compelled to act: Angelina Jolie's 'Notes from my travels' as celebrity activist/travel narrative. *Postcolonial Studies*. 12(2). 211-228. London: Routledge. [Online]. Available: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13688790902887189> [Accessed: 14 April 2011]

Baxter, R. R. 1975. Humanitarian law or humanitarian politics – the 1974 diplomatic conference on humanitarian law. *Harvard International Law Journal*. 16. [Online] Available: <http://www.heinonline.org.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/HOL/Page?page=1andhandle=hein.journals%2Fhilj16andcollection=journals>[Accessed 20 September 2011]

BBC News. 2008. *Johansson tissue sells for \$5300*. December 23.[Online] Available: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/entertainment/7796991.stm>

Bellantoni, C. 2009. Clooney gets W.H. promises on Darfur. *The Washington Times*. February 24. [Online] Available:<http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2009/feb/24/clooney-gets-white-house-promises-darfur/>

Bergner, D. 2010. Attention-grabber for Sudan's cause. *New York Times Magazine*. December 2. [Online] Available: [.http://www.nytimes.com/2010/12/05/magazine/05sudan-t.html?hp](http://www.nytimes.com/2010/12/05/magazine/05sudan-t.html?hp)

Blackburn, B. 2011. Actor Ben Affleck, republican Cindy McCain team up to help Congo. *ABC News*. March. [Online] Available: <http://abcnews.go.com/International/ben-affleck-cindy-mccain-team-congo/story?id=13077119>[Accessed 20 May 2011]

Breslauer, S. D. 1993. *Judaism and Human Rights in Contemporary Thought: A bibliographical survey*. Westport: Greenwood. [Online] Available: <http://books.google.co.za/books?hl=enandlr=andid=SMCMmihV1psCandoi=fndandpg=PR7anddq=judaism+and+humanitarianism+and+dots=v0YBENZ1nRandsig=YNQsIIFOgY3ueXx4npObTETw1TE#v=onepageandq=judaism%20and%20humanitarianism+and+f=false>[Accessed 24 October 2011]

Brett, R. 1996. Human rights and the OSCE. *Human Rights Quarterly*. 18(3). 668-693.[Online] Available: [http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/journals/human\\_rights\\_quarterly/v018/18.3brett.html](http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/journals/human_rights_quarterly/v018/18.3brett.html)[Accessed 19 July 2010]

Brewer, W. D. 1982. The Libyan-Sudanese 'crisis' of 1981: danger for Darfur and dilemma for the United States. *Middle East Journal*. 36(2). 205-216. Middle East Institute. Spring. [Online] Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4326390?seq=2> [Accessed 5 September 2011]

Burchill, S. 1996. Liberalism. *Theories of International Relations*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 57-85.

Busby, J. W. 2007. Is there a constituency for Global Poverty? Jubilee 2000 and the future of development advocacy. (In Lael Brainard & Derek Chollet (eds.), *Global Development 2.0: Can Philanthropists, the Public, and the Poor Make Poverty History?* WDC: Brookings Institution Press.) 85-100.

Calhoun, C. 2008. *The imperative to reduce suffering: charity, progress and emergencies in the field of humanitarian action*. [Online] Available: <http://www.ssrc.org/staff/president/ImperativetoReduceSuffering.pdf> [Accessed 19 October 2011]

Capps, R. 2009. The main thing. *World bridge blog*. March 2. [Online] Available: <http://www.refugeesinternational.org/blog/darfur-main-thing>

Catterberg, G. and Moreno, A. 2005. The individual bases of political trust: trends in new and established democracies. *Oxford journals*. 31-48. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Online] Available: <http://ijpor.oxfordjournals.org/content/18/1/31.full> [Accessed]

Chandler, D. 2001. The road to military humanitarianism: how the human rights NGOs shaped a new humanitarian agenda. *Human Rights Quarterly*. 23(3). 678-700. August. [Online] Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/stable/4489352?seq=3> [Accessed 4 July 2011]

Chandler, D. 2005. *Constructing Global Civil Society*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Chi, P. 2009. Ben Affleck urges hope in eastern Congo. *People*. February. [Online] Available: <http://www.people.com/people/article/0,,20259408,00.html> [Accessed 5 May 2011]

Clark, A. M., Friedman, E. J. & Hochstetler, K. 1998. The sovereign limits of global civil society: A comparison of NGO participation in UN world conferences on the environment, human rights and women. *World Politics*. 51(1). 1-35. October.

Cooper, A. F. 2006. Politics and diplomacy: beyond Hollywood and the boardroom – celebrity diplomacy. *George Town Journal of International Affairs*. 125-132. [Online] Available: <http://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/geojaf&andid=296&dtype=text&collection=journals> [Accessed 17 July 2011]

Cooper, A. F. and Schruum, A. 2007. How Mia Farrow got UN troops into Darfur. *Embassy Newsweekly*. April 25. [Online] Available: <http://www.cigionline.org/articles/2007/04/how-mia-farrow-got-un-troops-darfur>

Cooper, A. F. 2008. Beyond the boardroom: “multilocation” and the business face of celebrity diplomacy. Presented at *ICS Annual Conference*. March. [Online] Available: [http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p\\_mla\\_apa\\_research\\_citation/2/7/1/1/3/pages/271138/p271138-1.php](http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/2/7/1/1/3/pages/271138/p271138-1.php)



Cooper, A. F. 2011. Acclaim or negation for George Clooney's role in South Sudan's independence? *Huffington Post Canada*. July 19. [Online] Available: <http://www.cigionline.org/articles/2011/07/acclaim-or-negation-george-clooneys-role-south-sudans-independence>

Crangle, J. V. and Baylen, J. O. 1979. Emily Hobhouse's peace mission, 1916. *Journal of Contemporary History*. 14(4). 731-744. Sage publications. October. [Online] Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/stable/260184?seq=1> [Accessed 14 November 2011]

Crowdy, D. R. 1927. The humanitarian activities of the League of Nations. *Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs*. 6(3). Blackwell Publishing. 153-169. May.

Dalton, R. J. 2004. *Democratic Challenges, Democratic Choices: The erosion of political support*. Oxford: OxfordUniversity Press.

Damico, A. J., Conway, M. M. & Damico, S. B. 2000. Patterns of political trust and mistrust: three moments in the lives of democratic citizens. *Polity*. 32(3). 377-400. Palgrave Macmillan Journals. Spring. [Online] Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3235357> [Accessed 12 February 2011]

De Waal, A. 2004. Counter-insurgency on the cheap. *Review of African Political Economy*. 31(102). 716-725. Taylor and Francis. December. [Online] Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4007044> [Accessed 27 October 2010]

De Waal, A. 2008. The humanitarian carnival: A celebrity vogue. *World Affairs Journal*. 43-55. Fall. [Online] Available: <http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/articles/2008-Fall/full-DeWaal.html> [Accessed 27 October 2010]

Dieter, H. and Kumar, R. 2008. The downside of celebrity diplomacy: the neglected complexity of development. *Global Governance*. 14. 259-264.

Dillon, B. 2008. Florence Nightingale: the woman and her legend, by Mark Bostridge – review. *The Telegraph*. November. [Online] Available: [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/non\\_fictionreviews/3563095/Florence-Nightingale-the-Woman-and-Her-Legend-by-Mark-Bostridge-review.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/non_fictionreviews/3563095/Florence-Nightingale-the-Woman-and-Her-Legend-by-Mark-Bostridge-review.html) [Accessed 9 September 2011]

Douzinis, C. 2007. The many faces of humanitarianism. *Parrhesia Journal*. 2. 1-28. November 2. [Online] Available: [http://www.parrhesiajournal.org/parrhesia02/parrhesia02\\_douzinis.pdf](http://www.parrhesiajournal.org/parrhesia02/parrhesia02_douzinis.pdf)

Doyle, M. W. 1986. Liberalism and world politics. *The American Political Science Review*. 80(4). 1151-1169. American Political Science Association. December. [Online] Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1960861> [Accessed 3 September 2011]

Draper, G. I. A. D. 1979. Humanitarian law and human rights. *ActaJuridica*. 193. [Online] Available: <http://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?collection=journalsandhandle=hein.journals/actj1979anddiv=25andid=andpage> [Accessed 20 June 2011]

Drezner, D. W. 2007. Foreign policy goes glam. *National Interest*. 22-28. November/December. [Online] Available: <http://www.danieldrezner.com/research/glam.pdf> [Accessed 22 July 2011]

Drezner, D. W. 2010. Wanted: dumber, simpler celebrities. *Foreign Policy*. December 13. [Online] Available: [http://drezner.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/12/13/wanted\\_dumber\\_simpler\\_celebrities](http://drezner.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/12/13/wanted_dumber_simpler_celebrities)

Dunne, T. 2001. Liberalism. (In J. Baylis and S. Smith (eds.), *The Globalisation of World Politics: An introduction to international relations*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.) 86-212.

Easterly, W. 2010. John Lennon vs. Bono: the death of the celebrity activist. *Washington Post*. December 10. [Online] Available: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/12/09/AR2010120904262.html>

The Economist. 2005. Falling out of favour: should Europe's trade policies continue to afford privileges to its former colonies? May 26. [Online] Available: <http://www.economist.com/node/4009469>

Ewing, B. 2007. Stars donate \$5,5 million to Darfur. *Digital Journal*. June 27. [Online] Available: <http://digitaljournal.com/article/200494>

Farrell, J. A. 2009. Can celebrities save Darfur. *Global Post*. June 25. [Online] Available: [http://www.newsudanvision.com/index.php?option=com\\_contentandview=articleandid=1758:can-celebrities-save-darfurandcatid=1:sudan-news-storiesandItemid=6](http://www.newsudanvision.com/index.php?option=com_contentandview=articleandid=1758:can-celebrities-save-darfurandcatid=1:sudan-news-storiesandItemid=6)

Feinberg, A. 1991. Cause celebs: the truth behind celebrity fundraisers – a behind-the-scenes look at the world of Hollywood charity benefits. *Entertainment Weekly*. April 26. [Online] Available: <http://www.ew.com/ew/article/0,,314071,00.html>

Fiering, N. S. 1976. Irresistible compassion: an aspect of eighteenth-century sympathy and humanitarianism. *Journal of the History of Ideas*. 37(2). April-June.

Flemming, L. 2010. Darfur: where celebrities love to tread. *BBC news*. February 9. [Online] Available: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8501526.stm>

Friedman, R. 2007. Clooney, friends raise millions for Darfur at Cannes. *Fox news*. May 23. [Online] Available: <http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,274958,00.html>

Garratt, S. 2008. From glamour to the Ganges. *Mind Food*. March. [Online] Available: <http://www.mindfood.com/at-scarlett-johansson-oxfam-india-sri-lanka-charity.seo> [Accessed 4 March 2011]

Global Exchange. 2000. House vote opposes IMF and World Bank "user fees" for education and health in poorest countries. July 14. [Online] Available: <http://www.globalexchange.org/campaigns/wbimf/userFees071400.html.pdf>

Global Solutions. 2009. World leaders and celebrities call for action in Darfur. *Citizens for Global Solutions*. September 18. [Online] Available:

[http://archive2.globalsolutions.org/issues/world\\_leaders\\_and\\_celebrities\\_call\\_action\\_darfur](http://archive2.globalsolutions.org/issues/world_leaders_and_celebrities_call_action_darfur)

Goffe, L. 2011. Hollywood's role in South Sudan's independence. *BBC news*. July 7. New York. [Online] Available: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-14050504>

Goodman, M. and Barnes, C. 2010. *Star/Poverty space: the making of the development celebrity*. London: King's College London. (Paper #35). [Online] Available: <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/schools/sspp/geography/research/epd/working.html> [Accessed 19 May 2011]

Good News Network. 2007. Jolie-Pitt foundation donates \$1m in Darfur. May 11. [Online] Available: <http://www.goodnewsnetwork.org/content/view/2032/118/>

Goodrich, L. M. 1947. From League of Nations to United Nations. *International Organisation*. 1(1). [Online] Available: <http://journals.cambridge.org.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/action/displayFulltext?type=1andfid=3317520andjid=INOandvolumeId=1andissueId=01andaaid=3317512andbodyId=andmembershipNumber=andsocietyETOCSession> [Accessed 11 May 2011]

Gorman News Agency. 2006. Celebrities help in Darfur, Sudan: celebrity activist response to crisis. June 3. [Online] Available: <http://voices.yahoo.com/celebrities-help-darfur-sudan-42389.html>

Hahn, N. 2010. Celebrities and the Taylor trial: justice and false consciousness. *Policy Watch Journal*. London. September 28. [Online] Available: <http://policywatchjournal.com/home/news/1-latest-news/115-celebrities-and-the-taylor-trial-justice-and-false-consciousness>

Hammond, P. 2010. Darfur: every celebs favourite war. *Spiked Review of Books*. February. [Online] Available: <http://www.spiked-online.com/index.php/site/article/8277/> [Accessed 7 September 2011]

Hammond, P. 2008. Darfur: the dangers of celebrity imperialism. *Spiked Review of Books*. October. [Online] Available: [http://www.spiked-online.com/index.php?site/reviewofbooks\\_article/5852/](http://www.spiked-online.com/index.php?site/reviewofbooks_article/5852/) [Accessed 7 July 2011]

Harman, D. 2007. Star power brings attention to Africa. *The Christian Science Monitor*. August 22. [Online] Available: [http://www.csmonitor.com/2007/0822/p01s01-woaf.html/\(page\)/4](http://www.csmonitor.com/2007/0822/p01s01-woaf.html/(page)/4)

Hart, H. L. A. 1979. The Shell Foundation lectures: 1978-1979 utilitarianism and natural rights. *Tulane Law Review*. 53(3). 663-680. April. [Online] Available: <http://www.heinonline.org.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/HOL/Page?page=663andhandle=hein.journals%2Ftulr53andcollection=journals> [Accessed 20 June 2011]

Heyes, L. 2003. Book review essay – beyond the age of humanitarianism: past trends and future challenges. *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management*. 11(4). 178-183. December.

- Hicks, D. A. 2006. The limits of celebrity activism. *The Christian Century*. March 21. [Online] Available: <http://www.religion-online.org/showarticle.asp?title=3331>
- Hood, J. 2010. Celebrity philanthropy: the cultivation of China's HIV/AIDS heroes. (In L. Edwards and E. Jeffreys (eds.) *Celebrity in China*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.) 85-102.
- Huliaras, A. and Tzifakis, N. 2010. Celebrity activism in international relations: in search for a framework for analysis. *Global Society*. 24(2). 255-274. April 7. [Online] Available: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13600821003626567>
- Hunt, K. 2006. Celebrities, activists rally against Darfur genocide. *USA Today*. April. [Online] Available: [http://www.usatoday.com/news/washington/2006-04-30-darfurrally\\_x.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/news/washington/2006-04-30-darfurrally_x.htm) [Accessed 14 May 2011]
- Huntington, S. P. 1973. Transnational organisations in world politics. (In R. Little and M, Smith (eds.), *Perspectives in World Policy*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Routledge.) 333-368.
- Hutson, J. 2011. How celebrities are making a difference for human rights: The Enough Project launches Celebrity Upstanders database. *Enough Project*. July 28. [Online] Available: <http://enoughproject.org/about/celebrity-upstanders>
- Inskip, S. 2007. 'Not On Our Watch': a mission to end genocide. *NPR books*. May 1. [Online] Available: <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=9928999>
- Jackson, N. 2010. Bono's politics: celebrities and international development. [Online] Available: <http://www.bonopolitics.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/Bonos-Politics-The-Future-of-Celebrity-Political-Activism.pdf> [Accessed 11 February 2011]
- Jacobsen, K. L. 2010. Making design safe for citizens: a hidden history of humanitarian experimentation. *Citizenship Studies*. 14(1). February. [Online] Available: <http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~db=all~content=a919365571> [Accessed 24 October 2010]
- James, C. 2006. Megastars out to save the world: those halos can tarnish in an instant". *New York Times*. November 13. [Online] Available: [http://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/13/arts/13halo.html?\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/13/arts/13halo.html?_r=1)
- Jones, S. And Robinson, J. 2010. Bob Geldof anger at BBC over Band Aid allegations: documentary on rebels siphoning cash sparks fury, with legal action threatened and sackings demanded. *The Guardian*. March 9. [Online] Available: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2010/mar/09/bob-geldof-bbc-band-aid>
- Keele, L. 2007. Social capital and the dynamics of trust in government. *American Journal of Political Science* 51(2). 241-254. [Online] Available: <http://www.jstor.org/pss/4620063> [Accessed 25 March 2011]
- Keohane, R. O. & Nye, J. S. 1998. Power and interdependence in the information age. *Foreign Affairs*. 77(5). 81-94. Council on Foreign Relations. September-October. [Online] Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20049052> [Accessed 3 October 2011]

Koppes, C. R. and Black, G. D. 1990. *Hollywood Goes to War*. London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd.

Kramer, L. 2011. Scarlett Johansson helps feed the hungry: actress raises money, awareness for charity organisation USA Harvest. *NBC news*. April. [Online] Available: [http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/41877811/ns/us\\_news-giving/t/scarlett-johansson-helps-feed-hungry](http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/41877811/ns/us_news-giving/t/scarlett-johansson-helps-feed-hungry) [Accessed May 16 2011]

Kron, J. 2010. Sudan Movement's mission is secured: statehood. *International Centre for Peace and Democracy*. [Online] Available: <http://www.icfpd.org/News-Update/sudan-movements-mission-is-secured-statehood.html> [Accessed 24 October 2011]

La Bella, L. 2009. *Angelina Jolie: Goodwill Ambassador for the United Nations*. New York: Rosen Publishing Group, Inc. [Online] Available: [http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=9GrTqGXCyzoCandpg=PA54andlpg=PA54anddq=angelina+jolie+darfur+advert+in+the+Todayandsource=blandots=FgliuJk65uandsig=VaffpJg7wIDoMXjGhtrC8kBmtLYandhl=enandei=awZaToroNpOEhQfK0ekiandsa=Xandoi=book\\_resu\\_tandct=resultandresnum=8andsqi=2andved=0CFYQ6AEwBw#v=onepageandqandf=false](http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=9GrTqGXCyzoCandpg=PA54andlpg=PA54anddq=angelina+jolie+darfur+advert+in+the+Todayandsource=blandots=FgliuJk65uandsig=VaffpJg7wIDoMXjGhtrC8kBmtLYandhl=enandei=awZaToroNpOEhQfK0ekiandsa=Xandoi=book_resu_tandct=resultandresnum=8andsqi=2andved=0CFYQ6AEwBw#v=onepageandqandf=false) [Accessed 17 July 2010]

Lange, J. 2002. Celebrities and landmines. *Journal of Mine Action*. 6.1. MAIC. April. [Online] Available: <http://maic.jmu.edu/journal/6.1/notes/lange/lange.htm> [Accessed 5 March 2011]

Lawson, S. 2003. *International Relations*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Leander, A. 2008. *Sign Wars: Hollywood documentaries branding politics*. Copenhagen, Denmark: Copenhagen Business School. [Online] Available: <http://openarchive.cbs.dk/bitstream/handle/10398/7031/wp%202008-1.pdf?sequence=1> [Accessed 19 June 2010]

Lerner, G. 2010. Ben Affleck launches initiative for Congo aid. *CNN World*. March. [Online] Available: [http://articles.cnn.com/2010-03-22/world/congo.affleck\\_1\\_lav-launches-soldiers?s=PM:WORLD](http://articles.cnn.com/2010-03-22/world/congo.affleck_1_lav-launches-soldiers?s=PM:WORLD) [Accessed 2 October 2011]

Look to the stars. 2011. Angelina Jolie's charity work, events and causes: charity biography. [Online] Available: <http://www.looktothestars.org/celebrity/2-angelina-jolie> [Accessed 21 February 2011]

MacDonald, R. 2004. Celebrities, charities and complaints. *Pubmed Central*. 329(7463). 465. BMJ Publishing Group Ltd. August 21. [Online] Available: <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC514225/>

Mack, A. 2008. Keeping the mystery alive: divine and exotic discourses in the I AM AFRICAN campaign. *All Academic Research*. [Online] Available: [http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p\\_mla\\_apa\\_research\\_citation/2/4/6/2/3/pages246239/p246239-1.php](http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/2/4/6/2/3/pages246239/p246239-1.php) [Accessed 5 March 2011]

Macrae, J and Leader, N. 2001. Apples, pears and porridge: The origins and impacts of the search for 'coherence' between humanitarian and political responses to chronic political

emergencies. *Disasters*. 25(4). [Online] Available: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/doi/10.1111/1467-7717.00179/pdf> [Accessed 19 October 2011]

Mbatiah, S. 2010. Sudan365: A Beat for Peace in Sudan launched. *Newstime Africa*. January 8. [Online] Available: <http://www.newstimeafrica.com/archives/10146>

Meldrum, A. 2010. Clooney, Google team up to help Sudan: Clooney launches Satellite Project to monitor Sudan and prevent civil war. *Global Post*. December 28. [Online] Available: <http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/africa/101228/sudan-hollywood-george-clooney>

Meldrum, A. 2011. Sudan: Clooney's group makes new charges of mass graves. *Global Post*. August 24. [Online] Available: <http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/regions/africa/110823/sudan-new-allegations-mass-killings-and-graves-south-kordofan-pr>

Miller, M. J. 2007. The crisis in Darfur. *Mediterranean Quarterly*. 18(4). 112-130. Mediterranean Affairs, Inc. Fall. [Online] Available: <http://mq.dukejournals.org/content/18/4/112.full.pdf+html> [Accessed 22 April 2011]

Morgenthau, H. J. 1964. Modern science and political power. *Columbia Law Review*. 64(8). 1386-1409. December. [Online] Available: <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/stable/1120764?seq=5> [Accessed: 24 October 2011]

Murphey, D. D. 2008. 'Do something about Darfur': a review of the complexities. *The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*. 33(2). 229-264. Summer. [Online] Available: [http://www.jspes.org/Sample\\_Murphey2.pdf](http://www.jspes.org/Sample_Murphey2.pdf) [Accessed 3 September 2010]

Nel, P. 1999. Theories of international relations. (In P. J. McGowan, S. Cornelissen, & P. Nel. (eds) *Power, Wealth and Global Equity: an international relations textbook for Africa*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Cape Town: UCT Press.) 21-45.

New Internationalist. 2007. Darfur: a history. *New Internationalist*. 401. June. [Online] Available: <http://www.newint.org/features/2007/06/01/history/>. [Accessed 14 March 2011]

Norton, M. 1996. *The Worldwide Fundraiser's Handbook: a resource mobilisation guide for NGOs and community organisations*. (3rd ed.) London: Directory of Social Change. [Online] Available: [http://www.dsc.org.uk/portal\\_products/products/002926/attachments/Look%20Inside%20-%20Worldwide%20Fundraisers%20Handbook.pdf](http://www.dsc.org.uk/portal_products/products/002926/attachments/Look%20Inside%20-%20Worldwide%20Fundraisers%20Handbook.pdf) [Accessed 20 October 2011]

Nussbaum, A. 1952. Significance of Roman law in the history of international law. *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*. 100. 678. [Online] Available: [http://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/pnlr100anddiv=47andg\\_sent=1andcollaction=journals](http://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/pnlr100anddiv=47andg_sent=1andcollaction=journals) [Accessed 8 November 2010]

O' Neil, B. 2006a. The Hollywood actor's burden. *Spiked Review of Books*. May. [Online] Available: <http://www.spiked-online.com/index.php/site/article/54/> [Accessed 7 July 2010]



O' Neil, B. 2006b. Brad and Angelina and the rise of 'celebrity colonialism'. *New York Times Magazine*. May. [Online] Available: <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/12/05/magazine/05sudan-t.html?hp> [Accessed 7 July 2010]

O' Neil, B. 2006c. Darfur: damned by pity. *Spiked Review of Books*. September. [Online] Available: <http://www.spiked-online.com/index.php?/site/article/1687/> [Accessed 7 July 2010]

Osiander, A. 1998. Rereading early twentieth-century IR theory: idealism revisited. *International Studies Quarterly*. 42. 409-432 [Online] Available: [http://www.politique.uqam.ca/upload/files/hiver2009/notes\\_de\\_cours/Pol-5410\\_rereading\\_early\\_Osiander.pdf](http://www.politique.uqam.ca/upload/files/hiver2009/notes_de_cours/Pol-5410_rereading_early_Osiander.pdf) [Accessed 22 April 2011]

Palmer, A. 2008. In pictures: Matt Damon joins stars' dramatic Darfur protest. *Mirror*. April. [Online] Available: <http://www.mirror.co.uk/celebs/news/2008/04/12/in-pictures-matt-damon-joins-stars-dramatic-darfur-protest-115875-20380285> [Accessed 22 April 2011]

Petersen, A. H. 2010. Why George Clooney makes me donate: Haiti, celebrities and philanthropy. *Celebrity gossip, academic style*. January. [Online] Available: <http://www.anehelenpetersen.com/?p=1122> [Accessed 8 March 2011]

Philip, C. 2008. How stars turned the spotlight on Darfur. *The Sunday Times*. London. February 13. [Online] Available: [http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/us\\_and\\_america/article3363882.ece](http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/us_and_america/article3363882.ece)

Plummer, L. 2011. Fund4Darfur appeal. *BMyCharity*. [Online] Available: <http://www.bmycharity.com/laurenhalfmarathon> [Accessed 6 November 2011]

Puccinini, C. 2008. *Public Humanitarian Advocacy: challenges, opportunity and its channelling through celebrities*. Leeds: University of Leeds. [Online] Available: [http://ics.leeds.ac.uk/PG%20Study/MA%20Showcase/Carlo%20Piccinini%20\(2\).pdf](http://ics.leeds.ac.uk/PG%20Study/MA%20Showcase/Carlo%20Piccinini%20(2).pdf) [Accessed 12 August 2011]

Rampell, E. 2005. Jane (Fonda)'s revolution. *Alternet*. New York. June 2. [Online] Available: [http://wbai.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=5872&Itemid=2](http://wbai.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=5872&Itemid=2) [Accessed 10 March 2011]

Read, O. 2006. The Darfur crisis: Sudan's Janjaweed militia. *PBS news hour*. April 7. [Online] Available: [http://www.pbs.org/newshour/indepth\\_coverage/africa/darfur/militia.html](http://www.pbs.org/newshour/indepth_coverage/africa/darfur/militia.html)

Reeves, E. 2005. Genocide in Darfur: how the horror began. *Sunday Tribune*. September. [Online] Available: <http://www.sudantribune.com> [Accessed 9 March 2011]

Robé, C. 2010. *The good fight: The Spanish civil war and U.S. left film criticism. Framework*. 51(1). Spring [Online] Available: [http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/journals/framework\\_the\\_journal\\_of\\_cinema\\_and\\_media/v051/51.1.robe.pdf](http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/journals/framework_the_journal_of_cinema_and_media/v051/51.1.robe.pdf) [Accessed 7 July 2010]

Robinson, P. 1999. The CNN effect: can the news media drive foreign policy? *Review of International Studies*. 25(2). 301-309. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. April. [Online] Available: <http://www.jstor.org/pss/20097596> [Accessed 17 November 2010]

Saunders, T. 2007. Celebrities offer support to Darfur. *Look to the Stars*. December 10. [Online] Available: <http://www.looktothestars.org/news/462-celebrities-offer-support-to-darfur>

Schechter, A. 2008. Breakfast with Blackwater. *ABC news*. August 8. [Online] Available: <http://abcnews.go.com/Blotter/story?id=5617186&page=1>

Sherman, G. E. 1918. Jus gentium and international law. *American Journal of International Law*. 12. 56[Online] Available: [http://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/ajil12&div=8&g\\_sent=1&collection=journals](http://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/ajil12&div=8&g_sent=1&collection=journals)[Accessed 20 March 2010]

Sherman, S. 2006. Imperialism watch: The perils of humanitarian intervention. *Counterpunch*. June 6. [Online] Available: <http://www.counterpunch.org/sherman06062007.html>

Sheridan, E. 2009. Mia Farrow to fast for Darfur after Sudan's government block foreign aid. *Daily Mail*. April 22. [Online] Available: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-1172683/Mia-Farrow-fast-Darfur-Sudans-government-block-foreign-aid.html>

Shklar, J. 2004. The liberalism of fear. (In S. P. Young (ed.) *Political Liberalism: variations on a theme*. New York: SUNY Press.) 149-166.

Simma, B. & Paulus, A. L. 1998. The 'international community': facing the challenge of globalization. *European Journal of International Law*. 9. 266-277. [Online] Available: <http://ejil.oxfordjournals.org.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/content/9/2/266.full.pdf+html>[Accessed 22 April 2011).

Shahid, A. 2011. Obama suggests at California fundraiser that dip in approval ratings are due to soaring gas prices. *Daily News*. New York. April. [Online] Available: [http://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/2011/04/22/2011-04-22-obama-suggests-at-california-fundraiser-that-dip-in-approval-ratings-is-due-to-s.html?utm\\_source=feedburner&utm\\_medium=feed&utm\\_campaign=Feed%3A+nydnrss%2FHome+%28Home%29](http://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/2011/04/22/2011-04-22-obama-suggests-at-california-fundraiser-that-dip-in-approval-ratings-is-due-to-s.html?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=feed&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+nydnrss%2FHome+%28Home%29)[Accessed 10 June 2011]

Spoerri, P. 2009. The Geneva Conventions of 1949: origins and current significance. *ICRC*. August 12. [Online] Available: <http://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/statement/geneva-conventions-statement-120809.htm>

Straus, S. 2005. Darfur and the genocide debate. *Foreign Affairs*. 84(1). January/February[Online] Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20034212> [Accessed 16 May 2010]



Straziuso, J.& Fick, M. 2011. George Clooney uses Hollywood stardom in S. Sudan. *The Washington Times*. January 8.[Online] Available:

<http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2011/jan/8/george-clooney-uses-hollywood-stardom-s-sudan/?page=all#pagebreak>

Sudan Hope. 2009. Save the people, save a nation: Sudan hope fundraising gala to be held in Hollywood tomorrow. *Minority News*. November 11. [Online] Available:

[http://www.blackradionetwork.com/hollywood\\_to\\_open\\_its\\_wallets\\_for\\_sudan\\_tomorrow](http://www.blackradionetwork.com/hollywood_to_open_its_wallets_for_sudan_tomorrow)

Sznaider, N. 1998. The sociology of compassion: a study in the sociology of morals. *Cultural Values*. 2(1). January. 117-139 [Online] Available:

<http://web.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/ehost/detail?sid=4f56adfa-c735-4bf5-a2af528707817e73%40sessionmgr113andvid=1andhid=104andbdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=aphandAN=3251997>[Accessed 4 April 2011]

Taylor, E, R. 1917. The fusion of law and equality. *University of Pennsylvania Law Review and American Register*. 66(1/2). 17-27 December. [Online] Available:

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3314320?seq=4>[Accessed 29 January 2011]

T' Hart, P. and Tindall, K. 2008. Leadership by the famous: celebrity as political capital. (In J. Kane, H. Patapan& P. T' Hart (eds.) *Dispersed Leadership in Democracies*.Oxford: Oxford University Press.). 1-41.[Online] Available:

<http://politicsir.cass.anu.edu.au/staff/hart/pubschapters.htm> [Accessed 11 October 2011]

Traub, J. 2008. The celebrity solution. *NYT Magazine: the money issue*. 1-7. 9 March. [Online] Available:

<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/09/magazine/09CELEBRITY-t.html>

UN News Centre. 2006. Celebrities can do more to help UN spotlight world crises, says actor George Clooney. September 14. [Online] Available:

<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=19845andCr=SudanandCr1=Darfur#>

UNICEF. 2010. *Goodwill Ambassadors and advocates*. 18 May. [Online] Available:

[http://www.unicef.org/people/people\\_ambassadors.html](http://www.unicef.org/people/people_ambassadors.html)

Vallely, P. 2009. From A-lister to aid worker: does celebrity diplomacy really work? *The Independent*. January 17. [Online] Available:

<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/profiles/from-alister-to-aid-worker-does-celebrity-diplomacy-really-work-1365946.html>

Waltz, K. N. 1959. *Man, the State and War: a theoretical analysis*. New York: Columbia University Press. [Online] Available:

<http://books.google.co.za/books?hl=enandlr=andid=qUsb210ml48Candoi=fndandpg=PR7anddq=waltz,+idealism+and+world+war+oneanddots=zbNm-Jx1mVandsig=LOvl6xZO7UUfB4Dy0pcIv3AyW04#v=onepageandqandf=false>[Accessed 6 February 2011]

Weiss, T. G. 1994. Triage: humanitarian interventions in a new era. *World Policy Journal*. 11(1).59-68. Spring. [Online] Available:

<http://www.jstor.org/pss/40209349> [Accessed 29 May 2011]

West, K. 2005. *Lyrics time*. July 4. [Online] Available: <http://www.lyricstime.com/kanye-west-diamonds-are-forever-remix-feat-jay-z-lyrics.html>

West, D. M. 2008. Angelina, Mia and Bono: celebrities and international development. *Brainard and Chollet*, 74-84. August 1. [Online] Available: [http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/Programs/Global/brookings\\_blum\\_roundtable/2007west.pdf](http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/Programs/Global/brookings_blum_roundtable/2007west.pdf)

Willoughby, E. 2008. Celebrities bring attention to UN efforts. *Look to the Stars*. April 17. [Online] Available: <http://www.looktothestars.org/news/707-celebrities-bring-attention-to-un-efforts>

Yambura, B. S., Albarran, A. B. & Goffe, D. H. 2000. *Understanding the Web: social, political and economic dimensions of the internet*. Ames: Wiley-Blackwell.

Yaziji, M. And Doh, J. 2009. NGOs and corporations: conflict and collaboration. *Cambridge University Press*. [Online] Available: [http://assets.cambridge.org/97805218/66842/frontmatter/9780521866842\\_frontmatter.pdf](http://assets.cambridge.org/97805218/66842/frontmatter/9780521866842_frontmatter.pdf) [Accessed 17 March 2011]

York, B. 2011. Obama assumes re-election: 'We're only a quarter of the way through'. *The Washington Examiner*. April. [Online] Available: <http://washingtonexaminer.com/blogs/beltway-confidential/2011/04/obama-assumes-re-election-were-only-quarter-way-through> [19 June 2011]

Yrjölä, R. 2009. The invisible violence of celebrity humanitarianism: soft images and hard words in the making and unmaking of Africa. *World Political Science Review*. 5(1). [Online] Available: <http://www.bepress.com/wpsr/vol5/iss1/art14> [Accessed 30 August 2010]