Amber Rose's Slut Walk: The negotiation of femininity and masculinity to address social issues

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MA Linguistics

By utilizing discourse analysis, this study explores the ways in which Amber Rose, a feminist pop-culture icon, negotiates masculinity and femininity to address social issues in front of different audiences in different contexts – a televised interview with male interviewees and   a monologue in front of a predominantly female audience at a Slut Walk (a protest against sexual discrimination and violence). The primary focuses of this study are linguistic features including non-standard forms, interruptions and taboo language, and the emotional motivation behind them. The results of this study show how gender is fluid and can be negotiated and used differently in different contexts to gain power.

1. Introduction

According to her Instagram tagline, Amber Rose is a 'Mom, Bald Head Scallywag, Certified Slut, Feminist', who lives her life with the attitude of 'Fuck yo opinion I do what I want' (Rose, 2015a). Since her rise to fame through stripping, modelling, acting, writing, and dating celebrities such as Kanye West and Wiz Khalifa, Amber Rose has used her stardom to shed light on social issues, specifically women's rights, and campaigns against sexual assault and slut-shaming. As the 'unapologetic face of neo-feminism' (Bio, 2016), Rose has a 'controversial yet impactful voice' (Bio, 2016). According to Song (2015), Amber Rose has been 'reborn as a feminist hero', who wants to 'empower women and help them realize that there is no shame in enjoying one's sexuality', and Young (2015) describes her as 'the only woman in current circulation who wouldn't seem miscast as Helen of Troy in the movie version of the Iliad'. In short, Amber Rose was 'born a bad bitch' (Rose, 2015b).

Dedicated to empowering women and gender equality, Rose founded *The Amber Rose Foundation*, 'a not-for-profit organization that aims to promote discussion about women's rights and equality issues' (About The Amber Rose Foundation, 2016). A large part of Rose's foundation is the Slut Walk campaign, which is now a global movement taking a stand against sexual violence, victim blaming, derogatory labels, and gender inequality (The History, 2016).

This study seeks to analyse the ways in which Amber Rose negotiates feminine and masculine identities to address social issues, looking specifically at two videos in which she debates the issues of sexual violence and gender inequality. Linguistic features such as non-standard

forms, interruptions, and taboo and sexual language will be the primary subjects of analysis. I will also analyse the ways in which Amber Rose expresses her emotions to different audiences.

2. Literature review

Many studies are concerned with the ways in which men and women's identities, actions, and language differ. According to Baker (2008: 12) the main concept of identity is difference; who we are is defined in terms of who we are not (Said, 1978). Social identities 'carry prescriptive rules about the ways that people behave and think' (Baker, 2008: 12) as well as rules about the ways in which people must not behave and think, 'lest they stray from a particular identity' (Baker, 2008: 12).

Gendered identities are often indexed indirectly (Ochs, 1992) through language associated with particular gender stereotypes or norms, allowing language users to draw on linguistic features that construct contextualised versions of gender (Swann, 2009: 21). Many scholars argue for the fluidity and instability of gendered identities, making sense of them by understanding that 'gendered identities do not exist *a priori* from the discourses that produce them' (Holland and Harpin, 2015: 295). The point here is that gender cannot merely be reduced to sex; it is vital to see gender beyond and distinct from the sexed body (Francis, 2010: 478). Because of this, gender and its 'prescriptive rules' can be manipulated into discursive accomplishments to achieve a goal or aim. Butler's (1990; 1993) theory of performativity explains this concept by stating gender is a 'set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance of a natural sort of being' (Butler, 1990: 33).

Repetitions of the practices of gender coherence (Butler, 1990: 24) result in the social construction of hegemonic gender norms. Performative subversions of gender norms lead us out of 'binarism and its implicit hierarchy' (Butler, 1990: 175-176), emphasising gender's fluidity and our ability to challenge gender order (Baker and Kelly, 2016). The following studies exemplify how gender can be 'performed', or 'done in particular ways' (Swann, 2009: 19) in an attempt to achieve power.

Gender scholars such as Connell (1987) argue that women can never achieve the powers at the core of hegemonic masculinity in femininity because of the concentration of social power in the hands of men, which leaves limited scope for women to construct institutional power relationships (Connell, 1987: 187). Despite this, Connell's (1987) notion of 'emphasized femininity' states that the 'ideal' woman has more power than alternative femininities. The compliant, fragile and weak attributes that characterise it allow men to remain in power, giving emphasized femininity some social power in heteronormative discourse. Because the

performance of emphasized femininity is 'oriented to accommodating the interests and desires of men' (Connell, 1987: 183), the 'ideal' women that adhere to the norms of emphasized femininity have power over those who do not subscribe to its rules in the eyes of 'the global dominance of heterosexual men' (Connell, 1987: 302-303). Despite this limited power, Connell (1987: 296) argues that there is no form of femininity that is equally powerful to hegemonic masculinity because of the global subordination of women. However, as this study seeks to show, women can utilize the normative conventions of both masculinity and femininity to exert power and gain attention.

More recent studies have also shown how women can gain power by utilizing the normative conventions of masculinity. For example, Eberhardt's (2016) study on female American hip-hop artists exemplifies how women who do not conform to emphasized femininity can gain power through the 'fluidity and contradiction' (Francis, 2010: 477) of gender production. American hip-hop features prevalently misogynistic themes that reflect the gendered power struggles in contemporary American society (Eberhardt, 2016). Because the world of hip-hop is dominated by hyper-masculine and heterosexual identity (Rose, 1994; Lane, 2011; Perry, 2004), women rappers have to 'assume male positionings' in order to be taken seriously (Eberhardt, 2016: 23) by using the language of sex, violence, and power 'to articulate their artistic prowess' (Perry, 2004: 156). Here, women perform the normative conventions of heteronormative masculinity, the most prevalent form of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1987), to be respected in the world of hip-hop, and to distinguish themselves from other women who conform to the norms of emphasized femininity. Eberhardt's (2016) study therefore highlights the ways in which gender is discursively accomplished and can be manipulated to achieve power.

The use of the social construction and fluidity of gender to attain power are also demonstrated in this study to show how linguistic features can be negotiated to express different aspects of identity (Swann, 2009: 20). By utilizing linguistic features typical of masculinity and femininity, Amber Rose can work to strategically achieve dominance and attention to achieve her goal of addressing social issues.

3. Methodology

I decided to use Amber Rose to analyse the ways in which femininity and masculinity are negotiated because 'media play an active role in normalising the perception of gendered roles' (Harmer, Savigny and Ward, 2017: 962). Furthermore, everyday ideas often inspire 'the basis of formal theories, and those formal theories sometimes make it back into common sense via the media' (Edley, 2017: 25). There is therefore a 'circulation of ideas between academia and

everyday life' (Edley, 2017: 25). Furthermore, Milestone and Meyer (2012) found that those at the forefront of popular culture can assume and change gender norms. Rose has been at the forefront of popular culture in recent years, so is an apt subject of analysis.

In pursuance of studying the ways in which Rose negotiates her gendered identity, I have analysed two different videos that highlight the ways in which she addresses social issues.

Firstly, I have analysed the video 'Amber Rose: No Always Means No | It's Not You, It's Men | Oprah Winfrey Network' (OWN, 2016), which was posted on to the Oprah Winfrey Channel on YouTube on 20th February 2016. This video is a 2 minute and 3-second-long excerpt from an interview presented by two male interviewees, Tyrese and Rev Run, who are interviewing Rose. This particular extract is about whether women bring sexual assault upon themselves by dressing or acting provocatively. The transcript of this video can be found in Appendix A.

'Amber Rose Breaks Down Crying Over Wiz Khalifa & Kanye West At Slut Walk – 10.3.15' (The Hollywood Fix, 2015) is the second video I have analysed. In the 9-minute and 24-second-long video, Rose gives an emotional speech about the first time she was 'slut shamed' at her first annual Slut Walk. Although there appears to be a few men in her audience, Rose's speech is targeted at a female demographic – the Slut Walk itself as about eradicating sexual inequality towards women. This video was posted to The Hollywood Fix on YouTube on 3rd October 2015. The transcript of this video can be found in Appendix B.

I have selected both of these videos because the topics Rose is discussing advocate women's rights and promote freedom of women's sexuality - ideologies at the core of Rose's feminism. In both of these videos, Rose addresses the issues in different ways to different audiences.

In order to give a detailed analysis of Rose's specific linguistic features, I have utilized some conventions of conversation analysis, because it is 'concerned with the social scientific understanding and analysis of interaction' (Maynard, 2013:11). The best way to analyse the construction of identity is through the linguistic constructions found in speech because declarations are 'a series of performative acts' (Edley and Wetherell, 2014: 376). These performative acts construct our identities; 'we all lie at the heart of a complex set of language-games that is the process of self-production' (Edley, 2006: 606). In order to give a thorough analysis of Rose's language use, I have transcribed her instances of speech using Jefferson's (2004) transcription system. The key to the transcription system is included in Appendix C. Jefferson's (2004) transcription system is key to my analysis because it has helped me to observe systematically features such as interruptions and other 'accompaniments to what are considered the more usual components of speech production such as words or other turn content' (Maynard, 2013:12).

To analyse my data, I have employed discourse analysis. This discursive approach looks at the social and cultural contexts in which language patterns occur (Paltridge, 2012: 1). Adhering to the conventions of discourse analysis has allowed me to analyse not just *what* is being said, but *why* it is being said. Discourse analysis is intrinsic to this study because it has allowed me to analyse the ways in which identity is performed through the use of language (Paltridge, 2012: 20). Furthermore, the psychology behind discourse analysis highlights 'the flexible deployment of language resources' (Edley, 2006: 606) in the production of masculinities and femininities. It can account for 'the existence of recognizably individual selves as socially constructed realities' (Edley, 2006: 606). Pairing discourse analysis with some of the conventions of conversation analysis has allowed me to utilize the ways in which Rose negotiates femininity and masculinity when addressing social issues.

4. Analysis

4.1 Non-standard forms

According to Holmes (2013: 166), in all social groups and speech communities in Western societies, 'men use more vernacular forms than women'. This pattern is the most consistent finding in sociolinguistics over the past 20 years (Trudgill, 1983; Holmes, 2013: 163). Despite this, in 'Amber Rose: No Always Means No | It's Not You, It's Men | Oprah Winfrey Network', Rose uses non-standard, typically masculine forms of language prevalently.

For example, when talking to Tyrese and Rev Run, Rose uses contracted forms such as *y'all* for *you all*, *cuz* for *because*, *I'mma* for *I am*, and *I own wanna*, for *I don't want to*. Furthermore, Rose uses non-standard pronunciations, for example, *laying*, *having*, *looking*, *asking*, and *nothing* are all pronounced with the non-standard [ɪn], rather than the standard [ɪŋ]. Rose also pronounces [ð] in words such as *with* and *this* as [d] (for example [wɪd] and [dɪs]) and reduces [ð] forms to [t] (for example [wɪt] instead of the standard [wɪð] for *with*). This final consonant reduction and pronunciation of [ð] as [d] is most commonly favoured by male speakers (Holmes, 2013: 116) because 'prestige norms seem to exert a stronger influence on women than on men' (Coates, 2004: 52). Trudgill (1974) also found this in his study of the dialect in Norwich; more female speakers tended to favour the standard form [ŋ] over the stigmatized variant [n] than men, 'and this holds true for all social classes' (cited in Coates, 2004: 53). Here we can see that Rose frequently uses the non-standard linguistic forms associated with male speakers.

Women are historically not thought of as powerful, so there is more need for women to present themselves as prestigious and articulate by using standard forms. Eckert (2003: 112) and

Cheshire, Edwards and Whittle (1993: 18) note that standard forms are associated with homogeneity, conservatism, and a dominant institutionalized culture. Because women have not had the same educational and employment opportunities as men, education level and income are not reliable indicators of a woman's status (Coates, 2004: 68); the only kind of capital a woman can accumulate is 'symbolic' (Romaine, 2003: 104; Tajrobehkar, 2016) or 'aesthetic' (Anderson et al., 2010: 564). Language is therefore highly significant to women's esteem, as it enables them to establish themselves in groups lead by masculine norms. Rose may be using the previously mentioned non-standard forms to establish herself as masculine in a group of males, so her feminist ideologies are taken seriously.

Rose also uses non-standard syntax structures such as multiple negation, for example, *I'm not askin' for nothin'*, another feature found to be more prevalent in men's speech (Holmes, 2013: 166). Rose also uses non-standard verbs: *you see a woman that's like dressed provocative and you're just like she's loose*. In this verb phrase, the adjective 'provocative' has an adverbial function, and is therefore a non-standard feature of social dialect (Coupland, 1988). Cheshire, Edwards, and Whittle (1993: 73) note that in American English, adverbial forms without the *–ly* suffix can be used as intensifiers. As she is an American woman, perhaps Rose uses this non-standard adverbial form to purposefully draw attention to the word 'provocative' and use it as an intensifier to emphasize her point.

Rose may have also opted to use non-standard forms when speaking to her male interviewers to conform to the norms of covert prestige. Covert prestige is an esteem tied to the vernacular forms commonly used by men (Coates, 2004: 63) because 'males place a high value on non-standard variants' (Coates, 2004: 64). Rose may have conformed to the norms of covert prestige in order to express solidarity and mark her membership with her male interviewers (Coates, 2004: 66), and to connect with her wider audience (those watching the interview on television and the studio audience) because speakers who use non-standard forms are thought of as good-natured and having a good sense of humor (Coates, 2004: 66). Furthermore, Miller (2001; 2002) found that women embody masculinity above femininity when occupying male-dominated spaces do so to acquire social status (Gorga, 2017: 426). Rose may have utilized the conventions of covert prestige for this reason.

In 'Amber Rose Breaks Down Crying Over Wiz Khalifa & Kanye West At Slut Walk – 10.3.15', Rose also uses the typically masculine [ɪn] pronunciation in *cutting*, *playing*, *something*, *talking*, and *fricking* instead of the standard [ɪŋ]. Rose also reduces the consonant cluster in *with* to [wɪd], reduces the last consonant in *and* to [an], and uses contractions such as *cuz* for *because* and *outta* for *out of*.

Although these linguistic features are used in both videos, Rose uses non-standard forms much less in the second video. For example, the non-standard form [ɪn] is used 14.7% of the time in 'Amber Rose Breaks Down Crying Over Wiz Khalifa & Kanye West At Slut Walk – 10.3.15', whereas in 'Amber Rose: No Always Means No | It's Not You, It's Men | Oprah Winfrey Network', Rose uses [ɪn] 88.88% of the time. Rose may use less non-standard forms in the second video because she is talking to a predominantly female audience, so there is no pressure to conform to the practices of covert prestige to get her point across. We can conclude then, that non-standard linguistic features may have been used to gain power when being interviewed by her male interviewers.

It is important to note here that Rose comes from a family of low social class; Rose's upbringing was 'hardscrabble', so much so that she had to 'strip to survive poverty' (Belton, 2015). Because non-standard linguistics forms are usually associated with the speech of less prestigious social groups (Holmes, 2013: 141), I could conclude that Rose's socioeconomic background influenced her language choices. Although I think this is true to an extent, it does not provide explanation as to why she uses vernacular forms in front of her male audience 88.88% of the time, compared to 14.7% of the time when speaking to a predominantly female audience. It is therefore fair to conclude that Rose favours non-standard forms when speaking to her male interviewers for emphasis, to gain power and to adhere to the norms of covert prestige.

4.2 Interruptions

In the past, many linguists have found that male speakers are more likely to interrupt women than women are to interrupt men (Eakins and Eakins, 1979; Leet-Pellegrini, 1980; West and Zimmerman, 1983; Schick Case, 1988; Winter, 1993; Holmes, 1995; Gunnarsson, 1997; Mulac et al. 1988). In mixed-sex conversations, men infringe women's right to speak and finish turns (Coates, 2004), whereas in mixed-sex conversations women tend to not use overlaps or interruptions when talking to men. This suggests that women are not concerned with violating a man's turn (West and Zimmerman, 1983; Coates, 2004) and that women are not as interested in having control of the floor.

Despite this, in 'Amber Rose: No Always Means No | It's Not You, It's Men | Oprah Winfrey Network', the interruptions in the mixed-sex conversation are fairly evenly distributed. Rose interrupts Tyrese twice and Rev Run once, and Rev Run interrupts Rose four times. Here, Rose subscribes to linguistic forms associated with masculinity because she uses competitive interruptions in an attempt to 'seize the floor from the speaker and dominate conversation' (Rothwell, 2013: 143). By interrupting her male interviewers with declarative sentences (*when*

I say no it means no), imperative sentences (*let me tell you somethin'*), and seeking control of the floor by expressing disagreement (*well that's not the same thing Tyrese y'all know that*), Rose is attempting to achieve the upper hand in order to get her point across – a strategy typically used by men (Tannen, 1992). This contradicts the traditional view that women prefer a collaborative speech style to support other speakers (Coates, 2004: 126). Furthermore, by actively disagreeing with her interviewers, Rose is displaying conviction and dominance – a core element of hegemonic masculinity (Seidler, 1989; Wetherell and Edley, 2014: 357) – and rejecting compliance as a conventional meaning of femininity (Schippers, 2007: 91).

Furthermore, Rose undermines her male interviewer by interrupting the audiences' applause and using the imperative *oh boo::: (.) no that's not realistic stop it*. This interruption is face threatening (see Brown and Levinson, 1987), and brings the conversation, and the audience's focus, back to her. This contradicts Fishman's (1978) findings that it is men who undermine the speaker through interruption to change the topic to their favour, and Coates' (2004) findings that women do not want to dominate men even if they are well informed on the topic that is being discussed.

Rev Run reinforces Rose's dominance through the use of cooperative interruptions. This 'attention-*giving*… effort by the listener to focus attention on the other person' (Rothwell, 2013: 142) is demonstrated through supportive language such as *right* and *okay*. However, it is important to remember that Rose was a guest interviewee on Tyrese and Rev Run's show, and they may have allowed her to dominate the conversation and speak more freely in order to follow typical televised interview discourse.

Rose's assertive and extrovert behaviours are also indicative of 'precocious femininity' (Francis, Skelton and Read, 2009: 327), a function allowing Rose to mask aspects of production which 'would otherwise be constructed as masculine', which serves to maintain the 'illusion of a monoglossic gender dualism' (Francis, 2010: 486).

Because the second video is a monologue, with interruptions only from the audiences' applause, it is not the subject of analysis in this section. However, it is notable that Rose's style is much less dominating and aggressive here - she knows the audience of the Slut Walk are there to see and listen to her monologue, so she doesn't have to fight to get her view heard.

4.3 Taboo language and sexuality

Swearing is an 'integral part of contemporary masculinity' (Coates, 2004: 98), and 'expletives… have become associated with power and masculinity in Western culture' (De Klerk, 1997: 147). In both videos, Rose exhibits casual use of expletives and taboo language.

For example, in 'Amber Rose: No Always Means No | It's Not You, It's Men | Oprah Winfrey Network', Rose uses *fuckin'* as an emphatic adverb and the acronym *DTF* meaning 'down to fuck'. In 'Amber Rose Breaks Down Crying Over Wiz Khalifa & Kanye West At Slut Walk – 10.3.15', Rose uses the taboo lexeme *dick*, *fuck* as a verb, the phrase *shit happens*, *shit* as a noun, *ass*, and *fucking* and *frickin'* as emphatic adverbs. Rose also uses the misogynistic term *slut* in both videos, however this can be dismissed on the grounds that she is discussing her Slut Walk.

Sexual themes are also prevalent in both videos; Rose uses phrases such as *giving him head* and *I got down on my knees*, and talks about being *butt naked* with a man. Discussing these themes flies in the face of what is traditionally expected of a woman - according to Lakoff's (1975) deficit model, women avoid slang and taboo words. However, since the early feminist movement, 'it is not uncommon to see women publicly engaging in overt displays of sexuality' (Eberhardt, 2016: 21-22). However these displays 'often enact male fantasies' (Eberhardt, 2016: 22), and the empowerment of female sexuality rests on the sexual desirability for men (Levy, 2005; McRobbie, 2009). Despite these claims, Rose is not situating herself in this discourse, and owns her sexuality independent to, and in spite of, male desires.

By using expletives, Rose is also rejecting Connell's (1987) idea that the 'ideal' woman is 'caring, fragile and weak in a social and physical sense, complacent, peaceful [and] non-confrontive' (cited in Matwick, 2017: 533).

In 'Amber Rose: No Always Means No | It's Not You, It's Men | Oprah Winfrey Network', taboo language may have been used because 'speakers accommodate to the perceived norms of the other gender' (Coates, 2004: 98) when they are communicating in mixed groups (Hudson, 1992; Coates, 2003). Again, this could be Rose's attempt to conform to the norms hegemonic masculinity to connect with her interviewers.

In the second video, Rose uses expletives much more frequently, going against the idea that women don't use as much taboo language when they are in single sex groups (Hudson, 1992; Coates, 2003). Rose could be using expletives as a rejection of the heterosexualised hyper-femininity expected of women in post-feminist discourse (Allan, 2009). However, by looking at Rose, it could be argued that she presents herself as a 'girly-girl' (Holland and Harpin, 2015) through the discursive accomplishment of dress. Rose's style pays homage to emphasized femininity (Connell, 1987) through the adornment of feminine, sexualised clothes and make-up. In both videos, Rose is 'well made-up' (Allan, 2009: 150), and her clothes are symbolic of 'sexualised aesthetics' (Francis, 2010: 486). For example, in 'Amber Rose: No Always Means No | It's Not You, It's Men | Oprah Winfrey Network', Rose wears a short black figure hugging dress and black stilettos, and in 'Amber Rose Breaks Down Crying Over Wiz Khalifa & Kanye

West At Slut Walk – 10.3.15' she wears a short strappy dress revealing her cleavage, and thigh high stockings.

However, it is notable that Rose famously has a shaved head, which is arguably not typical of feminine aesthetic. This is quite ironic, as Connell (1987) describes hyper-feminine identities as more powerful than alternative femininities, because they do not disturb the status quo that keeps men in power. Here, Rose is simultaneously resisting and accepting cultural norms and gendered behaviours. Firstly, she is rejecting the idea that the 'ideal' woman is compliant, by taking a stand against those who say women are to blame for their own sexual assault, in an attempt to afford women more power. Here, Rose is being *un*-accommodating to 'the interests and desires of men' (Connell, 1987: 183). Secondly, Rose's shaved head can be perceived as a rejection to dominant feminine aesthetics (i.e. having long hair). Despite this, Rose concurrently accepts the norms of emphasized femininity (Connell, 1987) by 'doing beauty' (Lazar, 2013: 37) and wearing erotic clothing. Although hyper-feminine dress supports Connell's (1987) model of emphasized femininity and rejects second-wave feminism's notion that states a woman's beauty should not be regarded as more important than what they think or do (Krolokke and Sorenson, 2005: 7), Rose's clothing succeeds in tying her to post-feminist discourse and supports her 'neo-feminist' identity. It also supports the idea that women can simultaneously be feminists *and* feminine (Christensen, 2016).

The liberty to accept or reject discourses – discourses of *choice* – are prevalent in the postfeminist ideologies that have stemmed from discourses of neoliberalism, which offer an 'exciting array of new possibilities' for females who have the 'will' and 'drive' to 'continually reinvent themselves' (Allan, 2009: 147). Heterosexual desire and beauty are inextricably linked with postfeminist identities, and this focus on aesthetics may be an example of Rose utilizing 'aesthetic capital' (Anderson et al., 2010: 564) to gain the attention of her male interviewees in the first video. Despite trying to combat social issues and sexual inequalities constructed by men in power, it seems on the surface that Rose is paying homage to hegemonic masculinity by her style of dress. However, I think that the point of this sexualized dress is ironic and is used to emphasize Rose's point that women do not invite sexual advances by being scantily clad. Here, Rose is symbolizing the fact that women who engage in physical feminization and sexualisation are 'privileged... while paradoxically disempowered' (Tajrobehkar, 2016: 300) through the male gaze. Again, Rose may also be making the point that women can simultaneously 'proudly claim a conventionally feminine appearance while also advocating feminist principles' (Windsor, 2015: 895).

Additionally, Rose indicates celebration of her singleness and sexual liberation (Gresaker, 2017: 517) through declaratives such as *I feel sexy*, *I just feel pretty*, and *I didn't come here*

to hook up with nobody. These expressions also tie her to a postfeminist discourse, which favours independence and heterosexual desirability (McRobbie, 2004). Her seemingly postfeminist stances may also be responsible for her choice of dress: *if I wanna wear a <u>short skirt</u> (.) or: a tank top and I'm at the club >and I'm havin' fun with my friends< and I feel sexy: I'm not DTF*. Rather than the 'imposition from external sources or regarded as an expression of gendered power relations' (Gill, 2007: 155) getting dressed up is 'self-chosen and fun' (Gill, 2007: 155). This emphasizes femininity as a 'source of gender and sexual empowerment' (Windsor, 2015: 896).

4.4 Emotion

In 'Amber Rose: No Always Means No | It's Not You, It's Men | Oprah Winfrey Network', Rose takes on the role of the aggressor; as we have seen, she interrupts her male interviewees and thereby disrupts the turn taking inherent to televised interview discourse.

Typically, 'the tropes of strength and aggression are associated positively with masculinity' (Edley, 2017: 138) because of our culture that champions 'warrior values' (McCarthy, 1994; Edley, 2017: 138), however this can be disputed. Gender theorists such as Dozier (2005) have noted that 'what is masculine or feminine, what is assertive or obnoxious, is relative and dependent on social context' (Dozier, 2005: 308). Furthermore, although attributes such as 'strong' and 'forceful' are traditionally associated with masculinity (Factor and Rothblum, 2017: 1874), these adjectives can also be used to describe 'women who are primary breadwinners or who raise children as single mothers' (Factor and Rothblum, 2017: 1874). At the time the interview was taken place, Rose was both of these things.

It is obvious from the data that Rose cares about women's rights. Interestingly, Milestone and Meyer (2012) note that the characteristics associated with women being caring position them as 'weaker, less intelligent, less rational, and less competitive' (Milestone and Meyer, 2012: 22; Matwick, 2017: 533). These opposing discourses highlight how there is 'nothing inherently 'natural' about masculinity or femininity' (Harmer, Savigny and Ward, 2017: 963).

In 'Amber Rose Breaks Down Crying Over Wiz Khalifa & Kanye West At Slut Walk – 10.3.15', Rose plays the role of the victim, quite literally, as she is talking about being the subject of sexual assault and harassment. Rose's linguistic features also imply her victimization. The repeated use of the hedges *erm*, pauses, and repetition of phrases such as *to be: to be:* indicate Rose is nervous and emotional. Furthermore, she breaks down crying when speaking, showing the emotional distress caused by recalling the times she was victimised. Here, we can see women as understanding the world thorough emotions (Edley, 2017: 64). These linguistic features that display emotion and fragility are synonymous with emphasized femininity, because they regulate femininity as subordinate to 'the more powerful construct of

masculinity' (Windsor, 2015: 893). This outburst of emotion also supports the idea that that since the age of reason 'men have been seen as the more rational half of humanity' (Edley, 2017: 64). Although gender stereotypes often associate these things to women, Fuller, Briggs and Dillon-Sumner (2013: 262) identify hegemonic femininity with being in control of one's emotions, again highlighting the flux of gendered identity.

Just as Rose used covert prestige to appeal to her male interviewees, she may be presenting a more emotional, feminine identity to appeal to the predominantly female audience. Furthermore, those watching Rose's monologue at her Slut Walk presumably share the same views as her as they are showing support through applause and cheering. In this sense, she is 'preaching to the choir', so doesn't have to utilise masculine strategies to get her point across and can therefore afford to be more emotional.

Again, these examples show how gender performance 'is not stable over time' (Factor and Rothblum, 2017: 1875), and how female and male are not fixed categories (Butler, 1990). By utilizing different levels of masculinity and femininity in front of different audiences in different social settings, it becomes clear that 'femininity [or masculinity] cannot be understood as a fixed set of essential traits' (Windsor, 2015: 893).

5. Conclusion

The results of my analysis show how and why Amber Rose negotiates both the cultural norms of femininity and masculinity through the use of non-standard linguistic forms, domination of conversation through interruptions and taboo and sexual language, and how these forms are emotionally motivated. Rose simultaneously uses linguistic features typical of men, whilst adhering to the discursive features typical of femininity. These results show that gender is not something that stands 'outside of discourse as an essential aspect or quality'; instead, it is seen as 'something that is routinely constructed "in" and "through" discourse' (Edley, 2006: 601). In pursuance of negotiating femininity and masculinity in different contexts, Rose is able to gain the attention of both of her audiences and address social issues. These performances of gender exemplify Butler's (1990; 1993) performance model and reflect the ways in which gender is recognised as a 'key site of discursive struggle, where the meanings of masculinity and femininity are negotiated by subjects located in discourse' (Allan, 2009: 148-149). This negotiation and rejection of gendered norms shows that women and men are 'not universal nor inherent categories' (Matwick, 2017: 533), and that 'we can all utilise different types of power in different contexts and with different people' (Baker, 2008: 13). Although men are

traditionally understood to hold power over women, 'that is not to say that we do not find instances of women holding power over men' (Baker, 2008: 13).

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Appendix A

'Amber Rose: No Always Means No | It's Not You, It's Men | Oprah Winfrey Network' Transcription

Tyrese: like if you see a basketball [player
Amber: [well that's]
Rev Run: [laughs]
Tyrese: [and he's] known as a basketball player when you see him you'll be like yo let's go play ball
Amber: that's not the same thing [Tyrese] ya'll know that
Rev Run: [laughs]
Tyrese: well it's well it's I'm just sayin the comfortability that some people (.) find in wanting to touch or grope you or feel like yo I let me [just (.) it's just like it's an energy]
Amber: [let me tell you somethin': if I'm (.) if]
Tyrese: that's being sent out there that that creates that type of response=
Amber: =no it doesn't cuz I'mma tell you why
Rev Run: m::
Amber: if I'm layin' down wid a man butt naked (.) and then his <u>condom is on</u> (.) and I say you know what no↑ I 'own wanna do dis I changed my mind
Rev Run: okay
Amber: that means <u>no</u>
Rev Run: right
Amber: [that means fuckin' no that's it (.) it doesn't matter how far I take it (.) or what I have on]
Audience: [applause]
Rev Run: no [I wasn't saying that]
Amber: [when I say no it means no]
Rev Run: [I wasn't] saying I've heard a quote like you know dress how you wanna be <u>addressed</u> [and it's just (inaudible)]
Audience: [applause]
Amber: [oh boo::: (.) no that's not realistic stop it↑]
Rev Run: [okay]   okay
Amber: if I wanna wear a <u>short skirt</u> (.) or: a tank top and I'm at the club >and I'm havin' fun with my friends< and I feel sexy: I'm not DTF I'm not I'm not even lookin' at you (.) I don't even wanna have sex wit' you I'm not I didn't come here to have sex (.) I didn't come here to hook up with nobody I came out here wit' my girls and I just feel pretty
Rev Run: okay
Amber: I'm not askin' for nothin'
Rev Run: okay
Amber: and I'm not mad at ya'll because <that's how society raised all of us> I'm a former slut shamer (.) <u>I've called women hoes (.) a million times</u>
Rev Run: okay
Amber: you know what I'm sayin'↑ [and]

Rev Run: [right]
Amber: now I'm not I'm a former slut shamer and I have (.) a slut walk so like (.)
            like I said <society teaches us>
Rev Run: okay
Amber: to be that way >you see< a woman that's like (.) dressed provocative and
            you're just like she's loose

Appendix B

'Amber Rose Breaks Down Crying Over Wiz Khalifa & Kanye West At Slut Walk - 10.3.15'
Transcription

Amber: thank you girls you girls are doing an amazing job [thank you]
Crew: [oh thank you]
Amber: erm so this is my part of the day:: (.) where I talk about (.) my life (.) and
            the things that I've been through (1) erm the first time I ever got slut
            shamed I was fourteen years old (.) I was still a virgin (.) an::d me and my
            friends started >making out with boys< I guess at that time (.) erm I was at
            my friend's house I think we were like cuttin' school or something like that
            (.) and erm t (.) we were playin' this seven minutes in heaven (.) game in
            the closet very dark little side er coat closet or somthin' like that (.) and I
            was in there with some boy Darnel (.) hi Darnel how are you
Audience: (laughter)
Amber: erm (.) hopefully you [changed (.) for the better]
Audience: (cheering)
Amber: (.) but erm I er so yeah we were <u>kissing</u> and he said hey you know you
            should get down on your knees (.) and I said <u>why</u> why would I do that I'm
            <u>fourteen</u> I don't know what the Hell get down on your knees means
             (1)and erm (.) he asked me again and I said (.) okay↑ I got down on my
            knees (.) and he <u>opened the door</u> (1) erm: all my friends his friends were
            outside the closet door waiting for us to come out I was on my knees and
            he had his er penis out (.) or dick I wanna say dick fuck it [erm]
Audience: [(cheering)]
Amber: he opened the door (.) and <u>still</u> even at that time when everyone <u>gasped</u>
            and said ↑hhh oh my god okay Amber damn okay girl↓ I'm like what are
            you guys talkin' about woah why is your dick in my face and what are you
            talking about (1) it literally it it still didn't even occur to me (.) that he was
            insinuating that I was giving him head when I wasn't↓ (.) and I went to
            school the next day and I was <u>extremely</u> slut shamed by the entire school
             (.) it was very difficult for me: I wanted to change schoo:ls (.) erm I felt
            like life was over (.) an:d (.) erm it was it was it was <u>very</u> difficult for me (.)
            as time went on I got older (.) I <u>continuously</u> got slut shamed (.) erm in
            two-thousan' <u>nine</u> (.) I: met a very famous man (1) an:' he's about seven
            years older than me erm and we fell in love↑ and it was awesome↑ (.)
            we were together for almost two years we travelled the world together
            we (.) we went to fashion wee::k and we were <u>fabulous</u> and everything
            was just everything was just <u>looking so amazing</u> (.) t a:nd erm then we
            broke up shit happens you have relationships you break up shit don't
            work out (.) erm I constantly >now sorry< let me step back (.) I was just a
            regular girl from Philly
Audience: [(cheering)]
Amber: [I er (2) I never asked] for fame I never put a <gun to anyone's head and
            said make me <u>famous</u>> (.) erm I never: dated a man <u>to become famous</u> I
            dated a man cuz that's what my heart told me to do

Audience: [(cheering)]
Amber: (1) [at the time] erm (.) er <u>unfortunately</u> I was <u>extremely</u> slut shamed I
                was called nothing but a stripper: <why would he ever be interested in me
                I'm just a baldhead stripper> from Philly (1) erm (1) I was a gold digger (.) I
                was (.) apparently he had to take thirty showers after being with me
Audience: [(booing)]
Amber: [that's what he said >I don't know< that's what he said (laughter) erm so
                I guess that just washed all my sexy baldheadedness off of his ass (1)
                (laughter)] er:m so yeah that happened and then erm and then I meet my
                husband↑ Wiz
Audience: [(cheering)]
Amber: [an' erm he just came in my life like (.) <a big ton of love>] he was just
                <u>the</u> most amazing guy I've ever met in my entire life and now we have a
                beautiful son↑
Audience: [(cheering)]
Amber: (2) erm <u>we are separated</u> now but we still love each other it's all it's all
                love erm and <u>then</u> (.) in the midst of being hurt if anyone has <u>been</u> er (.)
                going through a separation or have ever been divorced you know that (.)
                there's a lot of feelings involved in there it's a very difficult time (.) erm he
                went on to make a song saying that he fell in love wit' a stripper but fell
                outta love quicker (.) as you can imagine him being the love of my life
                >regardless if we're going through a separation or not< that was
                extremely hurtful [(crying (36))]
Audience: [(cheering in support)]
Amber: [erm (.) thank you (13) that's my mommy (3) erm thank you mom (2) erm
                (1) so yeah] he came out with that song an' (.) that really hurt me
                because (.) all I did was ever love him I just loved him so much an' (.) gave
                him a beautiful son [an' to be: to be:]
Audience: [(cheering)]
Amber: told that I was <nothing (.) but a stripper> (.) erm (.) it hurt (1) so I
                decided [(crying)]
Audience: [(cheering in support)]
Amber: [(11)] I decided to (1) have this slut walk for women that had been
                through shit (1) [like me]
Audience: [(cheering)]
Amber: [(6) and even though I'm up here crying I wanna be the <u>strong</u> person
                that you can look up to (2) and know that I do <u>all of this</u> for you guys (3)
                erm (2) thank you (.) erm (10) I just erm (.) moving <u>forward</u> (.)]
Audience: [(cheering)]
Amber: I wanna (.) I wanna <u>forgive</u> Kanye for what he said about me
Audience: [(cheering)]
Amber: [(2) I wanna let all that negative (.) that negativity go] I also forgive Wiz
                for what he said >Wiz< actually apologized to me erm already so I have
                have forgiven him (.) erm (.) I suggest that you guys do the same and I'll
                tell you why (.) because (.) you can't (1) they're ignorant [at times (.)
                people are ignorant and you have to be the bigger person be the <u>positive</u>
                person to <u>forgive and move on</u> and help other people around you that
                have been through the same thing because if you <u>hold onto that</u> if you
                hold onto that negative energy and it <u>still</u> hurts >that's why I'm up here
                crying< because it <still fucking hurts>] but (.) let's all come together and
                be positive role models for each other (.) and really just let that negative
                shit go [I wanna thank everyone that's been <u>involved</u> in the slut walk (1)
                >all the volunteers everyone that came out< I love you guys <so frickin'
                much> (laughing) and I do this for you I do this all for you so thank you]

Audience: [(cheering)]

Appendix C

Jefferson's (2004) Transcription key:

[	A left bracket indicates the point of overlap onset
]	A right bracket indicates the point at which two overlapping utterances end
=	Equal signs indicate that there is no gap between speech
(1.0)	Numbers in parentheses indicate how long an interval of speech in seconds
(.)	A dot in parentheses indicates a brief interval in speech
::	Colons indicate prolongation of sounds in words. Especially prolonged sounds are indicated by a longer row of colons
↑	Arrows indicate shifts in pitch
><	Right/left carats bracketing an utterance indicate that the bracketed material is sped up
<>	Left/right carats bracketing an utterance indicate that the bracketed material is slowed down
__	Underscoring indicates stress