



Facultad de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales

Bachelor in Global Communication

Bachelor's Thesis

Feminist discourse within the UN

Contrastive analysis of Hillary Clinton's speech *Women's rights are human rights* (1995), and Emma Watson's speech *Gender equality is your issue too* (2014)

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Abstract

Feminism is a social movement that has evolved significantly in recent decades, from being a marginal cause to an important political force in many countries. Since its beginnings, many female personalities have spoken out in favor of women's rights, however, the feminist discourse has not always been the same. Over the years, feminist discourse has adopted a new, more inclusive and diverse approach. This paper seeks to investigate the evolution of feminist political discourse through the study and contrastive analysis of two feminist speeches delivered by two women at the United Nations. These are Hillary Clinton's speech *Women's rights are human rights*, delivered in 1995, and Emma Watson's speech *Gender equality is your issue too*, from 2014. Both speeches exemplify how feminist discourse has ceased to be a discourse only for women and has become a battle for gender equality. Thus, by studying them, this work aims to contribute to a better understanding of the latent feminist evolution.

Palabras clave: women, feminism, UN, discourse analysis, gender equality.

Resumen

El feminismo es un movimiento social que ha evolucionado significativamente en las últimas décadas pasando de ser una lucha marginal a ser una fuerza política importante en muchos países. Desde sus inicios, muchas personalidades femeninas se han pronunciado a favor de los derechos de la mujer, sin embargo, el discurso feminista no siempre ha sido el mismo. A lo largo de los años el discurso feminista ha ido adoptando un nuevo enfoque, más inclusivo y diverso. El presente trabajo busca investigar cómo ha sido la evolución del discurso político feminista mediante el estudio y análisis contrastivo de dos discursos feministas pronunciados por dos mujeres ante las Naciones Unidas. Se trata del discurso de Hillary Clinton *Women's rights are human rights*, pronunciado en 1995, y el discurso de Emma Watson *Gender equality is your issue too*, de 2014. Estos discursos ejemplifican cómo el discurso feminista ha dejado de ser un discurso solo para la mujer y se ha convertido en una lucha por la igualdad para todos los géneros y su estudio pretende ayudar a comprender la latente evolución feminista.

Palabras clave: mujeres, feminismo, ONU, análisis del discurso, igualdad de género.

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1. Introduction

Political discourse is one of the most important tools for social transformation and is a major pillar in the feminist struggle. For this reason, this paper analyzes two speeches delivered in favor of gender equality, both at the United Nations. The first speech is entitled *Women's rights are human rights* and was delivered by Hillary Clinton in 1995. The second speech is entitled *Gender equality is your issue too* and was delivered by Emma Watson in 2014. Both speeches had a great impact on the media and the masses, and still remain highly relevant. Furthermore, these are two speeches in favor of feminism delivered by two women within the framework of the UN. At first glance, what mainly differentiates them is the fact that they are their almost twenty years apart in the timeline. Twenty years of continuous struggle for gender equality between one speech and the other. And here is where the theoretical and practical relevance of this research comes into play. This paper aims to investigate the evolution of feminist oratory between 1995 and 2014 through the analysis of each speech. In fact, there are already several studies focused on the analysis of these discourses separately, but this work aims to serve as an extension by conducting a contrastive analysis of both.

As for the structure of this work, the following section will explain in detail what the objectives are and how they are intended to be achieved. Later on, a theoretical framework will be provided in which all the theoretical content that will be applied later in the practical part of the work will be included. Since this work belongs to the area of discourse analysis, the theoretical framework will present various theories and approaches to critical discourse analysis proposed by different scholars and practitioners in the field. In addition, since the discourses analyzed in this paper are feminist discourses, they will be analyzed from the perspective of feminist stylistics, whose theory is also included in the theoretical framework. After the theoretical framework, the social and political context of the moment in which the speeches took place is presented, as well as the current context of the feminist struggle and its evolution in recent decades. Finally, the analysis is presented and discussed, first of both discourses separately and then their contrastive analysis.

2. Objectives

This final thesis aims to shed light on the evolution of feminist discourse in the decades between 1995 and 2014. The objectives are twofold: to analyze the speeches of Hillary Clinton and Emma Watson following the same methodology in order to carry out a small contrastive analysis that shows the evolution of the feminist approach and to reveal their most significant differences.

As previously mentioned, the speeches of Emma Watson and Hillary Clinton caused a great furor and have already been the subject of several studies in the field of critical discourse analysis. The author of this study decided to choose feminist discourse analysis as a topic for several reasons. First, feminism is a socially relevant and contemporary issue. Studying speeches delivered in favor of the feminist struggle can help to better understand the situation and the different perspectives that have been held on the subject over the years. Secondly, feminism is on its way to being a field of study in its own right, but there is still a lot of ignorance and there is a need to boost existing studies on the subject and to create new ones.

As for the methodology, it is composed of toolkits from scholars in the field of feminist stylistics, a sub-area of critical discourse analysis studies, which are presented in the following section. The author of this paper has decided to choose feminist stylistics as a point of reference for her analysis since this is one of the least exploited sub-areas within critical discourse analysis studies. Thus, since the purpose of this paper is to contribute new ideas and to serve as a continuation for other research based on these discourses, feminist stylistics is the most appropriate analytical perspective for this bachelor's thesis and its objectives.

In conclusion, this paper aims to put into practice part of the theory developed to date on feminist stylistics and to propose a new analysis of two discourses that address the struggle for gender equality, a crucial part of current social movements.

3. Theoretical framework

The present research draws on the study and analysis of various speeches that Emma Watson and Hillary Clinton have pronounced in support of gender equality. This study will be conducted through different discourse approaches, namely, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Feminist Stylistics. Throughout this chapter we will shortly discuss the main aspects of both approaches which are relevant for our discussion.

3.1. CDA

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) arises from Halliday's critical theory of language, which perceived the use of language as a social practice. All social practices go hand in hand with a specific historical context and are what allow social relations to exist and endure over time, and the different interests of people to be satisfied.

It is the questions pertaining to interests that relate discourse to relations of power. How is the text positioned or positioning? Whose interests are served by this positioning? Where analysis seeks to understand how discourse is implicated in analysis of power it is called Critical Discourse Analysis (Hilary Janks, 1997, p.1).

According to van Dijk (1998), CDA is an area of study that deals with the analysis of texts in both written and oral form with the aim of highlighting the relations of power, domination, bias, and inequality on which discourses are built within a given social, political, and historical context. Similarly, Fairclough (1993) argues that CDA seeks to expose the often-hidden relations of causality and determination between discursive practices, communicative events and texts, and social structures and relations. It aims to observe how such discourses and texts are ideologically influenced by social and power relations, and to investigate how the opacity of this important influence contributes to the continuity of power and hegemony.

Critical Discourse Analysis has entailed many approaches and many practitioners have engaged in it. Back in the late 1970s, Critical Linguistics (CL) was created by a group of linguists and literary theorists at the University of East Anglia (Fowler et. al., 1979; Kress & Hodge, 1979). Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) was the pillar of their work, and they regarded language as the simultaneous performance of three

functions: ideational, interpersonal, and textual (Sheyholislami, 2001). According to Fowler (1991, p. 71), and Fairclough (1995b, p. 25) the ideational function refers to the experience of the speakers of the world and its phenomena and the interpersonal function embodies the insertion of speakers' own attitudes and evaluations about the phenomena in question and establishing a relationship between speakers and listeners. Then, it is through the textual function of language that speakers are able to produce texts that are understood by listeners. It is an enabling function connecting discourse to the co-text and context in which it occurs.

The central assumption of CDA and SFL, by which this bachelor's thesis is going to be driven, is that every person, while speaking, makes choices regarding vocabulary and grammar which are principled and systematic (Fowler et al., 1979, p. 188), this meaning that they are based on ideology. Also, according to Fowler et al. (1979, p. 188), the "relation between form and content is not arbitrary or conventional, but form signifies content". Encapsulating, language is a social act, and it is driven by ideologies.

Over the last years, comparisons between the earlier work in CL and more recent work have been made, and some concerns have arisen because of two reasons. First, it is crucial to keep in mind that the interpretation of discourses may differ in between people, so the analysts may not perceive the discourse as the audiences do. Secondly, intertextuality plays an equally important role as textuality does when scanning through a discourse, and earlier work on CL misses this point. These two concerns have been raised by Fairclough (1995b) who asserts that the earliest work in CL did not adequately focus on the "interpretive practices of audiences" and that "the linguistic analysis is very much focused upon clauses, with little attention to higher-level organization properties of whole texts" (p.28).

In terms of CDA, some of the scholars who have contributed the most value to this area of study through their work include van Dijk, Wodak, Fairclough. Without forgetting Halliday, who, with his SFL, laid the foundations on which it was later built.

As previously mentioned, Halliday argues that language is used in a functional way, and that each speaker chooses his or her words according to what he or she wishes to achieve with them. Of the three functions that Halliday exposes and analyzes with his

SFL (ideational, interpersonal, textual), it is from the construction of the ideational or experiential function that the system of transitivity arises. This involves one major system of grammatical choice and is the pillar on which many other studies, such as feminist stylistics, are built. In his work *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, Halliday identifies transitivity as follows:

A fundamental property of language is that it enables human beings to build a mental picture of reality, to make sense of their experience of what goes on around them and inside them. Our most powerful conception of reality is that it consists of “goings-on”: of doing, happening, feeling, being. These goings-on are sorted out in the semantic system of language and expressed through the grammar of the clause. This is the system of TRANSITIVITY. Transitivity specifies the different types of processes that are recognized in the language and the structures by which they are expressed (1985, p. 101)

In brief, clauses represent events and processes of various kinds, and transitivity aims to make clear how the action is performed, by whom and on what (Nguyen 2012, p. 87). Likewise, as Hasan has well reported in his work *Functions of style*:

Transitivity is concerned with a coding of the goings on: who does what in relation to whom/what, where, when, how, and why. Thus, the analysis is in terms of some process, its participants, and the circumstances pertinent to the process – participant configuration. (1988, p. 63).

Halliday argues that transitivity is measurable and evaluable by studying the clausal structure of a sentence, which is based on its main verb. According to this theory, the transitivity of each process differs from the rest according to what it represents: actions, dialogues, states of mind or being, feelings. Six different processes are thus distinguished. *Material processes* of transitivity are processes of doing, usually physical and tangible actions. *Mental processes* usually encode mental reactions such as perception, thoughts, and feelings. *Relational processes* construe the relationships of being and having between two participants. *Behavioral processes* characterize the outer expression of inner working and reflect physiological and psychological behaviors such as breathing, laughing, or sneezing. *Verbal processes* represent the art of saying and its synonyms and, lastly, *existential processes* prove states of being, existing, and happening (Nguyen 2012).

Furthermore, constant references to Van Dijk are not only found in CDA but also in many studies on media discourse. In his *News Analysis* (1988), Van Dijk applied his discourse theory to the practical analysis of both national and international news reports.

Back then, what distinguished his approach from the rest was his idea that it was not enough to analyze the textual and structural part of a discourse, one had to go further and understand and analyze the processes of production and reception of the discourse (Boyd-Barrett, 1994).

Discourse is not simply an isolated textual or dialogic structure. Rather it is a complex communicative event that also embodies a social context, featuring participants (and their properties) as well as production and reception processes. (Van Dijk, 1988, p. 2)

Production processes refer to everything that influences news-making, such as journalistic and institutional practices and the social and economic context. This will not only affect the elaboration of the discourse but can also dictate the structure of it. Reception processes, on the other hand, encompass the audience's understanding, assimilation, and reproduction of the discourse. Van Dijk's aim is to highlight the relationship between the three levels of the text (structure, production, and comprehension) and the social context with which they interact (Sheyholislami, 2001).

For Van Dijk (1995), discourse analysis is analogous to ideological analysis because “ideologies are typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication, including nonverbal semiotic messages, such as images, photographs, and films” (p.17). His approach to ideological analysis consists of three parts: social context analysis, cognitive analysis, and discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 1995). It is the cognitive analysis that differentiates his approach from the rest of the CDA approaches. For him, it is sociocognition that binds society and discourse together, this being “the system of mental representations and processes of group members” (p.18). Moreover, according to Van Dijk these mental representations “are often articulated along the dimensions of Us versus Them, in which speakers in a group will generally tend to present themselves or their own group in positive terms, and other groups in negative terms” (p. 22).

In his book *Approaches to Media Discourse* (1998, p. 61-63), Van Dijk lists the steps to follow in order to analyze a discourse evidencing the ideological dichotomy:

1. Examining the context of the discourse: historical, political, or social background of a conflict and its main participants.

2. Analyzing groups, power relations and conflicts involved.
3. Identifying positive and negative opinions about Us versus Them.
4. Making explicit the presupposed and the implied.
5. Examining all formal structure: lexical choice and syntactic structure, in a way that helps to (de)emphasize polarized group opinions.

Coversely, Discourse Sociolinguistics is the CDA approach attributed to Wodak and her colleagues in Vienna (The Vienna School of Discourse Analysis), (Sheyholislami, 2001).

Discourse Sociolinguistics...is a sociolinguistics which not only is explicitly dedicated to the study of the text in context, but also accords both factors equal importance. It is an approach capable of identifying and describing the underlying mechanisms that contribute to those disorders in discourse which are embedded in a particular context--whether they be in the structure and function of the media, or in institutions such as a hospital or a school--and inevitably affect communication. (Wodak, 1996, p.3)

Wodak focuses part of her work on the analysis of the historical context of a discourse since she argues that this has a great influence and impact on the production, structure, function, and interpretation of it. This nuance is what distinguishes Wodak's approach from that of other CDA scholars, especially Van Dijk's (Sheyholislami, 2001).

This approach is called *discourse historical method* and argues that "language manifests social processes and interaction and constitutes those processes as well" (Wodak & Ludwig, 1999, p. 12). This statement in turn encompasses three crucial ideas: discourse is always related to ideology and power, discourse is always historical in nature as it is related to other events in the timeline, and each person will interpret a discourse differently depending on his or her knowledge and experiences (Wodak & Ludwig, 1999).

In parallel, Fairclough's approach and theory have been one of the most important pillars for CDA over the last twenty years. In their book *Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis* (1999), Fairclough and Chuliaraki wrote:

CDA of a communicative interaction sets out to show that the semiotic and linguistic features of the interaction are systematically connected with what is going on socially, and what is going on socially is indeed going on partly or wholly semiotically or linguistically. Put differently, CDA systematically charts relations of transformation between the symbolic and non-symbolic, between discourse and the non-discursive. (p. 113)

His method focuses on three aspects when analyzing any interaction: the text, the discourse practice, and the sociocultural practice (Fairclough, 1995b). This may remind us of van Dijk's three dimensions: discourse, sociocognition and social analysis; but the difference lies in the fact that for van Dijk sociocognition was what brings discourse and society together, whereas for Fairclough it is the processes of production and consumption of the text (discourse practices) (1995b), which bring discourse and society together (Sheyholislami, J. 2001).

1. Text: text analysis involves the linguistic analysis of vocabulary, grammar, semantics and the cohesion and organization between text fragments (Fairclough, 1995b). In addition, following SFL's ideas, Fairclough states that all text can be analyzed through the articulation of three functions which he has called representations, relations, and identities.

2. Discourse practice: this aspect is in turn composed of two sets of processes, institutional and discursive. Institutional processes are those that have to do with editors and regulatory bodies, while discursive processes have to do with the media and audiences. Both refer to the alterations that a text undergoes in the production and consumption phases, which are directly related to intertextuality (Fairclough, 1995).

3. Sociocultural practice: sociocultural analysis helps to know the context of the communicative event and, consequently, to understand it better. Its main directions are economic, political, and cultural (Fairclough 1995b).

Each of these three distinct aspects requires three distinct actions, being description for text analysis, interpretation for process analysis, and explanation for social analysis (Hilary Janks, 1997). Regarding the intertextuality mentioned in point 2, Fairclough defines it as "the property that texts have of being full of fragments of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged into them, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironize, and so forth" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 84).

Intertextual analysis focuses on the borderline between text and discourse practice in the analytical framework. Intertextual analysis is looking at text from the perspective of discourse practice, looking at the traces of the discourse practice in the text (Fairclough, 1995b, p.16).

Principles of CDA

Principles of CDA, outlined by CDA scholars (Fairclough, 1995a; Kress, 1991; Hodge & Kress, 1993; Van Dijk, 1998a; Wodak, 1996) can be summarised as follows (Sheyholislami, 2001, p.13):

1. Language is a social practice through which the world is represented.
2. Discourse/language use as a form of social practice not only represents and signifies other social practices but it also constitutes other social practices such as the exercise of power, domination, prejudice, resistance and so forth.
3. Texts acquire their meanings by the dialectical relationship between texts and the social subjects: writers and the readers, who always operate with various degrees of choice and access to texts and means of interpretation.
4. Linguistic features and structures are not arbitrary. They are purposeful whether the choices are conscious or unconscious.
5. Power relations are produced, exercised, and reproduced through discourse.
6. All speakers and writers operate from specific discursive practices originating in special interests and aims which involve inclusions and exclusions.
7. Discourse is historical in the sense that texts acquire their meanings by being situated in specific social, cultural, and ideological contexts, and time and space.
8. CDA does not solely interpret texts, but also explains them.

3.2. Feminist stylistics

Feminist stylistics could be defined as an extension of stylistics studies, which seeks to evidence the way in which gender concerns are linguistically encrypted in texts, and which aims to achieve this by employing frameworks and models belonging to the stylistics tool kit (Montoro, 2014).

Scholars of feminist stylistics have contributed great insights to gender studies by illustrating how the interface of gender issues and language is made discernible in literary texts. This is by no means to be considered a single point since stylistics and all its branches are interdisciplinary and multi-methodological. In addition to studying the

grammatical and lexical aspects of texts of all kinds, feminist stylistics also deal with supra-sentential aspects and discursal devices. Likewise, they also pay attention to nonverbal and multimodal aspects since these are potential gender codifiers (Montoro, 2014).

The term feminist stylistics is attributed to Sara Mills, who, although she was not the first to put into practice some of the ideas of this stylistic branch, she was the one who coined the term and established some bases (Montoro, 2014).

Thus, feminist stylistic analysis is concerned not only to describe sexism in a text, but also to analyse the way that point of view, agency, metaphor, or transitivity are unexpectedly closely related to matters of gender, to discover whether women's writing practices can be described, and so on (Mills 1995, p. 1).

Feminist stylistics has two strands and objectives: on the one hand, to analyze and observe the way in which writers make use of linguistic features that project specific and different gender values for males and females; and, on the other hand, to analyze and consider how audiences or readers identify specific gendered meanings in texts, whether consciously or unconsciously (Montoro, 2014).

Throughout the study of the relationship between language and gender, the work of scholars has revolved around three main axioms that start from different points. These three theories are: the *deficit* theory, the *dominance* theory, and the *difference* theory (Montoro, 2014). The first position, the deficit theory, is the first to emerge and is attributed to Robin Lakoff, who claimed that women's language was in most cases ineffective and lacking in comparison with that of men (Lakoff, 1973). In her work, Lakoff (1973) associated women with the use of lexical fillers (e.g., you know), "empty" adjectives (e.g., cute) and precise color nouns (e.g., aquamarine), and argued that this trait was a major differentiator in relation with men. The second position, the dominance theory, emerged as a sort of contradiction to the previous one and did so through the work of the scholars Barrie Thorne and Nancy Henley back in 1975. For them, the problem was not that women's language lacked power, but that women were constrained by a society with patriarchal values in which unequal treatment was also reflected in language (Thorne and Nancy, 1975). The third position, the difference theory, is the predominant one in all the work published in the 1980s and 1990s, particularly exemplified in the work

of Daniel Maltz and Ruth Borker (1982), and Deborah Tannen (1990, 1994). These scholars and others from the same period defended the difference between men's and women's use of language as purely linguistic and were against positioning men and women in different dimensions on this basis. For them, it was necessary to differentiate between what was a mere linguistic difference and what was a use of language motivated by an ideology and loaded with intentions (Montoro, 2014).

Nowadays, the theories mentioned above have become a thing of the past as the boundaries of what is masculine and what is feminine have evolved, and so has the conceptualization of gender. Nowadays, no linguistic or other attribute should be classified as exclusive of male or female (Montoro, 2014).

What has remained from the past and is still used today is Halliday's transitivity framework, which has been used by feminist stylistics scholars such as Deirdre Burton and Mary R. Ryder. In her work, Burton analyses texts from the perspective of "who does what to whom" (Burton, 1982, p.200) and puts the transitivity framework into practice to interpret how experiential meaning is encoded in the different processes (material, mental, relational and subcategories) that represent actions and that take place through verbs (Montoro, 2014). On the other hand, Ryder also uses the transitivity framework for her research and does so by combining it with the analysis of other semantic and cognitive aspects that may reflect gender representations. She investigates the active or passive role played by males and females in different novels, that is, their *action or inaction*, since females are often a passive agent, who respond to actions initiated by the male protagonist on event whose structure is according to Ryder (1999, p.1069) always the following (Montoro, 2014):

Features of a prototypical event:

1. a volitional
2. self-moving
3. concrete
4. entity
5. produces a discernible change in
6. another concrete entity

7. by means of a discernible action with definable boundaries.

Focusing on the structure of the chosen event, Ryder aims to detect which entity has been given the agentive function, that is, who motivates or causes the action described by the verb, and, in addition, the entity that is involved or on which that action falls. Ryder argues that all of the above requirements must be met in order to speak of an event, otherwise we would be dealing with what she calls a 'quasi-event' (Ryder 1999, p. 1069).

Both Ryder and Burton emphasize the importance of analyzing the processes, participants and events present in texts, since they hide ideas assimilated by society and are linguistically codified. Analyzing romance novels, Ryder realizes that besides the fact that the male characters are the ones who receive all the participatory and active role in the work, women, if they receive it, always appear carrying out actions that have no effect on other characters or on themselves. Ryder thus introduces the concept of "upgrade strategies of events" (1999, p. 1071), which symbolizes that women are part of the events in a superficial way since, although they suggest an action carried out by the woman, it does not really fulfill the fifth requirement mentioned above "produces a discernible change" and has no impact on the plot of the story. On the other hand, Ryder also talks about "downgrading strategies", which aim to enhance women's prominence by trying to disguise the fact that it is really the man who is carrying out the action that moves the plot forward. An example would be: "she felt herself being lifted up by strong arms and flung violently, she felt herself being carried away" (Ryder 1999, pp. 1073, 1074). Here it is clear that it is the man who has the agentive function that performs the action that produces this discernible change. Hence, Ryder states that there are a series of strategies that authors can carry out to cover up that passive and non-participatory role that women usually have in books and stories (Montoro, 2014).

If we move forward in the timeline, we see that the most recent work in the field of feminist stylistics makes it clear, as Mills (1998) already suggested, that it is not possible to successfully discern the gender of a language user based on their linguistic choices (Montoro, 2014).

We have seen that although many prominent writers have set out to discover the differences between men's and women's sentences, following in the footsteps of Virginia Woolf at the beginning of the twentieth century, no convincing linguistic evidence has

yet been provided to indicate the stylistic characteristics of each. Instead, we have found that there are conventions of masculine and feminine style which any sophisticated writer, whether male or female, can follow (Livia 2003, p. 156).

In recent years, feminist stylistics scholars have broadened their horizons and entered fields that previously received little attention. "In recent decades, both narratology and feminist studies have become established as highly influential fields of study. One area that combines insights from both is the development of feminist narratology" (Page 2003, p. 43). Feminist narratology has emerged, because even though narratology is a very narrow and different discipline from stylistics, it has been seen that it shares many concerns with the latter, especially when interests go hand in hand with issues of gender and feminism.

Any given text may be considered as having weaker or stronger narrativity than another. What is striking about this in relation to feminist analyses of plot types is that there seems to be a correlation between degrees of narrativity and the stereotypical gendering of plot where the "male" and "female" plots exhibit strong and weak narrativity respectively (Page 2003, p. 45).

Page briefly defines narratology as follows:

A complex relationship between linguistic features 'in' the text, such as the marking of narrative coherence through chronology, characterization and evaluation often combined as culturally recognizable patterns of organization; and extra-linguistic factors 'outside' the text, such as the reader's world knowledge that may be shaped by specific cultural contexts in various ways. (Page 2003, p. 45)

It is worth mentioning that sometimes both branches recognize and use the same devices in their work. The analysis of temporal deictic markers, being these words or expressions that indicate the time in which the speaker is talking, is part of the stylistics toolkit as well as of the narratology toolkit (Montoro, 2014).

Another aspect that feminist stylistics scholars have also addressed for the first time in recent years is the investigation and analysis of gender in multimodal discourses, not only verbal, of genres that were not previously considered within the feminist framework, such as children fiction (Montoro, 2014). Sunderland (2011) analyzes the fiction young children read (at home and school), the language of that fiction, and the way female and male characters, and gender relations, are represented in the language of that fiction (2011, p.1) and concludes that *gender equilibrium* requires more than simply increasing the number of women with active roles in stories written for children

(Montoro, 2014). On the other hand and following the idea of the importance of studying not only verbal discourses, Koller (2008) studies how some colors narrate a discourse by being socially associated with something concrete. For example, Koller talks about pink as a marker of gender and sexuality.

There seems to be a tendency to reclaim pink and redefine it as the color of women who regard themselves as having achieved equality in social and economic terms and are therefore able to embrace pink as a marker of their femininity. While such post-feminist thinking rests on false premises it nevertheless constructs a new brand of femininity; the 'fun fearless female'. In this framework, pink is used to communicate fun and independence, financial and professional power without conforming to masculine norms, as well as femininity and self-confidence (Koller 2008, pp. 415–416).

In essence, feminist stylistics is a growing and constantly evolving branch of stylistics in which the ideas and work of many different scholars converge. For this study, as it deals with the analysis of verbal speeches, these being the speeches of Emma Watson and Hillary Clinton within the UN, we will limit ourselves to rely on the stylistics toolkit of Mills and Montoro.

3.3. State of the Art and related work

The speeches that both Hillary Clinton and Emma Watson have made in defense of feminism before the UN have been widely acclaimed and studied from different approaches and sciences over the years. In this chapter, we will provide a succinct review of the most recent publications.

On the one hand, as for Hillary Clinton's feminist oratory, her speech delivered in 1995 at the IV Conference on Women held in Beijing has been the subject of study of several final and master's degree theses, as well as the subject of articles published by scholars in the field of rhetoric and linguistics.

In a study published in the *Ohio Communication Journal*, Helens-Hart (2015) analyzed Clinton's speech in Beijing from the approach of identification rhetoric. Helens-Hart studied how Clinton identified the subjects and identified herself in order not to appeal directly to anyone as she faced two challenges that could pose big problems; firstly, China was trying to prevent many people from attending her conference as it was

a country where women and children were not given the same rights as men and, secondly, Clinton had to defend the Freedom of women without raising concerns on the preservation of traditional family values (Helens-Hart, 2015).

A study on the same Clinton speech was also published in the German journal *Rubikon* by Leba (2015). For her analysis, Leba used two approaches of American Studies, interdisciplinarity and reconciliation of tenses. The results showed that women's problems can be classified into five different categories: economics, education, health, politics, and society. This makes it easier to identify specific problematic situations and address them. Furthermore, Leba (2015) points out the interrelationship between all these categories and how Clinton, through her discourse, approached them as different compartments that must nevertheless be addressed simultaneously by the whole society.

Likewise, the *International Journal of English Linguistics* published an article called *Representation of Gender Through Framing* in which Kanwal and Maldonado (2019) analyzed Clinton's oratory from the framing she gave to the different parts of her speeches. They thus detected two main frames on which Clinton focused her speeches to rally the audience to her cause, achieve the desired effect and to project her identity as a woman. These were the fight frame, with the aim of identifying herself and all women indirectly as fighters, and the family frame, with the purpose of emphasizing that society is composed of millions of families, so that the strength of these families would mean a strong society (Kanwal & García, 2019).

On the other hand, as for Emma Watson's oratory as ambassador of the UN HeForShe Project, also numerous studies have been carried out. Many CDA scholars and linguistics have written articles on her speeches for this campaign and many others have focused their theses on it.

Puspita and Antoni (2019) conducted their research study on Watson's opening speech in 2014. For their analysis, they selected the most relevant sentences or clauses applying Halliday's transitivity theory as well as Fairclough's theoretical framework for CDA. The findings of their study indicate that the concept of gender inequality no longer represents only women and girls discriminated against, but men as well. According to

Watson, gender inequality entails all that contributes to what Watson calls the social wrong (Puspita & Antoni, 2019).

Watson's speeches have also been studied for their fillers and the functions they served. Idriyana et al. (2021) analyzed the fillers of the three speeches Watson gave in relation to the HeForShe Project with the intention of gaining a better understanding of the nuances of Watson's language and her feelings about the topic. The study showed that her fillers served five functions, these being the manifestation of doubt, emphasis, mitigation, editing terms, and gaining time. Furthermore, most of them are perceived as solidarity markers and as ways to engage the audience in the cause (Idriyana et al. 2021).

From the feminist stylistics approach, the one that embodies the methodology employed for the analysis of the speeches in this Bachelor's thesis, an article was published in 2019 by Wang et al (2019). They analyzed the pronouns employed by Watson and her use of male-oriented words to engage and position the audience. They also applied Halliday's transitivity theory and investigated the material processes in order to understand how Watson's language represented her own position towards the topic. The study concludes that there are traces of female language in her speech, that Watson feels confident in addressing the issue of gender inequality, and that the constant references to the audience and her cooperative language are a very effective practice when it comes to engaging both men and women in the cause (Wang et al. 2019).

4. Socio political context of Clinton's and Watson's UN speeches

4.1. Women gaining voice

The battle for gender equality and women's empowerment dates back to the 18th century and has been marked by different stages in which women have been fighting to gain more rights up to the present day.

The so-called First Wave emerged at the end of the 18th century with the French Revolution. At that time, the French National Constituent Assembly approved the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, which included and defended the fundamental rights of only men. It was in this historical moment when women increasingly began to become aware of the oppression they suffered and began to question the privileges of men. Olympe de Gauges, who published in 1791 the Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Citizen, and Mary Wollstonecraft, who wrote the Vindication of the Rights of Woman, were the main voices of this first wave (Moses, 1985).

The Second Feminist Wave took place from the mid-19th century until the 1950s. This wave is also known as the suffragist movement since one of the main points of the feminist fight back then was to achieve the right to vote for women. It began in the United States and the United Kingdom and during this wave the feminist struggle quickly became a social action movement in many countries. Women took to the streets to defend their rights and those of slaves and demanded their right to vote and their right to access higher education. In addition, this period ushered in strong criticism of compulsory marriage and women began to free themselves in their physical appearance. Although it is true that white bourgeois women were at the forefront of suffragism, it was at the end of this wave when the double exclusion suffered by black and Latina women began to become visible and they began to have a greater voice (Gamba, 2008).

The decade of the 1960s was marked by the diffuse beginning of the Third Wave of the feminist struggle. There are different opinions as to when it started and when it ended. Some argue that the third wave has its origins in the 1960s, while others assert that it was not until the 1990s and that it is still in force today (Amber, 2004). In this third wave the legalization of contraceptives was achieved, and the law first granted the right to divorce in many countries. Women protested against all public policies that supported patriarchy and gender inequality.

The term postfeminism, defined as "a culture and ideology that simultaneously incorporates, revises, and depoliticizes many of the fundamental issues advanced by feminism" (Rosenfelt and Stacey, 1987, p.77) first appeared in 1987. The concept arises from the idea that the feminist struggle to date had always been oriented towards the

empowerment and equality of women, thus unconsciously assuming that being a woman is an identity rather than a choice. This movement characterizes itself as a fight for freedom of identity, without pre-established concepts. The term has been the subject of much criticism as it is said that it seems to denote that the feminist struggle is over when in reality gender inequality still exists in many spheres and environments (Montoro, 2014).

Current feminist positions have undoubtedly evolved from those of the past and have therefore incorporated aspects which may not have been addressed previously simply because they might not have been an issue at earlier stages of the development of feminism (Montoro 2014, p. 358).

Currently we are amidst the Fourth Wave of feminism, whose struggle is characterized by having achieved both face-to-face and online activism that has mobilized millions of people in many, many countries. Globalization at all levels is one of the main features that distinguish this wave from the rest (Hall, 2018). The goal now is to end all sexual violence and to achieve true parity between all people being what they want to be. The freedom of identification that the feminist movement currently defends has made it have a greater union with the LGTB, queer and sexual liberation movement (Barriga, 2020).

4.2. UN and women

The United Nations were founded in October 1945, in San Francisco, with the aim of ensuring international peace and security and promoting social development, the improvement of living standards and human rights. Only two years after its formation, in 1947, and motivated by gender equality, the first meeting of the Commission on the Status of Women, a body that is still functioning today, was held. At that time, 15 women made up the Commission, which was supported by the UN Division for the Advancement of Women.

Between 1947 and 1962, the Commission focused all its efforts and work on changing laws that discriminated against women and on making the world aware of the issues of women's inferiority. It succeeded in having references to "men" as a synonym

for humanity removed from various declarations, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In addition, many studies and investigations were carried out to obtain detailed data about the situation of women in different countries in order to use them as a basis for their purposes. During this period and thanks to the work of the Commission, the Convention on the Political Rights of Women was concluded in 1953, the Convention on the Nationality of Married Women in 1957 and the Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage, and Registration of Marriages in 1962.

In the 1960s, there were clear indications that women were the main victims of poverty worldwide. Thus, the Commission focused its objectives on responding to women's needs in the areas of rural development, agricultural work, family reconciliation and scientific advances. The year 1972, 25 years after the consecration of the Commission, was a turning point in the UN's struggle for gender equality. It was established that 1975 would be International Women's Year and that the First World Conference on Women would be held in Mexico City, to be followed by three more. The purpose was to highlight the need for equality between women and men and to highlight the important role of women in development and the perpetuity of peace. The First Conference was followed by the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, from 1975 to 1985. During that period, the Second World Conference on Women was held in Copenhagen in 1980 and the Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi in 1985. Great strides were also made in the creation of institutions to champion the cause and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) came into being.

Years later, the Commission succeeded in ensuring that gender issues became cross-cutting themes and ceased to be isolated and independent issues. The problem of gender violence became a relevant topic in international debates and in November 1993 the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women was approved and a Special Adviser was appointed to work in the Commission to analyze and investigate all issues related to gender violence.

In 1995 the Fourth World Conference on Women was held in Beijing, where Hillary Clinton delivered the speech that is one of the research subjects of this dissertation. During this Conference, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action were adopted. It was the most progressive declaration to date, which envisioned a world in which all women and girls can exercise their freedom, live free of violence, go to school, receive the same salary as men, and participate in all political and social decisions. In addition, the Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women was created to ensure the achievement of the Platform for Action.

UN Women was born in 2011 as a result of the union of the Division for the Advancement of Women, the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, the Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women and the United Nations Development Fund for Women. UN Women is the project of the Secretariat of the Commission on the Status of Women, and its work revolves around the achievement of gender equality and the empowerment of women in all spheres, tasks yet to be accomplished (*A brief history of the Commission on the Status of Women*, n.d.).

4.3. 4th World Conference on Women 1995

As previously mentioned, the 4th World Conference on Women took place in Beijing in September 1995, concretely from the 4th to the 15th. During these days, the delegates of the commissions of the different countries gave their speeches in favor of women's rights and signed and approved two documents in which they stated their commitment to the struggle for gender equality. These documents were the Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action. The conference was attended by more than 30,000 activists and governments from 189 countries (UN, 1996).

The sentence "women's rights are human rights" could be considered the pillar on which the objectives of the conference were built, as well as the documents signed at the conference. This phrase had been in use since the 1980s, and in this period when humanity

was about to leap into a new millennium full of hope and prosperity, it became the echo of the struggle for the empowerment of women and girls (OHCHR, 2014). In addition, Hillary Clinton, then First Lady of the USA, pronounced these words in her speech that is the subject of this study.

Although it was not Hillary Clinton who came up with the phrase, it became the soundbite of her speech. Clinton's speech received accolades around the world and was and is widely shared in the media when it alludes to the feminist struggle. Her strong statements made the Chinese authorities uncomfortable, who banned its dissemination within their country, as well as more conservative sectors in the United States, but no amount of warning prevented Clinton from making her urgent message clear. The context in which Clinton delivered this speech was twofold. On the one hand, the 4th World Conference on Women was a milestone in feminist progress and struggle as it was attended by 189 countries willing to empower women and move toward change. However, in many of these countries, the conservative family in which women occupied an inferior position compared to men still prevailed, and this was supported by many of their rulers. China in particular stood out as one of those countries where women suffered the most oppression. The task was not an easy one, but Clinton tackled it confidently and without causing great havoc or damaging US-China relations (Helens-Hart, 2015). It should be noted that, at the time of the Conference, Clinton had already been a standard bearer for a number of social causes for years, first as the wife of the governor of Arkansas and later as First Lady. Likewise, Clinton has maintained this role to this day, and the defense of gender equality has been a key point throughout her political career and all her campaigns.

4.4. HeForShe Project presentation 2014

HeForShe is an invitation for men and people of all genders to stand in solidarity with women to create a bold, visible and united force for gender equality. The men of HeForShe aren't on the sidelines. They're working with women and with each other to build businesses, raise families, and give back to their communities (HeForShe Project, n.d.)

Almost 20 years after the 4th World Conference on Women, the UN launches its latest gender equality project, HeForShe. It was on September 20, 2014, at the UN Headquarters in New York. During the 19 years between one event and the other, the United Nations did not cease its work to empower women and the launch of this project was another step in this direction.

A few months earlier, on July 8, 2014, the UN Women website (2014) published a press release confirming the appointment of Emma Watson as Goodwill Ambassador. Watson would be the voice of UN Women to empower youth and promote gender equality (*UN Women announces Emma Watson as Goodwill Ambassador*, 2014).

The HeForShe project for which Watson is a spokesperson stems from the need to bring men into the feminist struggle. In the years leading up to 2014, feminism was mobilizing masses around the world like never before and, as Emma Watson herself stated in her speech, in many cases fighting for women's rights was being equated with hating men (Annex B). Watson needed to address this issue with her speech by calling on men to get involved in this cause that also affected them. At the same time, she needed to make the case that the feminist struggle had always been a struggle of all and for all. The media expectation of the speech was incredible, as so was the subsequent impact of the speech. Today, her speech launching the HeForShe project accumulates almost 6 million views on YouTube and continues to appear in the media when it comes to feminism matters.

5. Methodological framework

Concerning methodology, this is a qualitative, content-based analysis research that can include some quantitative results. For the analysis, the excerpts with the greatest value in terms of CDA and feminist stylistics have been selected. The analysis will be carried out using the toolkits presented by Mills (1995) and Montoro (2014). The aim is to analyze how gender is presented in both discourses through language. As Mills (1995) wrote, her toolkit seeks to understand “why authors have chosen certain ways to express

themselves rather than others, and how certain effects are achieved through language” (p.4). Likewise, Montoro’s research seeks to identify linguistic features that project specific gender values and attributes to males and females.

To achieve these objectives within the analysis of Emma Watson’s and Hillary Clinton’s speeches, a combination of both toolkits will be used. In her toolkit, Mills (1995) proposes the analysis of three major axes in order to understand a text from a feminist stylistics perspective. These three major axes are agency, transitivity, and point of view. Agency meaning the study of passive and active agents, transitivity meaning the study of the events taking place according to Halliday’s SFL and point of view meaning the study of pronouns and subjects. On the other hand, Montoro bases her toolkit on Mills’ one by adopting both the study of agency and point of view, plus adding further items to analyse such as key words, self-positioning, and calls to action. Montoro’s proposed items for analysis are the ones that will be employed to conduct the analysis object of this work.

Hence, the steps the author is going to undertake in terms of the analysis are the following: in first place, the author collects the keywords of each text based on a quantitative analysis with Hyperbase, a text processing software developed by the University of Côte d’Azur. These keywords provide information on the intention and position of the authors of the speeches. In second place, also using Hyperbase, the author of this paper will proceed to analyze the pronouns most frequently repeated by Watson and Clinton and then analyze its meaning. To make the data sample more accessible, the author will use tables to display the collected data. Furthermore, from a syntactic point of view, the author of this paper will analyze the roles that men and women receive in both speeches, whether they are active or passive. The intention is to underline *who does what to whom* in order to understand the framing of the discourse. By analyzing the active and passive agents, the author intends to make clear what Watson’s and Clinton’s perspective is and who they want to feel identified with her words. Finally, following the same line of framing, the author will also analyze whether Clinton and Watson position themselves directly or indirectly, and whether they make use of direct calls to action.

5.1. Corpus construction and selection of the speeches

The final objective of this study is to analyze political discourse from the perspective of CDA and feminist stylistics. There is a large number of studies and books that collect the analysis of famous speeches made by great political personalities of the last centuries, but most of them are speeches made by male figures. This is why the author of this paper decided to choose famous speeches by women as the object of study. Moreover, there are several reasons behind the choice of Hillary Clinton's and Emma Watson's speeches that are analyzed below. First, the author decided to narrow down the selection based on the subject and place of speeches. In this case, both speeches are in favor of the feminist struggle and delivered in the framework of the United Nations. Secondly, both women were already well known and respected women around the world at the time of giving their speech. Third and finally, since there is a difference of 20 years between the two speeches, conducting their analysis and subsequent comparison can shed light on the evolution of the feminist discourse approach between the two moments. The latter is the main motivation of the author, and the pertinent contrastive analysis is found after the individual analysis of both speeches. The contrastive analysis of these two speeches pronounced by women before the UN with the aim of promoting feminism with a time interval of 20 years, allows for a better understanding of the social evolution in equality issues. Likewise, such contrastive analysis will facilitate the understanding of the differences between the challenges and social situations faced by Hillary Clinton in 1995 and those faced by Emma Watson in 2014.

5.2. Analysis of Clinton's speech *Women's rights are human rights*

The following section focuses on the analysis of Hillary Clinton's speech, which can be found in its entirety in Appendix A. The speech is entitled *Women's rights are human rights* and was delivered by Hillary Clinton in the 4th World Conference on Women, Beijing, 1995. As discussed in point 6, methodological framework, the analysis of the speech is based on the feminist stylistics toolkits of Mills (1995) and Montoro (2014).

Hillary Clinton centers her entire speech around women. She talks about their rights, their role in society, their qualities, and the discrimination they suffer. Thus, the word “women” is the most frequently used word in Clinton’s speech, appearing 63 times throughout the text. Furthermore, if one observes Clinton's use of pronouns, it can be seen that the third person plural pronouns, *they, their, them, themselves*, are undoubtedly the most frequently used in the speech. Clinton makes use of these pronouns to constantly refer to women and their situation.

Figure 1

Target groups of the Third Person Plural Pronouns

Third Person Plural Pronouns	They, Their, Them, Themselves
Antifeminists	0
Women	56
Men	0
Total	56

Example 1

Women also are dying from diseases that should have been prevented or treated; they are watching their children succumb to malnutrition caused by poverty and economic deprivation; they are being denied the right to go to school by their own fathers and brothers; they are being forced into prostitution, and they are being barred from the ballot box and the bank lending office.

In this sentence, Hillary Clinton describes some of the injustices suffered by women. Women are the reason for her speech and the ultimate goal of it. Clinton intends to emphasize all the injustice that falls on women and the clear situation of inequality in which they find themselves.

Continuing with the study of the predominant pronouns in the discourse, the first-person pronouns *we* and *I* also abound, although to a lesser extent than those referring to women (*they, their, them, themselves*). Clinton uses the pronoun “I” on several occasions and she does so always with the aim of positioning herself in favor of women's rights as

a feminist since her early career and to clearly state her intention and feelings. She also uses the pronoun to testify in favor of women and to shed light on the indispensable tasks that women all over the world carry out without receiving any recognition.

Example 2

Over the past 25 years, I have worked persistently on issues relating to women, children and families.

In this sentence, Clinton states that she has been working for the good of women, their children, and their families for many years, and she does so to emphasize her *ethos* as a woman in service to other women and the common good. Through this phrase, Clinton positions herself as a proven feminist, which gives her the authority to make the following statements that seek to highlight the vital work of women around the world, which is why they deserve the same rights as men.

Example 3

I have met new mothers in Jogjakarta, Indonesia, who come together regularly in their village to discuss nutrition, family planning, and baby care.

I have met women in South Africa who helped lead the struggle to end apartheid and are now helping build a new democracy.

I have met women in India and Bangladesh who are taking out small loans to buy milk cows, rickshaws, thread and other materials to create a livelihood for themselves and their families.

As for the pronoun *we*, Clinton uses it to refer to three different subjects. First, she uses it to refer to women, including herself as the woman and feminist that she is (example 4). Secondly, she uses it to refer to the all the audience, making each person listening her part of her cause and objectives and calling on them to identify with her purpose (example 5). Finally, she also uses it to talk about her nation, the United States, and all those who are part of it to highlight everything they have achieved for women (example 6).

Example 4

It is also a coming together, much the way women come together every day in every country. We come together in fields and in factories. In village markets and supermarkets. In living rooms and board rooms.

Example 5

By gathering in Beijing, we are focusing world attention on issues that matter most in the lives of women and their families: access to education, health care, jobs [...]

Example 6

In my country, we recently celebrated the 75th anniversary of women's suffrage.

Figure 2

Use of First-Person Pronouns

First Person Pronouns	Number	Percentage
I	15	25%
We	21	36%
Me	2	3%
Us	7	12%
My	3	5%
Our	11	19%
Myself	0	0%
Ourselves	0	0%
Total	59	100%

Since women are the protagonists of the discourse, the role they play throughout the different parts of the discourse will be analyzed below. To this end, the strategy of identifying who does what to whom proposed by Burton (1982) and included in Montoro's toolkit in 2014 will be put into practice. The intention is to understand the role that women receive in the actions described, which can be active or passive, and then move on to analyze the discourse from a broader perspective that is framing. Thus, from the perspective of who does what to whom, it could be said that the passive role of women

in the discourse takes precedence, with the intention of making clear the situation of injustice in which they find themselves. Clinton's strategy consists of contrasting, on the one hand, women's contributions to society and their necessary role, and on the other, the different situations that represent their inequality and make them victims of society despite their relevance. Specific examples are given below.

In the first place, in example 3 presented above, women are given the active role. These are several sentences in which Clinton positions women as active agents responsible for many indispensable aspects of society and families. In these phrases women are the ones who perform the action that has a direct consequence on other physical entities (Ryder, 1999). They are the ones who not only work to achieve the best conditions for their families and take care of their nutrition, health, and education, but also run companies, countries and a whole series of activities that are normally associated with men.

Example 7

At this very moment, as we sit here, women around the world are giving birth, raising children, cooking meals, washing clothes, cleaning houses, planting crops, working on assembly lines, running companies, and running countries.

Secondly, as can be seen in example 8 below, Clinton once again positions women as active agents and essential pillars of society, to then give them a passive role in order to represent that in spite of all their effort and work, historians, governments, and cultures do not recognize or value them.

Example 8

Women are the primary caretakers for most of the world's children and elderly. Yet much of the work we do is not valued -not by economists, not by historians, not by popular culture, not by government leaders.

In this sentence, women are framed as both heroes and victims. Heroes who fulfill the important task of caring for the future of society as well as the elders who have created

that future and victims who have been denied the recognition and rights they deserve simply because they are women. This same framing of women as victims also appears on several occasions later.

Example 9

Speaking to you today, I speak for them, just as each of us speaks for women around the world who are denied the chance to go to school, or see a doctor, or own a property, or have a say about their direction of their lives, simply, because they are women.

Example 10

It is a violation of human rights when babies are denied food, or drowned, or suffocated, or their spines broken, simply because they are born girls.

It is a violation of human rights when women and girls are sold into the slavery of prostitution.

It is a violation of human rights when women are doused with gasoline, set on fire and burned to death because their marriage dowries are deemed too small.

These are the phrases that precede Clinton's famous quote "human rights are women's rights and women's rights are human rights" (1995). Women have a totally passive role in these phrases as they receive the unfair actions that others take. Clinton denounces the various situations when human rights are violated because women's rights are being violated and she does so by highlighting the injustice of women being the victims when they themselves are the source of family's well-being.

Example 11

Families rely on mothers and wives for emotional support and care; families rely on women for labor in the home; and increasingly, families rely on women for income needed to raise healthy children and care for other relatives.

Moving forward with the subject of framing, Clinton establishes a clear *we vs. they* frame all the way through her discourse. By *we*, Clinton alludes to all those who are there listening to her speech, all those who have in their hands the possibility to change things

and all those who fight for women's rights not to be violated. To all of them Clinton makes a direct appeal to join the cause and act.

Example 12

Those of us who have the opportunity to be here have the responsibility to speak for those who could not.

Example 13

We need to understand that there is no formula for how women should lead their lives. That is why we must respect the choices that each woman makes for herself and her family. We also must recognize that women will never gain full dignity until their human rights are respected and protected.

(See also example 5)

In contrast, Clinton also speaks of those who do turn a blind eye to the problem. Those who remain indifferent or those who try to silence the ones who are fighting. In this way, Clinton sows the seed of identification so that the audience present there and all those who read or listen to her speech later will reflect on her words and take a stand.

Example 14

There are some who question the reason for this conference. Let them listen to the voices of women in their homes, neighborhoods, and workplaces.

Example 15

These abuses have continued because, for too long, the history of women has been a history of silence. Even today, there are those who are trying to silence our words.

In this last sentence it is clear that “*they* (those who try to silence the struggle) vs. *we* (those who speak out for women's rights)” framing.

As a conclusion to Clinton's analysis and before proceeding to Watson's, it is worth noting the most relevant findings which will later be used for the contrastive analysis of both Clinton's 1995 and Watson's 2014 discourses.

- Women are the core of the discourse, the main figure, and the ultimate goal of the discourse. It is a discourse solely and exclusively dedicated to women.
- The situation of inequality for women is represented throughout the speech by means of the counterpoint. Clinton confronts women as key pillars for the development of society and at the same time, women as unjust victims of it.
- Women is the most used word by Clinton, it being used 63 times.
- Clinton uses the pronoun I on rare occasions and she does it to position herself and to defend women's rights.
- She uses the framing *we vs. they*.
- Clinton gives an active role to women when she stresses their positive and necessary impact on the world and gives a passive role to women when she points out the discrimination they suffer.
- Clinton never once mentions the word feminist or feminism, but she does position herself as a feminist indirectly. As a political personality she is, Clinton knows that if she positions herself in a blunt manner, she could gain an image that would cause her to lose the support of many conservatives.
- At no point does Clinton mention gender or sex issues.
- No use of female-oriented words.
- As for the use of pronouns, Clinton uses “*they*” to always refer to women and “*you*” to refer to the public. As for the pronoun “*we*”, Clinton uses it to include all those in favor of the fight for women's rights, as well as the public and herself.

Figure 3

Target groups of the Second Person Pronouns

Second Person Pronouns	You, Your, Yourself, Yourselves
All the audience	4
Antifeminists	0
Male	0
Total	4

5.3. Analysis of Watson’s speech *Gender equality is your issue too*

The following section contains the analysis of Emma Watson's speech, which can be found in its entirety in Appendix B. The speech is entitled *Gender equality is your issue too* and was delivered by Emma Watson in the launching of the HeForShe project campaign, New York, 2014. As discussed in point 6, methodological framework, the analysis of the speech is based on the feminist stylistics toolkits of Mills (1995) and Montoro (2014).

Emma Watson focuses much of her speech based on her perception, thoughts, and experience. She is the example of the speech and narrates her journey as a woman, the discriminatory situations she has faced and her intentions for the future. Thus, the word that appears most often throughout the speech is “I” followed by the rest of the first-person pronouns.

Figure 4

Use of First-Person Pronouns

First Person Pronouns	Number	Percentage
I	49	52%
We	14	15%
Me	10	11%
Us	0	0%
My	17	18%
Our	1	1%
Myself	2	2%
Ourselves	1	1%
Total	94	100%

Example 1

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

In this sentence in which first person pronouns predominate, Emma Watson highlights some situations in which women have a discriminated position and expresses

her opinion about it. Watson seeks to clearly make visible that, in many cases, women do not receive the same rights or possibilities as men and speaks in the first person of the change she advocates and fights for to exemplify the reality that women, and herself as a woman, face daily.

Example 2

I started questioning gender-based assumptions when at eight I was confused at being called “bossy” because I wanted to direct the plays we would put on for our parents — but the boys were not.

When at 14 I started being sexualized by certain elements of the press.

When at 15 my girlfriends started dropping out of their sports because they didn’t want to appear “muscly”.

I decided I was a feminist, and this seemed uncomplicated to me.

In this excerpt, Emma Watson positions herself as a firm feminist and narrates all the situations she lived through as a young woman that led her to question the reasons for gender inequality. Emma Watson opens to the public telling parts of her story to show her closer and more familiar side with which all women can feel identified and not perceive her as a mere famous actress. With this part, Watson wants to show the senselessness of attributing different values and qualities to different genders, to classify them in a rigid way. Likewise, Watson makes use of the male-oriented words "bossy" and "muscly" in her examples to confront the discrimination and injustice of a woman who, according to social standards, cannot lead or cannot be muscular.

As for Watson's self-positioning, it is worth noting that, in the final part of the speech, Watson humbly positions herself as a feminist woman who, still full of doubts, tries to do her utmost for the problem that concerns her. She does so by means of the following sentences in which, in addition to positioning herself, Watson launches an ethical and personal reflection to the audience.

Example 3

I don't know if I'm qualified to be here. All I know is that I care about this problem. And I want to make it better.

In my nervousness for this speech and in my moments of doubt I have told myself firmly— if not me, who, if not now, when. If you have similar doubts when opportunities are presented to you, I hope those words might be helpful.

Continuing with the study of pronouns to understand the key subjects of the text, “we” is the second most predominant pronoun. Throughout the discourse, Emma Watson makes use of the pronoun “we” to refer to two different subjects. On the one hand, Watson makes use of the pronoun “we” in certain parts of the speech to refer to the UN and all the people behind the HeForShe project she is presenting (example 4). On the other hand, and on a greater number of occasions, Watson makes use of the pronoun “we” to include the whole of society in the fight for equality and to make it clear that gender inequality is everyone's issue and therefore, everyone is needed to fight it (example 5).

Example 4

This is the first campaign of its kind at the UN: we want to try and galvanize as many men and boys as possible to be advocates for gender equality. And we don't just want to talk about it, but make sure it is tangible.

Here the pronoun “we” refers to the UN members who are part of the HeForShe project.

Example 5

If we stop defining each other by what we are not and start defining ourselves by what we are — we can all be freer, and this is what HeForShe is about.

Here the pronoun “we” refers to the society as a whole and it is intended to work as call to action for the audience.

As for the pronoun “*you*”, it is worth mentioning that Watson does not use it only to refer to his audience but, on a couple of occasions, uses it to appeal directly to anti-feminists on the one hand (example 6), and to men on the other (example 7).

Example 6

And if you still hate the word, it is not the word that is important but the ambition behind it.

Example 7

Men — I would like to take this opportunity to extend your formal invitation. Gender equality is your issue too.

Figure 5

Target groups of the Second Person Pronouns

Second Person Pronouns	You, Your, Yourself, Yourselves
All the audience	10
Antifeminists	1
Male	3
Total	14

Watson appeals directly to men. In fact, men play an equally crucial role, if not more, as women do in Watson's speech. They are the necessary target for achieving gender equality, they are the ones Watson intends to motivate to raise their voices since they are the ones who have not done so yet. Or at least not to the same extent as women. Throughout her speech, Watson makes it clear that gender inequality is something that affects both men and women and that it takes both to fight back. Watson mentions women 15 times, exactly the same number of times she mentions men. Watson argues that both men and women are the victims, and both are the "we" who may fight for equality against that "they" who is formed by all the stereotypes and social patterns and all those who follow and impose them.

Now, being both men and women the pillars of the discourse, we will analyze the role they receive, which can be active or passive. The purpose is to identify who does what to whom in order to understand the place occupied by the different subjects in

Watson's mind as well as in her discourse and to be able to study the framing of the discourse. As for the role of men and women throughout the discourse, the passive role predominates as it positions men and women as victims of inequality and pressure imposed by other members of society.

Example 8

I started being sexualized by certain elements of the press.

Here Watson talks on her behalf as a woman, intending to represent all women who are constantly sexualized by society. She continues the sentence by explaining that due to the social pressure around how women's bodies should look like, many of her girlfriends quit the sports they practiced (example 2)

Example 9

I have seen my father's role as a parent being valued less by society despite my needing his presence as a child as much as my mother's.

Here Watson also speaks from her experience, but she aims to raise concerns about the fact that not only women are the victims of the unfair pressure and patterns society establishes. She wants the audience to remember that caring for the family is one of the many qualities and tasks attribute to women and not men as according to stereotypes, women are more sensitive and comprehensive.

Example 10

I have seen young men suffering from mental illness unable to ask for help for fear it would make them look less "macho".

I have seen men made fragile and insecure by a distorted sense of what constitutes male success.

Again, Watson points out how over the years, society has created and put in place many beliefs which promote inequality, and which create walls in between men and women that do not exist. Thus, Watson makes constants calls to actions to the audience.

Example 11

I am reaching out to you because I need your help. We want to end gender inequality— and to do that we need everyone to be involved.

Example 12

We are struggling for a uniting world, but the good news is we have a uniting movement. It is called HeForShe. I am inviting you to step forward, to be seen to speak up, to be the “he” for “she”. And to ask yourself if not me, who? If not now, when?

Example 11 corresponds to the opening sentence of Emma Watson’s speech while example 12 corresponds to her closing line. As it can be seen, Watson begins and ends her discourse clearly manifesting what her ultimate goal is. To create unity against a common enemy which is gender inequality. She states that everyone is needed, everyone’s voice matters, and she encourages her audience to question themselves, in case they are hesitant, who is going to fight for their rights if not themselves and when are they going to start fighting for them if not now. This phrase, although subtle, is powerful and persuading; it represents the urge need to realize that every citizen has the power to make the change.

In terms of framing, her speech seeks to persuade both men and women, especially men, to become part of the fight for gender equality and to feel identified with it. She stands for a “we” that encompasses not only women but both genders which suffer the pressure and stereotypes imposed by few. She speaks from her experience, and she builds her own ethos all the way through the speech. She manifests how much she cares about the issue, and she aims to make people see that there are not truly different attributed roles for women and men,

As a conclusion to the analysis of Watson’s speech, it is worth assembling the most relevant findings which will later be used for the contrastive analysis of both Clinton’s 1995 and Watson’s 2014 discourses.

- Both men and women are the main characters of Watson’s speech. They are the core of it and its ultimate goal.

- The situation of gender inequality is represented through examples of what Watson and her close friends and relatives have experienced. Watson positions both men and women as the victims.
- The first-person pronoun “I” is the most frequently used word by Watson, it being used 49 times.
- The discourse is very I-centered. Watson tells what her experience has been and states what her feelings and intentions are.
- She uses the framing *we vs. they*, being “we” both men and women and “they” those who still promote the gender stereotypes imposed by few.
- Watson makes constant calls to action and asks directly for everyone’s help.
- Watson includes the terms feminist and feminism in her speech. She defines herself as a feminist and she explains what feminism is about.
- Gender issues are the core of her speech, which is not just about rights for women but about equality for all genders.
- Use of female-oriented words.
- As for the use of pronouns, Watson uses “you” to directly appeal to three subjects: male, antifeminists and the audience.

5.4. Contrastive Analysis of Clinton's and Watson's speeches

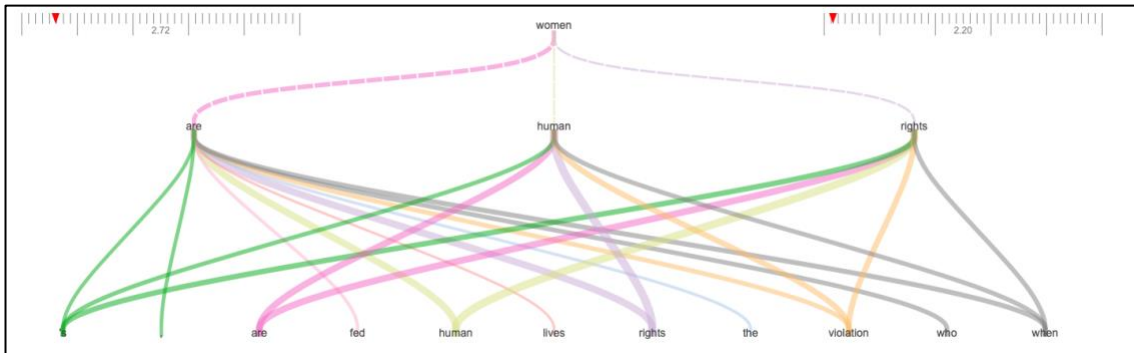
Hillary Clinton's speech from 1995 and Emma Watson's speech from 2014 show clear differences in their approach to addressing gender issues. Clinton's speech was solely focused on women's rights and the urgent need to address discrimination against women, while Watson's speech was more inclusive of men and focused on the need for gender equality for all. Furthermore, Clinton depicted women as the only victims of discrimination and inequality, while Watson included both men and women as victims of gender inequality and part of the feminist cause. The shift in approach over the years underlines the evolving understanding of gender issues and the necessity to tackle them in a more inclusive way, as something that affects everyone regardless of gender.

Concerning the social acceptance of the feminist struggle at the times where the discourses were pronounced, it can be seen that although both Clinton's and Watson's speeches address the issue of gender inequality, Watson's speech is the one that shows a greater awareness of the broader social and cultural issues that promote gender inequality. This reflects a growing understanding from 1995 to 2014 of the ways in which gender issues are deeply rooted in society and culture. In addition, Clinton avoided using the word "feminism" in her speech in 1995, and instead focused on women's rights, whereas Watson firmly declared herself a feminist in 2014. This indicates an increasing acceptance of the term "feminism" and a willingness to embrace it as a positive and necessary force for change.

With regard to the use of the word "women", Clinton employs it way more times than Watson and she does it always within the same context and objectives. When Clinton speaks about women, she always underlines all their contributions to society and all their value and she does so in order to state that their rights need to be respected, as they are human rights. On the other hand, Watson makes much less use of the word "women" in her speech and each time she mentions it, she also mentions men, equality, and her beliefs as a woman with the objective of emphasizing the importance of gender equality for all, including men. (See graphics below).

Figure 6

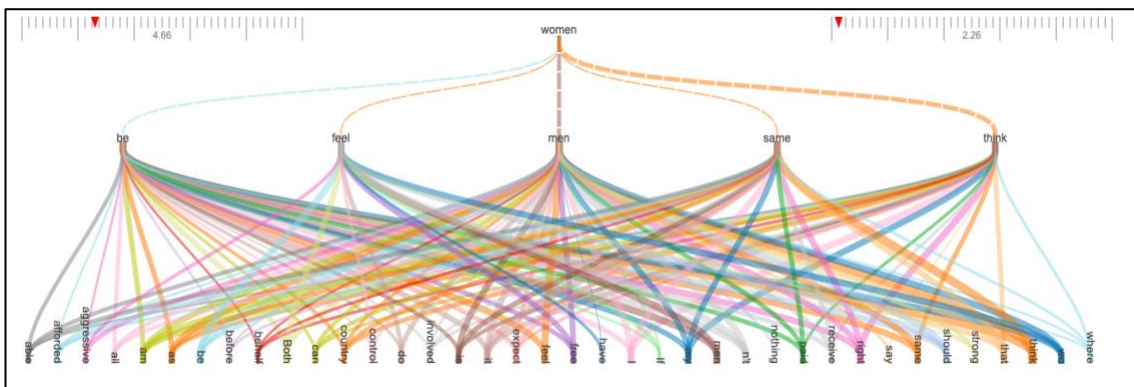
Clinton's use of the word "women"



This graphic shows that most of the times that Clinton pronounces the word “women”, she does so by putting either the word “are” or the word “rights” in the same sentence. She either defines them as pillars to society and victims or she claims that their rights are not negotiable.

Figure 7

Watson's use of the word "women"



By contrast, this graphic shows that most of the times that Watson speaks about and for women, she also uses the word “men” in the same sentence as well as the word “same” and “think”. It can be seen how Watson’s speech seeks to make both women and men feel identified and how she tries to make it personal.

Regarding the context of the speeches, Clinton's speech was delivered in 1995 when the social acceptance of feminism was still limited and there were many people against it, while Watson's speech was delivered in 2014 when feminism had become more

popular and widely accepted. This difference in context highlights the challenges faced by Clinton in advocating for women's rights at a time when feminism was still a controversial issue and can be perceived from the word's choices Clinton makes if compared with Watson (see chart 6 below).

Figure 8

Most frequently used words

Key words	Number of times used by Hillary Clinton	Number of times used by Emma Watson
I	15	49
you	4	13
we	21	14
they	46	10
women	63	15
men	4	16
rights	18	7
equality	0	7
feminism	0	3
feminist	0	1
gender	0	7
sex	0	1

This chart collects the key words of the feminist struggle and, in turn, of Clinton's and Watson's speeches. It represents how the evolution of the social acceptance of feminism between the two moments directly influences the choice of words of the speakers. In 1995, feminism was not a gender issue, nor was it a movement that fought for men and women. It can be seen how Clinton focused her speech solely on women and did not explicitly talk about feminism or gender issues at any point. However, in 2014, the feminist approach had evolved and Emma Watson already openly positioned herself as a feminist and claimed feminism as the struggle for equality between men and women and between all genders.

6. Conclusions

Overall, the speeches by Clinton and Watson reflect a growing awareness of the importance of gender equality and the need to address the social and cultural issues that contribute to gender inequality. While there are differences in their approaches and the contexts in which they delivered their speeches, both highlight the importance of feminism as a positive force for change.

In 1995, Hillary Clinton spoke at the United Nations in favor of women's rights in a context of great social, economic and labor inequalities between men and women. Clinton emphasizes the need to respect women's rights as the human rights they are and calls on all countries to join her cause.

Almost 20 years later, Emma Watson also spoke out in favor of feminism at the United Nations. This time the context is different, two decades have passed in which the position of women has improved in several countries and in which it has been seen that inequality affects not only women but also men. Now the struggle is about an evolved feminism, which advocates for the equality of all genders.

Furthermore, numerous scholars of discourse analysis have also dedicated their work to investigating how texts and the way they are constructed influence people's perceptions on issues of feminism. They are the ones who have made this study possible.

In conclusion, this work has provided a glimpse of the evolution of the feminist discourse and its approach throughout the analysis of the rhetorical strategies used by Emma Watson and Hillary Clinton. There is still a long way to go to achieve gender equality, but studies such as this one help to promote feminist discourse by supporting their claims with the intention of evolving towards a fairer society for all people, regardless of their gender.

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8. Annex

8.1. Annex A: Hillary Clinton's speech

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS FOR THE UNITED NATIONS FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON
WOMEN

BEIJING, CHINA
SEPTEMBER 5, 1995

Mrs. Mongella,
Distinguished delegates and guests,

I would like to thank the Secretary General of the United Nations for inviting me to be part of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. This is truly a celebration -- a celebration of the contributions women make in every aspect of life: in the home, on the job, in their communities, as mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, learners, workers, citizens and leaders.

It is also a coming together, much the way women come together every day in every country.

We come together in fields and in factories. In village markets and supermarkets. In living rooms and board rooms.

Whether it is while playing with our children in the park or washing clothes in a river, or taking a break at the office water cooler, we come together and talk about our aspirations and concerns. And time and again, our talk turns to our children and our families.

However different we may be, there is far more that unites us than divides us. We share a common future. And we are here to find common ground so that we may help bring new dignity and respect to women and girls all over the world -- and in so doing, bring new strength and stability to families as well.

By gathering in Beijing, we are focusing world attention on issues that matter most in the lives of women and their families: access to education, health care, jobs, and credit, the chance to enjoy basic legal and human rights and participate fully in the political life of their countries.

There are some who question the reason for this conference. Let them listen to the voices of women in their homes, neighborhoods, and workplaces.

There are some who wonder whether the lives of women and girls matter to economic and political progress around the globe. . . . Let them look at the women gathered here and at Huairou. . . the homemakers, nurses, teachers, lawyers, policymakers, and women who run their own businesses.

It is conferences like this that compel governments and peoples everywhere to listen, look and face the world's most pressing problems.

Wasn't it after the women's conference in Nairobi ten years ago that the world focused for the first time on the crisis of domestic violence?

Earlier today, I participated in a World Health Organization forum, where government officials, NGOs, and individual citizens are working on ways to address the health problems of women and girls.

Tomorrow, I will attend a gathering of the United Nations Development Fund for Women. There, the discussion will focus on local -- and highly successful -- programs that give hard-working women access to credit so they can improve their own lives and the lives of their families.

What we are learning around the world is that, if women are healthy and educated, their families will flourish. If women are free from violence, their families will flourish. If women have a chance to work and earn as full and equal partners in society, their families will flourish.

And when families flourish, communities and nations will flourish.

That is why every woman, every man, every child, every family, and every nation on our planet has a stake in the discussion that takes place here.

Over the past 25 years, I have worked persistently on issues relating to women, children and families. Over the past two-and-a-half years, I have had the opportunity to learn more about the challenges facing women in my own country and around the world.

I have met new mothers in Jojakarta, Indonesia, who come together regularly in their village to discuss nutrition, family planning, and baby care.

I have met working parents in Denmark who talk about the comfort they feel in knowing that their children can be cared for in creative, safe, and nurturing after-school centers.

I have met women in South Africa who helped lead the struggle to end apartheid and are now helping build a new democracy.

I have met with the leading women of the Western Hemisphere who are working every day to promote literacy and better health care for the children of their countries.

I have met women in India and Bangladesh who are taking out small loans to buy milk cows, rickshaws, thread and other materials to create a livelihood for themselves and their families. '

I have met doctors and nurses in Belarus and Ukraine who are trying to keep children alive in the aftermath of Chernobyl.

The great challenge of this conference is to give voice to women everywhere whose experiences go unnoticed, whose words go unheard.

Women comprise more than half the world's population. Women are 70t percent of the world's poor, and two-thirds of those who are not taught to read and write.

Women are the primary caretakers for most of the world's children and elderly. Yet much of the work we do is not valued -not by economists, not by historians, not by popular culture, not by government leaders.

At this very moment, as we sit here, women around the world are giving birth, raising children, cooking meals, washing clothes, cleaning houses, planting crops, working on assembly lines, running companies, and running countries.

Women also are dying from diseases that should have been prevented or treated; they are watching their children succumb to malnutrition caused by poverty and economic deprivation; they are being denied the right to go to school by their own fathers and brothers; they are being forced into prostitution, and they are being barred from the ballot box and the bank lending office.

Those of us who have the opportunity to be here have the responsibility to speak for those who could not.

As an American, I want to speak up for women in my own country – women who are raising children on the minimum wage, women who can't afford health care or childcare, women whose lives are threatened by violence, including violence in their own homes.

I want to speak up for mothers who are fighting for good schools, safe neighborhoods, clean air and clean airwaves. . . for older women, some of them widows, who have raised their families and now find that their skills and life experiences are not valued in the workplace. . . for women who are working all night as nurses, hotel clerks, and fast food chefs so that they can be at home during the day with their kids. . .and for women everywhere who simply don't have time to do everything they are called upon to do each day.

Speaking to you today, I speak for them, just as each of us speaks for women around the world who are denied the chance to go to school, or see a doctor, or own property, or have a say about the direction of their lives, simply because they are women.

The truth is that most women around the world work both inside and outside the home, usually by necessity.

We need to understand that there is no formula for how women should lead their lives. That is why we must respect the choices that each woman makes for herself and her family. Every woman deserves the chance to realize her God-given potential.

We also must recognize that women will never gain full dignity until their human rights are respected and protected.

Our goals for this conference, to strengthen families and societies by empowering women to take greater control over their own destinies, cannot be fully achieved unless all governments -here and around the world -- accept their responsibility to protect and promote internationally recognized human rights.

The international community has long acknowledged -- and recently affirmed at Vienna -- that both women and men are entitled to a range of protections and personal freedoms, from the right of personal security to the right to determine freely the number and spacing of the children they bear.

No one should be forced to remain silent for fear of religious or political persecution, arrest, abuse or torture.

Tragically, women are most often the ones whose human rights are violated. Even in the late 20th century, the rape of women continues to be used as an instrument of armed conflict. Women and children make up a large majority of the world's refugees. And when women are excluded from the political process, they become even more vulnerable to abuse.

I believe that, on the eve of a new millennium, it is time to break our silence. It is time for us to say here in Beijing, and the world to hear, that it is no longer acceptable to discuss women's rights as separate from human rights.

These abuses have continued because, for too long, the history of women has been a history of silence. Even today, there are those who are trying to silence our words.

The voices of this conference and of the women at Huairou must be heard loud and clear:

It is a violation of human rights when babies are denied food, or drowned, or suffocated, or their spines broken, simply because they are born girls.

It is a violation of human rights when women and girls are sold into the slavery of prostitution.

It is a violation of human rights when women are doused with gasoline, set on fire and burned to death because their marriage dowries are deemed too small.

It is a violation of human rights when individual women are raped in their own communities and when thousands of women are subjected to rape as a tactic or prize of war.

It is a violation of human rights when a leading cause of death worldwide among women ages 14 to 44 is the violence they are subjected to in their own homes.

It is a violation of human rights when young girls are brutalized by the painful and degrading practice of genital mutilation.

It is a violation of human rights when women are denied the right to plan their own families, and that includes being forced to have abortions or being sterilized against their will.

If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference, it is that human rights are women's rights.... And women's rights are human rights.

Let us not forget that among those rights are the right to speak freely. And the right to be heard.

Women must enjoy the right to participate fully in the social and political lives of their countries if we want freedom and democracy to thrive and endure.

It is indefensible that many women in non-governmental organizations who wished to participate in this conference have not been able to attend -- or have been prohibited from fully taking part.

Let me be clear. Freedom means the right of people to assemble, organize, and debate openly. It means respecting the views of those who may disagree with the views of their governments. It means not taking citizens away from their loved ones and jailing them, mistreating them, or denying them their freedom or dignity because of the peaceful expression of their ideas and opinions.

In my country, we recently celebrated the 75th anniversary of women's suffrage. It took 150 years after the signing of our Declaration of Independence for women to win the right to vote. It took 72 years of organized struggle on the part of many courageous women and men.

It was one of America's most divisive philosophical wars. But it was also a bloodless war. Suffrage was achieved without a shot fired.

We have also been reminded, in V-J Day observances last weekend, of the good that comes when men and women join together to combat the forces of tyranny and build a better world.

We have seen peace prevail in most places for a half century. We have avoided another world war.

But we have not solved older, deeply rooted problems that continue to diminish the potential of half the world's population.

Now it is time to act on behalf of women everywhere.

If we take bold steps to better the lives of women, we will be taking bold steps to better the lives of children and families too. Families rely on mothers and wives for emotional support and care; families rely on women for labor in the home; and increasingly, families rely on women for income needed to raise healthy children and care for other relatives.

As long as discrimination and inequities remain so commonplace around the world -- as long as girls and women are valued less, fed less, fed last, overworked, underpaid, not schooled and subjected to violence in and out of their homes -the potential of the human family to create a peaceful, prosperous world will not be realized.

Let this conference be our -- and the world's -- call to action.

And let us heed the call so that we can create a world in which every woman is treated with respect and dignity, every boy and girl is loved and cared for equally, and every family has the hope of a strong and stable future.

Thank you very much.

God's blessings on you, your work and all who will benefit from it.

Source: [UN](#).

8.2. Annex B: Emma Watson's Speech

Speech by UN Women Goodwill Ambassador Emma Watson at a special event for the HeForShe campaign, United Nations Headquarters, New York, 20 September 2014

Today we are launching a campaign called [HeForShe](#).

I am reaching out to you because I need your help. We want to end gender inequality—and to do that we need everyone to be involved.

This is the first campaign of its kind at the UN: we want to try and galvanize as many men and boys as possible to be advocates for gender equality. And we don't just want to talk about it, but make sure it is tangible.

I was appointed six months ago and the more I have spoken about feminism the more I have realized that fighting for women's rights has too often become synonymous with man-hating. If there is one thing I know for certain, it is that this has to stop.

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

I started questioning gender-based assumptions when at eight I was confused at being called "bossy," because I wanted to direct the plays we would put on for our parents—but the boys were not.

When at 14 I started being sexualized by certain elements of the press.

When at 15 my girlfriends started dropping out of their sports teams because they didn't want to appear "muscly."

When at 18 my male friends were unable to express their feelings.

I decided I was a feminist and this seemed uncomplicated to me. But my recent research has shown me that feminism has become an unpopular word.

Apparently I am among the ranks of women whose expressions are seen as too strong, too aggressive, isolating, anti-men and, unattractive.

Why is the word such an uncomfortable one?

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

No country in the world can yet say they have achieved gender equality.

These rights I consider to be human rights but I am one of the lucky ones. My life is a sheer privilege because my parents didn't love me less because I was born a daughter. My school did not limit me because I was a girl. My mentors didn't assume I would go less far because I might give birth to a child one day. These influencers were the gender equality ambassadors that made me who I am today. They may not know it, but they are the inadvertent feminists who are changing the world today. And we need more of those.

And if you still hate the word—it is not the word that is important but the idea and the ambition behind it. Because not all women have been afforded the same rights that I have. In fact, statistically, very few have been.

In 1995, Hilary Clinton made a famous speech in Beijing about women's rights. Sadly many of the things she wanted to change are still a reality today.

But what stood out for me the most was that only 30 per cent of her audience were male. How can we affect change in the world when only half of it is invited or feel welcome to participate in the conversation?

Men—I would like to take this opportunity to extend your formal invitation. Gender equality is your issue too.

Because to date, I've seen my father's role as a parent being valued less by society despite my needing his presence as a child as much as my mother's.

I've seen young men suffering from mental illness unable to ask for help for fear it would make them look less "macho"—in fact in the UK suicide is the biggest killer of men between 20-49 years of age; eclipsing road accidents, cancer and coronary heart disease. I've seen men made fragile and insecure by a distorted sense of what constitutes male success. Men don't have the benefits of equality either.

We don't often talk about men being imprisoned by gender stereotypes but I can see that that they are and that when they are free, things will change for women as a natural consequence.

If men don't have to be aggressive in order to be accepted women won't feel compelled to be submissive. If men don't have to control, women won't have to be controlled.

Both men and women should feel free to be sensitive. Both men and women should feel free to be strong... It is time that we all perceive gender on a spectrum not as two opposing sets of ideals.

If we stop defining each other by what we are not and start defining ourselves by what we are—we can all be freer and this is what HeForShe is about. It's about freedom.

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

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

You might be thinking who is this Harry Potter girl? And what is she doing up on stage at the UN. It's a good question and trust me, I have been asking myself the same thing. I don't know if I am qualified to be here. All I know is that I care about this problem. And I want to make it better.

And having seen what I've seen—and given the chance—I feel it is my duty to say something. English Statesman Edmund Burke said: “All that is needed for the forces of evil to triumph is for enough good men and women to do nothing.”

In my nervousness for this speech and in my moments of doubt I've told myself firmly—if not me, who, if not now, when. If you have similar doubts when opportunities are presented to you I hope those words might be helpful.

Because the reality is that if we do nothing it will take 75 years, or for me to be nearly a hundred before women can expect to be paid the same as men for the same work. 15.5 million girls will be married in the next 16 years as children. And at current rates it won't be until 2086 before all rural African girls will be able to receive a secondary education.

If you believe in equality, you might be one of those inadvertent feminists I spoke of earlier.

And for this I applaud you.

We are struggling for a uniting word, but the good news is we have a uniting movement. It is called HeForShe. I am inviting you to step forward, to be seen to speak up, to be the "he" for "she". And to ask yourself if not me, who? If not now, when?

Thank you.

Source: [UN WOMEN](#).