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Rendering Reliance: Consuming Coloniality in the Global North

by

Victoria L Brown

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate School,
the College of Arts and Letters
and the Department of Communication Studies
at The University of Southern Mississippi
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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May 2018

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2018

Published by the Graduate School



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ABSTRACT

In this dissertation, I offer a theoretical lens for understanding how the Global South is imagined by the Global North. The Global South has become a popular cause that for-profit companies use in order to engage in what Samantha King terms cause-marketing. While individuals in the South are certainly helped by these campaigns, they are harmed through Northern consumers being empowered by private companies encouraging them to adopt a colonizing gaze that subjugates those in the South with adhering to stereotypes. I develop three rhetorical devices that fulfill stereotypes long-held about those who are “other.”

First, I offer the endangered child, which can be invoked with actual children or through the paternal relationship with the Global North. The device relies on the sympathy of the audience and innocence of children who escape culpability for their plight. Second, I outline the endangered woman, who the North views as a worthy investment because her industriousness will better her community. Not only does the colonizing gaze seek to control her through adherence to standards of femininity, but also through the feminization of the landscape which the North seeks to control. Third, I offer the dangerous man who encourages both an affective divestment from his suffering, while simultaneously mobilizing Northern consumers to protect his victims and become white saviors.

These rhetorical devices work together to force a response from the North because of the paternal relationship—cause-marketing campaigns ask that they consume. This strategy also exploits consumers’ need to self-actualize through consumption, according to King. These devices in cause-marketing campaigns harm those in the Global South by

offering only a stereotypical view of the people in this space, reifying paternalism, not offering long-term solutions, and capturing them in a cycle of need. The Global North does not escape harm from these campaigns either since they are trapped in a cycle of consumption that is heightened by the white savior narrative. The North-South relationship continues to rely on the subjugation of those who are ostensibly being saved through the very messages that continue to harm them through a fulfillment of colonizers' fantasies.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

While this project was a big undertaking, many people have helped me throughout my graduate career. So I would like to take this time to mention some of the contributions that many made to this process. I know that this only begins to acknowledge everything that you have done for me.

First and foremost, thank you to my advisor Wendy Atkins-Sayre who not only invested in me as a student but also as a person. I can't begin to describe all your help and encouragement for applying to different programs that helped complement and enhance this tremendous experience. Your immense patience helped me become a writer that is no longer ashamed of their writing. I can say that you made the move to Mississippi worth it.

Writing is often a solo venture, but with Mo it was definitely a team sport. I am forever overwhelmed to have someone who so cheerfully would come to my house, pull up some floor and Clarence to help keep me on track. You taught me that everything is a sale and I am a better person for having you in my life.

A special thanks to the sweetest friend I have—Carley. From the mid-comps unicorn, to putting up with my neuroses around travel, to always letting me come over and plop on the couch with Mick, I couldn't have asked for a better person to support and ground me throughout this adventure.

Good friends offer support, great friends are a sounding board for research, and amazing friends point out weak arguments and help better them. CT, thank you for being an amazing friend to me.

While it feels silly to write a thank you to Banjo and Kazooie it does not feel silly to thank Mary for always keeping me well-entertained and fed!

My ball of freakin' sunshine, Nicole. I could not imagine a more generous person with reading and editing drafts, giving encouragement and teaching materials, or teaching me about Southern culture.

Melissa, thank you for introducing me to another joy of teaching: being around long enough to see students become friends! You are a ball of fun and there is no one I would rather blow off a meeting with.

My committee members were all so incredibly helpful and generous with their time throughout this whole process. I am forever grateful for each of you putting up with my incessant office visits to chat, giving your feedback on various drafts and papers, willingness to help me with my other endeavors of teaching and fundraising, and overall helping me navigate grad school and this project.

A special thanks to Christopher Garland who got this Global South ball rolling. It almost does not need to be stated that without your class this project would not have happened. I am so glad for your generosity in offering me books, readings, and an overall crash course in understanding the North-South divide.

Last, but certainly not least, this project would not have happened without the support of my parents, Victoria, and my sister. I could write an entire dissertation about all the support you gave me, but these few words will have to suffice! Late night texts, stressful Sunday phone calls, use of your credit cards, providing pictures of animals to cheer me up, sending thoughtful pick-me-up presents, and asking how to support me finishing were indispensable. This dissertation is as much a testament to your support as it is to my tenacity.

DEDICATION

To my Dad who never told an obnoxious little kid to stop asking questions. Your encouragement of my curiosity has now become my life's work.

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CHAPTER I – CONCEPTUALIZING THE GLOBAL NORTH AND SOUTH

Paul Spiegel proclaimed, “the humanitarian system is...broken,” explaining that the previous system of handling crises by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) no longer works.¹ Spiegel worked in the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees office and saw these inadequacies firsthand.² The biggest issue, according to the author, is that the system is outdated. Spiegel contends that rather than doling out aid as NGOs see fit, the people who are affected should be given the means to “become less dependent” and take charge of their lives.³ Spiegel highlights issues associated with charity and the paternal relationship that has long been the status quo between areas providing aid and those receiving it.

The relationship between regions with disparate social and economic development has long been ruled by acts of charity and aid. Recently, this idea has been co-opted by for-profit organizations through what is known as “one-for-one,” where consumers buy a product and a similar one is sent to someone in need. One-for-one has

¹ Paul B. Spiegel, “The Humanitarian System is not Just Broke, but Broken: Recommendations for future Humanitarian Action,” *The Lancet* (2017) [http://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736\(17\)31278-3/fulltext](http://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736(17)31278-3/fulltext).

² Malaka Gharib, “Humanitarian Aid is ‘Broken,’ Says Former UN Official,” *NPR* June 22, 2017, <http://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsoda/2017/06/22/533639073/what-s-wrong-with-humanitarian-aid>.

³ Gharib, “Humanitarian Aid.”

become so pervasive that the model has been applied to clothing,⁴ accessories,⁵ and health care items, such as contraceptives.⁶ The ubiquity of one-for-one extends beyond humans; animals in shelters can be supported when purchasing certain products.⁷ While this ostensibly allows those in the North to support those in need with purchases they would already be making, for-profit organizations are utilizing images of the Global South in order to fuel consumerism masquerading as charity.

The terms Global North and South were popularized after the Cold War, according to Nour Dados and Raewyn Connell, as a way to refer to the first and third world, respectively.⁸ Originally the terms referenced the northern and southern hemispheres of the globe, with the advanced nations literally on top.⁹ Contemporary understandings account for markers of the Global South and North to inhabit the same region. The terms now reference areas that experience “large inequalities in living

⁴ Twice as Warm, “About Us,” <https://twiceaswarm.com/about-us/>, accessed June 13, 2017.

⁵ Amazima, “About Amazima,” <https://www.amazimastore.org/pages/about-us>, accessed June 13, 2017.

⁶ PRJKT RUBY, “Changing Lives,” *How it Works*, <https://www.priktruby.com/how-it-works/changing-lives/>, accessed September 20, 2016.

⁷ PetSmart donates meals for every bag of dog or cat food bought in their stores, see: PetSmart, “Give a Meal Donation,” <https://www.petsmart.com/give-a-meal-donation.html>, accessed June 13, 2017.

⁸ Nour Dados and Raewyn Connell, “The Global South.” *Contexts* 11, no. 1 (2012): 12.

⁹ Jean-Philippe Thérien, “Beyond the North-South Divide: The Two Tales of World Poverty,” *Third World Quarterly*, 20, no. 4 (1999): 723.

standard, life expectancy, and access to resources” anywhere in the globe.¹⁰ Due to these inequities between the two, North-South relations often rely on paternalism.

One way that paternalism is enacted is through what Phaedra Pezzullo calls boycotts, where consumers choose to support companies that align with their personal ethics by purchasing products.¹¹ In the context of North-South relations, this is often seen as the one-for-one model, as explained above. The boycott model capitalizes on what Samantha King explains as cause-marketing, where for-profit companies partner with non-profits in order to boost their brand image and consumer loyalty.¹² Cause-marketing and the one-for-one model reinforce the paternal relationship between the Global North and South.

Lawrence Mead defines paternalism as “social policies aimed at the poor that attempt to reduce poverty and other social problems...but also require that they meet certain behavior requirements” which rely on supervision.¹³ The North attempts to reduce some of the inequalities in the Global South through various aid and supervision. Karen Valentin and Lotte Meinert explain that this paternalism has been hyper focused on

¹⁰ Dados and Connell, “The Global South,” 12.

¹¹ Phaedra Pezzullo, “Contextualizing Boycotts and Buycotts: The Impure Politics of Consumer-Based Advocacy in an Age of Global Ecological Crises,” *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 8, no. 2 (2011): 125.

¹² Samantha King, “An All-Consuming Cause: Breast Cancer, Corporate Philanthropy, and the Market for Generosity,” *Social Text*, 19, no. 4 (2001):123-6.

¹³ Lawrence M. Mead, “The Rise of Paternalism,” in *The New Paternalism: Supervisory Approaches to Poverty*, ed. Lawrence M. Mead (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1997):2.

children of the Global South,¹⁴ who must adhere to the “supposedly universal ideals of a ‘good childhood’,” ensuring parents, schooling, proper hygiene and nutrition, leisure time, and appropriate work.¹⁵ The authors contend that this oversight leads to an “infantilized dependency” of the South on the North.¹⁶

Cause-marketing has become an integral part of corporations’ spending. Sponsorship spending has steadily been growing over the last decade, with companies allocating over 53 billion dollars towards it in 2013.¹⁷ Three organizations that have adopted this strategy are Walgreens, Stella Artois, and Brilliant Earth. These companies were selected because of their large market shares and brand recognition. The campaigns by these organizations were found by the researcher “naturally” while just consuming television and social media normally. The pervasive nature of these types of campaigns matters since they have become so ubiquitous.

Walgreens is a well-known, U.S. chain of pharmacies that in 2016 announced a partnership with Vitamin Angels, a non-profit that operates globally.¹⁸ The

¹⁴ Karen Valentin and Lotte Meinert, “The Adult North and the Young South: Reflections on the Civilizing Mission of Children’s Rights,” *Anthropology Today* 35, no. 2 (2009): 23-28.

¹⁵ Valentin and Meinert, “The Adult North,” 23.

¹⁶ Valentin and Meinert, “The Adult North,” 23.

¹⁷ IEGSR, “Sponsorship Spending Growth Slows in North America as Marketers Eye Newer Media and Marketing Options,” published January 7, 2014, <https://web.archive.org/web/20151228103151/http://www.sponsorship.com/iegsr/2014/01/07/Sponsorship-Spending-Growth-Slows-In-North-America.aspx>.

¹⁸ Walgreens, “Get Vitamins Here, Change Lives Everywhere,” *Youtube*, March 9, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GfoY9kbSZ3A>

announcement was done through commercials that encouraged viewers to buy Walgreens-brand vitamins to support eye health of children in the developing world, or the Global South.¹⁹ Vitamin Angels receives monetary support from Walgreens in order to support its worldwide initiative. The campaign relies on the vulnerability of children in order to fuel patronage of Walgreens. The commercial is designed in order to encourage consumers to participate in a one-for-one transaction and reinforce a paternal attitude towards the Global South.

Another company that has embraced the one-for-one ideal is Stella Artois, a Belgian beer company now owned by the Anheuser-Busch Corporation.²⁰ The company recently launched a campaign that announced their partnership with water.org, which provides microloans for water accessibility within Global South communities. Stella Artois encourages viewers to purchase limited edition chalices with a portion of proceeds providing five years of clean water. The website for the campaign explicitly asks viewers to “buy a lady a drink,” invoking an extremely paternal and mildly predatory view of women in the Global South.²¹ The campaign supports a paternal North-South relationship in which the North is supporting the South through a boycott.

Brilliant Earth is a United States jewelry company that focuses on ethical sourcing for the gemstones and precious metals used in making their product. A large section of

¹⁹ Walgreens, “Get Vitamins.”

²⁰ Stella Artois, “Our Brand: Heritage,” http://www.stellaartois.com/en_us/our-brand/heritage.html, accessed June 14, 2017.

²¹ Stella Artois, “Buy a Lady a Drink,” http://www.stellaartois.com/en_us/buy-a-lady-a-drink.html, accessed April 6, 2017.

the website is dedicated to informing visitors on the issues of diamond mining and the efforts the organization is taking in order to stymie the atrocities against workers, community members, and the environment by local governments who control the mines. Brilliant Earth constructs the Global South as subject to the rule of powerful, evil men in government. Brilliant Earth encourages consumers to take these issues seriously and protect families from the atrocities committed by these men, invoking the colonizing gaze as a way to understand the situation.

These examples are important because they demonstrate an ostensible change in the North-South relationship. Instead of outright colonization with nation-states exercising dominance over the South, for-profit organizations in the North encourage viewers to maintain a colonial gaze over people of the South. This colonial gaze enacts a paternal relationship between the two, wherein the Global North is trapped in a cycle of consumption and the Global South is trapped in a cycle of poverty, as a worthy recipient of Northern aid. While the power in the North has shifted from nation-states to individuals (via for-profit organizations) the overall relationship has largely remained unchanged.

In this dissertation, I focus on how for-profit companies utilize imagery of the Global South in order to encourage consumers to adopt a colonizing gaze to construct an ideal recipient of Northern aid. The reliance on stereotypical images, which are the cornerstone of a colonizing gaze, work to trap the Global North in a cycle of consumption and the Global South in a cycle of need. To demonstrate this, I analyze campaigns which use imagery featuring people in the South in order to show how paternal relationships are rhetorically constructed as necessary. This relationship is created, in part, through women

and children being constructed as worthy victims, while men in the Global South are perpetrators. This rhetorical construction of different populations not only justifies acts of paternalism by the North but renders action necessary.

In this chapter, I begin by examining relevant literature about integration of the Global South and visual culture and literature concerning the relationship between the North and South. I then provide an explanation of the chapters based on the case studies. Finally, I begin to explore the ramifications of my study.

Understanding the Spaces of the Global North and South

Many terms can be ascribed to the spaces of the Global North and Global South, the most common of which may be “first world” and “third world” or “the developed world” and “the undeveloped (or developing) world.” The terms Global South and North are preferred for this study due to these terms encompassing a space rather than a place. The third or developing world are terms used by organizations interested in measuring the development of these places and assign regions and countries this label in order to better help that mission.²² These organizations hope to reach annual goals and ultimately have no need for the terms or the mission anymore.²³ The Global South, by contrast, allows for a more conceptual understanding of the spaces without being tied to geography and the need for progress. Thus, these terms allow for an understanding of the continued subjugation of various groups and types of people. While I acknowledge the significant

²² See: United Nations, “About Human Development,” <http://hdr.undp.org/en/humandev/>, accessed October 9, 2017.

²³ United Nations, “Millennium Goals,” <https://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>, accessed October 9, 2017.

overlap in these terms, using Global North and South allows for a more nuanced understanding of these spaces, allowing for the evolution of relationships and markers over time.

The Global South and North exist in a paternal relationship that has historical antecedents in colonialism. In order to provide a complete understanding of these terms, as well as the relationship, I begin with defining the terms Global North and South by exploring the different ways they have been described. Then, I turn my focus to the importance of colonialism in the relationship between the two. Next, I examine how paternalism, coming from colonialism, still rules the North-South relationship. Finally, I explore how rhetorical scholarship has examined the relationship between the North and South and highlight this study's intervention into existing literature.

Defining North and South

In conceptualizing the Global South and North, scholars have offered many explanations. The initial idea of the North and South emerged from what was known as the "Brandt" line, which separated the globe into the rich North and poor South with some exceptions (notably; Australia and New Zealand).²⁴ The Brandt line has fallen out of favor since it was never updated in order to account for many markers of both concepts co-existing in the same region.

These terms have also been characterized as a divide between urban and rural, though how this divide interacts within the North-South framework is unclear at best. The

²⁴ BBC, "Bitesize: Contrasts in Development," <http://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/ks3/geography/interdependence/development/revision/4/>, accessed June 10, 2017.

Global South has the most megacities, or cities with a population of 10 million or more, as well as larger cities in general.²⁵ However, many continents that would be considered at least partially the Global South (such as Africa and Asia), also contain about 90% of the rural population globally.²⁶ While this simple urban/rural divide does not offer many answers, the migration from rural to urban may illuminate one marker of North and South. The Global South also has the fastest growing urban population.²⁷ Moreover, the same areas that now hold the largest rural population, Africa and Asia, are expected to have the biggest growth in urban areas in the coming decades.²⁸

This shift from rural to urban offers another way that the Global South is often thought of—the presence of slums.²⁹ The migration to cities strains existing infrastructure creating insufficient job and living opportunities.³⁰ Settlements that seek to address these shortages are known as slums, according to Mike Davis.³¹ Typically slums offer

²⁵ United Nations, *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2014 Revision*, <https://esa.un.org/unpd/wup/publications/files/wup2014-highlights.Pdf> (2014): 13.

²⁶ United Nations, *World Urbanization*, 10.

²⁷ United Nations, *World Urbanization*, 2.

²⁸ United Nations, *World Urbanization*, 10-11.

²⁹ UN-Habitat, *State of the World's Cities 2012-2013: Prosperities of Cities* (New York: Routledge, 2013): xvi.

³⁰ “Introduction: Situating the Politics of Slums within the ‘Urban Turn’,” in *The Politics of Slums in the Global South: Urban Informality in Brazil, India, South Africa and Peru* eds. Véronique Dupont, David Jordhus-Lier, Catherine Sutherland, Einar Braathen (London: Routledge, 2016): 1.

³¹ Mike Davis, *Planet of Slums*, (New York: Verso, 2006): 27-30 and UN-Habitat, *State of the World's*, xvi.

precarious housing that is built without much regard for residents' safety or comfort.³²

These spaces also have informal, or illegal, economies where residents make their wages.³³ Slums are important to understand as they offer one of the more accepted ways to define the Global South.

Though slums are a universal marker for the Global South, they are written about in vastly differing, and many times contradictory, ways. For Doug Saunders they carry promise and are strictly temporary settlements for residents.³⁴ The slums are geographically, and metaphorically, liminal places between the rural areas that residents came from and the urban spaces that they hope to go to.³⁵ By contrast, Mike Davis sees these spaces as largely negative, explaining that they tend to have high crime, are used to enforce racist/classist ideologies of (former) colonizers, and generally are horrible places to inhabit.³⁶ While these understandings of slums differ, both authors agree that slums are one way to differentiate the South from the North.

The Global South is also seen as “savage” due to the violence within these spaces, primarily slums, which is communicated to Northerners. These stereotypes are seen in messages concerning human rights. Wendy Hesford examines a variety of human rights

³² Doug Sanders, *Arrival City: How the Largest Migration in History Is Reshaping Our World* (London: Random House, 2010): 13.

³³ Saskia Sassen, “The Global City and the Global Slum,” *Forbes*, March 22, 2011, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/megacities/2011/03/22/the-global-city-and-the-global-slum/#6ebbbcf22647>.

³⁴ Saunders, *Arrival City*, 19.

³⁵ Saunders, *Arrival City*, 11.

³⁶ Davis, *Planet of Slums*, 21, 52, 138.

campaigns by various non-profits that target the Global South.³⁷ Hesford contends that many of these campaigns rely on a subtle distancing between the viewer and subject of the campaign that relies on Edward Said's Orientalism.³⁸ This positions women as "exotic" others³⁹ which Northerners are often drawn to helping, or at least viewing. Hesford begins to tease out many of the rhetorical themes that are seen in images concerning the Global South, but focuses on non-profits, as do many other studies.

Rhetorical scholarship has explored how the Global South is constructed in messages produced by the Global North. The study of anti-human trafficking campaigns has been particularly fruitful. Scholars have interviewed trafficking victims in order to get their perspective on the language used to describe them,⁴⁰ how to better define human rights with regard to trafficking,⁴¹ or to uncover the anti-immigration sentiment that is behind many campaigns.⁴² Scholarship and other messages in the North concerning the

³⁷ Wendy Hesford *Spectacular Rhetorics: Human Rights, Visions, Recognitions, Feminisms* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011).

³⁸ Hesford, *Spectacular Rhetorics*, 4-7.

³⁹ Hesford, *Spectacular Rhetorics*, 3.

⁴⁰ Carlyne Hoyle, Mary Bosworth, and Michelle Dempsey, "Labeling the Victims of Sex Trafficking: exploring the Borderland between Rhetoric and Reality," *Social and Legal Studies* 20, no. 3 (2011): 313-329

⁴¹ Vanessa E. Munro, "Of Rights and Rhetoric: Discourses of Degradation and Exploitation in the Context of Sex Trafficking," *Journal of Law and Society* 35, no. 2 (2008): 240-264.

⁴² Nandita Sharma "Anti-Trafficking Rhetoric and The Making of a Global Apartheid," *NWSA Journal* 17, no. 3 (2005): 88-111.

Global South, often focuses on the perpetual victimization of the women and children who inhabit these spaces.

The Global South is difficult to describe and differentiate from the North, but these final definitions are used in this study in order to understand these spaces. Dados and Connell explain that the terms now reference areas that experience “large inequalities in living standard, life expectancy, and access to resources” anywhere in the globe.⁴³ This encompasses the idea of slums as well as accounting for the continued subjugation of this space. Hesford explains that many examples of human rights rhetoric conceptualize human rights issues within “suffering zones” and “spectator zones.”⁴⁴ In other words a strict binary exists: those who observe and can act to end the suffering and those who are relegated to suffering. Hesford continues, positing that the Global South can be understood as a suffering zone, while the Global North is a zone of spectatorship.⁴⁵ This binary is useful in understanding the often impermeable boundaries of viewing between the two spaces. The North-South relationship goes beyond mere subjugation, such as patterns of viewing by the Global North, and is based largely in ideology left over from colonialism.

Heritage of Colonialism in the North-South Relationship

Another reason for this power difference and binary is the heritage of colonialism. Colonial powers have now become the Global North, with the former colonies being the

⁴³ Dados and Connell, “The Global South,” 12.

⁴⁴ Hesford, *Spectacular Rhetorics*, 7.

⁴⁵ Hesford, *Spectacular Rhetorics*, 7.

Global South. Santiago Castro-Gomez has explained the difference between coloniality and colonialism.⁴⁶ Colonialism, according to the author, refers to a historical period.⁴⁷ Coloniality, though, references differences in power and knowledge.⁴⁸ The effects of this relationship impact the ways in which Northerners view the South (e.g. the colonial gaze). The history of colonialism supports the paternal nature of the relationship that is still present.

The use of the term “Global South” references “an entire history of colonialism,” according to Dados and Connell,⁴⁹ with the South generally being composed of former colonies that have been stripped of resources by the North. Joseph Hanlon, Armando Barrientos, and David Hulme explain that the South still “bears the marks” of colonialism.⁵⁰ The authors continue, stating that this impact can be seen in “distorted economic, social, and governance systems” of (former) colonies.⁵¹ Further, Davis contends that slums are still utilized in order to enforce colonial power in the third world,

⁴⁶ Santiago Castro-Gomez, “The Social Science, Epistemic Violence, and the Problem of the Invention of the Other,” *Nepantla: Views from the South* 3, no. 2 (2002): 276.

⁴⁷ Castro-Gomez, “The Social Science,” 276.

⁴⁸ Castro-Gomez, “The Social Science,” 276.

⁴⁹ Dados and Connell, “The Global South,” 12.

⁵⁰ Joseph Hanlon, Armando Barrientos, and David Hulme, *Just Give Money to the Poor: The Development Revolution from the Global South* (Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press, 2010): 8

⁵¹ Hanlon, Barrientos, and Hulme, *Just Give Money*, 8.

or Global South.⁵² Thus, economic systems further reinforce the power that former colonizers have over their colonies.

In the Global South, coloniality can be enacted a variety of ways. Katrina Lee-Koo explains that colonial power shifted over time to be “a series of distant powers (including states and transnational organisations) which seek to maintain asymmetrical power relations” that benefit the North.⁵³ Colonial overtones, however, are no longer enforced by ruling nation-states but transnational organizations exercising their power. Davis explains that a “soft imperialism” also exists in this same way, constructing situations in which the Global South is reliant on NGOs and other supranational organizations.⁵⁴ Power in the North has shifted over time from explicit to implicit and from nation-states to organizations.

In defining the Global North, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri understand that an integral part of a post-colonial world is the idea of supranational organisms.⁵⁵ Rather than singular nation-states existing as a sovereign power, organizations that transcend national boundaries hold the power. Juridical organizations, such as the United Nations, can be understood as supranational organisms. While not directly tied to law systems, global corporations and other Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) can be

⁵² Davis, *Planet of Slums*, 51-2.

⁵³ Katrina Lee-Koo, “Horror and Hope: (Re)presenting Militarized Children in Global North-South Relations” *Third World Quarterly* 32, no.4 (2011): 735.

⁵⁴ Davis, *Slum World*, 76.

⁵⁵ Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000): xii.

understood in a similar way since they attempt to impact change and often substitute what governments “should” be doing. Because these organisms possess power, they align more closely with the Global North which also has power. In this way the Global North becomes less tied to actual geography, and more to the powerful and powerless. Coloniality, then, can be carried out by transnational organizations that possess power.

The rise of organizations, rather than governments, having power in the Global South relies on other long-held beliefs. Primarily the assumption in the Global North that governments in the Global South are not capable of meeting citizen’s needs, such as having inadequate medical care. Another reason for the rise in organizations may also be the shift of colonization becoming unpalatable to those in the North.⁵⁶ This lack of ability and shift in responsibility allows NGOs, including for-profit and non-profits, to fill the vacuum of power. The need to act comes at a time when consumers not only want to buy good products but feel good about what they are purchasing.

King identifies a shift in consumers wanting to move towards ethical consumerism in order to self-actualize in what the author terms “cause-marketing.”⁵⁷ This occurs when for-profit companies engage in a long-term partnership with a non-profit as part a marketing strategy.⁵⁸ Long-term partnerships allow the company to see a return on the charitable “investment,” as consumers see it as more authentic and less opportunistic,

⁵⁶ John Cameron and Anna Haanstra, “Development Made Sexy: How it Happened and what it Means,” *Third World Quarterly*, 29, no. 8 (2008): 1476-7.

⁵⁷ King, “An All-Consuming Cause,” 123-6.

⁵⁸ King, “An All-Consuming,” 123-4.

resulting in a better overall image for the company.⁵⁹ Cause-marketing allows for-profit companies to exert more agency or power within the marketplace. Often corporations are perceived more positively when utilizing this strategy, since corporations are responding to their consumers, though for-profits are exploiting consumer's ethical concerns to increase their business.⁶⁰ Thus, cause-marketing allows consumers to fulfill their desires of supporting companies with similar ethics through consumption.

The history of colonialism exists symbiotically with paternalism, each working to continue to subjugate the South. While colonialism has been replaced by coloniality, the relationship has remained stable throughout this shift. Rather than colonization happening through conquests by different nations, organizations now hold this power. Power within the paternal relationship realigned with this shift, but organizations still encourage reliance of the Global South through messages reproducing stereotypes held by the Global North.

Paternalism and the Global North

Transnational organizations operate under the structure of paternalism, which has long been the status quo relationship between North and South. In this section I explore how charity has been rebranded but still reinforces this same relationship. Finally, I explore how a preoccupation with children also infantilizes the South.

⁵⁹ King, "An All-Consuming," 124.

⁶⁰ King, "An All-Consuming," 126.

Paternalism best explains the relationship between the Global North and South.⁶¹ While paternalism was the result of colonialism, the concept has been rebranded to be more palatable to the Global North. John Cameron and Anna Haanstra identified this shift, explaining that the North is seen as having an excess rather than the South having a scarcity.⁶² Rather than feeling guilt over the abject poverty in the South, “Northern publics are encouraged to celebrate it” by thinking of charity as sexy.⁶³ Focusing on those in the North and constituting them as a giving public eliminates guilt over poverty.⁶⁴ An example of this is sponsoring a child, where the sponsors receive pictures, letters, and updates from the child.⁶⁵ Rather than feeling guilty over their excess, sponsors feel good about helping this child. This shift, from others to the self, reinforces a “paternalistic, charity based vision of North-South relations” according to Cameron and Haanstra.⁶⁶ Charity efforts have successfully embraced this shift and largely underscore and support the paternal role of the Global North.

⁶¹ Dados and Connell, “The Global South,” 12.

⁶² Cameron and Haanstra, “Development Made Sexy,” 1476.

⁶³ Cameron and Haanstra, “Development Made Sexy,” 1476.

⁶⁴ See: Maurice Charland, “Constitutive Rhetoric: The Case of the People Quebecois,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 73, no. 2 (1987): 137.

⁶⁵ See: Compassion International, “Sponsor a Child Today,” https://www.compassion.com/sponsor_a_child/, accessed October 9, 2017, Save the Children, “Become a Child Sponsor,” <https://sponsor.savethechildren.org/>, accessed October 9, 2017, Unbound, “Find Someone to Sponsor Today,” <https://www.unbound.org/Sponsor>, accessed October 9, 2017, or World Vision, “Sponsor a Child,” https://www.worldvision.org/sponsor-a-child?geo_num=0169,0159,0173, accessed October 9, 2017.

⁶⁶ Cameron and Haanstra, “Development Made Sexy,” 1477.

The abundance of resources from the North flows unidirectionally to the South. This one-way flow reinforces the passivity of the Global South. Linda Fried explains that global health is “still often perceived as international aid” with resources flowing from the “wealthier countries of the global north” to the South.⁶⁷ This is primarily accomplished through charity efforts.⁶⁸ Furthermore, representations of charity work also infantilize the South by suggesting that they are “helpless victims” who lack agency.⁶⁹ Charity efforts are one way the Global South is monetarily subjugated to an infantilized role.

Karen Valentin and Lotte Meinert explain that the Global South is treated like a young child in part because in colonizing missions children were much easier to influence than adults.⁷⁰ These missions translated into a crusade for children’s rights in the South, with childhood meant to mirror that in the North.⁷¹ The hypervisibility of children means that they have been transformed into markers for how developed or advanced the South is. Given the focus on children, entire regions were transformed into a child, with the North acting as a parent.

⁶⁷ Linda P. Fried, et al., “Global Health is Public Health,” *The Lancet* 375, (2010): 536.

⁶⁸ Cameron and Haanstra, “Development Made Sexy,” 1483.

⁶⁹ Cameron and Haanstra, “Development Made Sexy,” 1483.

⁷⁰ Karen Valentin and Lotte Meinert, “The Adult North and the Young South: Reflections on the Civilizing Mission of Children’s Rights,” *Anthropology Today* 35, no. 2 (2009): 23-28.

⁷¹ Valentin and Meinert, “The Adult North,” 23.

The paternal relationship has dictated the ways in which the North and South are viewed. While power has shifted over time to become more distant and disbursed, the North still maintains a similar relationship with the South. Reliance can be built through the prevalence of NGOs and charities that is fostered by the North as well Northerners being encouraged to engage in various forms of charity. Most notably paternalism is perpetuated through the North's adoption of a colonizing gaze when viewing South, which seeks to colonize bodies in the South.

Rhetoric and the Global South

Rhetorical scholars have also looked at the paternal relationship between the Global South and North, though often implicitly. Leifa Mayers, for example, focused on messages concerning adoption. The author argues that the rhetoric surrounding international adoptions relies on racialized vulnerability of children and a preoccupation with instating the nuclear family.⁷² By focusing on the risk to these children who are up for adoption, it necessitates a paternal figure acting in the best interest of the child. With a focus on getting at-risk children into a nuclear family structure, these messages also reinforce the need for a strong, paternal figure in families within the Global South.

Another example that implicitly looks at paternalism is examining how different messages define and communicate vulnerability. Heather Switzer, Emily Bent, and Chrystal Leigh Endsley examined how girls in the Global South are hypervisible.⁷³

⁷² Leifa Mayers, "The 'Orphan' Child: Politics of Vulnerability and Circuits of Precarity," *Feminist Formations* 28, no. 1 (2016): 60-85.

⁷³ Heather Switzer, Emily Bent, and Chrystal Leigh Endsley, "Precarious Politics and Girl Effects: Exploring the Limits of the Girl Gone Global," *Feminist Formations* 28, no. 1 (2016): 33-59.

Messages about the South use girls as a way to make arguments for why the North not only should intervene but constructs it as necessary. In these messages girls are simultaneously constructed as both the “most vulnerable” in the South but also as the “saviors” of their communities.⁷⁴ By focusing on women and girls the North is enacting a paternal relationship that is steeped in chivalry.

Rhetorical scholars have examined how rhetoric can be used to not only call for change, but also enact it. Phaedra Pezzullo examines the implications of boycotts, which looks at for-profit companies, and how they encourage consumers to buy products when they agree with the values of an organization.⁷⁵ Pezzullo not only contends that the boycotts use rhetoric to promote themselves, but by participating in boycotts consumers also take part in a symbolic activity. Pezzullo calls for more communication research on these tactics, given that they are inherently rhetorical.⁷⁶ Boycotts are important when considering the communication surrounding the Global South in the North, because many of the messages encourage viewers to participate in them.

Boycotts have been co-opted into an idea of “one-for-one,” transforming charity and goodwill into a consumer act. These acts are a form of paternalism that support the unidirectional allocation of resources, and a specific form of them has tremendous success within the context of North-South relations. The idea of “one-for-one” appeared as early as 2006, when Blake Mycoskie, founder of TOMS shoes, wanted to solve the

⁷⁴ Switzer, Bent, Endsley, “Precarious Politics,” 33.

⁷⁵ Pezzullo, “Contextualizing Boycotts and Boycotts,” 125.

⁷⁶ Pezzullo, “Contextualizing Boycotts and Boycotts,” 125.

problem of shoelessness.⁷⁷ Mycoskie's idea was simple: to start a shoe company that would give a pair of shoes to children in need for every pair sold. This idea of one-for-one has since taken off and is a way for Northerners to transform consumerism into charity. While ostensibly this allows Northerners to support organizations that positively impact their communities, the impact of the one-for-one may not be as positive as the campaigns would lead viewers to believe. For-profit companies co-opting images of the Global South not only encourages consumerism masquerading as charity, but also reinforces paternal attitudes of the North towards the South.

Cause-marketing fulfills consumers' need to become self-actualized through the products and services that they buy. Taking note of this desire, organizations have been quick to partner with non-profits in order to attract new consumers and foster loyalty to their brand.⁷⁸ Much like breast cancer awareness is a "sure-fire" cause⁷⁹ that organizations can utilize in order to gain ethos, so is that of the vulnerable in the Global South. I am concerned with how the Global South is constructed as an ideal recipient of Northern aid. Beyond the images used in campaigns fulfilling the stereotype and fantasy of the Global North, the messages feature individuals that those in the North feel they need and want to help (women and children), and those that they need to protect the vulnerable from (men).

⁷⁷ Grace Wong, "Blake Mycoskie: Sole Ambition," *CNN*, September 26, 2008, <http://edition.cnn.com/2008/BUSINESS/09/26/mycoskie.profile/>.

⁷⁸ King, "An All-Consuming," 124.

⁷⁹ King, "An All-Consuming," 130.

This study offers a different way of viewing boycotts. By examining these campaigns through the lenses of cause-marketing and the colonizing gaze I offer an understanding of how the Global South is constructed as an ideal recipient of Northern aid. Cause-marketing relies on exploiting the need for consumers to feel good about the products they are buying,⁸⁰ and the Global South has become one way for organizations to capitalize on that need. The need for self-actualization and exploiting that need exists cyclically though, due to the companies responding to consumers' desires to feel good. Consequently, both production and consumption are continuing to strengthen and respond to one another. Through understanding both the markers of who is recognized as being from the Global South and how the Global South is an ideal recipient of this support, I hope to contribute to the field of rhetorical studies.

The reliance on imagery of the Global South capitalizes on the need for consumers to self-actualize through their consumptive practices. This need, that King identified,⁸¹ has repercussions for both production and consumption. For production, companies want to build their brand and company in order to expand their influence. One way of doing this is by responding to the needs of consumers, necessitating that on the consumption side the need to feel self-actualized. Through this understanding both consumers and companies are complicit in the use of Global South imagery by for-profit companies.

⁸⁰ King, "An All-Consuming," 123-6.

⁸¹ King, "An All-Consuming," 123-6.

The repeated use of imagery that reinforces a paternal relationship contributes to the overall understanding of the Global South. The Global North is caught in a cycle of consumption, whereby consumers must be selective in which brands they purchase products from, thus engaging in ethical consumption. The Global South is caught in a cycle of need, always waiting for the North to come and resolve problems. Through the use of images of the Global South, companies are able to exploit the desire for ethical consumption that traps the Global North in a cycle of consumption and the South in a cycle of need.

There is a need for additional literature that examines how the existing paternal relationship between the North and South can be exploited by for-profit companies in order to fuel consumerism masquerading as charity. This research focuses on how for-profit companies re-present tropes and rhetorical strategies in order to appeal to consumers. Moreover, I aim to understand these rhetorical devices, by identifying markers that immediately alert audiences to the people featured being from the Global South. By drawing attention to these rhetorical devices, I hope to better understand why the South has become such a trendy cause for companies to pair their brand image with. Further, previous scholarship has largely overlooked the differences that exist in how Global Southerners are portrayed based on their age and gender, something my study will highlight. By focusing on the rhetorical strategies used by companies to exploit stereotypes of the Global South, I hope to illuminate how those in the South are understood.

Understanding the Global South through a Visual Lens

The primary way that differences are constructed between the North and South is visually, and photography plays a large role in this. Since many in the North will never experience the South firsthand, visual culture allows Northerners a way to access the experience of Southerners. The rise of “poverty porn” that depicts the suffering of those in the Global South allows Northerners to grasp the struggles of the South, but in problematic ways.⁸² Wendy Hesford explains that if “seeing is believing” then these same tactics will continue to rule North-South relations depicted visually.⁸³

The North relies on visual culture to construct the Global South as “other” through adopting a colonizing gaze. I begin this section by defining the colonizing gaze. Then, I explore the ways in which the gaze enacts different power relationships with those viewing and those being viewed. Finally, I explain how arguments about the Global South have been made primarily visually.

Understanding the Colonizing Gaze

The colonizing gaze is an enactment of Castro-Gomez’s coloniality, whereby those with power are able to colonize the bodies of those without power. Castro-Gomez suggests that this state of coloniality is anchored, in part, by those in power to establish

⁸² See: Matt “What is ‘Poverty Porn’ and Why Does it Matter for Development?,” *Aid Thoughts*, July 1, 2009 <http://aidthoughts.org/?p=69> and Abigail Scott Paul, “‘Poverty Porn’? Who benefits from Documentaries on Recession Britain?,” Joseph Rowntree Foundation, August 23, 2013, <https://www.jrf.org.uk/blog/%E2%80%98poverty-porn%E2%80%99-who-benefits-documentaries-recession-britain>.

⁸³ Hesford, *Spectacular Rhetorics*, 53.

their identity through the subjectification of the other.⁸⁴ This is precisely what the colonizing gaze seeks to do. Katherine Henninger explains that the colonizing gaze is a way of viewing people based in Western ideologies.⁸⁵ The gaze also strips those colonized of their own ability to make meaning and relies on stereotype and fantasy of colonizers.⁸⁶ This concept of the colonizing gaze has been seen in different contexts as a way to describe the struggle of marginalized people attempting to gain agency.

Frantz Fanon describes his struggle with the colonizing gaze. Fanon explains that the gaze of white men objectifies him into the various stereotypes for Black men.⁸⁷ Fanon relies on a Burkean sense of identification in order to make this distinction, explaining that Black men “must be black in relation to the white man,” suggesting a clear distinction of identity as well as performativity.⁸⁸ Fanon asserts that these differences are important for Black men to understand their identity because their culture was “wiped out” due to being “in conflict with a civilization...that imposed itself” on them.⁸⁹ Fanon clearly articulates why colonization is at fault for creating the identity of those colonized.

⁸⁴ Castro-Gomez, “The Social Science,” 277.

⁸⁵ Katherine Henninger, “Zora Neale Hurston, Richard Wright, and the Postcolonial Gaze,” *Mississippi Quarterly*, 56, no. 4 (2003): 585-6.

⁸⁶ Henninger, “Zora Neale Hurston,” 585-6.

⁸⁷ Frantz Omar Fanon, *Black Skin White Mask*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann, (2008, London: Pluto Press): 82-5.

⁸⁸ Kenneth Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1969): 20-28 and Fanon, *Black Skin*, 82-3.

⁸⁹ Fanon, *Black Skin*, 83.

With this ontological ability to create identity colonizers wield immense power over those who have been colonized.

The identity that has been created for colonized bodies can be communicated through the colonizing gaze. Fanon explains that it takes an encounter with white men for Black men to understand these differences and begin acting in reaction to them.⁹⁰ He explains that by interacting with colonizers Black men begin to understand their “inferiority comes into being” through colonizers.⁹¹ By accepting this identity of colonizers Fanon asserts that “Blackness,” or a subjugated identity, is created.⁹²

The idea that this gaze can be turned inward in order to produce relationships is particularly important in a North-South context. Nina Asher uses Fanon’s explanation of the colonizing gaze to suggest that the “other” is created by colonizers.⁹³ This subjugation occurs not only through the occupation of land but also by co-opting the internal relationship that colonized bodies have with themselves.⁹⁴ The colonizing gaze, therefore, is an extremely powerful tool for colonizers to continue the subjugation of colonized bodies, even after the end of the historical period of colonization.

⁹⁰ Fanon, *Black Skin*, 83.

⁹¹ Fanon, *Black Skin*, 83.

⁹² Fanon, *Black Skin*, 84-5.

⁹³ Nina Asher, “At the Interstices: Engaging Postcolonial and Feminist Perspectives for a Multicultural Education Pedagogy in the South,” *Educational Researcher*, 36, no. 2 (2016): 69.

⁹⁴ Asher, “At the Interstices,” 69.

The differences in identity produced by the colonizing gaze can be manufactured for gain. Castro-Gomez argues that capitalist economies rely on the production of differences. The author contends that instead of suppressing differences in order to gain capital, as done previously, there is now a celebration of difference. In the modern era, the ideal was the “rational man” who was someone who would be productive; typically, a “white, male, married, heterosexual, disciplined, hardworking, self-controlled” person was the ideal.⁹⁵ Deviations from this ideal were repressed through various institutions, such as prisons, asylums, schools, etc. With the post-Cold War rise of economic and cultural globalization, the production of differences has become more important. Castro-Gomez explains that this paradigm shift rejects uniformity and prescriptive rules.⁹⁶ Instead of celebrating homogeneity, globalization calls for enforcing rigid binaries across differences.

The Global North relies on producing the South as markedly different in order to protect their dominant status. Castro-Gomez highlights these manufactured differences as one of the major anchors for coloniality, which bolster the identity and superiority of the dominant groups.⁹⁷ By constructing messages that position the Global South as the “other,” the Global North relies on the colonizing gaze as a way to reinforce its dominance. By relying on stereotypical images that are reproduced through the

⁹⁵ Castro-Gomez, “The Social Science,” 279-80.

⁹⁶ Castro-Gomez, “The Social Science,” 280.

⁹⁷ Castro-Gomez, “The Social Science,” 277.

colonizing gaze, Northerners not only come to understand what the Global South is, but also their own identity in relation to this “other.”

Power and the “Other”

Since the colonizing gaze creates subjugated identities, it can also create the “other.” Edward Said introduced the idea of the “other” when discussing differences between Western and Asiatic cultures, explaining that the West “willed” over the East due to the power differences in what is known as Orientalism.⁹⁸ Said contends that people “have always divided the world up into regions” based on “real or imagined distinctions.”⁹⁹ This, according to Said, is the basis of both colonialism and Orientalism. Further, Said explains that through colonialism itself, spaces “transform from alien into colonial.”¹⁰⁰ In other words, colonization exists in a self-sustaining cycle with itself, whereby spaces and bodies are transformed into colonized spaces and those with power can perform colonization. This cycle is particularly important when understanding the colonizing gaze, which allows bodies and behaviors to be colonized based on who is being viewed. Orientalism is used as the basis for distinctions that move beyond East and West.

In understanding this process in other contexts, Raka Shome explains that Orientalism can be applied to “underdeveloped” countries.¹⁰¹ Shome underscores the

⁹⁸ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (1978, repr., New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1994): 204.

⁹⁹ Said, *Orientalism*, 39.

¹⁰⁰ Said, *Orientalism*, 211.

¹⁰¹ Raka Shome, “Postcolonial Interventions in the Rhetorical Canon: An “Other” View,” *Communication Theory*, 6, no. 1 (1996): 43.

importance of this from a post-colonial perspective, explaining that this process of Orientalism helps maintain the status quo of global power, which rhetorical studies should seek to uncover.¹⁰² Essentially, this process of othering relies on the belief that another culture is subordinate.¹⁰³ The concept of “othering” relies on creating distance between viewers and subjects, typically due to power differences that can be enacted through the colonizing gaze. This idea of power differences can be explored through visual rhetoric’s politics of looking.

The colonizing gaze mandates different behaviors based on who is viewing and being viewed. As Fanon suggests, the gaze mandates behavior and identification based on which side of the gaze a person is on. Those enacting the gaze hold power, while those subjected to the gaze are expected to behave in certain ways. Slavoj Žižek explains that this is “symbolic identification,” which is based on the gaze that produces the image.¹⁰⁴ The colonial gaze prefers ways of viewing that align with Western ideologies, rather than indigenous, and often dominates other cultures, resulting in a much different image.

Colonization sought to disrupt native culture and epistemological understandings. Aimee Carillo Rowe offers the landbody framework.¹⁰⁵ This framework understands performative acts through a lens of an indigenous understanding of land and body as

¹⁰² Shome, “Postcolonial Interventions,” 41

¹⁰³ Shome, “Postcolonial Interventions,” 51.

¹⁰⁴ Slavoj Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology*, (London, UK: Verso, 1989): 104-124.

¹⁰⁵ Aimee Carillo Rowe, “Queer Xicana: Performance, Affect, and the Sacred,” (paper presented at Rhetoric Society of America, Bloomington, IN, May 26, 2017), n.p.

intimately linked, with little demarcation between the two.¹⁰⁶ Colonization interrupts this relationship, instead forcing a Western ideology onto the relationship. Harry Garuba explains that colonizers saw themselves as an “autonomous subject with a privileged view” who existed outside of the local discourse and was therefore better able to view and understand it.¹⁰⁷ These notions of colonial superiority exist through the mid-century in *National Geographic*, according to Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins.¹⁰⁸ Pictures in the magazine would feature natives carrying writers, explorers, and photographers for the magazine invoking a clearly colonial relationship.¹⁰⁹ By constructing explorers from the Global North as superior, Western fantasy fueled how Western ideas of knowledge existed in the Global South.

However, native knowledge persisted; one way that Northern epistemology was resisted is through *Nepantla*. Walter D. Mignolo explains that *nepantla* is a word that describes the “in-between” place that colonized natives felt described the tension between the wisdom of their ancestors, as well as the wisdom of the colonizers.¹¹⁰ In the specific

¹⁰⁶ A Center for 21st Century Studies Conference at UW-Milwaukee, “Landbody: Indigeneity’s Radical Commitments,” <http://www.c21uwm.com/landbody/>, accessed October 25, 2017.

¹⁰⁷ Harry Garuba, “Mapping the Land/ Body/ Subject: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies in African Narrative,” *Alternation* 9, no. 1 (2002): 87.

¹⁰⁸ Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993): 77 and 159.

¹⁰⁹ Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993): 77 and 159

¹¹⁰ Walter D. Mignolo, “Introduction: From Cross-Genealogies and Subaltern Knowledges to *Nepantla*,” *Nepantla: Views from the South* 1, no. 1 (2000): 2.

context that the word nepantla was formed in this word offers a linguistic resistance, since it is Nahuatl, as opposed to the colonizing Spanish.¹¹¹ Moreover, according Mignolo reiterates that nepantla is not a “happy place in the middle” but carries the connotation of the Global South suffering under the oppressive reign of colonizers.¹¹² One way that this is seen is in the appropriation of natives, specifically their image.

While indigenous knowledge resists the gaze in their own way, those who possess power in the Global North can also combat the colonizing gaze, Žižek encourages critics to ask, “for whom is the subject enacting this role?”¹¹³ Due to the privilege of Northerners being able to enter into spaces, Southerners may enact roles based on the colonizing gaze. By being the subject of a photograph, rather than the photographer, Southerners are often enacting the role of the subjugated other. Those in the Global South may be acting as the subordinated “other” that relies on a distance often created by privilege. Being subjected to the colonial gaze in photographs compounds the lack of power that those in the South possess.

Visual texts serve to reinforce stereotypes that the colonizing gaze relies on, which are already associated with the Global South. Primarily this is the savage, violent, victimizing stereotype that comes from slums discussed earlier. Gayatri Spivak explains that human rights abuses are constructed as existing solely in the Global South, typically

¹¹¹ Mignolo, “Introduction,” 2.

¹¹² Mignolo, “Introduction,” 2.

¹¹³ Žižek, *The Sublime*, 106.

by wrong-doers also within the South.¹¹⁴ This view sets up the South in a vicious cycle of human rights violations from within its own borders. Through this colonization, the South is unable to help itself; the North must act on behalf of the South, reinforcing the Global North as the pinnacle of the human rights. Stereotypes, created through a colonizing gaze, are capitalized by the transnational organizations that hold power in this paternal relationship.

The haze of the Global North is also privileged with the choice of being able to look or look away. Susan Sontag explains that “being a spectator of calamities taking place in another country is a quintessential modern experience.”¹¹⁵ Not only does this speak to the access to technology, but also to the interest in these depictions. So-called “poverty porn” is highly visual and relies most often on brown or black children in order to elicit sympathy.¹¹⁶ Sontag continues, explaining photographs depicting atrocities “focus on the powerless” who are “without agency” which is, in part, due to their namelessness.¹¹⁷ This lack of agency, set up by the power to look (or not) is part of how visual culture and the colonizing gaze construct the Global South.

The power within the colonizing gaze can also be enacted during vacations or merely viewing photos of other places. Wendy Hesford and Brenda Brueggemann use the

¹¹⁴ Gayatri Spivak, *Death of a Discipline* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2003) 169.

¹¹⁵ Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, (New York, NY: Picador, 2003), 18.

¹¹⁶ See: Matt “What is ‘Poverty Porn’,” and Paul, “‘Poverty Porn’.”

¹¹⁷ Sontag, *Regarding the Pain*, 79.

term “traveling gaze” to refer to the ways in which tourists can “voyeuristically” enter into other places and participate in cultural acts and assume the native landscape and culture remain unchanged.¹¹⁸ This is done, according to the authors, through Burkean identification. Tourists can look at photographs of exotic locations and the people who inhabit them and identify with both the familiar parts of the landscape as well as the differences through the photograph.¹¹⁹ Identification by viewers is heightened when actually visiting and viewing the places firsthand.

Voluntourism is another way that consumers are able to alleviate guilt over the excess of being able to travel. The term voluntourism was coined by David Clemmons, who is the founder of VolunTourism.org.¹²⁰ The term, according to Clemmons’ website, “is the *conscious*, seamlessly-integrated [sic] combination of voluntary service to a destination with the traditional elements of travel and tourism - arts, culture, geography, history, *and recreation* - while in the destination.”¹²¹ Voluntourism inherently relies on difference and the inadequacies of local infrastructure to support the people who live there. By participating in voluntourism, individuals engage in some kind of service project while traveling, giving back to the community in which they visit.

¹¹⁸ Wendy Hesford and Brenda Brueggemann, *Rhetorical Visions: Reading and Writing in a Visual Culture* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2007): 276.

¹¹⁹ Hesford and Brueggeman, *Rhetorical Visions*, 277.

¹²⁰ David L. Clemmons, “From the Founder,” *VolunTourism.org* 2010, <http://www.voluntourism.org/founder.html>, accessed October 20, 2015.

¹²¹ VolunTourism.org, “What is VolunTourism,” 2010, <http://www.voluntourism.org/inside-faqs.html#1>, accessed October 20, 2015.

The colonizing gaze relies on the “other” who is different than those who are acting as viewers. The gaze relies on outdated stereotypes that have been portrayed in popular media and the retelling of personal experiences. Differences also work to create identification by allowing viewers to understand what they are not. The colonizing gaze can be enacted in a myriad of ways, but given the mediated experiences of the Global South, photography and other visual culture play a special role in this.

The Importance of Photography in Colonizing the “Other”. Visual culture is very important in the construction of differences between the Global South and North. Hesford explains that this saturation of images allows “witnessing atrocity” to not only mean the “experience of a survivor” but a “more generalized mass-mediated experience.”¹²² Photography and other technology allow these images to be broadcasted to a very large audience. Mari Boor Tonn examines how seeing human atrocities has been used to fuel social change since the early 20th Century.¹²³ The author explains that “the eye” was the most powerful force to convey “the anguish” felt by workers who were affected by unfair labor laws.¹²⁴ Photography has proven to be a powerful tool in bringing about change in the Global South, as well.

In addition to highlighting the struggles those in the Global South may face, the camera reinforces the binary between colonizer and natives. Henninger explains that the

¹²² Hesford *Spectacular Rhetorics*, 56.

¹²³ Mari Boor Tonn, “‘From the Eye to the Soul’: Industrial Labor’s Mary Harris ‘Mother’ Jones and the Rhetorics of Display,” *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (2011): 231-249.

¹²⁴ Boor Tonn, “‘From the Eye,’” 236.

camera is “inherently” considered a “master’s tool,” that reinforces various hierarchies when used.¹²⁵ The camera and photographs are another way to enact coloniality. One way this is can be seen is through the reliance on the technology, which reinforces the Western ideal that objectivity (via photographic evidence) is paramount in any kind of reporting.¹²⁶ Henninger also explains that the master-viewer dichotomy is still present in much of this photography where the subjects of photographs are objectified often fulfilling fantasies based in stereotype.¹²⁷ While the reliance on the camera and photography allow Northerners to see (and therefore—believe, according to Hesford), it also continues paternal dichotomies through the colonizing gaze.

Many in the Global North will never share experiences with those in the South or be able to visit the Global South in order to witness them first-hand. Visual culture, specifically photography, allows experiences to be transmitted globally. Currently images from the Global South are ruled by the portrayal of victims, so their images are particularly powerful to those in the North. Through pictures Northerners have an opportunity to identify with the experience of those in the Global South, although the identification usually comes at the expense of subjugating Southerners. The colonizing gaze can be adopted by those having an experience (mediated or otherwise) in the Global South to subjugate its inhabitants.

Studying Visual Arguments in the Global South

¹²⁵ Henninger, “Zora Neale Hurston,” 583.

¹²⁶ Henninger, “Zora Neale Hurston,” 583

¹²⁷ Henninger, “Zora Neale Hurston,” 583-5.

Visual culture is important to understand the Global South from a Northern perspective. Visual artifacts are often seen as objective reality when opposed to constructed verbal or written arguments. However, many rhetorical scholars argue the opposite, and suggest that images should be understood as rhetorical artifacts. In this section I detail how images can be studied rhetorically, with an emphasis on how visual culture has been used to construct arguments about the Global South.

Many images from the Global South offer a documentary style slice of reality, which is in fact constructed.¹²⁸ This careful construction of reality is, according to Cara Finnegan, rhetorical.¹²⁹ In order to study these constructions Finnegan offers five principles for understanding the rhetorical nature of photographs.¹³⁰ First, images are not in themselves evidence. Finnegan explains that rather than demonstrating objective facts, photographs interpret and represent reality.¹³¹ In other words, images merely offer one slice of abstracted reality that may or may not represent the whole. Second, images are polysemic and have many different interpretations and meanings.¹³² By understanding the

¹²⁸ Perhaps the most famous example of this is the photograph of a Sudanese girl with a vulture behind her. The picture is a dramatic depiction of a child clearly on the verge of starvation in a hopeless situation. However, the New York Times and the photographer both later confirmed that she made it to a food center shortly after the photograph was taken. (see: New York Times, “Editors’ Note,” March 30, 1993, <http://www.nytimes.com/1993/03/30/nyregion/editors-note-513893.html> and TIME “Starving Child and Vulture,” <http://100photos.time.com/photos/kevin-carter-starving-child-vulture>, accessed July 5, 2017.

¹²⁹ Cara Finnegan, *Picturing Poverty: Print Culture and FSA Photographs* (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 2003).

¹³⁰ Finnegan, *Picturing Poverty*, xv-xviii.

¹³¹ Finnegan, *Picturing Poverty*, xv.

¹³² Finnegan, *Picturing Poverty*, xv-xvi.

different conversations that the images interact with, critics can better understand the various meanings that are constructed. Third, photographs must be read within the context they are presented.¹³³ Finnegan's fourth argument calls for acknowledging the internal relationship of how the images interact with the other materials that surround them, which is important for understanding the role of the image in the overall argument.¹³⁴ Finally, understanding the culture that produced the image and how that may privilege certain ways of seeing matters.¹³⁵ Images inherently reflect the culture in which they are produced and that must be accounted for by rhetorical critics. Finnegan's principles offer a way to view images rhetorically, which serves as the basis of my method for understanding how images are used to construct the Global South.

Beyond being the primary mode of how Northerners experience the Global South, visual argumentation is important when considering how these messages are understood. Charles Hill explains that visual texts rely on emotional appeals to be persuasive. Using the example of starving children, Hill demonstrates that photographs are much more effective than statistics.¹³⁶ J. Anthony Blair explains that visuals are more "dramatic,

¹³³ Finnegan, *Picturing Poverty*, xvi-xvii.

¹³⁴ Finnegan, *Picturing Poverty*, xvii.

¹³⁵ Finnegan, *Picturing Poverty*, xvii-xviii.

¹³⁶ Charles Hill, "The Psychology of Rhetorical Images," in *Defining Visual Rhetorics*, eds. Charles Hill and Marguerite Helmers (Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2004), 28.

forceful, and realistic” than verbal or written arguments.¹³⁷ Hill asserts that the use of photographs showing audiences a starving child is more “real” to audiences than statistics of the size or impact of starvation.¹³⁸ Underlying this “realness” is emotion. Hill explains that the more vivid the information, the stronger the emotional response.¹³⁹ While actual experiences would be the most vivid information audiences could have, most experiences are not accessible to audiences. Thus, we must rely on images in order to create vivid information for audiences.

Moreover, according to Hill and Blair, visual arguments can create involuntary responses. Blair explains that there are fewer chances for failures of communication in visual arguments than in verbal/written.¹⁴⁰ Blair also explains that the responses of audiences to visual objects are involuntary, due to the lessening of distance between the subject of the visual rhetoric and the audience. Hill explains that in this way visual texts can function similarly to other emotional appeals, specifically fear appeals. If the audience is made to feel vulnerable by viewing the visual text, then the object would function similarly to a verbal fear appeal.

While invoking involuntary responses explains the ways in which more basic emotions work, Hill asserts that more complex emotional responses are due to the linkage

¹³⁷ J. Anthony Blair, “The Rhetoric of Visual Arguments,” in *Defining Visual Rhetorics*, eds. Charles A. Hill and Marguerite Helmers (Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2004), 51.

¹³⁸ Hill, “The Psychology of,” 29.

¹³⁹ Hill, “The Psychology of,” 31.

¹⁴⁰ Blair, “The Rhetoric of,” 53.

of rational thinking, emotions, and enculturation.¹⁴¹ Hill uses the example of the image of an American flag being linked to a cultural value—patriotism. This linkage creates emotions, such as pride or honor, when citizens of the United States see images of the flag.¹⁴² This conditioned response has been cultivated over a period of time. People who live in the United States must learn to associate the nation’s flag with certain emotions and cultural values before the image can be used as short-hand for national pride/honor. Conditioned responses can be used to create associations other than national identity as well. Hill states that most notably these tactics are used by advertisers and politicians in order to create favorable emotions towards certain products or candidates.¹⁴³

Images concerning the Global South have been circulating for several decades and function like these complex conditioned responses. Viewers see certain markers of the Global South through the colonizing gaze and are primed to respond in a certain way. Due to the repetition of the images and the explosion of cause-marketing, audiences may know that they will be asked to act. Given that many images construct women and children as victims in the South, the response by the Global North has been paternal—to save them. Exploring how a wider variety of images featuring those populating the Global South can be co-opted by for-profit companies in order to fuel consumerism masquerading as charity is absent in current literature.

¹⁴¹ Hill, “The Psychology of,” 34-5.

¹⁴² Hill, “The Psychology of,” 35.

¹⁴³ Hill, “The Psychology of,” 36.

By understanding how for-profit companies in the North utilize viewing practices in order to enact coloniality on the South, this project will examine the production of differences that Castro-Gomez references. Exploring how the strict binary between North-South is reenacted through visual culture is important in understanding how the relationship has remained stable over time. While power has shifted over time from colonial nation-states to individuals, these individuals are encouraged by non-profit organizations, charities, religious organizations and now for-profit companies to perpetuate a colonizing relationship. Corporations encourage viewers to adopt a colonizing gaze and enact coloniality upon the Global South. By examining messages produced by for-profit companies that enact coloniality I hope to theorize recurring themes within these messages to better understand the tactics used to subjugate the South. The colonizing gaze produces differences that not only encourage consumerism in the North but make it necessary in order to save the Global South from itself.

Chapter Layout

The texts for this study are portions of campaigns constructed by for-profit companies engaging in cause-marketing and attempting to engender a boycott by manufacturing differences in which the viewers have to engage in consumerism to save those in the Global South. Texts were selected from for-profit companies and the advertisements' reliance on a visual construction of specific populations in the Global South. I use the selected texts to demonstrate how different aspects of identity (primarily age and gender) in the South are viewed through a colonizing gaze in order to construct an ideal recipient of Northern aid. Wendy Hesford explicitly calls for further study of how certain bodies "take on the burden of representation in international politics," noting

that this is particularly true across gender and age.¹⁴⁴ Answering this call I argue that Northerners' understandings of the Global South rely on visual imagery, rather than primary experience, and inherently rely on the colonizing gaze in order to construct the Global South as a worthy cause in for-profit messages.

The second chapter focuses on how images of children are used to construct the Global South as an ideal recipient of Northern charity via consumerism. Specifically, the chapter explores a Walgreens commercial produced as a part of a larger campaign which encourages viewers to buy its brand of vitamins in order to support undernourished children who are at-risk for blindness.¹⁴⁵ The commercial features happy, smiling, and chubby babies playing peek-a-boo with women. The women speak in different languages and wearing traditional garments that alert viewers to both the fact that they are not American or English speaking. After showing several mother-child dyads the commercial shows the outside of a Walgreens and an American mother playing peek-a-boo with her child in the store while buying Walgreens brand vitamins. The commercial falls into a larger campaign in which Walgreens donates other health-related items such as flu shots to underprivileged children.¹⁴⁶ The campaign targets women in the North and constructs

¹⁴⁴ Wendy S. Hesford and Rachel A. Lewis, "Mobilizing Vulnerability: New Directions in Transnational Feminist Studies and Human Rights," *Feminist Formations* 28, no. 1 (2016): ix.

¹⁴⁵ Walgreens, "Get Vitamins Here, Change Lives Everywhere," *Youtube*, March 9, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GfoY9kbSZ3A>

¹⁴⁶ See: Walgreens, "Get a Shot. Give a Shot.," *Youtube*, September 6, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lqehtKD-_aA.

underprivileged children as only existing in the Global South through various visual and verbal cues.

I contend that the Global South is, simultaneously, positioned as an endangered child in a paternal relationship with the North while also consisting of endangered children. Children are often featured in messages about the Global South and in order to better understand how kids can represent the South, I develop the “endangered child trope.” The endangered child trope relies on synecdoche; audiences in the Global North are so accustomed to seeing endangered children in messages about the South that the entire South is transformed into an endangered child. The trope relies on the "othering" of the child, audiences feeling sympathy, and the subjects' vulnerability. The endangered child is an ideal recipient of Northern aid given the promise of a future that children carry. By visually demarcating children in the South from Northerners, Walgreens offers an example of how children are repeatedly used in order to represent the Global South in its entirety.

The third chapter focuses on women in the Global South in a campaign from Stella Artois entitled “Buy a Lady a Drink.”¹⁴⁷ On the website for the tongue in cheek campaign features still photographs of women in traditional clothing squatting next to wells while their containers fill with water, pouring water into their hands and drinking from them, or doing laundry in the basin of the well.¹⁴⁸ Videos featured on the campaign

¹⁴⁷ Stella Artois, “Buy a Lady a Drink.”

¹⁴⁸ Stella Artois, “Buy a Lady a Drink.”

website highlight the impact that wells have on women.¹⁴⁹ These campaigns empower visitors to adopt a colonizing gaze towards women in the Global South that construct consumerism as the only way to save them.

Women and girls are often subjected to a hyperfocus from the Global North; this chapter will examine how they are constructed and viewed. I argue that the campaign encourages Northerners to adopt the colonizing gaze, seeing women of the Global South as an exotic other, who is sympathetic and someone consumers want to help, and controllable. Control of women comes through the control of their relationship with the land, water in the Stella Artois campaign is only restored to women at the behest of colonizers. By granting water to these women and allowing them some connection back to their land, the colonizing gaze still seeks to disrupt and control this relationship between body and land (in this case water). By offering a subject that allows those in the Global North to not only act as a savior but also control, the Stella Artois campaign offers an ideal recipient of Northern aid.

The fourth chapter will analyze an often overlooked group in the Global south—men. This group differs from women and children significantly, not only in their perpetual absence but also their demonization. One organization that does mention men is Brilliant Earth. The website focuses on the men in power in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Zimbabwe,¹⁵⁰ and focuses on constructing these men as evil and

¹⁴⁹ See: Stella Artois, “Stella Artois & Water.org Present Elizabeth’s Dream,” http://www.stellaartois.com/en_us/buy-a-lady-a-drink.html, accessed June 14, 2017.

¹⁵⁰ Brilliant Earth, “Labor and Community,” <https://www.brilliantearth.com/conflict-diamond-child-labor/>, accessed August 24, 2017.

nonhuman. The website repeats the atrocities committed by these men in power in many different places. Brilliant Earth direct viewers' attention to the victims of powerful men, focusing on the harm(s) to children and women. The website weaves all three sub-populations together, constructing a Global South where children and women need to be protected from men in power.

I argue that Brilliant Earth utilizes language that explicitly marks these men as corrupt bullies who utilize violence to ensure their power. The dangerous man is a rhetorical device that dehumanizes men in order to foster affective disengagements. Ashley Noel Mack and Brian McCann explain that viewers cannot possibly respond to all suffering equally, so some suffering is acceptable, in the idealized Global South the suffering of men is accepted.¹⁵¹ Since the dangerous man is demonized, his suffering is discounted by those in the North. Violence as experienced by his victims, the endangered child and woman, mobilizes a response best explained by the white savior myth. Matthew Hughey explains that the singular, white messianic figure of the white savior saves those who are otherized from the sad fate,¹⁵² cause-marketing asks viewers to do this through proper consumption. The dangerous man facilitates both affective engagement for his suffering while simultaneously mobilizing white saviorhood for his victims.

The fifth chapter will focus on integrating the themes developed in previous chapters as well as drawing larger implications of the research. These texts have been

¹⁵¹ Ashley Noel Mack and Bryan McCann, "'Strictly an Act of Street Violence': Intimate Publicity and Affective Divestment in the New Orleans Mother's Day Shooting," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 14, no. 4 (2017): 4.

¹⁵² Matthew Hughey, *The White Savior Film: Content, Critics, and Consumption*, (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2014), 1.

carefully selected in order for this study to highlight the use of the colonizing gaze by for-profit companies in order to situate consumerism as mandatory to supporting the Global South. Taken together, the case studies will offer a new perspective on how a long-standing paternal relationship is enacted under shifting power relationships, namely through the repetition of imagery to construct an ideal recipient for consumers to support. By exploring for-profit companies' use of visual culture in maintaining coloniality, this study will contribute to how certain populations are even more exploited in order to manufacture differences and maintain a paternal relationship. Through creating messages that enact a colonial gaze on the children, women, and men of the Global South for-profit companies continue to render them as reliant on the North.

Conclusion

This study seeks to better understand and illuminate the relationship that exists between the Global North and Global South. I hope to do this by examining how supranational organizations of the North construct the South using a colonizing gaze in order to construct consumerism as vital. By partnering with non-profits and constructing ideal recipients of Northern aid these for-profit companies are engaging in cause-marketing. These partnerships trap the Global North in a cycle of consumption, while the Global South is trapped in a cycle of need. Relying on these outdated stereotypes and fantasy is harmful to both sides of the imagery.

This study responds to a need for additional literature both in rhetorical studies, as well as studies of the Global South. Visual rhetorical studies have examined how the Global South is constructed, but primarily in texts concerning non-profits, calling for aid,

or other humanitarian efforts.¹⁵³ The case studies selected are for-profit companies that are using these images to fuel sales of their products. Moreover, the focus will be on exploring how these companies work to construct a recognizable, and ideal, subject that consumers feel good about supporting. By focusing on for-profit companies and their construction of the Global South, the study will be able to examine both production and consumption in a cycle of consumerism.

Second, by looking at specific sub-populations and how they interact will allow for a more complete picture of how the Global South exists in the imagination of the Global North. While literature offers some ways that Northerners are seen (the White Savior), and a few ways that Southerners are seen (the “other”), focusing in on these more specific populations will help get a more complete picture of both sides. Through exploring the relationship between all three categories in the South will result a better understanding of how these stereotypes work into the larger narrative.

Finally, the study will propose theories to understanding the larger relationship between the North and South. Through a careful explanation of the individual rhetorical devices for each sub-population will result in tools and understanding for other scholars to use when studying the Global South. Understanding how these images work together in order to construct the Global South as a perfect cause for companies to use to exploit consumers’ need for self-actualization helps to understand the relationship between the North and South.

¹⁵³ See: Hesford, *Spectacular Rhetorics*.

CHAPTER II – AT THE CORNER OF PATERNALISM AND PATRONAGE:

WALGREENS' USE OF THE ENDANGERED CHILD

TOMS shoes was founded 2006, with a simple idea of the “One for One” campaign to solve the problem of shoelessness amongst underprivileged children.¹ Blake Mycoskie’s, the founder of TOMS, idea was to start a shoe company that would give a pair of shoes to children in need for every pair sold. TOMS, and companies that utilize this idea, engage in well-meaning paternalism in order to attempt to solve problems in the Global South. Karen Valentin and Lotte Meinert explain that paternalism has been hyper focused on children of the Global South,² who must adhere to the “supposedly universal ideals of a ‘good childhood’,” ensuring parents, schooling, proper hygiene and nutrition, leisure time, and appropriate work.³ The authors contend that the belief in childhood being a special time that should be protected leads to an “infantilized dependency” of the South on the North.⁴

Because of the popularity and success of TOMS,⁵ the idea of one for one caught on as a way for consumers to perform charitable acts by simply buying certain products.

¹ Grace Wong, “Blake Mycoskie: Sole Ambition,” *CNN*, September 26, 2008, <http://edition.cnn.com/2008/BUSINESS/09/26/mycoskie.profile/>.

² Karen Valentin and Lotte Meinert, “The Adult North and the Young South: Reflections on the Civilizing Mission of Children’s Rights,” *Anthropology Today* 35, no. 2 (2009): 23-28.

³ Valentin and Meinert, “The Adult North,” 23.

⁴ Valentin and Meinert, “The Adult North,” 23.

⁵ According to TOMS the company has given over 60 million pairs of shoes, as well as other various accomplishments.

According to Samantha King, this strategy reflects a change in consumers wanting to move towards ethical consumerism in order to self-actualize.⁶ The concept of the one for one, is a way to capture conscientious consumers, and a version of a boycott. Phaedra Pezzullo defines a boycott as a “refusal to spend money” on various products and/or services while also convincing others to do the same.⁷ Boycotts, however, encourage spending, pushing consumers to use their spending habits for good. If consumers agree with an organization’s stance, both companies and non-profits benefit. Boycotts and boycotts encourage individuals to use their purchasing power to interact with large corporations in hopes of influencing their behavior.

One company that is embracing these trends to appeal to consumers’ altruism is Walgreens, a well-known pharmacy brand. The company launched a campaign in 2016 announcing its support of a non-profit organization, Vitamin Angels.⁸ The non-profit is based out of California and was started in 1994.⁹ The organizations seeks to help “at-risk populations in need” and targets women and children under five as a way to accomplish this.¹⁰ A television advertisement announced the partnership, informing viewers that

⁶ Samantha King, “An All-Consuming Cause: Breast Cancer, Corporate Philanthropy, and the Market for Generosity,” *Social Text*, 19, no. 4 (2001):126.

⁷ Phaedra Pezzullo, “Contextualizing Boycotts and Boycotts: The Impure Politics of Consumer-Based Advocacy in an Age of Global Ecological Crises,” *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 8, no. 2 (2011): 125.

⁸ Walgreens, “Get Vitamins Here, Change Lives Everywhere,” *Youtube*, March 9, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GfoY9kbSZ3A>

⁹ Vitamin Angels, “FAQs,” <https://www.vitaminangels.org/faqs>, accessed January 27, 2018, paragraph 1 and Vitamin Angels, “Founder’s Story,” <https://www.vitaminangels.org/founders-story>, accessed January 27, 2018, paragraph 1.

¹⁰ Vitamin Angels, “FAQs,” paragraph 1.

when they “get ...vitamins at Walgreens” they “help give life-changing vitamins to kids across the globe.”¹¹ Vitamin Angels receives money from Walgreens in order to support its various nutrition and vitamin initiatives worldwide. The commercial encourages consumers to shop at Walgreens in order to help children in other countries who may not otherwise have access to vitamins.

Walgreens’ commercial relies on the rhetorical device I term the endangered child. This device relies on invoking the sympathy of viewers as a way to mobilize them into consuming products from organizations. Other examples come from a variety of organizations including: relief organizations, non-governmental organizations, and for-profit organizations. UNICEF’s Facebook page features children refugees as at-risk, urging people to think of them as children first, then refugees.¹² Unbound, a secular child sponsorship organization, has a video that shows a child’s life transformed from endangered to thriving “in an instant” through a few clicks of a mouse.¹³ PRJKT RUBY invokes the device while encouraging women to buy contraception from their website in order to support “women worldwide” in getting contraception.¹⁴ Walgreens offers a

¹¹ Walgreens, “Get Vitamins.”

¹² See: UNICEF, “Children First,” *Facebook*, September 19, 2016, <https://www.facebook.com/unicef/photos/a.10150563250124002.425954.68793499001/10154411442369002/?type=3&theater>.

¹³ Unbound, “In an Instant,” *Youtube*, July 24, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CDU7_0YADxg.

¹⁴ PRJKT RUBY, “Changing Lives,” *How it Works*, <https://www.prjkruby.com/how-it-works/changing-lives/>, accessed September 20, 2016.

recent, nuanced version of the endangered child being used by a for-profit company as a part of a nation-wide promotional campaign.

The Walgreens campaign provides a reflective example of how the paternal relationship between the Global North and the Global South is enacted through media campaigns which encourage consumerism. The purpose of this study is to uncover one of the ways in which the North uses rhetoric to maintain a paternal relationship over the Global South. Paternalism constructs the Global North as a parental figure while the Global South operates as a child. I argue that the Global South is constructed as an ideal recipient of aid through the use of the rhetorical device I term the endangered child. This device encourages consumers in the North to adopt a colonizing gaze in order to continue a cycle of infantilization and paternalism vis-à-vis consumerism. The repeated featuring of actual children works through synecdoche to construct the Global South as an endangered child within a paternal relationship with the North. The endangered child is constructed as “other,” sympathetic, and innocent. I begin by exploring the relationship between the Global North and South, including paternalism. Then, I move to existing literature about the endangered child. Next, I explicate the endangered child as a rhetorical device and apply it to the Walgreens campaign. I end by discussing the implications of constructing worthy and unworthy recipients of aid in cause-marketing.

Understanding the North-South Relationship through Cause-Marketing

The heritage of colonialism and imperialism in the North-South relationship is embedded with assumptions about how the South is understood as subjugated. The use of the term “Global South” references “an entire history of colonialism,” according to Nour

Dados and Raewyn Connell.¹⁵ This history is also used to subjugate the South. Katrina Lee-Koo explains that colonialism has changed over time to be “a series of distant powers (including states and transnational organisations) which seek to maintain asymmetrical power relations” that benefit the North.¹⁶ These inequities have historical antecedents of powerful nations ruling over others. Colonial overtones, however, are no longer due to ruling nation-states but transnational organizations exercising their power.

Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri argue that an integral part of a post-colonial world is the idea of supranational organisms.¹⁷ Rather than singular nation-states existing as a sovereign power, juridical organizations, such as the United Nations, that transcend national boundaries hold the power. Global organizations also fill this vacuum of power created by the absence of former colonizing nation-states. This understanding of the North and South is no longer tied to geography; instead the terms reference the interplay between the powerful supranational organisms and the powerless South.

Walgreens enacts the role of the Global North through its transnational approach in its partnership with Vitamin Angels. Walgreens has a large presence in the United States and its territories,¹⁸ but the partnership with a transnational, non-profit allows the

¹⁵ Nour Dados and Raewyn Connell, “The Global South.” *Contexts* 11, no. 1 (2012): 12.

¹⁶ Katrina Lee-Koo, “Horror and Hope: (Re)presenting Militarized Children in Global North-South Relations” *Third World Quarterly* 32, no.4 (2011): 735.

¹⁷ Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000): xii.

¹⁸ “Store Count by State,” *Walgreens*, August 31, 2015, <http://news.walgreens.com/fact-sheets/store-count-by-state.htm>.

company expands its reach into other corners of the globe. Vitamin Angels is based in California,¹⁹ but works with non-profits in 54 other countries.²⁰ Increasing its power through partnership, Walgreens transforms into the Global North. Through this partnership Walgreens becomes a part of a global network that unidirectionally provides resources to the Global South.

Paternalism and the Global North

Paternalism is the status quo for the relationship between the Global North and South.²¹ While paternalism used to be one of the results of colonialism, it has been rebranded to be more palatable to anti-colonial sentiments in the Global North. John Cameron and Anna Haanstra identified this shift, explaining that now the North is seen as having an excess rather than the South having a scarcity.²² Rather than feeling guilt over the abject poverty in the South, “Northern publics are encouraged to celebrate it” by thinking of charity as sexy.²³ Focusing on those in the North and constituting them as a giving public,²⁴ eliminates guilt over poverty. This shift, from others to the self,

¹⁹ “Frequently Asked Questions,” *Vitamin Angels*, <https://www.vitaminangels.org/faqs>, accessed July 28, 2016.

²⁰ “Our Approach,” *Vitamin Angels*, <https://www.vitaminangels.org/our-approach>, accessed July 28, 2016.

²¹ Dados and Connell, “The Global South,” 12.

²² John Cameron and Anna Haanstra, “Development Made Sexy: How it Happened and what it Means,” *Third World Quarterly*, 29, no. 8 (2008): 1476.

²³ Cameron and Haanstra, “Development Made Sexy,” 1476.

²⁴ See: Maurice Charland, “Constitutive Rhetoric: The Case of the People Quebecois,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 73, no. 2 (1987): 137.

reinforces a “paternalistic, charity based vision of North-South relations” according to the authors.²⁵ Charity efforts largely underscore and support the paternal role of the Global North.

The abundance of manufactured goods often flows unidirectionally from North to South. This one-way flow reinforces the passivity of the Global South. Linda Fried et al. explain that global health is “still often perceived as international aid” with resources flowing from the “wealthier countries of the global north” to the South.²⁶ This is primarily accomplished through charity efforts.²⁷ Furthermore, representations of charity work also infantilize the South by suggesting that they are “helpless victims” who lack agency that those in the North possess.²⁸ Charity efforts are one way the Global South is monetarily subjugated to an infantilized role.

The partnership between Walgreens and Vitamin Angels exemplifies this shift in thinking about charity, in what King terms “cause-related marketing.”²⁹ This occurs when for-profit companies engage in a long-term partnership with a non-profit as part a marketing strategy.³⁰ Long-term partnerships allow the company to see a return on the charitable “investment,” as consumers see it as more authentic, less opportunistic, and it

²⁵ Cameron and Haanstra, “Development Made Sexy,” 1477.

²⁶ Linda P. Fried, et al., “Global Health is Public Health,” *The Lancet* 375, (2010): 536.

²⁷ Cameron and Haanstra, “Development Made Sexy,” 1483.

²⁸ Cameron and Haanstra, “Development Made Sexy,” 1483.

²⁹ King, “An All-Consuming,” 123.

³⁰ King, “An All-Consuming,” 123-4.

results in a better overall image for the company.³¹ Corporations want to see the best return on their investment, even for strategic philanthropy; therefore there is a preference for “tried and tested” causes.³² According to King, cancer and breast cancer are one such cause,³³ I contend that the Global South is another reliable cause due to the priming of audiences seeing such images and being asked to take action.

Lutz and Collins explain that the most recognizable image of a non-Western “commoner,” to those in the Global North, is a starving African child.³⁴ King also contends that a “constant flow of images” suggests “that the key to solving...social problems lies in corporate philanthropy...and proper consumption.”³⁵ Thus, audiences are familiar with the plight of those in the Global South, and know through similar campaigns that they must act. The use of Global South imagery allows companies to reap the many benefits of strategic philanthropy, such as expanding a customer base, linking with community groups, and attaining a worldwide presence.³⁶ While these companies are performing charitable acts that make a positive impact on the communities they serve and make consumers feel good about their purchases, the paternal nature of the

³¹ King, “An All-Consuming,” 124.

³² King, “An All-Consuming,” 130.

³³ King, “An All-Consuming,” 130.

³⁴ Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993): 105.

³⁵ King, “An All-Consuming,” 117.

³⁶ King, “An All-Consuming,” 122.

campaigns reinforces both the brand of the corporation and the perceived reliance of the South on the North.

This reliance often infantilizes the South. Karen Valentin and Lotte Meinert explain that the Global South is treated like a young child in part because in colonizing missions, children were much easier to influence than adults.³⁷ These missions translated into a crusade for children's rights in the South, with childhood meant to mirror that in the North.³⁸ The hypervisibility of children means that they have been transformed into markers for how developed or advanced the South is. Given the focus on children, entire regions were transformed into a child, with the North acting as a parent.

This paternal relationship has dictated the ways in which the North and South are viewed. While power has shifted over time to become more distant and less explicit, the North still maintains a similar relationship with the South. The status quo is perpetuated through the reliance on NGOs and charities that is fostered by the North as well as Northerners being encouraged to engage in various forms of charity. Most notably this is done through the North's colonizing gaze when viewing the South.

Santiago Castro-Gomez has explained this power dynamic and shift as the difference between coloniality and colonialism.³⁹ Colonialism, according to the author,

³⁷ Karen Valentin and Lotte Meinert, "The Adult North and the Young South: Reflections on the Civilizing Mission of Children's Rights," *Anthropology Today* 35, no. 2 (2009): 23-28.

³⁸ Valentin and Meinert, "The Adult North," 23.

³⁹ Santiago Castro-Gomez, "The Social Science, Epistemic Violence, and the Problem of the Invention of the Other," *Nepantla: Views from the South* 3, no. 2 (2002): 276.

refers to a historical period.⁴⁰ Coloniality, though, references differences in power and knowledge.⁴¹ One way that coloniality is enacted is through the colonizing gaze, whereby those with power are able to colonize the bodies of those without power. Castro-Gomez suggests that this state of coloniality is anchored, in part, by those in power to establish their identity through the subjectification of the other.⁴² This is precisely what the colonizing gaze seeks to do. Katherine Henninger suggests that the colonizing gaze is a way of viewing people based in Western ideologies.⁴³ The gaze also strips those colonized of their own ability to make meaning and relies on stereotype and fantasy of colonizers.⁴⁴ The colonizing gaze allows the continuation of colonialism through individuals adopting this way of viewing.

This passivity and inability to care for itself positions the Global South as needing a paternal figure to care for it. Walgreens explicitly seeks to fill this position. The corporation is appealing to those in the Global North that have an abundance to help support those in the South. Moreover, Vitamin Angels states that it “fill[s] gaps in health services” caused by the inability of governments to serve those “who need services the most” in the South.⁴⁵ By partnering with an organization that enacts a unidirectional flow

⁴⁰ Castro-Gomez, “The Social Science,” 276.

⁴¹ Castro-Gomez, “The Social Science,” 276.

⁴² Castro-Gomez, “The Social Science,” 277.

⁴³ Katherine Henninger, “Zora Neale Hurston, Richard Wright, and the Postcolonial Gaze,” *Mississippi Quarterly*, 56, no. 4 (2003) 585-6.

⁴⁴ Henninger, “Zora Neale Hurston,” 585-6.

⁴⁵ “Our Approach,” *Vitamin Angels*, <https://www.vitaminangels.org/our-approach>, accessed July 23, 2016.

of resources to a passive Southern population Walgreens enacts the paternal supranational organism that Hardt and Negri describe.

The reliance on imagery of the Global South capitalizes on the need for consumers to self-actualize through their consumptive practices. This need that King identified,⁴⁶ has repercussions for both production and consumption. For production, companies want to build their brand and company in order to expand their influence. One way for organizations to do this is by responding to the needs of consumers, exploiting consumers' need to feel self-actualized. Through this understanding both consumers and companies are complicit in the use of Global South imagery by for-profit companies.

The repeated use of imagery that reinforces a paternal relationship contributes to the overall understanding of the Global South. The Global North is caught in a cycle of consumption, whereby consumers must be selective in which brands they purchase products from, thus engaging in ethical consumption. The Global South is caught in a cycle of need, always waiting for the North to come and resolve problems. Through the use of images of the Global South, companies are able to exploit the desire for ethical consumption that traps the Global North in a cycle of consumption and the South in a cycle of need.

The partnership between Walgreens and Vitamin Angels, as presented in the advertisement, represents a North-South relationship that is steeped in paternalism. The Walgreens brand capitalizes on a boycott, encouraging patrons in the North to use their abundance to help those in the South. This boycott also represents the unidirectional flow

⁴⁶ King, "An All-Consuming," 123-6.

of resources from North to South, which exemplifies charity. This passivity of the Global South receiving aid and the colonizing gaze allows for Walgreens to embody a supranational, paternal organism that continues to control the Global South. Paternalism is not only enacted in Walgreens' campaign through these contextual factors, but also by encouraging consumers in the North to adopt a colonizing gaze through repeated exposure to stereotypical images. One such image relies on images of children being "other," sympathetic, and innocent.

The Endangered Child

If the Global North exists as a paternal figure in North-South relations, a child figure is necessary. I contend that the child, or Global South, is an *endangered child*. In order to understand this rhetorical move, I begin by exploring literature about the endangered child. I then move to outlining the characteristics of the endangered child. Finally, I attend to how the repeated featuring images of individual endangered children cyclically reinforces the Global South as being an endangered child and consisting only of endangered children.

Laura Berry explains how endangered children served as a mirror for larger societal problems in Victorian literature.⁴⁷ Berry explains that children were used as a way to appeal to larger audiences, since it is a category everyone has belonged to.⁴⁸ By relying on children as a way to draw attention to social issues Victorian writers were able

⁴⁷ Laura C. Berry, *The Child, the State, and the Victorian Novel* (Charlottesville, VA: The University of Virginia Press, 2000), 4.

⁴⁸ Berry, *The Child, the State*, 4.

to appeal to a larger audience. The wide appeal and historical universality of children helps to explain their heavy usage in campaigns for change in the Global South.

Use of the endangered child has been seen in the modern United States as well. Shortly after World War II divorce rates increased. The public conversation quickly turned to the effects on children, argues Scott Coltrane and Michele Adams.⁴⁹

Endangered children were used as a way to justify different social agendas around the nuclear family. Organizations in the Global North often point to the absence or inadequacies of functioning family units in the Global South.⁵⁰ Organizations, then, can position themselves rhetorically as necessary to act on behalf of endangered children.

The repetition of the endangered child reinforces the paternalism that employs it. Endangered children can be used rhetorically by organizations to render themselves necessary to act on children's behalf. These organizations rely on a history of the Global South as being inadequate in caring for its people due to being underdeveloped, lacking in morals, being non-Christian, etc.⁵¹ While current literature offers some hints into how the endangered child operates rhetorically, it does not go far enough. This chapter will outline the characteristics of the endangered child as a rhetorical device and how it is utilized by for-profit companies in order to construct consumerism as necessary.

The Endangered Child as a Rhetorical Device

⁴⁹ Scott Coltrane and Michele Adams, "The Social Construction of the Divorce "Problem": Morality, Child Victims, and the Politics of Gender." *Family Relations* 52, no. 4 (2003): 366.

⁵⁰ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 30.

⁵¹ See: Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 105-6.

While the endangered child is featured in much communication concerning the Global South, a paucity of literature concerning this rhetorical device exists. Through examining specific advertisements, I hope to better articulate how the imagery of the endangered child operates in messages within the Global North. The individual endangered child functions as representative for the entire Global South, or as synecdoche.⁵² Synecdoche is one of the “four master tropes,” and, in its most pure form, occurs when the “individual is treated as a replica of the universe,” according to Kenneth Burke.⁵³

In the case of the Global South, this imagery becomes so repeated that the synecdoche becomes enthymematic. Heidi Huntington explains that through the need to complete the argument, in this case that the viewer should buy something to save those in the imagery, many images that rely on synecdoche become enthymematic.⁵⁴ Through repetition of similar stereotypical images and synecdoche, audiences can become primed when viewing these images knowing that they will be asked to act in order to save those in the Global South. Rather than offering children as a way to give perspective to the plights experienced in the South, as with metaphor, the children are used as a way to represent the entire Global South.

⁵²Kenneth Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1969), 503.

⁵³ Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, 508.

⁵⁴ Heidi E. Huntington, “Pepper Spray Cop and the American Dream: Using Synecdoche and Metaphor to Unlock Internet Memes’ Visual Political Rhetoric,” *Communication Studies*, 67, no 1 (2016): 87.

The endangered child has three defining characteristics. The endangered child must be constructed as “other” from the audience, sympathetic, and innocent. These markers work rhetorically to construct the ideal recipient of Northern aid. First, the endangered child must be significantly different from the audience, or “other.” Edward Said introduced the idea of the “other” when discussing differences between Western and Asiatic cultures, explaining that the West “willed” over the East due to the power differences in what is known as Orientalism.⁵⁵ This process of Orientalism, however, can be applied to “underdeveloped” countries, according to Raka Shome.⁵⁶ The othering process relies on the belief that another culture is subordinate.⁵⁷ The concept of “othering” relies on creating distance between viewers and subjects, typically due to power differences between the two.

The endangered child relies on othering extensively. North-South relations are ruled by historical inadequacies, which exacerbate paternalism. The endangered child shows the ostensible inadequacy of various systems or even entire cultures, when compared to the Global North. As a brief example to help explain this device take as an example a UNICEF advertisement calling for education of children.⁵⁸ It features a young

⁵⁵ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (1978, repr., New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1994), 204.

⁵⁶ Raka Shome, “Postcolonial Interventions in the Rhetorical Canon: An “Other” View,” *Communication Theory*, 6, no. 1 (1996): 43.

⁵⁷ Shome, *Postcolonial Interventions*, 51.

⁵⁸ UNICEF, “Education Cannot Wait,” *Facebook*, May 23, 2016, <https://www.facebook.com/unicef/photos/a.10150563250124002.425954.68793499001/10154080996119002/?type=3&theater>.

girl who, according to the picture, is not only experiencing a crisis but is also at-risk of losing her education. The young girl featured is Othered visually because of her bare feet and a trash-filled ravine bordered by relief tents. Viewers see that this girl is dissimilar to them due to her lack of education and absence of social programs as safety nets.

These differences help to construct a worthy recipient of Northern aid. By “othering” the endangered child they appear less at fault for their misfortune. Instead of being personally to blame for the misfortune and need for aid, the endangered child is a victim of circumstance, geography, culture, or something otherwise out of their control. Lutz and Collins explain how traditional dress, and presumably other markers of culture, stands for “an entire alien life-style...or mind-set.”⁵⁹ By including cultural markers of mothers and featuring infants, viewers have an easier time explaining the need for aid as a short-coming of the culture, rather than the individual.

The second characteristic is that the audience must feel sympathy for the subject, which is expressed two ways. First, the endangered child must be perceived as acutely at-risk. Their well-being must necessitate immediate action from the audience. Second, the audience must be able to help. The level of endangerment must be enough that immediate action is required, but not so much that efforts would be futile. Kim Witte explains that an excess of emotion can override messages’ effectiveness and cause maladaptive behaviors.⁶⁰ Witte contends that a “critical point” exists for viewers’ emotions to be

⁵⁹ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 92.

⁶⁰ Kim Witte, Putting the Fear Back Into Fear Appeals: The Extended Parallel Process Model,” *Communication Monographs* 59 (1992): 343.

channeled into an effective response.⁶¹ The endangered child avoids crossing this threshold by assuring viewers that subjects can be saved by their actions. Again, using the UNICEF advertisement as an example, it explains that the girl has “lost everything” and is at-risk of being unable to continue school.⁶² From the warning in the advertisement—“they shouldn’t have to lose education (as well)” –viewers may infer that the solution is protecting education.⁶³ Audiences understand that by supporting education initiatives they can save this child as well as other children.

The endangered child includes a key component in being an ideal victim—viewers want to help. While this is partially explained by the construction of the rhetorical device, as discussed, it is also important that audiences have been primed to want to help. King explains that due to Reagan cutting public welfare, and a mistrust in traditional institutions that would normally support charity efforts, consumers find self-actualization through ethical consumption.⁶⁴ Because of this corporations seek long-term relationships with non-profits that benefit their image and improve the quality and number of consumers.⁶⁵ Moreover, Shome explains that given the ideals of global motherhood, white people, and specifically white women, feel the need to act to save

⁶¹ Witte, “Putting the Fear Back,” 341.

⁶² UNICEF, “Education Cannot Wait.”

⁶³ UNICEF, “Education Cannot Wait.”

⁶⁴ King, “An All-Consuming,” 126.

⁶⁵ King, “An All-Consuming,” 123-4.

children of color.⁶⁶ This is due to a belief that women who are not white and middle to upper class are not fit for reproduction in popular imagination.⁶⁷ The endangered child makes an ideal recipient of aid from a sympathetic consumer.

The final characteristic is that the endangered child must maintain the sense of innocence. In the case of actual children being used, innocence is inherent. For non-children the device may accomplish this through victimhood. The endangered child must be a victim with an ambiguous perpetrator. In other words, they are a victim of circumstance. The UNICEF advertisement only alludes to vague “crises” that caused her, and other children, to lose everything.⁶⁸ The girl is featured alone, so audiences may also connect with her as a child, remembering how it feels to have little control over their lives. Viewers are given such a small amount of information about the girl in the advertisement that they are free to imagine what crises may have befallen her, and themselves. Viewers seeing the endangered child may relate to the experience of having little control over their lives.

By constructing the endangered child as innocent, the consumer sees an ideal recipient of charity that they need to help. People in the Global South are seen as inherently innocent, through their idealization. Lutz and Collins explain that this idealization is done a variety of ways, but primarily through a stripping of culture and

⁶⁶ Raka Shome, “‘Global Motherhood’: The Transnational Intimacies of White Femininity,” *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 28, no. 5 (2011): 390-9.

⁶⁷ Shome, “‘Global Motherhood’,” 393.

⁶⁸ UNICEF, “Education Cannot Wait.”

appealing to the “universal, individual person,” who is easier to connect to.⁶⁹ The authors also explain that child is constructed as an exceptional person, one that lies outside of the world of adults.⁷⁰ This concept links to Valentin and Meinert’s ideal of childhood being a special time.⁷¹ Since childhood is exceptional, it needs to be protected, and viewers must act through consumption in order to save them. In the case of non-children, there is still a sense of “imperialist nostalgia,” where viewers adopting the colonizing gaze mourn the past.⁷² By presenting the endangered child as part of an innocent time period, the subject is transformed into something that needs to be protected.

The Global South as an Endangered Child. The endangered child does not have to be an actual child; any subject possessing these qualities would embody the endangered child. While children, organizations, and even geographic regions can be cast using the endangered child, adults do not fit perfectly. Berry explains that adult bodies are fixed in social shape, whereas children are a “pulpy substance” that can be molded in a variety of ways.⁷³ Adult men and women carry responsibility for their plights, thus making it difficult for them to function as an endangered child.

While audiences may begin to associate the South as only consisting of endangered children, the repeated messages position the Global South itself as an

⁶⁹ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 97.

⁷⁰ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 107.

⁷¹ Valentin and Meinert, “The Adult North,” 23.

⁷² Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 107.

⁷³ Berry, *The Child, the State*, 11.

endangered child as well. Through cyclical reinforcement, the featuring of endangered children positions the space of the Global South as an endangered child because it only consists of children in need of assistance. The use of children is a long-standing trend in imagery from the Global South due to children being targets of Christian conversion,⁷⁴ and the belief in childhood being an exceptional time.⁷⁵ Because of this, children may be highly featured as their treatment can indicate to viewers the progress of the Global South.

In addition to working through synecdoche, the endangered child can also be used for the entire Global South. What is true for individual children who are featured is true for the region itself. Viewers see the South as “other,” because in the mythology of the Global North children reach universal childhood goals. Children in the Global North are perceived as being “protected by parents, who make sure that the child goes to school to learn, is properly dressed and washed, has adequate nutrition, has leisure time,” and are not victims of child labor.⁷⁶ Failing to meet these standards is yet another way that the Global South is seen as subordinate. These same failures work to create a sense of urgency on the part of the North to save the Global South and their children, creating sympathy. The Global South is innocent because the risks are associated with circumstance or geography, not necessarily personal failings. In these ways the Global

⁷⁴ Valentin and Meinert, “The Adult North, 23-28.

⁷⁵ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 107.

⁷⁶ Valentin and Meinert, “The Adult North,” 23.

South itself is constructed as an endangered child, reified through the consistent messages about the idealized space in the North.

These images work to dehumanize and depersonalize the people featured because of the reliance on synecdoche in the images. Much like Laura Mulvey explains how close-ups of individual women creates a “flatness” or icon of what it is to be a woman,⁷⁷ Southerners featured in this type of image are subjected to objectification and representative. This iconography is heightened, according to Lutz and Collins, by the “namelessness and exoticism” of those featured.⁷⁸ The images use repetition of similar markers, of being “other,” vulnerable, and sympathetic, to alert Northern audiences to the people featured as being unmistakably from the Global South. These markers play into existing stereotypes about spaces that seek to represent the whole. Therefore, the individuals featured are not only expected to represent themselves but the entire space.

Organizations using endangered children in messages to the Global North may also create shorthand for viewers, as suggested by Huntington. Truncated reasoning is reinforced by King’s observation that viewers are bombarded with messages that tout the idea that social problems are solved through corporate philanthropy and proper consumption.⁷⁹ Moreover, campaigns that use imagery from the Global South, tie into the additional belief in stereotype and fantasy that Castro-Gomez and Henninger explain as

⁷⁷ Laura Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema, in *Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings*, Eds. Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999): 838.

⁷⁸ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 97.

⁷⁹ King, “An All-Consuming,” 117.

vital to the colonizing gaze, but go beyond this to trap Southerners in a cycle of victimization and poverty. Through the continual repetition of the images and dehumanizing and depersonalizing of the people in them, images used by the Global North of Southerners continue to normalize and encourage their subjugation.

Repeated exposure to the endangered child plays into dominant stereotypes, which are reinforced through paternalism. These characteristics also play on the passivity of the Global South as the object of paternal feelings. The device is marked by a subject that is “other,” sympathetic, endangered, and innocent. Featuring at-risk children is a way to maintain the paternal status of the Global North over an infantilized South. The endangered child necessitates action from viewers.

The Endangered Child and Consumption. The use of the endangered child by for-profit companies attempts to rebrand consumerism. The use of this device plays on the rebranding of charity as “sexy,” as discussed by Cameron and Haanstra.⁸⁰ Encouraging viewers to participate in a boycott that is explicitly charity-based, advertisements can transfer positive feels about charity to consumption and their specific brand. Through this transfer, consumerism becomes just as sexy as charity. Further, consumerism is constructed as a way to enact American ideals and citizenship, where personal “well-intentioned consumption” becomes a way to enact citizenship.⁸¹ Just as Northerners are encouraged to no longer feel guilt over the abundance in the North, these types of campaigns also encourage a freedom from feeling guilt when shopping. By using the

⁸⁰ Cameron and Haanstra, “Development Made Sexy,” 1476.

⁸¹ King, “An All-Consuming,” 138.

endangered child, companies tap into existing stereotypes that foster paternalism and positive feelings associated with charity in order to re-envision consumerism.

Given the preoccupation with children discussed earlier, it makes sense that in cause-marketing children would be used. Children may also be highly featured because they represent the ideal recipient of corporate acts of goodwill. Children represent the hope from those donating that by receiving this generosity they will return the investment through their future actions. King explains that often in cause-marketing children are encouraged to “avoid...the life choices of” their parents, which lead them into needing help in the first place.⁸² Through the use of children as recipients, the North clearly dictates who is worthy and unworthy of receiving corporate philanthropy.

The concept of ideal recipients is particularly salient in the Global South. Children are the ultimate victims because they do not bear the responsibility for the choices of their parents, so they are not subjected to the construction of an “Other whose goodness and badness seem absolute” and ahistorical and inhuman.⁸³ By avoiding the pitfalls of the construction of adults, children allow companies to tap into the ethos offered by children, who inspire hope in viewers. The ultimate hope, then, is for these children to not repeat the same mistakes as their parents. Walgreens utilizes the endangered child as a way to render consumerism as necessary to save children from the pitfalls of their parents and culture.

⁸² King, “An All-Consuming,” 136.

⁸³ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 106.

The Endangered Child and Walgreens' Patronage

Debuting as a series of television commercials; Walgreens announced its partnership with Vitamin Angels in March 2016.⁸⁴ The campaign presents a problem-solution model in which malnourished babies are the problem, and the solution is to shop at Walgreens. Buying select brands of vitamins supports efforts to help children receive the vital nutrients they may be lacking. The campaign embraces cause-marketing where selling goods allows not only the company to thrive, but individuals can thrive by ethically consuming goods, leading to self-actualization. This advertisement employs the endangered child as a way to encourage patronage at its stores. I begin by offering context and descriptions of the commercial and the larger campaign surrounding it. I then offer my analysis of how the endangered child functions within this campaign. My analysis focuses on the larger implications of the three characteristics appearing in this advertisement.

The Walgreens commercial features happy, bright eyed children and an announcement that a portion of sales is given to Vitamin Angels to distribute Vitamin A. An accompanying Twitter campaign uses the hashtag “#seethechange,” offering a playful take on the vitamins’ impact on eye health.⁸⁵ This campaign features short snippets from videos of children using cameras, also supplied by the organization, capturing their everyday experiences. The videos have high-quality editing, complete with music and multiple angles, and function as commercials promoting the partnership of the

⁸⁴ Walgreens, “Get Vitamins.”

⁸⁵ Walgreens, *Twitter*, <https://twitter.com/Walgreens>, accessed July 28, 2016.

organizations. Walgreens launched a special section on its webpage containing information about the partnership and the two-minute full length #seethechange videos.⁸⁶ The commercial which is the focus of this analysis was shown on television and is featured on the company's YouTube account.⁸⁷ This video features four different mother-child pairs while announcing the partnership of the organizations.

Three different mothers are shown with their children while upbeat background music plays.⁸⁸ The mothers are shown covering their eyes with their hands and then exclaiming "peek-a-boo!" in a variety of languages. The babies are delighted to be playing with the women and are shown giggling, laughing, grabbing at their mothers' hands, etc. Based on the women's physical presentation, including dress, skin color, language, and other contextual clues, viewers may be able to guess that they are being taken around the globe with these mothers and children. While the third dyad is being shown, an unseen female announcer begins to speak. She appeals directly to viewers, explaining that they "can help prevent blindness in undernourished children" everywhere.⁸⁹ After a scene change to a neighborhood Walgreens, the announcer continues, informing viewers that purchasing "vitamins at Walgreens" helps to "give life-changing vitamins to kids" around the world.⁹⁰ A fourth mother-child pair is featured,

⁸⁶ "Vitamin Angels," *Walgreens*, http://www.walgreens.com/topic/promotion/vitamin-angels.jsp?ban=VAvanityurl_see_040116, accessed July 28, 2016.

⁸⁷ Walgreens, "Get Vitamins."

⁸⁸ Walgreens, "Get Vitamins."

⁸⁹ Walgreens, "Get Vitamins."

⁹⁰ Walgreens, "Get Vitamins."

again playing peek-a-boo while purchasing a Walgreens brand multivitamin. The announcer comes on again to underscore “Get vitamins here, change lives everywhere” and to state Walgreens’ tag line.⁹¹

The commercial encourages consumers to engage in a boycott, based on shared ethics with Walgreens. Overall, the message is very upbeat; the music and happy children give an impression of hope or optimism and providing vitamins to undernourished children is an unquestionably worthy goal. However, the endangered child underscores antiquated ideas about the Global South and encourages viewers to engage in paternal acts. Relying on stereotypes of the Global South and exploiting consumers’ feelings, cause-marketing can work to obscure larger, systemic issues and efforts that may better solve the problem. Instead, these types of campaigns focus on individuals’ consumption and corporate generosity. The endangered child can be seen in the mother-child dyads; the device relies on paternal feelings of the Northern audience towards the Southern subjects. By employing the endangered child as a for-profit company, Walgreens not only reflects paternalism towards the Global South, but empowers viewers to pursue paternalism. The campaign encourages a colonizing gaze, which positions worthy and unworthy recipients, and also empowers viewers to engage in paternal acts through proper consumption.

The Mother-Child Dyads as “Other”

⁹¹ Walgreens, “Get Vitamins.”

Contextual clues may alert audiences to the cultural differences between those receiving and giving aid. The mother and child in Walgreens purchasing vitamins, and therefore providing aid, appear white. Beyond their visible whiteness, they are also enacting whiteness. Thomas Nakayama and Robert Krizek explain that whiteness is enacted through rhetoric, specifically, a rhetoric of normativity, since “the experiences...of whites are taken as the norm” and function as a way to mark others.⁹² For many viewers they identify with the experience of seeing or shopping in a Walgreens, therefore marking the giving dyad as normative. This “normative” characteristic of the dyad is important in creating viewers’ understanding of the remaining dyads.

The women and children receiving aid are, then, constructed as “other” in relation to this normative whiteness. There are several barriers between the groups of women. The commercial suggests that the first three pairs are receiving the aid. Culturally these women are “other.” Two of the dyads speak languages other than English when playing with their children. The women also embody their culture through dress, shown wearing bindis and saris, as well as brightly-colored head wraps. This focus on traditional dress and bright colors is a generic expectation of photographing those in the Global South.⁹³ Further, the international dyads are shown in desolate settings, such as inside a room with a small fan, outside of a brick hut with laundry drying on a nearby fence, and outside surrounded by dirt pathways. Most notably the international mothers and children are

⁹² Thomas Nakayama and Robert Krizek, “Whiteness A Strategic Rhetoric,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 81 (1995): 293.

⁹³ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 90-5.

shown surrounded by the chaos of rubbish. Compared to the consumer setting that the white dyad appears in, the “other” dyads are foreign in language, dress, and setting.

By relying on cultural markers to “other” those receiving the aid, the campaign plays into how the endangered child constructs a worthy recipient. The “othering” process happens through a compare-contrast presentation. First, viewers may latch on to the white woman because her consumerism constructs her as most similar to the experiences of the audience. The act of shopping in Walgreens, or at least the recognition of the store front and logo, normalize the white mother in relation to viewers’ experiences. Second, the audience may recognize the international dyads as being different from them through the language, appearance, homes, or a combination of these. The giving dyad participates in the unidirectional flow of resources from North to South, further normalizing the paternal relationship. Walgreens, then, encourages viewers to participate in this paternalism through the boycott. The normalization of the giving dyad in this commercial further normalizes the paternal North-South relationship.

The Mother-Child Dyads as Sympathetic

The endangered child relies on being constructed as a sympathetic. One way this is done in the Walgreens commercial is through following a problem-solution model. First, the announcer clearly informs viewers of the problem, stating that they “can help prevent blindness in undernourished children” telling them that some children suffer from this ailment.⁹⁴ The commercial also gives the audience a clear action; by purchasing

⁹⁴ Walgreens, “Get Vitamins.”

vitamins at Walgreens, viewers “help give life-changing vitamins to kids” who are at-risk.⁹⁵ By alerting viewers to the issue and telling them immediately how to solve it the commercial alerts audiences to the fact that the subjects are endangered.

Beyond giving the audience the tools to help the endangered child, the commercial positions the subject as someone the audience *wants* to help. The commercial avoids anything grotesque. Instead babies are the epitome of fat and happy, appearing well-nourished and well-cared for. These children are not the starving babies with skinny limbs and bloated bellies that used to permeate calls for aid.⁹⁶ This identification with Northern-appearing babies allows the audience to focus on the easy steps they can take, shopping at Walgreens, rather than being distracted by the gruesome imagery of undernourished children.

Walgreens positions the “other” dyads as sympathetic, playing on the need for self-actualization through consumption by those in the North. The commercial quickly alerts audiences to problems in eye health and follows with a specific remedy to this problem. Positioning their products and brands as a way to help these children, Walgreens uses boycott tactics to encourage patronage at its store. The commercials’ presentation of the endangered child necessitates action on the part of viewers by positioning those in the North as uniquely able to help the Global South which cannot

⁹⁵ Walgreens, “Get Vitamins.”

⁹⁶ See: Kevin Carter, “The Vulture and the Little Girl,” *The New York Times*, March 26, 1993, <http://www.nytimes.com/1993/03/26/world/sudan-is-described-as-trying-to-placate-the-west.html?pagewanted=all> and Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 105.

adequately care for itself. Walgreens encourages consumerism as charity by constructing the “other” dyads as sympathetic.

The Mother-Child Dyads as Innocent

Playing on a sense of sympathy, the dyads receiving aid are victims of circumstance, more specifically geography. Every mother shown engages in the same playful behavior—playing peek-a-boo. Audiences recognize this game, perhaps from their own childhood, or watching mothers they know playing it. Familiarity can help create identification between the audience and the children, knowing that they too could perhaps have fallen victim to the same circumstance. By connecting with the mothers and children in this advertisement viewers begin to see them as innocent.

In spite of the stark visual and linguistic contrasts between the women, the babies do not carry as many markers of their own culture. The children are dressed in bright colors but are too young to speak in their native tongue. Each of the babies also is participating in the same game, with the same reactions of smiling and giggling along with their mothers. The children featured in this advertisement retain Berry’s “pulpy” quality that allows them to transcend cultural differences, thus preserving their innocence.⁹⁷ Moreover, children are appealing for audiences since they often are happy, smiling, and non-threatening. Which Lutz and Collins explain as being important since featuring children allows audiences to experience “an acceptable Black love object” who may otherwise be repelled by people of color in images.⁹⁸ Since children are free from cultural markers and pitfalls of their parents, they are worthy of Northern aid.

⁹⁷ Berry, *The Child, the State*, 11.

⁹⁸ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 171.

The innocence of the endangered child underscores that they are worthy recipients of consumer's need to self-actualize. Through the use of infants Walgreens constructs an innocent recipient with which audiences can identify. The infants featured are absent the cultural markers of the mother, allowing the universal goal of happiness and a healthy childhood to strengthen the resolve of viewers to help. By using actual children, the campaign also plays on the nostalgic time of childhood, which needs to be protected by viewers. Walgreens deploys an innocent endangered child that audiences need to help.

Instead of avoiding the implications of utilizing the endangered child, Walgreens endorses it. Instead of focusing on images and sounds of the children, they could have focused more on the partnership with Vitamin Angels. The commercial fails to adequately explain how buying vitamins at Walgreens supports at-risk populations. Instead of explaining how proceeds will be given to Vitamin Angels to support local non-profits, the commercial reiterates that buying vitamins at Walgreens can help prevent blindness. The campaign relies on viewers to complete the enthymeme that they must consume Walgreens' vitamins in order to save the children. The failure to explain this creates a call to consumerism masquerading as charity. The choice by Walgreens to use the endangered child reiterates unequal power structures of North-South relations.

By featuring individual endangered children Walgreens encourages viewers to adopt a colonizing gaze, thereby participating in paternalism towards the Global South. The commercial positions the Global South as receiving aid from a benevolent North, inviting viewers to participate in this worldview by both consuming specific products and perpetuating a way of viewing. Through a problem-solution model, the commercial

alerts the audience to the inability of the Global South to care for itself. The recommended action, according to the announcer, is to buy specific vitamins at Walgreens, obscuring root causes of the problem. Walgreens also plays into the stereotype and fantasy of Northerners in order to encourage paternalism. By utilizing the endangered child, the commercial reifies fantasy and stereotype of the colonizing gaze. In particular, the idea that the Global South is unable to care for itself and that young children are especially at-risk and need assistance, is advanced. Through utilizing and encouraging the colonizing gaze Walgreens reinforces the idea that many in the Global South are perpetual victims. This reliance on stereotypes within the commercial creates a situation where viewers are compelled to act—enacting paternalism as individuals.

Conclusion

In this chapter I theorized the endangered child as it relates to the colonizing gaze of the Global South to form a worthy recipient of aid. The endangered child is characterized in three ways. First, the “othering” of the subject happens through subjugating their culture. Shome explains that the Other is often seen as “powerless” and “victimized,” the endangered child capitalizes on this existing stereotype by constructing subjects as Other.⁹⁹ Second, the endangered child must be sympathetic, by appearing at-risk and motivating a sense of urgency on a part of viewers to save them. This construction plays into the need for ethical consumption in the North. Third, innocence must be maintained through being victims of circumstance, as well as the inherent innocence of actual children being featured. In this way children are presumed to be

⁹⁹ Shome, *Postcolonial Interventions*, 44.

innocent because they carry the potential to transcend the circumstances of their parents. The endangered child reifies long-held stereotypes of colonizers in order to construct the Global South as unable to care for itself and allows corporations using this trope to exploit consumers' need to self-actualize through ethical consumption.

Shome discusses that the “other” is inherently generic, or stereotypical, often seen as backward, uneducated, and victimized.¹⁰⁰ The colonizing gaze, and the different ways that children, women and men are seen through this lens, is one way that stereotypes are enculturated into the North-South relationship. Stereotypes encourage identification through division; groups know boundaries of identity because of their lack of identification with other groups. The endangered child is one way that the colonizing gaze subjugates the Global South and reifies paternal relationships. While both allow for substitution, they differ in one important way: within the endangered child there is a sense of hope or potential, while a depressing stereotype appears as a dead-end. The endangered child is ultimately redeemable, this quality is perhaps one reason the endangered child is so prevalent in representations of the Global South. While viewers may hesitate to help a hopeless adult, they may feel equally compelled to save the potential of the endangered child. The endangered child, along with other stereotypical depictions of the Global South, reinforces the stereotype of the “other” as needing salvation.

The repetition of the endangered child works as a rhetorical shorthand which subjugates the entire Global South as an endangered child in a paternal relationship with

¹⁰⁰ Shome, *Postcolonial Interventions*, 44.

the Global North. Featuring individual children reifies the idea that the Global South is unable to care for children or itself, creating a vacuum for filling that gap. The Global North, typically via transnational organizations, provides aid in a unidirectional manner. The Global North, thus, is portrayed as fulfilling a paternal role to the endangered child that is the Global South. Through the repetition of images featuring endangered children, the Global South is caught in a cyclical reinforcement that the region is an endangered child that needs a parental role.

The use of the endangered child is a major component in imagery produced by the Global North about the Global South. Children are highly featured because of audiences' desire to identify with them as well as help them. The endangered child allows for the audience to be hopeful about the Global South, something that men and women in the South cannot provide. The different slices of populations work together in order to construct a Global South that is familiar for Northern audiences and allows them to fulfill their fantasies that come from a history of domination by playing into the stereotypes of the "other." Fulfilling stereotypes allows the continuation of the paternal relationship between South and North and invites individual consumers to perform paternal acts, rather than nation-states.

Fulfilling stereotypes allows the continuation of the paternal relationship between South and North and invites individual consumers to perform paternal acts, rather than nation-states. While the North-South relationship has ostensibly changed to be less paternalistic, the subjugation of the South by the North still continues. These acts are now entrusted to individuals who are empowered through campaigns like these to embrace coloniality. Through messages that construct consumerism as the only way to save those

in the Global South, who need the North's help, consumers engage in well-meaning consumerism to save Southerners from their plight. Because of the ubiquity of cause-marketing and the careful construction of these messages, consumers may feel good about what they have done. The endangered child reifies long-held stereotypes of colonizers in order to construct the Global South as unable to care for itself and allows corporations using this trope to exploit consumers' need to self-actualize through ethical consumption.

This campaign, much like other cause-marketing campaigns, seeks to obscure the root cause of the issues being exploited.¹⁰¹ By ignoring the North's historical role as depleting the Global South of natural resources, and the continued forced reliance on the North through a paternal relationship, the campaign continues the cycle of aid. This cycle of aid continues the subjugation of the South by the North by playing into the fantasy of colonizers. In this relationship, consumers act as colonizers and are also harmed by the relationship with organizations that manufacture these differences. Those in the Global North are caught in a cycle of consumption, where they must carry the burden of making the choice of which companies to support in order to stop issues in the Global South. By relying on these stereotypes companies reinforce them to the Northern public, and thus create shorthand for viewers when seeing these images. Advertisements relying on the stereotypes reinforce the need for cause-marketing as a way to solve social problems. In this way corporations are exploiting consumers need for self-actualization through

¹⁰¹ See: King, "An All-Consuming," 130 and Phaedra C. Pezzullo, "Resisting 'National Breast Cancer Awareness Month': The Rhetoric of Counterpublics and their Cultural Performances," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 89, no. 4 (2003): 345-365.

consumption, ensuring a steady stream of revenue for themselves. The biggest danger of relying on the endangered child, and other fantasies like it, lie within their power to obscure larger cycles of power.

CHAPTER III - THE ENDANGERED WOMAN: COMPLYING WITH CONSUMER
EXPECTATIONS OF THE GLOBAL SOUTH

Women in the Global South are constructed by companies as worthy investments utilizing a cause-marketing strategy. For example, a caption informs website visitors that “Juana is a humble, happy and playful person who is always the first to give a helping hand to those in need.”¹ The caption continues, “she plans on using the skills she is learning to create a local knitting business.”² The photo and the caption are part of a website that typifies messages concerning women in the Global South. Heather Switzer, Emily Bent and Chrystal Leigh Endsley explain that women are constructed as saviors within their communities.³ In order to do this many organizations rely on business models that employ women who learn vocational skills such as jewelry making,⁴ sewing clothing,⁵ crocheting hats,⁶ or creating body care products.⁷ These organizations seek to

¹ Krochet Kids, “Meet the Makers,” *Known Supply*, <https://makers.knownsupply.com/makers/juana-sanchez/>, accessed January 6, 2018, paragraph 1.

² Krochet Kids, “Meet the Makers,” paragraph 1.

³ Heather Switzer, Emily Bent, and Chrystal Leigh Endsley, “Precarious Politics and Girl Effects: Exploring the Limits of the Girl Gone Global,” *Feminist Formations* 28, no. 1 (2016): 33.

⁴ See: Akola Jewelry, “100% Full Impact,” <https://akolaproject.org/pages/100>, accessed October 25, 2017.

⁵ See: Global Girlfriend, “About Us,” <https://www.globalgirlfriend.com/pages/about-us>, accessed October 25, 2017.

⁶ Krochet Kids, “About Us,” <https://www.krochetkids.org/about-us/our-story/>, accessed January 6, 2018.

⁷ See: Thistle Farms, “Model + Impact,” <https://thistlefarms.org/pages/model-impact>, accessed October 25, 2017.

empower women through their transferable skills, but Kalpana Wilson explains these women continue to be subjugated through the global marketplace and the reliance of businesses on stereotypes of women.⁸ Ostensibly, the Global North seeks to empower these women, however, the images that convey the issues they face often undermine this. Women in the Global South offer a future, similarly to the Endangered Child, where they not only will better themselves but their communities through their hard work.

One way that consumers in the North hope to make dramatic impact improving lives is by providing reliable sources of clean water to the South. Water is an issue consistently featured in stories about the South and touted as a marker of progress. Images featuring women in the Global South with their water containers, sometimes carried on the women's heads, are nearly ubiquitous. National Public Radio recently highlighted many of the issues associated with accessing water, with an emphasis on refugees.⁹ The story explained that there is simply not enough water to sustain the influx of people fleeing the Sudan to Northwest Uganda, with aid workers frantically searching for solutions but hard pressed to keep up with demand.¹⁰ Despite the effort of relief workers, life is still "measured in liters" by these refugees, who have to wait hours in line

⁸ Kalpana Wilson, "'Race,' Gender and Neoliberalism: Changing Visual Representations in Development," *Third World Quarterly*, 32, no. 2 (2011): 329.

⁹ National Public Radio, "Short Film: How Water Gets from the Nile to Thirsty Refugees," published April 2, 2017 http://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsoda/2017/04/02/522206721/short-film-how-water-gets-from-the-nile-to-thirsty-refugees?utm_source=facebook.com&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=npr&utm_term=nprnews&utm_content=20170414.

¹⁰ National Public Radio, "Short Film."

in order to get enough water to merely sustain life.¹¹ In the Global South accessing water takes tremendous effort while those in the North simply turn on a tap and have access to clean drinking water.

Hoping to help stem this crisis, Stella Artois, a subsidiary of Anheuser-Bush, partnered with Water.org in an example of what Samantha King terms “cause-marketing.”¹² In 2016 the company launched a campaign announcing their partnership with Water.org in order to support efforts of bringing clean drinking water to everyone in the world.¹³ The campaign is called the “buy a lady a drink campaign,” ostensibly to draw attention to the fact that women often have the burden of collecting water in the Global South.¹⁴ The campaign asks Stella consumers to purchase one of five limited edition chalices in order to give five years of clean drinking water to a person through Water.org.¹⁵ Matt Damon, the founder of Water.org, was selected as spokesperson for the campaign and is highly featured in the videos and on the campaign website. One commercial simplifies the message with Damon explaining that water is so vital to the beer making process that Stella Artois wants to make sure that everyone has access to the

¹¹ National Public Radio, “Short Film.”

¹² Samantha King, “An All-Consuming Cause: Breast Cancer, Corporate Philanthropy, and the Market for Generosity,” *Social Text*, 19, no. 4 (2001):123-6.

¹³ IPG, “IPG Agencies and Stella Artois Bring Awareness to Global Water Crisis,” published August 3, 2016 <https://www.interpublic.com/our-agencies/recent-work/strongerpost?id=8902>.

¹⁴ Stella Artois, “Buy a Lady a Drink,” http://www.stellaartois.com/en_us/buy-a-lady-a-drink.html, accessed April 6, 2017.

¹⁵ Stella Artois, “Buy a Lady a Drink.”

life-sustaining properties of water.¹⁶ In announcing its partnership with Water.org, Stella Artois embraces cause-marketing by tapping into consumers' desire for ethical purchases.

Given the familiarity of those in the Global North with issues impacting women in the Global South, women have become a fruitful cause for for-profit companies to utilize in order to gain ethos for their organization. In this chapter I argue that the endangered woman embodies part of the idealized Global South that helps companies respond to consumer demand for Northern aid vis-à-vis consumerism. Stella Artois offers an example of how this idealized image can be utilized by companies hoping to appeal to consumers' need for self-actualization. First, I explore relevant literature to understanding the woman in the Global South. Next, I articulate how the woman of the Global South is used as a rhetorical device through Stella Artois as a case study in order to clarify individual characteristics. Finally, I explore larger implications of utilizing this rhetorical device as a way to obscure the cyclical reinforcement of consumerism in the North.

Women of the Global South

In the Global South, women and girls are given special attention and priority over their male counterparts.¹⁷ Women are subjected not only to the colonizing gaze for the space they inhabit, but also as a marker for progress. The treatment of women and girls is one way that the Global South is perceived as more or less advanced, with more advanced areas treating women most similarly to that in the North.¹⁸ Responding and

¹⁶ Stella Artois, "Leave a Mark with Matt Damon and Stella Artois," *Youtube*, published January 20, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AEtJNMGa8fE>.

¹⁷ See: Switzer, Bent, and Endsley, "Precarious Politics and Girl Effects," 33-59.

¹⁸ Erica Burman and Jackie Stacey, "The Child and Childhood in Feminist Theory," *Feminist Theory*, 11, no. 3 (2010): 235.

reinforcing this idea are organizations that cater to the needs of both consumers and women by partnering with causes that would support women in the Global South. This section explores the focus on women from colonizers as related to modern-day consumption practices in the Global North.

Colonization offers important historical antecedents for the North-South relationship, with colonialism existing symbiotically with paternalism given that each works to continue to subjugate the South. Santiago Castro-Gomez contends that colonialism has been replaced by coloniality, or a continuation of colonization without formal nation-state rule.¹⁹ In other words, the North-South relationship has remained stable across time regardless of shifts in power among the Global North. Rather than colonization happening through military or religious conquests by different nations, private corporations now hold power over the Global South.²⁰ For-profit companies enact coloniality through what Katherine Henninger terms the colonizing gaze, which seeks to subjugate bodies in the Global South through viewing practices that fulfill the stereotype and fantasy of colonizers.²¹ Coloniality is a continuation of the North-South relationship brought by colonization, though individuals are now empowered by messages from

¹⁹ Santiago Castro-Gomez, “The Social Science, Epistemic Violence, and the Problem of the Invention of the Other,” *Nepantla: Views from the South* 3, no. 2 (2002): 276.

²⁰ Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000): xii.

²¹ Katherine Henninger, “Zora Neale Hurston, Richard Wright, and the Postcolonial Gaze,” *Mississippi Quarterly*, 56, no. 4 (2003): 585-6.

private companies to adopt the colonizing gaze in order to dominate those in the Global South.

Women in the Global South are subjected to a hyperfocus and function as “signifiers” for underdevelopment.²² The better women are treated, or the more closely their treatment resembles that of the Global North, the more “civilized” and “progressive” an area of the South is seen. Further, the Global North is expected to enforce ideals of femininity and treatment of women. Dana Cloud, for example, argues that images of veiled women were used to bolster support for the U.S. war in Afghanistan.²³ By displaying women who were clearly not being treated as they would be in the Global North, the United States had to act in order to save them. Wearing veils, and other cultural markers, is one way that audiences in the Global North are alerted to the perceived oppression of women in the South.

One way that this paternal relationship is enacted is through consumerism. Specifically, women in the Global South are constructed in messages as becoming independent, industrious members of society through support made possible by ethical consumption of Northerners. Wilson explains that these messages rely on those in the North to recognize the women’s worth as a sound investment.²⁴ This taps into the idea

²² Burman and Stacey, “The Child and Childhood,” 235.

²³ Dana L. Cloud, “To Veil the Threat of Terror”: Afghan Women and the <clash of civilizations> in the Imagery of the U.S. War on Terrorism,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 90, no.3 (2010): 285.

²⁴ Wilson, “‘Race,’ Gender and Neoliberalism,” 324.

that Bent, Switzer, and Endsley identify—that women are saviors of their communities.²⁵ Companies that use Global South imagery attempt to construct ethical consumption as the only way to solve social problems, which, according to King, is the definition of cause-marketing.²⁶ This positions the consumer as a savior and the only way to solve problems, while in turn boosting their brand image and tapping into consumers' need to self-actualize through consumption.²⁷

Brands may align with non-profits that capitalize on the popularity of targeting women in the Global South to inspire consumer loyalty. Some of these organizations were discussed in the introduction of this chapter where they teach women a variety of skills that allow them to make objects they can then sell in order to sustain a living.²⁸ Beyond vocational skills, education of girls is another concern. While creating schools has long been a way to accomplish educating women,²⁹ more recently attention has been focused on eliminating barriers for women attending schools, such as menstruation.³⁰ While these efforts may make differences in the lives of women and girls, the messages

²⁵ Switzer, Bent, and Endsley, "Precarious Politics and Girl Effects," 33.

²⁶ King, "An All-Consuming Cause," 123-6.

²⁷ King, "An All-Consuming Cause," 123-6.

²⁸ See: Akola Jewelry, "100% Full Impact," Global Girlfriend, "About Us," and Thistle Farms, "Model + Impact."

²⁹ See: Malina Saval, "Oprah Winfrey's Leadership Academy for Girls Marks 10 Years," August 3, 2017, <http://variety.com/2017/biz/news/oprah-winfrey-leadership-academy-for-girls-10-year-anniversary-1202510605/>.

³⁰ See: Lunapads, "About Pads4Girls," https://lunapads.com/pads4girls?geoip_country=US, accessed October 25, 2017.

used to bring about this change often rely on stereotypes that reinforce the paternal relationship that traps consumers in a cycle of consumption and the Global South in a cycle of need. This focus of messages on consumption in turn obscures the systems that encourage consumers wanting to feel good about products they purchase, and companies exploiting this need to build their brand and business.

Organizations using the images of the Global South in order to fuel consumerism demonstrate the continuation of colonization, or coloniality. The cycle of consumerism relies on both production and consumption to be responding to each other through transactions and marketing campaigns. The colonizing gaze makes women and girls hyper-visible both as markers of progress and conquests for the Global North. Through deploying a rhetorical device I term the endangered woman, companies exploit consumers' need for self-actualization through ethical consumption.

The Endangered Woman

Coloniality and colonization uniquely target women and girls, subjecting them to a hyperfocus. Both paternalism and colonization infantilize women so that they are inherently more dependent, which Erica Burman and Jackie Stacey argue was “central to the elaboration of colonial” power.³¹ This infantilization works similarly in children and women—both are dependent on men given the denial of any true agency to both groups. Wilson explains that many images of colonized women focus on how they need to be rescued from men in the Global South or the overall culture in which they live.³² Saving

³¹ Burman and Stacey, “The Child and Childhood,” 228.

³² Wilson, “‘Race,’ Gender and Neoliberalism,” 317.

these women becomes a primary preoccupation of the Global North. The endangered woman is denied agency and thus responsibility; the construction of the endangered woman frees her from blame for needing assistance. This lack of agency allows the endangered woman to be more sympathetic to Northern audiences.

In order to build the rhetorical device of the endangered woman I will be utilizing a continuing campaign from Stella Artois, entitled the Buy a Lady a Drink Campaign. Stella Artois dedicates an entire section of their website and YouTube channel to the Buy a Lady a Drink Campaign. The website features short captions and descriptions that explain the issues of water accessibility across the globe, offers high-production value videos, and high-quality still photographs.³³ The website explains that \$6.25 from every chalice purchased will be donated to Water.org to support clean drinking water for five years for one person. The organization focuses on giving small loans to support access to drinking water by improving infrastructure in private homes. The microloans are expected to be paid back and are reinvested in the organization to help more people. Water.org explicitly states that it does not dig wells to end this crisis, but rather loans money to individuals to make the best investment for them.³⁴

Despite the non-profit's assertion that they do not dig wells, the Stella Artois campaign features videos and photographs of women in the Global South telling their water stories, with a heavy visual emphasis on wells. The videos take viewers on a

³³ Stella Artois, "Buy a Lady a Drink."

³⁴ Water.org "Our Work," <https://water.org/about-us/our-work/>, accessed October 20, 2016.

journey, offering a problem-solution model to viewers that begins with an explanation of the problem women face with having to spend so much time walking to collect water.³⁵ The videos then make it clear that an easy solution is supporting Water.org through the purchase of a limited edition chalice. Finally, the videos demonstrate not only the dramatic impact on the women, but the improvements these women will make on their communities with their extra time that is no longer spent collecting water. The campaign focuses on how the new-found independence of women will impact their communities. One example features a woman opening a sewing business to make clothes with her extra time, thus supporting the economy of her community.³⁶ This focus on industriousness is continued in the still photographs which show women in different locations interacting with the wells—collecting water for daily tasks or doing laundry.

The rhetorical construction of the idealized, endangered woman in the Global South is one way that companies tie into the need for consumers to feel good about what they are purchasing while simultaneously improving the company's image. Companies reify stereotypes about the Global South long-held by those in power when using women as a part of a cause-marketing strategy. In this section I outline the different attributes of this rhetorical device, using Stella Artois' campaign as a way to clarify how each characteristic can be seen in different messages. The endangered woman relies on a

³⁵ See: Stella Artois, "Stella Artois & Water.org Present Elizabeth's Dream," *Youtube*, published January 16, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K7J3D7_Ezzw.

³⁶ Stella Artois, "Elizabeth's Dream."

subject that embodies the exotic other, is vulnerable and sympathetic, but ultimately is under the control of the Global North.

The Endangered Woman as the Exotic Other. The endangered woman, like all people of the Global South, is otherized. Edward Said contends that people “have always divided the world up into regions” based on “real or imagined distinctions.”³⁷ Because of these perceived differences certain populations are “othered.” For the Global South this results in a perception that they are underdeveloped and subordinate to the North, according to Raka Shome’s application of Said’s concepts.³⁸ The process of othering can happen visually, where texts are constructed in order to aid viewers to see cultural differences and interpret their implications.

In studying *National Geographic*, Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins outlined different recurring characteristics of the Other that were used to visually demarcate differences. The authors explain that the exotic other is shown as someone who wears brightly-colored traditional dress, participates in rituals, smiles for photographs or while engaging in tasks, is industrious, is non-aggressive, and is highly sexual.³⁹ While many of these characteristics are requisite to creating intriguing photographs, it is important that the images construct someone who is different from viewers. Through careful visual construction the exotic other has become a familiar image in the Global North.

³⁷ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (1978, repr., New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1994): 39.

³⁸ Raka Shome, “Postcolonial Interventions in the Rhetorical Canon: An “Other” View,” *Communication Theory*, 6, no. 1 (1996): 41-51.

³⁹ Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993): 95-107.

The Exotic Other as Different

Sympathy is invoked through the contrast of the women with viewers in the Global North, or how the women embody the exotic other. In the Stella Artois campaign, the surroundings, the wells, and the women themselves alert viewers to this. The wells are shown as either having an open pipe that water spews out of or a simple spigot that helps control the flow of water into the basins, jugs, or hands of the women using them.⁴⁰ There are green algae surrounding where the water reaches the open air, sometimes climbing its way up the brick walls, or simply spilling out to the concrete surrounding the women. The women are shown squatting in the wells or right beside them, their bare feet in the standing water. These wells offer a stark contrast to the sinks to which many in the Global North are accustomed.

The wells are also framed by surroundings that would also be in stark contrast to the Global North. One photograph offers a wide-lens shot of the well, where ill-maintained brick buildings are prominently featured.⁴¹ The façade of the building facing viewers shows layers of plaster worn away to expose brick underlay, without mortar. The bricks give way to large stones that may serve as the foundation of the building itself. The windows of the building are small and instead of glass they have metal bars covering the openings. Another photo shows brick with mortar being eroded by the well itself. This photograph features a tall broom made from a plant stalk but is missing the long

⁴⁰ See: Stella Artois, “Carousel 1,” Stella Artois, “Carousel 3,” or Stella Artois, “Carousel 5.”

⁴¹ Stella Artois, “Carousel 1.”

handle that brooms typically feature in the Global North.⁴² The surroundings of the wells clearly suggest a location other than the Global North.

The women featured in the photographs are marked as being “other” from viewers in the Global North, typifying the exotic other that Lutz and Collins identify. The still photographs from Stella Artois feature women in brightly-colored, traditional clothing interacting with wells and engaging in some kind of task associated with water. One photograph features a woman laughing at something out of frame while collecting water in a massive orange jug.⁴³ Her right arm is extended in a casual posture as she squats on the perimeter of the well and is covered in bangle bracelets. She is wearing a sari in a dark navy and light blue color. Another photograph features a woman squatting in a well, cupping her hands and touching water as she smiles at the photographer standing over her.⁴⁴ This woman, too, is wearing many bangle bracelets, a highly ornamental nose ring, and sari featuring an ornate pattern. A third photograph features a woman doing laundry of brightly colored blue and orange clothes but wearing muted tones on her simple shirt and pants.⁴⁵ She is squatting in the well, the water from the spigot cascading over her

⁴² Stella Artois, “Carousel 5.”

⁴³ Stella Artois, “Carousel 1,” Photograph, http://www.stellaartois.com/en_us/buy-a-lady-a-drink/jcr:content/contentPar/carousel/carousel1/image.img.jpg/3696782492_3baf6f3210_o.jpg, accessed October 28, 2017.

⁴⁴ Stella Artois, “Carousel 3,” Photograph, http://www.stellaartois.com/en_us/buy-a-lady-a-drink/jcr:content/contentPar/carousel/carousel3/image.img.jpg/15870775134_4981fd55e8_k.jpg, accessed October 28, 2017.

⁴⁵ Stella Artois, “Carousel 5,” Photograph, http://www.stellaartois.com/en_us/buy-a-lady-a-

numerous wide basins that assist her in the task. These differences in dress and adornment begin to construct the endangered woman who is different from the imagined viewer of the campaign. By positioning women as being markedly from the Global South and victims of circumstance they are constructed as vulnerable.

With the campaigns' explanation of what consumers should do, the vulnerability of the women is cemented beyond the still photographs. In an accompanying video, a real Stella Artois consumer is constructed as someone who assists the company in helping to end this crisis.⁴⁶ The advertisement relies on statements that interpolate viewers who identify with the brand to join Stella Artois in the cause. The website explains that "we believe" water needs to "be protected and conserved" while being accessible to all.⁴⁷ The campaign's website explains that "we've only just begun" raising money in order to make water more accessible.⁴⁸ The campaign invites viewers to be a part of Stella Artois' vision for eliminating barriers for water accessibility.

Demarcating the endangered woman as different from those viewing her helps to encourage viewers to become consumers. The endangered woman is allowed to escape fault for her current plight because it is beyond her control. While she is at-risk and needs assistance, it is not because of any misdeeds that she herself has done, instead blame lies

drink/jcr:content/contentPar/carousel/carousel5/image.img.jpg/16370461193_4131695353_k.jpg, accessed October 28, 2017.

⁴⁶ Stella Artois, "Why Water," *Youtube*, published January 9, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=31&v=9z6kEYq951E.

⁴⁷ Stella Artois, "Why Water."

⁴⁸ Stella Artois, "Buy a Lady a Drink."

with her culture or her misfortune of being born in the wrong place. Because she retains innocence for her plight, she is not demonized for her suffering or inability to save herself. The endangered woman allows those in the North to justify supporting her because she can do very little to help herself.

Humanizing the Other

Lutz and Collins caution that in order to keep the exotic other from being too alien images will appeal to universal human experiences.⁴⁹ One way that this is done is through depicting child-rearing activities, which appeal to the universality of mothers' love.⁵⁰ Another way is smiling, which according to the authors, indicates that while the other may have less materially, they are still happy with their lives.⁵¹ Smiling also functions to make the exotic other non-aggressive, which is important in constructing an other who is sympathetic.⁵²

The Stella Artois campaign also carefully cultivates sympathy for the endangered woman in order to prevent her from being too different from viewers. One of the women in the still photographs is laughing with mouth thrown open wide in a smile and looking at something outside of the camera frame.⁵³ The woman doing laundry, though absorbed in her task, is smiling softly, appearing to enjoy her work.⁵⁴ The third woman is shown in

⁴⁹ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 168-71.

⁵⁰ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 168-71.

⁵¹ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 96.

⁵² Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 96.

⁵³ Stella Artois, "Carousel 1."

⁵⁴ Stella Artois, "Carousel 5."

a portrait style, looking directly at the camera and smiling.⁵⁵ By utilizing a conventional posing of the woman this photograph may appeal to familiar experiences of those in the Global North, such as smiling for a portrait. Through creating common ground, the campaign makes the endangered woman more relatable and sympathetic so that consumers are more likely to be willing to help them.

The endangered woman is also someone that consumers should want to help, and Stella Artois constructs the women as good investments for those in the Global North. The women are shown as industrious through their engagement with tasks familiar to those in the North and that help improve the women's daily lives. Filling up containers of water for home use and doing laundry are both examples of everyday responsibilities.⁵⁶ These tasks construct the women as ideal recipients because of their hardworking, industrious nature, thus resisting the stereotype of the lazy native who consumers may not want to support.⁵⁷

Focusing on how these women are task-oriented companies may hope to persuade consumers that their support will not be squandered by women who do not want to improve their lives. The campaign also draws attention to the positive economic impact that empowered women provide to their communities. One video demonstrates that with more time women can participate in their local economy by creating and selling goods.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Stella Artois, "Carousel 3."

⁵⁶ Stella Artois, "Carousel 1" and "Carousel 5."

⁵⁷ See: Sander L. Gilman, *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985).

⁵⁸ Stella Artois, "Stella Artois & Water.org Present Elizabeth's Dream."

Constructing women in the Global South as worthy investments, the endangered woman featured in Stella Artois' campaign invites viewers to sympathize with her.

Humanizing the endangered woman prevents her from being so alien that viewers are repelled by her. Appealing to universal human experience allows the audience to identify with her and want to help her. Recognition may be sparked through appealing to her as a mother or the shared experience of having a portrait taken. The endangered woman also makes a worthy investment for those in the North since she is already working to better herself and just needs a little extra help so that she may bring those around her into a better place as well. Offering a subject that not only needs help from the Global North but is deserving of it allows consumers to better justify supporting a specific company.

The Exotic Other as a Passive Conquest

Another way women in the Global South are marked is through their sexuality. Images featuring naked women of color confirms the fantasy and stereotype about the sexual lives of people of color held by the Global North. In particular, Black women are shown as exuberant and excessive in their sexuality; their lack of modesty (displayed most often through their bare breasts) is evidence that they are “not conscious of the embarrassment they should feel” due to their nudity.⁵⁹ Another important feature is the passivity of these women to accept the sexual advances of the Global North.⁶⁰ Wilson contends that women laborers are used as a way to draw attention away from serious

⁵⁹ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 172.

⁶⁰ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 173.

issues, such as exploitation of workers, since viewers would be more concerned with the inherent sensuality of exotic women.⁶¹ While images featuring nudity may not be present, the fantasy and passivity of women still exists in those adopting the colonizing gaze viewing images of the Global South. This passivity helps to make her a more sympathetic character, given her lack of agency.

Though the women featured by Stella Artois are not overtly sexualized, they are used to obscure larger issues, as Wilson suggests.⁶² The featured women embody the markers of the exotic other that the Global North has come to expect in messages about the Global South. The campaign obscures larger issues that may be occurring to cause water shortages through the focus on the limited edition chalices, Water.org, and success stories. For example, the campaign fails to account for why water is scarce in these areas to begin with, which would perhaps offer a more substantial and longer-lasting solution than buying the limited-edition chalices. By positioning consumption as a way to cure social problems, as King explains cause-marketing does,⁶³ larger implications are ignored. Stella Artois relies on stereotypes about Global South women, by using the endangered woman in the campaign, that make them the ideal recipients of the Global North's fantasy.

The passivity of the endangered woman heightens the need for the Global North to act. The endangered woman does not have the safety nets, education, or other

⁶¹ Wilson, "‘Race,’ Gender and Neoliberalism," 323.

⁶² Wilson, "‘Race,’ Gender and Neoliberalism," 323.

⁶³ King, "An All-Consuming Cause," 123-6.

resources that a woman in the Global North does, so her behavior is a reflection of how she has been failed by others, rather than her personal failing. These cultural issues, according to Wilson, can be overcome through hard work and “a helping hand” from a consumer in the North supporting her.⁶⁴ The endangered woman fulfills stereotypes of the colonizing gaze; women are treated worse and are at greater risk in the Global South than they are in the Global North. The passivity of women is demonstrated by their “othering” that takes place visually.

The passivity of the endangered woman allows her innocence to remain intact, constructing an ideal recipient of Northern aid. The endangered woman is not shown as an active member in the Global South, as she did not participate in any wars nor has she benefitted from participating in education. Women in the Global South have been vulnerable to their culture because they are denied agency by those in the North. The stereotype of the passive woman is fulfilled in the endangered woman. Beyond needing help because of her misfortune of being a victim of culture or violence, the endangered woman is able to passively accept help in the imagination of the Global North.

The tie to long-held assumptions about women in the Global South primes audiences to know how to respond. Through the infantilization of women and denying them agency, the endangered woman is not at fault for her position or need for help. Being free of responsibility creates a subject that is sympathetic. The endangered woman is constructed as a worthy subject, deserving of intervention from the Global North because of her industriousness. Focusing on how women of the Global South can impact

⁶⁴ Wilson, “‘Race,’ Gender and Neoliberalism,” 323.

their local and global economy is, according to Wilson, yet another way that women in the Global South can be subjugated.⁶⁵ By further subjugating the endangered woman, she is even more infantilized and denied more agency, thus, more sympathetic. A reinforcement of the paternal relationship, the Global North must act to save this vulnerable subject. Campaigns featuring the endangered woman combine the need to act with a sympathetic subject, making it clear that the Global North should act to save them from their dire circumstances. The endangered woman embodies the exotic other through appearance, sexualization, and fantasy of those viewing.

The construction of a vulnerable and sympathetic endangered woman relies on the fulfillment of the stereotype of the exotic other. Allowing women to be different enough from viewers that they are not at fault for their plights helps to maintain the familiar fantasy of those holding the colonizing gaze. If viewers adopt the colonizing gaze and accept this stereotype, the endangered woman becomes an ideal recipient of Northern aid.

Controlling the Endangered Woman. Another defining characteristic of the endangered woman is the control that colonizers wield over them. Wilson suggests that control is an important aspect of the construction of all women in the Global South.⁶⁶ Women are constructed as already making steps to change their lives, but in need of consumers to recognize this desire for change and “give it shape and direction,” according to the author.⁶⁷ Control can take many forms in the Global South, but

⁶⁵ Wilson, “‘Race,’ Gender and Neoliberalism,” 329.

⁶⁶ Wilson, “‘Race,’ Gender and Neoliberalism,” 324.

⁶⁷ Wilson, “‘Race,’ Gender and Neoliberalism,” 324.

understanding it through the relationship between power, land, and bodies is particularly important when examining the colonized bodies of women in the Global South.

In examining the intersection between the power of colonizers and native relationships to the land Aimee Carillo Rowe offers the landbody framework.⁶⁸ This framework understands performative acts through a lens of an indigenous understanding of land and body as intimately linked, with little demarcation between the two.⁶⁹ Colonization interrupts this relationship, instead forcing a Western ideology onto the relationship. Wielding power that comes with colonization, those with power can enforce a separation between the land and the bodies that inhabit it.⁷⁰ Through forcing a separation between nature and the self colonizers begin to exert control on the Global South. Those holding the colonizing gaze can exercise power to mandate a split between native and the land or control the relationship between land and body.

Harry Garuba explains that colonizers see themselves as an “autonomous subject with a privileged view” who exist outside of the local discourse and therefore better able to view and understand it.⁷¹ This privilege leads to a sense of superiority and to the domination and wiping out of native epistemology. Given that those in the North were

⁶⁸ Aimee Carillo Rowe, “Queer Xicana: Performance, Affect, and the Sacred,” (paper presented at Rhetoric Society of America, Bloomington, IN, May 26, 2017), n.p.

⁶⁹ A Center for 21st Century Studies Conference at UW-Milwaukee, “Landbody: Indigeneity’s Radical Commitments,” <http://www.c21uwm.com/landbody/>, accessed October 25, 2017.

⁷⁰ A Center for 21st Century Studies, “Landbody.”

⁷¹ Harry Garuba, “Mapping the Land/ Body/ Subject: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies in African Narrative,” *Alternation* 9, no. 1 (2002): 87.

better able to see the native culture, they were uniquely positioned to change it. These notions of colonial superiority exist through the 1950s in *National Geographic*, according to Lutz and Collins.⁷² Pictures in the magazine featured natives carrying writers, explorers, and photographers for the magazine across rivers or bridges, clearly invoking a colonial relationship.⁷³ The privilege of colonizers can be depicted visually or understood when considering the construction of images. The endangered woman embodies this superiority through the control that the Global North can exert on her body. Through a preference for a Northern epistemology the colonizing gaze can control the ways in which bodies are viewed by potential consumers.

Carillo Rowe explains that as native bodies are dominated by white bodies, as through the colonizing gaze, colonizers actually generate a state of *nepantla*, or the “in-between” place that colonized natives felt described the tension between the wisdom of their ancestors and the wisdom of the colonizers.⁷⁴ While *nepantla* can be used as a place to retreat to and find solace away from colonization, as Carillo Rowe suggests,⁷⁵ damage can be done when colonizers continually encroach on the state. When this domination is repeated, however, a split appears between the land and body in which natives adhere to the Global North epistemology.⁷⁶ The endangered woman as a rhetorical device embodies

⁷²Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 77 and 159.

⁷³ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 77 and 159

⁷⁴ Walter D. Mignolo, “Introduction: From Cross-Genealogies and Subaltern Knowledges to *Nepantla*,” *Nepantla: Views from the South* 1, no. 1 (2000): 2.

⁷⁵ Carillo Rowe, “Queer Xicana,” paragraph 45.

⁷⁶ Carillo Rowe, “Queer Xicana,” paragraph 45.

this split between land and nature since she is viewed as under the control of those holding the colonizing gaze.

The Endangered Woman and Affinity with Nature

Examining the relationship between the land and body, as deployed through the endangered woman, is a way to utilize Carillo Rowe's landbody framework. The rhetorical device relies on the landbody framework in two ways. The first is that people in the Global South are seen as closer to nature than those in the North. Lutz and Collins explain that this is yet another way that people of the Global South are "other," through their depictions as people "of nature."⁷⁷ A close linkage to nature is compounded on women, since they are already more associated with nature than men.⁷⁸ According to Lynn Stearney, the connection between femininity and landscapes is clear in how metaphors about landscapes being mothers are used when discussing nature.⁷⁹ Women from the Global South are especially linked to nature, and thus the land.

The Stella Artois campaign shows a reclamation of the native landbody relationship, which does not separate the two but rather sees them as intimately connected. The connection to a specific place "comprises a central component of indigenous being" so restoring the connection between land and body, or in this case, water, is paramount.⁸⁰ The photographs focus on the ways in which the women's bodies

⁷⁷ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 108.

⁷⁸ Lynn M. Stearney, "Feminism, Ecofeminism, and the Maternal Archetype: Motherhood as a Feminine Universal," *Communication Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (1994): 145-159.

⁷⁹ Stearney, "Feminism, EcoFeminism," 152.

⁸⁰ A Center for 21st Century Studies, "Landbody."

interact with water on a daily basis. Two of the still photographs show the women actually touching the water, a literal embodiment of nepantla in a physical reconnection of the land and body. The women's bare feet touch the water, reestablishing a connection between body and land as they squat in the wells performing their tasks.⁸¹ In one photo the woman's hands manipulate fabric that is soaked in water, working to clean the garments she is laundering.⁸² The other photo shows a woman cupping water in her hands, suggesting that she may be ready to drink or splash her face with the water.⁸³ The photographs all depict an intimate connection between body and land as a positive, enriching experience for the women.

Viewers may also recognize the joy that the women are experiencing interacting with the water in the Stella Artois campaign. The brightness of the still photographs and the bodily experiences of the women all suggest how joyful they are at the accessibility of water. The photographs are all taken in bright sunshine and also feature bright colors, as discussed earlier, which suggests to viewers a happy place.⁸⁴ By showing control of the landscape as a positive, uplifting experience the campaign succeeds in controlling the feminine landscape.

⁸¹ Stella Artois, "Carousel 3," and Stella Artois, "Carousel 5."

⁸² Stella Artois, "Carousel 5."

⁸³ Stella Artois, "Carousel 3."

⁸⁴ See: Stella Artois, "Carousel 1," Stella Artois, "Carousel 3," or Stella Artois, "Carousel 5."

While this restoration of the landbody dynamic in the Stella Artois campaign is worth celebrating, it is important that this reunion comes at the behest of those holding the colonizing gaze. The endangered woman is only able to interact with water in the wells because of the generosity of those in the Global North. The caption that accompanies the photos makes this clear, stating “for more than 25 years, Water.org has pioneered safe water...solutions that give women hope...and communities a future.”⁸⁵ The caption implies that without Water.org (or their partner Stella Artois) women and communities in the Global South have no hope or future. By controlling the relationship between women and water the colonizing gaze renders the endangered woman as an ideal, compliant recipient for charity. The control of the endangered woman can be understood through the intersection of power, land, and bodies offered by the landbody framework.

The Endangered Woman and the Feminization of the Landscape

Another way that the use of the landbody framework can also be used in order to help understand the feminization of landscapes that is present in the endangered woman. Nature is often personified as a woman; Stearney discusses the use of appeals about Earth as a mother goddess who needs protection.⁸⁶ Visual representations of the Global South are preoccupied with preserving natural landscapes in their idealized manner. Lutz and Collins explain that beaches, in particular, should be pristine and scenes “of pleasure,” to fulfill the fantasy of the colonizer.⁸⁷ The Global North is preoccupied with the “degraded

⁸⁵ Stella Artois, “Buy a Lady a Drink,” para 2.

⁸⁶ Stearney, “Feminism, EcoFeminism,” 152.

⁸⁷ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 140.

environment” of the South.⁸⁸ In popular imagination the Global South is a “site of fantastic and untamed nature,” so imagery of a degraded environment is cause for alarm.⁸⁹ Concern over the “unsustainable” pollution levels that are caused by the rapid industrialization of the space are a constant refrain of journalists in the Global North.⁹⁰ The impact on crops,⁹¹ air⁹² and water quality,⁹³ and ultimately people⁹⁴ are of great concern for those in the North. While this may be a case of imperialist nostalgia, where

⁸⁸ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 139.

⁸⁹ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 133.

⁹⁰ See: Brady Dennis and Chris Mooney, “WHO: Global Air Pollution is Worsening, and Poor Countries are Being Hit the Hardest,” *The Washington Post*, published May 12, 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment/wp/2016/05/12/who-global-air-pollution-is-worsening-and-poor-countries-are-being-hit-the-hardest/?utm_term=.fdcee00b2850, Zou Ji, “Rising Pollution in the Developing World,” *World Economic Forum* <http://reports.weforum.org/outlook-global-agenda-2015/top-10-trends-of-2015/6-rising-pollution-in-the-developing-world/>, accessed October 25, 2017, or Stephen Leahy, “In Developing World, Pollution Kills More Than Disease,” *Inter Press Service News Agency*, published June 13, 2014, <http://www.ipsnews.net/2014/06/in-developing-world-pollution-kills-more-than-disease/>.

⁹¹ World Wild Fund for Nature, “Thirsty Crops Cause Water Shortages and Pollution,” http://wwf.panda.org/about_our_earth/about_freshwater/freshwater_problems/thirsty_crops/, accessed October 25, 2017.

⁹² World Health Organization, “Indoor Air Pollution and Household Energy,” *The Health and Environment Linkages Initiative* <http://www.who.int/heli/risks/indoorair/indoorair/en/>, accessed October 25, 2017.

⁹³ United Nations, “International Decade for Action ‘WATER FOR LIFE’ 2005-2015,” <http://www.un.org/waterforlifedecade/quality.shtml>, accessed October 25, 2017.

⁹⁴ Global Alliance on Health and Pollution, “New Analysis Points to Pollution as the Largest Cause of Death in Low- and Middle-Income Countries,” published June 13, 2014 <http://gahp.net/new-analysis-points-pollution-largest-cause-death-low-middle-income-countries/>.

the Global North bemoans the loss of this pristine landscape,⁹⁵ the relationship between land and body has been of concern since colonial times. Women and nature are often conflated, and in the Global South protecting nature, and thus, women, is of utmost concern.

The environment in the Global South is seen as an endangered woman. The Stella Artois campaign more subtly constructs the control of the landscape itself, which is another way that the endangered woman is controlled. The preoccupation over the degradation of the environment combined with its feminization works to construct the environment as an endangered woman. The colonizing gaze engages in imperialist nostalgia over the fantasy of pristine nature that exists in the space of the Global South. This nostalgia comes from the loss of the fantasy and stereotype of untamed nature that exists in the Global South, the destruction of which can be attributed to colonization and industrialization.⁹⁶ Through restoring the landscape to fit this fantasy, such as providing water where it once was pre-colonization and industrialization, colonizers both control the environment and create a reliance on the North for maintaining these natural spaces.

The Stella Artois campaign celebrates water in previously dry areas. The entire campaign is based on the idea of bringing water to areas where it has been absent. Stella Artois explains how seriously the company takes the precious resource and the efforts it takes to reduce water consumption starting with the plants used in the brewing process through the bottling procedures.⁹⁷ The organization then explains an additional step for

⁹⁵ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 97.

⁹⁶ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 97.

⁹⁷ Stella Artois, "Why Water."

consumers to take; appealing directly to them, the organization asks viewers to “help us” in ending the global water crisis.⁹⁸ The purpose of the Stella Artois campaign, and Water.org, is to control where water occurs within the landscape of the Global South.

Seeking control of the landscape by colonizers is another way to control women in the Global South. Utilizing the colonizing gaze in the campaign allows the endangered woman to become the ideal recipient because of her compliance. Wilson underscores the importance of control for colonizers viewing women in the Global South. The author explains that women can both simultaneously be “rescued from the oppressive and backward societies” they exist in while being subjugated through global markets.⁹⁹ With the emphasis on constructing the endangered woman as someone who will participate in the local economy, Wilson’s assertions of further subjugation is particularly relevant. Further, this control reifies the paternalism of the North-South relationship. The colonizing gaze allows native epistemology to be restored, but only because of the generosity of Northern consumers. The Global North also seeks to restore the destroyed landscape to preserve the fantasy of the Global South. The feminization of the environment makes the preoccupation with its restoration another way that women in the Global South are controlled.

The endangered woman is an idealized version of women in the Global South that is utilized by companies in order to construct the perfect recipient of consumption behaviors in the North. The endangered woman is utilized to reinforce paternal attitudes

⁹⁸ Stella Artois, “Why Water.”

⁹⁹ Wilson, “‘Race,’ Gender and Neoliberalism,” 329.

and behaviors towards the South. She acts as a conduit for this to be done through a vulnerable and sympathetic subject, who needs the help of consumers in the North but is not at-fault for her plights. The endangered woman is also exotic and engaging to viewers of messages and a careful construction makes her different enough to be sympathetic but allows some connections to avoid her being too alien. Compliance of the endangered woman is important for those holding power in the colonizing gaze in order to feel in control of her. By constructing the endangered woman as needing and deserving of the charity provided through consumption in the North, for-profit companies successfully respond to consumers' desires for self-actualization and strengthen their brand.

Conclusion

As King points out, consumers want to feel good about their purchases,¹⁰⁰ something that for-profit companies have begun to exploit in order to expand their business. Constructing an ideal recipient allows companies like Stella Artois to successfully participate in cause-marketing and build their brands through the ethos provided by partnering with a non-profit that supports a worthy cause. The construction of the Global South and women existing in that space continues their subjugation through consumers adopting a colonizing gaze and engaging in paternal acts. The endangered woman is one part of the larger Global South stereotype that is becoming a sure-fire cause that brands can use to foster goodwill for consumers.

The endangered woman is an ideal recipient due to the fulfillment of colonizing fantasies, offering a familiar image to those in the Global North. Given the repetition and

¹⁰⁰ King, "An All-Consuming Cause," 123-6.

ubiquity of images of the endangered woman that flood audiences in the Global North, consumers are most likely aware that women in the Global South need help. In order to celebrate their own abundance, consumers are told that they should engage in charitable acts. The exotic other is another component that audiences are familiar with, according to Lutz and Collins.¹⁰¹ Another reiteration of a colonial fantasy is the control over the relationship between native bodies and the landscape. Beyond exercising power over women in the Global South, who are seen as closer to nature than those in the North, the endangered woman also can be controlled through the landscape. The feminization of nature combined with the imperial nostalgia of losing untamed nature in the Global South because of colonization and industrialization makes for a powerful incentive to control the landscape. The reinforcement of the preoccupation with preserving (or restoring) the pristine natural spaces is yet another way the endangered woman can be controlled. This ideal recipient of consumers' attention and charity is a response by for-profit companies in order to grow their business and expand profits.

Cause-marketing is a useful strategy for companies that want to build their brand, and many of them are recognizing this. When surveyed in 2010, 80% those in the United States said they were likely to switch to brands that are closely associated with a cause.¹⁰² Companies are taking notice of these buying habits and desires and attempting to respond. Cause-marketing campaigns allow for greater exposure of non-profits that help

¹⁰¹ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 95-107.

¹⁰² Cone Communications, "2010 Cause Evolution Study," <http://www.conecomm.com/research-blog/2010-cause-evolution-study>, accessed January 27, 2018.

to curb issues, such as water accessibility, in the Global South. This strategy also allows for-profit companies to engage in charity efforts that impact individuals positively. Cause-marketing, however is not immune to problems. One way is how it handicaps the response of the Global North to only consumption.

For-profit companies utilizing cause-marketing exploit the need for consumers to self-actualize by constructing idealized versions of the Global South that give those in the North not only the excuse but the *duty* to act paternally and make ethical purchases. Through messages from private corporations, individuals in the Global North are empowered to adopt a colonizing gaze towards those in the Global South. These stereotypes harm women by continuing to deny them true agency in their own lives and communities. The colonizing gaze also harms the Global South more generally, by necessitating a paternal relationship with the North. By featuring idealized images that rely on stereotypes left over from colonization, cause-marketing perpetuates harm for those in the South and North.

Viewers accepting the logic behind the colonizing gaze must act in order to save those vulnerable in the Global South—women. North-South relations are imbued with paternalism and the idealized South presented in cause-marketing relies on stereotype necessitating action by those in the North. Since cause-marketing inherently wants to expand profit margins for companies,¹⁰³ businesses want viewers of messages to consume their products. Pairing the need to act with a sympathetic character rhetorically constructs a situation where viewers are asked to save those vulnerable through consumption.

¹⁰³ King, “An All-Consuming Cause,” 116.

Beyond a limited capacity for responding to social issues, cause-marketing also has unintended consequences. Including, supporting non-profits that actually do very little in supporting the causes they claim to. One popular example of this is Susan G. Komen, which only spends 15% of its donations towards research efforts to find a cure for breast cancer.¹⁰⁴ Another issue with cause-marketing can be a rebound effect within consumers. Nina Mazar and Chen-Bo Zhong found that after purchasing green products, people are more likely to engage in “self-interested and unethical” acts.¹⁰⁵ While making a difference and acting as a stop-gap is a worthy endeavor, cause-marketing is uninterested at addressing the larger systemic issues associated with problems. Cause-marketing inherently prioritizes consumption in order for businesses to thrive, so while supporting causes is a worthy endeavor, cause-marketing will never offer long-term sustainable solutions to issues in the Global South.

Further, the reliance on stereotypical images, such as the endangered woman, may harm those outside of the Global South as well. Images of passive women who are denied agency and sexualized may reinforce similar beliefs on women in the Global North. Janna Kim and L. Monique Ward found that reading magazines touting sexual passivity for women and male sexual agency is correlated with an adherence to traditional gender

¹⁰⁴ Sharon Begley and Janet Roberts, “Insight: Komen Charity Under Microscope for Funding, Science,” *Reuters*, published February 8, 2012, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-healthcare-komen-research/insight-komen-charity-under-microscope-for-funding-science-idUSTRE8171KW20120208>.

¹⁰⁵ Nina Mazar and Chen-Bo Zhong, “Do Green Products Make us Better People?,” *Psychological Science*, 21, no. 4 (2010): 494-498.

roles within young women.¹⁰⁶ The authors found that reading magazines for advice encouraged the belief in young women that they should be passive in order to attract men's interest.¹⁰⁷ This study suggests the harm that may come from women viewing images of passive women.

Cause-marketing perpetuates a North-South relationship based on excess and reliance that harms both sides. Reliance on cause-marketing traps those in the South and North in harmful cycles that do little to offer long-term, sustainable solutions for those who need it. The Global South is trapped in a cycle of need because of their rendering as stereotypical images that subjugate them. Those in the South cannot save themselves as long as the colonizing gaze allows the North to view them as less than. The North is trapped in a cycle of consumption. Given the variety of issues that may befall those in the Global South, and the ephemeral nature of the concept itself, Northerners will always be asked to make better choices and purchases to save them. In the case of women in the Global South, the need for consumers to self-actualize through purchasing products that tout an ethical story line has been co-opted by companies that utilize the colonizing gaze to persuade consumers to purchase their products.

¹⁰⁶ Janna L. Kim and L. Monique Ward, "Pleasure Reading: Associations between Young Women's Sexual Attitudes and their Reading of Contemporary Women's Magazines," *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 28 (2004): 48-58.

¹⁰⁷ Kim and Ward, "Pleasure Reading," 55

CHAPTER IV – DISAFFECTING CONSUMERS: THE DANGEROUS MAN IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

In a sensational 2016 news story the world was informed about the role of “hyena men,” in the Global South. These men receive between \$4 and \$7 to ritually cleanse young girls through sexual intercourse.¹ The story, from National Public Radio, focused on one man, Eric Aniva, who bragged about sleeping with over a hundred young women despite his HIV status.² Unprotected sex is considered part of the ritual, meaning that all of the women are at risk for contracting the virus. It is believed that these men can cleanse girls after their first menstruation, an abortion, or being widowed.³ Since he exploits the beliefs of a repressive culture and victimizes women and girls, Aniva represents the worst of the Global South. The colonizing gaze magnifies the mistreatment of women and the link between men and repressive cultures, focusing on the dark side of men with power and demonizing them in a way that necessitates action by those in the Global North.

Journalists often highlight men in the Global South, portraying them negatively as overly ritualistic and/or as oppressive to women.⁴ While there are certainly examples that

¹ Natalie Jacewicz, “Malawi’s ‘Hyena’ Men: Paid by Parents to Have Sex with Their Daughters,” *National Public Radio*, published July 29, 2016, <https://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsoda/2016/07/29/487672132/malawis-hyena-men-paid-by-parents-to-have-sex-with-their-daughters>.

² Jacewicz, “Malawi’s ‘Hyena’ Men,” paragraph 1.

³ Jacewicz, “Malawi’s ‘Hyena’ Men,” paragraphs 5-6.

⁴ See: Steven Shaw, “Male Initiation Rituals of Africa, the Amazon, and Vanuatu,” *News.com.au*, published August 14, 2014, <http://www.news.com.au/travel/world-travel/male-initiation-rituals-of-africa-the-amazon-and-vanuatu/news-story/b917bd91fad3880b094a1c6510ea28c5> and Rochelle Terman,

counter these images,⁵ coverage of men of the Global South is cause for concern because of the demonization that occurs. In contrast to Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins' findings in *National Geographic*, where the publication actively seeks to humanize the Other,⁶ ways in which to help men in the Global South are, at best, obscured. Adam Jones explains that men and masculinities are written about and worthy of study for academics in the North, but policy and public perception has yet to catch up.⁷ Men are not thought of as particularly vulnerable or discussed in major initiatives, so much so that scholars have called for more focus on men and their concerns.⁸ Men in the Global South are often demonized, clearly demarcating for those in the North who is unworthy of help. Understanding the demonization of men in the South helps to complete the picture of the idealized Global South as it exists in the imagination of the Global North.

“The News Media Offer Slanted Coverage of Muslim Countries’ Treatment of Women,” *The Washington Post*, published May 5, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/05/05/the-news-media-offer-slanted-coverage-of-muslim-countries-treatment-of-women/?utm_term=.054eb9f270eb.

⁵ See: Abigail Jones, “The Period Movement: Meet the Men Fighting to Stop Menstruation-Shaming in the Developing World,” *Newsweek*, published July 12, 2017, <http://www.newsweek.com/2017/07/21/men-fighting-menstruation-shaming-developing-world-634902.html>.

⁶ Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993): 107-8.

⁷ Adam Jones, “Introduction,” in Adam Jones (Ed.) *Men of the Global South: A Reader*, (New York, NY: Zed Books, 2006): xiii.

⁸ John Knodel and Mary Beth Ofstedal, “Gender and the Aging in the Developing World: Where are the Men?,” *Population and Development Review*, 29, no. 4 (2003): 679.

One context that uniquely affects men in the Global South is diamond mining. Popular sources, including news outlets,⁹ movies,¹⁰ as well as human rights organizations¹¹ focus on diamond mining and the dangerous, exploitative conditions that men and children face as workers. Where men truly dominate diamond mining coverage is the focus on corrupt men in government positions who, in their drive to make profits, create appalling conditions for these workers.¹² These diamonds are referred to as conflict diamonds, or more popularly “blood diamonds,” because of their association with war-torn areas, particularly in Africa.¹³ In order to ease concerns of consumers the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme was developed in 2000 and allows for the certification of diamonds as conflict-free, meaning that the profits do not support civil wars.¹⁴ Issues

⁹ See: David Levene, “Informal Diamond Mining in Kono, Sierra Leone,” Photograph, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/mar/16/pastor-unearths-giant-diamond-sierra-leone#img-1>, accessed December 18, 2017.

¹⁰ See: “Die Another Day,” *IMDb*, <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0246460/>, accessed December 18, 2017 and “Blood Diamond,” *IMDb*, <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0450259/>, accessed December 18, 2017.

¹¹ See: Impact, “Welcome,” <https://impacttransform.org/en/>, accessed December 18, 2017 where the welcoming image features two men.

¹² See: Global Witness, “About Us,” <https://www.globalwitness.org/en/about-us/>, accessed December 18, 2017 and Lydia Polgreen, “In Sierra Leone, Still a Tough Dig for Diamonds,” *New York Times*, published March 25, 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/25/world/africa/25iht-diamond.4.5017895.html>.

¹³ Paul Armstrong, “What are ‘Conflict Diamonds?’,” *CNN*, published December 5, 2011, <http://www.cnn.com/2011/12/05/world/africa/conflict-diamonds-explainer/index.html>, paragraph 2.

¹⁴ Kimberley Process, “About,” <https://www.kimberleyprocess.com/en/about>, accessed December 18, 2017.

surrounding the harvesting and processing of diamonds, however, still continue to this day.¹⁵ The knowledge of issues surrounding diamond mining gave rise to a new way for jewelry companies to market themselves.

Offering a standard that goes beyond the narrow guidelines of the Kimberley Process is Brilliant Earth. The company aims to ethically source all gemstones and precious metals used in its jewelry.¹⁶ In order to certify diamonds as “beyond conflict free” Brilliant Earth meticulously tracks and sources diamonds to ensure peace-of-mind for its customers.¹⁷ The company began in 2005 when the co-founders were looking for their own engagement ring and wanted to offer a better solution for couples.¹⁸ The company’s site is filled with positive online reviews from customers as well as videos of couples that chose to purchase engagement rings through the site.¹⁹ A large section of the website is also dedicated to the work that the company does in order to ethically source

¹⁵ See: Aryn Baker, “Blood Diamonds,” *TIME*, <http://time.com/blood-diamonds/>, accessed December 18, 2017, Global Witness, “Conflict Diamonds,” <https://www.globalwitness.org/en/campaigns/conflict-diamonds/>, accessed December 18, 2017 and Natalia Wojcik, “Conflict Diamonds May Not be on the Radar, But They’re Still a Worry for Some,” *CNBC*, November 6, 2016, <https://www.cnbc.com/2016/11/04/conflict-diamonds-may-not-be-on-the-radar-but-theyre-still-a-worry-for-some.html>.

¹⁶ Brilliant Earth, “Beyond Conflict Free Diamonds,” <https://www.brilliantearth.com/conflict-free-diamonds/>, accessed December 18, 2017, paragraph 1.

¹⁷ Brilliant Earth, “Beyond Conflict Free Diamonds,” paragraph 1.

¹⁸ Brilliant Earth, “About Us,” <https://www.brilliantearth.com/about-brilliant-earth/>, accessed December 18, 2017, paragraph 1.

¹⁹ See: Brilliant Earth, “About Us.”

diamonds, with a focus both on the issues with regular gemstones and the initiatives Brilliant Earth supports

While the company makes jewelry of all kinds, the focus of the company's website is on engagement rings and, therefore, diamonds. This company engages in what Samantha King terms "cause-marketing," where the company is offering a solution to a social problem through ethical consumption by individuals.²⁰ This represents a shift in companies whereby philanthropic activities are viewed as investments, and organizations use partnerships with non-profits in order to build the for-profit's reputation, increase profits, and boost employee and consumer loyalty.²¹ For-profit companies seek out causes that are guaranteed to resonate with their audience;²² given the notoriety of blood diamonds, the use of diamond mining as a framing device in messages offers a way to ensure consumers respond.

I suggest that this focus by Brilliant Earth is due, in part, to the relationship between the Global North and South relying on outdated stereotypes and fantasy. In order to motivate consumerism as a way to help the Global South, men are left out of the conversation because their suffering can detract from that of women and children. In other words, some populations are seen as disposable or not worthy of being saved. Ashley Noel Mack and Brian McCann discuss this as a failure to mobilize affect; since suffering can only be experienced affectively for such a small number of people, some

²⁰ Samantha King, "An All-Consuming Cause: Breast Cancer, Corporate Philanthropy, and the Market for Generosity," *Social Text*, 19, no. 4 (2001):117.

²¹ King, "An All-Consuming Cause," 123.

²² King, "An All-Consuming Cause," 130.

suffering is acceptable.²³ For those utilizing a colonizing gaze, the dangerous man of the Global South is not a sympathetic character that mobilizes affect.

I argue that the “dangerous man” operates as a rhetorical device allowing companies—such as Brilliant Earth—to capitalize on the stereotypes of colonizers in order to appeal to those holding the colonizing gaze and mobilize consumers’ affect. These discourses stereotype men from the Global South as dangerous and not worthy of being saved. Their construction as unworthy allows consumers to become disaffected by the suffering of men in order to be mobilized on behalf of women and children. Campaigns create a situation where those in the North must act on behalf of those harmed to stop the dangerous man. The rhetorical device influences the affective investment of those in the North on those in the South, constructing consumption as *the* way to stop the harm enacted on those in the Global South. Cause-marketing allows the for-profit company to appeal to the goodwill of those in the North while still continuing to be profitable for the co-founders. I begin this chapter by illuminating relevant literature on men in the Global South. Next, I focus on building the rhetorical device of the dangerous man in order to apply it to Brilliant Earth’s website. Finally, I explore the implications of the devices’ use.

Men in the Global South

Men in the Global South are not idealized as recipients of Northern aid; rather, they are demonized in ways that foster affective disengagement towards their suffering.

²³ Ashley Noel Mack and Bryan McCann, “‘Strictly an Act of Street Violence’: Intimate Publicity and Affective Divestment in the New Orleans Mother’s Day Shooting,” *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 14, no. 4 (2017): 4.

The demonization of otherized men has a long history and relies on stereotypes of colonizers. I begin by highlighting the impact of coloniality, cause-marketing, and masculinity. Then, I move to understanding specific markers of how men in the Global South are demonized while working through an example to demonstrate how these characteristics can be deployed.

Colonization and its remnants are central in understanding the North-South relationship. Co-existing with paternalism, colonization worked to subjugate the Global South as well as those within it. Santiago Castro-Gomez explains that over time a shift has occurred with coloniality replacing colonization.²⁴ This replacement allows the North-South relationship to remain stable, with the Global South being subjugated, without the need for formal nation-state rule.²⁵ Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri explain that now power is held through transnational organisms,²⁶ or multi-national corporations. One way this shift can be seen is the rise in cause-marketing being used as a strategy by for-profit companies.

Cause-marketing strengthens the relationship between corporations and the Global South. The Global South has become a popular cause for companies to use in

²⁴ Santiago Castro-Gomez, "The Social Science, Epistemic Violence, and the Problem of the Invention of the Other," *Nepantla: Views from the South* 3, no. 2 (2002): 276.

²⁵ Santiago Castro-Gomez, "The Social Science, Epistemic Violence, and the Problem of the Invention of the Other," *Nepantla: Views from the South* 3, no. 2 (2002): 276.

²⁶ Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000): xii.

order to encourage those in the Global North to buy their products and feel good about those products. This trend, according to King, capitalizes on consumers' desire to self-actualize through consumption.²⁷ It is no longer good enough for consumers to feel they are receiving the best product, but companies need also to perform altruistic deeds with money from sales. Messages from for-profit companies rely on stereotypes of the Global South in order to empower consumers to adopt a colonizing gaze towards them. Through fulfilling the fantasy of colonizers, for-profit companies demonize men in the South and obscure larger systemic issues.

Patricia Hill Collins discusses the combination of coloniality and globalization that results in what the author calls a new racism.²⁸ Collins explains that wealth is held by a few, powerful organizations and that governments no longer hold the same power that they used to. Power shifts work to subjugate marginalized identities both within the Global North and beyond. These organizations enact coloniality through what Katherine Henninger terms the colonizing gaze which seeks to colonize bodies in the Global South through viewing practices that fulfill the stereotype and fantasy of colonizers.²⁹ Coloniality continues the relationship of colonization, but through individuals who are encouraged by organizations to adopt a colonizing gaze when viewing the Global South.

²⁷ King, "An All-Consuming Cause," 117.

²⁸ Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender, and the New Racism* (New York: Routledge, 2005): 54-6.

²⁹ Katherine Henninger, "Zora Neale Hurston, Richard Wright, and the Postcolonial Gaze," *Mississippi Quarterly*, 56, no. 4 (2003): 585-6.

In studying masculinity in transnational contexts, scholars contend that men exist as a threat to each other's masculinity. Errol Miller examines how men relate to one another within and without the Global South.³⁰ The author contends that within patriarchal societies men's bonds outside of family have long been problematized.³¹ Men who appear outside of blood bonds are inherently a threat and have been marginalized through "diverse means" which are demonstrated in the treatment of captives where they are killed, castrated, or sold into slavery,³² all of which effectively bar them from masculinity and the ability to have power. The threat of other men to masculinity can also be seen in the fantasy of the dangerous man. This rhetorical device constructs men in the Global South in order to have audiences divest from their suffering.

The Dangerous Man

Men of the Global South are constructed and framed as the dangerous man, which allows an affective divestment from men's suffering by consumers. Simultaneously, the rhetorical device mobilizes affect on behalf of victims of the men, namely women and children. Jones contends that men are typically ignored, but when present they are "nearly always" depicted negatively and fulfill stereotypes.³³ For example, men's relationship with women in the Global South is often shown as "exploitative and

³⁰ Errol Miller, *Men at Risk* (Kingston, Jamaica: Jamaica Publishing House, 1991): 124-7.

³¹ Miller, *Men at Risk*, 124-7.

³² Miller, *Men at Risk*, 124.

³³ Jones, "Introduction," xviii.

aggressive” with little balance.³⁴ The reliance on negative stereotypes when depicting men from the Global South serves to demonize them and construct them as an unworthy recipient of Northern aid. Since the dangerous man is unworthy of consumers’ affective response, he can be demonized or ignored. For-profit companies relying on the dangerous man encourage consumers to adopt the colonizing gaze, stereotype men, and mobilize an affective response.

In order to ensure a mobilized affect, some suffering has to be acceptable or, at the very least, not enough to create investment in the subjects. Mack and McCann explain that affective investment is necessary given that viewers cannot mobilize for every single person suffering.³⁵ The authors caution that this does not mean viewers exhibit complete apathy but just a failure to mobilize on behalf of those suffering in the same way that viewers would respond if properly concerned.³⁶ By controlling affective responses, messages can also direct it towards who suffering is more important.

One way that men’s suffering is obscured is through difference in marked and unmarked forms. Men are an unmarked form, which means that they are they default and assumed to be the referent for many words.³⁷ Campaigns may focus on “miners,” “victims,” “slaves,” or other words and not draw attention to men. Marked forms more specifically discuss who is being harmed “child miners,” “women victims,” “child

³⁴ Jones, “Introduction,” xviii.

³⁵ Mack and Bryan McCann, “‘Strictly an Act of Street Violence’,” 4.

³⁶ Mack and Bryan McCann, “‘Strictly an Act of Street Violence’,” 4.

³⁷ See: Wane Berkhus, “A Sociology of the Unmarked: Redirecting Our Focus,” *Sociological Theory*, 16, no. 1 (1998): 37.

slaves,” etc. Used alone in campaigns about the Global South marked and unmarked forms may not have any significance. But since the dangerous man is typically used to draw attention to the endangered child and/or woman the contrast is significant. The specificity of the marked form (child miners) can work to obscure the vague referent of the unmarked form (miners). When used together a marked form may work to obscure the plight of men when contrasted with a marked form that names another slice of the Global South population.

Managing the engagement (or lack thereof) with suffering allows affect to be directed towards certain populations that are worthy of investment. In the case of the Global South, messages mobilize consumer’s compassion and responsibility towards women and children at the expense of men. Mobilizing affect towards women and children may be explained by the reigning fantasy and stereotypes of otherized men being dangerous. Ensuring an affective divestment, companies utilize the rhetorical trope of the dangerous man in order to give consumers something to rally against.

Paired with another myth of whiteness, the white savior, this divestment and mobilization can be particularly powerful. Messages can both utilize affective divestment from men and combine this with images of women and children in order to mobilize the fantasy of the white savior. Matthew Hughey defines the white savior in film as “a white messianic character” who “saves a lower- or working-class, usually urban or isolated, nonwhite character from a sad fate.”³⁸ The author continues, explaining that these films

³⁸ Matthew Hughey, *The White Savior Film: Content, Critics, and Consumption*, (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2014), 1.

glorify whites who are saving nonwhite character not from their culture.³⁹ Relying on enacting the white savior mode appeals to consumers in a cause-marketing culture. Consumers are asked to solve social problems as individuals through personal generosity and proper consumption.⁴⁰ By choosing the proper products to buy for themselves consumers can self-actualize through their consumptive behavior.⁴¹ In messages from organizations viewers are to adopt the role of consumer/savior in order to help those in the Global South from succumbing to their trials.

Chapters 2 and 3 explored how women and children offer a place for affect to be mobilized through consumption, a logical counterpart must exist. This counterpart is epitomized by much of the treatment of men in the Global South in messages from the Global North. Men are demonized so as to allow consumers to simultaneously divest from men's suffering while still engaging in charity on behalf of women and children. The dangerous man is not redeemable in the same way the endangered child and woman are since they are not constructed as innocent, industrious, or containing universal human qualities. Instead, the dangerous man represents the extreme "badness" in the Global South that Lutz and Collins discuss.⁴² This rhetorical device constructs a subject that is not deserving of affective or monetary investment.

³⁹ Hughey, *The White Savior*, 2.

⁴⁰ King, "An All-Consuming Cause," 117.

⁴¹ King, "An All-Consuming Cause," 117.

⁴² Lutz and Jane L. Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 106.

Othering the Dangerous Man. The dangerous man is constructed as the antithesis of the ideal recipient of Northern aid because he is too different and unsympathetic. He is, like all people in the Global South, otherized but without the redeeming qualities of children or women. According to Edward Said people “have always divided the world up into regions” based on “real or imagined distinctions.”⁴³ These differences serve as a basis for othering. For the Global South this results in a perception that they are underdeveloped and subordinate to the North, according to Raka Shome’s application of Said’s concepts.⁴⁴ Masculinity within the Global North is understood in comparison to the otherized masculinity of the Global South. The dangerous man is not only otherized through their race and ethnicity but also their gender.

White hegemonic masculinity was formed in contrast to the “other.” Collins explains that in order to be a “real” man whites had to not only have a family but also material wealth, which included slaves.⁴⁵ Additionally, this rooting of white masculinity in slavery presupposes violence in order to maintain the master/slave relationship.⁴⁶ With the end of slavery, or even the threat of its ending, the fantasy necessitates enacting violence in order to stamp out the rebellion. Since Black bodies were objectified as “big, strong, and stupid,” violence was justified as a way to control them for so long.⁴⁷ The

⁴³ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (1978, repr., New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1994): 39.

⁴⁴ Raka Shome, “Postcolonial Interventions in the Rhetorical Canon: An “Other” View,” *Communication Theory*, 6, no. 1 (1996): 41-51.

⁴⁵ Collins, *Black Sexual Politics*, 58.

⁴⁶ Collins, *Black Sexual Politics*, 58.

⁴⁷ Collins, *Black Sexual Politics*, 56.

otherized bodies of the Global South can be read in similar ways through the colonizing gaze.

Hegemonic masculinity seeks to dominate and subjugate other masculinities. R.W. Connell explains that power, production, and emotion can all be understood through a lens of masculinity.⁴⁸ In hegemonic masculinity, power is given to those who are allowed legitimacy by patriarchal structures. Combined with the myth of the white savior, the burden of white men to save the exotic “other” is clear. Enacting hegemonic masculinity comes with the duty to save those who may be at-risk because of their tragic circumstances. White masculinity is understood through contrast with the masculinity of “other” men. This contrast helps to foster a disdain for the dangerous man, he is unable to perform masculinity properly and the more rational North must act in order to properly perform masculinity in his stead.

There are many examples of “other” masculinities that both reify and challenge conceptions of white masculinity. Another example of “other” masculinity is the macho man from Mexican culture, which Emily Wentzell characterizes.⁴⁹ The macho, according to the author, is “violent, tough, and emotionally guarded.”⁵⁰ One of the hallmarks of this form of masculinity is engaging in “frequent penetrative sex” with women.⁵¹ The concept

⁴⁸ R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1995) 73-5.

⁴⁹ Emily Wentzell, “Viagra and Changing Masculinities,” in Adam Jones (Ed.) *Men of the Global South: A Reader*, (New York, NY: Zed Books, 2006): 43.

⁵⁰ Wentzell, “Viagra,” 43.

⁵¹ Wentzell, “Viagra,” 43.

of the macho man is an attempt at creating power when denied the legitimacy associated with hegemonic masculinity. In order to gain power, the otherized male must access it in other ways. For African-American men in particular, Collins suggests that because of the violence that was denied to Black men during slavery, they embraced the brute strength and sexual prowess.⁵² These attributes were allowed for Blacks since they could be most easily be twisted by whites wanting to continue the domination of dark, male bodies. These “bastardizations” of hegemonic masculinity are a failing of those in the South and heighten paternalism by those in the North who must act as a properly masculine character.

Herman Gray explains that the threat of Black masculinity to white masculinity has continued through time.⁵³ However, contemporary perception of Black masculinity continues to hinge on how dark, male bodies are menacing.⁵⁴ The colonizing gaze views otherized men as threatening. In the Global South, Stella Nyanzi focuses research on dispelling myths surrounding the “othering” stereotypes of African men.⁵⁵ The author explains that most of these stereotypes focus on the explicit sexualization of men who are understood as excessive in appetite and prowess.⁵⁶ The author also draws attention to the

⁵² Collins, *Black Sexual Politics*, 58.

⁵³ Herman Gray, “Black Masculinity and Visual Culture,” *Callaloo*, 18, no. 2 (1995): 401.

⁵⁴ Gray, “Black Masculinity,” 402.

⁵⁵ Stella Nyanzi, “Men and Their Children,” in Adam Jones (Ed.) *Men of the Global South: A Reader*, (New York, NY: Zed Books, 2006): 34.

⁵⁶ Nyanzi, “Men and Their,” 34.

“animal-like virility” of Black men.⁵⁷ The physical qualities of otherized males are magnified by the colonizing gaze which helps to subjugate them by the North. The colonizing gaze seeks to control the threatening otherized body of the Global South.

Another troubling stereotype is the supposed animal-like qualities of the Black male, thus linking wildness and nature. This stereotype, according to Collins, dates back to slavery where house slaves were thought to have had the wildness tamed through their interaction with whites, though not completely.⁵⁸ This link is also present in the Global South given the close affinity with nature. The linking of otherized bodies and wildness or nature is something that Lutz and Collins also explore.⁵⁹ According to the authors a key to the colonizers’ fantasy of the Global South is pristine nature that is untouched by humans and not degraded by industrialization.⁶⁰ Constructing these links between the other and nature, those adopting a colonizing gaze can more easily divest from the dangerous man because his animal nature makes him inhuman.

The dangerous man as a rhetorical device, like all people in the Global South, relies on Othering. By victimizing others and representing a threat to hegemonic masculinity, the dangerous man encourages an affective divestment by consumers in the North. He is far too different and dehumanized by his link with nature, making him unsympathetic. The construction of the dangerous man renders him the antithesis of the

⁵⁷ Nyanzi, “Men and Their,” 34.

⁵⁸ Collins, *Black Sexual Politics*, 56.

⁵⁹ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 108.

⁶⁰ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 133.

ideal recipient of Northern aid because his alien and troubling nature necessitate the more “rational” North to act in order to stop him.

The Dangerous Man as Corrupt. In the media, corruption is seen as a persistent and devastating issue in the Global South. In 2016, London hosted an anti-corruption summit with a focus on ending corruption world-wide.⁶¹ Out of this summit reporters shined a light on what they termed the “biggest threat” to the Global South.⁶² Moreover, the summit stated that allowing the continuation of corruption is a terror risk and will halt any progress or development.⁶³ Mike Davis points out the issues of corruption in the Global South’s “ruling regimes” which in large part contribute to the rise in slums and sub-standard social welfare.⁶⁴ While corruption in the Global South does create issues for those within the space, this connection is magnified by the colonizing gaze. By linking corruption with the dangerous man, it is easier to create an affective divestment and strengthen paternal tendencies for consumers in the North who are exposed to messages relying on stereotypes.

⁶¹ Transparency International, “3 Things We’ve Learned Since the Anti-Corruption Summit in London 2016,” published September 19, 2017, https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/3_things_weve_learned_since_the_anti_corruption_summit_in_london_2016, paragraph 1.

⁶² Anton du Plessis, “Corruption isn’t just a Developing World Issue, and It’s Time Western leaders Did More,” *We Forum*, published May 12, 2016, <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/05/corruption-isn-t-just-a-developing-world-issue-and-it-s-time-western-leaders-did-more/>, paragraph 2.

⁶³ du Plessis, “Corruption isn’t just a Developing World,” paragraph 2.

⁶⁴ Mike Davis, *Planet of Slums*, (New York: Verso, 2006): 27-30 and UN-Habitat, *State of the World’s*, 165.

Men in power are shown as particularly corrupt, gaining authority unethically and using unethical means to maintain it. Jones explains that in the Global South “big man” politics rules, where powerful men seek to establish rule through authority. The use of violence to bring about and sustain control is stereotypical leadership in the Global South. Since their authority is illegitimate, force is necessary to maintain it. This abuse of power and masculinity requires action to be taken by those in the North, and in cause-marketing this is done through proper consumption.

The dangerous man is an unethical character who abuses what little power he possesses, necessitating a response by those in the North. By relying on stereotypes of men from the Global South as corrupt, the rhetorical device invites viewers to divest from the dangerous man as a fellow human. The affective divestment from the dangerous man can be used by companies to encourage consumers to act to save other, more sympathetic characters. The dangerous man rhetorical device focuses on men in the Global South as unethical, corrupt players that necessitate action by consumers in the North.

Violence and the Dangerous Man. Men in the Global South are also often depicted as violent which fits neatly into prevailing fantasies of colonizers. Jones explains that violence often arises as a response to tension brought on by attempting to fulfill all of the roles that masculinity asks men to perform.⁶⁵ This tension is heightened because otherized men are denied the legitimacy of hegemonic masculinity. As an outlet for frustration violence can impact men, women, and children that surround the dangerous man. Juan Carlos Ramírez Rodríguez argues that coverage of violence in the

⁶⁵ Adam Jones, “Family and Sexuality,” in Adam Jones (Ed.) *Men of the Global South: A Reader*, (New York, NY: Zed Books, 2006): 1-2.

Global South often bolsters stereotypes through its linkage to “alcohol, child abuse, and the Mexican macho society.”⁶⁶ The dangerous man being violent towards others helps to construct a character that Northerners must act against, and cause-marketing asks them to make ethical purchases to stop him.

Rites of passage in the Global South often mark the transition into manhood, many of which are violent.⁶⁷ Through violence in ritual practices, the masculinity of the “other” is inherently linked to violence. Lutz and Collins also explain that the “other” is more concerned about ritual. The authors explain that a hallmark of the exotic other is that they live in a world ruled by superstition and the past, rather than rationality.⁶⁸ Jones explain that this is heightened on men, because they are expected to undergo rituals in the Global South in order to usher in manhood.⁶⁹ These rituals can take the form of circumcision,⁷⁰ cattle thieving,⁷¹ rape,⁷² or physical competitions between men to

⁶⁶ Juan Carlos Ramírez Rodríguez, “Revisioning Male Violence,” in Adam Jones (Ed.) *Men of the Global South: A Reader*, (New York, NY: Zed Books, 2006): 67.

⁶⁷ See: Chip Brown, “The Many Ways Society Makes a Man,” *National Geographic*, January 2017, <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/magazine/2017/01/how-rites-of-passage-shape-masculinity-gender/>.

⁶⁸ Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 91.

⁶⁹ Adam Jones, “Ritual and Belief,” in Adam Jones (Ed.) *Men of the Global South: A Reader*, (New York, NY: Zed Books, 2006): 91.

⁷⁰ Chris McGreal, “Circumcision: The Victims,” in Adam Jones (Ed.) *Men of the Global South: A Reader*, (New York, NY: Zed Books, 2006): 95.

⁷¹ Solomon Moore, “The Cattle Thieves,” in Adam Jones (Ed.) *Men of the Global South: A Reader*, (New York, NY: Zed Books, 2006): 96-7.

⁷² Niki Kandirikirira, “The Hunters,” in Adam Jones (Ed.) *Men of the Global South: A Reader*, (New York, NY: Zed Books, 2006): 98-9.

compete for access to sexual and marriage partners.⁷³ The trials are thought to demonstrate men's abilities to dominate in private and public life.⁷⁴ The dangerous man fulfills already known stereotypes of how men in the Global South are violent. The familiarity with this attribute those in the North may not be willing to act on behalf of them in order to save them as they would women or children. Showing men as repressive and outdated helps to facilitate a divestment from them. Since men are not in favor of progress, they do not make worthy investments for consumers in the North.

This focus on men as victimizers, rather than victims, of violence continues to pervade messages concerning the Global South. Men in the Global South often feel the need to enforce discipline on partners, according to Louise Williams.⁷⁵ Jones explains that this is due to masculinity traditionally being tied to violence and competitiveness.⁷⁶ Moreover, masculine honor has become central to male identity which "can produce only oppressive and violent behavior" in men.⁷⁷ In public violence committed by those in power, Jones contends that men are often invisible victims of violence, and the focus is

⁷³ See: David D. Gilmore, "The Wrestlers," in Adam Jones (Ed.) *Men of the Global South: A Reader*, (New York, NY: Zed Books, 2006): 99-100, and Guy Saville, "The Fight Clubbers," in Adam Jones (Ed.) *Men of the Global South: A Reader*, (New York, NY: Zed Books, 2006): 100-4.

⁷⁴ Jones, "Ritual and Belief," 91.

⁷⁵ Louise Williams, "Founding Fathers," in Adam Jones (Ed.) *Men of the Global South: A Reader*, (New York, NY: Zed Books, 2006): 72.

⁷⁶ Jones, "Ritual and Belief," 91.

⁷⁷ Jones, "Ritual and Belief," 91.

instead on how they perpetrate violence.⁷⁸ Through a repetition of men as perpetrators, rather than victims, of violence the dangerous man can begin to mobilize consumers on behalf of those who are oppressed by him.

The dangerous man is demonized through the linkage with perpetrating violence. He abuses those that he should protect failing at this task of masculinity. The dangerous man must be stopped and those in the North must act because they can fulfill this masculine role. Violence works to further alienate viewers away from the dangerous man, who uses violence to enact what little power he does possess. The dangerous man uses violence as a way to access the power associated with masculinity, or domination over others. By harming those around him, the dangerous man becomes a very unsympathetic character in the Global South; he becomes a bad investment for Northerners by being backward and oppressive. He is contrasted with the endangered woman, who is industrious and working to better herself and those around her. Positioning men only as perpetrators the dangerous man begins to shape affective investment by directing it away from men and the true victims—women and children.

The Dangerous Man as a Bully. As elaborated in the previous chapter, saving women in the South has become a major preoccupation of the Global North. Women are then subjected to an intense focus and function as a way to measure the development of the Global South.⁷⁹ Kalpana Wilson explains that many images of colonized women rely on their need to be rescued *by* men in the North and *from* men in the Global South or

⁷⁸ Adam Jones, “Governance and Conflict,” in Adam Jones (Ed.) *Men of the Global South: A Reader*, (New York, NY: Zed Books, 2006): 200-1.

⁷⁹ Burman and Stacey, “The Child and Childhood,” 235.

their culture.⁸⁰ Because of the perceived dependence of women on men, their treatment should mirror that in the North in order to be a correct manifestation of masculinity in the Global South.

Nyanzi contends that men are shown as being the “agents” of women’s subjugation. This is particularly true in the Global South.⁸¹ Indian men, according to S. Anandhi and J. Jeyaranhan, struggle with the perception of controlling and abusing women.⁸² Men control the movement of women in order to ostensibly protect them from street harassment.⁸³ This helps to account for the lost power in the physical sphere, the inability to protect “their” women. They can reclaim masculinity by restricting the movement of women. While men are given power over women in the fantasy of colonizers, they often abuse it and go too far.

In the fantasy of colonizers, a primary way that men often abuse power is through sexual violence. Angela Davis explains the stereotype of Black men in the United States as rapists. The myth of the Black rapist came on the heels of the Civil War as a way to justify lynchings, which in turn were used by whites to control African-Americans.⁸⁴ The

⁸⁰ Kalpana Wilson, “‘Race,’ Gender and Neoliberalism: Changing Visual Representations in Development,” *Third World Quarterly*, 32, no. 2 (2011): 317.

⁸¹ Stella Nyanzi, “Widow Inheritance,” in Adam Jones (Ed.) *Men of the Global South: A Reader*, (New York, NY: Zed Books, 2006): 60.

⁸² S. Anandhi and J. Jeyaranhan, “The Abusers,” in Adam Jones (Ed.) *Men of the Global South: A Reader*, (New York, NY: Zed Books, 2006): 64.

⁸³ Anandhi and Jeyaranhan, “The Abusers,” 64.

⁸⁴ Angela Y. Davis, *Women, Race, and Class* (New York: Random House, 1983), 185.

myth was justified a myriad of ways with some explaining that this was the only way for Black men to gain power, since they were otherwise denied agency.⁸⁵ If Black men can control and exert power over white women, they take away power from white men, according to Davis.⁸⁶ One way that this was stymied, according to Davis, is through the myth of the Black rapist.⁸⁷ Rape is one of the ways in which men of color misuse what little power they do have in the imagination of colonizers.

Dark male bodies in the Global South are not immune from the stereotype of exploiting women. This connection is due, in part, to the reality that boys in the Global South victimize girls through sexual violence in order to gain control and legitimacy as men.⁸⁸ While victimization of women and girls in the South is a reality, the colonizing gaze magnifies men's exploitation of women in other ways. According to Jones, a persistent stereotype of men in the South is that they perform little to no work while women are overworked.⁸⁹ This casual exploitation of women's work while men live off of their labor is a hallmark of the fantasy of the Global South. Since the dangerous man does not improve his community, unlike the endangered woman from the previous chapter, he makes a poor investment for consumers in the Global North. The dangerous

⁸⁵ Davis, *Women, Race, and Class*, 177-182.

⁸⁶ Davis, *Women, Race, and Class*, 173

⁸⁷ Davis, *Women, Race, and Class*, 173

⁸⁸ Kandirikirira, "The Hunters," 98.

⁸⁹ Adam Jones, "Work," in Adam Jones (Ed.) *Men of the Global South: A Reader*, (New York, NY: Zed Books, 2006): 142-3.

man not properly allocating help he received from the North allows an affective divestment for Northern viewers from his suffering.

The dangerous man shows a misuse of power that has been granted to the otherized men of the Global South. The misuse of power is most clearly demonstrated in how men are demonized in the relationship with women. By showing the bullying that men commit towards the women that they should instead be protecting, the dangerous man fulfills another stereotype of otherized men. The dangerous man forces those in the North to act in order to stop him from harming those he should be protecting.

Colonizers have struggled to control the bodies of otherized men, so they must demonize them. The rhetorical device of the dangerous man relies on reifying stereotypes in order to cultivate an affective divestment of viewers. The dangerous man is demonized in messages from for-profit companies to prevent audiences from identifying with him, thereby allowing his suffering to be acceptable. The perceived dependence of women and children on men, and the failure of masculinity in the Global South create a situation where those in the Global North must act through ethical consumption. Brilliant Earth employs the dangerous man rhetorical device in its website in order to appeal to consumers' goodwill.

Brilliant Earth and the Dangerous Man

The Brilliant Earth jewelry company provides a case study that demonstrates how companies construct arguments that utilize the affective divestment in the dangerous man in order to fuel ethical consumption. The company is committed to bringing consumers jewelry from more scrutinized sources. In appealing to consumers through cause-marketing it employs the dangerous man device as well as the endangered woman and

child. The website highlights women and children in photographs; men seldom appear visually, and when they do, they are often portrayed as part of a family unit.⁹⁰ Where men dominate is in the captions and written portions of the website where men in power are demonized.⁹¹

Brilliant Earth focuses on several ways that traditional jewelry is tainted by unethical practices. The first concern is the miners, who the website explains live in poverty with wages typically less than a dollar a day.⁹² The company has a separate initiative that focuses on improving the jewelry industry through preventing abuses or the exploitation of workers in the mines, with an emphasis on ethical mining and preventing child labor.⁹³ Brilliant Earth also dedicates attention to the environmental harms

⁹⁰ See: Brilliant Earth, “Brilliant Earth Fundraiser Brings Clean Water to Village,” <https://www.brilliantearth.com/news/brilliant-earth-fundraiser-brings-clean-water-to-village/>, accessed December 18, 2017, Brilliant Earth, “The Future: Fair Trade Diamonds,” <https://www.brilliantearth.com/fair-trade-diamonds/>, accessed December 18, 2017, Brilliant Earth, “Our Cause,” <https://www.brilliantearth.com/jewelry-issues/>, accessed December 18, 2017, and Brilliant Earth, “Our Mission,” <https://www.brilliantearth.com/mission/>, accessed December 18, 2017.

⁹¹ See: Brilliant Earth, “Labor & Community,” <https://www.brilliantearth.com/conflict-diamond-child-labor/>, accessed December 18, 2017, Brilliant Earth, “Responsible Mining,” https://www.brilliantearth.com/monitoring_Zimbabwe_diamonds/, accessed December 18, 2017, Brilliant Earth, “Youth Leadership Training,” <https://www.brilliantearth.com/giving-back-ALA/>, accessed December 18, 2017, and Brilliant Earth, “Violence,” <https://www.brilliantearth.com/conflict-diamond-trade/>, accessed December 18, 2017.

⁹² Brilliant Earth, “Giving Back,” <https://www.brilliantearth.com/giving-back/>, accessed December 29, 2017, paragraphs 3-6.

⁹³ Brilliant Earth, “Giving Back,” paragraphs 7-10.

associated with mining, most notably mercury pollution.⁹⁴ Finally, they hope to empower communities through leadership training and schools.⁹⁵ By drawing attention to the harms associated with unethical gems and precious metals, the company hopes that visitors to the site to become ethical consumers who buy Brilliant Earth products.

The company engages in cause-marketing through partnering with existing non-profits or creating its own that all work with to help reduce the four key issues. The company donates five percent of their profits to go towards various initiatives in different countries that support education, environmental concerns, and economic development.⁹⁶ For example, the Brilliant Mobile School is in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and offers a safe alternative for students instead of working in the mines.⁹⁷ Brilliant Earth also partners with the Diamond Development Initiative in order to educate governments on human rights issues and increasing transparency in diamond mining.⁹⁸ One Sky and the Conservation Society of Sierra Leone are both non-profit partners of the company that work to protect and restore the landscape.⁹⁹ Brilliant Earth's mission of ethical

⁹⁴ Brilliant Earth, "Giving Back," paragraphs 11-2.

⁹⁵ Brilliant Earth, "Giving Back," paragraphs 13-6

⁹⁶ Brilliant Earth, "Giving Back," paragraph 1.

⁹⁷ Brilliant Earth, "The Brilliant Mobile School," <https://www.brilliantearth.com/brilliant-mobile-school/>, accessed December 29, 2017.

⁹⁸ Brilliant Earth, "Human Rights Education," <https://www.brilliantearth.com/giving-back-human-rights-education/>, accessed December 31, 2018, paragraph 3.

⁹⁹ Brilliant Earth, "Giving Back," paragraph 12.

jewelry is made possible through cause-marketing which mandates partnering with or starting a variety of non-profits.

The primary way the company hopes to transform visitors of the site into consumers is through appeals which reproduce stereotypes of people in the Global South. While the endangered woman and child make an appearance throughout the website, this chapter focuses on the use of the dangerous man rhetorical device. The device is utilized throughout the expansive website, especially in sections focusing on the governments of the DRC and Zimbabwe.¹⁰⁰ By simultaneously cultivating affective divestment for the dangerous man and mobilizing affect for women and children, the Brilliant Earth site encourages consumers to engage in cause marketing.

Othering Men in Power

Brilliant Earth explicitly otherizes the men in power featured on the website. Pages of the website that highlight men mark them with their nationality. When explaining issues of child labor, the website gives an example that highlights the Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe and his role in perpetuating unethical diamond mining.¹⁰¹ Choosing to highlight the nationality of and naming a specific person allows visitors to clearly identify the dangerous man as “other.”

The dangerous man in Brilliant Earth is otherized in more subtle ways as well. He is dehumanized through his lack of appearance in the discourse of the website. Since men are an unmarked category, their victimization goes unnoticed. Instead, Brilliant Earth is

¹⁰⁰ See: Brilliant Earth, “The Brilliant Mobile School,” Brilliant Earth, “Labor & Community,” and Brilliant Earth, “Youth Leadership Training.”

¹⁰¹ Brilliant Earth, “Labor & Community,” paragraph 11.

extremely concerned about ending child labor, rather than the men that are also affected. In a nearly constant refrain, the website informs visitors that children are expected to “do the same dangerous and grueling work as adults: climbing into muddy pits, digging with heavy shovels, and hauling bags of gravel.”¹⁰² The company informs visitors that children are also required to do even more difficult tasks in mining, given that their smaller bodies can squeeze into places that adults can not fit.¹⁰³ The focus on the suffering of children begins to shape the response from viewers.

For the men in power on Brilliant Earth’s site there is little to redeem them from being so alien. With women and children there are universal appeals made to human nature, which is absent for the dangerous man. The company also obscures the role of men in the mines, instead shifting the focus to children. This lack of redemption matters because the construction of the dangerous man is so absolute that it allows for affective disengagement. When viewers are uninterested in subjects, they are not mobilized to do anything on their behalf to end their suffering. By creating an Other who is easy to be disaffected, Brilliant Earth allows consumers to focus on being a savior to those being subjugated by the dangerous man.

Corruption in the Mines

The company also focuses on how men exploit labor in order to use funds to fuel unethical government regimes. A webpage that highlights the contribution of a mobile

¹⁰² Brilliant Earth, “The Brilliant Mobile School,” paragraph 7.

¹⁰³ Brilliant Earth, “Colored Gemstone Issues,” <https://www.brilliantearth.com/Sapphires-Colored-Gemstone-Issues-Mining/>, accessed December 31, 2017.

school by Brilliant Earth states that many miners are children, and there is no “safe alternative” to mining given that the “government of the DRC has never opened schools in many parts of the country,” leaving many without access to education.¹⁰⁴ By focusing on how laborers, especially children, are not given access to other alternatives, the website creates an enthymeme for visitors to grapple with. If the government is setting people up to fail in order to work in mines, then the government must be benefitting.

In another section of the site that focuses on labor issues, the enthymeme is completed. The website explains that “in Zimbabwe Robert Mugabe uses diamond revenues to keep the military loyal and to prop up his...regime.”¹⁰⁵ Combined with other statements on the website, the company demonizes men in the government who exploit labor for their own purposes. By describing how money is allocated unevenly, the website demonstrates the unfairness of political leaders. There is also a careful cultivation of someone who does not care about their people which justifies a superior masculine power, the Global North, to step in and protect those vulnerable in a fulfillment of true masculinity.

Brilliant Earth also focuses on exploitation of miners, which are contrasted with the dangerous man who holds power. The website explains that while “the gold industry earns record profits, many gold miners struggle to meet basic needs like food and shelter,” and that “In South Africa, some gold miners working for major corporations earn such low pay that they live in shantytowns with no electricity or running water in

¹⁰⁴ Brilliant Earth, “The Brilliant Mobile School,” paragraph 7.

¹⁰⁵ Brilliant Earth, “Labor & Community,” paragraph 11.

their homes.”¹⁰⁶ These statements show the inadequacy of the governments and private companies to take care of the workers, which in turn constructs a justification for the response from viewers. Again, men as an unmarked category works against the presumably male miners. Since they are not specifically named as male the suffering of men is obscured to visitors, instead focusing on the dangerous man who is in power. Demonstrating how exploitative of workers the jewelry industry is hoping to force visitors to confront the unpleasant realities of where their jewelry comes from. By utilizing the dangerous man, the company invites viewers to act as a white savior who must step in to protect those most vulnerable.

Exploitation can go beyond wages, according to Brilliant Earth. Accidents to workers are the direct cause, according to the company, of the poor regulation of small-scale gold mining.¹⁰⁷ The governments’ lack of oversight results in the accidents happening “all the time,” according to the company.¹⁰⁸ There are also impacts on the communities in which mining happens. Brilliant Earth explains that while indigenous people may have a clear right to surface land rights, “governments often sell the subsurface rights,” and that “about half of all gold” is harvested from this type of practice.¹⁰⁹ Brilliant Earth draws attention to how governments are failing the people that

¹⁰⁶ Brilliant Earth, “Gold Mining and Labor Concerns,” <https://www.brilliantearth.com/gold-mining-labor-concerns/>, accessed December 31, 2017, paragraph 4.

¹⁰⁷ Brilliant Earth, “Gold Mining and Labor Concerns,” paragraph 4.

¹⁰⁸ Brilliant Earth, “Gold Mining and Labor Concerns,” paragraph 4

¹⁰⁹ Brilliant Earth, “Gold Mining and the Community,” <https://www.brilliantearth.com/gold-mining-community/>, accessed December 31, 2017, paragraph 11.

they are supposed to protect, highlighting the corruption of those in power. By failing to protect workers and vulnerable populations, the men in power fail to perform an essential duty of masculinity; thus, consumers in the Global North must act in order to protect them.

The dangerous man can also take the form of well-meaning policy makers outside of the mines for Brilliant Earth. The company strongly suggests that the Kimberley process, which was developed by diamond producers,¹¹⁰ is not enough in reforming the jewelry industry. The process seeks to curb the sale of conflict diamonds,¹¹¹ but for Brilliant Earth, the Kimberley process is not comprehensive enough. The website proudly proclaims that the diamonds the company uses “go beyond” the Kimberley process in order to expand the narrow definition of “conflict free” diamonds.¹¹² Offering an easy to read chart, the website explains that the Kimberley process merely ensures that diamonds are not used to finance civil wars.¹¹³ By contrast the “beyond conflict free” diamonds that Brilliant Earth offers are “untainted by human rights abuses,” minimizes “environmental degradation,” ensures “safe and responsible labor practices,” and fosters “community development.”¹¹⁴ The dangerous man can also be found in powerful positions outside of the mines themselves. Brilliant Earth, with this reminder, places the responsibility on

¹¹⁰ Kimberley Process, “About,” paragraph 1.

¹¹¹ Kimberley Process, “About,” paragraph 1.

¹¹² Brilliant Earth, “Beyond Conflict Free Diamonds,” paragraph 1.

¹¹³ Brilliant Earth, “Beyond Conflict Free Diamonds,” paragraph 3.

¹¹⁴ Brilliant Earth, “Beyond Conflict Free Diamonds,” paragraph 3.

behalf of consumers who are to be trusted with carrying out ethical choices to save those in the Global South.

If it were not enough to demonstrate how labor is exploited, Brilliant Earth also explicitly states that men in the government are corrupt. In a page that explains how money from diamond mining props up illegitimate leaders, the company states that “Zimbabwe’s corrupt leadership has stolen” much of the money.¹¹⁵ Another page explains that the money from diamonds goes towards propping up “corrupt authoritarian regime[s].”¹¹⁶ In describing mining labor concerns the site explains that “in many gold-rich countries, tax collection is disorganized and prone to corruption.”¹¹⁷ By explicitly marking governments as corrupt, the website forces visitors to consider where their diamonds may be coming from, and who they support. By positioning consumers as needing to act to stop the dangerous man, Brilliant Earth engages in cause-marketing.

Imagining the dangerous man as corrupt is another way to mobilize consumers into purchasing products that stop him. Brilliant Earth constructs a dangerous man that consumers will support if they purchase their jewelry elsewhere. He exploits workers (especially children) he does not go far enough in offering suitable diamonds to consumers and is explicitly marked as corrupt through the company’s website. Brilliant Earth forces consumers to confront the unpleasant realities associated with most diamonds. The use of the dangerous man can activate the white savior narrative in Global

¹¹⁵ Brilliant Earth, “Youth Leadership Training, paragraph 4.

¹¹⁶ Brilliant Earth, “Labor & Community,” paragraph 11.

¹¹⁷ Brilliant Earth, “Gold Mining and the Community,” paragraph 15.

North consumers, where they feel the need to act in certain ways, supporting ethical diamonds, in order to save otherized individuals from a sad fate.

Violence in the Mines

The violence of men with power is repeated throughout the website for Brilliant Earth. The company makes it clear that when supporting other jewelers, consumers are supporting heinous acts. In introducing its initiative, the company explains that the “inhumane governments often fail” to adhere to normal working standards. In an effort to stop unlicensed mining, soldiers and police officers are sent to mines “resulting in violence” against workers.¹¹⁸ This vague allusion to violence positions governments as unable to perform their duties in a way that necessitates other action. Cause-marketing campaigns burden individuals in the North with the duty to consume ethically in order to stop the dangerous man.

The violence also touches those not working within the mines themselves. The website informs visitors that “gold mining is fueling a deadly civil war” in the DRC that has killed more than 5 million people.¹¹⁹ Brilliant Earth continues, explaining that over 200,000 women have been victims of rape or sexual violence because of the war,¹²⁰ confirming for those possessing the colonizing gaze that men in the Global South are victimizers of women. Concluding this thought the site offers that this is “one of the worst humanitarian catastrophes since World War II.”¹²¹ The war in the DRC is used as a

¹¹⁸ Brilliant Earth, “Human Rights Education,” paragraph 1.

¹¹⁹ Brilliant Earth, “Gold Mining and the Community,” paragraph 1.

¹²⁰ Brilliant Earth, “Gold Mining and the Community,” paragraph 1.

¹²¹ Brilliant Earth, “Gold Mining and the Community,” paragraph 1.

reason why visitors must act in order to stop these government regimes through not supporting traditional jewelry sellers.

Men's suffering is taken for granted throughout the website and rendered invisible. Much of the language that presumably discusses the harms that affect men because of mining does not explicitly name them. Brilliant Earth discusses "artisanal miners who work in highly unsafe conditions," which reduces men to their status as workers, rather than naming them as victims.¹²² The website also continually highlights children as victims while vaguely alluding to men, explaining that diamonds are often "mined using practices that exploit workers, children, and communities."¹²³ Instead of explicitly drawing attention to how men are victimized by diamond mining, the website instead minimizes it. By refusing to name the suffering of the dangerous man, Brilliant Earth facilitates consumers' disengagement with it. If consumers are unaware of the issues men face, then it is easier to ignore them. The construction of the dangerous man works to render men in the Global South as only perpetrators of violence instead of victims alongside children and women.

In addition to not naming men's victimization, the website further negates men's experiences by focusing on the harm caused to others. Men as an unmarked category again helps to obscure the suffering of men in the Global South. Brilliant Earth offers that in gold mining towns "the people who suffer the most...are not always" the miners.

¹²² Brilliant Earth, "Facts about Conflict Diamonds," <https://www.brilliantearth.com/conflict-diamond-facts/>, accessed January 20, 2018, paragraph 6.

¹²³ Brilliant Earth, "Labor & Community," paragraph 1.

There is a focus on the impact of violence due to mining on women, since consumers can be affectively invested in their plights, and obscuring men's suffering. The site explains that in Peru, over 293 people were trafficked and forced to work as prostitutes in one mining town.¹²⁴ Another portion of the website explains the impact in Zimbabwe. The website informs visitors that in order to control mining the military used "brutal methods—including... sexual violence."¹²⁵ Focusing on how women are impacted by mining makes the suffering of the men invisible while highlighting the atrocities committed by the dangerous man. By harming the endangered women, the dangerous man is not fulfilling the role of a savior, so those in the Global North must act as a savior for these women.

The explicit tie of men in power to the violence committed because of mining fulfills the stereotype of menacing men in the Global South. The repetition of the atrocities committed by those in power or because of mining allows visitors to the Brilliant Earth website to see the harm that can be inflicted because of their choices. The dangerous man uses diamonds to fund devastating civil wars. Moreover, any suffering felt by men is rendered invisible through a refusal to name it, instead focusing on the harm caused to women and children. Because of cause-marketing the inverse is also true, these social ills can be solved through ethical consumerism. For Brilliant Earth the choice is clear: purchasing jewelry from them allows consumers to alleviate any misgivings over the atrocities associated with other jewelry.

¹²⁴ Brilliant Earth, "Gold Mining and the Community," paragraph 7.

¹²⁵ Brilliant Earth, "Youth Leadership Training," paragraph 4.

Bully Power in the Mines

The dangerous man is also a bully through his misuse of masculine power and revenue. Brilliant Earth uses this in order to foster a white savior response in consumers. Men in power bully their way into the revenue stream created through mining. Brilliant Earth offers a bleak explanation of how those in power ensure a steady stream of revenue. The website explains that the DRC civil war is not just an ethnic conflict, but that it is a fight for control over the valuable mines, and that rebels “force local miners to give up a portion of their earnings.” By utilizing force in order to ensure a steady revenue stream, the dangerous man is to be feared by those who do not want to give up independence.

The dangerous man also misuses the revenue created by mining operations. Brilliant Earth focuses on the lack of initiatives that governments take in order to better use the revenue from the mining. The website offers that “revenues from gold mining are often misspent,” suggesting that the revenue is being misallocated by those in power. The site continues, “in the end, little money is available to invest in education, infrastructure” or the economy.¹²⁶ Those in power, according to Brilliant Earth, are selfishly keeping the money for themselves, or misusing the money that could be better spent elsewhere. The dangerous man can be seen through the misuse of what resources are granted to men in power in the Global South.

Bullying mobilizes the white savior narrative for consumers in the Global North. The flagrant misuse of power and the harming of worthy victims creates a space for consumers to act out their fantasy of saviorhood. Visitors to Brilliant Earth’s website are

¹²⁶ Brilliant Earth, “Gold Mining and the Community,” paragraph 15.

inundated with the wrongs committed by men and how it impacts children, so they must act. Cause-marketing campaigns ask that individuals make ethical purchases. The simple solution offered by for-profit companies pairs extremely well with the solitary figure that Hughey describes as the white savior, who can “easily fix” the problems of nonwhites needing redemption.¹²⁷ The easy fix approach to problems in the Global South allows consumers to be transformed into saviors.

By positioning leaders as bullies who misuse power and misallocate resources, the dangerous man fulfills a stereotype of the Global South. Men in the Global South are not able to properly deploy their masculinity, which harms those around them. Because of this failure and imminent harm, the Global North must act as a white savior in order to save women and children in the Global South from their sad fate. Given that Brilliant Earth is clearly partnered with many initiatives to do this, cause-marketing is successfully deployed and consumers are asked to participate in ending crises that are beyond the control of governments.

The dangerous man is deployed in the Brilliant Earth website as a way to simultaneously divest visitors from the suffering of men in the Global South while mobilizing those same visitors to save the endangered woman and child. The dangerous man is an unworthy recipient of Northern aid as he is constructed only as a perpetrator of wrong-doing. Through a fulfillment of stereotypes, the dangerous man is demonized through dehumanization. He is absent of the humanizing qualities that are granted to the endangered child and woman. The dangerous man is an unworthy recipient of Northern

¹²⁷ Hughey, *The White Savior*, 2.

aid and allows audiences to easily divest from him because of the wrongs he commits against worthy victims in the Global South.

Conclusion

The Global South is quickly becoming a cause that can be reliably used by for-profits to engage in cause-marketing. By utilizing this brand-building strategy, companies are responding to consumers' desire to self-actualize through purchases. The Global North demonizes the dangerous man in order to encourage consumerism to save the endangered child and woman. Affect can be directed away from the suffering of men in the South through obscuring their victimization and constructing those in power as evil perpetrators of violence. Consumers adopting a colonizing gaze may feel good about supporting companies that use a narrative including the dangerous man, but ultimately this rhetorical device harms those in the Global South. These campaigns play into larger narratives of victimization that construct worthy and unworthy victims.

The dangerous man as a rhetorical device relies on fulfilling the fantasy and stereotype of colonizers. He is far too otherized to be humanized. The device also relies on constructing a corrupt individual who acts unethically and exploits others. The dangerous man is also explicitly violent, often using children and women as an outlet for frustration over the lack of power and masculinity he possesses. What little power is granted to the dangerous man is misused and bastardized, resulting in bullying. The rhetorical device fulfills many of the negative stereotypes long-held by the North and offers an unworthy recipient for aid.

The dangerous man acts as a counterpart to worthy recipients. While there are actual leaders who are committing human rights atrocities,¹²⁸ the dangerous man is the only role for male bodied to fulfill in the space of the Global South as imagined by the North. Because of his construction as menacing he is unworthy of affective investment for consumers in the North. The dangerous man fulfills negative stereotypes held by colonizers, and cause-marketing campaigns encourage viewers to adopt a colonizing gaze to view otherized men this way. The dangerous man is excessively “other” and lacks the redeeming qualities that would otherwise humanize him to viewers. The colonizing gaze magnifies the worst traits of the dangerous man, focusing on the obvious corruption, excessive violence, and the bullying that he engages in.

The construction of campaigns such as Brilliant Earth’s, not only demonize the dangerous man but also highlight how he hurts those most vulnerable. Suffering of men in the Global South is obscured as a way to render their pain invisible which allows them to only be perpetrators of violence. Since they are an unmarked category it is easier for men’s victimization to slip through consumers’ gaze. Campaigns also redirect the attention of visitors to the suffering of those most vulnerable and engage in a familiar archetype. In this narrative the Global South is imagined by those holding the colonizing gaze as having both good and evil characters. The endangered child and woman offer hope and are worthy of investment while the dangerous man is demonized and must be stopped. This familiar narrative offers the perfect situation for consumers to act as a paternal North to fulfill a fantasy of acting as a savior. The construction of campaigns,

¹²⁸ See: “Robert Mugabe,” *New York Times*, <https://www.nytimes.com/topic/person/robert-mugabe>, accessed February 2, 2018.

like Brilliant Earth's, not only demonize the dangerous man but also highlight how he hurts those most vulnerable.

The victims of the dangerous man's exploitation and violence can affect those in the Global North, the endangered child, and/or the endangered woman. In order to save those sympathetic figures from a sad fate, consumers must act in order to stop the dangerous man, thus fulfilling the role of the white savior. Constructing a narrative where those vulnerable are unable to save themselves justifies paternal acts from the North. The dangerous man offers a justification for the North to act as a paternal agent, stepping in to protect those who are victims of the dangerous man. Dana Cloud explored this reflex of the Global North when exploring the justification offered for the war in Afghanistan as the veiled woman.¹²⁹

The dangerous man also obscures the role of larger systems that work to harm those in the Global South and beyond. Diamond mining, and all the issues associated with it, would not exist if there was not a \$13 billion industry for it in the Global North.¹³⁰ In Senegal, fisheries have been depleted by European trawlers resulting in food insecurities for locals.¹³¹ The North also seeks to influence politics in the Global South, such as funding for one side of conflicts. For example, when Ronald Reagan supported

¹²⁹ Dana L. Cloud, "To Veil the Threat of Terror": Afghan Women and the <clash of civilizations> in the Imagery of the U.S. War on Terrorism," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 90, no.3 (2010): 285.

¹³⁰ World Diamond Council, "The Diamond Industry Fact Sheet," http://www.diamondfacts.org/pdfs/media/media_resources/fact_sheets/Diamond_Industry_Fact_Sheet.pdf, accessed February 5, 2017.

¹³¹ Act!onaid, "SelfISH Europe," published May 2008, http://www.actionaid.org/sites/files/actionaid/selfish_europe.pdf.

the Contras in Nicaragua.¹³² The Global North explicitly impacts the Global South in a variety of ways but is rendered invisible with the construction of the dangerous man who is blamed instead.

The rhetorical device of the dangerous man fulfills a negative stereotype of the Global South. This fantasy fulfills colonizers' desire to act as a savior for those who cannot defend themselves against the dangerous man. The dangerous man acts as an unworthy victim that fits into larger narratives of good and evil. Consumers can affectively disengage from the demonized dangerous man who harms those around him. Moreover, the Global North can continue to perpetuate harm and use the dangerous man as a scapegoat. Cause-marketing campaigns empower consumers to adopt a colonizing gaze when viewing those in the Global South, thus continuing the subjugation of otherized individuals in efforts that seek to help them.

¹³² PBS "The Iran-Contra Affair," *American Experience*, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/reagan-iran/>, accessed February 5, 2018.

CHAPTER V – CONSUMING THE IDEALIZED OTHER IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

The idealized Global South—those images of wide-eyed, innocent children, brightly-colored cloth adorning women’s bodies, and the maniacal man—used in cause-marketing exist solely in the imagination of the Global North. Buying into these stereotypes renders those in the Global South reliant on charity from the North. The space fits neatly into long-held beliefs about otherized individuals and constructs worthy and unworthy victims. Those that are deemed worthy by cause-marketing are utilized to spur action and tap into the need of individuals in the North to self-actualize through consumption. Unworthy subjects, however, are demonized in order to allow consumers to act out fantasies of saviorhood. Cause-marketing relies on the simple narrative of good and evil in order to mobilize viewers on behalf of worthy individuals in the Global South through consumption masquerading as charity.

For-profit companies no longer need to only make a good product, but those products also need to support worthy causes. In an email with the author on December 10, 2017, famed businessperson and NBA team owner Mark Cuban explained why he chooses to invest in companies who engage in cause-marketing.¹ Cuban stated that consumers are more aware that they can impact the world and “buying products that are socially conscious is often the great[e]st impact tHey [sic] can have.”² When responding to why he prefers investing in these types of companies Cuban stated, simply, “because

¹ Mark Cuban, email message to author, December 10, 2017.

² Cuban, email message.

they make money and do good.”³ This belief by consumers and investors alike is of importance to Phaedra Pezzullo, who focuses on the impact that individuals can have.⁴ This dissertation, however, looked both at how companies can impact social awareness as well as how these campaigns harm vulnerable populations.

Cause-marketing perpetuates the domineering relationship of the North over the South, seeking to maintain the status quo and inculcate consumers to do the same. Samantha King contends that this type of marketing seeks to solve social problems through proper consumption by consumers.⁵ With the focus of this strategy burdening the consumer with making choices that serve the larger good, systemic issues are obscured. In the case of the Stella Artois campaign, for example, access to water is generally ensured by governments, not non-profits or for-profits. Pezzullo, when considering the role of rhetoric within cause-marketing strategies, urges critics to consider what hegemonic influences are being ignored when cause-marketing is deployed.⁶ This dissertation considered how campaigns from for-profit companies are one way that the status quo is maintained since the companies rely on fulfilling the various stereotypes

³ Cuban, email message.

⁴ Phaedra Pezzullo, “Contextualizing Boycotts and Buycotts: The Impure Politics of Consumer-Based Advocacy in an Age of Global Ecological Crises,” *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 8, no. 2 (2011): 125.

⁵ Samantha King, “An All-Consuming Cause: Breast Cancer, Corporate Philanthropy, and the Market for Generosity,” *Social Text*, 19, no. 4 (2001):115.

⁶ Phaedra Pezzullo, “Resisting 'National Breast Cancer Awareness Month': The Rhetoric of Counterpublics and their Cultural Performances,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 89, no. 4 (2003): 345-365.

associated with the Global South. Cause-marketing allows companies to disguise consumerism as charity and forces viewers to act in order to save those in the Global South to fulfill paternal desires.

In this dissertation I demonstrated how cause-marketing relies on imagery of the Global South which often invokes a colonial gaze to produce a familiar fantasy for the Global North. I rely on Santiago Castro-Gomez's definition of coloniality and Katherine Henninger's understanding of the colonizing gaze to build my analysis.⁷ I apply these concepts to cause-marketing campaigns in order to understand how companies encourage the colonization of the Global South through individuals' viewing practices. The rhetorical devices outlined give consumers a schema for viewing children, women, and men in the Global South. After campaigns demonstrate this way of viewing, consumers are free to apply it in other contexts in which otherized people exist. For-profit companies encourage the adoption of a colonizing gaze that subjugates those in the Global South by demonstrating how those in the North should view them.

Companies use stereotypes in order to adhere to the idealized Global South that exists in the imagination of the Global North. The rhetorical devices of the endangered child, endangered woman, and dangerous man fulfill long-held beliefs by those in the North. Adhering to these stereotypes necessitates viewers to transform into ethical consumers in order to save those in the Global South. These fantasies empower

⁷ Santiago Castro-Gomez, "The Social Science, Epistemic Violence, and the Problem of the Invention of the Other," *Nepantla: Views from the South* 3, no. 2 (2002): 276-7. And Katherine Henninger, "Zora Neale Hurston, Richard Wright, and the Postcolonial Gaze," *Mississippi Quarterly*, 56, no. 4 (2003): 585-6.

consumers to adopt a colonizing gaze and perpetuate paternalism towards the South. I argue that while the efforts of the non-profits certainly make a difference in the lives of the individuals helped in the Global South, the campaigns' reliance on stereotypes ultimately harm those same people through perpetuating larger systemic issues. In order to demonstrate this, I first review the rhetorical devices theorized in this dissertation and how they construct those in the Global South as worthy or unworthy recipients of Northern aid. Next, I discuss how idealizing the Global South works to subjugate both North and South. Finally, I offer directions for future research.

The Global South as a Rhetorical Device

The Global South as imagined in the campaigns of for-profit companies fulfills the fantasy of colonizers about the “other.” This dissertation examined three different slices of the population that inhabit the Global South: children, women, and men. The rhetorical devices of the endangered child, endangered woman, and dangerous man fulfill colonial stereotypes and spur consumption by viewers. When utilizing these rhetorical devices in messages, companies seek to mobilize well-meaning consumerism that will help save those who are at-risk.

Worthy Recipients Lacking Agency

In the idealized Global South two slices of the population exist that consumers want to help—women and children. Consumers have a need to self-actualize through consumption, according to King,⁸ and both devices offer a place for this desire to be

⁸ Samantha King, “An All-Consuming Cause: Breast Cancer, Corporate Philanthropy, and the Market for Generosity,” *Social Text*, 19, no. 4 (2001):115.

realized. Constructing subjects within the Global South who are absent of agency, like the endangered woman and child, serves to further reinforce the paternal feelings of consumers' in the North. Justifying feeling good about acting ethically through consumerism helps Northerners to further rationalize the paternal relationship with the Global South. The endangered child and woman offer subjects who are both in need of help from the North as well as worthy of being saved.

The endangered child can be a literal child; featuring young children is one way to evoke sympathy for the South. Another way that the endangered child can be utilized is through the infantilization of the entire space within the paternal relationship with the North. Paternalism by the North can be better understood when considering how the Global South is viewed as an endangered child. Through a constant repetition of images featuring children and the refrain of a paternal relationship, the Global South is transformed into a child who needs help from the Global North. Women need help because of the culture they are subjected to in the Global South. As an otherized individual, the endangered woman is sexual and passive, unable to help protect herself from the perils of the Global South, forcing those in the North to act on her behalf.

One major reason these devices make worthy recipients is because they are worthy investments. The endangered child is innocent because they are a victim through no fault of their own. The endangered child may suffer at the hands of someone else who is more powerful than they are, such as their parents' choices, or just being in the wrong space. The rhetorical device hinges on the promise of not repeating mistakes that lead to their situation. The innocence of the child allows for them to be perceived by would-be consumers in the North as a "good" investment. The endangered woman makes a good

investment for consumers in the North because she is a productive member of her community who betters not only herself, but those around her. This relationship to the greater good and spreading the investment are highlighted in messages constructed by companies engaging in cause-marketing.

The endangered woman offers something beyond investment—control. This dissertation utilized the landbody framework in order to explore the ways in which the Global North’s control of the landscape as an endangered woman. Applying this theoretical lens allows readers to understand the pervasive nature of coloniality. The historical antecedents of colonialism still leave a residue on the relationship between North and South. One way that this can be seen is through the desire to control the landscape, often through a preservation of nature. The Stella Artois campaign shows how this control can be enacted; by choosing to purchase (or not) limited edition chalices, those in the Global North can give or deny water to a woman in need.⁹ Controlling nature and women’s relationship to it in the South resides solely in the Global North. The power that comes from being able to control the endangered woman reinforces the paternal relationship between North and South.

Northern identity is derived, in part, through differences with the Global South. Those in the North must act paternally in order to truly be a part of the Global North. John Cameron and Anna Haanstra identified this shift in thinking, where excess is now to be celebrated and charity is no longer a dull activity but rebranded to be sexy.¹⁰ Cause-

⁹ Stella Artois, “Buy a Lady a Drink,” http://www.stellaartois.com/en_us/buy-a-lady-a-drink.html, accessed April 6, 2017.

¹⁰ John Cameron and Anna Haanstra, “Development Made Sexy: How it Happened and what it Means,” *Third World Quarterly*, 29, no. 8 (2008): 1476-7.

marketing taps into this desire to engage in charity as an exciting aspect of identity in the Global North and transforms mundane activities of consumerism, such as buying vitamins, into extraordinary acts of generosity. By embracing paternalist acts, consumers in the North reify their own identity.

The endangered child is just one part of the idealized Global South that exists in the imagination of the North. This rhetorical device is the ultimate ideal recipient because of the innocence of children and the inherent desire to save them. Viewers must act on behalf of the endangered child, and cause-marketing constructs consumerism as the correct way to act. The rhetorical construction of the device encourages consumers to see only some in the Global South as worthy recipients who they want to help. Constructing a woman without agency necessitates a response by those in the Global North, who must act on her behalf to save her. The North wants to support someone who will be industrious, performing further acts of community building and investment, which cause-marketing shows women in the Global South as doing. Rhetorically constructing subjects that focus on how “worthy” an investment they are for the Global North dangerously invokes a binary of worthy and unworthy people in the Global South.

Unworthy Recipients Abusing Agency

An unworthy member of the Global South is the dangerous man. This device allows consumers to affectively disengage from his suffering while simultaneously being invited to adopt the persona of the white savior. Given the vast consequences of his actions, the Global North must act in order to save others from the consequences of the

dangerous man's behavior. Viewing the dangerous man through Ashley Noel Mack and Brian McCann's affective mobilization framework helps to explain how the Global South as an imagined space may direct the charity efforts of the Global North.¹¹ This device is often used by companies that support non-profits who participate in initiatives that empower women and/or save children.

The dangerous man does not work for his accomplishments, in contrast to the endangered woman, but rather takes them from someone else. Men in the Global South are also depicted as violent, using women and children as an outlet for the frustration he feels at his lack of power. Constructing men in the South as wrongfully taking things, the myth of the white savior can be invoked for the audience. The white savior is a singular character who acts in order to save someone different from themselves from a sad fate, according to Matthew Hughey.¹² While normally relegated to film, this narrative can help explain the use of the dangerous man by companies. Hoping to spur consumerism, companies may use the dangerous man to invoke a savior response by those adopting the colonizing gaze. Buying into the narrative of the white savior forces viewers to become active through consumption to stop the dangerous man from further harming those more vulnerable.

The Global South has become a reliable cause for companies to utilize in order to build their brand. In messages where organizations utilize imagery from the Global

¹¹ See: Ashley Noel Mack and Bryan McCann, "'Strictly an Act of Street Violence': Intimate Publicity and Affective Divestment in the New Orleans Mother's Day Shooting," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 14, no. 4 (2017): 4.

¹² Matthew Hughey, *The White Savior Film: Content, Critics, and Consumption*, (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2014), 1.

South, people are often reduced to flat stereotypes that reproduce the fantasy of colonizers. Because of the familiarity of these images, cause-marketing may be more effective at mobilizing affect in a way that companies desire. Companies want to highlight the wrongs committed by the dangerous man in the Global South, which helps to construct the endangered child and woman as more sympathetic and deserving of charity. The more desirable the recipient of the charity, the more desirable the company utilizing the cause-marketing also becomes.

The Idealized Global South as Subjugation

The campaigns discussed in this dissertation, as well as cause-marketing more generally, work to obscure larger issues that may better solve the problems within the advertisements. King briefly describes the history of cause-marketing in that it appeared after the collapse of safety networks provided by governments.¹³ Causing change on a larger scale, such as through governments or other regulatory agencies, may offer more focused and long-term solutions than companies and non-profits pairing to solve crises. Consequences are established through the stereotypical representation of the South and the obligation set up by cause-marketing for the North.

Consequences of Worthy and Unworthy Victims

Through the reliance on stereotypes consumers are empowered to adopt a colonizing gaze and engage in paternal actions. The rhetorical devices reproduce long-held beliefs about otherized bodies and offer a schema for viewing those who are different from the viewers. Cause-marketing campaigns demonstrate how to utilize a

¹³ King, "An All-Consuming Cause," 137.

colonizing gaze, and viewers may carry that knowledge with them and apply it to other contexts where Northerners will judge who is worthy and unworthy of help. The Global South is harmed through these rhetorical devices because they reduce individuals to flat stereotypes that reify beliefs held by those with the colonizing gaze. Empowering individuals to hold this gaze can have material consequences on otherized bodies.

These stereotypes create a binary between worthy and unworthy victims for those in the Global North. The endangered child is a victim who Northern audiences want to help because of the hope for the future that the device embodies. The endangered woman is only worthy if she is already working to better herself and her community; if she is lifting herself and others out of their dire situation then she is a worthwhile investment for those in the North. The dangerous man, however, is not a worthy victim since he does nothing to help those around him, and in fact harms them. The idealized Global South allows a rhetorical space for binaries to appear with some victims being worthy recipients of Northern aid, while others are demonized or ignored.

The dangerous man is demonized and used as a scapegoat, allowing for larger systemic issues to be ignored in favor of stopping this imagined unworthy subject. Acting as a scapegoat for the ills that befall the Global South the dangerous man inhabits an important role for those in the Global North as well. Those in the North can ignore how they may be implicated in the problems of the South, instead focusing on the dangerous

man and stopping him. The dangerous man takes the blame and after fulfilling the role of the white savior the Global North can cleanse themselves from any wrong doing.¹⁴

By placing the blame on the dangerous man, it allows others to escape blame for the ills of the Global South. Many of the problems in the Global South are effects from the Global North, such as utilizing poorer countries as a dumping ground for harmful chemicals.¹⁵ Demand for the superfood of quinoa is another way that the desires of the North harm the South. In the short-term, rising prices help farmers live better lives. However, long-term consequences are also a large issue: genetic diversity in the grain has been lost, the environment is degraded because of the reliance on a single crop, and the rebound effect of when the price of quinoa drops when it falls out of favor.¹⁶ These issues are a direct result of demand and influence from the Global North, but, cause-marketing campaigns reduce these complex issues to be solved through ethical consumption. The dangerous man is an unworthy recipient of Northern aid and his demonization allows for consumers to focus on stopping him, rather than larger systemic issues.

¹⁴ For a more developed analysis and explanation of how this functions, see: Brian L. Ott and Eric Aoki, "The Politics of Negotiating Public Tragedy: Media Framing of the Matthew Shepard Murder," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs*, 5, no. 3 (2002): 483-505.

¹⁵ See: Jim Erickson, "Targeting Minority, Low-Income Neighborhoods for Hazardous Waste Sites," *University of Michigan News*, published January 19, 2016, <http://ns.umich.edu/new/releases/23414-targeting-minority-low-income-neighborhoods-for-hazardous-waste-sites> and John Vidal "Toxic 'e-waste' Dumped in Poor Nations says United Nations," *The Guardian*, published December 14, 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2013/dec/14/toxic-ewaste-illegal-dumping-developing-countries>.

¹⁶ Jeremy Cherfas, "Your Quinoa Habit Really Did Help Peru's Poor. But There's Trouble Ahead," *National Public Radio*, published March 31, 2016, <https://www.npr.org/sections/thesalt/2016/03/31/472453674/your-quinoa-habit-really-did-help-perus-poor-but-theres-trouble-ahead>.

The dangerous man is also important because he helps to draw attention from the issues affecting those closer to the Global North. By focusing on those that are markedly otherized from those in the North can help to preserve the ideals of identity within the Global North. The issue of water accessibility gained viral notoriety with an example within the United States where Anheuser-Busch is based. Flint, Michigan became notorious in 2016 for having undrinkable water.¹⁷ Stella Artois, however, did not feature the impact of water accessibility on mothers in Flint. The same is true for labor concerns, after the Netflix documentary *13th* debuted on Netflix, growing consciousness over the issues regarding labor in prisons arose.¹⁸ These issues draw attention to systemic inadequacies within the Global North which companies may be trying to avoid drawing attention to. Instead, they prefer an international focus where the people being helped are significantly different than those doing the helping. The Global South is idealized because those that inhabit the space are “other” enough to help preserve identity in the Global North.

The binary of worthy and unworthy subjects offers a schema for viewing otherized bodies, which has consequences within the United States. The endangered woman who must be a pillar of her community, working to not only help herself but those around her, can be seen in the perception of Black women in the United States. Chanequa Walker-Barnes explains that the “StrongBlackWoman” is an expectation of

¹⁷ See: “Flint Water Crisis Fast Facts,” *CNN Library*, updated November 28, 2017, <https://www.cnn.com/2016/03/04/us/flint-water-crisis-fast-facts/index.html>.

¹⁸ Ava DuVernay, *13th*, Netflix, 2016, <https://www.netflix.com/title/80091741>.

African-American women.¹⁹ These women are expected to be caregivers and are relied on when something “went wrong in their extended families, on their jobs, and in their churches and communities.”²⁰ The StrongBlackWoman is a worthy character, who can be contrasted with a myriad of unworthy characters, such as the welfare queen.²¹ This character slips into the exploitation (of the government in this case) that is more associated with the demonized dangerous man.

The dangerous man is also used as a blueprint for reading otherized bodies in the United States. The indifference to suffering of men can be seen in the apathy towards homelessness in the United States. Transient people are perceived to be nearly exclusively male, despite all genders being homeless.²² According to Gallup, 85% of people feel that the individual is at-fault for their plight, attributing their homelessness to drugs and/or alcohol.²³ Therefore they are not working to better themselves, like the dangerous man. Homeowners oppose building shelters or offering services to homeless

¹⁹ See: Chanequa Walker-Barnes, *Too Heavy a Yoke: Black Women and the Burden of Strength*, (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2014): 14-41

²⁰ Walker-Barnes, *Too Heavy a Yoke*, 16.

²¹ See: Gene Demby, “The Truth Behind the Lies of the Original ‘Welfare Queen’,” *National Public Radio*, published December 20, 2013, <https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2013/12/20/255819681/the-truth-behind-the-lies-of-the-original-welfare-queen>.

²² Tom Matlack, “Why Are Men More Likely to be Homeless?,” *The Good Men Project*, published January 28, 2012, <https://goodmenproject.com/good-feed-blog/why-are-men-more-likely-to-be-homeless/>.

²³ Fannie Mae, “Homelessness in America: American’s Perceptions, Attitudes and Knowledge,” *Gallup*, published November 2007, https://shnny.org/uploads/2007_Gallup_Poll.pdf, 4.

people because of their belief that “homeless men constitute a serious threat to life and property.”²⁴ The dangerous man, too, is a threat to those around him. The dangerous man, thus, offers a schema for understanding men who are otherized in the United States.

Another way that the binary between worthy and unworthy subjects in the Global South can have material consequences is in conversations surrounding immigration. When making arguments in favor of immigration, there are often appeals to immigrants who will have a positive impact on the economy through their industriousness, are well educated, or otherwise exceptional.²⁵ This thinking has been endorsed by President Trump in his desire for a merit-based system for immigration.²⁶ President Trump also disparaged immigrants from “shithole countries,” indicating that people from the Global South are not welcome in the United States.²⁷ In immigration reform, a clear binary exists of “desirable” and “undesirable” people entering the United States. Reducing the Global South to stereotypes that invoke binary thinking of worthy and unworthy people in cause-

²⁴ David A. Snow, Susan G. Baker, and Leon Anderson, “Criminality and Homeless Men: An Empirical Assessment,” *Social Problems*, 36, no 5 (1989): 532.

²⁵ See: Masha Gessen, “Immigrants Shouldn’t Have to be ‘Talented’ to be Welcome,” *New York Times*, September 6, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/06/opinion/daca-immigrants-economic-contributions.html>.

²⁶ Tal Kopan, “How to Earn ‘Points’ to Come to the US under Trumps Immigration Plan,” *CNN*, August 2, 2017, <https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/02/politics/cotton-perdue-trump-bill-point-system-merit-based/index.html>.

²⁷ Eli Watkins and Abby Phillip, “Trump Decries Immigrants from ‘Shithole Countries,’ Coming to US,” *CNN*, January 12, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2018/01/11/politics/immigrants-shithole-countries-trump/index.html>.

marketing campaigns reinforces these beliefs that seep into larger conversations about otherized individuals.

The rhetorical devices reify the colonizing gaze, which relies on paternalism. When paternalism is heightened towards those in the Global South they become caught in a cycle of need. The worthy rhetorical devices encourage a response from viewers to help them. The dangerous man demands that viewers act in order to stop him by supporting the endangered child and woman. By continually constructing the Global South as needing aid, it becomes a never-ending cycle where the space necessitates paternal action by the North. This helps to establish identity for those in the Global North who must engage in paternal acts that go beyond mere charity. The stereotypes of the Global South reify paternal attitudes towards the South. Cause-marketing allows viewers to become well-meaning consumers who feel good about engaging in acts of paternalism.

Consequences of Cause Marketing

Cause-marketing does raise awareness about specific issues and can impact individuals in the Global South positively. Some children will certainly be saved from blindness and other ailments caused by a lack of nutrition, women's lives will be improved through better access to water, and abuses from unethical mining may be slowed. However, the reliance on stereotypes and cause-marketing further subjugates those in the Global South. Creating imagery that eliminates the colonizing gaze and certainly does not encourage consumers to adopt it may allow for the benefits of cause-marketing without the harmful stereotypes. Further, eliminating the partnership with for-profit companies may also help since the goal would not be to sell products but diminish

suffering. Cause-marketing ultimately exists to sell products and appeasing and reifying the beliefs held by Northerners allows companies to do that.

Relying on imagery that invokes paternal attitudes and makes those in the South as less than those in the North harms the Global South in the long-run. Material consequences are encouraged by companies utilizing cause-marketing messages that empower consumers to adopt binary thinking and only allow for consumerism as the solution to complex, systemic problems. Encouraging Northerners to engage in consumerism and constructing Southerners as only receiving aid harms both sides of the paternal relationship.

Cause-marketing cleverly disguises consumerism to those in the North, transforming an everyday act of purchasing items into an extraordinary act of altruism. Persuading Northerners to engage in consumerism exploits the desire to feel good about consumption, and the Global South allows both companies and consumers to do this. Cause-marketing traps those in the Global North in a cycle of consumption that is heightened by the paternal relationship with the Global South. Given that inequalities exist and consumption as a way to celebrate the excess, Northerners have turned to consumption masquerading as charity. Since the primary mode of cause-marketing is not to solve problems, but rather sell products, it often reproduces structural issues.

In the individual issues addressed within this dissertation, the focus on consumption limits the responses to the larger root problems that exist. In the case of Walgreens, nutrition issues in children have bigger causes than not having access to vitamins. Figuring out how to get children access to better, more nutrient-dense foods may help more than simply buying vitamins to send to the Global South. Water

accessibility issues are more complex as well and discovering solutions that would have a longer impact than five years, as proposed by Stella Artois, would better serve those communities as well. Finally, going beyond certifying gemstones and precious metals would be a better way to solve the humanitarian crises being caused by mining in the Global South. Initiatives that look at why the diamonds and other gemstones and metals are so expensive in the North may better serve these communities as well. Constructing consumerism as the only solution results in stunted responses to real-world problems affecting the Global South.

Exploring the Global South within the Borders

Examining the Global South through for-profit companies' campaigns allows an understanding of how this space is imagined by the Global North. Further research should focus on domestic contexts. The Global South can occur within the United States and further research should explore how these concepts work in contexts such as prisons. Many of the same dangerous man stereotypes are true for men of color. Another space to examine would be poverty-stricken areas, such as the ways in which both the Mississippi Delta and Detroit are discussed in coverage about social issues afflicting the regions. Finally, examining campaigns that focus on inadequate nutrition for children within the United States, such as Feeding America, would be another way to explore these concepts.

Further research should also explore into how the rhetorical devices theorized here are used in campaigns that are not cause-marketing. Understanding how humanitarian campaigns, such as J/P HRO in Haiti, utilize the three rhetorical devices would offer a new understanding of any one of slices of the Global South since the motivation is different. The different goal(s) of these types of organizations may have an

impact on how the rhetorical devices are deployed in messages. Because they are not concerned with pushing a product, but rather altruism, humanitarian campaigns would be another area to explore.

The devices work to obscure larger systemic issues that could be more effectively targeted in order to solve the crises in the Global South. These stereotypes work into the fantasy of colonizers and are easily accepted because the devices reify paternalism. Cause-marketing obscures the cycles of consumption and production in order to perpetuate consumerism masquerading as charity. These campaigns also exploit the need that consumers' feel to find meaning in life, or self-actualization, through ethical consumption. Material consequences can be seen from the enforced binary of worthy and unworthy victims, such as political conversations about immigration. The North-South relationship continues to rely on the subjugation of those who are ostensibly being saved through the very messages that continue to harm them through a fulfillment of colonizers' fantasies.

This dissertation shed light on how individuals in the North are complicit in the subjugation of the Global South. Through purchasing products in cause-marketing campaigns consumers may feel good, but ultimately are reproducing paternal relationships that harm those in the South. While ostensibly doing good, cause-marketing campaigns make consumers' complicit in the subjugation of others. Campaigns encourage viewers to adopt a colonizing gaze for viewing otherized bodies, and to empower them to engage in paternalism. Cause-marketing allows those in the North to shed guilt over their excess as well as seemingly helping solve complex problems in the Global South through a simple purchase. For-profit companies utilizing cause-marketing

deceit viewers into engaging in well-meaning consumerism that reproduces harmful patterns of viewing otherized bodies.