*representations in some way lies in different practices. Sometimes it's difficult to distinguish basically commercial interests of states from political or even strategic issues.*

*The article draws the following conclusion.*

*First, the influence of globalization has changed the notion of traditional parameters of state, their role within the region and in the world as a whole.*

*Second, in order to achieve its foreign policy goals small states introduce honorary consulates more actively into the diplomatic practice as they do not require governmental spendings and according to the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations of 1963, all the spendings are the responsibility of the honorary consul.*

*Third, small states use honorary consulates to implement the issues of public diplomacy and the strategy of branding through which they disseminate the information about themselves, attracting investors, tourists, etc.*

*Fourth, the use of honorary consulates by small states brings up the issues of thorough selection of consulate officials and the monitoring of the effectiveness of their efforts.*

***Key words:*** *small state, public diplomacy, honorary consulate, globalization, embassy, brand, branding.*

**N. Khoma**

## REVOLUTIONARY CROWD-SOURCING AND CROWD-FUNDING PRACTICES OF SOCIAL POLITICAL ACTIVISM (BASED ON UKRAINE'S EXAMPLE OF 2014–2016)

*The article analyzes the experience of Ukraine in the use of social and political crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding. These technologies are studied in the time period of 2013-2016 on the example of their application for the Revolution of Dignity and maintaining the country's defensive capacity in the course of the undeclared hybrid war with Russia. It is emphasized that it is through public initiatives that the vector of the state to its democratization and Euro-Atlantic cooperation has been modified.*

*Social political crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding, unlike their business counterparts are characterized by a high motivational component, they are not intended to gain material benefits. Surely, among the public and political projects there are those that involve certain (usually symbolic) reward, however social (non-cash) practices prevail. In the Ukrainian format the vast majority of crowd-sourcing or crowd-funding socio-political projects imply absence of any material motivational incentives, while intangible reward is widely used, such as a public mention of the donor, etc. Many of the problems of the recent troubled years were solved by the Ukrainians using the two new methods – collective generation of ideas and their co-financing. This short but highly efficient experience requires a further study.*

***Key words:*** *social and political activism, crowd-sourcing, crowd-funding, Revolution of Dignity.*

In 2013–2016 Ukraine faced numerous challenges caused by cruel coercion of Ukraine to Eurasian integration under Russian auspices and blocking Kiev's movement toward European and Euro-Atlantic cooperation. The revolution of dignity and further developments in the Crimea and Donbas were a response to the Russian expansionist policy in the post-Soviet area. The Russian armed aggression against Ukraine has been going on for three years; it is the third year of Ukraine's anti-terrorist operation in the Donbas. It has become a real challenge for a

nation with a weakened, understrength and obsolete army, without the necessary resources to withstand the aggressor country. The crucial role in the fight for the future of Ukraine, in our opinion, at this critical time has been played by the activist public, which has undertaken many organizational functions to determine the future development of the nation, enhancing the country's defensive capacity and supporting those affected by the conflict (participants in the antiterrorist operation, internally displaced persons, families of soldiers killed in action and others).

The task of the research is to reveal the role and formats of Ukrainian public participation in organization of the protests, waging the struggle against those blocking Ukraine's movement toward European Community and her independence in decision making concerning the vector of the nation's development, violating her territorial integrity and sovereignty. This task will be fulfilled by analyzing the two innovative practices and techniques, used by the Ukrainians, i.e. crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding.

Crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding are relatively new technologies of fulfilling a task by public means. These collective initiative practices, brought about by the third millennium, were launched by the business in order to create and promote innovative products. But very soon the potential crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding practices were admitted and applied in politics and the public life. Today we can witness the appearance of an independent type of crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding – the social political one.

We believe that such generic name as «social political» (not just «political») is more correct for an analysis of social practices that are the subject of our study (revolutionary and military) because: crowd-sourcing as «the collective wisdom» represents the interest of a community of people sharing the same views in solving specific problems; crowd-funding as co-financing reflects the materialized willingness of the community to act in the common interests to implement public social and political projects.

Social political crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding belong to those modern occupational technologies which underline a free exchange of resources (ideas, finance) between the participants interconnected through horizontal network links. In our opinion, the leading trend nowadays is revitalization of social and political discourse through its virtualization due to the latest information and communication technologies, while crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding underline this trend. Crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding are the formats of interaction, with which the public interest is realized. Such network forms of interaction are the embodiment of modern philosophy of collaboration and solidarity.

Social political crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding, unlike their business counterparts are characterized by a high motivational component, they are not intended to gain material benefits. Surely, among the public and political projects there are those that involve certain (usually symbolic) reward, however social (non-cash) practices prevail. In the Ukrainian format the vast majority of crowd-sourcing or crowd-funding socio-political projects imply absence of any material motivational incentives, while intangible reward is widely used, such as a public mention of the donor, etc. Many of the problems of the recent troubled years were solved by the Ukrainians using the two new methods – collective generation of ideas and their co-financing. This short but highly efficient experience requires a further study.

The revolutionary (protest) movement is one of the best examples of the simultaneous combination of crowd-sourcing (as a collective popular initiative) and crowd-funding (as popular funding). Let us note that crowd-funding and crowd-sourcing as techniques to achieve collective goals are themselves a kind of revolution in the organizational approach to fulfilling the task. And these «revolutionary» (or more correctly «innovative») techniques are quite appropriate to achieve the objectives of protest movements against the regime.

The revolutionary crowd-funding and crowd-sourcing, unlike other (i.e., peaceful, non-protest) varieties of these technologies have a number of specific features, especially when it

comes to their use under anti-democratic regimes which the people's energy is intended to change. Because of the repressive character of the government, the people's creative formats can not have an open, public form. For example, the classical method of raising funds by crowd-funding is: among Internet users; on special crowd-funding platforms; as money transfers and not as any other material or immaterial assistance. However, in our opinion, in the case of protests aimed at overthrowing the regime, the government will try to quickly cut off the channels of revenue and technologically counteract the opposition on the Internet. Therefore, even though it does not comply with the theory of crowd-funding, we regard all formats of micro-investing as the revolutionary crowd-funding.

In the revolutionary (protest) crowd-funding those small investments by a large number of people to support a public project can have, in our opinion, not only financial characteristics. According to I. Kosulia, the concept of crowd-sourcing combines the activities, such as «brainstorming», volunteering, charity, etc.» [2, p. 268]. In this context, we agree with the definition of political crowd-funding by A. Sokolov: «collecting funds for various political projects» [3, p. 33]; the nature of these tools is rightly not specified by the researcher, probably due to their diverse nature. We agree that the definition of the essence of «tools» is inappropriate in this situation, they can take a variety of forms – both materialized (e.g. mobile phones prepaid cards, heating equipment, tents, fuel, medicines, etc.), and conditionally materialized (e.g. removal of the password to private or corporate wi-fi near the places of protest that will allow the protesters broader communication capabilities, donating blood to save the wounded, transporting heating equipment for the protesters, etc.).

The Ukrainian experience has demonstrated that nowadays mass movements can raise funds domestically even without external funding sources, though foreign support (e.g. diasporas and the public sector of other countries) can be a tangible addition to the budget of the revolution. The government cannot completely control the process of accumulation of finance by the protesters, because the financial system is generally apolitical.

Nowadays it is possible to collect the required amount through e-money systems, coordinating the process through social networks. Both the former and the latter operate beyond the government control (though non-democratic states are trying to bar this format). Therefore, both the citizens of the country and people from abroad, members of the diaspora and the like, can support any social and political action. Thus, the area of financial support is greatly expanded. For example, today about 15 million Ukrainian and their descendants live outside Ukraine. Such basis for crowd-funding can accumulate a huge capital.

In our opinion, the use of crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding opportunities for support of the protests in Ukraine has undergone at least two evolutionary stages. The first stage is connected with the events of the «Orange Revolution» of 2004. Then crowd-funding was largely the transfer of money, clothes, food and the like for the needs of the Maidan. The then President of Ukraine Viktor Yushchenko said about «millions of creditors', answering questions on the financing of the Maidan in 2004: «I think, millions. Millions of people» [4]. At the same time, crowd-sourcing as association, coordination of participants was poor, as the global social networks were not developed sufficiently: the number of Facebook users among the Ukrainians was very low (created in February 2004), and Twitter as a platform did not exist at all (created in 2006).

Thus, the method of social organization and communication in 2004 was fundamentally different from the subsequent revolution of 2013–2014. During the «Orange Revolution» the number of regular Internet users was relatively small, about 4 million people. However, even in 2004, the online media provided the most accurate and most expeditious information, the feeble online community formed «night patrols» of citizens who watched the polling stations, and shadowed the police vehicle movements through publications on forums.

However, during the second stage of evolution of crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding practices in Ukraine (Revolution of Dignity, 2013–2014) due to the advanced information and communication technologies (the number of regular Internet users in 2014 increased to almost 19 million people) the online communication offered new ways to enhance public and mobilize their capital. Crowd-funding as a mechanism has been known in this period in Ukraine, national crowd-funding platforms existed already, but we recorded only isolated instances of using these platforms for revolutionary (protest) tasks; resource mobilization avoided these specialized platforms. Instead, we note the rapid evolution of crowd-sourcing practices as a result of the rapid expansion of Internet communication.

Therefore, comparing the two Ukrainian revolution as two evolutionary stages of crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding practices in the protest movement, we can state: 1) the revolutionary crowd-sourcing developed indeed, suggesting many new formats; 2) the revolutionary crowd-funding, because of its opposition, anti-government orientation which despite the relatively apolitical character of the financial system makes it impossible to collect funds openly without the threat of losing contributions, has retained the virtually unchanged format, i.e., was not consolidated in the form of specialized crowd-funding platforms.

The Revolution of Dignity, in our opinion, can be analyzed as an expression of social and political crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding of the Ukrainians, their collective energy. This is expressed by one of the revolutionary symbols and messages – a drop – with the words «I am a drop in the ocean, which will change the Ukraine». The drop falling into the blue and yellow ocean has become a symbol of the protest (along with the barricades, burning tires, etc.). We understand this drop as a symbol of small individual contributions – financial, organizational, intellectual, etc. – in a joint state-building cause. The revolutionary (protest) crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding is based on the belief that one thing the government fears is a people united for a common purpose.

In order to organize a long-term protest a material and financial support is necessary. It is difficult to calculate «a day on the Euro-Maidan» in financial and material terms, but reports were voiced of not less than 300 thousand UAH/day – to feed the activists, rent the stage and the House of Trade Unions, transport costs, communications, medicine and so on. After the start of the bloody confrontations these needs increased dramatically. Their provision was possible due to the collective energy of the participants of the Revolution of Dignity, manifested in many formats of socio-political crowd-funding. Let us analyze the major ones.

1. Financial revolutionary crowd-funding proper – a direct cash assistance to satisfy the needs of the Maidan. Since the government at the time of the Euro-Maidan tracked and blocked the card accounts of activists, they were often changed. It was necessary to provide continuous information about the change of bank details. Also collection of cash among the public of the cities was organized. An example is the initiative of the public organization «Kyiv residents for the reform», which launched in the domestic crowd-funding platform «The Great Idea» the campaign «Warm and feed Maidan» (https://biggggidea.com/project/385/) to raise funds to support protesters. Specifically within this campaign efforts of 1060 benefactors brought nearly 262 thousand UAH. Let us note that according to the crowd-funding rules, funds are provided only after they have been collected within a certain time period, but in the time of emergency the administration of the «The Great Idea» made the conditions of the project flexible, i.e. daily transfers of cash receipts.

However, it should be noted that not every crowd-funding initiative during the Euro-Maidan was successful. For example, the campaign «Voice of the Street at the Euro-Maidan» (https://biggggidea.com/project/383/) failed (only 24 benefactors supported the project with the amount of 2,725 UAH). We assume that the former project («Warm and feed Maidan») was supported, because it was about the food, medicines, and the latter, extremely significant but

not vital, was about information support of the Maidan (filming video addresses of citizens in the global community in different languages and their translation).

2. Material (logistical) revolutionary crowd-funding – provision of housing for Maidan participants (for example, Kiev citizens letting their apartments to protesters to have a rest); transport support (e.g. transportation of the participants to (from) Kyiv and within the city, evacuation of the wounded from the capital, because after 19.01.2014 when turning to Kyiv hospitals the victims were often kidnapped); collecting food, clothes, protection means, medicines; lending wi-fi from homes or offices located in the vicinity of the protests – by removing the password to private (corporate) networks.

3. Media crowd-funding – for example, during Euro-Maidan nearly 4,000 benefactors gathered 1,243,381 UAH by crowd-funding through the «Great Idea» site to support the multimedia project «Public television». At the same time «Public Radio» was created; for its operation the Ukrainians collected nearly 200 thousand UAH. Another large-scale project in the media industry in 2013 was implemented through crowd-funding – «Vavylon'13», a set of Ukrainian short films that tell of the civic protests in Ukraine and further developments in different languages to deliver the essence of the events in Ukraine to the foreign public. 31 thousand 650 UAH were raised by more than a hundred benefactors.

Let us single out the types of revolutionary social and political crowd-sourcing [1, p. 146–148].

1. Coordination crowd-sourcing (establishing various «hot lines» (IP-telephony) such as «Housing for Maidan» and «Euro-Hostel» services or KyivHost group at the Facebook and so on. That is, organizational support of housing provision (mentioned when describing the material format crowd-funding (free housing), but in terms of organization we are dealing precisely with crowd-sourcing of the organizers of this communication). Coordination crowd-sourcing was used to find missing people, lost documents and belongings of the protesters, monitoring the persecution of activists, the movement of security forces and their equipment, providing certain provisions and means of heating, disinfecting places of mass gatherings, etc., coordination of numerous groups of self-defense.

2. Consulting crowd-sourcing, i. e. organization of social and psychological services directly in situ and online; legal counselling and representation of protest participants at courts.

3. Information and communication crowd-sourcing, i.e. stream broadcasts and organization of online TV: http://euro-online.kiev.ua, http://dozor.tv, www.Hromadske.TV, www.spilno.tv, AronetsLIVE, GromTV, «Public radio» and so on. This was also organization of offline street actions using the site www.diyaty.org, initiating international anti-government online petitions, recording the events (photos, video) for international agencies. An important manifestation of this type of crowd-sourcing was the organization of an international information support for international mass media, translating news for international media. Communities like «Euro-Maidan SOS», «Euro-Maidan» were news aggregators. The same type of crowd-sourcing includes hash-tagging of information, organization of virtual flash mobs and tweeter storms and so on. This also can include the creation of interactive online maps at the public opposition self-support site Galas.org.ua, which could report an emergency, ask for help, find prisoners and wounded, offer assistance. Site visitors put a mark on the interactive map of Kyiv, tagging the events.

4. Security crowd-sourcing, manifested primarily in the voluntary grouping of townspeople to patrol the city quarters by self-defence detachments, because in order to counter the street protests the Yanukovych regime used criminals (the so-called «titushky»). After the «Nights of wrath» (seizure of administrative buildings that embodied the regime in the cities of Lviv, Ternopil, Lutsk on the night of 19.02.2014), those who were conscious of the threat of anarchy organized themselves through social networks to ensure the public order in their cities: the temporary self-defence detachments replaced the police and effectively ensured

the public order. Also, after the pogroms, the volunteers organized volunteer actions to clean the cities. All the actions were aimed at preventing riots, wherefore thousands of volunteers were organized in foot, automobile and bicycle patrols. An important role in the coordination of human resources in these spontaneous dynamic processes was played by social networks as coordinating centers.

5. Cyber-crowd-sourcing, when online communities (such as «Cybercompany» on the Facebook) were created that thoroughly used computer networks for political purposes (a kind of hacktivism): a) counteracting «ITtushky»[1] who hacked the sites and accounts, blogs, e-mail of the opposition in social networks; b) preventing attacks on mobile phone numbers of Maidan hot lines; c) blocking sites and account of bots and Ukrainophobes in social networks that clogged hashtag # euromaidan stream, misinforming the public and spreading lies. Even a simple click «report for spam» was also a manifestation of social and political crowd-sourcing.

6. Artistic crowd-sourcing, a collective creativity that illustrated and occasionally formed the agenda of the Maidan. In the spirit of the «culture of non-violence», it was manifested as a versatile energy: painting ornaments on helmets, pianists before police cordons and on the barricades, the revolutionary installations and street art, literary reading, «Open University», a library and lecture hall in the «Ukrainian House», posters, stickers, cartoons, etc.

The Ukrainian crowd-funding and crowd-sourcing of 2014–2016 by its scale has become an unprecedented manifestation of public self-organization. The crisis in the country and external influences have jeopardized the existence of Ukraine as a sovereign state, which was seen by citizens as a personal challenge, a threat to their identity. The patriotic enthusiasm in the society resulted in a large number of creative initiatives.

The recent three years have witnessed a sharp increase of Ukrainian public activism, including such advanced formats as social and political crowd-sourcing and crowd-funding. Flexible forms of public activity in practice were the most productive, for bypassing bureaucratic red tape in such extraordinary circumstances saves time and lives. In Ukraine crowd-funding and crowd-sourcing have become the operational mechanisms that helped the public to take on the solution of vital problems of the army and internally displaced persons along with the government, or even ahead of it.

Nowadays, an image of Ukrainian society with an unprecedented self-organization and solidarity has been formed in the world. On the one hand, it is a society with numerous differences, but due to the collective idea it is becoming a cohesive community.

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[1] ITtushky – a political neologism that emerged during the Revolution of Dignity to describe hackers, hacking sites and accounts of the opposition in social networks or clogged them with misinformation. The word is formed by merging the words IT (Information Technology) and purely Ukrainian coined slang «titushky» – young people of strong build, often athletes who were paid to illegally prevent the constitutional manifestations of organized civil resistance. Note that the word «titushky» and «EuroMaidan» in 2013 led the ranking of the most popular words in Ukraine.

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Н. Хома

РЕВОЛЮЦІЙНІ КРАУДСОРСИНГОВО-КРАУДФАНДИНГОВІ ПРАКТИКИ ГРОМАДСЬКО-ПОЛІТИЧНОГО АКТИВІЗМУ (НА ПРИКЛАДІ УКРАЇНИ 2014–2016 РОКІВ)

*У статті аналізується досвід України у застосуванні ресурсу громадсько-політичного краудсорсингу та краудфандингу. Ці технології вивчаються на часовому проміжку 2013–2016 років на прикладі їх застосування для організації Революції Гідності. Підкреслюється, що саме завдяки громадським ініціативам було змінено вектор розвитку держави до її демократизації та євроатлантичної співпраці.*

*Автор відносить краудсорсинг і краудфандинг до числа новітніх діяльнісних технологій, у яких на передній план виходить вільний обмін ресурсами (ідеями, фінансами) між учасниками, пов'язаними горизонтальними мережевими зв'язками. Провідним трендом сучасності визначено активізацію соціально-політичного дискурсу шляхом його віртуалізації завдяки новітнім інформаційно-комунікативним технологіям, а краудсорсинг і краудфандинг увиразнюють цю тенденцію. Краудсорсинг і краудфандинг розглянено як формати взаємодії, у яких реалізує себе суспільний (публічний) інтерес. Такі мережеві форми взаємодії визначено як уособлення новітньої філософії солідарності.*

*Підкреслюється, що революційний краудсорсинг і краудфандинг, як різновид політичного, на відміну від бізнес-аналогів, характеризується високою мотиваційною компонентою і не спрямований на очікування матеріалізованої вигоди. Революційна (протестна) сфера визначена автором як один із найяскравіший зразків одночасного поєднання і краудсорсингу (як колективної народної ініціативи), і краудфандингу (як народного фінансування).*

*Автор вказує, що в Україні застосування можливостей краудфандингу та краудсорсингу для підтримки проведення протестних акцій має два етапи еволюції. На першому етапі (Помаранчева революція, 2004) краудфандинг мав в основному формат передачі для потреб Майдану грошей, одягу, харчів і под., а краудсорсинг як об'єднання, координація зусиль учасників був (порівняно з наступним етапом) слабким через тогочасну ще недостатню розвиненість глобальних соціальних мереж. Другий етап (Революція Гідності, 2013–2014) був стрибком у еволюції краудсорсингу та краудфандингу, адже завдяки інформаційно-комунікаційному прогресу онлайнова*

*комунікація запропонувала новітні способи як активізації громадськості, так і мобілізацію їх капіталу.*

**Ключові слова:** *громадсько-політичний активізм, краудсорсинг, краудфандинг, Революція Гідності.*

УДК 327.7:324(410)

**І.М. Червінка**

## НАСЛІДКИ BREXIT ДЛЯ ШОТЛАНДІЇ
## ТА ЇЇ ПОЛІТИКИ ЩОДО ЄС

*У статті проаналізовано результати референдуму щодо виходу Великобританії з ЄС та позицію Шотландії в даному контексті. Вивчено можливі варіанти реалізації євроінтеграційних прагнень Шотландії та прогнозований вплив Brexit на посилення націоналістичних настроїв серед населення Шотландії. Проаналізовано результати опитувань громадської думки європейських країн щодо Brexit, його наслідків для Великобританії та решти країн ЄС.*

**Ключові слова:** *Brexit, Великобританія, Шотландія, ЄС, референдум*

Результати референдуму про вихід Великобританії з ЄС викликали чимало дискусій щодо наслідків Brexit для Європейського Союзу, його країн-членів та перспектив подальшої інтеграції. Зокрема, увагу привертають питання можливості проведення референдумів в інших країнах-членах, зростання популярності націоналістичних сил, збільшення кількості євроскептиків та імовірність посилення відцентрових тенденцій в рамках ЄС. Прогнози щодо негативного впливу Brexit стосуються не лише інших європейських країн, а й Великобританії та її автономних частин. Зокрема, викликає чимало обговорень прагнення деяких частин Великобританії, таких як Шотландія та Північна Ірландія, залишитися у складі Європейського союзу.

З огляду на це, метою статті є дослідити можливі варіанти політики Шотландії в напрямку реалізації її прагнень щодо членства в ЄС, а також розглянути перспективи проведення другого референдуму про відокремлення від Великобританії. Дослідження даних питань потребує вивчення різних точок зору щодо можливих варіантів для членства Шотландії в ЄС, в тому числі таких авторів як Р. Вобель[18], П. Дарданеллі [4], Д. Едвард[5], Р. Лейн[8], Т. Лок [10], Дж. Мітчелл[4] та ін. та аналізу соціологічних досліджень, зокрема щодо сприйняття Шотландської національної партії та її політики і посилення прихильності до націоналістичних настроїв серед шотландців, а також оцінки наслідків Brexit для Великобританії та інших європейських країн.

Референдум 23 червня про вихід з ЄС та його результати спричинили нову хвилю обговорень статусу Шотландії в Сполученому Королівстві та її членства в Євросоюзі. Попередні опитування, проведені у квітні 2016 року, показали, що близько 66 % шотландців голосуватимуть за те, щоб залишатися у складі ЄС, а серед громадян всього Сполученого Королівства – лише 49 % [16]. Ці дані ще до референдуму засвідчили широку підтримку членства в ЄС серед населення Шотландії, на відміну від деяких інших частин Великобританії.

Результати референдуму щодо виходу з ЄС, з одного боку, підтвердили попередні опитування, а з іншого, розкололи громадян Сполученого Королівства майже навпіл, адже перевага на користь Brexit була незначною (51,9% висловилися за вихід з ЄС і 48,1% – проти).