



Celebrity Diplomacy

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INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the rise of transnational forms of celebrity diplomacy – the employment of well-known or famous individuals to publicize international causes and to engage in foreign policy decision-making circles. International governmental organizations (IGOs) including the United Nations (UN) have a long-standing tradition of appointing Goodwill Ambassadors and Messengers of Peace. In turn, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), such as the Red Cross, Oxfam and Save the Children, have been represented by celebrity advocates. These developments emerged from a transition between state-centric to public diplomatic state-people and people-people initiatives. (See Chapters 35 and 42 in this Handbook) A new ‘currency’ of public diplomacy has occurred in which emotion and rhetoric helps shapes the outcome of international affairs. Moreover, with the rise of 24/7 news programming, the accompanying ‘CNN effect’ on foreign

policymaking and the social media, there has been a reconfiguration of international public opinion from elite interest to grassroots representation.

Invariably, this use of celebrity diplomats is presented as an anti-democratic phenomenon in which celebrities are accused of reinforcing global North-South stereotypes by academics working within the fields of political communications, media studies and development studies (Kellner, 2010; Polman, 2011; Kapoor, 2012). Conversely, the International Relations scholar Andrew F. Cooper conceives celebrity diplomacy as an alternative form of agency in which stars fill the void in public trust vacated by the international political classes (Cooper, 2008). Within this schema, celebrity diplomacy contrasts with Westphalia traditions founded on the values of state security and hard power. Consequently, proponents of celebrity diplomacy claim stars provide a **greater openness in the diplomatic forms**, thereby constructing a consensus for local, supranational and global initiatives

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These types of ‘track-2’ diplomacy mean that stars not only bring public attention to international activities but can apply pressure for meaningful change in foreign policymaking. These concerns accord to Joseph Nye’s concept of soft power which refers to the ability to affect reform through the processes of attraction rather than coercion or payment (Nye, 2004).

This chapter will analyse, assess and explain whether celebrity diplomats have effected a ‘politics of attraction’ through which they may legitimize their positions within the global public sphere. Such soft power potential will be unpacked to ask if celebrities can effectively lend their weight to transnational forms of diplomatic engagement. Consequently, this chapter will situate celebrity diplomacy within a broader view of the concepts associated with public diplomacy; provide case studies in relation to IGOs, NGOs and ‘go it alone’ forms of humanitarian initiatives (Bono, Bob Geldof); and will discuss the creditability (or not) of these types of celebrity driven ‘affective capacities’. As Geoffrey Wiseman notes ‘we are investing our emotions, our time and our money in celebrity activities and [need to know] whether this is a sound investment’ (Wiseman, 2009: 5). This chapter argues that celebrity diplomacy is an important phenomenon which cannot be ignored as it is creating new forms of diplomatic endeavour in the arena of international affairs.

CELEBRITY DIPLOMACY AS PART OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

The traditions of diplomacy have been seen as a coordination of state interests with broader conceptions of collective security and economic power. The mechanisms of bargaining and cooperation have been utilized as a diplomatic ‘currency’ for example by British Foreign Office mandarins, ambassadors and United States’ (US) State Department

officials. This has been presented as being part of a realist discourse in which matters of ethics and emotional value are secondary to the complexities of the global state system. Moreover, public diplomacy – in which governments influence international attitudes regarding their national images – remained defined by state interest and power. While the communication of intercultural interests existed beyond the traditional forms of diplomacy, governmental ministers, embassy diplomats and consular officials used public relations strategies to effect agendas within the international media. Further, cultural, arts and exchange based diplomatic initiatives were developed by state-sponsored institutions such as the United States Information Agency (USIA), the British Council, the Voice of America and the British Broadcasting Corporation’s (BBC) World Service (Cull, 2010).

However, as the nature of media coverage has expanded with the rise of 24/7 global news programming in which the decentralization and fragmentation of opinion has intensified, these traditions of diplomacy are being challenged. (See Chapter 8 in this Handbook.) Moreover, the rise of social media networks places a greater emphasis on interactive and person-to-person communications. These developments have been tied together with a democratization of foreign policy in which global concerns are placed on the popular agenda. Therefore, a ‘new public diplomacy’ has emerged in the wake of alternative communications through which non-state actors (NSAs) and civil society organizations (CSOs) have promoted cultural interchanges to mobilize public interest to advance their causes (Melissen, 2011).

In this respect, a new ‘currency’ of public diplomacy emerges in which emotional rhetoric and values become key bargaining tools. Geoffrey Pigman comments that CSOs, including non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as Greenpeace, use direct action techniques to become newsworthy and achieve public visibility. Pigman also notes that so-called ‘eminent person diplomats’

have made their presence felt on the international stage through developments such as the Elders Programme to raise public awareness and affect diplomatic responses about the war in Darfur (Pigman, 2010: 88–9). This initiative was constructed by the musician Peter Gabriel and the Virgin Media entrepreneur Sir Richard Branson and included the late South African President Nelson Mandela and former US President Jimmy Carter.

Within this sub-category, Pigman comments that celebrities have influenced humanitarian initiatives (for example, through Live Aid, Live-8, and numerous charities in telethons), and that the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) have used Goodwill Ambassadors (Pigman, 2010: 97). This proliferation of celebrity representations reflects a broader set of social, political, and international changes within diplomatic practices. As Pigman points out (2010: 96–7):

It makes sense to consider the activities of these individuals as diplomacy because, importantly – at least when they are successful – they and the messages that they bear are received by the interlocutor with which they wish to communicate. They are accredited as having standing and legitimacy by the counterparts to whom they seek to negotiate. They are engaging in the core diplomatic functions of representation and communication ... and by doing so they play a key role in mediating estrangement between other actors.

Therefore, celebrity activists have shifted the focus away from state-directed types of public diplomacy to bring attention to more cosmopolitan concerns related to global citizenship and mutual solidarity. Lisa Tsaliki, Christos A. Frangonikolopoulos and Asteris Huliaras argue that celebrity activists can 'bridge' the gap between Western audiences and faraway tragedies by using their fame to publicize international events (Tsaliki et al., 2011: 299). Celebrity diplomats provide a creditable lead 'through the 'non-confrontational' reordering of political and economic forces in the service of global

goals' (Tsaliki et al., 2011: 300). Through their charismatic authority they complement the work of NGOs to establish a discourse within the global civil society about such organizations' activities.

In turn, Andrew Cooper maintains that if public diplomacy is married to more open-ended versions of individual agency, then traditional forms of state-centric diplomacy are eroded (Cooper, 2008: 2). He argues that celebrity diplomacy creates a new 'space' in which stars provide a conduit between the public and foreign affairs to overcome the 'disconnect' which has occurred as official diplomats have sought to husband information rather than share it (Cooper, 2008: 113–14). Consequently, celebrities can provide points of identification to mobilize public opinion for diplomatic reform. Therefore, Cooper identifies celebrity diplomacy as an alternative form of agency (see Chapter 7 in this Handbook) which has the potential to define international communication agendas:

The power of agency – and ... its adaptive capabilities ... – is captured by the continued rise of Angelina Jolie ... Jolie has exhibited many of the potential strengths, in part because of her ability to mix art and real life. Starring in adventure films in exotic locations provided added credibility to her frontline activity as a UN Goodwill Ambassador and her more recent ventures into freelance diplomatic activity. It also reflected an immense amount of personal growth ... caused by ... [her] ... growing appreciation of what her role could be. (Cooper, 2008: 116)

Cooper contends that celebrities not only draw public attention and actively promote causes but are ideational figures who frame and sell ideas within the international community (Cooper, 2008: 10). This enables them to employ their rhetorical power within the centres of diplomatic power, such as the US Department of State and the United Nations. Cooper defines this as the 'Bonoization' of diplomacy, suggesting that celebrity advocates, such as the U2 singer Bono (Paul David Hewson), have placed causes such as world debt on the international agenda.

Further, he argues that decision-makers can benefit from the favourable public opinion engendered through such an association with celebrities. This mutuality of interests means that celebrities can gain an unprecedented amount of face-to-face time with leaders, meaning that stars may advance their causes.

Cooper's celebrity diplomacy thesis accords with Joseph Nye's concept of soft power as it suggests that change occurs through attraction rather than 'carrots or sticks' (Nye, 2004). In terms of nation states, this power derives from the legitimacy of a society's culture, political ideals, and policies directed towards other countries. At the more individualist level, Cooper contends that celebrity diplomats have utilized the politics of attraction to legitimize themselves within the global public sphere and to access networks of power (Cooper, 2008: 10). This 'soft power potential' has meant celebrity diplomats have lent their weight to 'sell' transnational campaigns within a commercially driven news media. In this manner, celebrities have utilized their star power to affect pressure upon diplomats, international policymakers and national leaders. Therefore, it remains necessary to consider the activities, roles and techniques that celebrities have used in order to examine the nature and extent of their influence within the diplomatic arena.

Key Points

- Traditional forms of diplomacy are being challenged by the rise of public diplomacy.
- The rise of the global communications means that international public opinion is a growing resource which is contested by both elite and grassroots organizations.
- Celebrity diplomacy has emerged as there has been a democratization of the foreign policy process.
- Celebrity diplomacy shares a number of characteristics with soft power such as the politics of attraction.

HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORANEOUS FORMS OF CELEBRITY DIPLOMACY: THE UNITED NATIONS, NGOS AND FREELANCE ACTIVISTS

Pigman makes a useful distinction between those celebrities who have represented a supra-national institution and others who have endorsed international causes, such as Live Aid or Product RED (Pigman, 2010: 87). In the case of the former, there is a significant history of celebrity endorsement concerning IGOs and NGOs. This has been complemented by the rise of more freelance forms of celebrity diplomacy, such as Bob Geldof's emotive response to the famines in Ethiopia with the initial creation of Band Aid and release of the 'Feed the World' charity single leading to the Live Aid Global concerts in 1985.

When UNICEF appointed the movie actor Danny Kaye in 1954 as its first Ambassador-at-large, it was the start of the UN's policy to employ celebrities to raise funds, affect diplomatic agendas and draw attention to development causes. As 'Mr UNICEF' Kaye and, his fellow Goodwill Ambassador Peter Ustinov, were seen as good international citizens who could engender a 'thick layer of goodwill for UNICEF' (Ling, 1984: 9). The celebrity who provided the template for this 'glamorous ... conformity' was Audrey Hepburn (Cooper, 2008: 18). She made visits to Ethiopia and Somalia with little fear for her personal safety, met African Leaders and took causes to the US Senate. Hepburn used her fame to promote UNICEF's humanitarian causes and refused to take political sides by insisting the worst violence in Africa was widespread poverty (Ling, 1984: 20).

As celebrity activity in the 1980s and 1990s increased, with the further employment of Goodwill Ambassadors by UNICEF and other agencies, notably the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the World Health Organization (WHO), celebrities decided to

become politically engaged. In this transformative era of celebrity diplomacy stars felt that they should use their fame to expose human rights' injustices. This led to several UN Goodwill Ambassadors, including Richard Gere and Mia Farrow, going distinctly off-message when they criticized the organization's moral stance. Another Goodwill Ambassador, Harry Belafonte, even accused George W. Bush of being 'the greatest terrorist in the world' when visiting the late Venezuela President Hugo Chavez.

When Kofi Annan was appointed as the UN Secretary-General in 1997, he oversaw a public relations revolution which engaged in the wide-scale employment of Goodwill Ambassadors. He believed celebrities could influence international public opinion to support the UN's goals of idealism and universalism. Moreover, the usage of celebrity diplomacy intensified with Annan's creation of Messengers of Peace drawn from famous individuals who could perpetuate the aims of the UN Charter. For instance, George Clooney became a Messenger of Peace because he supported NGO projects in war-torn Darfur. He was seen to be effective in fronting a humanitarian campaign forged from a coalition of groups ranging from political liberals, the African-American community and the Christian Right. In 2007, he co-founded a non-profit organization called Not on Our Watch to bring resolution to the conflict in Darfur and draw attention to human rights abuses in Burma, Sudan and Zimbabwe.

In raising the UN's profile for liberal internationalism, the most spectacular success is the film actress Angelina Jolie whose image was transformed from a Hollywood wild-child to a credible celebrity diplomat. Undoubtedly, she knows that her fame, beauty and photogenic qualities can attract the world's media to promote the causes she endorses. Yet, Jolie's emotive responses were seen to be legitimate when she published her diaries, about her visits to refugee camps, which appeared to be serious and well-informed. Therefore, Jolie's activism

epitomized Annan's belief that through celebrity diplomacy the UN's mission for universalism would be enhanced.

These forms of transnational star activism have moved beyond the institutional confines of the UN as NGOs have used global celebrities to publicize their activities and direct media attention to issues. For instance, Jolie has worked independently from the UN and has collaborated with Peter Gabriel in his Witness Programme, which documents human rights abuses and establishes policies for international justice. Similarly, the singer Annie Lennox has accompanied her role as a United Nations Education Science and Culture Organization (UNESCO) Goodwill Ambassador with active support for Amnesty International, Greenpeace and Burma UK. The American Red Cross utilizes a 50-member Celebrity Cabinet that includes Jamie Lee Curtis, Jane Seymour, L.L. Cool J. and Jackie Chan.

In matching up the celebrity with the NGO, the 'fit' between the motivations of a celebrity and a charity is a priority. One of the most successful linkages occurred when the late Princess Diana became an advocate for the banning of landmines when she agreed to endorse the Mines Advisory Group (MAG). She had become involved with MAG when representing UK Red Cross as part of her responsibilities as the wife of Prince Charles. However, she realized her image of 'glamour with compassion' could deliver a message for which she had a very personal concern. In making her trips to Angola and Bosnia to publicize the landmines issue, Princess Diana's enthusiasm for the cause was evident from her comment that: 'This is the type of format I've been looking for' (Cooper, 2008: 26).

Yet events and media perceptions also shaped how the landmines message was publicized and received. Princess Diana was due to attend the first major ceremony concerning the banning of landmines on 1 September 1997 when she was killed in a car crash in Paris. However, she was so closely associated with the cause that her influence on the

campaign proved to be instrumental even after her death. Bob Geldof had some time before this understood that a Royal seal of approval, in his case from Prince Charles and Princess Diana's attendance at the opening of his 1985 Live Aid show, was necessary to provide credibility for the entire enterprise of aid (Geldof, 2005).

Geldof's globally televised Live Aid shows reconfigured the public's attitude towards charities by demonstrating that fundraising could be desirable. On 24 October 1984, the BBC News correspondent Michael Buerk's filed a devastating report about the widespread starvation of Ethiopian refugees in camps at Korem. In the resulting outpouring of public grief the horrified Geldof, the front man of a fading post-punk band The Boomtown Rats, became an unlikely celebrity humanitarian. He cajoled 45 UK pop stars including Bono, George Michael and Sting to form *Band Aid*, which recorded a charity single 'Do They Know it's Christmas' (1984). The record raised millions of pounds. This led to Geldof quite forcefully persuading celebrities, such as Bowie, Paul McCartney, Mick Jagger, Lionel Richie and Elton John, along with bands including Dire Straits, Queen, U2 and The Who, into performing at the simultaneous Live Aid concerts in London and Philadelphia on 13 July 1985.

The media spectacle brought the plight of the starving Ethiopians to the attention of two billion viewers across 160 countries and challenged them to contribute to the cause, not least due to Geldof's impatience. Because the BBC failed to effectively advertise the phone numbers available for public donations, only a relatively small amount of money had been raised. Consequently, Live Aid is remembered for Geldof's (in)famous outburst on a pre-watershed channel which has inaccurately gone down in folklore as 'Give me the Fucking Money!' Live Aid raised a global total of £50 million and Geldof's indignant behaviour was seen to be crucial to its success (Gray, 2005).

Geldof's anger has been a key determinant in his approach to international relations.

Cooper contends that he is an 'anti-diplomat' who smashes through the niceties of diplomacy to achieve his goals (Cooper, 2008: 52). His verbal belligerence and desire for personal recognition has been countered by his genuine sense of compassion, organizational skills and realization of the power of public spectacle. It is noted that Geldof, whatever responses he arouses, has demonstrated a long-term commitment to his endeavours. Further, U2 became a major international act on the back of their appearance within the globally televised Live Aid concerts and their front-man Bono has utilized his fame to break down the spheres of entertainment and global advocacy to become *the* celebrity spokesman on human rights.

Bono has been responsible for tilting much of the focus of celebrity advocacy toward poverty in the developing states of the global economy (Cooper, 2007). He has placed an emphasis on direct action and building effective institutions, while using his fame to gain an inside track to lobby governments. The rock singer is the co-founder and remains the public face of the One Campaign and DATA (Debt, Aids, Trade Africa) which promote the ending of extreme poverty, the fighting of the AIDs pandemic and international debt relief. He was also instrumental, along with Jeffrey Sachs, Bobby Shriver and Paul Farmer, in the construction of Product RED which combined celebrity activism with corporate social responsibility (Nike, Apple, Gap) to support the Global Fund in its fight to stem the spread of HIV/Aids, tuberculosis and malaria in Africa.

As a regular speaker at the G8, the Davos World Economic Forum and World Bank meetings, Bono's views on aid and debt relief for developing nations have garnered the attention of world leaders, senior policymakers, NGOs, the media and the public. Consequently, he has utilized his centrifugal position as a global performer to bring politicians and corporate executives together (Jackson, 2008: 218). Undoubtedly, Bono has demonstrated tenacity in establishing political

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alliances not only with liberal figures such as Bill Clinton and Bill Gates but with George W. Bush and Jesse Helms, the late arch-conservative Senator from North Carolina. He attended Republican as well as Democratic National Conventions to extend his message and mobilize support for his causes. In this manner he achieved cross-party consensus for the Jubilee 2000 debt relief alliance in Africa and placed the issue firmly on the political agenda in Washington. These forms of political expedience have been necessary to achieve the greater good of aid reform.

Cooper notes how Bono has used his fame to gain entrance to the corridors of power by appealing to modern leaders such as Tony Blair and Bill Clinton due to their fascination with popular culture (Cooper, 2008: 38). Yet, as he has engaged with compromised leaders such as George W. Bush and Blair, alongside illiberal figures such as Vladimir Putin, Bono has been accused of being an impotent 'bard of the powerful' (Monbiot, 2005). Others have suggested that Bono's proclamations have been a good way of selling tickets for his band and assuaging Western consumer guilt. With the increase in celebrity diplomacy, the worth of such activism has been questioned and its impact on cultural and political practices has become more controversial.

Key Points

- Celebrity diplomacy has been associated with IGOs such as the UN and most especially the UNICEF Goodwill Ambassadors scheme.
- There was an exponential increase in UN Goodwill Ambassadors when former Secretary-General Kofi Annan engaged in a public relations revolution designed to promote the UN's liberal international values.
- Increasingly, NGOs such as Amnesty and Greenpeace have developed Ambassadors' Schemes.
- Freelance celebrity diplomats such as Bob Geldof and Bono have grown in importance through charitable records, globally televised concerts and their use of their fame to enter into key decision-making arenas.

QUESTIONING THE WORTH OF CELEBRITY DIPLOMACY

The critiques of celebrity diplomacy have several dimensions. Some celebrity diplomats are accused of debasing the quality of international debate, diverting attention from worthy causes to those which are 'sexy' and failing to represent the disenfranchised. They are criticized for being superficial and unaccountable. Concerns are raised that Goodwill Ambassadors trivialize the UN's mission. Mark D. Alleyne argues that the UN's deployment of Goodwill Ambassadors has been elitist and ethno-centric. He maintains that the employment of celebrities was part of a general malaise in which a desperate UN incorporated public relations techniques into its marketing so that the international media would provide it with a favourable coverage (Alleyne, 2005: 176). Essentially, Alleyne argues this is a shallow approach to solving crises, reinforcing ethnic stereotypes by perpetuating an imbalanced view of need and offering 'a primarily mellorative approach, giving succour to the incapacitated rather than hope for a better life through programmes of education, consciousness-raising and cultural affirmation' (Alleyne, 2003: 77).

Moreover, Lisa Richey and Stefano Ponte contend the celebrity activism that occurred in relation to 'Band Aid' was commoditized into 'Brand Aid'. This meant that major corporations and celebrities combined to support charities aimed at African poverty. As these apparently ethical forms of behaviour sell 'suffering' to the public, Richey and Ponte argue that aid causes have become 'brands' to be bought and sold in the global marketplace. Product RED marked the point wherein there was a fusion of consumption and social causes so that, 'the primary goal of RED is not to push governments to do their part, but to push consumers do theirs through exercising their choices' (Richey and Ponte, 2011: 33–4).

Consequently, Richey and Ponte argue that this apparent altruism provides another

means through which corporations may market themselves in relation to the growing concerns of lifestyle, culture and identity. Thus, corporations such as Amex and Armani (sponsors of Product RED) gained from developing 'responsible practices' so that they can brand themselves to a wider consumer base. However, by focusing the public attention on the plight of 'distant others' they deflect the focus away from their own dubious behaviour in exploiting cheap labour forces in developing states. In this respect, celebrities lend credence and validate such 'ethical' corporate behaviour.

Within this schema, Ilan Kapoor contends that the ideological underpinnings of celebrity advocacy are not so much about humanitarianism as about perpetuating a 'post-democratic' political system which may be characterized by neo-liberalism, self-promotion, brand marketing, and the reinforcement of elite-centred politics (Kapoor, 2012). Thus, Geldof and Bono's involvement in Live-8 is criticized for sloganizing poverty, deflecting the public's attention away from the viability of aid and being co-opted by an unaccountable political class (Polman, 2011). Concurrently, anti-poverty campaigners such as Making Poverty History argue that Live-8 wilfully undermines their messages of 'Justice not Charity', steals the media agenda and depoliticizes the cause through its construction of a dependency culture (Monbiot, 2005).

Therefore, this has meant that instead of Geldof and Bono acting as humane philanthropists, in reality they have reinforced the West's neo-colonial rule over the Global South. According to Andrew Darnton and Martin Kirk the 'Live Aid Legacy' has established an inequitable relationship between 'Powerful Givers' and 'Grateful Receivers' (Darnton and Kirk, 2011: 6). This dominant paradigm has meant that aid will 'magically' release the 'victims' from the shackles of Southern societies. Within this apparently benevolent narrative the focus on the indigenous peoples' needs rather than the facilitation of their creativity has been used to

'police' the boundaries of the public's imagination (Yrjölä, 2011: 187; Dieter and Kumar, 2008).

Such criticisms suggest that this cluster of celebrity activists remain North-centric actors. Jemima Repo and Riina Yrjölä maintain that the values of celebrity diplomacy preserve global stereotypes. Principally, Bono, Geldof and Jolie are represented as selfless Western crusaders dedicated to alleviating the suffering of Africans who exist outside of the 'civilized' processes of development, progress, peace and human security. Therefore, celebrities and 'Africa' operate under assumed roles which are presented as part of a wider discourse about the natural order of world politics (Repo and Yrjölä, 2011: 57). Celebrity diplomacy indicates an underlying cultural imperialism which has abused 'the Third World [so that] the latter becomes (a stage) for First World self-promotion and hero-worship, and [the] dumping ground for humanitarian ideals and fantasies' (Kapoor, 2011).

However, despite the validity of these criticisms, a more nuanced approach to celebrity diplomacy is required. For instance, in a commercially dictated global media, the escalation of UN Goodwill Ambassadors and Messenger of Peace Programmes was one of the few realistic responses open to Annan and his successor Ban Ki-Moon, along with NGOs, to promote the international community's activities (Kellner, 2010: 123). The ability of celebrity advocates to bring focus to international campaigns, to impact on diplomatic agendas and to advocate global principles has been of significant worth in seeking resolution in a period of sustained international conflict.

Key Points

- Celebrity diplomats have been accused of trivializing the debates about poverty and humanitarian reforms.
- They serve to reinforce a dominant Western paradigm that indigenous people are 'victims'.

- They have been understood as supporting the values of global capitalism, reinforcing the power of cultural imperialism and assuaging consumer guilt.
- Celebrity diplomats have a greater degree of autonomy than their critics realize and are necessary to publicize key issues in a commercially driven global media.

CONCLUSIONS

In analysing celebrity involvement in diplomatic initiatives, a mixed picture has emerged. UN Goodwill Ambassadors and Messengers of Peace, NGO endorsers and famous activists have used their star power to affect pressure upon diplomats, international policymakers and national leaders. As the critiques of celebrity advocates have indicated, there are dangers in over-simplifying complex forms of international diplomacy, utilizing emotional responses and becoming servants of the power elite. However, celebrities have promoted alternative discourses, and have developed credible diplomatic interventions. As Ira Wagman comments, the analysis must now move beyond the polarities of 'help or hurt' to consider why 'celebrities turn to diplomatic issues, why specific celebrities team up with particular institutions, and what each has to gain' (Wagman, 2014). Therefore, while remaining critically engaged with the processes of celebrity diplomacy, it is necessary to engage with the implications for opportunity and reform that have become manifest in an open-minded and intellectually curious fashion.

In moving the debate along, it should be noted that as celebrities have become more politically conscious they have brought about new forms of diplomatic engagement which have indicated a transformation from a state-centric to more populist approaches to international relations. These reforms have occurred within a construct of global collaboration so that networks of institutional and ideological power facilitate diplomatic

reforms. Thus, in soft power terms, the politics of attraction within celebrity-led campaigns such as Make Poverty History and Product RED have facilitated greater forms of agency to alleviate global suffering. Further, the dialogue between celebrities and the public has allowed for new opportunities for public diplomatic engagement. This has reflected a willingness within audiences to accept celebrities as authentic advocates due to the public's identification with stars. Consequently, the celebritization of international politics must not be simply dismissed as an erosion of the diplomatic order but should be understood as part of the transformation processes which are occurring within public diplomacy.

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