

чіткій категоризації «чужих», в якості яких тепер можуть використовуватися як «сепаратисти», так і радикальні елементи і корупціонери, що заважають модернізації країни. Таким чином, Порошенко, який у якості політичного лідера є результатом «євромайдан», зараз є найбільш успішним в якості політичного лідера на посаді Президента України, зберігаючи свій рейтинг і через рік після обрання.

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Президентское и протестное политическое лидерство в Украине.

Аннотация. В статье рассматриваются особенности политического руководства в рамках и по итогу «евромайдана». Категория «поддерживающего общественного мифа» используется, чтобы описать различия между лидерами политических партий и лидеров неправительственных организаций, принимавших участие в «евромайдане». Лидеры неправительственных организаций, такие, как Дмитрий Ярош и Егор Соболев видят ситуацию в корне неправильной, и ориентируются на коренную перестройку общества, то есть изменение «мифа», как единственного выхода из ситуации, в то время как партийные лидеры стремятся использовать его.

Петр Порошенко рассматривается как один из политических лидеров «евромайдана», который продемонстрировал отличное от других поведение и стал основным бенефициаром перераспределения сторонников. Как Президент Украины реализует позитивную программу президентской политического руководства.

Ключевые слова: политическое лидерство, «евромайдан», лидеры неправительственных организаций, лидеры политических партий, президентское политическое лидерство.

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Presidential and protest political leadership in Ukraine.

Abstract. The article investigates the features of political leadership within and at the end of «Euromaidan». The category of «sustaining myth» of society is used to describe the differences between the leaders of political parties and leaders of non-governmental organizations that took part in the «Euromaidan». Leaders of non-governmental organizations such as Dmytro Yarosh and Yegor Sobolev regard the situation so fundamentally wrong, that they see a fundamental restructuring of society, that is the change of the «supportive myth», as the only way out of the situation, while the party leaders are seeking to use it.

Petro Poroshenko is considered as one of political leaders of «Euromaidan», who demonstrated excellent behavior from others and thus become the main beneficiaries eligible for the redistribution of supporters. As the President of Ukraine he has demonstrated the ability to structure cognitive space by creating mass awareness, promotion and support of social categories that is able to accommodate the largest possible number of followers and implements positive program of presidential political leadership.

Key words: political leadership, «Euromaidan», leaders of non-governmental organizations, political party leaders, constituents, presidential political leadership.

УДК 327.7 + 659.4

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UN GOODWILL AMBASSADORS IN THE PR-ISATION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Abstract. The peculiarity of Goodwill Ambassadors' diplomacy consists in specific information they report to the global audience. To achieve their purpose methods and means of PR are used. The particular attention is drawn towards social networks and special campaigns conducted by means of the Internet. The examples of successful PR usage are: Yao Chen with her 80 million followers on Weibo; Jackie Chan who doubled all donations from his fans for his charity projects; «Match

against poverty» campaign conducted by football players and (concurrently) UNDP Ambassadors; Angelina Jolie who utilizes video appeals, movies and charity campaigns to help refugees.

Key words: *UN Goodwill Ambassadors, PR-isation of international relations, public diplomacy, PR-means.*

Introduction

The United Nations Goodwill Ambassadors institute is a new phenomenon in international relations. It appeared in 1954, when the first Goodwill Ambassador Danny Kaye was designated. The task of these actors is to bring knowledge about UN aims, goals and values to global community. They use PR means for that. Political scientists are interested in studying of some of Goodwill Ambassadors in the context of celebrity diplomacy, but there are many UN recruits, who are not subjects under discussion. The PR researchers don't pay attention to Goodwill Ambassadors institute at all.

Functioning of the Ambassadors institute is a vivid description of international relations PR-isation [5, c.14] – a state of affairs when for the players of a worldwide policy it is more important to seem to be (in the eyes of global public, partners, and electorate of the countries) than to be in reality. Consequently already logic of PR determines a policy, but not vice versa. Thus we are interested in examination of the UN Goodwill Ambassadors' role in the PR-isation of international relations. The research is provided with original sources, but there is lack of scientific analysis of the UN Ambassadors' activity in PR and public diplomacy literature. The purpose of the present paper is to determine the efficiency of PR usage by the UN Goodwill Ambassadors and their peculiarities in cooperation with the UNO. For this purpose descriptive research, monitoring and statistics are used.

The PR means and UN Goodwill Ambassadors

There are a lot of researches, who studied all aspects of public relations, but we are specifically interested in studies focused on PR means. The political scientists, who examined this matter, are: S. Cutlip, A. Center, G. Broom O. Baskin, C. Aronoff, D. Lattimore, P. Henslowe, A. Theaker, J. Grunig, T. Hunt, V.G. Korol'ko, A.N. Chumikov and others. We can distinguish the main means of PR that can be used by the UN Goodwill Ambassadors: activism, campaign, audio and video materials, social networks and music.

Activism is «the process by which groups of people exert pressure on organizations or other institutions to change policies, practices, or conditions that the activists find problematic. Activists generally practice public relations «from the bottom up», using the strategies and tactics of the field to achieve goals that are not that dissimilar from those of other, more institutionalized organizations. Activism generally arises when members of a public perceive some problematic situation». [11, c.5] The following UN Goodwill Ambassadors act as activists: Angelina Jolie, Mia Farrow, Jackie Chan, David Beckham, Angelique Kidjo, Barbara Hendricks, Tetsuko Kuroyanagi, Sir Roger Moore.

A campaign is «the strategic design of a series of messages sent to one or more targeted populations for a discrete period of time in response to a positive or negative situation affecting the organization. An organization or agency plans a campaign by utilizing paid messages or unpaid message outlets such as press releases or other news events to respond to a crisis affecting the organization» [11, c.109]. A campaign got the specificity in the UN Ambassadors' activity – it can be implemented in the video appeals, united by one general subject. They can be started by the UN governing body (for example, the UNHCR campaign's audience grew up from 100 million in 2013 [12] to 150 million in 2014 [17]) or by the UN Goodwill Ambassadors' initiatives. There are a lot of examples of the UN recruits' successful campaign. We list some of them:

1) The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Goodwill Ambassadors campaigns, such as «No one chooses to be a refugee», where Angelina Jolie asks people to tell refugee's stories to others. In her next video appeal she listed the names of those 15000 people, who have agreed to do this [20]. Spanish TV presenter Jesús Vázquez launched a multimedia campaign to raise awareness and funds for hundreds of thousands of Somali refugees in the world's largest refugee camp complex [13]. He

helped to raise 264 148 USD (he was connected with these contributions to the UNCHR: My Alert (151 511 USD), Sando Foundation (70 922 USD), Hugo Boss (25 094 USD), Jesús Vázquez (16 621 USD)) [19].

2) Match against Poverty campaign was started by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Goodwill Ambassadors Ronaldo and Zinedine Zidane in 2003. Soccer players conduct matches on regular basis. The first match raised more than US\$800,000 for anti-poverty projects in developing countries at a soccer match in Basel, Switzerland [16].

3) The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) Goodwill Ambassador Mia Farrow started anti-polio campaign in Nigeria in 2001 [15]. Since then she has visited many countries and helped to eradicate polio by raising awareness and money. Jackie Chan has launched interesting campaign "Build School for a dollar" that helped him to build several schools in the poorest China regions [4].

Audio and video materials are conventional means of UN Goodwill Ambassadors' PR. We have mentioned video appeal, but there are also movies, photos and audio interviews. The most engaging and, at the same time, rarely implemented are movies. The following Ambassadors use them to bring the UN message to the audience: Leonardo DiCaprio, Angelina Jolie, Vanessa Redgrave, Sir Peter Ustinov, Osvaldo Laport, Liam Neeson, Adel Imam.

D. Boyd and N. Ellison define *social network* sites as «web-based services that allow individuals to construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system» [3]. Facebook, youtube, twitter are network services, that have their analogues even in post-soviet countries (Rutube, Vk, Odnoklassniki). People do not imagine their life without these services. Networks were created to assist people could socialize with each other free, but it grew into a giant social web, influence of which on modern society is hard to over-estimate. Certainly, not only ordinary Internet users enjoy this instrument of social interaction but also celebrities do: their pages have enormous popularity, which is measured in an amount of «followers» (the persons who put «like» under the official page of star or establishment), or subscribers (possibility to subscribe to somebody's page and get news from it about this person, without adding to the list of «friends»). Today we can speak of situations, when people can gather at one place at the same time by social networks (for instance, Arabian Spring). It is possible to have a huge influence not only within the virtual space but also transfer it to everyday life. Furthermore, social networks play as the alternative to Old Media, spreading its influence farther and deeper into community. The point is an ordinary middle-class actress Yao Chen has global audience on her Weibo (over 78 million followers). S. Keenlyside tried to lay bare of this phenomenon, but she did not find any explanations [14]. We concluded that Yao's popularity comes out of her ordinariness, but not despite of it. Chinese people have restricted number of topics to discuss in the Internet and Chen has a very good feeling for interesting and important topics for herself and her auditorium.

History of the usage of *music* incorporates such concepts as «Jazz Ambassadors» (1950 – 1970) and «Hip-Hop Ambassadors». Tunisian youth activist Achref Aouadi recently asserted: «Remarkable Current (the American musician collective founded by Anas Canon) has more of an impact on Tunisia than Secretary Hillary Clinton» [1, c.73]. Jazz Ambassadors exported their music all over the world in the epoch of «cold war» and they had an influence on their auditorium. There are also musical Ambassadors among the UN recruits: Barbara Hendricks, Katy Perry, Angelique Kidjo, Lang Lang, Stevie Wonder, Daniel Barenboim, Midori, Yo-Yo Ma.

The peculiarities of the UN Goodwill Ambassadors' institute and PR-isation of international relations

The institute has some *peculiarities*, connected with PR and diplomacy. They are the

following:

1) *Indisputable growth of the UN Goodwill Ambassadors'* amount every year. There were scores of Ambassadors 50 years ago, but now their amount is over 500 (including international, regional and national UN Goodwill Ambassadors). The person who made an invaluable contribution into this increase was the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan. He decided to utilise this method of UN promotion because of successful analysis of Danny Kaye's and Audrey Hepburn's humanitarian diplomacy. But first of all, this step was done in order not to pay attention to the UNO, but to improve the public opinion about it. It is well known that the UN decisions have practically declarative character because of permanent member states of the Security Council that have their own national interests in every corner of the world. That is why in order to promote the UN on international area and to show its efficiency – efficiency of liberal internationalism – to global public Kofi Annan tried to increase the amount of the Goodwill Ambassadors. This was tied together with the growth in the number of departments in the UN's local, regional and international offices with responsibilities for media and communications and special events. At the beginning of 21 century this institute was so advanced in number of staff that UNHCR started to give probation period to new employees. Even the most popular Goodwill Ambassador Angelina Jolie had this trial term.

2) *Complication of the UN Goodwill Ambassadors' diplomacy* lies in the fact that feedback is almost absent. It is present in classical diplomacy, i.e. specialists talk and listen to each other. In our case, the UN Goodwill Ambassadors mainly address to auditorium. It is two-way asymmetrical model of communication [9]. The UN recruits appeal in video messages, or we get information about some appearance, dialog or visit. But it already is not basic data, it is information given through the prism of mass media. Even video can't claim to total authenticity as we watch montage to a varying degree. The UN recruits try to seek solution – they try to create comfortable conditions for sustainable feedback with auditorium. It can be achieved through press conferences, where celebrities answer the questions of their auditorium (keynote: auditorium's questions, not the journalist's ones). The Ambassadors who are not celebrities (e.g., scientists like Dr. Rajendra Pachauri) have more opportunities to achieve sustainable feedback through the conferences and lectures. The second method is website: official page, accounts on twitter, facebook, youtube and others that give an opportunity to leave a comment or ask questions and receive the answers. The best result is demonstrated by Yao Chen with her almost 80 million followers on Weibo and Jackie Chan with 63 million followers on facebook. Note that Jackie is international film star, while Yao is only a middle-class actress from China. The third method is Jolie's campaign, where the names of people, who agreed to tell others about refugees, appeared in credits of her new video-appeal. This method allows ordinary people to feel closer to admirable celebrity like Angelina. The fourth method is also demonstrated by Jackie: he doubles all payments that children contribute to his project «Build School for a dollar» [4]. This method includes two positive aspects for children – it develops their creativeness (because payments must be a part of children's drawings) and it teaches them to be generous natures. The fifth powerful method is a collective enterprise such as soccer match (Match against Poverty campaign etc.). The merit of this method is a special atmosphere of players and their fans' unity. That is why such element of feedback is very popular and essential.

3) *Global character of the UN Goodwill Ambassador's diplomacy* consists in that Ambassadors travel to different countries and spread their message all over the world. They can communicate with international auditorium by means of their appeals, movies, music and the websites.

4) *The usage of NGO* becomes widespread when Goodwill Ambassadors cooperate not only with the UN specialized agencies, but also with Red Cross Organization and private foundations such as One Foundation (Jet Li), Nippon Foundation (Yohei Sasakawa), Ricky Martin Foundation, Barefoot Foundation (Shakira), Dragon's Heart (Jackie Chan),

Miracle of Music (Myung-Whun Chung), Stone (Princess Haya Bint Al Hussein) and so on.

5) The UN Goodwill Ambassadors use mainly *white* PR. They can't compare themselves with other Ambassadors or celebrities when they appeal on behalf of the UN. Even though we can draw parallels in Audrey Hepburn's and Tetsuko Kuroyanagi's activities or Yao Chen's and Angelina Jolie's activities, the last three can't say: "She acts like me" or "I do my duty better" and so on. White PR may range from advertisement and publicity to extraordinary performance such as Shakira's "World Baby Shower" initiative. It only depends on the Ambassadors' will and creativeness. Overall, there is *freedom of choice* (of PR and public diplomacy means) in the UN Goodwill Ambassadors' institute. But there is one precedent when Goodwill Ambassador was dropped by the UN because of bad influence on global public relations. The UNDP has dropped former Libyan ruler Moammar Gaddafi's daughter as a Goodwill Ambassador due to the events in Libya in February 2011 [18]. The official reason was declared as breach of Article 30 of the UN Guidelines for the Designation of Goodwill Ambassadors and Messengers of Peace: «Messenger of Peace or Goodwill Ambassador engages in any activity incompatible with his/her status or with the purposes and principles of the United Nations, or if the termination is in the interest of the Organization» [10].

6) *Flexibility* is vital trait for the UN recruits in the globalized world, which undergoes gradually increasing impact of PR-isation. The Ambassadors should be able to provide competent response to new threats, events and crisis. But only the most popular Ambassadors fulfil this requirement, because Ebola case proved that World Health Organization (WHO) was not able to respond to this threat properly: there were no special Ambassador on this matter and no appeal from WHO Goodwill Ambassadors. David Beckham [6], Yuna Kim [7] and Angelique Kidjo [2] proved to be more proactive in this case. They are the UNICEF Goodwill Ambassadors and their campaigns and video appeals highlighted children whose parents have died from Ebola and children that were living in dangerous area.

The results of the UN Goodwill Ambassadors (we included these institutes: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), United Nations Development Program (UNDP), United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), World Health Organization (WHO), Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)), are the following.

Table 1.

Name of the UN institute	UNHCR	UNDP	UNFPA	UNICEF	WHO	FAO	UNIDO
Quantity of Ambassadors	12	10	5	31	4	37	9
Frequency of mentioning in mass media (as Goodwill Ambassador)	84,3	86,5	83,2	84,73	89,75	75,6	81,3
Frequency of mentioning on the UN websites	84,25	81,5	83,4	84,8	77,25	69,3	81,4
Level of cooperation with the UN	85,1	82,4	83,6	83,1	88,25	68,5	84,2
Participation in public rallies	84,9	82,6	86,6	82,3	83,5	73	81,6
Existence of websites or usage of social networks	79,3	82,9	80,6	80,1	80	65,6	66,6
Feedback	87,9	88,6	86,8	87,7	83,25	63,7	–
Mean quantity	84,3	84,08	84,03	83,79	83,6	69,2	73,17

Conclusions.

The UN Goodwill Ambassadors' institute is currently a very well-developed establishment and has the following properties: indisputable growth of the UN Goodwill

Ambassadors' amount, complicated diplomacy due to restricted feedback, global character of their diplomacy, flexibility, the usage of NGOs and white PR. We also worked out the criteria of valuation of Goodwill Ambassadors through the prism of the PR theory and they are as follows: frequency of mentioning in mass media (as Goodwill Ambassador), frequency of mentioning on the UN websites, level of cooperation with the universal global Organization, participation in public rallies, existence of websites or usage of social networks, feedback. Using the above listed criteria we can conclude that the public activity of UNCHR Ambassadors is the most effective of all UN Institutes; it is necessary to add that the activities of the UNDP and the UNFPA Goodwill Ambassadors are almost the same. E. Falt, researcher of the USC Center on Public Diplomacy, commented: «We still have one or two Agencies who think the magic lies in numbers (one even has 42 Goodwill Ambassadors and many other perceived celebrities of convenience) but the accepted wisdom, as we learn to better manage this type of activity, is that we should all work with a small number of dedicated celebrities, carefully assessing each appointment and discontinuing those relationships which prove to be unproductive» [8].

We think that E. Falt means Food and Agriculture Organization (which has 37 Ambassadors now) Goodwill Ambassadors. The truth is that UNICEF has 31 international Goodwill Ambassadors and over 300 national Ambassadors now. The Falt's statement is correct in regard to FAO Goodwill Ambassadors only. We should also mention that that the UNICEF does not need the national Goodwill Ambassadors, because their influence on international arena is too weak. Efficiency of every single specialized agency depends on individual factor, but not on numbers. International FAO Goodwill Ambassadors have the same influence as the national UNICEF Goodwill Ambassadors do, so both are unnecessary for the UN. We recommend reducing number of not active international and national Goodwill Ambassadors and also duly selecting of new Ambassadors to the weakest institutes.

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Посли доброї волі ООН в піаризації міжнародних відносин.

Анотація. Інститут Послів доброї волі ООН – нове явище в міжнародному житті, яке ще не знайшло достатнього висвітлення в науковій літературі. Мета статті – розглянути особливості цього інституту та встановити ефективність Послів доброї волі через використання засобів піару в своїй діяльності. Згідно з метою обрано наступні методи: описові порівняння, статистичний метод та спостереження. Найважливішими прикладами використання засобів піару Послами є такі: Яо Чен з її майже 80-мільйонною аудиторією на Weibo; Джеки Чан, який подвоює внески своїх фанів до свого благодійного проекту; кампанія «Матч проти бідності», що проводиться Послами доброї волі (які є футболістами) ПРООН та Анджеліна Джоли з її відео-зверненнями та благодійними проектами на користь біженців. Загалом найкраще себе проявили Посли УВКБ ООН, ПРООН та ЮНФПА, майже не відстають від них Посли ЮНІСЕФ та ВООЗ. Найнижчий бал отримала ФАО. Рекомендується позбавити звання Посла неактивних міжнародних та національних Послів доброї волі задля підвищення загального рівня ефективності інституту в піаризації міжнародних відносин.

Ключові слова: Посли доброї волі ООН, піаризація міжнародних відносин, публічна дипломатія, засоби піару.

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Послы доброй воли ООН в пиаризации международных отношений.

Аннотация. Институт Послов доброй воли ООН – новое явление в международной жизни, которое ещё не получило должного освещения в научной литературе. Цель статьи – установить особенности данного института и установить эффективность Послов доброй воли через использование средств пиар в своей деятельности. Исходя из этого, выбраны следующие методы: описательное сравнение, статистический метод, наблюдение. Самые успешные примеры использования средств PR Послами ООН: Яо Чен с её почти 80-миллионной аудиторией на Weibo; Джеки Чан, удваивающий взносы своих поклонников на благотворительный проект; кампания «Матч против бедности», проводимая Послами ПРООН (в частности, футболистами) и Анджелина Джоли с её видео-обращениями и благотворительными проектами в пользу беженцев. В целом лучшие всего себя показали Послы УВКБ ООН, ПРООН и ЮНФПА, следом за ними идут Послы ВОЗ и ЮНИСЕФ. Самый низкий показатель у ФАО. Рекомендуется лишить звания Посла доброй воли ООН неактивных международных и национальных Послов с целью повышения общего уровня эффективности Послов ООН в пиаризации международных отношений.

Ключевые слова: Послы доброй воли ООН, пиаризация международных отношений, публичная дипломатия, средства пиару.