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**CREATING IMAGES
OF AMERICAN PRESIDENTS:**

Monograph

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This monograph is devoted to researching the theory and practice of image construction in the United States of America. Particular emphasis in the text is given to the practice of the formation of the USA's political leaders' image – Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, Barack Obama, John McCain and Mitt Romney. The authors researches the main steps in creating the image of these chosen political individuals. Special attention is paid to identifying the place and function of manipulative and rational political technologies in the construction of a political leader's image in the modern electoral process of the USA. The research conducted enabled the authors to assess the level of development of image-making in the USA, to reveal its regularities and discover particular problems, as well as to highlight national features.

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INTRODUCTION

During the period when elections became standard in most countries' political processes, politicians of all levels worried about their image in the eyes of their potential voters. The impression they make will directly affect the voter's decision during the voting. In this regard, any election campaign to date has not dispensed with the creation of a politician's image, i.e. that attractive emotionally - tinted image, which is simulated and impressed into the public consciousness by political technologists.

Being an important factor in the distribution of political power, the image progressively engages the attention of researchers from various fields. Thus, the political and academic community is concerned by the question, whether elections, destined to become the highest expression of the power of the people, transmute into the manipulation and mythologization of the people's consciousness, including by "imposing" the politicians' images. Therefore, it is extremely important to identify and study those methods, whereby image construction takes place, and which, finally, opens up the heights of the political hierarchy to certain individuals.

The questions connected with the image of the political leader, are currently being focused on by researchers in various fields: political scientists, sociologists and psychologists, as a result of their high practical importance. In modern scientific literature, many theoretical questions concerning the image of the political leader are studied in some detail. At the same time, attention should be drawn to the fact, that today there little research has been devoted to the images of specific political persons. In particular, the comprehensive efforts devoted to the creation of the images chosen for current research into the political leaders of the USA, weren't carried out in national literature. A specific number of publications are devoted to the various image aspects of particular political persons. These have a fragmentary character, however. They do not contain an objective for the comprehensive study of the political leaders's image, but specific questions arise.

The objective of this research is to study the processes involved in the creation of the images of the political leaders of the USA – Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, Barack Obama, John McCain and Mitt Romney, the identification thereupon of the general image construction mechanisms in America, and their logical interpretation.

The choice of the political individuals for research is preconditioned by the following. The USA is one of the oldest democratic systems, where presidential elections have been conducted for over 220 years. Americans are familiar with the practice of political image-making. American politicians and political strategists have acquired extensive experience in this field, allowing them to set examples and establish work standards with the image for the rest of the world. Their experience of using image technologies is widespread in other countries. In this regard, the studying of image-making in the USA seems quite timely.

The research uses the integrated interdisciplinary approach, based on the interaction of political science with other scientific disciplines. The solution of research issues and problems was completed using the main theoretical methods of scientific knowledge: analysis, composition, induction and deduction. on the basis The common and private scientific and applied approaches were also used: descriptive, chronological, historical, sociological, culturological. Comparative analysis was applied to identify both the common and particular aspects of American political practice. A broad range of empirical material, analyzed on the basis of quantitative (an analysis of the results of sociological surveys) and qualitative (deep textual analysis) methods is used in the project.

The empirical material used in this research allowed a comprehensive analysis of the political leaders' image and the methods used to construct a political image, to be conducted; this material comprises numerous sources, which can be separated into the following groups.

The first group consists of the speeches of political leaders – Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, Barack Obama, John McCain and Mitt Romney. This material is extremely important for the purposes of image analysis, as the political leader personally is its active creator. The candidates' speeches are used in this research as a

block of image-generating information, the analysis of which helps to disclose the process of image creation, allowing its specifics to be identified in the light of the politicians' personal features.

The second group includes statistical data from the various USA sociological centers, based on public-opinion polls, identifying citizen relations to the political leaders. This relationship, finally, is the image, as the latter is a "refraction of the politician" through the people's consciousness. Therefore the process of image creation needs to be researched on the basis of the "final product": that image, which was embedded in the citizens' consciousness. On the basis of the empirical material used, the miscellaneous analysis of a specific leader's image, the identification of its dynamics, the effective image characteristics and the study of the leader's psychological cognition behavior by citizens, are all possible.

The presidential candidates' agitational pre-election materials form the third group: agitation speeches, commercials and advertising videos, pre-election brochures, posters and leaflets. These act as the instrument for image creation, indicating the orientation of its formation, and also the technical aspect of the image's construction. It is necessary to identify the candidates' election programs, which reveal the ideological component of leaders' images within this group's components.

The candidates' pre-election Internet resources were the fourth group referred to by the author: the official Internet sites of political leaders, authorities and political parties, working to create their images and the materials uploaded onto social networks. On the basis of this source analysis, "the ideal image", to which the image-makers aspire, is silhouetted.

The fifth group potentially refers to the memoirs of the political leaders and also those of their relatives and confidants. Sources such as these are valuable for researching the "veiled" processes such as image formation, as they allow for it to be retraced "from the inside". They provide such information which is inaccessible for outside observers.

CHAPTER 1. THE IMAGE OF A POLITICAL LEADER: THE THEORY OF THE PROBLEM

1.1. The concept of a political leader's image in modern political science

In order to study a political leader's image, first of all it is necessary to determine an exact definition of the concept. There are a number of controversial issues in scientific literature regarding the essence of the concept of the "image". The main debatable issues are as follows.

Opinions as to what should be considered as an "image" remain divided: whether it is a political leader himself with his appearance and personal features, or whether they are concepts, appearing in people's minds under the influence of that leader's perception. The renowned Russian psychologist D.V. Olshansky, compares this idea to the question of an image in Christianity: it is either an icon itself, or it is a picture appearing in a person's mind, while looking at that icon. D.V. Olshansky believes that neither theology nor political science can give a decisive answer¹. M.E. Koshelyuk considers an image to be a double-natured formation, which in itself includes a physical object (a politician's appearance, his hairstyle, clothes, and tie), and the perception of this physical object². In our opinion, an image is the result of an object's reflection, but not the object itself.

There is no unified opinion as to what extent an image of a political leader corresponds to the real person. The majority of researchers hold the opinion that a politician's image never completely corresponds to the politician³. Thus, the founder of PR science, E. Bernays, supposed that the term "image" means that it is not the reality and that it is only a shadow or an illusion being created by PR specialists to solve particular issues⁴. The English researcher B. Bruce, considered that a degree of

¹ Ольшанский Д.В. Политический PR. СПб.: Питер, 2003. С. 286-287.

² Кошелюк М.Е. Технологии политических выборов. СПб.: Питер, 2004. С. 116.

³ See example: Голядкин Н.Н. Творческая телереклама. М.: Аспект Пресс, 2005. С. 32; Максимов А.А. «Чистые» и «грязные» технологии выборов: российский опыт. М.: Дело, 1999. С. 52.

⁴ Bernays E. Down with Image, Up with Reality // Public Relations Quarterly. 1977. Spring. Vol. 22. № 1. P. 12.

an image's coincidence of an image with a prototype could be "from the almost full coincidence to a contrast"¹. E.B. Shestopal claims that "a reflection" of a political leader is identical to a leader himself².

A proportion of an image-maker's work in creating an image of a political leader is estimated in different ways. Some researchers insist on the absolute importance of experts in this process. For instance, D.V. Olshansky defines image as "a visualized picture of a person, a group, an organization, an event, a process or a phenomenon, created in the audience's consciousness by professional imagemakers"³. Other researchers assign the main role in this sphere to the leader himself. For example, P. Bird supposes that a chosen image will depend – first of all – on the political leader's behavior, and his actions⁴. We might come across the point of view that the formation of an image can occur spontaneously, without another individual's willful influence⁵. This opinion is not widespread, counteracting the majority of image definitions. And in such image definitions – controlling the content of the information being distributed and communication flows – is considered to be a vital element of the image-making process.

Almost all researchers are practically unanimous in the opinion that image includes not only a politician's anatomical features and dress style, but also incorporates all the visual characteristics of the person which can be perceived⁶. Only those image-makers who specialize in improving a client's appearance, regard an individual's external characteristics (face, hair-style, figure, clothes, etc.) as defining an image. Thus, V. Shepel concludes that the concept of an image is derived from a

¹ Bruce B. Images of power . How the Imagemakers Shape our Leaders. London, 1992. P. 42.

² Шестопал Е.Б. Оценка гражданами личности лидера // Полис. 1997. № 6. С. 59.

³ Ольшанский Д.В. Политическая психология. СПб.: Питер, 2002. С. 550.

⁴ Bird P. Sell yourself. Persuasive tactics to boost your image. London, 1994. Pp. 1-2.

⁵ See example: Denton R.E., Woodward G.C. Political Communication in America. New York: Praeger, 1985. P.56; Пушкарева Г.В. Избирательная кампания: как это делается? // Социально-гуманитарные знания. 2000. №2. С. 277.

⁶ See example: Наполитан Дж. Электоральная игра. М.: Никколо М, 2002. С. 14–16; Максимов А.А. «Чистые» и «грязные» технологии... С. 38-39; Политическая реклама / Егорова-Гантман Е.В., Плешаков К.В., Байбакова В.Б. М.: Никколо-Медиа, 2002. Изд. 2-е. С. 123.

visual representation, and focuses purely on the visual characteristics of a physical object: “The one who possesses – thanks to God – an attractive image is happy”¹.

There is still an unresolved issue as to whether image includes a structural element – “a program”. Without denying the fact that image contains an ideological component – researchers do not consider the program of a candidate to be a part of image². Other researchers, on the contrary, assign this component to be the most responsible step to image-making³.

The question regarding the identical concepts of the terms “image” and “picture” is disputable. In English language literature, these definitions are designated with one term, “image” and are not separated. Some Russian researchers also make no distinctions between these concepts. Therefore, the definitions of “image” and “picture” are not synonyms in Russian political science. In psychology, a psychological reflection which appears in a subject’s systems of relations and communications to the surrounding world, is referred to as a “picture”⁴. This is a set of visual pictures and memories that remain in an individual’s mind, upon their interaction with the universe. When extracting any picture from the memory, a person is capable of restoring a view of the surrounding reality. An image is not just the result of a reflection of objective reality by an individual, it is a steady, emotionally-colored picture – which is “designed” and introduced into mass consciousness with the purpose of achieving particular goals⁵.

On the basis of the analysis of these concepts, we will outline the differences between the terms “image” and “picture”. Firstly, a picture is a natural formation, while an image is a result of deeply conscious purposeful actions, i.e. – an artificial formation. Secondly, a picture reflects objectively existing reality and phenomena, while an image – being a result of the impact on a person with specially prepared

¹ Шепель В.М. Имиджелогия: секреты личного обаяния. М.: ЮНИТИ, 1994. С. 6.

² Моррис Д. Новый государь. Новая версия Макиавелли для двадцать первого века. М.: Никколо М, 2003. С. 45.

³ Колесников А.А. Русский пиар, бессмысленный и беспощадный // Известия. 1999. 10 марта. С. 3.

⁴ Леонтьев А.Н. Проблемы развития психики. М.: Наука, 1972. С. 339.

⁵ Феофанов О.А. Реклама: новые технологии в России. СПб: Издательство «Питер», 2000. С. 111-112.

information – distorts reality. Due to these differences, the Russian internal political imagology does not equate to these two definitions.

A. Panasyuk considers that the most adequate translation of the term “image” is the word “opinion”¹. “To construct an image of yourself” means “to construct an opinion of yourself”. This opinion is necessary to incite people to act in a particular way.

In order to reveal the essence of the word “image”, let’s answer the following question: which mechanism of the human mind enables its existence? Image is a kind of stereotype². The definition of a stereotype was introduced into scientific use by the American researcher Walter Lippmann in the early 20th century, to define widespread preconceived ideas in the public opinion, regarding different national and ethnic, social and political, and professional groups³. According to Walter Lippmann, “social stereotypes are the basic thought material needed to build mass consciousness”⁴.

Modern political psychology defines stereotype as “a standardized, schematized, simplified and flattened, usually emotionally-colored picture of any social and political object (phenomenon, process) with the essential stability, but pointing out just certain features of this object, sometimes unessential features”⁵.

The ability of the human mind to generate stereotypes, executes vital functions for an individual. In our everyday life, it is difficult for a person to guide themselves through a large flow of information. For memory saving, information systemization and structuring, the human mind registers not all the perceived information, but only the “extractions” of information (“press residues” of it) – stereotypes⁶. Stereotypes are stable, emotionally-colored, simplified models of objective reality and include certain features of that reality. Stereotypes simplify the difficulty and complexity of

¹ Панасюк А.Ю. Вам нужен имиджмейкер? Или о том, как создавать свой имидж. М.: Дело, 2001. С.8.

² Кудинов О.П. Основы организации и проведения избирательных кампаний в регионах России. Калининград: изд-во «Янтарный сказ», 2000. С. 137.

³ Lippman W. Public Opinion. New York, 1960. P. 23.

⁴ Lippman W. Op. cit. P. 23.

⁵ Ольшанский Д.В. Политическая психология. СПб.: Питер, 2002. С. 89.

⁶ Lippman W. Op. cit. Pp. 23-24.

life. Traditional canons of thinking, perception, patterns of behavior, the inertia of thinking, conservatism, rigidity, the standard methods of seeing through actions are public stereotypes¹.

Image is also a result of processing large volumes of information; image is the most efficient way to recognize the complicated social reality². Information – which a person has received about an object (a political leader, a political party) – is generalized, simplified by the human mind, and is converted into a stereotype of perception. So, the stereotypes of perception are general concepts, including emotional reaction to perceived characteristics. This “surrogate” information is registered unalterably in the memory and affects the further perception of an object. The behavior towards an object is constructed based on this information. Thus, image as well as stereotype is a natural product of the processing of information flows relating to a certain field of the surrounding reality.

It is necessary to mention an important feature of stereotypes (including those image-based). The degree of the reality of stereotypes is directly proportionate to the extent of knowledge in that aspect of life where the stereotypes are formed. If objective versatile information was a basis for stereotype formation, the stereotype generated would be close to reality. But more often, stereotypes are formed on a person’s initial and strongest emotional reactions and reflect the superficial features of an object, but far from all the features of that object, however³. This peculiarity is used by image-makers. The majority of image-making technologies are intended to provoke particular emotions from the audience. As a result, an emotional and sensual assessment element of an image becomes dominant and prevails over the cognitive and informational element. This is why image cannot sufficiently correspond to the reality.

This fact – that a person perceives the world through a prism of impressions that they received earlier – is one more reason why a stereotype differs from reality. Social experience, cultural norms and traditions, national, ethnical and gender

¹ Ольшанский Д.В. Политическая психология... С. 89.

² Почепцов Г.Г. Паблик рилейшнз для профессионалов. М.: Рефл-бук, 2001. С. 188.

³ Lippman W. Op. cit. P. 25.

characteristics coincide in a person's perception of the reality. Social attitude is formed on previous life and social experience; this attitude is the state of a person's or group's readiness and inclination to respond in a particular way to a certain occurrence of social reality, or to information. This term is used in political psychology to explain a person's attitude to certain political objects. This attitude predetermines the nature of perception and is the basis for the representativeness. This regularity is often applied by image-builders; it underlies a number of image-building technologies.

An image – as opposed to a stereotype – has certain particularities associated with the specifics of its formation. An image – unlike a stereotype – in most cases has an artificial nature, as image is designed for particular objectives. Image is subjective to a great extent and coincides with the real object more seldom. A stereotype simplifies and generalizes existing features, which are intrinsic to real occurrences and some individuals. An image is able to endow an object with such functional properties which it doesn't actually have¹. An image “is a picture of a person who is to stimulate sympathy or trust, without regard to the true personal features of the object”².

Besides that, a stereotype – unlike an image – is more static: it is not subject to changes, does not require imagination, or “conjecture”. According to the creator's intentions, an image – as a rule – is endowed with flexibility, mobility, and dynamism. It (image) is formed in such a way so that a person's imagination participates in this process. The term “image” by itself is genetically related to the definition of “imagination”. Image is a “semi-finished product”, and it sets certain reference points for completion, in accordance with emotional memory and social experience. Image is constructed based on emotional perception. This picture is simple enough to be kept in mind, but it is not standard and remains incomplete, existing between reality and expectations; it is a subject to conjecture³. Image is always elusive and encourages imagination with this feature. However a proportion

¹ Кудинов О.П. Указ. соч. С. 137.

² Вруссе В. Ор. cit. Р. 42.

³ Голядкин Н.Н. Указ. соч. С. 32.

of imagination is always regulated by the image creators, in order to let image remain within a pre-determined framework, which is necessary to fulfill strictly defined objectives. Image elements can be substituted with components such as these, which currently have a stronger impact on mass consciousness.

Thus, image is based on the laws governing the functioning of the human mind. At the same time, image is not the result of natural reflection of the world, as image is built intentionally by people.

Image differs from both the picture and the stereotype, in its structure. D.V. Olshansky mentions the following elements of image¹. The first structural element of an image is a basis, a certain “initial substance” (politician, party, occurrence, and others), which was preliminary processed with the aim of minimizing the negative features of this substance and maximizing any positive features, in compliance with the basic parameters of an optimal model developed by an image-maker.

The second element is the selected image model imposed on the preliminary prepared initial substance (the politician). The third element is the image’s distortion by broadcasters (essentially by the mass media) and through the image’s mass replication. The last element is the result of the audience’s own active psychological efforts, or of a single subject of perception. The purpose of these efforts is to reconstruct – in the consciousness of an audience or of a single subject – a comprehensive final image based on the forced model, taking into consideration their own perception.

An important characteristic of image, revealing its essence, is the manipulative nature of image. The purpose of constructing an image is manipulation: deceiving voters in order to be elected. Let’s review image, taking manipulative techniques as its basis.

Taking into account various research into consciousness manipulation², we will define manipulation as a system of methods of psychological impact on people,

¹ Ольшанский Д.В. Политический PR... С. 287.

² Доценко Е.Л. Манипуляция: феномен, механизм, защита. М.: ЧеРо, Издательство МГУ, 1997. 344 с.; Кара-Мурза С.Г. Краткий курс манипуляции сознанием. М.: Эксмо, 2003. С. 24-35; Цуладзе А. Большая манипулятивная игра. М.: Алгоритм, 2000. 336 с.

with the purpose of latently managing their consciousness, will, and behavior. A manipulation mechanism is based on a hidden activation of certain emotions of in an individual. These emotions will induce a person to commit actions intended by the manipulator. Emotions such as fear, hatred, contempt, confusion, and – on the contrary – a sense of patriotism, pride, and self-respect are effectively used for image formation¹. Therefore, an individual gets an illusion of internal independence in the decision-making process, although in reality, the decisions were secretly inspired by a manipulator.

Let us list the signs of manipulation – their presence will enable us to determine an action as a form of manipulation. First of all, a manipulator – in their actions in relation to an object – should be guided by an interest or purpose. Secondly, a manipulator’s actions should be non-violent and psychological. Thirdly, a manipulator should always strive to disguise the purpose of their influence by the skillful execution of the manipulation process. Fourthly, a manipulator’s actions should result in a change of interests, attitudes and accordingly, to changes in the behavior of an object of manipulation. And finally, the object of manipulation – during the execution of a manipulator’s actions – should have the illusion of internal independence in their choice of behavior.

As for a political leader’s image, actions aimed at constructing a political leader’s image – have all the signs of manipulation listed above. Thus, an image is constructed intentionally in order to make people vote for this leader. Special psychological influential technologies are applied with this aim in mind. Image-makers do not only create a “character” with the features valuable for common people, but they also create conditions so that citizens endow “the character” with those features themselves. A politician’s true intentions are not made known to people when, for example, they tirelessly shake hands with potential voters or say to voters that they will think all day and night about them, their interests and hopes, their

¹ Политическая реклама... Указ. соч. С. 182-183.

children and their future¹. It is always attempted to conceal image-making actions. As a result, a decision to vote for this very political leader is perceived by the citizens as an independent decision, not as a decision enforced by an avalanche of intentionally prepared information. Thus, a political leader's image is the result of manipulation.

Therefore, an image is a kind of stereotype. The possibility of its existence is provided by a sign, the symbolic nature of the human mind. An integral characteristic of the human mind to make generalizations lies in the basis of an image. Such generalizations are built on the basis of perceived fragments of the surrounding reality. Those fragments are transformed under the influence of perception of an individual person or a group, and they have an emotionally-colored character.

But the image, unlike a stereotype, is not just the result of a person's interaction with the surrounding world; it is a product of those intentional human actions aimed at making an image effective and attracting voters to their side. Since it is performed in secret and based on psychological techniques, the image building actions are classed as manipulative, i.e. such actions program people's consciousness in a pre-determined direction. The degree of image reality is directly proportionate to the extent of information regarding the political object.

On the basis of analysis carried out into various approaches regarding the definition of the word "image", and taking into account the common factors in its basis as well as in its structure, the author proposes the following definition of image. Image is an artificial picture which is generated in public, or individual consciousness, by mass media and through psychological impact, to fulfill certain objectives; image combines both an object's real, attributed and non-existent features, A political leader's image is an emotionally-colored picture, developed in the mass consciousness, on the basis of intentional actions of people working towards political goals; this picture either endows an object (a political leader) with exaggerated characteristics of some of his individual features or endows an object with those characteristics intrinsic to him. Thereby, an image excites great interest in and a positive attitude to, an object.

¹ From B. Clinton's pre-election speech: Ratzan S. C. Political Communication as Negotiation // Campaign'92: New Frontiers in Political Communication. American Behavioral Scientist. 1993. № 2. P. 204.

1.2. Objective factors affecting the construction of a political leader's image

Despite the fact that image actually is a manipulation as demonstrated in the previous paragraph, image today is also a necessary condition in forming a leader. A politician may have the best intentions when coming to power, but if they are unable to win the public's favor or communicate with people, they will not turn their intentions into reality. In the event of severe competition caused by the democratization of political developments, a leader should prove to citizens that they are exactly the person the country needs. A leader should also demonstrate their abilities, and display leadership practices; otherwise they will remain out of the running. Democracy means "free competition for the electorate's votes among candidates to secure a leader's role"¹. In these conditions, it is the use of image that opens the way to the top of the political hierarchy. Therefore, the creation of an alluring image becomes a top priority for a political leader in a democratic State.

The creation of a political leader's image in a modern society is a complicated process that depends on a great number of conditions directly affecting the image content, as well as the process of the image construction itself. Research into these factors reveals the image's essence, identifying those methods used in its creation and operation, and the pattern of changes.

Factors governing citizens' demand for particular qualities in a political leader are particularly important. History shows that – during different periods and in different societies – the effective image of a political leader had various specific meanings. What affects the actualization of the particular qualities for a political leader's image? Which factors determine the people's choice in support of a particular leader? People have been interested in these questions since ancient times; this fact is embodied in theories trying to explain a leadership phenomenon* .

¹Шумпетер Й. Капитализм, социализм и демократия. М: Экономика, 1995. С. 372.

*For example: the 'hero'/'devil' theory.

Since the 1960's American scientists have carried out extensive research, studying those factors, influencing electoral preferences¹. So, researchers at Michigan University proposed – for the first time – a model of “a causation funnel”, including a set of factors explaining electoral choice². Social, economic and cultural conditions such as: economic structure, social differentiation, and historical traditions – were categorized into the widest section of “the causation funnel”. The next level comprised social and group loyalty, and a system of values, being formed under the influence of social, economic, and cultural dissociations. The funnel's narrowest section contains attitudes towards the candidates, lines of policy and group interests, being developed under the influence of the systems of values and the group-wide loyalty.

In the 1980's, the following factors forming people's political preferences, were chosen by the researchers Merrill Shanks and Warren Miller³. These factors, firstly, are demographic characteristics, and are also acquired status characteristics of voters. Ideological and party identifications follow later. The assessment of candidates' activity and sympathy for them complete the model.

Based on the review of a number of studies, the author highlights the following objective factors which influence directly what particular leader will be demanded by a society, and, accordingly, which factors are used by political technologists when constructing a political leader's image. First of all, these are social and historical conditions. According to a number of political leadership theories*, social and historical conditions are the main factors in a society's demand for a specific leader. A demand for these or those leader's characteristics depends directly on the social

¹ For instance: Campbell A., Converse P., Miller W., Stokes D. *The American Voter*. N.Y., 1960. P. 128; Shanks M., Miller W. *Policy Direction and Performance Evaluation: Contemporary Explanations of the Reagan Elections*. New Orleans, 1995.

² Campbell A., Converse P., Miller W., Stokes D. *Op. cit.* P. 128.

³ Shanks M., Miller W. *Op. cit.* Pp. 130-132.

*For example, “medium” theory, personal and situational theories.

and historical context in which the leader's nomination occurs. The image is a reflection of the existing reality¹.

Among those conditions – the economy of a country, population, standard of living, social and political situation, social stability and demographic characteristics, the country's geopolitical position, and socially significant events, sharp fluctuations taking place during a leader's nomination or while they are in power – may be deemed as the most important.

The economy of a country, the population and standards of living play a special role in the establishment of electoral preferences. American researchers have determined the economy as the primary factor in evolving electoral preferences².

Many researchers yield to the fact that utilitarianism³ “what benefit shall I derive, if I prefer this politician?” – is the basis of the choice that many elective bodies make. The citizens try to solve their problems with their choice. Low-income citizens expect the State to settle their financial problems. The well-off expect the State not to interfere with the redistribution of income, fiscal loosening, and the creation of a favorable economic environment. Electoral preferences in favor of a particular leader are formed according to the leader's ability to satisfy these demands of the people.

The achievements of an incumbent political leader in an economic sector are decisive for the citizens' attitude towards this leader. They become solid arguments of his political sustainability and stimulate trust in this leader⁴. His political successes and failures also directly affect his image. If, figuratively speaking, a leader's pre-electoral image is their promises and pledges, and then an incumbent leader's image is their achievements.

An incumbent president's image is also constructed according to numerous conditions, which are not associated with his actions directly, but which take place

¹ Цуладзе А. Формирование имиджа политического лидера в условиях становления новой политической системы в России. М. С. 48 / Электронная библиотека диссертаций. <<http://diss.rsl.ru/>>.

² Zaller J. Negativity and bias in media coverage of presidential elections, 1948-1992. Paper presented at the American Political Science Association. San Francisco, 1996. Pp. 136-138.

³ McGinnis J. The selling of the president. 1968. Richmond Hill, 1970. P. 204.

⁴ Zaller J. Op. cit. P. 136.

during his term; this automatically impacts the country's attitude towards him. It is directly proportionate to the country's situation. This pattern appears when comparing public opinion polls regarding the attitude towards a current political leader and the assessment of the social, economic and political situation. If things go well, all the success is attributed to an incumbent political leader; if things go badly, everything is the leader's fault in the people's perception, even if this leader is not directly linked to it¹. The leader then becomes a specific symbol of failures.

A political leader's image at national level is also impacted directly by the geopolitical status of the State. Depending on this, the characteristics of a global leader can be introduced into a president's image. For example, this feature was a core element in George Bush Senior's image. When stature on the international stage is poor, the strategy of drawing the electorate's attention away from international matters can be adopted (for instance, the image creation of the ex-president of Russia B. Yeltsin during his second presidential campaign).

A situational factor plays a special role among the definite historical conditions affecting image building, i.e. sudden changes in the political, social or economic situation, as well as the changes in the life of a politician. For example, a situation of social and political crisis requires a leader to demonstrate their personal potential immediately. They have to respond quickly to the changes of the voters' expectations, portraying themselves in different ways.

It is easy to mislead voters in a critical situation. Being under the influence of stress factors, citizens are not able to evaluate and weigh up a situation soberly and objectively. They expect a "savior" and attribute anticipated desirable characteristics to "the first comer". Therefore, there is a high probability that during periods of historic transition and times of crisis, leaders with insufficient leadership potential and poor intellect and who are in general incapable of ruling the country effectively and handling challenging situations, will be elected. In such conditions, image intensity becomes the main factor attracting people to a figure of a political leader².

¹ Богданов Е., Зазыкин В. Психологические основы «Паблик рилейшнз». СПб.: Питер, 2003. С. 75.

² Ольшанский Д.В. Политический PR... С.368.

Political leaders successfully handle situations of internal or external threat to the population, when people's demand for "heroes" becomes apparent. The rating of "heroes" is high as a rule. Such a characteristic – being based on an instinct of self-preservation – steadily provokes people's emotions. A "hero" – on a subconscious level – is connected to any emergency situation which can involve a threat to a person's life, health, and mental comfort, and, accordingly, stimulates a fundamental need in the feeling of safety*. A "Hero", being a symbol of protection, a guarantor of justice, a fighter against evil, meets such a need. As a result, a demand for "heroes" was always high in any society, including in peace times. This is why heroes' features occur in the autobiographies of many political leaders.

The demographic characteristics of a society in addition, are an important factor affecting the creation of a political leader's image. Sex, age, social status and party identification define the propensity in their electoral preferences¹. Sociologists discovered, for example, that women vote for a right-wing party more often than men do, and that men vote for "left-wing" candidates; university-educated people show more interest in the candidates' program, than in their personality. Modern young people are apolitical². In the US the voters' party identification plays a special role in electoral preferences. And a party identification is a filter through which information about candidates and lines of policy is being passed³.

Besides social and historical conditions, social demand in the particular features of a leader is influenced directly by historical experience and the culture of the population. To be actualized in mass consciousness, a political leader's image should reflect the culture of a society: its values and ideals, traditions, myths and archetypes*. Image should also correspond to the expectations of people's perception.

*According to A.G. Maslow.

¹ Ельцин Б.Н. Президентский марафон: Размышления, воспоминания, впечатления. М.: ООО «Издательство АСТ», 2000. С. 34.

² Башкирова Е.И. Трансформация ценностей российского общества // Полис. 2000. №6. С. 58-65.

³ The split electorate / Materials from the official site of the USA State Department. <<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itdhr/1004/ijdr/zogby.htm>>.

*Archetypes – innate structures of the human beings, formed under the influence of forefathers long experience, stipulating uniform basis for the individuals' behavior, for the world concept.

The formation of an effective image of a political leader is based on comprehensive knowledge of the cultural identities of the social environment¹.

Under the influence of cultural and historical experience, a system of requirements is constructed in the mass consciousness, in respect of what sort of leader a politician must be, a certain “ideal figure”, with specific features². The people associate candidates with a leader’s role with this “ideal”. Image makers strive for this “ideal” when creating an image for political leaders. Bill Clinton says that: “...people should have an opportunity to look at you and imagine you as a president”³.

The previous leader – being “the background” for a new leader’s arrival – exerts influence upon the people’s demand. If this leader’s activity was valued negatively by citizens, then demand for a leader with opposite qualities develops⁴: for example, the Russian people after the aged and sick B.N. Yeltsin elected young and healthy V.V. Putin. After Bill Clinton’s extramarital affairs, the American people wanted a leader with a high moral standard, and a family man.

Some political scientists consider that the characteristics of a leader required in this society will correspond to those qualities which citizens would like to possess themselves⁵. A political leader should demonstrate those characteristics, which are projected on him by citizens and which are lacking in them. The image of a political leader is thus urged to cover the weaknesses of the people’s mentality⁶. Mentality is understood as a combination of knowledge, orientations, values, and attitudes of citizens⁷. It can be revealed during an analysis of cultural values (myths, fairy tales, and legends). In the opinion of M. Koshelyuk, mentality is demonstrated best during the process of “politician – electorate” feedback⁸. Through the people’s reactions to a

¹ Амелин В.Н., Пешков С.И. Учиться побеждать. М.: Стольный град, 2001. С. 45.

² Дубин И.Г., Пантелеев С.Р. Восприятие личности политического лидера // Психологический журнал. 1992. № 6. том.12. С. 26.; Максимов А.А. «Чистые» и «грязные» технологии... С. 62.

³ Клинтон У. Дж. Моя жизнь/ Уильям Джефферсон Клинтон. Пер с англ. М: Альпина Бизнес Букс, 2005. С. 420.

⁴ Богданов Е., Зазыкин В. Указ. соч. С. 62.

⁵ Феофанов О.А. Указ. соч. С. 304.

⁶ Кошелюк М.Е. Технологии политических... С. 114

⁷ Шестопал Е.Б. Политическая психология. М.: ИНФРА, 2002. С. 309.

⁸ Кошелюк М. Выборы – конфликт управляемый // Собеседник. 1998. №2. С. 17.

politician's public actions, to information about them in the mass media, it is possible to ascertain an exact picture about specifics of the people's mentality.

Archetypes existing in a society can be referred to as a specific feature of the mentality of citizens. Some researchers claim that one of the archetypes must underlie a political leader's effective image¹. Accordingly, with this archetype, a complex of particular features is introduced into an image. So, the availability of a father's characteristic is an important requirement to an image in countries with a patriarchal culture. The "Father" is one of the archetypes, which is close to an idea on a ruler in citizens' mass consciousness. According to the paternalistic concept of the origin of a State, a ruler's power is a projection of a paternal power; a ruler is the father for people and performs appropriate functions: a ruler acts as a guarantor of protection and stability, undertakes responsibility, and can punish. "The population needs a leader, like a family needs an authoritative father"².

The aforementioned factors affect directly the forming of preferences, sentiments and expectations of an electorate, stipulating social demand for a political leader with specified features. Voters' expectations – in most cases – are the point of departure in the creation of a political leader's image. "That person becomes a leader who can find proper words and a way to express what every representative of one or another group thinks and dreams about"³. If, for example, the majority of the population is dissatisfied with their life, then a leader, whose political platform has a dynamic innovative nature – such as a reformist-leader – will be required. On the contrary, the wish to maintain an established social order actualizes the demand for a conservative leader.

If particular actions – meeting social expectations – are undertaken by a politician, then the majority of people will support this politician. However, it is necessary to point out that a society does not correspond to a monolith: a democratic society lives in an environment of continual struggle between different groups for

¹ See example: Почепцов Г.Г. Профессия: имиджмейкер. К.: НВФ Студцентр, 1999. С. 146.

² Фрейд З. Психология масс и анализ человеческого «Я». М.: АСТ, 2004. С. 112.

³ Ильин М.В., Коваль Б.И. Личность в политике: «Кто играет короля?» // Политические исследования. 1991. № 6. С. 133-134.

their interests. In such circumstances, many modern presidents try to appear as a national leader who maintain a moderate view with the purpose of extending the president's electing base according to ideological orientation¹. This is a way of responding to the expectations of the majority of the population. The situation is possible when social expectations are indistinct. In this case, if a strong leader is available, then the expectations can be "customized to this person"².

So, the characteristics of a society – in which the creation of an image for a political leader takes place – are the basis for its "content". Therewith, the leader himself plays a special role in his image building: his personal and physical features. French political expert Raymond Aron wrote: "It is quite exciting to study what can explain the dizzy achievements of politicians who had been among their subordinates until they penetrated into the forefront. Why did those politicians – who had had a conspicuous reputation - never reach a superior position?"³. In other words, the function of a leader's personal abilities in achieving the heights of the political hierarchy.

The conditions of a democratic society impose high requirements on a personality of a political leader: his intellect, personal energy, the abilities to convince people and influence them, his speed of reaction, declamatory skills, health, and so on. The word "leader" (meaning "a guiding man" in English) itself indicates that it must be a man with such qualities which allow him to play a leading role. In a modern information space, the numerous information channels – which replicate the actions and statements of a leader – repeatedly strengthen the importance of personal abilities of a leader. The requirements on a leader's personality are increased in situations of instability and uncertainty, in critical points, in conditions of open severe competition for electorate votes.

At the same time, modern political technologies allow a political leader's weak points to be concealed, but also strengthen his advantages – this is the essence of an image. Besides that, technologies allow not to show personal features of a politician

¹ Kitfield J. Foreign policy // National Journal. 2000. vol. 32. № 14. April 1. Pp. 1034-1035.

² Богданов Е., Зазыкин В. Указ .соч. С. 62.

³ Арон Р. Демократия и тоталитаризм / Пер. с фр. Г.И. Семенова. М., 1993. С. 102.

at the initial stages of a creation of an image, and even to create an image of a leader without a leader himself ¹. Such technologies became possible in a modern information space where the major role is played by television. TV broadcast creates an effect of “presence” at occurring events, while the events themselves are skillfully designed by political technologists².

Besides the factors determining the “content: of image, in many ways the image also depends on the nature of the process of an image building, on the conditions of an image-designing, and these conditions can have the crucial importance for a political leader’s victory. In this group of factors great influence on the process of a political leader’s image creation, and, as a result, on its “contents” is done by the factors of “the competitive environment”. These factors include the political leader’s resources in an image making, as well as the competitive conditions among the candidates for an elective position.

Thus, the affiliation of a political leader to the authorities in power and to the political forces in a society (influential political parties) plays a special role in the process of an image building, as well as their support. For example, in Russia the politicians who are nominated to elective positions by “the party in power” have huge financial, informative and administrative resources at their disposal³. It gives them undisputable advantages before other competitors, but as a result it jeopardizes the declared political regime of Russia and the worthwhileness of the elections themselves. In the USA, in order to take the president’s office, a politician is required to be a leader of one of the ruling parties⁴. Otherwise his chances are nil. On the one hand, it happens because of the ideological dissolution of the American society, on the other, this situation is caused by the same huge resources which political parties have in their possession.

Political experience has shown that an incumbent president has more advantages than his competitors. First of all, the position he has been holding for

¹ Максимов А.А. «Чистые» и «грязные» технологии... С. 49.

² Почепцов Г.Г. Психологические войны. М.: Рефл-бук, К.: Ваклер, 2000. С. 150.

³ Пар А. Владимир Путин. «Немец» в кремле / Пер с нем. И. Розанова. М.: ОЛМА-ПИРЕСС, 2003. С.15.

⁴ Nicosia A. Op. cit. Pp. 124-126.

several years – during his presidency – works for his image under a proper approach as follows: a president is usually the focus of mass media attention; he has an opportunity to arrange regular “newsworthy events”, demonstrating his leadership qualities. All these factors work for the popularization of the president among the people. Besides that, he gets essential advantages during electoral campaigns¹. Firstly, a president’s position again gives him an opportunity to be in the heart of events; a president does not need any additional efforts for it. Any of his political actions, speeches and statements are replicated by mass media. Secondly, besides the usage of mass media resources including broadcasting time regulated by Electoral legislation, a president utilizes them not only as a leader, but also as a president.

The relations of a political leader with the mass media play a special role in the creation of his image in modern information space. The majority of the citizens have not ever met a political leader; they receive basic information about him from mass media²: TV and radio broadcasting, newspapers, magazines and websites. Attitude towards a leader is formed on the basis of this information³.

The mass media trend of events coverage is a forcible factor in determining the way how citizens perceive politicians, discussing contentious questions, and these or those events. In the USA, the results of scientific research – focusing on the coverage of the 2000 election by the leading TV and radio broadcasting companies – highlighted that 74% of broadcast time had been given to journalists and news-writers, but only 12% of broadcast time had been assigned to the speeches of candidates⁴. In other words, more often the citizens heard the interpretation of what was happening.

It is obvious that a politician – who has information resources at his disposal or who could enlist mass media support – possesses definite advantages over his competitors. In Russia, the “party of power” owns the most leading mass media

¹ Patterson T.E. Out of order. N.Y., 1993. Pp. 27-28.

² McGinnis J. Op. cit. P. 204.

³ Lenart S. Shaping political attitudes. The impact of Interpersonal Communication and Mass Media. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publication, 1994.

⁴ Mass media / Materials from the official site of the USA State Department. <<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itdhr/1004/ijdr/kern.htm>>.

channels or is supported by them, and this situation is regarded as one of the reasons why its candidates are victorious in elections¹. The interactions of the authorities with the mass media in Russia are defined as a media-political system².

The competitive conditions are very important while forming a political leader image. An availability of real competitors and opponents as well as an opposing mass media allows for an alluring image of a strong leader to be constructed. They also provide a utilization of rational technologies for image-designing, and make a leader “reveal himself” before his voters. But those factors threaten the image of a weak leader. If a strong competitor is available, an image-building strategy is then oriented towards the strong competitor in many ways. This strategy can be noticed during the presidential campaigns in the USA, where the two major candidates from the Republican and Democratic parties compete on a political arena.

Such a factor of image creation as the availability of appropriate legislative base should be pointed out among the competitive conditions, as well as the actual functioning of the legislative base. In the USA, for instance, any breach of electoral legislation during the pre-election period will incite lawsuits by an affected party. Such non-observance is taken up and replicated by mass media, and discussed by opinion leaders³. In Russia, as the practice demonstrates, an electoral legislation breach by the representatives of the “party in power”⁴, as a rule, does not bring about any lawsuit, because the affected parties understand that such actions are hopeless. Many people retire from the election participation because of this reason, they suppose that their vote will be ignored, and the voting results will meet the authorities’ target⁵.

Besides the factors of a “competitive environment”, the means and methods put into practice have a direct impact on the process of image-designing. These means

¹ Крылов И.В. Теория и практика рекламы в России. М.: Центр, 1996. С. 149.

² Засурский И.И. СМИ и власть. Россия девяностых // Средства массовой информации постсоветской России / Под. ред. Я.Н. Засурского. М.: Аспект-пресс, 2002. С. 77.

³ Nicosia A. The Election Process in the United States. Hauppauge, N.Y.: Nova Science Publishers, 2003. Pp. 25-47.

⁴ See example: Ельцин Б.Н. Президентский марафон... С. 26-27.

⁵ Электоральные процессы и власть в зеркале политологического анализа // Власть. 2003. № 4. С. 5-26.

and methods play a special role in image making¹, and they can be referred to as subjective factors. At the same time, among the objective factors we should outline an important condition defining a selection of means and methods of influence on the electorate: these are the characteristics of the electorate itself. Voters can be divided into group segments based on their level of political consciousness and on their attitude to political processes:

- * Citizens interested in politics, disposed to interpret proposed information critically (as a rule, those citizens are university educated people);

- * Citizens interested in politics, favoring certain ideological positions, but not disposed to interpret proposed information critically;

- * Citizens with a negative attitude towards the authorities and political institutions. They are disposed to criticize any proposed information related to a political power and its activity (as a rule, people who could not adjust themselves to the changed conditions);

- * Citizens who interpret a political struggle as feuding between “friends” and “strangers”, “bad men” and “good men”. It is often a lumpen part of a society. The last two categories are typical for unstable societies.

Depending on which electorate category dominates among citizens, certain methods of impact are selected. It could be technologies appealing to voters’ minds; such technologies are based on precise logical argumentation. Such technologies are designed for the “thinking” electorate. An application of manipulations is effective for citizens not disposed to a critical evaluation. Formally plausible pseudo-scientific forecasts and a subjective slanted interpretation of events will be persuasive information for them. This kind of voters’ consciousness is easily impressed by myths, which help to form the necessary attitudes and stereotypes, required for image making.

The people’s consciousness turns out to be a subject of manipulations in transition periods of social development and in critical points². During those

¹ Пушкарева Г.В. Избирательная кампания... С. 267-285.

² Кара-Мурза. С.Г. Краткий курс... С. 32-47.

moments, people's emotional condition intensifies, and a person is disposed to delusions. Manipulative technologies are also the permanent companion of unstable societies, where people need to fight in order to exist, and other matters, including political issues, become much less important. The level of political consciousness remains low. In the USA with their high living standards and large experience of political participation, the citizens are more likely to take interest in the political processes, to evaluate critically actions and speeches of politicians; and they are rather active subjects of a political process.

The experience of people's political participation plays an important role in the utilization of one or another method of influence on the electorate¹. In countries with a long-term experience of electoral participation, the rational political technologies of image making prevail in the political technologists' arsenal. And, on the contrary, manipulative methods are effective during the initial stages of an election system's development.

Rational image technologies are intended to fulfill an important task for voters: to provide maximum complete information about a political leader and to allow a voter to make an objective choice based on this information. It is possible only with these technologies to build an image that would be the closest one to the reality. Manipulative technologies, on the contrary, create a "fictitious" image. The role of rational and manipulative technologies in the building of a political leader's image will be considered more precisely in the next paragraph.

Thus, the forming of a political leader's image depends on numerous objective factors, and these factors directly impact on the "content" of image and the process of image building.

It is necessary to take into consideration the various characteristics of a particular society – in order to build an alluring image – such as: economic development, the social and economic situation, demographic indices, and cultural

¹ Jamieson K.H. Packaging the presidency. A history and criticism of presidential campaign advertising. New York. Oxford, 1996. Pp. 386-387.

particularities. A political leader himself holds an important place in image-making; the leader's personal qualities are the basis of his image.

The factors of the "competitive environment" play a special role in the process of image-making; these factors are the conditions in which image-designing takes place. These factors are as follows. A candidate's image-building resources: the availability of financial and administrative resources, the position of a leader in a political hierarchy, the party membership of a leader, relations with the mass media, a leader's relations with the authorities, a leader's support by political institutions, influential people and groups. Also, there are other factors stipulated by a competitive struggle: the availability of strong competitors, those methods of political struggle applied by competitors and the availability of strong opponents, a legislative base, and its actual functioning.

The following electorate features influence directly on the process of image-designing – features defining the selection of means and methods of affection: the level of the people's political consciousness, an experience of political participation, people's intellectual level, people's interest in politics and involvement into political life.

1.3. Political technologies and their function in the construction of a political leader's image in a modern state

A political leader's image is not only the product of modern political relations. Politicians of various eras worried about what they looked like in their people's eyes. The first actions on image creation have been known since ancient times when governors strived to make a proper impression on their governed citizens. An image factor – throughout all known history of statehood existence – had a considerable impact on the course of political processes. Starting from the moment when the relations of authority and subordination (hierarchy) originated, governors tried to appear before the masses showing their best sides, and it helped them to promote and strengthen their domination. They built their image by showing their leadership qualities, theologizing themselves or their power, demonstrating their activity that was exclusively favorable for their country. To glorify themselves, governors engaged in different arts: statues, busts, portraits, frescos, and their images on coins.

At the same time the technification of the image building process takes place in contemporary history. The competitiveness of the nomination process of political leaders in modern democratic systems led to the necessity to search for methods to engage the common people hearts. Simple demonstration of leadership capacities in a modern information space is not enough to win elections and to reach an influential leadership. Today, a political leader is born upon advertising laws; the advertising major rule claims “Do your best to make people want to vote for you”. To do so, a politician must, firstly, present himself in the correct way and show people his strong points, which are important for this place and at this very moment, and he should retouch his weak points. Secondly, information must be brought to the notice of the audience in a proper manner, considering the particularities of a TV broadcasting channel, as information can be falsified on the way from a subject of information to a consumer. Thirdly, it is necessary to make timely introductions of additions and amendments of a leader's image in accordance with the requirements of a situation.

Science imagology is devoted to the disclosure of these basic rules of image building. The new rules of the “game” for political leaders resulted in the technification of the image building process.

Before starting an analysis of the image creation processes of particular political persons, the author assumes that there is a point here in considering the most important image building technologies, as the basis for the creation of a political leader’s image under the current conditions and the author wants to describe its essence, to reveal the methods of impact, as well as the specific nature of these technologies’ application in a particular political culture and historical situation.

The technologies, appealing to people’s minds, play a special role in the building of a political leader’s image. These technologies provide the public with information; based on this information, it is possible to make rational logical analysis of a politician’s personality, of his political opinions and commitments. These are the technologies based on the dialogue of a politician with the people, political competitors, opponents, and mass media: television debates, talk-shows, communication of a leader with people, direct citizens’ appeal to a leader, and speeches in the mass media, at Congresses and in front of citizens. Electoral campaigns in the USA do not simply use image-building technologies, but they are built on their basis in many ways¹. These technologies – in many aspects – are oriented to introduce an ideological component into a political leader’s image.

It should be pointed out that in the USA, the ideological component of a politician’s image is closely connected with his party identification, which plays a special role. Despite the fact that the tendency of several years (presidential elections in 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004) – was to ignore the acute contradictions between the Democratic and the Republican parties², the party membership of candidates for electing positions remained an important issue for the American electorate. A party identification in the USA makes the strongest impact on voters³. When a political

¹ Mass media. Op. cit.

² Positions expressed on platforms / Materials from the official site of the USA State Department <<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itdhr/1004/ijdr/platforms.htm>>.

³ The split electorate. Op. cit.

leader is nominated to be a candidate from one of the two leading parties, such a leader automatically earns the votes from dedicated supporters of his party. That is why – by the time of his electoral campaign – a leader from the Democratic or the Republican parties always has an electoral support regardless of the level of his popularity in society.

A nomination from a particular party sets a specific framework for a leader in the formation of his image. Initially, he is labeled with a party membership and his further perception by citizens occurs in the light of their attitude to the appropriate party. In turn, the candidate himself can significantly affect the improvement of an image of the party, by means of creating his own favorable image. There were cases in the USA history where active supporters of one leading party voted for a representative of the other, if the image of that party's representative was more alluring than his rival's.

One of the technologies directed to forming an ideological component of a political leader's image is his speeches. With their assistance, the political philosophy of a leader is delivered to voters. This philosophy is intended to convince people that their leader knows how to achieve prosperity in a society and in a State. In the USA, both the leader and his team arrange speeches.

Discussions of a candidate's political points of view play a specific role as such discussions assist in drawing citizens' attention to the candidate's ideas. During electoral campaigns in the USA – all questions are introduced into public discussion in three ways¹. Firstly, candidates release to the public their published materials in which the candidates state their position regarding a wide range of matters. However, the mass media can pay little attention to those materials, with the exception of the so-called “hot” issues. Secondly, a candidate running for presidency can use the opportunity to discuss in detail controversial issues and thus, to create mass media interest. Thirdly, the public receives most of the information on candidates' ability to manage political matters from the candidates' spontaneous comments, which these

¹ Пипперт У. Г. Освещение средствами массовой информации вопросов внешней политики в ходе президентской кампании 2000 года. <<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itps/0900/ijpr/ijpr0900.htm>>.

candidates made in the presence of mass media representatives, including press-conferences and debates between candidates. In the USA, a discussion of political views is deemed to be a very important issue, because such discussions carry out the function of the people's political education¹.

Political debates are considered to be an important image-building technology in the USA. The practice of holding political discussions was started in 1960 with the well-known debates of John Kennedy and Richard Nixon. The charming young senator earned the sympathy of the majority of TV viewers during those debates. Since that time, each presidential electoral campaign has been run using this technology.

American voters deem debates as one of the most important factors that define the voters' preferences in favor of one of candidates². The whole country watches debates, and debates swing elections in many ways. If a candidate for presidency refuses to participate in television debates, then the general public perceives it as an uncertainty in his abilities, or understands it as a closed position towards people or considers it as an attempt to hide something. Such a situation occurred with George Bush Senior, who initially refused to conduct direct dialogue with Bill Clinton. Such a candidate loses his political "credibility". Pre-election campaigns in the USA over recent years turned into "hot" debates when candidates sought to show their differing views from the views of their opponents on a number of issues³.

In the USA, in order to make political debates most honest and transparent, in 1987 the non-party Commission on presidential debates – which organizes them now – was established. This commission defines the rules for participation and the behavior of the candidates⁴. For example, candidates are prohibited to walk over the stage or use the stage to improve their appearance.

In the USA, during the participation of candidates in debates, they undergo serious exams on the assessment of their knowledge, competence, and

¹ Пипперт У. Г. Указ. соч.

² Television debate / Materials from the official site of the USA State Department <<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itdhr/1004/ijdr/issues.htm>>.

³ USA Foreign Policy and the 2000 Presidential Elections / Materials from the official site of the USA State Department. <<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itps/0900/ijpr/ijpr0900.htm>>.

⁴ Television debate. Op. cit.

professionalism. A political leader has to respond to numerous “attacks”, coming from his competitors and opponents, when they are interested in presenting a leader in an unfavorable light, showing his weak points. Different institutions, which specialize in particular spheres of external and internal policy, take part in the discussions; they ask the candidates different questions¹. Questions are also asked by the audience. Thus a politician is “turned inside out” before the voters, and such a method assists the rationalization of their choice. Taking into consideration this particularity of carrying out election campaigns, the political parties nominate those candidates who know perfectly matters of external and internal policy.

A candidate’s pre-election program can be ranked to rational image-building technologies; the citizens can see through this platform, how a candidate for the presidency, intends to act should he win, what social and economic reforms will be implemented during his presidency and which path of economic development the country can expect. A platform shows how deeply a politician understands people’s problems, if he listens to their voices. In the USA, the general public has good understanding and is attentive to certain political issues². A detailed political program is a necessary condition for a political leader in contending for the top State position. In Russia, for example, the absence of V.V. Putin’s political program before his first presidential election did not prevent him from winning the elections.

Besides that, in the USA, the pre-election programs of the candidates running for the presidency are accessible for the citizens (on the Internet election sites of the candidates; special booklets are issued, print-media publish extractions from programs). These programs are carefully reviewed and are subjected to mass media criticism³.

¹ Presidential election forum: the candidates on arms control // Arms Control Today. 2000. vol. 30. № 7. September. Pp. 3-7.

² Беннет Э. Внешняя политика в ходе президентской предвыборной кампании 2000 года: От Косово до Кубы. <<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itps/0900/ijpr/ijpr0900.htm>>.

³ See example: Presidential election forum: the candidates on arms control. Op. cit. Pp. 3-7; Stokes B. Bush and Gore’s positions on trade// National Journal. 2000. vol. 32. № 14. April. P. 1050; Zoellick R. Campaign 2000: a republican foreign policy// Foreign Affairs. 2000. vol. 79. № 1. January/February. Pp. 63-78.

A pre-election program in the USA plays an important role because the program is a real guidance for political leaders' actions. As a result of the research conducted into the electoral periods from 1944 to 1996 inclusively, it was established that about 70% of pre-election promises, recorded in the pre-election program, were finally realized¹. Thus, the political program of a political leader in America is not mere promises, but the program makes a large convincing impact on voters. Owing to this fact, political leaders pay a special attention to their programs during their elective campaigns.

It should be noted that rational technologies can include manipulative components. For example, candidates in the USA carefully rehearse their debates². For this purpose, playwrights, experts in rhetoric, the Hollywood directors are engaged. Tactics of behavior, gestures and intonations are designed for a politician. Training meetings with “a sparring partner” are held. Video records of the competitor's previous debates and speeches are carefully reviewed. At the same time this technology cannot be referred to as a manipulative technology, since this technology intends “to reveal” a political leader before his voters. And because this technology provides maximum detailed, substantiated information of a political platform of a candidate, unlike, for example, pre-election promises which appeal to emotions.

The techniques of neuro-linguistic programming can be used in leader's speeches; such technique is a manipulation. So, the old Soviet movies were shown to people before speeches of the Russian president V.V. Putin during the initial stages of his image building. This method can be referred to as the technique of NLP – neuro-linguistic programming – called “an age-related regression”, or “an impressed pattern”. Immersed in the memorized pictures of old days, a person falls into light trance and becomes prepared for the non-critical perception of information.

¹ Даннхейссер Р. Предвыборные платформы: как партии формулируют свои политические позиции. <<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itps/0900/ijpr/ijpr0900.htm>>.

² Waldman M. Pouts Speaks. Finding the Words That Defined the Clinton Presidency. New York, 2000. Pp. 127-128.

Despite this fact, without rational technologies it is impossible to make an image of a political leader that would be very close to reality. A “fictitious” image is built using manipulative technologies. This image, however, impacts on mass consciousness as much as a “rational” image. The technologies – based on the manipulations – are widely used in the pre-election campaigns today.

Thus, the first rule of constructing an alluring image for a modern political leader is to reflect the electoral expectations based on the utilization of the social polls¹. The public moods and people’s preferences are reviewed; the qualities being expected from a political leader are revealed. These features are introduced into the image of a political leader. The politician says what people want to hear, communicates about things of their concern and demonstrates those qualities that the citizens wish to see in their leader. It is the manipulative technique: a politician secretly assumes that portraying a profile of a leader whom people would like to support at elections activates demand for this leader.

In the USA, the technology of a “reliance on sociological studies” has been used for several decades². Starting in 1936, the monitoring of the public opinion is an integral feature of the American election campaign. Both leading parties – the Democratic Party and the Republican Party – conduct citizens’ opinion polls on a regular basis³. During sociological polls it becomes clear what could attract voters to your party, while voting. On the basis of received information, a strategy of impact on voters is developed. Sociological researches are also used for the formation of a political leader image after election.

A “newsworthy events” arrangement is another popular technology used for the image creation of a political leader⁴ (In literature, this technology is also referred to as “political performances”⁵ and “event line creation”⁶). For a politician – in order

¹ Наполитан Дж. Указ соч. С. 156-157; Максимов А.А. «Чистые» и «грязные» технологии... С. 28; Пушкарева Г.В. Избирательная кампания... С. 270-272.

² Овчинникова М.А. Связи с общественностью как технология президентской власти в США / Электронная библиотека диссертаций. <<http://diss.rsl.ru/>>.

³ The split electorate. Op. cit.

⁴ Пушкарева Г.В. Избирательная кампания... С. 280.

⁵ Почепцов Г.Г. Паблик рилейшнз... С. 216.

⁶ Богданов Е., Зазыкин В. Указ.соч. С. 74.

to be known by voters and be remembered by voters – he should “show up” on a regular basis. With this in mind, certain situations are arranged, different actions are undertaken; the leader’s certain qualities are demonstrated through those situations and methods. As a result, a leader is popularized¹. Extraordinary actions are the most effective way to build an alluring image. Moreover, it doesn’t matter what final results the politician’s actions will give. An attempt to undertake an action will be also memorized as a part of an image.

By means of “performances” a political staging event occurs, to “fascinate” viewers. Political events are turned into show: ritual, symbolical actions are arranged, and ceremonies are carried out. An event presented in such a way can draw people’s attention, can excite strong emotions, and can have the most effective impact on the audience. Such an approach in politics has been known since ancient times, when the power was “in the nature of a right in rem”, and the power was embodied by the following attributes: a throne, a warden, clothes, and so on. The nature of political life was extremely ritualized². In the modern world, the performances are incorporated into the structure of an entrenched power system, and they are oriented to enhance the State’s prestige, the prestige of the State’s head and of the State’s political institutions. Thus, theatricalized and ritualized ceremonies of the president’s inaugurations were developed with a purpose to enhance the prestige of the top political leaders. When a political leader holds military parades, takes part in science and art awarding ceremonies, attends religious ceremonies and so on, it creates a favorable effect for his image.

A technology of “performances” is especially widely used by politicians on the threshold of elections. Politicians participate in various information and entertainment programs, they “show up” in those events that draw the attention of the TV, radio and the print-mass media. They strive to appear on the TV news. As it was noticed above, current political leaders, who run for the presidency, have more opportunities in the respect of mass medium utilization.

¹ Levin D.M. Publicizing the “Impossible” // Public Relations Journal. 1989. № 2. P. 29.

² Вейнберг И.П. Человек в культуре древнего Ближнего Востока. М.: Наука, 1986. С. 119.

The widespread manipulative technology of an image creation is an application of those myths that are associated with a conception of a person about this or that sphere of existence connecting reality and fantasy. The possibility of their implementation into public consciousness is often connected with extreme situations, with serious public problems, or with the absence of information in a certain field. A striking example of the mythologizing of people's consciousness is a creation of myth about "the terrible enemy" in the USA after the acts of terrorism on September 11, and on that basis an image of "the hero rescuing the country" was designed. A dangerous situation was an exclusively favorable environment for "the birth of the hero", as this situation identified the basic need of people for safety.

During the initial stages of image formation of many modern political leaders, an "image legend" technology is utilized. In such form, the autobiography of a leader is presented. The image legend contains a certain symbolical space, in which the people themselves complete an image of a politician. With its help, a number of important features were incorporated into the image: proximity to common people, and together with it – chosen by God, exclusiveness, luck, an understanding of common people's problems, the delicacy of people's misfortune, decency, honesty, being a civic minded person, responsibility, courage, determination, high moral grounds to come to power, hard-working, and intellect. An autobiography, composed as a legend, sets a framework for an image; based on this framework, an image can be developed further in a specific direction. An image legend is aimed to become a foundation for an image.

An image legend is a vivid, emotionally rich story, comparable with a genre of folklore. Such a story is full of episodes appealing to unconscious response and instincts, which are expected to excite people's emotions in order to bring a political leader and audience together, to make a leader "friendly", understandable and available. For example, almost nobody will be indifferent to a story about parents whose two children died and who themselves survived by a miracle during the war¹,

¹ From V.V. Putin's pre-election booklet: От первого лица. Разговоры с Владимиром Путиным. М.: Вагриус, 2000. С. 7-11.

or a story about a child who lost his father and suffered from being abused by his alcoholic step-father¹. B.N. Yeltsin in his pre-election autobiography recalled how their family, including children, suffered from hunger and cold in the barracks, trying to get warm clasping to a goat². George W. Bush told his voters what psychological trauma he had endured in his childhood because of his younger sister's death³.

Similar stories not only set an emotionally warm background for further positive perception of a political leader, but also simply “disarm” a listener and prepare him for an uncritical understanding of further information. An appeal to an autobiography is considered to be a technique of (neuro-linguistic programming) NLP – an “age-related regression”.

The technology of “personal attacks” holds a special place in the USA pre-election campaign⁴. This technology means that candidates speak “attacking” their competitors, or “aggressive advertisements” are broadcast, and such advertisements demonstrate their competitors' weak points and their competitors' position. Politicians always find mistakes of their antecedents and opponents, in order to show themselves as competent leaders and present themselves in a favorable light on their backgrounds; otherwise a politician's image would not be so colorful. Similar information is also essential during the elections, since such information, as a rule, becomes hot news and draws mass media attention and equates to a “free PR-service” for politicians. Such information is more emotional, and citizens recall it more easily.

When, during the elections in 2004, John Kerry tried to build for himself the image of a diplomatic and honorable politician and to avoid personal attacks against his competitors, the national press was almost not interested in him⁵. After the primaries, John Kerry was perceived as an unknown person whose actions cannot be foreseen. The press accused him of having an inability to act with convincing attacks against the president. Also it was noticed that John Kerry had not obtained impressive

¹ From Bill Clinton's campaign film “The Man from Hope” .
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6l_h9ltTZD0>.

² Ельцин Б. Исповедь на заданную тему. Владивосток: Дальиздат, 1990. С. 20-22.

³ Bush G. W. A Charge to keep. New York: William Morrow, 1999. P. 22.

⁴ Mass media. Op. cit.

⁵ Монтегю К. Реклама и опросы общественного мнения в качестве новостей.
<<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itdhr/1004/ijdr/kern.htm>>.

results from the voters. The News mass media seized on George Bush's statement in the course of the election campaign that John Kerry is the person who has no firm position and "tries to please with the hare and hunt with the hounds".

A large amount of negative information about competitors has a reverse effect in the politicians' pre-election campaigns. It causes a boomerang effect and irritates people. Political opponents – in this case – can easily label candidates as "negative" for those candidates who abused their rivals with attacks. Such abuse will work as an anti-image for such candidates.

Positive advertisements as well are wildly used in pre-election campaigns in the USA. These commercials are aimed at creating an effective image of a candidate. For instance, in the USA about 60% of promotional time, purchased by candidates in 2000, was spent on commercials¹. This is due to the fact that the volume of advertisements – as a source of information for voters – exceeds news by 4 times². Advertisements have the greatest impact on "hesitating" voters³, who traditionally become an object of special attention. Voters – with a clear position in respect of their choice – are inclined to search for the information that they already trust. When they find such information, it only strengthens their belief that they are right. Political advertisement is not able to change their minds.

Pre-election promises are a widespread technique to earn the votes. A motivation of personal benefit "What will I get if I vote for this leader?" is one of the motivations defining people's choice for a political leader. As a result, politicians of different levels distribute generous promises. In the USA, as a rule, such promises are supported with a system of measures contained in the pre-election program⁴. American politicians do their best not to give empty promises as the non-performance of pledges will undermine their party's image, and will become a reason for discrediting the party's representatives before the next elections⁵.

¹ Mass media. Op. cit.

² МОНТЕГЮ К. Указ соч.

³ The split electorate. Op. cit.

⁴ Mass media. Op. cit.

⁵ Nicosia A. Op. cit. Pp. 51-52.

Despite this fact, politicians always promise more than they are able to deliver, because of the competitiveness of the democratic political process. If a certain problem is important for voters, none of the politicians will ever confess that the problem is to be solved in the near future due to difficult factors. On the contrary, politicians always promise that they will do everything in the near future and in the best possible way. They try to convince voters of this in all the various ways. Many promises are “beyond the clouds”, and they are seldom achievable. After it turns out, that those promises were not destined to be realized, people’s deputies start “getting themselves out”: “adjusting” facts to prove that everything was fulfilled, they tell stories that it is not their fault, and it was due to circumstances or that reforms will start working soon, and so on.

In the 1990’s, many Russian politicians earned votes during the elections using numerous promises but eventually did not carry out those pledges. That fact became one of the basic reasons for people’s distrust of the authorities and explains absenteeism. In Russia, politicians do not report back to the electors and are not responsible for failing to deliver their promises. Modern Russian politicians are more restrained with their pledges, because populists and show-men being popular in the 1990’s are now “out of fashion”.

Psychological techniques are also utilized as image-building technologies. They are used in the context of other technologies to enhance the effect, as well as being applied separately. The “plain folks’ game” technique is popular in the making of the modern politicians’ image. When this technique is used, it causes the voter’s identification with a political leader, and as a result a political leader becomes understandable and “friendly”. When a person is perceived as “one of us”, a favorable attitude towards him is formed automatically; such an effect is stipulated by a stereotype of the “friendly-strangers” perception¹. Such an effect can be achieved when a leader holds a meeting with people; during such meetings, a leader listens to people attentively, asks their advice and demonstrates “sincere” concern about

¹ Политическая реклама... Указ. соч.

people's problems and opinions. The most successful meetings of a leader with common people are shown on TV.

One more psychological technique that is common among politicians is the usage in speeches of so-called generalized patrimonial names¹. It means collective words, which combine items being positive for a person's perception, exciting warm feelings and emotions such as: 'happiness', 'love', 'civilization', 'culture', 'democracy', 'human rights', 'era', 'peace', 'spirituality', and others. These words initially contain 'positivity' and create 'warm background' for information transmission. This technique 'disarms' a listener, and these words substitute the logical interpretation of information for a listener's pleasant emotions. With such a background of perception it is easy to inspire any ideas and thoughts into people's minds. A 'shining' background as a result of these words often hides elementary logical mistakes, on which illusions and myths are built².

Political leaders in the USA often utilize a "transfer" technique in image-designing. This technique means that it is a human nature to transfer a perceived idea about certain things – of high prestige for him or, on the contrary, of acute negative sense – to other objects. Thus, politicians in Russia and in the USA regularly attend different events together with public idols such as popular stars, Olympic champions, outstanding scientists, former or modern national political leaders, famous actors, or national heroes. As a result, a politician is unwillingly associated in people's consciousness with the objects of people's worship. A positive attitude towards famous people – supporting a leader – is transferred to a leader himself. In the USA, a leader's political team also plays an essential role in the building of a political leader's image. This team consists of consultants from various political fields³. A team assists in popularizing the leader's ideas, being seen in public together with him and taking part in his appearances. The image of a political leader, strengthened by other leaders' support, becomes stronger.

¹ Ермаков Ю.А. Манипуляция сознанием в политическом имидже: история, теория, современность / Политическая имиджелогия. М.: Аспект Пресс, 2006. С. 91.

² Ермаков Ю.А. Указ. Соч. С. 91.

³ Беннет Э. Указ. соч.

Those voters who have not made their choice can be also influenced by the prediction of the voting results¹. These forecasts can be performed based on public opinion polls, on the “overall climate of elections”. In the USA, the “exit poll” method is also applied with this purpose. This method motivates a voter to listen to the majority and to act like other people do.

The ranging of image is a psychological technique introduced widely in the process of political leaders’ image making. As already mentioned, the human mind is energy-conserving, and it is difficult for people to deal with the many-sided and complex personality of a politician. That is why the most effective qualities of a politician are memorized; further on these qualities will be associated with this politician. The most important qualities of a politician are selected at the beginning of the image creation process, based on this regularity of social perception. These qualities are introduced as core qualities, and a stable stereotype is generated in mass consciousness – this is a ranging of image. A ranging is a combination of the image’s most colorful features, giving an impression of the integrity of a politician’s nature². These features alone are micro-images, combined into a unified structure and revealing the certain features of an integrated image³.

When the ranging is applied, an image is then easily perceived, colorful, “weighty”, and it exactly registers a politician in the mass consciousness. Based on a method of ranging, a leader can stand out from the “crowd” and contrast with it. The simple complexity of multiple features of a “good man” creates a “mousy person”, and a policy maker can be lost in the symbolic space of politics. Some researchers give in to the idea that ranging – in a general sense – should correspond to one of the psychological types, familiar to people. It is a stereotype widespread in mass consciousness⁴. In this case, a politician will be better remembered by people, and his image will be the most effective.

¹ Монтегю К. Указ. соч.

² Пушкарева Г.В. Избирательная кампания... С. 278.

³ Ольшанский Д.В. Политическая психология... С. 551.

⁴ Максимов А. «Чистые» и «грязные» технологии... 1999. С. 54-55.

A political leader's ranging often coincides with one of the myths existing in a society. For example, "the father-king", "the national hero", "the father of the nation", "the elder brother" are national myths based on archetypes of the collective unconscious. Today the scientific world often raises the issue that modern States – including those ones which pretend to be qualified as democratic countries – confabulate the mass consciousness using ideological indoctrination¹. A large number of political myths were formed in the mass consciousness with the usage of State propaganda². Myths are perceived idea of a person in one particular sphere of existence, and the myths combine reality and fantasy. Myths, being an effective way of influencing the mass consciousness, as well, are widely involved in the images of political leaders.

Thus, the building of the image of a modern political leader is based on the application of political technologies; the required features of a politician are introduced into his image with these technologies. Political technologies differ from each other with their degree of appeal to voters' minds or of manipulation with the electorate's feelings. Depending on that, technologies can be divided into rational and manipulative technologies.

Manipulative technologies include psychological technologies aimed at either manipulating the mass consciousness with a direct impact on people's subconscious mind, or with disinformation, developed for particular targets of this information. These technologies rely on: an "ideal picture", sociological researches, a formation of an "events line", news control, advertisement, PR techniques, utilization of social perception regularities, political mythology methods, application of verbal and linguistic techniques, image ranging, and others. Manipulative technologies are the most effective; this is why they are widely utilized in political leaders' image making.

Rational technologies include: television debates, direct contact of a leader with people, direct addresses of a leader to people, direct addresses of people to a

¹ Политическая реклама... Указ. соч. С. 182-193.

² See example: Макаревич Э., Карпухин О. Игры интеллигентов или социальный контроль масс. М.: Эксмо, 2003. 480 с.; Кара-Мурза С.Г. Указ. соч.

leader (TV link-ups), political trips around the country, political trips abroad, speeches in the mass media, and political advertisement. Manipulative technologies as well can be used as a part of these technologies to make an additional effect to enhance the impact of technologies.

Depending on the domination of manipulative or rational technologies in image-designing, a leader's image will be either close to reality or distinct from reality. Rational technologies "reveal" a political leader before his voters, and bring his image nearer to a leader's prototype. With manipulative technologies a leader can be qualified with those qualities that he really does not possess.

In the USA, the application of rational technologies for the making of an image for a political leader during the pre-election period is a compulsory term. The established system of pre-election campaigns demands it. Based on rational technologies, the pre-election process in the USA becomes competitive, and candidates "reveal themselves" before their voters. Manipulative technologies as well are used as a part of image-designing to "enhance" the image of a political leader.

CHAPTER 2. THE CREATION OF THE PRESIDENTS

B.CLINTON'S AND J.W.BUSH'S IMAGES

2.1. Objective and subjective factors forming Bill Clinton's image

The impact of social and historical conditions on the creation of Bill Clinton's image. Between the 1980's and 1990's, a new political leader appeared on the US political stage. His accession led to a change in the conservative board of the previous decades, and designed a number of new tendencies in the political and social spheres of the state and also in international relations. Those changes are as follows: an orientation towards a synthesis of major political ideologies in the USA, a development of "the third path of development"; a considerable strengthening of power-society feedback. That was reflected in the emergence of the definition of the "Clintonization of a political process"; an identification of the USA's new objectives on the international scene; the development of a new strategy of the US national security and others. The new leader's vividness and personal touch drew the attention of researchers-analysts of the whole world to him; many of analysts considered that Bill Clinton's arrival had become a new milestone in the US history.

Bill Clinton had started forming his image of a political leader prior to his presidential election campaign to which he arrived with certain political capital. The previous achievements of the political leader showing his competence and professionalism are of great importance for the American voters. Accordingly, it is a tradition that former and current successful senators, governors and congressmen of the USA stand as candidates for the presidency.

Clinton first declared himself as a political leader when he was nominated as a candidate for a governor's position, and later – when he became the governor of the State of Arkansas. Owing to his successful governance during which this state improved on a number of indicators, Bill Clinton gained popularity among the citizens of Arkansas as a bold reformer, as the honest and hardworking politician. He

was the best remembered for carrying out regular personal meetings with citizens, having created image of the careful and “open” leader.

Bill Clinton became popular outside his State after having been elected as the Chairman of the Board of the Democratic Leadership Council. Promoting this organization among democrats Clinton visited 35 states¹, and became famous for brilliant speeches and good oratorical skills. His activity on this post drew the attention of Americans. Thereby, Bill Clinton approached this first presidential election campaign with certain electoral baggage. In addition, being the candidate from the Democratic Party, he automatically received votes from dedicated supporters of the party.

At the same time Clinton had no sufficient support and popularity from his election campaign. His pre-election campaign had a crucial role in gaining the electorate’s sympathy. During that pre-election campaign an image at a national level was formed for Clinton.

A theme focusing on social and historic aspects was selected as the basis for making Clinton’s image. By the time of the presidential elections of 1992, many social and economic problems had accumulated in the country². George Bush Senior – the incumbent president at the time – focused on foreign policy during his presidency; and he succeeded in it. He proclaimed the fall of the Soviet Union as his principal victory in international politics³. Americans appreciated his foreign-policy achievements. However George Bush did not give the priority to internal affairs.

During the stabilization of the international environment and in absence of foreign political threats and because of unsolved internal problems in the USA, a demand for a leader who would focus on the national economy as a priority appeared⁴. “Expectations of changes for a better life occupied people’s minds”⁵.

¹ Клинтон У. Дж. Моя жизнь / У. Дж. Клинтон. Пер с англ. М.: Альпина Бизнес Букс, 2005. С.356-357.

² Олбрайт М. Госпожа госсекретарь / Мемуары Мадлен Олбрайт. Пер. с англ. М.: Альпина Бизнес Бук, 2004. С. 174.

³ Буш Дж., Скоукрофт Б. Мир стал другим / Пер с англ. М.: Международные отношения, 2004. С.500.

⁴ Тэлботт С. Билл и Борис. Записки о президентской дипломатии. М.: ОАО Издательский дом «Городец», 2003. С. 31.

⁵ Клинтон Х.Р. История моей жизни / Пер. с английского М.: ОЛМА-ПРЕСС, 2003. С. 117.

Bill Clinton's team caught the mood of the American citizens therefore the subject of “changes” was chosen as a basis of creation of his image. The developed image strategy was based on Bill Clinton's positioning in the light of shortcomings of his main rival who, on a plan of political strategists, had to be “coordinated” to a situation in the country. This strategy included the following main directions: demonstrating to voters the negative consequences of the leadership of George Bush and twelve years of Republican occupancy in the White house, and as well as demonstrating George Bush’s shortcomings as a leader; and against this background presenting the advantages of Bill Clinton.

George Bush concentrated the election campaign on foreign policy issues, among which the question of support for the Russian democracy and economic reforms became one of the major points. He told voters how it was important not to miss a victory in the Cold War and to supervise a course of events in order to prevent the processes from reversing¹. Thereby, he was putting an accent on his achievements in the first presidential term. At the same time, in his election campaign he didn't pay proper attention to the accumulated internal political problems. Many researchers consider that George Bush lost those elections because of deteriorations in the economy which had occurred during his presidency, and also because of insufficient attention to this problem during the election campaign².

In the counterbalance to George Bush, Bill Clinton offered Americans the expanded national program of transforming the economy and the social sphere³. It was based on the fact that many problems had been accumulated in the country, and the country required changes. “All over the country people support changes”, Clinton addressed to voters in his pre-election book “Putting people first: How we can all change America”. “Traveling around the country, we heard these statements everywhere, and clarified a lot of things for ourselves... The time has come for

¹ Тэлботт С. Указ. соч. С. 42.

² Patterson T.E. Out of order. N.Y., 1993. P. 106.

³ Клинтон У. Дж. Указ. соч. С. 419.

changes, for the leaders who are ready to assume the responsibility and to place the presidential power at service to the American people”¹.

Clinton through this program showed Americans that he was ready to provide these changes to people. The program name “Putting people first: How we can all change America” became the slogan of his election campaign, and also a core of image of Bill Clinton: “Clinton is the new leader, the messenger of good hopes and changes. He will change life for the better”.

Clinton's campaign was aimed inciting people's expectations of change. So, he told voters with what problems Americans are compelled to enter into the new millennium as a result of the Republican Government. The problems were as follows: economic stagnation, the four-time-increase of the national debt, the large and constantly increasing budgetary deficiency, the rise in crime and unemployment, the crisis in the health system, the increase of a number of people living on welfare and homeless people². From this, Clinton for voters drew a conclusion that George Bush's administration had lost touch with the country³. Thus, against the previous leader creating a train of problems, Bill Clinton was represented as the leader, capable for solving problems. George Bush was “the old way, needing changes;” Bill Clinton was “a new way, bringing these changes”.

In his addresses to voters the theme “changes or the continuation of the old way” was constantly sounded. Bill Clinton's election pledges were connected to this theme. When he spoke about any social realm having apparent defects and needing reforming, he asked a question to voters: if changes were needed or it should be the continuation of what had happened before.

Clinton's advertizing promotion was constructed on a theme of changes. In this, he was shown as an alternative to problems existing in American society. The idea, that Bill Clinton was the choice which the US nation had to carry out, was instilled into the voters' minds: “This biographical movie personalizes the choice that the

¹ Клинтон Б., Гор А. Народ прежде всего. Как мы вместе можем изменить Америку. М.: СП «Квадрат», 1995. С. 7.

² Клинтон Х.Р. Указ. соч. С. 119.

³ Клинтон Х.Р. Указ. соч. С. 119.

nation is facing. «...» Clinton's photo album invites us to see problems with his eyes and encourages us to settle a choice on him”¹. The question was raised by an edge: either the return to the old way, or a new leader who will bring the country out of the difficult situation.

A massive campaign on the introduction of an expectation of changes into common perception – brought results. The expert in party political struggle issues in the USA E. Ladd summarized an essence of the choice made by Americans: “The desire for changes turned the scale over doubts regarding Clinton”². And Bill Clinton became the embodiment of these hopes, a symbol of the “bright future”. He appeared before Americans as a political leader of a new generation capable of proposing an agenda for the nation.

Clinton’s theme on changes was connected to economic matters and became the strong point of his pre-election promises. During his election campaign, Bill Clinton regularly talked about the necessity for the USA economy to recover. A task “to inhale a new life into the weakened American economy” became a foundation of the transformations, which he had proposed”³. Other problems, as Clinton assured voters, originated from the economy and should be solved with it in a complex way. He touched on all the issues American people were concerned about in the social sphere and promised to take drastic measures. Those issues were connected with the education system and vocational training, job creation, medical care, improvement of the country’s infrastructure, transport system, reconstruction of the cities, encouragement of private capital investments and export expansion, reorganization of the existing system of the social assistance, and others⁴. The wide range of problems was to touch on interests of the majority of Americans. Everyone was to find practical benefit for himself in Clinton's proposal.

Shifting to the centre became a new tendency in the USA political ideologies, and Bill Clinton as a leader of the Democratic Party opened a way to it. The party

¹ Jamieson К.Н. *Op. cit.* P. 44.

² Антонова Л.А. Кампания-92 – прообраз выборов XXI в.? // США ЭПИ. 1993. №2. С. 7.

³ Бамстед Р. А. Президент Билл Клинтон // США: экономика, политика, идеология. 1993. № 1. С. 3.

⁴ Бамстед Р. А. Указ. соч. С. 3-10.

counted on this new way for the popularization of Clinton's image among the conservative part of the population. The model of reformations-proposed by Bill Clinton – was a pragmatic synthesis of the two main ideologies¹. The Centrist platform solved a problem of a traditional opposition of conservatives and liberals; that allowed Clinton to expand his electoral base essentially, having given his party a large share of traditionally republican voters². Thus, the image of Bill Clinton as “the moderate democrat” was intended for broad layers of electorate.

Clinton tried to keep up with George Bush on foreign issues³, having paid them special attention in pre-election speeches to dispel doubts of Americans regarding his competency in this field. Bill Clinton also took the USA's economic power as the basis for solving foreign policy matters. According to his addresses, with the end of the Cold War, American foreign policy should be focused on new issues and it should be started with economic recovery⁴. In his keynote speech on foreign policy matters Bill Clinton spoke: “In the today's world it is impossible to separate foreign policy from the internal one. If our economy is weak, we won't be able to take a lead in the world to which creation we have directed so many efforts. And if we find ourselves insolated, our economy will suffer”⁵. The Campaign keynote “Let's inhale life into the weakened American economy”, thus, was connected to foreign policy objectives of the United States.

Also Bill Clinton did not overlook traditional issues regarding the USA's place in the modern world. Following his antecedents⁶, Clinton declared that the protection of democratic values in a world was one of the USA's objectives in foreign policy. “The defense of freedom and democracy in the world does not simply reflect our most important moral values”, Clinton accentuated in one of his pre-election speeches. “But it also plays an enormous role in the protection of our national interests. Democracy means peace between people of the whole world, free exchange

¹ Клинтон У. Дж. Указ. соч. С. 421.

² Антонова Л.А. Кампания-92... С. 5-8.

³ Клинтон У. Дж. Указ. соч. С. 421-425.

⁴ Антонова Л.А. Кампания-92... С. 6.

⁵ Бамстед Р. А. Указ. соч. С. 10.

⁶ Буш Дж., Скоукрофт Б. Указ. соч. С. 501.

of ideas and trade”¹. Bill Clinton defined the right of the USA to influence the world’s political processes, appealing to the important values of Americans such as freedom and democracy². This declared mission coincided with the mood of the majority of the American society, which was an adherent of the USA internationalist policy (from 60 to 80 %, in dependence of the events taking place on the international scene³).

The role of the political technologies in the creation of Bill Clinton’s image. In Bill Clinton's pre-election campaign the main emphasis was laid on the technologies connected with activity of the leader: personal meetings with voters, rivals, journalists, leaders of opinions. A central place in the campaign was allocated for his own activity.

Meetings with voters played a special role in making Clinton’s image. He traveled around the country and held meetings with citizens at different places: on streets, in restaurants of fast-food, supermarkets, etc. During those meetings Clinton demonstrated his concern to the people, listening to them, showing sincere interest, asking for pieces of advice: “...They wanted to understand what was happening to them, and how to come out of their difficult situations in which they had found themselves. During pre-election campaign, I learnt a lot just listening to their questions at those meetings”⁴. While communicating with voters, Bill Clinton had obtained relevant stories of common lives, which he used successfully in his further speeches as examples to prove his truth.

During his political journeys through the country Bill Clinton held meetings in cities, explaining his objectives to citizens and answering numerous questions⁵. Bill Clinton made numerous ambitious promises to his voters, which were confirmed by his pre-election program. After announcing his promises he approached the people to shake hands and to communicate with those who wanted to.

¹ Бамстед Р. А. Указ. соч. С. 11.

² Клинтон У. Дж. Указ. соч. С. 420.

³ Ричман Э. Проблемы, волнующие американских избирателей: по результатам опросов общественного мнения. <<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itps/0900/ijpr/ijpr0900.htm>>.

⁴ Клинтон У. Дж. Указ. соч. С. 421.

⁵ Клинтон У. Дж. Указ. соч. С. 421.

As a result of such actions, Clinton was perceived by common Americans as a fellow who knew their problems and who was ready to help them. He managed to create an image of “the familiar person”, “knowing our needs”. Because of the “diligence and openness” Bill Clinton won a victory over George Bush. He was perceived as more open-minded leader.

The technology of personal meetings with people became a favorable format for Bill Clinton, and it helped to assign him an image of an intellectual person. He demonstrated to his electorate the perfect memory, clear mind and a momentary response: “During his pre-election campaign of 1992 Bill Clinton became famous for the manner of pouring out statistic data and the various facts. He had ready answers to any question. He answered almost without thinking”¹. Numerous examples of his phenomenal memory were given to his voters: “... He kept in mind people’s names of almost half of his state. Another half he knew by sight and even was informed on their diseases”². The American journalists joked concerning his memory: Bill Clinton would be able to demonstrate it at circus performances. An image of the intellectual person was also assigned to Bill Clinton by scientists who had calculated his high IQ to 182 points³.

The outstanding oratorical skills of Bill Clinton also played a great part in creating his image of the intellectual person. He dazzled listeners with his speeches. His addresses to voters were bright, solemn, and topological and sustained in patriotic spirit. Such speeches can be compared with poetry: “In the conditions of a new world order and global economy, the priority attention to a man is more than a slogan. This is a philosophy and the only way to prosperity”⁴. “Opportunities and responsibility, faith and family, freedom and community, the respect of the law and respect of each other – such small bricks should be used to build our bridge to future”⁵.

¹ Лисичкин В.А., Шелепин Л.А. Глобальная империя зла. М.: Изд-во Эксмо, 2003. С. 315.

² Лисичкин В.А., Шелепин Л.А. Указ. соч. С. 314.

³ Самый низкий IQ из президентов США у Дж. Буша. <<http://media.topping.com.ua/news/economy/2001/08/01/16637.html>>.

⁴ Антонова Л.А. Первые сто дней президента Клинтона // США: экономика, политика, идеология. 1993. №6. С. 5.

⁵ Waldman M. Op. cit. P. 127.

An application of technology of communication to voters through television debates put Bill Clinton in a favorable light¹: a battle with his main rival had a special role in those debates. This format was successful for Bill Clinton and emphasized his personal features well: youth, energy, intellect, excellent oratorical skills and ability to answer questions quickly and clearly. Using such a format helped Bill Clinton to demonstrate his concern about common people; this format positioned him as a politician ready to communication and a politician listening attentively to other people's words.

In a context of television debates, Bill Clinton contrasted with George Bush. Initially refusing to take part in talk-shows, but later – forced to agree to do it – George Bush demonstrated during those debates his non-acceptance of this format: glanced at his watch and did not listen to his conversation partners, and as a result it put him into a non-favorable light.

Unlike Bill Clinton, George Bush couldn't also shine up with youth, energy and good response. Initially Bill Clinton's youth was associated with a lack of experience, but then it turned from his weak point into his advantage.

Some years later, again Bill Clinton's image gained points owing to this indicator on the background of the sick president of Russia – B. Yeltsin. Some analysts connected Bill Clinton's visit to Moscow in 1997 with B. N. Yeltsin's illness and a wave of publications about his health². The “withering” Russian president allowed Bill Clinton to appear in a favorable light and to confirm his image of the youngest and the most energetic politician in the world.

According to A. Tsuladze, people associate a governor's health with the prosperity of a country³. This association has existed since ancient times, when any sign of a king's degeneration – in tribes' people opinion – could cause similar symptoms for people, animals, cereals. Physical superiority was the basis of legitimacy of the power of the leader. There was a tradition among primitive people to sacrifice a chief if he got sick and thus lost his mystic power. A chief was

¹ Почепцов Г.Г. Имиджология. М.: Реф-бук, К.: Ваклер, 2002. С. 542.

² Костиков В. Указ. соч. С. 191.

³ Цуладзе А. Политическая мифология. М.: Эксмо, 2003. С. 125.

sacrificed by his successor, who acquired the spirit of the sacrificed leader. Likewise, according to A. Tsuladze's article, in a modern world, older and weaker persons are pushed out by younger and stronger people¹. This theory can also explain Bill Clinton's victory at the elections when the young governor relieved his people from an old one. Thus, the transfer of power was performed on a legitimate basis.

The features presenting Bill Clinton as a common man were also included into his image. He was shown when playing the saxophone, walking with the dog. His regular sports activities had a special effect on voters: Bill Clinton made his daily well-known jogs, and he played golf. He appeared with famous golf partners (the movie actors Jack Nicolson. Kevin Costner, and others); this action positively influenced his image. Owing to the many-side lines of this image every kind of citizen could obtain that kind of information about Clinton which made him more familiar and understandable. He was a dog-lover for dog-lovers; he was a sportsman for sportsmen, and so on. Thus a bright multi-variant image was created for Bill Clinton.

Besides technologies related to public activity, other technologies as well were applied to Clinton's pre-election campaign. Voters were shown an autobiographical movie of Bill Clinton, numerous commercials were broadcasted on TV, famous people in the USA told about Clinton's good qualities and appealed to support him during the elections. Various printed advertizing materials were used: posters, leaflets, Bill Clinton's printed addresses to voters.

The "sociological research support" technology played a special role, not only during pre-election campaigns but also during the whole presidency of Bill Clinton². His campaign's pre-election strategy was based on sociological surveys. They were put as a basis of his election programs in both presidential campaigns.

Through his presidential power Clinton became a leader among his antecedents, in respect of orientation of his policy towards public opinion³. Bill Clinton was sensitive to public opinion: all the speeches of the president were

¹ Цуладзе А. Политическая мифология... С. 125.

² Клинтон У. Дж. Указ. соч. С. 567.

³ Waterman R., Wright R., St.Clair G. The Image-Is-Everything Presidency. Boulder, 1999. Pp. 64-66.

prepared with consideration of the sociological polls results which revealed people's relation to the theme in question¹. Even the formulations of expressions used by Clinton were tested². As a result Bill Clinton reflected exactly the electorate's expectations and moods.

A certain role in the making of Bill Clinton's image was played by the candidate for a post of the vice-president of the United States – Albert Gore. After Albert Gore's nomination to this position, some of the political observers expressed their concern in respect of the fact that Bill Clinton had selected almost his double as a vice-president: they both were southerners from neighbouring states, were of approximately the same age and of the same religious belief; experts in big-league politics³. G. Pocheptsov calls this technique “a parallel image”, “when in order to improve an image-making perception of a leader – another not less significant image of his team-mate is built nearby – an image which is as essential as a leader's one”⁴. Albert Gore played two important roles in the formation of Bill Clinton's image⁵. Firstly, young and dynamic, Albert Gore worked for the principal platform of Bill Clinton's image – “changes”. Secondly, Albert Gore was an alternative for those people who wanted to vote against George Bush, but was also doubtful about the experience of the second main candidate. Thereby it worked on the improvement of Bill Clinton's image.

In his first campaign, Clinton had to fight against an anti-image which George Bush and his team tried to create for him by the means of damaging evidence. So, George Bush told Americans that Clinton had smoked marihuana in his youth. Bill Clinton in one of his addresses to voters replied: “I tried it just once and did not inhale”⁶. With his answer he intended to convince voters his behavior had been not more than a primary social deviation, i.e. that in general he had met the public

¹ Waterman R., Wright R., St.Clair G. Op. cit. P. 98.

² Политическая система США. Актуальные измерения / Под ред. С.А. Червонной и В.С. Васильева. М.: Наука, 2000. С. 116.

³ Клинтон Х.Р. Указ. соч. С. 117.

⁴ Почепцов Г.Г. Имиджелогия... С. 287.

⁵ Jamieson K.H. Op. cit. P. 48.

⁶ Лисичкин В.А., Шелепин Л.А. Указ. соч. С. 313-314.

cultural standards accepted in the society. At the time of Clinton's youth the smoking of marijuana was common among considerable part of the American youth. So the fact that Bill Clinton in his youth "had tried, but not inhaled" did not cause a negative impact to his image. A lack of dominance from a high-moral person was important for the image of the leader who is being examined; the lack of that dominant allowed him to withstand during further impeachment.

George Bush also accused Bill Clinton of a lack of patriotism in his student's years, when he had avoided military conscription and had taken part in demonstrations against the war in Vietnam. Again an issue on Bill Clinton's trustworthiness was raised, because in 1969 Clinton had visited the Soviet Union as a tourist. This subject was not of immediate interest for Americans as those statements were in the spirit of the Cold War. According to analysts, George Bush made a judging mistake in his campaign when he tackled outdated subjects, operated with outdated points of view and did not focus on the public mood¹. It allowed Clinton to turn all attacks of George Bush into a political boomerang. He declared that the president conducted "a campaign of personal attacks against him as George Bush had nothing else to offer to the country"². Thereby, "the campaign of personal attacks" of George Bush didn't damage Bill Clinton's image.

The image of Clinton – based on rational technologies created during the first presidential pre-election campaign – turned out to be bright, multisided, and emotional. As a whole it was maintained during the first presidency period.

Bill Clinton reached his second election campaign with good results. Among Americans he had a high rate of popularity – connected with his achievements during his first presidency term. During Clinton's presidency the budget deficit decreased by more than a half, sharp growth of economy occurred which created ten million jobs; taxes decreased, the minimum wages increased, the social welfare system was effectively reformed, etc³. Society highly appreciated this success. Hopes concerning changes were answered. Bill Clinton was considered as an effective political leader.

¹ Беннет Э. Указ. соч.

² Антонова Л.А. Кампания-92... С. 5.

³ Клинтон Х.Р. Указ. соч. С. 361-367.

The forming image of “the thoughtful president capable to change life for the best” acquired its roots in the mass consciousnesses. To enhance the effect Clinton highlighted many times the achievements of his Administration during the first 4-years. The Administration distributed rosy reports on the upturn in the economy and on solving public problems, whereby an effective leader’s image took root in the mass consciousnesses.

During the second election campaign of Clinton his pre-election program again took an important place. The basis of this program was once again an economic problem. It reminded voters about the achievements in this realm during Clinton’s first presidential term. Along with it Clinton updated this subject and combined the economy with different social issues of voters’ concern: issues regarding jobs, homes and families. The previous theme on the economy received a new meaning: “dynamically developing economy can improve life of each American”¹.

New points of Clinton’s pre-election program received the name “dining-table issues”. Those were issues that Americans were solving in discussion with their families (about holidays, health, etc.). The Program name – “dining-table issues” – became the main slogan of his pre-election campaign². This range of issues was selected in accordance with public opinion polls that revealed the problems of the most concern to Americans. Bill Clinton’s program once again got the attention of voters owing to its relevancy.

During the second election campaign of Clinton, the focus again was on technologies related to the leader’s personal activity rate. In general, Clinton during his presidency overcame all records of public activity rate³. His indices of direct addresses to people were the highest ones among all previous presidents and exceeded their indices by many times⁴. It is also related to his “public appearances”⁵,

¹ Клинтон Х.Р. Указ. соч. С. 376.

² Клинтон Х.Р. Указ. соч. С. 360.

³ Kernell S. Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership. Washington: D.C., 1993. Pp. 113, 118.

⁴ Gergen D. Eyewitness to Power: The Essence of Leadership, Nixon to Clinton. N.Y.: Touchstone Books, 2000. P.349.

⁵ Kernell S. Op. cit. P. 118.

press-conferences¹. Bill Clinton became a president who was extremely "open" and "available" to the public. It caused an evolution of idea on the president in mass consciousness, established new traditions for the relations of a "power-society". Those traditions appeared in the president's policy and his team and were ultimately oriented to a public opinion; that facilitated a popularization of the political power image among citizens.

Like in his first pre-election campaign the contextual characteristics played a considerable role for Clinton. In the light of his main rival Bob Dole – who was older and more melancholic – Bill Clinton looked young and dynamic. Bill Clinton won against Bob Dole owing to his telegenic: if Dole in his real life was sharp-witted and amiable, he looked rather bleak and even ominous on television². Besides Bob Dole's bleak appearance, his tactics played into the president's hands. Bob Dole's tactics in many respects came down to critics of the president and his Administration policy, Bob Dole called it a "chain of failures being presented as achievements"³, and made a flow of negative advertisement against Clinton. As a result voters accumulated dissatisfaction with aggressive and offensive nature of political advertisement.

Clinton's team also resorted to negative publicity against Bob Dole, such negative advertisement was "a contrast", and i.e. it simultaneously criticized his opponent and highlighted the advantages of the president's proposals concerning the problems touched on in the advertising. As a result, voters did not assess Bill Clinton's advertisement as a negative one (13% of voters blamed the election run-up of B Clinton in negativism, and 52% of voters were against Bob Dole for the same reason⁴).

Based on interactions with his competitor – a slogan and a campaign's logo were selected for Bill Clinton. 72-year old Bob Dole tried to make a play with his age and promised Americans: "Age has certain advantages: now I am able to build a

¹ McCurry M. The Background on Background // The Harvard International Journal of Press/ Politics. 1996. №4. Pp. 4-9.

² Washington Post. 1996. October 17.

³ Washington Post. 1996. October 17.

⁴ Справочник по политическому консультированию. М., 2002. С. 23.

bridge to that America -which is considered to be a wonderful myth for many people nowadays – to the times of peace, faith and self- confidence.

To those people, who say that it has never been and that America has not been better I state – you are not right. I know it because I lived in that America!”¹. Based on Bob Dole’s tactics, Bill Clinton’s team proposed their own tactics: Bob Dole intends to build a bridge to the past and B Clinton “will build bridge to the future”. Throughout the campaign Clinton regularly had appealed to these comparisons that impacted positively on his image.

The scandal’s impact on Bill Clinton’s image. A large-scale political scandal occurred during Bill Clinton’s second presidency; this scandal was quite a challenge to his image. Those events were related to Lewinsky’s case, and the impeachment procedure that followed it.

The mass media arranged all-out assaults to Bill Clinton’s address within this scandal. Madeleine Albright called this new period of time “All about Monica and all the time”². So, during the first month after Monica Lewinsky’s confessions, those confessions took up one third of on air news-time on all the channels; by the time of the president’s explanation, the three main evening news programs had broadcasted on air in total 1636 reports covering the ‘Lewinsky/impeachment’ case³.

During that scandal, Republican congressmen tried to create an opinion against the president accusing him to be a liar, a moral failure and almost a definite criminal⁴. They spoke in terms of moral categories and appealed to his conscience: “If we do not mark lawlessness”, invoked the congressman John K. Watts, “our children will not be able to identify it. And if we do not punish lawlessness, our children will not trust it. How we can tell our children that honesty is the best policy, if we do not require honesty as a policy”⁵. Republicans presented Bill Clinton’s behavior regarding Monica Lewinsky as an abuse of women subordinated to him, as an amoral

¹ Waldman M. Op. cit. Pp. 126-127.

² Олбрайт М. Указ. соч. С. 391-392

³ Шестопал Е.Б. Политическая психология: хрестоматия. М.: ИНФРА-М, 2002. С. 163.

⁴ Schmitt E. Testing of a president: The overview; Republicans near accord on release of Clinton tapes // New York Times. 1998. 17 September.

⁵ Henry J.C. Clinton impeached; 2 articles approved in partisan House vote // The Houston Chronicle. 1998. 20 December. P. 45.

behavior deserving punishment. A breaking of the Bible oath was presented as the heaviest sin and as an abuse of religion. Republicans insisted on impeachment. Mass media criticized Bill Clinton in the similar way.

Democrats had to choose a “delicate way” and to condemn the president’s personal behavior, following the public’s opinion¹. At the same time they concentrated the attention on the achievements of the president-democrat and his supporters-lawmakers. Thereby they supported an image of Bill Clinton as a successful political leader.

The American majority did not share the point of view expressed by the Congress and replicated by mass media. People formed their own understanding of this scandal. The majority of society supported the interpretation of an impeachment made by the president himself. In accordance with this interpretation he became a victim of partisan interfering into his personal life. An impeachment, being a constitutional item by its form, was not a constitutional one by its content and presented just “a resolution” between two parties. Bill Clinton and his supporters insisted that impeachment had been arranged by the right republicans who tried to use a constitutional mechanism in order to turn down the results of the double presidential elections². When the impeachment came, 70% of society held this opinion³. Thus, society believed Clinton, that there were political motivations and interests behind the decision of the president’s impeachment. And those points didn’t have any relation to the Government of the country.

At the same time, Clinton could not deny obvious facts, and he had to recognize that his behavior towards Lewinsky had been unseemly for a president. He apologized many times in public and acknowledged himself to be wrong in front of the public: “I made a serious mistake. It is unforgivable and I am so sorry about what

¹ Alvarez L. The testing of president: Top House Democrats back finite impeachment inquiry // New York Times. 1998. 2 October. P. A24.

² Политическая система США: Актуальные измерения. Указ. соч. С. 8.

³ Шестопап Е.Б. Политическая психология... С. 164.

happened”¹. Clinton said those words that Americans wanted to hear from him. An acknowledgement in immorality, public apologies were greeted by the society².

During his defense, Bill Clinton outlined that despite his innocence before the country, his behavior regarding Monica Lewinsky deserved to be censured, and Clinton was sincerely sorry about it³. “I will give my lawyers instructions to organize strong defense using all appropriate arguments. But speeches of lawyers should not paper over that fact that I behaved wrong. <...> Children in this country would keep firmly in their minds that a fair-dealing and honesty are important virtues and that egoism is not a virtue, but God can change us and make us strong even after downfalls”⁴. With these words Bill Clinton demonstrated his repentance, his honesty towards Americans. He also reminded that everybody had downfalls, nobody was sinless.

Information technologies were activated for Bill Clinton’s defense; the purpose of those technologies was to convert him into a decent person. Bill Clinton was portrayed as an «unhappy victim of interference into his personal life»⁵. His solicitors proved that he had told truth and had not perjured under oath; accordingly, he had every right to state how it was necessary to live and to observe moral norms. A campaign on “whitewashing” of Bill Clinton created him the image of a sufferer⁶. Bill Clinton stirred up sympathy from many people.

The majority of society did not approve the measures that had been taken against Bill Clinton during his impeachment, and considered that such measures diminished the institution of the presidency and the Constitution. Many citizens resented the fact that intimate details of the president’s personal life had entered the public domain. “The day – when the report had been published – put a slur on the American history”⁷. There is a definition of privacy in the American culture: it means having a private life which nobody has a right to interfere in. That is why, in many

¹ Клинтон Х.Р. Указ. соч. С. 473.

² Клинтон Х.Р. Указ. соч. С. 476.

³ Олбрайт М. Указ. соч. С. 458

⁴ Клинтон Х.Р. Указ. соч. С. 475.

⁵ Лисичкин В.А., Шелепин Л.А. Указ. соч. С. 318.

⁶ Лисичкин В.А., Шелепин Л.А. Указ. соч. С. 320.

⁷ Клинтон Х.Р. Указ. соч. С. 474.

ways, public opinion did not support the scandal about the president's private life. Two thirds of the society assessed the president's behavior as private business, even reprehensible morally but not as a breach deserving an impeachment. The same number considered that a testimony should not have been made open to the public¹. The Americans' majority agreed on the fact that disclosure should not have become a ground for impeachment².

The absence of a moral dominant in Bill Clinton was another important factor that allowed Clinton's image to withstand. "If a society perceives a leader as highly moral person then this leader can pay dearly if he gets discovered in morally compromising situation"³. And on the contrary, a previous image assuming certain moral errors does not form high expectations from a leader in this sphere. A leader's image doesn't only assume certain weak points but it must also contain it compulsorily, in order not to become an easy target for opponents. Clinton's image contained such weak points which turned later into advantages for its bearer and allowed his image to survive.

From the beginning of his political career, Bill Clinton did his best to make for himself an image of a highly-moral politician. He often spoke to his voters about moral and ethical life, providing examples from his own. So he told how a man could pass through all adversities and not only save blushes, but could even obtain positive experience for himself. Clinton recalled those difficulties he had faced in his lifetime. Those difficulties just hardened his will and taught him that a man was always to behave humanely, according to consciousness. In one of his speeches to schoolchildren about sex Clinton stated that sex is not a sport but a serious responsibility⁴. And if young people are not ready to get married and to undertake responsibility for their children and for themselves, then they should not make love.

¹ Mitchell A. The testing of a president: The proceedings: Feuds erupt in Congress over details of release. New York Times. 1998. 17 September.

² Berke R.L., Elder J. The testing of president: Public opinion poll finds Clinton in strong rebound since video airing. New York Times. 1998. 25 September. P. 14.

³ Berke R.L., Elder J. Op. cit. P. 15.

⁴ Лисичкин В.А., Шелепин Л.А. Указ. соч. С. 313.

Despite such statements Clinton was repeatedly prosecuted for indecorous behavior¹. Thus, during his first presidential campaign, as mentioned above, facts of smoking marihuana and military conscription were made known to the public. A group of ultra-conservatives tried to draw Bill Clinton into impeachment for many years². This group was behind several investigations against claims for the implication of financial frauds related to sale of plots of land during his family life period in Arkansas; claims for the illegal financing of the Arkansas campaigns for Bill Clinton's election as governor and a number of others³.

From January 1992 until his impeachment in 1998, scandals on adulteries "came after" Bill Clinton⁴. Journalists put Bill Clinton a label of a record-holder for a number of non-marital relations that had come out of the blue.

During the first presidential campaign only 15% of Americans assessed Bill Clinton as a "highly-moral person"⁵. Sociological polls carried out shortly before Monica Lewinsky's statements were published had showed that 62% of Americans believed that the president "did not share their values"⁶. Bill Clinton's image did not maintain "the moral standard", and that fact, according to the majority of researchers, assisted him to withstand after intensive lasting attacks from mass media side.

The successful political activity of Bill Clinton was the decisive factor that allowed public opinion to react more easily to all the negative information against the president. The defense of a politician's public image in many ways depends on the efficiency of achievement of the political goals set by a leader⁷. In the event of successful political results, public approval of a political leader grows. Successes of the politician make his further political wellbeing more obvious. If a leader has accomplished a number of achievements, then even a small success will be glorified.

¹ Лисичкин В.А., Шелепин Л.А. Указ. соч. С. 312-314.

² Политическая система США: Актуальные измерения. Указ. соч. С. 8.

³ Политическая система США: Актуальные измерения. Указ. соч. С. 8.

⁴ Клинтон У. Дж. Указ. соч. С. 424.

⁵ Newport F. The best of times, the worst of times: A sanguine public assesses Bill Clinton in crisis // Public Perspective. 1999. August-September. P. 35.

⁶ Newport F. Op. cit. P. 35.

⁷ Kinder D.R., Peters M.D., Abelson R.P., Fiske S.T. Presidential Prototypes // Political Behavior. 1980. № 2. P. 315.

After video-records of Clinton's Grand jury testimonies in August 1998 were made public, 65% of Americans considered that for a president it was more important "to perform his job efficiently" rather than "to be an ideal of moral behavior"(21%)¹.

The way Bill Clinton performed his duties was highly appreciated in society. The approval rating of Bill Clinton's activity during the last months of his presidency – despite the continuous scandals in connection with Monica – was 59.1%². That was a high rate. The average index of Clinton's approval for all those years as the nation's leadership was 55.1%³. At the time of Clinton's resignation, 61% of citizens approved his activity and only 29% did not approve⁴.

A number of researchers maintain that the most important aspect of a president's image is credible economic management⁵. Previous economic successes or failures influence directly a leader's image perception⁶. Initially the image of a thoughtful leader being concerned about people's economic well-being was created for Bill Clinton. Accordingly, the further economic situation of the country was, in many ways, associated with the personality of the president Bill Clinton. The majority of observers linked Clinton's popularity to the period of prosperity which had started from the second half of the first term of his presidency and continued during the second term, including the period of scandal and impeachment process⁷. Thus, the previous successes of Clinton in government provided a large margin of safety to his image and played a crucial role in society's attitude towards him⁸.

The events of the considered period brought some benefits to the president's image. Operating the country in the atmosphere of attacks, Bill Clinton showed people that he was capable "to withstand" and to serve the country even in such

¹ Kinder D.R., Peters M.D., Abelson R.P., Fiske S.T. Op. cit. P. 318.

² Jones J. M. Bush Approval Rating Doldrums Continue. <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/111280/Bush-Approval-Rating-Doldrums-Continue.aspx>>.

³ Jones J. M. Despite Recent Lows, Bush Approval Average Is Midrange. <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/113641/despite-recent-lows-bush-approval-average-midrange.aspx>>.

⁴ Saad L. Bush Presidency Closes With 34% Approval, 61% Disapproval.

<<http://www.gallup.com/poll/113770/bush-presidency-closes-34-approval-61-disapproval.aspx>>.

⁵ Zaller J. Op. cit. P. 136.

⁶ Zaller J. Op. cit. P. 138.

⁷ Fischle M. Mass response to the Lewinsky scandal: Motivated reasoning or Bayesian updating? // Political Psychology. 2000. №21. Pp. 135-159.

⁸ Fischle M. Op. cit. Pp. 135-159.

difficult conditions, keeping the image of a strong effective leader. American society highly appreciates the ability of the political leader to work in a crisis situation¹.

Thus, Bill Clinton's image was formed in compliance with the mood of changes expectation prevailing in society. His pre-election campaign also helped to provoke such expectations. An important role in the creation of his image was played by the contextual characteristics – meaning those qualities that appeared as a result of Clinton's presentation against his main rival.

George Bush was convenient for Bill Clinton, since the problems existing in society could be connected with George Bush. Clinton's pre-election campaign was built basing on the strategy of positioning of Clinton in view of weak points of George Bush as a leader. Primary importance, during Clinton's image making, was devoted to ideological elements. He proposed his voters an expanded program of political, social and economic development of the country.

Various image-building technologies were widely applied to make Bill Clinton's image during his pre-election presidential campaigns. These are technologies appealing to a person's mind and relating to a leader's activity: personal meeting with voters, political trips, talk-shows, television debates, mass media speeches and personal press-conferences. The technologies connected with public activity were that kind of format, which perfectly suited Bill Clinton, revealing his strong points: splendid declamatory skills, wonderful erudition, personal charm, good sense of humor, energy. These technologies also assisted Clinton's popularization among the people. An ideological component as well became an important characteristic of Clinton's image.

To enhance the effect of the rational application of technology, the following manipulative technologies were added: pre-election pledges, image legend, mythologization, advertising items, opinion polls, and PR. Image ranging can be traced in Clinton's image. During the period of racing for power he was operating an image of “an elder brother”. That kind of image consisted of micro-images: a person from the people – “open minded” and thoughtful; a genius – knowing what to do

¹ Беннет Э. Указ. соч.

(proposed “the third path” of the country’s development). In general, this image type was maintained during Bill Clinton’s presidency, with a certain amendment of micro-images: a successful reformer, professional, close to the people, thoughtful, patriot, after Monica Lewinsky’s event – a fallen person.

During scandals and impeachment, Clinton managed to keep a favorable image within the American society, due to the fact that people highly appreciated his political leadership, and they separated the personal behavior of the president from his political persona; they also valued the economic achievements gained during the period of his presidency. Bill Clinton and his team managed to prove that the case was unsound in accordance with the Constitution and had not been deemed as a crime against the country. Society did not have high moral expectations from the president and forgave Clinton for his “weakness”. The fact that Bill Clinton’s image was comprehensive and many-sided also affected this result, and Clinton’s image turned out to be impenetrable against negative information. The image of Bill Clinton as a credible leader was not damaged during the various scandals.

2.2. George Bush's image: the role of political technologies and objective conditions in the creation of his image

Basic factors of George W. Bush's early image-making. During his presidency, George W. Bush, recent political leader of the USA, was contradictorily assessed in both his country and throughout the world. For many Americans, he was initially viewed as guarantor of freedom, democracy, and a symbol of America's greatness. For other people, he was seen as an aggressor who triggered an illegitimate war, thereby intensifying the inherent contradictions between two civilizations – Christians and Muslims; an upstart who declared himself the “emperor of the world”. Later on, as America was facing a number of problems in internal and foreign policy, George Bush's image transformed into a symbol of those problems. We shall endeavor to trace the formation of this leader's image and reveal the conditions and principal steps involved in its creation. Events that went on to become milestones in the history of his country occurred during the period of George Bush's presidency. In the opinion of many Americans, those events split the country in two: pre- and post-9/11. We shall attempt to clarify how those events affected the image of the leader currently under analysis.

By the time of his first election campaign, George Bush was widely known by the country's citizens. Firstly, this was owing to his famous family name, well-known by Americans due to the recent presidency of George Bush Senior. The period, associated with the United States' ascendance on the geopolitical stage, was linked to this family name, and it was a relatively stable period in the country's history; for the older generation of Americans – it conjured up romantic memories of bygone youth. Thus, in general, the name “George Bush” evoked positive emotions for many citizens long before George Bush Jr. made his debut on the national stage. Therefore, while George Bush Jr. tried publicly to distance himself from the surname of his father in order to avoid being seen as a “daddy's boy”, the Bush name couldn't help but have an impact on formation of the image of George W. Bush, creating a certain warm background for his perception.

Secondly, like his predecessor Bill Clinton, George W. Bush became a public politician during his gubernatorial tenure, and he achieved impressive results in this position. George W. Bush earned popularity among Texans with his successful reform measures. During his governance, a number of regional indices improved¹. George W. Bush proved himself to be an active reformer and credible politician while demonstrating good leadership and professional qualities: vitality, resolve, and decisiveness coupled with flexibility, diplomacy, and the ability to forge ties with the right people. These last three qualities of George Bush were clearly demonstrated to his fellow citizens by fact that he managed to achieve the passing of laws on all principal points of his pre-election program within his first year in office at a time when Democrats had control over both chambers of the Texas legislative body. His keeping of election promises positioned him as a person of his word, honest and responsible.

George W. Bush also managed to successfully cooperate with religious organizations in his state: Texas became a national leader in terms of the degree of partnership and mutual understanding it achieved between the authorities and religious institutions. An indicator of his successful activity as governor was the fact that George W. Bush became the first governor of the State of Texas re-elected for a second term. In Texas, George W. Bush gained the reputation of a firm conservative pursuing a policy based on the principles of limited government, personal responsibility, strong family and local self-government².

Thus, George W. Bush reached his first election campaign with certain image “baggage”: his father’s name and successes as governor. The main steps involved in forming his image as a national leader were taken during his first presidential election campaign.

Two core themes rested at the foundation of George Bush’s image, and they went on to become the slogans of his campaign: “George Walker Bush – an honest John from Texas” and “compassionate conservatism”. The first theme was intended

¹ Сидорук Ф. Звезда Джорджа Буша – младшего. <<http://www.zerkalo-nedeli.com/nn/show/322/29754/>>.

² Королев В.И. «Император вся земли», или за кулисами «нового мирового порядка». М.: Вече, 2004. С.17.

to cast George W. Bush as a “friendly”, “ordinary guy”. The second theme became a symbol of the ideological component of his image, reflecting the essence of his updated election platform.

George W. Bush’s philosophy of “compassionate conservatism”, which strived for a certain centrism of political ideologies, was intended to expand his electoral base in a particular ideological direction. George W. Bush tackled citizens’ main problems and proposed a new approach to their solution by combining the most appealing elements of conservative and liberal ideologies. This step was taken on the heels of the successful election campaigns of Bill Clinton, insofar as the centrist position of Clinton’s campaigns had resonated with “undecided” voters, affecting the outcome of the elections. According to various sources, undecided voters accounted for 10 to 33 percent of the total electorate¹. The main efforts of the leading parties were aimed at earning the votes of hesitating voters during the elections. Following Bill Clinton, George W. Bush also lent primary importance to internal social and economic matters.

The revamped ideology of the Republican Party had to be attractive to supporters of the opposing party: “Compassionate conservatism combines the conservative principles of the free market with the actual task of rendering assistance to real people, i.e. to all people – including the poor and low-income individuals”². Thus, George W. Bush’s efforts were geared towards the traditionally Democratic electorate – Americans with a below-average level of income³.

In his pre-election platform, George W. Bush conjured up a myth about “the wonderful future”: George W. Bush’s government would bring Americans “an era of new prosperity” and “make everyone happy”⁴. “Our country must thrive”, George W. Bush told the voters, “but prosperity must have a goal – we must do our best to ensure that all Americans get their hearts ready to be touched by the American dream.

¹ See example: The split electorate. Op. cit.; Moore S. Elections A to Z. CQ Ready Reference. Wash, 1999. P. 280.

² Bush W.G. A Charge to keep. William Morrow, 1999. Pp. 132-133.

³ Загладин Н.В. США: общество, власть, политика. Монография. М.: ООО «Торгово-издательский дом «Русское слово – РС», 2001. С. 97.

⁴ Bush W.G. Op. cit. P. 146.

The goal of prosperity is not to leave anybody aside ... not to leave anybody behind”¹. This type of position appeals to voters’ utilitarianism: tangible benefits for all.

For the purposes of fostering the image of a moral politician, George W. Bush referred frequently to ethical issues and called for compassion, mutual assistance, and love of thy neighbor, appealing to the hearts of Americans. “Often, when a person’s life is falling apart”, George W. Bush told citizens, “only another person, someone compassionate, can help to rebuild it – someone whose actions speak for themselves: “I love you, I believe in you, I’m with you”. This is compassion with a human face and a human voice”². The numerous appeals by George W. Bush to take care of the needy formed the image of a caring father with concerns about his own children’s future: “Our era is a time of unlimited prosperity. However, poverty also dwells among this good fortune. <...> It will be said about our time that we were prosperous. But let people also say that we distributed our wealth responsibly. Everyone must have the chance to take advantage of the full range of opportunities opened by the American way of life”³.

The candidates in the presidential election paid secondary attention to foreign policy issues – just as such themes were being discussed in detail⁴. First and foremost, George W. Bush outlined the multiple achievements of the Republican Party in this sphere. Guided by public opinion, George W. Bush supported the traditional mission of the USA in the arena of international relations, according to which the USA should take an active position on the international scene: “America should not restrict itself to its boundaries. Our principal export item is freedom, and we are morally obliged to defend it all over the world”. Thus, George W. Bush laid the groundwork for his future image as a “missionary” and “defender of freedom and democracy around the world”, which would go on to crystallize in the public consciousness over time.

¹ Bush W.G. Op. cit. P. 145.

² Bush W.G. Op. cit. P. 145

³ Bush W.G. Op. cit. P. 148.

⁴ Kitfield J. Op. cit. Pp. 1034-1035.

The election promises of George W. Bush, like those of his predecessors, were buttressed by a comprehensive program containing a full set of economic, social and political measures¹. The presidential candidate himself did his best to popularize his program in numerous speeches carried by the mass media, television appearances, and the publication of materials on his opinion regarding a number of issues².

During elections, voters have traditionally paid particular attention to the candidates' respective ideologies. At the same time, disagreements on the most basic matters were minor between George W. Bush and his arch-rival Albert Gore, who pursued the ideological course set by Bill Clinton³. As a result, the personal traits of both candidates played a special role in the election: the candidates' skill at championing their respective positions and engaging in dialogue, as well as their intelligence and personal charm.

The rivals for the presidency paid much attention to television debates. George W. Bush proved his knowledge in issues related to domestic and foreign policy; he formed the image of a competent and professional politician. He looked successful in this format when demonstrating his energy, resolve, steadiness, and intention to solve social and national problems; he presented voters with the full program of his intended actions and demonstrated good oratory skills.

George W. Bush's trips around the country became an important technique for his image-making during the election campaign. During these travels, he made speeches and held meetings with voters⁴. At his popular rallies, George W. Bush demonstrated his care for everyday people, his concern for their problems, and proposed a pathway to their solution; thus, he was popularizing his platform. George W. Bush answered his fellow citizens' numerous questions. The prominent themes of

¹ George W. Bush's campaign website. <<http://www.georgewbush.com/issues.asp?FormMode=FullText&ID=37>>.

² See example: Presidential election forum: the candidates on arms control. Op. cit. Pp. 3-7; Zoellick R. Op. cit. Pp.63-78.

³ See example: Chace J. The next new threat // World Policy Journal. 2000. vol. 17. № 1. Spring. Pp. 113-115; Stokes B. Op. cit. P. 1050.

⁴ The split electorate. Op. cit.

these questions: management of the national economy, the solving of social problems, the federal budget, tax policy, the war on crime, and national defense¹.

The fact that George W. Bush paid little attention to environmental problems played a certain role in the election². Ralph Nader – the Green Party leader participating in the election – pulled votes from candidates whose programs addressed environmental concerns, including potential Albert Gore votes. George W. Bush, who did not prove himself as a defender of the environment, was not harmed – quite the contrary, he gained a percentage advantage over the Democrats.

Before the election, George W. Bush's rivals tried to fight him using compromising evidence. They published information that George W. Bush had been detained by the police for drunk driving. Voters were also told that in his youth, the future president had entertained himself by blowing up frogs with firecrackers, and that in his university years he had led a secret fraternity in which hazing was rampant. "However, after huge doses of action movies and thrillers, many young Americans felt inspired to shoot somebody or blow something up – even if it was only frogs"³. Similar indiscretions are viewed as commonplace by most Americans, which is why such stories did not harm the image of George W. Bush.

After the protracted scandals of Bill Clinton, it was very important for George W. Bush to position himself as a highly moral person, since the demand for a leader with these traits had been brought into focus among the country's citizens. As a result, any bad information could affect – in a negative way – a political leader's image. The fact that George W. Bush had already proven himself as an adherent of strong families – a good family-man – turned out to be important. The electorate was given a number of episodes from George W. Bush's life to demonstrate his civic consciousness and patriotism.

Unlike his predecessor, George W. Bush not only failed to build the image of an intellectual, but in contrast, during his first election campaign, created the

¹ Ричман Э. Указ. соч.

² Давыдов Е.А. Политические индикаторы Дж. Буша. <<http://www.ricnews.com/migrant/usa/politics/2164.htm/26.05.2005>>.

³ Мегранян Г. Отношение американцев к своему президенту. <<http://www.trud.ru/Arhiv/2001/08/04/>>.

precedents that went on to become the subject of jokes concerning his mental abilities. Those were cases in which George W. Bush demonstrated gaps in his knowledge regarding international relations. In spite of the fact that such mistakes were eagerly picked up by the press and lowered his popularity rating a bit, citizens did not take such instances as evidence that the leader was an intellectual lightweight. “Public opinion always distinguishes between the thorough knowledge of policy makers and their ability to draw the right conclusions”¹. Nevertheless, after those cases, the mass media tried to stick George W. Bush with the label of a witless politician. Such a label was readily accepted by foreign countries’ citizens, particularly of those countries where George W. Bush was assessed negatively among the people.

Foreign threats as a prime factor in George W. Bush’s image transformation.

The tragic events of 9/11 and the Iraq war that followed became crucial moments in U.S. history. It was at that time the “hero” and “defender of freedom all over the world” appeared instead of “honest John from Texas”. How was the image of George W. Bush transformed?

According to some researchers, the Iraq war should have damaged George W. Bush’s image². Firstly, the war was inconsistent with the traditional American foreign policy against wars of aggression. Secondly, it did not correspond to the American mindset. For Americans, the definition of freedom and justice was at the center of their world outlook, and that war, at first glance, contradicted those definitions. At the same time, more than half of all Americans initially supported the war, and George W. Bush’s image became more alluring.

George W. Bush managed to successfully use those events for his image building. The threat heightened people’s need for protection. Americans expected George W. Bush to perform decisive reciprocal actions. The absence of such actions could affect George W. Bush’s image in a very negative way and dethrone him in Americans’ eyes. It could also bring about a demand for a new leader capable of

¹ Беннет Э. Указ. соч.

² Королев В.И. Указ. соч. С. 10.

defending their country. The War became an example of such decisive actions, giving expression to the upsurge in Americans' negative emotions.

With the purpose of gaining popular support concerning military actions and fostering a favorable image for himself, George W. Bush and his team created the image of the enemy in the collective consciousness: "The American people should know that we face an enemy we have never met before. This enemy hides in the shadows and does not respect human life. This is an enemy who attacks innocent and unsuspecting people, then runs for cover. But he cannot stay under cover forever. This enemy tries to hide but he cannot hide forever ..."¹. The "Enemy" awakens the instinct of self-preservation and causes fear. It allows for the easy manipulation of social consciousness and the promulgation therein of myths. It fosters the creation of a bright, strong image for a political leader. During the war, George W. Bush reminded everyone time and again that America was facing a dangerous enemy and that the enemy never slept – that Americans had to remember their enemy, his power and insidiousness, and remain alert.

George W. Bush made an effort to depict his enemy as a global foe, making the struggle more challenging and enhancing the hero's own image: "Thousands of dangerous killers, trained in different ways to murder and often supported by illegitimate political regimes, are now spread all over the world as bombs on a timer ready to explode without warning"², "we must expose terrorist groups in more than 60 countries around the world"³, "as chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons and ballistic-missile technologies spread, even weak countries and small groups are capable of getting their hands on the catastrophic power of launching an attack against the largest states"⁴. Aggravation of the situation – frightening people – can

¹ Remarks by George W. Bush on 12 September 2001 / FOX News. <<http://www.inosmi.ru/text/translation/139362.html>>.

² Commencement speech by George W. Bush at West Point on 1 June 2002 / FOX News. <<http://www.inosmi.ru/text/translation/139362.html>>.

³ Commencement speech by George W. Bush at West Point on 1 June 2002 / FOX News. Op. cit.

⁴ Commencement speech by George W. Bush at West Point on 1 June 2002 / FOX News. Op. cit.

easily be traced in George W. Bush's speeches. Many researchers suppose that the events of that period were exaggerated by the authorities and the mass media¹.

It was necessary to present the war George W. Bush started to people in such a way that they were convinced of its justness and absolute necessity for the defense of the country's citizens. Al-Qaeda was something abstract and elusive for the average American. A struggle with an "invisible being" would not calm people down. That is why Iraq was presented as one of the most important reasons behind the 9/11 tragedy, making it a legitimate target. Al-Qaeda and Saddam Hussein were fused in the American consciousness into the "forces of Evil" that must be destroyed by "hero-Bush". The majority of Americans did not make any distinction between Saddam Hussein and Al-Qaeda during the war².

George W. Bush managed to insert the Iraq war into the traditional American myth about freedom and justice, which had been used by previous presidents during the Cold War with the USSR³. George W. Bush cast himself in the central role in this myth: he was a defender of freedom all over the world, the embodiment of the "forces of Good". His mission was to free the world of evil, injustice, and oppression. An archetype of the "struggle between Good and Evil" underlies this myth. It is perceived without mental effort on a sub-conscious level and plays with emotions.

The "U.S. National Security Strategy for the 21st Century" became an important document that justified the U.S. war in Iraq. "Great battles of the 20th Century between freedom and totalitarianism resulted in a great win by the forces personifying freedom – in victory by the only stable model for a nation's prosperity: freedom, democracy and free entrepreneurship", proclaimed George W. Bush. "These freedom values are true and fair for each person and each society. Thus, the responsibility to defend these values against different enemies is the common cause of all freedom-loving people on the planet for all time ... We must fight for peace as

¹ See example: Мамаев Ш. Инерция Интервенции. <<http://www.antikillerclub.info/article.php?id=779>>.

² Королев В.И. Указ. соч. С. 7.

³ See example: Буш Дж., Скоукрофт Б. Указ. соч. С. 501-502.

we struggle against terrorists and tyrants”¹. Thus, the Iraq war evolved into the “defense of peace and freedom”, and that worked to advance the image of “George W. Bush as a hero”.

Throughout the Iraq campaign, George W. Bush and his Administration constantly pushed the myth of “George W. Bush as a missionary”. Every event in the war was commented on, thoughtfully interpreted and presented in the proper light. Everything was depicted through the lens of the myth. For example, a special ceremony was held when the U.S. Navy aircraft carrier *Abraham Lincoln* returned from combat missions in Iraq and Afghanistan. The ceremony added the gleam of military triumph and splendor. George W. Bush was placed directly into the center of the occasion. Upon arrival at the aircraft carrier by a Navy aircraft, George W. Bush advised the gathered journalists that he had piloted the aircraft himself for about one third of the route. Major American TV and radio companies conducted live broadcasts of the U.S. president’s stay on the aircraft carrier’s deck, where he chatted with the seamen and pilots and thanked them for their service to the country and for their personal dedication to the president. George W. Bush gave an official speech in which he repeatedly highlighted the U.S.’s historical mission to restore world order using the defense of freedom and justice: “We struggled in this battle for peace and freedom throughout the world. <...> Your courage, your readiness to withstand the threat to your country and to stand for each other made this day possible. Owing to you, our country is better protected. Thanks to you, the tyrant has been vanquished and Iraq is free”².

Special attention was paid to the coverage of the U.S. victory in the Iraq war. In order to smooth over the consequences of the war, the American audience and people the world over were shown how glad Iraqis were to be liberated from tyranny. In his speeches, George W. Bush stressed that Iraqis had emerged from the war free and happy, full of joy at their long-awaited freedom: “Looking at the celebrating

¹ Буш У. Дж. Стратегия национальной безопасности США в XXI веке. 17 сентября 2002 г. / Агентство FOX News. < <http://www.inosmi.ru/text/translation/>>.

² Bureau of International Information Programs, US. Department of State, 02.05.2003. <<http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itdhr/1004/ijdr/issues.htm/>>.

Iraqis, we also saw the eternal appeal of human freedom. Decades of lies and threats could not make Iraqis love their oppressors or wish for oppression. In every culture, freedom is essential to men and women like food, water and air. Let tyrants tremble in every country where freedom dawns”¹.

The victory demonstrated in Iraq solidified George W. Bush’s image as a “peace-maker-liberator”, adding the element of “winner”. Following three days of victory celebrations, the approval rating of George W. Bush shot up by 12%² – a reflection of the upsurge in people’s emotions caused by the media coverage of related events.

During the period of struggle against the “enemy”, George W. Bush actively exploited another image – that of “caring father”. George W. Bush – the “savior of mankind” – worried about more than just “freedom all over the world;” his concern for each and every American was one of the most appealing traits of George W. Bush. This trait – as mentioned above – was integrated into his image in the period of the presidential election campaign, and continued to be applied during his presidency.

In George W. Bush’s patriotic speeches on tragic American events, the technique of presenting a “personal address by the president to a particular person” was widely applied. Following an analysis of global processes, George W. Bush settled on the “touching hearts” example of a specific person. George W. Bush highlighted the role of every American in this global process. For instance, in his national address “on the state of the nation” following September 11, he gave the name of a boy missing his father who had been killed in that act of terrorism. Then, George W. Bush described the suffering of a particular woman who had lost her husband Michael in the event. He then added that “the country (would) never forget its debt to Michael and all those who (had) given their lives for freedom”.

In another national address regarding successfully-completed operations in Afghanistan and Iraq, George W. Bush suddenly recalled a call to the parents of a corporal who had been lost in one of the combat operations. At that very moment,

¹ Bureau of International Information Programs, US. Department of State, 02.05.2003. Op. cit.

² Audibert D. // Le Point. 11.04.2003.

George W. Bush stressed that each name and each life was a loss for the United States. As a result of his application of such speech techniques, the listener was left with the impression that the president was speaking directly to him. The average citizen felt that his life was of great value to George W. Bush and the USA – sensed his significance and involvement in all important national events. George W. Bush demonstrated to his fellow citizens that he – like a caring father concerned for every child – was mindful of every citizen in the country. Such an image of George W. Bush conformed to the mindset of most Americans, who viewed themselves as distinct and unique individuals. The individualist culture in the USA considers a human life to be very important and valuable.

During the Iraq war, “freedom” became a magic word for George W. Bush. The usage of this word is related to a technology referred to as “the cognate names concept”. In his speeches, he constantly applied different iterations of this definition: “freedom”, “being free”, “freedom-loving”, “to make free”, and so on. Thus, in the text of his 15-minute presidential address to the country on May 1, 2003, 23 cognates for the word “free” were used, while 26 cognates for “freedom” were used in the “U.S. National Security Strategy for the 21st Century”. Through the adept application of this concept, which represents a sacred American value, the public consciousness was brainwashed¹. By creating a myth about freedom as a mission predestined for him, George W. Bush distanced himself from the negative connotations of the Iraq war. The category of freedom marshaled all of George W. Bush’s actions under the pursuit of a key objective: providing freedom as a primary universal value to every individual and all countries.

George W. Bush’s image during his presidential terms. Throughout his presidency, George W. Bush continued to use his “Evil fighter”, “protector” image. Right after 9/11 and for some time thereafter, it was rather alluring for Americans. Still-raw tragic events, which were continuously reinforced by the mass media and propaganda of the White House led by George W. Bush, demanded a political leader

¹ Клинтон У. Дж. Указ. соч. С. 345.

capable of protecting the nation's citizens. George W. Bush played the role of a protector and built a strong, appealing image on this basis.

That said, George W. Bush kept actively exploiting this image even after many Americans had grown fed up with it. Eventually, people began changing their view of unfolding events, suspecting that the issue had been blown out of proportion. George W. Bush spoke time and again – at every opportunity – about the horrible enemy threatening the U.S. and other countries; over time, this tendency had a negative effect on his image. During the first months after 9/11, George W. Bush was supported by up to 90% of all Americans, while in July 2007 – by just 29% of them¹.

Many Americans did not support the military policy of George W. Bush². Anti-war sentiment intensified once the passions of 9/11 began calming down. The president's measures in the struggle against “worldwide evil” seriously damaged the image of the U.S. on the global stage and wrecked the domestic economy; the U.S. made enemies among Muslims countries. This fact impacted George W. Bush's image in a very negative way³. The Democratic Party accused George W. Bush and his policies of causing American isolation from the rest of world and creating tensions with key European and Asian allies⁴. The public opinion of different countries condemned both the Iraq aggression and threats against other states suspected of dealing with terrorists. Most of the world, like many Americans, did not believe that the war in Iraq had been linked to the struggle against terrorism⁵. They did not see any connection between Al-Qaeda, responsible for acts of terrorism, and Saddam Hussein, suspecting that the real reason for the war was Iraq's oil and the desire of the U.S. – and George W. Bush personally – to secure predominance in the world.

Gradually, the image of an aggressive, confrontational person began sticking to George W. Bush. It became problematic for him to change this attitude. Had he

¹ Data from the Gallup Poll. <<http://www.galluppoll.com/content/default.aspx?ci=1723&pg=1/>>.

² Еникеев В. Американцы все более критически относятся к внешней политике Буша. <<http://www.ruvr.ru/main.php?lng=rus&q=36376&cid=22&p=11.07.2007>>.

³ Data from the Zogby International Poll. <<http://www.zogby.com/news/ReadNews.dbm?ID=1282>>.

⁴ Новый имидж президента США. <<http://www.iimes.ru/rus/stat-11-07c.htm>>.

⁵ Data from the Zogby International Poll. <<http://www.zogby.com/news/ReadNews.dbm?ID=1282>>.

begun to change his image, he would encourage suspicions against his team and himself of having been insincere and inconsistent in their actions, casting discredit on his achievements in the sphere of military policy. Therefore, George W. Bush, until the end of his mandate, defended his previous positions regarding questions of international policy, shoring up his image as a global leader and defender of his citizens. As a result, and also due to the deteriorating economic situation in the country being linked to the name of the president, George W. Bush's rating remained low until the end of his second term. However, one of the goals of George W. Bush as a leader of the Republican Party was to change people's attitude towards him in order to establish favorable conditions for the next Republican candidate running for president.

The president's actions (or more precisely, inaction) during and after hurricane Katrina in 2005 that destroyed New Orleans hardly bolstered his image¹. Many Americans expected that George W. Bush would immediately arrive on the scene to control the situation², but he preferred to supervise from his headquarters, thereby undermining his image as a Rescuer. His indifference in the first days of the tragedy in particular made many Americans wonder if he was really the good manager that his PR-service had always maintained³. Many citizens concluded that if he showed his weakness in domestic matters, his policy at the international level could not be considered strong.

While American citizens traditionally pay much attention to foreign policy, many Americans believed that George W. Bush, like his father, had put a lot of effort into this area and neglected domestic issues; as a result, many of those problems had been left unsolved.

Thus, as a result of a few serious mistakes by George W. Bush, his approval rating deteriorated along with support for his policies. By September 2007, he continued to be largely supported by Republicans who appreciated his efforts (79%).

¹ Чудодеев А. Утиная охота. <http://www.itogi.ru/Paper2006.nsf/Article/Itogi_2006_06_17_23_325_3.html>.

² Data from the Gallup Poll. <<http://www.zogby.com/news/ReadNews.dbm?ID=1282>>.

³ Чудодеев А. Указ. соч.

This can be explained by the commitment of the president to traditional Republican policies: lower taxes, more tax breaks, and welfare cutbacks. At the same time, the popularity of George W. Bush among Democrats and independents hit a record-breaking low by September 2007, reaching 9 and 23%, respectively¹.

George W. Bush's image was completely "shattered" during the last months of his presidency due to the sharp deterioration of the economic situation in the country. In January of 2008, 66% of all Americans had a negative view of the country's economic situation, and in June of the same year, 83% of them felt the same way². Many Americans believed that the poor leadership of the incumbent president and his numerous mistakes had caused the country's deterioration and become one of the principal reasons for the economic crisis³. On the heels of the worsening economic situation, public support for the war in Iraq fell to a record level – 30%, while 68% of the respondents were against the war⁴. In the activities of George W. Bush, the citizens assessed positively only the AIDS fight and his success in solving interracial problems⁵.

According to the findings of sociological polls, George W. Bush became the most unpopular president in modern U.S. history. By September of 2008, his disapproval rating had reached 71%. The lowest-recorded approval rating – 25% – belonged to George W. Bush in 2008⁶. Americans' dissatisfaction with multiple economic problems such as high gas prices and the ongoing wars in Iraq and Afghanistan became the reasons for such low indices.

Specialists assess the performance of George W. Bush as president in different ways. The extent of his blame for the deterioration of the country's economic and financial situation is also assessed differently. Many researchers believe that the

¹ Data from the Gallup Poll. <<http://www.galluppoll.com/content/default.aspx?ci=1723&pg=1/>>.

² Gallup Daily: Americans' Current Views of the Economy. <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/107827/gallup-daily-americans-current-views-economy.aspx>>.

³ Data from the Gallup Poll. <<http://www.galluppoll.com/content/default.aspx?ci=1723&pg=1/>>.

⁴ Data from the Gallup Poll. <<http://www.galluppoll.com/content/default.aspx?ci=1723&pg=1/>>.

⁵ Saad L., Jones J. M. Gains Under Bush Seen on AIDS, Race Relations, Little Else. <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/113680/gains-under-bush-seen-aids-race-relations-little-else.aspx>>.

⁶ Presidential Job Approval in Depth. <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/1723/presidential-job-approval-depth.aspx#1>>.

situation was not directly related to the activities of the president. So, the Financial Crisis Inquiry Commission imposed the responsibility for the U.S. financial crisis on the representatives of two presidential administrations, both governing parties, the Federal Reserve System, a number of financial institutions, and other regulators. Taken together, it was the activities of the aforementioned economic and financial institutions that allowed the pernicious situation to occur. The situation included questionable mortgage loans, the excessive market introduction of securities backed by such loans, and the risky rate for such securities¹. The actions of ex-president Bill Clinton were cited among the reasons for the crisis. Bill Clinton had signed into law the so-called Gramm–Leach–Bliley bill voiding the Glass–Steagall act that had seriously restricted the ability of financial institutions to gamble in an antisocial way. Thus, financial activity had been altered, and those changes lifted serious restrictions that had been imposed on U.S. financial organizations, becoming one of the reasons for the financial crisis².

At the same time, as was mentioned above, the population usually draws a direct correlation between the situation in a given country and the identity of the leader managing the country. If things go well, regardless of the extent of the leader's participation, the attitude towards him develops positively, and vice versa. Thus, in the U.S., the financial crisis and the economic turmoil that followed had a direct impact on the population's attitude towards their leader and damaged the image of its leader as strong and effective.

Most analysts detected mistakes in George W. Bush's job performance; those mistakes resulted in the onset of many problems in different areas, including the domestic economy. Thus, by the time of George W. Bush's arrival at the White House, the state was running a stable surplus budget, had leading positions in the world in many fields, and had an image of a strong and highly-respected leader at the international level. By the end of the considered leader's presidency, the country's

¹ Комиссия Конгресса США виновным за глобальный кризис назначила ФРС. 31.01.2011. <http://fbc.net.ua/news/economics/komissija_kongressa_ssha_vinovnym_za.html>.

² Толкачёв С.А. Мировой финансовый кризис: настоящее монетарное звено, упущенное Полом Кругманом. 20.10.2009. <<http://www.kapital-rus.ru/articles/article/174299>>.

economy was in the worst situation since the Great Depression, the budget was running a deficit due to enormous federal costs, and citizens' level and quality of life had deteriorated. America could not sustain competitiveness with China and India in many fields – the state's international image had lost its attractiveness.

In summarizing the results of George W. Bush's tenure, 98% of professional American historians identified it a "failed presidency"¹. 61% of historians considered his presidency to be the worst in the country's history². As the main factors behind the crumbling of the president's image, researchers cite the adverse economic situation that developed during George W. Bush' presidency coupled with increasing instability and disapproval of his military policy.

In order to smooth the unfavorable impression of him, George W. Bush, prior to the termination of his second presidential term, bid "farewell" to citizens. During the last weeks, just before his resignation, he displayed high public activity. George W. Bush did his best to be in the foreground as much as possible: he granted many interviews to the press and TV, talked on the radio and TV, and participated in television shows; finally, he gave a touching farewell speech to the citizens of America, admitting the numerous mistakes that he had made.

The task the president set for himself was firstly to talk about his missteps and apologize to Americans. Secondly, he wanted citizens to think of him as a leader who had tried to do his best, directing all of his energy to serve his homeland, although he hadn't managed to implement his plans. "All of my decisions", he said in his farewell address to Americans, "I made with a single reason in mind – I believed that it would be good for America and its people. You can argue about the many complex decisions I made, but it is impossible to debate that I ever shirked personal responsibility, making the most difficult, contradictory, and unpopular decisions"³. With his speech, Bush wanted to dilute the unfavorable image of him that had formed in the public consciousness during the last years of his presidency. He wanted to be

¹ Позорный рейтинг Дж. Буша вошел в историю. <<http://www.from-ua.com/news/26e0644965726.html/>>.

² Позорный рейтинг Дж. Буша вошел в историю. Указ. соч.

³ Злобин Н. Цели – прежние. Российская газета. 21.01.2009. <<http://www.rg.ru/2009/01/21/obama-zlobin.html>>.

remembered by the electorate as a bold and honest politician who had displayed courage, admitted his mistakes and apologized for everything he had not managed to perform.

Researchers note the striking change in attitude displayed by the new president, Barack Obama, towards George W. Bush during the election campaign and after it. During his campaign, Obama seized every opportunity to criticize the Republican president and his policies. It sharpened the unfavorable attitude of people towards George W. Bush, forming the image of a worthless leader and his failed presidency. George W. Bush, in Obama's speeches, was presented as the main problem in America and throughout the world. The situation changed dramatically upon Obama's ascendancy to the presidency. "I always believed that George Bush was a good man who loved his family and his country – someone who made the best possible decisions in those challenging times under very complicated circumstances", said Obama in one of his speeches; this was inconsistent with all of his previous remarks about Bush. The kind words addressed to his predecessor helped mitigate the negative relationship Bush had with the public.

The Russian analyst Nikolay Zlobin tried to explain this shift in Obama's opinions: "I believe that this change in the public attitude of the new president towards his predecessor is in many respects associated with Obama's newfound appreciation of the situation. As Obama probed deeper into matters, became familiarized with the real situation in which Bush had had to act and in which Obama now has to act himself, he understood more and more that his predecessor had conducted a rather sound policy taking into consideration all possible factors and limitations. Barack Obama realized that he would inevitably have to undertake many of the same actions that his predecessor had"¹.

Such changes in his statements are evidenced in the fact that Obama, as a public politician, acts based on the expediency of his statements. When, during Obama's campaign, it was to his advantage to enhance his own image by focusing on other's mistakes and weak points, as well as being associated with a messiah ready to

¹ Злобин Н. Указ. соч.

rescue his “sinking” country, Obama said whatever worked to advance his plan. But once he had emerged from the campaign victorious, there was no point in him following the same path regarding Bush. This is why Obama began displaying his “nobility” with regard to the ex-president who was spurned by the public, fostering his own image as a humane and moral leader. The manipulation of public consciousness can be seen again in such transformations – similar manipulations are widespread in the modern political process.

Thus, in order to create George W. Bush’s image, the “standard kit” of public activity that had been used by his predecessor Bill Clinton was utilized: television debates, the leader’s direct addresses to the people, the direct comments of people to the leader, political travels throughout the country, and mass media speeches. Such image-building technologies assisted in showcasing George W. Bush’s leadership abilities and demonstrating his talents, but they revealed his weak points as well. Those weak points were not very serious in view of American political culture. As in the case with Bill Clinton, special attention was paid to such traits as “openness” and “thoughtfulness during the process of creating George W. Bush’s image. The ideological aspect took the leading role while forming George W. Bush’s image with the usage of rational technologies. The technology of centrism in the election platform became a way of expanding the electoral base, following the campaign of Bill Clinton.

At the same time, manipulative technologies were incorporated into the process of image-making: reliance on sociological research, mass-produced image, myth creation and campaign promises. The numerous promises by George W. Bush were backed by his expanded political platform. George W. Bush’s speeches were aimed at voters’ utilitarianism.

The early George W. Bush was cast as an “honest John from Texas”. The micro-images building on this image-type are as follows: man of the people, “great guy”, patriot, person concerned about the people, a man who knows what to do (proposed an extended plan of action). After the commotion that had convulsed the country, a new image began to be built, the image-type of “a national hero and

liberator:” fighter against evil, liberator, supporter of freedom and democracy throughout the world.

Foreign threats against the U.S. became a favorable environment for forming the image of a hero for George W. Bush. To that end, a myth was initially created in the public; in the myth, the source of the threat was transformed into the image of a “mortal enemy” threatening the very existence of the state and every citizen’s life. That said, the word “enemy” was highly exaggerated. In the absence of a particular enemy that could be wiped out, the Iraqi leader, Saddam Hussein, was selected for this role. He was linked to the cause of a tragedy in the public consciousness. The image of the enemy inspired people’s demand for a “hero-leader” capable of protecting people. Initially, the bright and confabulated image of hero was built on this basis for George W. Bush, and this image had the highest support among the citizens.

The exploitation of this image in other social and historical situations not only failed to bring its original success to George W. Bush, but significantly deteriorated his approval rating among Americans. The fact that George W. Bush did not prove his image as a hero during a natural disaster in the U.S. became one of his most serious mistakes, when people expected him to take decisive action during the natural disaster. By the end of George W. Bush’s presidency, his image had been harmed due to the deterioration of the domestic economic situation and the damaged image of the USA throughout the world. As a result of his missteps, George W. Bush had become a “lame duck” by the end of his presidency; thus, he aggravated the situation for the next Republican contender for the presidency.

CHAPTER 3. CONSTRUCTION OF THE IMAGE OF BARACK OBAMA AND HIS RIVALS FOR THE PRESIDENCY

3.1. Socio-historical situation and role of political technologies in constructing the images of John McCain and Barack Obama

The unusual candidates of the election race. In 2008, America witnessed an unusual precedent for the emergence of its next political leader. Vying for the presidency were two figures atypical for this status – an African-American and a woman running from the U.S. Democratic Party at the same time. It was this field that largely inspired the keen interest in this election campaign. Such a situation had become possible, first and foremost, due to the specific level of the country's social development, accompanied by the tolerant attitude held by most of the population. As evidenced by the polls of the period (February of 2007), the bulk of the population was ready to vote for either the female or African-American presidential candidate (88 and 94%, respectively¹). According to the results of these polls, in anticipation of the election, most citizens didn't associate their electoral preferences with the gender, race or religious identification of their potential leader.

The precedent of the emergence of an African-American candidate also became possible thanks to transformation of the American electoral structure – growth in the share of its African, Asian, and Hispanic element, devoid of national barriers to electoral preferences. Thus, in 2007, the non-Hispanic white population accounted for 66% of the population², with this indicator continuing to decrease. These circumstances were the main factors that made it possible for an African-American candidate to run for president.

As for the female candidate, she was the famous and popular wife of the former president – the active political and public figure Hillary Clinton, who had been in big-time politics for fifteen years, making concerted efforts towards the

¹ Jones J. M. Some Americans Reluctant to Vote for Mormon, 72-Year-Old Presidential Candidates. <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/26611/Some-Americans-Reluctant-Vote-Mormon.aspx>>.

² Released: 12:01 A.M. EDT. Thursday. May 17. 2007. <<http://www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/releases/archives/cb07-70tbl2.xls>>.

creation of her own positive image. She was well known by that time throughout the U.S. and in other countries of the world, enjoying considerable popularity at home. Clinton became the first woman to earn the right to fight for the presidency. According to a poll taken in December of 2007, she had every chance of winning the presidential race¹, if it weren't for her strong rival from the Democratic Party.

As for the African-American candidate, although he was little-known on the national stage, he carried certain political "baggage": he had served as Illinois state senator for eight years and U.S. senator from the same state for three. Therefore, Barack Obama's image began forming prior to his participation in the presidential election race, albeit at the local level.

Before the election campaign of 2008, Clinton had been much more popular than Obama. A long, tough fight unfolded between them, which drew the special attention of the electorate. In the end, Clinton lost to him. It would be unfair to assert that her campaign made serious miscalculations. It was simply one of those instances where the opponent was truly impressive. Following Obama's victory in the first (primary) stage of the election fight, he was keenly interested in gaining the support of Hillary Clinton, whose devoted admirers could otherwise refuse participation in the election or support the Republican candidate. This would mean the loss of a considerable segment of voters².

An important factor in the creation of the successful image of Barack Obama, which played a considerable role in his victory, was nationality. The emergence of an African-American as the presidential candidate was embraced by the liberal-minded segment of Americans and the part of the electorate that was in the minority – Latinos, African-Americans, Jews and Asian immigrants. For ethnic minorities, the prospect of the election of an African-American to the post of president signaled the possibility of overcoming lingering elements of latent racism and ethnic prejudice.

¹ Saad L. Is Hillary Clinton Electable? <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/103396/Hillary-Clinton-Electable.aspx#1>>.

² Clinton endorses Obama, calls for party unity. 07.06.2008. <<http://edition.cnn.com/2008/POLITICS/06/07/clinton.unity/>>.

Obama's nationality drew attention as the first precedent in U.S. policy, causing a national frenzy around the election campaign.

An important step in the creation of Barack Obama's image was that he succeeded in connecting the possibility of the presidency with the traditional American philosophy of "the American dream" in the public consciousness, proclaiming the full breadth of opportunities for each citizen. Thus, Barack Obama often repeated during the election campaign that in the recent past, people with his skin color hadn't even been served at restaurants, but now had the opportunity to hold the highest posts in the country¹. To gain the sympathies of voters, Barack Obama recounted that he had learned of racial and class inequality through personal experience. The election of an African-American president to head the world's last remaining superpower with a mainly white population was to signify realization of "the American dream" in practice, something that resonated in the hearts of the majority of American voters.

Ill-wishers accused Obama of relying almost exclusively on his skin color to win votes, suggesting that his emergence as an American presidential candidate reflected nothing but good timing. Obama, in turn, pointed to the absurdity of this statement, boiling it down to a handy formula: want to become U.S. president – become black. The argument convinced citizens that Obama had attracted them by more than just skin color. Nevertheless, in the public consciousness, Obama's image took root as the first African-American president.

At the beginning of the presidential race, Obama, as a particularly unusual candidate, faced various rumors that obstructed his successful advance and had to be quashed. Detractors accused him of having been born outside the United States, something that would have disqualified him from running for president. Obama, having convinced the authorities of the State of Hawaii, contrary to established practice, to provide him with a copy of his birth certificate, published the document. This convinced the majority of citizens, but ill-wishers once again procured evidence

¹Austin Brooks M. Barack Obama Becomes 44th President of the United States. <<http://www.america.gov/st/usg-english/2009/January/20090120151307hmnietua0.4407007.html>>.

purporting to prove that the certificate was a fake. Rumors also swirled that Obama was a Muslim and had taken the oath of senate office with his hand on the Koran. This information was capable of decreasing the level of support for such a candidate in a society with a predominantly Christian population.

Such rumors are capable of discrediting a politician in the eyes of the public. At the same time, they are also capable of drawing attention to the candidate if they are viewed as attacks and cause the desire to rally to his defense. As concerns the leader under consideration, the rumors didn't ruin his image; on the contrary, at the initial stage, they merely drew attention. Further, the candidate and his team provided denials of information that wasn't true. It was precisely for this purpose that the website "Fight the Smears" (FightTheSmears.com) was created, where rumors harmful to Obama's image of were laid to rest.

Obama's intention to run for U.S. president was lent particular gravity by the time and place where he made his public announcement – in front of the old Capitol Building of the State of Illinois in Springfield, exactly one year prior to the bicentennial anniversary of President Lincoln. The setting was highly symbolic – it was here that the legendary American figure Abraham Lincoln had delivered his famed speech "A house divided". In the consciousness of the people, the leader's "continuity" with the historical figure was intended as a watershed event, in which the legendary personality delegated his power to the new leader. For this purpose, a real event had to be dug up or simulated, as in this case. For example, Bill Clinton used a similar method, "shaking hands" with John F. Kennedy, presenting the incident to voters as a historical event symbolizing the transfer of power.

Throughout the campaign, Obama repeatedly referenced history, invoking both prominent forefathers and historical documents. Thus, in one of his speeches, Obama linked his purposes as political leader to the U.S. Declaration of Independence – the founding document of American history. The speech was brilliant, becoming an example of supreme oratorical skill. Obama appeared as the great successor to the actions of legendary ancestors. Such methods presented the Democratic candidate in a favorable light – solemnly, stately, increasing his popularity rating among

Americans. The appeal to history and legendary figures was designed to solidify his image as a “missionary”. “Change”, which emerged as the main theme of his election campaign, was chosen as Obama’s mission. The subject of “change” was lifted from Bill Clinton's election campaign of 1992, playing an important role in his ultimate victory. Against the backdrop of the many problems faced by the U.S., the subject was extremely timely, eliciting a positive response from the majority of Americans. The slogans of Obama’s campaign became: “Change we can believe in” and “Yes, we can”.

A highly experienced politician and hero of the Vietnam War, 71-year-old Republican John McCain emerged as the main election foe of the African-American candidate. He was the strongest Republican candidate of 2008, having won a decisive victory over his competitors. McCain appealed to Republican voters as a war hero and candidate unlike other Republicans, positioning him as a post-partisan leader¹. McCain had been widely known as a politician and public figure well before the election – for 25 years he had worked in the U.S. Senate, and in 2000 he participated in the primaries, where he successfully competed against George W. Bush for the nomination among the presidential candidates from the Republican field. Thus, Barack Obama had a serious, strong foe on his hands, and every effort was needed to beat him.

Role of the “image legend” in formation of the images of candidates John McCain and Barack Obama. At the initial stages of the formation of the images of the considered leaders, “image legend” technology was involved. The autobiographies of both leaders were presented as legend. Both candidates provided voters with fascinating and highly patriotic autobiographies, based on the “Cinderella” scenario so popular among candidates for elected office in the U.S., in which the political leader reaches the “top” independently, overcoming numerous daunting obstacles.

¹ Saad L. McCain Widely Recognized as a ”War Hero”. <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/106864/McCain-Widely-Recognized-War-Hero.aspx>>.

Also successful was the autobiography of John McCain¹, published in 1999 before the first presidential election. In 2005, in preparation for the upcoming presidential election, the movie “Faith of My Fathers”, based on the plot of the book, had been shot. In his autobiography, McCain describes the heroism of an American fighter pilot who has come through the war after the harrowing tests of being a prisoner of war for many years, in which such tests are endured with valor and strengthen his belief in God and country. According to the account, he had many a narrow scrape but managed to miraculously escape each time. The “touching” events of Vietnamese captivity, forcing readers to empathize with the main character, made him “closer”, “one of us”. In his autobiography, McCain is depicted as the real hero. Its purpose was to convince the reader that such a leader could be entrusted with the fate of the country. The book became a best-seller and the movie was seen by several million Americans who “discovered” the political leader John McCain for themselves. McCain’s biography, conjuring the aura of war hero, was of great value in the fight for votes. According to a national poll (April of 2008), 66% of citizens surveyed viewed the Republican candidate as a war hero².

As for the Democratic candidate, he published his first autobiography in 1995 while pursuing his intention to become an Illinois state senator. The autobiographical book was entitled “Dreams from My Father: A Story of Race and Inheritance”³. From the standpoint of manipulative impact on the reader, the book’s plot, as well as its narrative style, was constructed very successfully. The book is saturated with touching stories about Obama’s family, ancestors, and childhood. Many of his narrations are highly unusual, even quasi-mystical. Moreover, the autobiography was written very emotionally, an approach that had been designed to ensure the warm reception of the information presented therein while prompting the reader to empathize with its main character as “relatable” and “understandable”.

¹ McCain J., Salter M. Faith of my fathers. Random House, 1999. 349 c.

² Saad L. Clinton and McCain on Top Following New Hampshire. <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/103735/Clinton-McCain-Top-Following-New-Hampshire.aspx>>.

³ Obama B. Dreams from My Father: A Story of Race and Inheritance. Times books, 1995. 403 p.

Thus, Obama relates that his father hadn't lived with the family – that he had seen him just once in his life. The father died in a car accident. Such information could not but elicit empathy from those who are deprived of the opportunity to live and communicate with their parent/parents. Nor could the words “car accident” and “loss of father” leave readers indifferent. Another plot of the book exerting a strong emotional impact on the reader concerns the despair of the son in whose arms the mother dies. Such narrations, regardless of the design of the author, are comparable to the aforementioned (§ 1.3) “age regression” technology. They immerse the listener in a trance, forcing him to perceive further information non-critically. The main character after such stories becomes “close”, “one of us”.

Obama published his second autobiographical book, entitled “The Audacity of Hope: Thoughts on Reclaiming the American Dream” in 2006, in anticipation of his upcoming presidential campaign¹. The book shot to the top of the best-seller lists after being promoted by the celebrated American TV host Oprah Winfrey².

Just as his first book, judging by its content, the oeuvre was not simply an autobiography but an election advertising production designed to inspire the involvement of voters. The title of the book contains both a slogan and a call for change – the main message of the election campaign. Obama intended to realize these changes: to revive all the best that the American nation had to offer but only dared to dream. To increase the persuasiveness of the slogan, the cover of the book includes the words “A book written by someone who can change America and the whole world for the better”. Such statements are designed to set a warm tone for the perception of information. “Hope”, “revival”, “dream”, and “change the whole world” constitute general terms that connote positivity, causing the recipient to experience a positive influx of emotions. Thus, from the very beginning of his book, Obama creates a vague yet favorable context, facilitating the suggestion of specific thoughts and ideas.

¹ Obama B. *The Audacity of Hope: Thoughts on Reclaiming the American Dream*. Crown Publishing Group / Three Rivers Press. 2006. 362 p.

² Could Oprah Help Elect Obama? 01.12.2006. <<http://www.washingtonian.com/articles/people/could-oprah-help-elect-obama/>>.

In his book, he explains to the reader what he has already done for the benefit of America and what he hasn't yet accomplished – what he aspires to. Obama reflects on U.S. policy, globalization, on the economic crisis and exit strategies therefrom. He views the source of the majority of problems as lying in the “dead zone of what American policy has become”. He asserts that he knows what to do, how to do it and feels a deep desire to help the country. In his reasoning, Obama appears as a patriot of the homeland with high moral ideals and a well-developed sense of duty. His main objective is to help Americans “revive” and become a leading, prosperous nation once again.

It should be noted that during the election campaign, both considered political leaders continued to demonstrate a feeling of patriotism to voters. All of the actions and speeches by the candidates were devoted to one central subject – we're working for the strength and greatness of the USA. “Having lost America for but a short time, I realized how strongly I love it” John McCain addresses American citizens in his autobiography¹. Patriotism is an important cultural value of Americans², and such assertions win. What's more, this trait is proof of one's devotion to the country and its citizens – of one's readiness to serve the homeland. Thus, the patriotic leader can be entrusted with the country, which is what the candidates endeavor to relate to voters.

As for Obama, his creative activity began in earnest in anticipation of the presidential election. During the period from 2006 to 2008, seven books written by him personally or in co-authorship were published. All of them can be viewed as advertising productions, popularizing Barack Obama as a U.S. presidential candidate. Thus, the title of one of these books, “Change We Can Believe In: Barack Obama's Plan to Renew America's Promise”, emerged as one of the slogans of his election campaign³. Criticizing Obama, McCain used this slogan as a sneer: “We can't believe

¹ McCain J., Salter M. Op. cit.

² Менталитет американцев. <<http://www.topserver.ru/other/r/224.html>>.

³ Change We Can Believe In: Barack Obama's Plan to Renew America's Promise / Barack Obama's preface. Three Rivers Press, 9 September. 2008. 273 p.

in such changes!” he repeated every time when accusing the Democrat of pursuing absurd ideas.

The book outlines Obama’s plan for making Americans happy. After several years of failed Washington policy, the author asserts, the U.S. is in a deplorable state. Americans are eager for change. The leader who can deliver these changes is Barack Obama, an honest and open leader who can unite people and move the nation forward. He knows how to fix the country’s ailing economy, strengthen the middle class, make health care available for everyone, achieve energy independence and keep America safe in a dangerous world. His aspiration to change people is so strong that he is considering the continuation of his political career. The purpose of the book is to convince Americans to believe Obama. In fact, the book represents Obama’s political platform on the main questions of interest to American voters, delivered in an engaging, emotional format. The book works to advance the image of a leader who wants to help the people and knows how to do it.

Objective and subjective factors of formation of the candidates’ images. Both main contenders for the presidency, carrying certain political “baggage”, told the voters of their special achievements in the political sphere and service to the country¹ in a way that depicted them as professionals – as leaders not only in words but in deeds. At the same time, John McCain pointed throughout the election campaign to the limited political experience of his main rival, who had worked in Washington for less than two years², thereby placing the emphasis on his broad experience and circumventing the issue of his advanced age.

A key role in creating the images of the main candidates in this presidential election was played by age. The age difference between the candidates was the biggest in the history of the U.S. presidential election – 25 years. McCain was the oldest politician running for president. Obama – one of the youngest. Demonstrating

¹ B. Obama’s campaign website. < <http://www.barackobama.com/mdex.php>>; J. McCain’s campaign website. <<http://www.johnmccain.com/>>.

² Ермаченков И. Лучше хижина дяди Маккейна, чем Барак Обама. <<http://www.finam.ru/analysis/forecastsOOC76/default.asp>>.

that their age was ideally suited to the presidency emerged as the main challenge faced by both contenders.

Concerning John McCain, it appeared that age might prevent him from becoming the successful candidate for president. Thus, political foes used this fact to create an anti-image for him, positioning him as “old” and “sick” in a way that made his fitness to be head of state a real election issue¹. Democrats, for the purposes of discrediting the 71-year-old McCain, christened him “McCan’t”, a play on Obama’s positive slogan “Yes, we can”².

McCain, in turn, tried to shift from the subject of “age” to the issue of “experience”. The PR-men of John McCain positioned him as “wise”, “knowing” and “full of life experience” in contrast to his “young and inexperienced” main foe. McCain was cast as a highly-experienced politician who had worked at the Senate for exactly a quarter of a century. In an attempt to dispel the fears associated with his age and physical fitness, he displayed tremendous energy by means of his active campaign schedule. During the campaign, the contender repeatedly joked that he was as “old as dirt” and had “more scars than Frankenstein”. In an effort to prove that his level of health and energy conformed to the demands of the presidency, he brought his 96-year-old mother to his election rallies. He “warned” citizens that the young and inexperienced Obama, by virtue of his relative youth, would lead America down a dead end”³. As a result, age didn’t prevent McCain from beating his younger Republican foes in the primary and being declared a national leader.

Obama was able to take maximum advantage of his youth. Obama’s campaign headquarters successfully navigated the issue of the candidate’s youth by positioning him as a “fresh face in American politics, a bringer of change”. In order to support Obama, Bill Clinton recounted that in his day, voters had also doubted his experience when he first ran for president at the age of 46. But age hadn’t prevented him from elevating the country to a rather high level. Such arguments sounded convincing.

¹ Poll: McCain's age more of an issue than Obama's race. <<http://politicalticker.blogs.cnn.com/2008/07/10/poll-mccains-age-more-of-an-issue-than-obamas-race/>>.

² Obama and McCain start joking. 10.11.2008. <<http://www.dni.ru/polit/2008/11/10/152891.html>>.

³ Долгополов Н. Барак по расчету. Российская газета. № 138. 30 июня. 2008. С.3.

During the election campaign, Obama was cast in the image of a person with impressive intellectual and professional leadership qualities. Thus, Obama told voters of the outstanding education he received at the elite “Punahou” private school in Honolulu, Occidental College in Los Angeles, and then at Columbia and Harvard Universities. His fine erudition, trenchant oratory, and quick reactions worked to advance his image as an intellectual man.

Fostering the image of a concerned leader, voters were informed of Obama’s public work aimed at helping people: public organizer in the impoverished areas of Chicago; as senator, he worked on support programs for needy families and advancements in preschool education.

For the purposes of creating a “regular guy” image, Barack Obama and John McCain met regularly with the people during the election campaign. During these rallies, they attentively listened to people, displaying sincere interest in their problems and opinions. As was already noted, U.S. citizens are attracted by the simplicity and “relatability” of their political leaders. By presenting himself as the “same as everybody else” and “one of you”, the political leader wins by swaying the electorate, appearing more appealing and increasing his popularity rating. By contrast, the political culture of the USA doesn’t accept leadership elitism that distances the electorate from such leaders. Therefore, during the election campaign, the political leaders “wanted” to communicate with the people as much as possible, which worked to advance their popularity.

In order to demonstrate his openness and honesty with the voters and engage in anti-image prevention, Obama repeatedly admitted to the voters that he had smoked marihuana while at school, inhaled cocaine and consumed alcohol. As was noted in previous paragraphs, Americans are lenient about such teenage behavior, particularly since such indulgences were a widespread phenomenon of the time. That said, considering that such transgressions are generally condemned by public morals, Obama characterized this fact of his biography as “the lowest moral degradation” and indicated that he had long regretted the years he spent pursuing a dissolute way of

life, viewing them as lost time¹. Such confessions worked to advance the image of a person with high moral qualities. The American voter forgives politicians who stumble but then recognize their mistake, repent, and follow the path of redemption. Similar autobiographical incidents had already been tested on public opinion by previous presidents; therefore, Obama was able to divulge them without too much concern.

Obama was able to secure the support of many influential people, only adding to the distinct flair of his image. Thus, thanks to the fact that Obama had positioned himself as a party leader who defended the ideals, prestige and authority of the Democratic Party, he was supported by such megawatt and universally-respected figures of American politics as Al Gore, Ted Kennedy, Jimmy Carter, John Kerry, and Bill and Hillary Clinton, joined by John Edwards and the retired general and prominent Republican Colin Powell.

Obama was also supported by major celebrities – singers and actors. Thus, at the initial stage of the election campaign, when Obama was still little-known to the broader audience, for the purposes of acquainting voters with him, a video was posted on the Internet of the song *Crush on Obama*, sung by the well-known singer Amber Lee Ettinger. The clip was seen by millions of Americans.

In order to further popularize Barack Obama, his supporters recorded the song “Yes, We Can”², sung by a number of popular actors and athletes (Scarlett Johansson, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, John Legend, Kate Walsh, etc.), featuring words from Obama’s election speech and footage of his performance in the New Hampshire primaries*. The song became a hit, receiving numerous Webby and Emmy awards. Posted on the Internet on February 2, 2008 (YouTube, Divedive, etc.), the video racked up 21 million viewings in six months. It was the first of several songs supporting Barack Obama in the 2008 election. Videos by Obama’s detractors were also released, aimed at mocking and discrediting him in the eyes of the voters.

¹ Советник Клинтон нашел слабое место в прошлом Обамы 13.12.2007. <<http://www.lenta.ru/news/2007/12/13/obama>>.

² «Yes we can». <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SsV2O4fCgjk>>.

* Primaries – a type of election in which one candidate is selected from each political party for further participation in the major election.

Parodies of the song “Yes, We Can” were also shot. In one of them, Obama and his wife are depicted engaging in sex to the tune of “Yes, We Can”. In another parody, Obama is shown at a podium, repeating the phrase “Yes, we can”, interspersed with the words “Yes, we can, Satan”. In this clip, Obama is “exposed” as a servant of Satan, which was designed to “sully” him in the public consciousness.

A distinct role in creation of the images of Obama and McCain was played by the vice presidential candidates. John McCain’s choice of vice presidential running-mate was ambiguously received by the American electorate, creating, according to some analysts, the main reason for his loss¹. By design, the beauty Sarah Palin, mother of many children, was to have enriched the campaign with “new colors”, adding “points” to the Republicans and attracting to McCain’s side those who were tired of boring officials and those still licking their wounds from Clinton’s departure from the race. In the event, it actually lowered the rating of the Republican Party and John McCain². Democratic foes successfully poked fun at her political incompetence, causing the majority of voters to view Sarah Palin as incapable of coping with the duties of vice president³. A negative influence on the image of John McCain was also exerted by the investigation into Sarah Palin’s alleged abuse of power, which unfolded during the election campaign.

Obama found his vice presidential running-mate in the person of Joe Biden – a strong and skilled politician whose age (born 1942) convinced voters still unsure of the experience of young Obama. Citizens recognized Biden’s experience in various political arenas, especially in the field of international relations. He was particularly appealing to the senior voter. On the whole, according to public opinion polls, Obama’s choice attracted a certain percentage of the voters to his side⁴.

For the purposes of creating news, Obama made an international tour during the election campaign. He visited Afghanistan, Iraq, Jordan, Israel, France, Germany

¹ Скандалы Сары Пэйлин. <http://www.memoid.ru/node/Skandaly_Sary_Pehjlin>.

² Очень сложный выбор Америки: пламя или лед. <<http://e-terra.kiev.ua/58.htm>>.

³ Sarah Palin – the candidate in vice-presidents. <<http://www.golos-ameriki.ru/content/a-33-2008-11-01-voa8/599781.html>>.

⁴ Saad L. Biden Does No Harm, but May Not Help Much. <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/109783/Biden-Does-Harm-May-Help-Much.aspx#1>>.

and England. His image was positively impacted in that it was accepted by the highest officials – presidents, prime ministers, and the king. One of Obama's speeches in Berlin became significant, continuing the series of memorable speeches in Berlin delivered by Kennedy, Reagan and Clinton. It increased Obama's rating in the U.S. and was favorably received abroad. This trip became the day's headline news, drawing special attention to the political figure of Obama.

It should be noted that aside from the effective use of political technologies in formation of Obama's image, an important role was played by his possession of leadership potential – the necessary qualities for gaining the sympathies of voters. Thus, he proved to be an excellent speaker, capable of captivating listeners. During his election campaign, many of his speeches were regarded as brilliant. According to confidants, during his speeches, waiters ceased to work at banquets, preferring to listen to Obama. His ability to inspire a feeling of unity and empathy among a throng of people was compared to the hypnotic performances of the sermons delivered by Dr. Martin Luther King. In terms of his impact on average citizens and the emotionality of his perception, Obama the politician was regarded as a charismatic leader possessing magnetism and personal charm. His ability to negotiate, convince opponents, and rally the team – important qualities for any president – was also noted.

Role of party identification and ideological component in the images of candidates. A difficult situation for John McCain was caused by the socio-historical situation, associated in the American consciousness with the government of the outgoing Republican president: deterioration of the economic and financial situation (rising gas and food prices, the closing of large department stores), military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, deterioration of the image of the USA throughout the world, the unpopularity of the current government. The failures of the Republican administration emerged as the most important factor in the success of the Democratic candidate and loss of the Republican candidate. The defeats of the previous eight years, associated with the name of George W. Bush, had wounded Americans' pride in their country, shaking their belief in the future of the USA and its position of world

leadership. The global financial and economic crisis, which had struck a blow to American banking, insurance, and investment institutions, had spread panic among the population, directly affecting the emergence of new popular demands with respect to re-charting the socio-political course and causing many to pin their hopes on an alternative to the Republican president. The tense economic situation, on the contrary, was advantageous in terms of the formation of Obama's image.

McCain made a major misstep right off the mark by asserting that the country had achieved tremendous economic progress under the presidency of George W. Bush. When the deterioration of the national economy became painfully obvious, McCain tried to distance himself from the difficult economic situation, claiming that after being elected president, he would organize a detailed investigation into the economic crisis and see to it that all those at fault were punished¹. The unpopular sitting president, who had supported John McCain in previous elections, was more likely to complicate the situation than help. Subsequently, some analysts concluded that Americans had voted not so much for Barack Obama as against John McCain, afraid of a continuation of Bush's course of public administration².

Obama, in turn, did his best to "undermine" McCain's image, tying it to the Republican's period of governance: frequently intoning "don't let McCain give the country George Bush's third term", he frightened the voters³. Obama's headquarters released TV advertising indicating that McCain agreed with Bush on the majority of issues. The clip ended with shots of Bush and McCain smiling fondly at one another. Thus, the Democratic Party "refused to let voters forget" that McCain, as a Republican, would continue the job begun by his predecessor.

Aside from the social and economic situation, which was unfolding at odds with the Republican candidate, it should also be noted that by the time of the election campaign, statistics on party identification were also running against the Republican

¹ J. McCain's campaign website. <<http://john-mccain.ru/>>.

² Б. Обама уверенно победил на президентских выборах в США. <<http://top.rbc.ru/politics/05/11/2008/258315.shtml>>.

³ Obama calls North Carolina win a victory against "politics of division". <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/2008/05/06/2008-05-06_obama_calls_north_carolina_win_a_victory.html>.

Party. According to the Pew Research Center, in 2003–2007, the share of Democratic voters exceeded the share of Republican voters by an average of 15%¹.

McCain, caught up in an adverse political trend, formed the image of an independent politician whose decisions could run contrary to party initiatives: he would aspire to post-partisan politics, becoming the spokesman of the interests of the entire nation. His independence and political dissimilarity with other Republicans was appealing to many citizens. “It is absolutely clear that I have had disagreements with the Bush Administration. I haven’t always agreed with my own party, and I have the scars to prove it”², McCain joked, positioning himself as a post-partisan leader. According to polls, 79% of Republicans perceived of him that way³.

The American voter, as was noted, is highly pragmatic and eager to watch election fights⁴, predicating the prominent role played by the ideological component of the image of the U.S. political leader. During the election campaign, Barack Obama and John McCain provided voters with well-developed political platforms containing their views on all of the main issues of interest to citizens⁵.

The political leaders Barack Obama and John McCain spread their own political philosophies during televised debates, talk-shows, townhall meetings, media speeches, national addresses, and Internet postings. They carried out political trips on the campaign trail nationwide. The presidential candidates demonstrated to voters their firm grasp of all of the main issues of domestic and foreign policy.

The political platforms of the main candidates of the election were distinct in terms of their polarity of views. Analysts noted that their program provisions, contrary to the tendency of recent years towards a rapprochement of political positions, reflected the old antagonism between Republicans and Democrats.

¹ Trends in Political Values and Core Attitudes: 1987–2007. Political Landscape More Favorable to Democrats. <<http://people-press.org/reports/pdf/312.pdf>>.

² Обама и Маккейн раскритиковали экономическую политику Джорджа Буша. 16.10.2008. <<http://www.segodnya.ua/world/obama-i-makkejn-rackritikovali-ekonomicheskuju-politiku-dzhordzha-busha.html>>.

³ Jones J. M. Public Views Obama, McCain as Unifying Candidates. <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/104515/Public-Views-Obama-McCain-Unifying-andidates.aspx>>.

⁴ Television debate. Op. cit.

⁵ B. Obama’s campaign website. <<http://www.barackobama.com/index.php>>; J. McCain’s campaign website. <<http://www.johnmccain.com/>>.

The special attention of the candidates, following the public mood, was attracted by economic issues. The candidates (first Barack Obama, then John McCain) criticized the economic policy of George W. Bush, speaking of the importance of overcoming the U.S. financial crisis. Each of them offered a set of financial, tax and economic measures for overcoming the current crisis and preventing similar crises in the future¹.

Following the expectation of many American voters², Obama paid special attention to issues of ecological safety. He publicly condemned the current administration for “shirking the leading role of the state” in terms of environmental protection, promising to finance environmental-protection measures after the election: energy conservation, lower emissions of greenhouse gases, the fight against global climate change, and more.

Heated debate was caused by questions of the artificial termination of pregnancies. The main candidates took opposite positions on this point. Obama supported legal abortions, including late-term abortions, thereby inciting many Catholics against his candidacy³, Nevertheless, for analysts it was interesting to note that in the end, most religious voters wound up supporting Obama in the election. According to Pew Research Center polls, 53% of religious Americans voted for Obama, versus 46% for McCain, while in his day, John Kerry had conceded to George Bush in the fight for the votes of religious citizens (48% versus 51%)⁴.

An important place during the election campaign was occupied by foreign policy questions, in particular, the U.S.-led military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. These questions were among the key issues on which the electoral decision of the citizens directly depended. Thus, according to the polls, 92% of the

¹ Обама и Маккейн раскритиковали экономическую политику Джорджа Буша. 16.10.2008. <<http://www.segodnya.ua/world/obama-i-makkejn-rackritikovali-ekonomicheskuyu-politiku-dzhordzha-busha.html>>.

² Западная Л.И. Экологическая политика Барака Обамы. <http://www.gor_lib.gomel.by/e107_files/downloads/ecology/3431.pdf>.

³ Buchanan P. A Catholic Case Against Barack. 12.08.2008. <<http://www.webcitation.org/61Bo2oYgo>>.

⁴ Президент - не пастор. Отказавшись от роли религиозного лидера, Обама, тем не менее, сумел завоевать голоса верующих американцев. Независимая газета. 19.11.2008.

voters indicated that their decision concerning support for a particular candidate would depend to a certain extent on his position on the Iraq question¹.

In an effort to discredit the opposing party and his main competitor, and also following public mood, Obama remarked at every opportunity that the war in Iraq had been the mistake of Bush and his administration. Obama opposed the resolution of conflicts by force, emphasizing that he had been against the war in Iraq from the very beginning, at a time when it was supported by the majority of the country's citizens and politicians. He stressed that America had more effective levers of influence than military might: diplomatic, humanitarian, and economic.

It should be noted that Obama was consistent in his judgments concerning the war in Iraq. Thus, his assertions to the effect that he had immediately opposed the war while many people were still supporting it were successful². The war, according to Obama, distracted from real threats, negatively impacting security, the economy, and the image of the USA around the world. In his opinion, it was necessary to pull the American fighting units out of Iraq as soon as possible; on the first day following his inauguration, he pledged to give the order to finish it³. Such speeches by Obama corresponded to the mood of most Americans⁴.

At the same time, it was also necessary to demonstrate his firm intention to fight for the security of the USA as, according to the polls, the percentage of citizens who viewed this issue as an acute problem facing America was high⁵. Afghanistan was chosen as the primary locus of the struggle. Obama promised to move the main front of the war on terror precisely there, bolstering it with additional forces.

At first, McCain was considered stronger on foreign policy issues, which were his trump card. Following the position of his party and part of the American electorate, John McCain remained a staunch supporter of the war in Iraq, which

¹ Jones J. M. Iraq War Impact on the Vote. <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/27961/Iraq-War-Impact-Vote.aspx>>.

² Opposition to War Mounts. 26.09.2002. <<http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P3-220062931.html>>.

³ Барак Обама пообещал прекратить войну в Ираке и сконцентрироваться на Афганистане. 16.06.2008. <<http://www.lenta.ru/news/2008/07/16/obama/>>.

⁴ Iraq War. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraq_War>.

⁵ North Korea Drops Out of Top Three U.S. "Enemies". <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/105835/north-korea-drops-top-three-us-enemies.aspx>>.

emerged as one of his mistakes. A highly unpopular point of his program, which drove away many Americans, was “to stay in Iraq for up to a hundred years”. McCain, as a genuine war hero, insisted that the mission in Iraq had to be executed to the very end. He derided Obama’s intention of withdrawing U.S. troops from Iraq within 16 months, considering it impracticable and foolish – the failure of Americans to implement the original combat plan could inspire Al-Qaeda’s confidence in possible victory. As evidence of Obama’s misguidedness, McCain advanced the argument that the candidate from the Democratic Party had never been to either Iraq, planning to wrap up the war effort there, or to Afghanistan, insisting on the continuation of combat operations there. Boasting real experience of participation in military operations, the Republican insisted on his familiarity with this sphere, unlike the young and inexperienced candidate. At the same time, he was compelled to criticize the methods, condemned by Americans, with which George W. Bush had prosecuted the war.

As for Obama’s criticism of acting President George W. Bush, he didn’t agree with him on many points. Thus, he viewed the tax breaks for the wealthy introduced by the president as not only baseless but also immoral¹. Obama showed voters his divergence from Bush in many policy areas.

Televised debates between the main candidates for the presidency, unfolding in three stages, emerged as one of the central events of the final stage of the election campaign. During the televised debates, the candidates discussed a wide range of questions of U.S. domestic and foreign policy. According to the findings of national polls, all three rounds were won by Obama in a landslide². According to Gallup, after the televised debates, 73% of Americans responded that Obama understood the lives of everyday people, while only 43% said so of McCain³. This format was very successful for the Democratic candidate, who demonstrated his youth, energy,

¹ Obama B. *The Audacity of Hope: Thoughts on Reclaiming the American Dream*. Crown Publishing Group / Three Rivers Press. 2006. 362 p.

² Jones J. M. Obama Viewed as Winner of Third Debate. <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/111256/Obama-Viewed-Winner-Third-Debate.aspx>>.

³ Jones J. M. Seven in 10 Say Obama Understands Americans’ Problems. <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/111148/Seven-Say-Obama-Understands-Americans-Problems.aspx>>.

oratorical skill, and firm grasp of all policy questions, while simultaneously showcasing his position on such issues for the voters. Obama managed to appeal to the majority of undecided voters. After the televised debates, Obama's popularity rating grew by a wider margin.

New technologies in Obama's election campaign. Beginning with the presidential election of 2008, thanks to candidate Obama and his team, new technologies for communicating with voters were approved and integrated into election campaigns: Internet and mobile technologies that made it possible to increase the efficiency of communication with voters, the productivity of teamwork, and the involvement of everyday citizens in the electoral process, and as a result – create a positive image of the political leader demanded by society. Internet and mobile technologies, unlike traditional mass communications, were more targeted*, i.e. focused on the interests of a specific audience.

Concerning utilization of the opportunities presented by the worldwide web, it should be noted that for the purposes of the establishment of effective political communication via the Internet, there is a natural requirement – its broad usage throughout the country. Thus, in the USA in 2008, the level of penetration of the Internet among the population was more than 80%, cementing prospects for its usage. The importance of the emergence of social networks – the primary driving force of selective Internet technologies – should also be noted. Comparing the level of penetration of the Internet in the USA in 2004 and 2008, it was approximately the same. That said, the underdevelopment of social networks in 2004 did not allow for the effective application of Internet technologies in that election cycle¹. A number of experts assert that it was precisely due to his embracing of new methods of political communication – via social networks – that Obama won the popular support not only of Democrats, but also of citizens with politically indifferent views².

*Targeting – advertising mechanism that makes it possible to single out the part of the audience that meets the target criteria (the target audience) and tailor advertising for direct viewing thereby.

¹ Хромец О. Социально-сетевая избирательная кампания. <<http://rotoovsky.com/pr-community/socialnye-seti/>>.

² Хромец О. Указ. соч.

Especially effective new technologies emerged concerning younger voters and the African-American part of the population. This audience is rather apolitical and relatively insusceptible to traditional levers. Obama factored these voters into his equation and was rewarded with their strong support. The Internet was an important factor in the stimulation and maintenance of voter interest. For the first time, Obama's team began using it actively at a very high level. Multilateral communication with citizens via the Internet was fostered. National discussions on various questions concerning the election that promoted the involvement of the electorate in the election race were conducted. Internet communication gave the voters a feeling of participating in the important events of the election process.

Obama's team created a website¹ containing campaign information about the candidate that served as a means of receiving feedback from the voters about the candidate and his team. Thus, all those so wishing could sign up for news bulletins about Obama, his activities, speeches and performances. Special mailings on hot topics were also carried out: reforms, employment, education, health, Iraq, etc. It became the perfect opportunity to address a large number of voters personally (by e-mail), giving them a sense of their individual importance to candidate Obama. This form of communication was appealing to so many citizens that 2.9 million Americans signed up for news alerts about Obama's choice of vice presidential running-mate, setting a volume record for this means of communication in the USA².

This form of communicating with voters hadn't been previously widespread, making it look especially innovative and attracting attention. According to research conducted by the Universities of Michigan and Preston, SMS notification coupled with a mobile site increased the loyalty of voters to the candidate by more than 4%³.

Obama's site consisted of the following sections: "Meet Barack Obama" (with a full biography of the candidate); videos of his most important speeches; a newswire

¹ B. Obama's campaign website. <<http://www.barackobama.com/mdex.php>>.

² Залог победы. Мобильные технологии в рамках кампании избранного президента США Барака Обамы. 06.11.2008. <<http://blog.imobis.ru/articles/zalog-pobedy-mobilnye-texnologii-v-ramkax-kampanii-izbrannogo-prezidenta-ssha-baraka-obamy.html>>.

³ Залог победы. Мобильные технологии в рамках кампании избранного президента США Барака Обамы. Указ. соч.

and press releases; polls on various subjects; “share hope” (a section for sending letters and MMS on topics of interest); mobile content (ringtones and graphics); subscription to news; notification of friends and acquaintances (viral component) and more.

Through the site, campaign fundraising was conducted that yielded very impressive results: more than half of all raised funds were received via the Internet (donations in the sum of 5, 10, 50 dollars). The site was also used to recruit volunteers, which was innovative and worked successfully. It succeeded in attracting a huge number of youth volunteers to Obama’s campaign. Among Obama’s active supporters, the sense of their individual importance to the ultimate success of the candidate took root, increasing the activity of participants in the process.

The site offered a set of mobile apps and content – ringtones, videos, an invitation to participate in the campaign as a volunteer, and an appeal to rally friends and acquaintances. A number of technical novelties were developed especially for Obama’s election campaign. Thus, the OBAMA'08 application for the popular smartphone Apple iPhone transformed the appearance of the user’s desktop, emblazoning it with a logo and the OBAMA'08 inscription against a white-blue background. What’s more, the device made it possible to download the latest news about the candidate, view videos, and take part in campaign events. The application promoted the involvement of voters in the electoral process while highlighting the candidate and symbols of his campaign. Obama’s site featured the following explanation of the application: “this tool has been created to help you become a participant in the political process, called upon to change the country”. Such appeals also attracted citizens, inducing them to participate in any “momentous” event. Obama was put at the head of this “historical plan”, forming around him the mystical yet solemn aura of lead missionary, destined to dramatically change the country and life of its citizens.

The “Call Friends” option was one of the novelties created specifically for the election. It was a voicemail service for the internal communication of application users and voice messaging of voters, reminding users of important events involving

Barack Obama. Such election advertising products also increased the effect of interaction with potential voters.

Campaign funds. Results of the 2008 election. An important part of the U.S. presidential election involves fundraising for its execution, as public financing covers only a small fraction of the expenses involved. Aside from the financial aspect of this matter, there is other indicator – the quantity of raised funds indirectly indicates the level of popularity of the candidate, motivating citizens to support him. Data on campaign fundraising is regularly published, and citizens can see the level of support for people’s prospective representatives.

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of raised funds to the execution of a successful election campaign. If, for example, in Russia, an important factor behind the victory of a particular candidate is administrative resources, in the USA, raised funds represent the key to success. Thus, according to the memoirs of a friend of Barack Obama, a specific level of financing had been deemed necessary to secure victory¹. In his election campaign, the candidate went on to break fundraising records.

As you will recall, the main sources of financing for U.S. election campaigns are donations by individuals, the contributions of political parties and political committees, and the candidate’s own funds and those of his family, as well as the funds allocated by the state (restricted by the size of individual donations and maximum level of expenditures). There are also anonymous monetary donations, which the “payee” isn’t obliged to publish.

In Barack Obama’s election campaign of 2008, a record volume of funds was collected for its execution – 750 million dollars. Obama became the first to intentionally refuse public financing of his campaign so as not to be restricted by the size of campaign financing. Over the first half of 2007, 58 million dollars was collected, marking a fundraising record for the first six months of a presidential campaign. Donations of less than 200 dollars accounted for 35%. Three million

¹ Weisskopf M. How He Learned To Win // Time. 2008. May. 19. P. 30.

average Americans contributed donations to Obama's campaign, attesting to his great popularity among the people.

As a result of all of the campaign activities of the Democratic candidate, his image developed as colorful and multifaceted at the national level. Obama was embraced by the most powerful Democratic politicians, a considerable part of the intellectual elite believed in him, many leaders of the African-American and Latino communities were on his side, and he captured the youth vote. Obama managed to increase the electoral activity of the population. Many people reflected for the first time about their participation in the political life of the country. About 3.5 million new voters took part in the election vote. According to sociological polls, he was viewed by the population as an "honest politician", "in touch with the needs of everyday people", "intellectual", "charismatic", a "change-agent" and "inexperienced"¹. His main foe managed to create the image of a "strong and resolute leader", someone "honest" and "capable of leading successfully", though "lacking a clear plan for the solution of problems"².

On November 4, 2008, in the U.S. presidential election, Obama took 338 of the total 538 electoral votes (necessary threshold: 270). Casting their votes for Obama were 52.87% of the electorate participating in the election, with 45.62% voting for McCain. Voter turnout was 64%. On January 20, 2009, Obama became the 44th President of the United States.

It is possible to summarize the factors behind Obama's victory in the election as follows: he captured the mood of the public, picking up the necessary ideas and words, and used effective tools and methods of communication with the electorate. Excitement surrounding his nationality and the failure of the outgoing Republican administration worked to his advantage.

Despite the fact that Obama had been supported by the majority of American voters, many citizens were extremely dissatisfied by his victory. Thus, according to

¹ Jones J. M. Only 33% Say McCain Has Clear Plan to Solve U.S. Problems. <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/106837/Only-33-Say-McCain-Has-Clear-Plan-Solve-USProblems.aspx#1>>.

² Jones J. M. Only 33% Say...

sociological polls, about a third of the population had a pessimistic attitude¹. According to the Associated Press, the number of incidents triggered by religious and racial intolerance registered all over the country (from acts of vandalism to the physical assault of black citizens) increased. Many Americans had negative emotions about the victory of the African-American candidate: “There is a large swath of people for whom it seems that they have lost their habitual way of life, that their country, which was built by their ancestors, has been stolen;” “Our nation is destroyed – it occurred over several decades, and Obama’s election was merely the culmination of these changes;” and “Obama’s victory rocked the foundations on which America stood for centuries”². Thus, despite the fact that Obama’s victory was equated with a victory over racism, America still had strong racial prejudices.

Nevertheless, most voters had positive feelings – “happiness”, “excitement” and even “joy” and “delight”. Many of them viewed Obama’s victory as the dawn of a new era in the evolution of interracial relations. The result of the election prompted strong emotions not only in Americans, but also pleasure in a number of world countries – Africa, the Middle East, etc. (the phenomenon called “Obama-mania”). Thus, in Kenya – the homeland of Obama’s ancestors – a state holiday was declared in honor of his victory, with festivities continuing for several days. The name Obama became popular among young parents³. The authorities of the Caribbean island state of Antigua and Barbuda renamed its highest mountain in honor of the black American⁴. Thus, Barack Obama’s image had developed positively in many countries of the world by the advent of his first presidential term. This was based, first and foremost, on his racial accessory, which was appealing to “non-whites” who felt that this factor had ceased to be an obstacle against the realization of opportunities in the modern world.

¹ Newport F. Americans See Obama Election as Race Relations Milestone. <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/111817/Americans-See-Obama-Election-Race-Relations-Milestone.aspx>>.

² Всплеск расизма в США после победы Обамы - сотни инцидентов. 16.11.2008. <<http://newsru.com/world/16nov2008/rasi.html>>.

³ В Кении на свет появляются сотни Бараков Обам: ажиотаж от победы «своего» кандидата не утихает. 06.11.2008. <<http://newsru.com/world/06nov2008/kenya.html>>.

⁴ Человек-гора. Жители планеты чтят Барака Обаму. 15.11.2008. <<http://www.lenta.ru/articles/2008/11/15/obama/>>.

After his victory in the election, following his election pledges, Obama published a statement proclaiming his intention “to usher in a new era of reforms” and “return prosperity to American families”. This served to advance his image as a reformer, which had begun developing during the presidential campaign. In his inaugural speech, Obama called citizens to “a new era of responsibility”¹.

Obama’s inauguration and inaugural celebrations were especially magnificent, amassing a record audience – over one million people. Efforts were made to turn the day into a national holiday. In order to lend solemnity and significance to his ascension to the White House, Obama declared January 20, 2009 “A national day of renewal and accord”².

Formation of the image of Barack Obama during his first presidential term. In the first term of his presidency, Obama actively pursued reforms – just as he had promised voters. As befits a vigilant and concerned leader, he began working on the “rescue” of the U.S. economy – so desperately needed by the country’s citizens – immediately after taking office. Obama defended the need for sweeping economic programs, under which he gleaned a possible recovery. Thus, ambitious anti-crisis measures were developed, finding legislative expression in the law “Concerning Restoration and Reinvestment” (The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act)³.

The president offered Congress a plan to stimulate the American economy, which assumed large financial injections – direct investments in healthcare, energy and education. During implementation of the plan, which Congress largely supported, 3.5 million jobs had to be created in just two years. Under the approved plan, 212 billion dollars was provided in the form of tax subsidies for businesses and individuals, 267 billion dollars – direct budgetary injections, and 308 billion dollars – budgetary appropriations intended for the modernization of infrastructure and

¹ President Barack Obama's Inaugural Address. 21.01.2009 <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/inaugural-address/>>.

² National Day of Renewal and Reconciliation. 21.01.2009. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/a_national_day_of_renewal_and_reconciliation/>.

³ Давыдов А.Ю. Новые факторы роста американской экономики: подход администрации Обамы // США - Канада. Экономика, политика, культура. №2. Февраль. 2012. С. 5.

scientific research¹. Obama explained to the citizens that these measures were being taken to improve the American economy and bring down unemployment via the creation of millions of jobs.

During his presidency, Obama explained all of his political actions to Americans, making his efforts “transparent” and accessible to the ordinary citizen while helping to advance his image as a “servant of the people”. Continuing his tradition of using emerging Internet technologies to communicate with voters, right after the election he introduced a new type of communication with citizens – the electronic town hall, a prototype of the original form of American democracy. On the White House server, a site called “Open for Questions” was opened, where citizens could pose specific questions to the president and receive answers.

In his work, Obama gave foreign policy questions – particularly military issues – a place of prominence. Immediately after his inauguration, he signed an executive order on the closing within the year of the prison for terror suspects at the American military base in Guantanamo, Cuba². Following his image as a peacekeeper-leader, as well as his election pledges, in February of 2008 he announced that American forces would withdraw from Iraq, albeit over a longer period than initially declared. In order to lend his announcement the proper trappings, Obama proclaimed that he intended to usher in “an era of diplomacy” in the Middle East³. The elimination in his first term as president of the “number one terrorist”, Osama bin Laden, became an event that worked positively to advance the image of Obama the peacekeeper. The event was presented to citizens as the president’s personal achievement, something that demonstrated his effective job performance.

The image of peacekeeper-leader, formed during Obama’s election campaign at the beginning of his presidency, was supported by the Nobel Peace Prize “for extraordinary efforts in the strengthening of international diplomacy and cooperation

¹ Президент США Барак Обама подписал в Денвере принятый Конгрессом США антикризисный план на 787 миллиардов долларов. 18.02.2009. <<http://echo.msk.ru/news/573350-echo.html>>.

² Обама подписал указ о закрытии тюрьмы в Гуантанамо. 22.01.2009. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/russian/international/newsid_7845000/7845419.stm>.

³ Obama sets firm Iraq withdrawal. 28.02.2009. <<http://www.detroitnews.com/article/20090228/POLITICS/902280332/Obama+sets+firm+Iraq+withdrawal>>.

between peoples”. Most analysts were of the opinion that Obama had achieved no such distinctions in this area. In front of his fellow citizens, Obama characterized the award as advance credit for future achievements, promising to work towards that end. Further, the Democrat was repeatedly exposed to sneers concerning the award, which was so out of keeping with his military policy concerning Afghanistan and Libya.

Thus, the president concentrated the focus of military operations in Afghanistan. According to his statements, Afghanistan had become a haven for terrorism and drug trafficking and was threatening to “slip into the abyss of chaos”. Such statements, aggravating the general atmosphere of terrorist threats, “gave” a free hand to the American government to ramp-up military operations. In February of the same year, the President sent an additional 17 thousand military personnel to Afghanistan followed by a thousand more on December 30, making a total of just 70 thousand American soldiers¹. The year 2009 became the bloodiest thus far for the American forces in Afghanistan since the beginning of the counter-terrorism operation².

In 2011, despite Barack Obama’s oft-professed peacefulness, the American army was involved once again in military operations. By executive order of the president, the army participated in the NATO intervention in Libya. As an opponent of force in the resolution of conflicts, Obama characterized the purpose of the military intervention in the affairs of another state – the protection of civilians – as humanitarian intervention, thereby proving himself not as a military leader but a peacekeeper. “We are certainly against the use force for the solution of many questions, but when our interests and values are at stake, we are simply obliged to use force”, Obama explained to military personnel, justifying his military policy³.

Obama came to the White House with an approval rating of 78%, which is exceedingly high. Such a rating had largely been made possible by his election

¹ Новая стратегия Б. Обамы в Афганистане обойдется США в 25-30 млрд долл. 02.12.2009. <http://www.rbc.ua/rus/top/show/novaya_strategiya_b_obamy_v_afganistane_oboydetsya_ssha_v_25_30_mld_doll_02122009>.

² Operation Enduring Freedom/Afghanistan. <<http://www.icasualties.org/>>.

³ Шумилин А.И. Подход администрации Обамы к событиям в Ливии // США - Канада. Экономика, политика, культура. № 12. Декабрь 2011. С. 90.

pledges to pragmatic Americans to change policy course and correct the mistakes of his predecessor. By the end of his first presidential term, Obama hadn't managed to meaningfully improve the country's socio-economic situation. He hadn't become the source of the miracles that he had promised citizens and which were expected of him. In four years, he hadn't solved the problems of the USA, which remained, in fact, the same: considerable economic turmoil, unemployment, growing public debt, oil dependence, illegal immigration, public and property stratification, corruption and crime, and foreign political enemies. What America had received was a far cry from the hopes of its citizens, all associated with his presidency¹.

Once he had taken office and begun working, Obama's approval rating began sinking quickly. Thus, by April of 2009, it had leveled out at 68%, remaining at a still-record-breaking high. Based on the results of the sociological polls conducted by Gallup in October of 2009, Obama's approval rating showed the sharpest decline among elected presidents of the previous 50 years. By the third quarter of 2009, it had fallen to 53%². This was associated with the unemployment rate ballooning to 10% and the president's wavering on further operations in Afghanistan, exposing him to widespread criticism.

In this connection, Obama's approval rating continued to suffer. As a result of his passing of unpopular measures aimed at healthcare reform, it hit a new low. In April of 2010, Obama and his policies faced the following popular reaction³. The American president was supported by just 44% of the country's citizens (at the end of March, 2010 – 49%). According to research, his healthcare reform was rejected by 55% of all respondents. In addition, citizens were concerned by the state of the American economy, with 84% of respondents indicating that the domestic economy was “in bad shape”. The high unemployment rate also affected the president's approval rating negatively. The number of those worried about possible job loss stood at 35% (April of 2010).

¹ Krugman P. End This Depression Now! New York-London: WW. Norton & Company, 2012. 259 p.

² Harnden. T. Barack Obama sees worst poll rating drop in 50 years. 22.10.2009. <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/barackobama/6409721/Barack-Obama-sees-worst-poll-rating-drop-in-50-years.html>>.

³ Рейтинг Обамы падает. 03.04.2010. <<http://www.nr2.ru/277600.html>>.

Working to defend his reputation as an honest politician and “man of his word”, Obama insisted after his first term that he always kept the promises he made to citizens. Examples of this, bolstered by certain facts, were given. Thus, according to Obama’s statements, he had managed to lower the unemployment rate, maintain tax concessions for the middle class, withdraw forces from Iraq and begin drawing down troop strength in Afghanistan.

According to a number of experts, Obama succeeded in improving the country’s economic situation just enough to ensure his reelection to a second term. Thus, according to Krugman: “The rate of economic growth in the three quarters immediately preceding the election, or slightly beyond, is the most important factor in determining the outcome of elections”¹. Obama, having won from Congress a federal debt ceiling of 2.1 trillion dollars, in fact “paid” for this sum by pushing U.S. economic expansion back to 2013, having already secured his reelection for a second term. Thus, by the time of the 2012 presidential election, citizens would only sense economic recovery, while the problems associated with the enormous president, the army participated in the NATO intervention in Libya. As an opponent of force in the resolution of conflicts, Obama characterized the purpose of the military intervention in the affairs of another state – the protection of civilians – as humanitarian intervention, thereby proving himself not as a military leader but a peacekeeper. “We are certainly against the use force for the solution of many questions, but when our interests and values are at stake, we are simply obliged to use force”, Obama explained to military personnel, justifying his military policy².

Obama came to the White House with an approval rating of 78%, which is exceedingly high. Such a rating had largely been made possible by his election pledges to pragmatic Americans to change policy course and correct the mistakes of his predecessor. By the end of his first presidential term, Obama hadn’t managed to meaningfully improve the country’s socio-economic situation. He hadn’t become the source of the miracles that he had promised citizens and which were expected of him.

¹ Krugman P. Op. cit.

² Шумилин А.И. Указ. соч.

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² Harnden T. Op. cit.

³ Рейтинг Обамы падает. 03.04.2010. <<http://www.nr2.ru/277600.html>>.

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As it usually happens in U.S. politics, any statement or action by President Obama was "put under the magnifying glass" of the media and cast in a negative light by his political adversaries. Thus, "reset" with Russia became the "failed reset" as Mitt Romney dubbed it, and "change we can believe in" was turned into a barb (by the same Romney): "change we can't believe in". Obama was attacked from all sides, by rivals, detractors and journalists. This, of course, undermined Obama's untouchability – violated the sacred aura of his image as visionary-leader and missionary-leader. That said, despite the numerous attacks, Obama's image "held", thanks to a considerable margin of safety. On the one hand, voters had long since gotten used to "mudslinging", especially during election campaigns. On the other, the image of the considered leader was largely based on real facts, the bulk of which had been effectively packaged and positively received by citizens. Owing also to the rather stable state of affairs in the country, by the 2012 election, Obama had managed to maintain his appealing image. Despite the contrary opinions of him held by voters, Obama was successful in securing popular sympathies and public support, which, in the absence of serious scandals during his presidency, allowed him to remain the leader of the nation.

¹ Krugman P. Op. cit. P. 225.

Thus, the presidential election campaign of 2008 was in many respects unusual for the USA. For the first time in the history, a woman and an African-American had run for the presidency, drawing the heightened attention of Americans and citizens of other countries. Obama's nationality appealed to the liberal-minded constituency of voters as well as ethnic minorities. It "irritated" a considerable share of white voters, in whose minds racial prejudices still prevailed. Thanks to political technologies, Obama's nationality came to be associated with the traditional "American dream" so beloved by the American populace, promising the full breadth of opportunities for any person.

The main contenders for the presidency, Barack Obama and John McCain, had to "overcome" the age issue prompted by the relative youth of one and advanced years of the other. As a result, the Republican looked wise and experienced to voters, while the Democrat seemed full of strength and energy – as well as brimming with fresh ideas, portending positive change for Americans.

All known election technologies, both rational and manipulative, were deployed in the campaign of 2008. Thus, for the purposes of image promotion in the public consciousness, the candidates and their teams employed various genres: movies and campaign ads were shot, songs were sung, books were published. The leaders put a lot of effort into appealing to voters: as much as possible, they remained in the public eye, creating newsworthy events – headed out on the campaign trail around the country and abroad, met with voters and members of the press, and participated in televised debates. For the purposes of image creation "image legend" technology was applied, "making" the candidates interesting and original, as well as "familiar" and "relatable", and setting the "framework" for the construction of bright, attractive images.

Barack Obama and John McCain were able to demonstrate their leadership potential – personal charm, fine oratorical abilities, ability to convince and communicate with an audience, and firm grasp of all main issues of domestic and foreign policy. The personal traits embedded into the images of the candidates were:

patriotism, concern for fellow citizens, competence, professionalism, and closeness to the people. The candidates demonstrated their firm intentions to “make Americans happy”, solve all problems, and restore the country to prosperity and leadership on the international scene. They assured the voters that they were the leaders the country needed – leaders who knew what to do and were capable of doing it.

The campaign was distinct in terms of the criticism heaped by the two opponents on one another. At every opportunity, McCain and Obama pointed to each other’s mistakes, positioning themselves in the most favorable light against the backdrop of the other’s shortcomings. By contrast, they did everything possible to position themselves advantageously in front of the voters.

Internet technology and mobile technologies, proving highly effective in the candidates’ communication with the voters, emerged as the innovative technologies of the campaign. They captured attention by their novelty and allowed the candidate to reach out to citizens “personally”, making them feel valued and important. This form of communication was particularly well received by the traditionally apolitical youth constituency. The presidential election campaign also featured the debut of the broad use of volunteers, which proved to be highly effective.

The tense economic situation played an important role in Obama’s victory, associated in the public mind with the term in office of the Republican candidate. Thanks to the efforts of Obama and his team, public problems were linked to the name McCain as “the successor of George W. Bush’s policies”. Considering the complexity of the national economic situation and pent-up problems of domestic and foreign policy, voters were keen on the main theme of the Democratic candidate – “change”, by means of which the image of “missionary-leader, bringer of changes”, which elicited a response from the majority of Americans, was created.

Thanks to Obama’s expertly-organized campaign, his team succeeded in constructing a bright, attractive image that swayed voters to his party, including the traditional Republican electorate and undecided voters, as well as in achieving a considerable spike in voter turnout.

In his first term in office, President Obama proved to be an active reformer, zealously tackling voters' problems and the fulfillment of election promises, positioning himself as a leader not in words but in action. At the same time, the social, economic and political situation in the USA did not change dramatically by the end of the first presidential term, with most problems persisting and lowering the approval rating of Obama and his popularity in society. Despite this, the competent actions of political technologists in managing his image showed their effectiveness. Americans were only shown the positive results for the state and society of Obama's performance, positioning him as a highly open leader whose activities were "transparent" to citizens. This maintained the positive image of Barack Obama.

3.2. 2012 Campaign: management of Barack Obama's and Mitt Romney's images

Role of the political platform in the image formation of Barack Obama and Mitt Romney. In 2008, the former governor of the State of Massachusetts, the Republican millionaire Mitt Romney, burst onto the national scene for the first time. In the 2008 primaries, he had lost to John McCain, coming in third after Rudy Giuliani. At the same time, his image as a classic Republican began to take root in the public consciousness at the national level during the election campaign. Romney was a religious conservative, an advocate of family values, a "pro-life" abortion opponent (except in cases of the health of the mother and rape), a death penalty supporter, and opponent of same-sex marriages and civil partnerships. Romney supported the majority of economic initiatives pursued by George W. Bush.

Mitt Romney was a strong challenger to the sitting president, who by the end of his first term had in many respects lost his approval rating among the citizenry without managing to restore order to the economy or keep many of his election promises. A tough fight developed between them, during which the candidates used all of the image technologies at their disposal.

Throughout two election campaigns as well as his presidential terms, Barack Obama has positioned himself as a national leader free of any and all social divisions (ethnic, class, religious, political). He refers to himself as the leader of the whole nation. Thus, after Hurricane Sandy, he addressed his fellow citizens with a speech: “There are no Democrats or Republicans during a storm. There are only fellow Americans. The leaders of different parties try to restore what has been destroyed, and neighbors help each other get through the tragedy. Locals cooperate to rebuild what has been lost”. His speeches are regularly sprinkled with expressions designed to demonstrate that any political divisions in society run less than deep. Obama endeavors to unite the American nation based on the Christian values so familiar to Americans that “all people are brothers”, emerging as a symbol of this unity.

Thus, for the purposes of rolling-out his election platform on ideological orientation, Obama has tried in a number of his speaking engagements to neutralize the differences between the philosophies of the Republican and Democratic Parties. In particular, he has attempted to smooth the contradictions between the economic stances of both parties, assuring citizens that there is no essential difference between them: “Republicans traditionally believe that business must be given more freedom, which will begin to generate more GDP and wealth to be spread around, making everything better. Democrats believe this as well, while also maintaining that the wealthy must be taxed slightly more, with the revenue generated directed towards social needs and closing gaps in the federal budget. That’s the whole difference. It’s not left and right, not green and yellow – it’s almost the same thing”¹.

In spite of the fact that, according to Obama’s speeches, the distinctions between the political concepts of the Democrats and Republicans are insignificant, he depicted the political views of his opponent as wrongheaded and diametrically opposed to his own. Presenting citizens with the advantages he offered over his main rival, Obama pointed to the latter’s mistakes: “You must make a choice between two fundamentally different concepts for America’s further development. One of them

¹ Обама готов на компромисс с республиканцами. <http://rus.ruvr.ru/2012_11_10/Obama-gotov-na-kompromiss-s-respublikancami-iz-za-bjudzhetnogo-deficita/>.

involves a return to the policy based on the “trickle-down” principle that destroyed our economy. <...> Vote for the future, based on a powerful and growing middle class”¹. Maintaining his position as a “post-partisan” leader, Obama depicted political divisions in society as “different concepts”, distracting voters’ attention from the societal split into Democrats and Republicans.

At the same time, an analysis of the political programs advanced by the Republicans and Democrats during this and previous elections indicates noticeable differences of opinion. The campaigns of 2008 and 2012 can fairly be described as extremely polarizing, exposing deep differences on a wide range of issues (from demographic policy to the solution of economic problems). There were a lot of points of contention in comparison with previous elections (prior to 2008), in which the political ideas of the opponents, as analysts note, tended to gravitate towards the center.

Despite the ideological divisions, it is possible to discern the overarching cultural and values-based platform behind the crafting of the ideologies of the main rivals: the greatness and prosperity of America, the welfare of its citizens, the health of the nation and global supremacy. In other words, the aims of the two opponents were closely aligned. The candidates for the presidency stopped short of revealing the details of the execution of their respective plans.

Thus, both Democrats and Republicans, following public consciousness, are obsessed with world leadership. In the American culture, ideas of world supremacy have been embedded by means of a specific historical experience and the corresponding political socialization. At every opportunity, the lead actors of the campaign show spoke of the greatness of America, its exceptionalism on the world stage, and its leadership, as welcomed by many countries. Such speeches responded to the public mood. The candidates didn’t neglect to mention the U.S.’s democratic mission around the world, its exclusive achievements and services to the world community, or the valor of the forefathers of the American state. By making such

¹ Обама и Ромни на финишной прямой избирательной кампании. <<http://www.golos-ameriki.ru/content/obama-romney-campaign-trail-post-sandy/1537814.html>>.

speeches, the candidates managed not only to “cajole” the voters, but also to emerge as true patriots of the homeland.

Following the public mood, and wishing to return the nation to its former state of greatness, Obama glorifies America in his speeches, emphasizing its power and world leadership. In his opinion, the United States will always play an irreplaceable role in world affairs. “I can see that this century is the century of America, as no other country seeks to assume the role that we play in world affairs, just as no other country is capable of playing it”¹.

The main theme of the election campaign, stemming from the historical situation at hand, namely America’s economic problems, was the state of the U.S. economy. Thus, Mitt Romney criticizes the president in harsh terms, including his economic views, arguing, that “he spent a lot and borrowed even more”. He constantly repeated in his speeches that the “holes” in the American economy were Obama’s fault, arguing that the sitting president had not been able to bring the American economy out of the deepest crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s, and that recovery was taking too long. Obama’s presidency, in view of the high unemployment rate (climbing to more than 10%), ballooning deficit and rising gas prices, had been a mistake.

To show voters his competence in handling economic problems and unique qualifications as the nation’s leader, Romney offered, as he described it, a “fundamentally new plan for rescuing the American economy”. According to his promises, he was a leader who would be able to successfully take charge, pull the U.S. out of its debt hole and put a stop to the wasteful spending that had taken place during Obama’s presidency. “People are suffering because of this administration’s policies”, he told voters indignantly, following the opinion of many dissatisfied citizens. Romney tried to depict Obama as a useless leader, capable of inflicting great harm upon the country.

¹ B. Obama’s speech. “We paved the way for a new era of U.S. global leadership”. <<http://www.golos-ameriki.ru/content/obama-us-air/940207.html>>.

For the purposes of destroying Obama's positive image as a wise and knowing politician, Romney repeatedly called into question the correctness of his actions and views: "I strongly doubt that one more structure as part of the cabinet will be able to create the jobs that America so desperately needs. I therefore am entitled to make every effort to see to it that we have a president who truly understands business, instead of somebody trying to include in his cabinet someone who once studied business", he said concerning Obama's initiative to combine some federal departments under a proposed department of business affairs¹. This sort of speech was designed to depict Obama as an incompetent leader.

By the example of this Romney speech, it is also possible, with a bit of effort, to discern certain complicated turns of phrase. To ordinary citizens and those not particularly interested in politics, it is difficult to tell from such expressions what the Republican is trying to tell them. The information consumer is only capable of picking up on the context of the politician's hostile attitude towards to his opponent, which could work to create the image of an argumentative and weak leader.

Obama, in turn, defending himself from such Republican attacks, argued that he was making every reasonable effort to rescue the American economy and set it in the right direction. To dispel the doubts of citizens as to the correctness of his economic policy so criticized by his opponent, Obama subjected him to retaliatory criticism, holding him up as a less-than-successful leader and someone unconcerned about the fate of ordinary people. Obama's team released campaign ads relating that some firms acquired by Romney had failed, causing thousands of their employees to lose their jobs, while Bain Capital made huge profits from the investments. "It is necessary to understand", Obama said, "that the priority of investment firms is maximizing profit, which is not always positive for local communities, business and workers". Such speeches assuaged the doubts of the voters concerning Obama's policy and drew attention away from Romney's accusations.

¹ Обама и Ромни на финишной прямой избирательной кампании. <<http://www.golos-ameriki.ru/content/obama-romney-campaign-trail-post-sandy/1537814.html>>.

Obama also derided the words of his adversary to the effect that his experience working at Bain Capital would be valuable in managing the affairs of state and allow him to “cure” the ailing American economy: “If your confidence in your ability to lift the economy is based on that fact that you can make a lot of money for investors, you don’t understand the job of the U.S. president at all”. “I have to care about everyone – not just the elite. My work consists of ensuring that the country grows not just now, but also in ten, twenty years”¹, Obama said, depicting himself as a concerned and competent leader, as opposed to his rival.

This election differed in terms of the mudslinging that took place between the two adversaries, as well as in terms of negative advertising – more than 70% of all campaigning in the election. Thus, for example, the organization “Let’s Restore Our Future”, which supported Mitt Romney, spent more than 4 million dollars in the State of Iowa alone on negative advertising against another Republican candidate, Newt Gingrich².

The campaign run by the Republican candidate was distinct in terms of its aggressiveness. Its main goal was to discredit the president, and it managed to earn the support of most voters by highlighting key points on social problems and society’s own “mistakes”. Romney didn’t miss the opportunity to subject the sitting president to criticism, which also had a veiled character. An abundance of direct attacks against one’s adversary, as U.S. political practice has shown, is capable of creating an aggressive image and revealing the weakness of the attacking candidate. Therefore, politicians often avoid attacking their opponents openly.

A lot of criticism was directed at healthcare reforms, which were socially unpopular. Thus, Romney suggested replacing the healthcare program adopted by Obama with “commonsense healthcare reform”, directly hinting at the absence of

¹ Бреденмайер К. Обама критикует работу Ромни в компании BainCapital. <<http://www.golos-ameriki.ru/content/us-politics/940302.html>>.

² Финансирование избирательных кампаний США. Справка. 05.11.2012. <http://rus.ruvr.ru/2012_11_05/Finansirovanie-izbiratelnih-kampanij-v-SSHA-Spravka/>.

common sense in Obama's program. This speech reflected the mood of most Americans who hadn't supported the reforms put in place¹.

In both the first and second election campaigns, opponents accused Obama of inexperience in foreign policy affairs. In the event, this subject turned to his advantage. Obama, emphasizing his accomplishments over his first presidential term, repeatedly said that he had managed to change attitudes towards the USA throughout the world, that they had regained their status as a respected superpower, and that the world recognized their leadership once again. It should be noted that, according to polls, in all large countries, including Russia, Obama enjoys broad support and is perceived as more modern, more flexible and even a more human personality, someone whose person has had a positive impact on the perception of the USA throughout the world².

The president was forced to respond to the attacks of his opponent, who accused him of conducting a foreign policy that had weakened the American armed forces. Obama countered by assuring Air Force officers that the USA boasted military superiority over other countries.

Discussing the results of his work as president, the candidate from the Democratic Party took the position that war on terror was being successfully waged, as there had been no serious attack on U.S. soil in the previous four years. Regular headline news, reporting on the destruction of terrorists by drone strike or other means far from U.S. shores, served to confirm his words³. Such speeches by Obama form the image of an effective political leader who is capable of restoring order to the country and solving its main problems. Considering public concern over issues of national security in light of the still-raw events of September 11, the subject of terrorist threats was important during the researched elections. It should be noted, however, that aside from the aforementioned tragedy, the war on terror in the USA

¹ Obama's Approval Rating Hits New Low. <http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-503544_162-20001629-503544.html>.

² Обама улучшил имидж США в мире – исследование. <http://www.newskaz.ru/world_news/20090724/261430.html>.

³ Рассел-Случански К. Большая разница политического курса Обама и Ромни. 25.10.2012. <http://rus.ruvr.ru/2012_10_25/Bolshaja-raznica-politicheskogo-kursa-Obama-i-Romni/>.

had been successfully waged even before Obama's presidency. Over the last thirty years, jihadists and Salafists planned about 40–45 acts of terrorism in the U.S., all of which were successfully prevented by national security officials¹.

Turning to international affairs, there was an incident during the 2012 campaign, in which foreign citizens attempted to create a negative image of Obama. In order to prove that Obama's campaign fund was receiving donations from foreign citizens (as prohibited by U.S. law), journalists from the website WND used a Pakistani server to send the president's headquarters money twice – ostensibly from the dispatched terrorist Osama bin Laden². In response, the candidate's campaign headquarters announced its write-off of the money from Obama's campaign fund, as was confirmed by the bank. The incident didn't gain wide public circulation.

Obama's foes also tried to create an anti-image for him by distributing information containing a negative interpretation of his political actions. Thus, to mobile phones via the Internet, SMS were sent out containing the following information: “Obama stole 716 billion from Medicare^{*}. We can't trust Barack Obama to protect our seniors”, “Voting for Obama means voting for same-sex marriage”, “Obama uses your tax payments to finance Planned Parenthood^{*} and abortions. How can that be right?”³.

In this case, such technology from the arsenal of black PR doesn't violate state law. On the one hand, the sending of SMS from the Internet to phones is not regulated by applicable legislation. On the other, the disseminated information is based on facts interpreted in a negative light, i.e. isn't slander. Accenting the negative aspect of information is an effective way of discrediting competitors. Part of the population, especially undecided voters (the so-called “electoral swamp”) might

¹ Рассел-Случански К. Указ. соч.

² Предвыборный штаб Обамы принял пожертвования от «бен Ладена». 30.10.2012. <rus.ruvr.ru/2012_10_30/Predvibornij-shtab-Obami-prinjal-pozhertvovaniya-ot-ben-Ladena/>.

*Medicare – a federal health-insurance program for senior citizens (over age 65) and the disabled, established in the USA in 1965.

*Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA) – American subsidiary of the International Federation of Planned Parenthood, which lobbies for legal abortions.

³ Friess S. Anti-Obama text ads cause a stir. 2012. October 31. <<http://www.politico.com>>.

share this point of view. It will also strengthen the belief of those who already have a negative opinion of the “blackened” politician.

On the whole, throughout the campaign, polls showed more voter sympathy for Obama in terms of personality, but his Republican rival was ahead on economic matters. Analysts unanimously agreed that the outcome of the election would depend directly on the economic situation in the country: if the economy were to slide again, Obama’s chances at reelection would be minimal¹.

In his campaign, Obama paid special attention to women’s issues, raising questions of female health and medicine, employment, equal rights, etc. On Obama’s official election website, a special section devoted to women was created. Obama’s plan to support working women was extremely popular among the female half of the population². A considerable role in the popularization of Obama among female voters was played by the wife of the Democratic candidate, Michelle Obama, who actively held meetings with the voters and engaged in public work. Addressing the female part of the population is an effective way of attracting it to your side. Many gender issues remain relevant and continue to interest American women. Creating the image of a concerned leader interested in women’s issues was an important task for Obama and his team. In support of the Democratic candidate in the elections of 2008 and 2012, the association “Women for Obama” spoke, which popularized Obama’s ideas on supporting women.

During his presidency, Obama carried out popular reforms in the field of education. These involved a doubling of investments for grants and financial aid for students, and reform of the student loan program (decreasing the educational credit to 10%), making a college education more affordable for poor segments of the population. Such reforms were appealing to the poor population and youth. Obama also became popular among teachers, on behalf of whose jobs he fought.

For environmentalists, in connection with his vigorous activity in this sphere, Obama also became a “friend”. According to his initiative, new technologies on coal

¹ Pre-election race in the USA will be difficult. 18.05.2012. <<http://www.golos-ameriki.ru/content/us-election/727267.html>>.

² Предвыборная кампания президента Обамы. Справка. <<http://rus.ruvr.ru/economics/>>.

usage were being developed and taking root, new economical cars were being produced, and more. Thus, the ecological organizations “American Environment”, “Sierra Club” and “Clear Water” supported Obama during the election campaign.

A contentious issue in the USA – same-sex love, captured the attention of voters once again. Candidates from the main parties took their traditional stances on this question. Obama supported same-sex love and marriage, explaining his position according to Democratic views: everyone is free to live as they please, so long as they abide by public law and order. Private life, according to his belief, shouldn't be regulated by society. In mid-June 2012, the USA celebrated Same-Sex Love Day, and at the end of June, the Pentagon held its first-ever event in the history of the department in support of homosexual military personnel. At these events, the president made speeches in support of this category of the population.

Just as in the first election campaign, Obama was backed by Latin Americans, who generated powerful support (this category of the population totals about 50 million people). They were pleased that the president was tackling issues related to the economic security of immigrants and questions in the sphere of healthcare and education. During his first presidential term, Obama also protected the interests of African-Americans: helped to restore their cultural values, fought for jobs for this category of the population, February of 2012 was declared African-American History Month. As a result of this policy, Obama won the support of this category of people. The campaign “African-Americans for Obama” was launched before the 2012 election.

Obama also managed to get the support of Jewish Americans, who were impressed by Obama's policy on Israel. Obama repeatedly spoke about the importance of preserving strong American-Israeli relations. According to the sociological service Gallup, 63% of Jews supported Obama in the 2012 election.

Those who weren't happy with Obama after his first presidential term included companies from Wall Street – the world financial center based in New York, in connection with his imposition of restrictions on their activity. They contributed large sums of money to the election campaign of his main foe. Thus, the owners and staff

of financial institutions gave Romney's campaign more than 18 million dollars, plus tens of millions to affiliated supercommittees¹.

Formation of the images of Barack Obama and Mitt Romney during the televised debates. According to tradition, within the framework of the 2012 campaign, debates between the main contenders for the office of president were held. As usual, the debates included three rounds, the first of which, according to sociological polls, Mitt Romney won, the other two – Barack Obama. In the first round, candidates answered questions on domestic policy: taxes, wages, unemployment, education, healthcare, etc. The Republican attacked his opponent by criticizing his administration, whereas Obama was in the losing position of having to defend himself². Thus, Romney trashed the president's healthcare reforms, offering his own plan, and called into question the expediency of the Dodd-Frank law, issued in 2010*. As a result, according to sociological polls by CNN, 67% of TV viewers liked Romney's performance, with only 25% preferring Obama's³. During an interview with journalists, Obama said that he had been "too polite", but that next time his stance towards his opponent would be less restrained.

The second round took place within the framework of a "townhall meeting". Candidates answered the questions of the numerous audience members who had come to the debate. Questions of domestic policy became the subject of discussion once again. Both candidates behaved aggressively towards one other: traded barbs, interrupted each other, jumped up from their chairs. According to TV viewers, Barack Obama won "with a score" of 46% to 39%⁴.

The third round was devoted to U.S. foreign policy. Romney criticized the president for showing "weakness" in the Middle East and other areas. In response,

¹ О ходе избирательной кампании в США. ЦИК РФ. 05.11.2012. <http://www.zoom.cikrf.ru/banners/president_usa/o_hode_0511.html>.

² Касьян А. Обама vs. Ромни: избирательная кампания в США в основных фактах. <<http://www.forbes.ru/sobytiya-slideshow/192391-obama-vs-romni-izbiratel'naya-kampaniya-v-ssha-v-osnovnyh-faktah/slide/11>>.

*The Dodd-Frank Act, adopted to avoid the financial crisis, expands the powers of the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) – the U.S. financial-market regulator.

³ Теледебаты кандидатов в президенты США: вчера и сегодня. <<http://www.taday.ru/text/1872705.html>>.

⁴ Теледебаты кандидатов в президенты США: вчера и сегодня. Указ. соч.

Obama called himself a moderate politician, in contrast to the “reckless” Republicans. Heated arguments were caused by the situation round Iran: Romney accused his opponent of getting the country into a situation in which American influence throughout the world was weaker than ever. Obama, in reply, called Romney quick-tempered and short-sighted. He also accused the Republican of wanting to start another war – one that would be a crushing burden for the budget and for American soldiers tired of constant conflicts.

Obama was very steady and accused Romney of ignorance on many facts and of changing his stance depending on the situation – of lacking a defined position. At the end of one round, Obama, to general laughter, “made the diagnosis” of his opponent: “Romneysia”. “I will list for you the symptoms of ‘romneysia,’ because I sure don’t want anyone to catch this infection here in Ohio. If, during the debates, a man speaks about how strongly he loves teachers, though only several weeks ago he said that he wouldn’t hire new educators as it won’t promote the growth of our economy, that it obviously “romneysia”. If you say that you won’t cut taxes on the rich and then in front of the camera you say the opposite, it is similar to a classic case of “romneysia”. If you say during the debates that you love American cars, but at the same time you write an article under the heading “Let the Automotive Industry Go Bankrupt”, you definitely have “romneysia”¹. Labeling one’s opponent is a way of discrediting him in front of the public. The label was thought up successfully, confirmed by the specified facts that resonated in Americans hearts. As a result of this discussion, the Democrat came out as the winner, having collected 53% of the votes of TV viewers.

Indeed, on many questions raised during the election campaign, Romney had no consistent position. Thus, he unexpectedly supported Obama’s troop pullout from Afghanistan by the year 2014, though Republicans viewed this decision as “cutting and running”, and “rejected” military intervention in Iran and Syria. Several months

¹ Обама ищет средство от «ромнезии». 24.10.2012. <http://rus.ruvr.ru/2012_10_24/Obama-najdet-sredstvo-ot-romnezii/>.

earlier, Romney had called Russia the main political adversary of the USA in an interview, giving this distinction to Iran during the debates.

The debate between the vice presidential candidates, Democrat Joe Biden and Republican Paul Ryan, were received poorly by TV viewers. During discussions of important questions of domestic and foreign policy, they hid behind set phrases, distorted the facts, taking them out of context, or simply showed their incompetence. On the question of who won the debates, many analysts answered that nobody had won, as the participants “told too many lies and intentionally distorted the facts”¹. After the debate, the Internet was flooded with numerous discussion forums, where popular belief held that the vice presidential candidates were deadweight for the main contenders, undermining their image. Many Americans called the debate the falsest in the history of televised debates².

Role of disasters in the creation of the candidates' images. As was already noted, the image of a political leader is always under the influence of emergency situations, which actualize citizens' need for protection (physical or psychological) and require the leader to act in response to the challenges of the day. In such situations, the political leader can't stand aside, so as not to lose his status as the society's leader. Conversely, they present favorable conditions for creating the bold image of a strong leader by taking the actions expected by the public.

During the considered presidential campaign of 2012, such a situation was presented by Hurricane Sandy on the U.S. East Coast. Barack Obama's representatives announced the suspension of his election campaign, thereby demonstrating the sincere concern for the event. It conveyed that the true motive of his coming to power was to help people, instead of personal interests, including the achievement of power. Barack Obama had the opportunity to prove himself as a “rescuer” rushing to people's aid. The component of “hero-savior” isn't dominant in Obama's image; on the contrary, it is a little indistinct and needs strengthening. Thus, the situation worked favorably for the president.

¹ Лживые дебаты. 18.10.2012. <http://rus.ruvr.ru/2012_10_18/Lzhivie-debati/>.

² Лживые дебаты. Указ. соч.

The president immediately arrived at the scene of the tragedy, having flown about stricken areas by helicopter. To console, embrace and promise help – these were the “three pillars” on which Barack Obama’s three-hour tour of the devastated area rested¹. Successful for Obama’s image was his escort by the popular Republican Governor of New Jersey Chris Christie, who organized for the president a trip to the places stricken by the disaster. Obama, united with a Republican, showed that he didn’t care about the party affiliation of his partner. In a difficult hour for the country, he was ready to forget about his interests for the sake of others. For several hours, the Democratic president and Republican governor made their way together through blockages of trees and viscous swill. They examined wrecked houses and met local disaster victims, rendering what assistance they could. The scenes were shot on video and have since circulated around the globe.

Thus, Obama acted in the role of “emergency responder”, which cast him in a new and advantageous light in front of the voters. The new role showed him as a strong and courageous leader, capable of coming to the rescue of people at a difficult time while remaining “simple” and “accessible” to ordinary citizens. “The “rescuer” Obama, weighted down by rubber boots in the loosened sand of the Atlantic coast, dressed in a blue windbreaker and shapeless khakis – this Obama was much closer to ordinary Americans than ever”².

In public, Mitt Romney also showed extreme concern over the aftermath of Hurricane Sandy. He expressed sympathy for the affected and urged voters to help them: “I hope, in your thoughts and prayers you are with them; if you have some spare dollars and send them to the American Red Cross, Salvation Army or any other charitable organization, it will help your fellow citizens a lot”³. This helped to form his image as a responsible and patriotic leader. “Their destiny isn’t indifferent to us.

¹ «Сэнди» задувает Обаму в Белый дом. 0211.2012. <http://rus.ruvr.ru/2012_11_02/Sjendi-zaduvaet-Obamu-v-Belij-dom/>.

² «Сэнди» задувает Обаму в Белый дом. Указ. соч.

³ Klein K. Barack Obama and Romney's election campaign. News of Brighton Beach.02.11.2012. <<http://brightonbeachnews.com/rus>>.

It also distinguishes us, Americans – the readiness to come to the swift assistance of those in need. Now it is such moment”¹.

One of the cultural traits of Americans is the feeling of personal responsibility for events, participation in particular circumstances. This is due to the idea “If not me, then who?” taken from school days. In their election campaigns, the presidential candidates also regularly addressed citizens with the purpose of awakening civic consciousness and involving them in action. Thus, Barack Obama, at the beginning of his election campaign, addressed voters with an appeal for their support: “It begins with us”, thereby stirring individuals to personal activity, letting them feel their importance.

It is possible to assume that the presidential candidates demonstrated such activity in connection with the natural disaster according to their civic positions, altruistically. At the same time, why weren't more volunteers publicly demonstrating concern for the event than the main contenders for the presidency? If one assumes that the sitting president couldn't stand aside due to his position, the efforts of his opponent were obviously public in nature, pursuing the aim of “being seen”. As concerns Obama, observers noted that he managed to turn his trip to the disaster-ravaged areas into a “promo tour”². Political commentators called Obama's trip “one huge commercial”.

Role of political technologies in formation of the images of Barack Obama and Mitt Romney. In an effort to depict themselves in the best-possible light, the candidates sought the support of celebrities as much as possible. As was noted above, a positive attitude towards certain people is transferred to those whom they support. This “strengthens” the image, making it bright, positive and memorable. The attraction of celebrities also “dilutes” the boring world of politics, heightening the public's attention and increasing interest in specific people.

Support for Obama was rendered once again by celebrities, including the stars of cinema, show business, culture and art. For example, these included the actors

¹ Klein K. Op. cit.

² «Сэнди» задувает Обаму в Белый дом. Указ. соч.

Tom Hanks, Sharon Stone, Alec Baldwin, Antonio Banderas, Jack Black, George Clooney, Jamie Lee Curtis, Matt Damon, Robert De Niro, Danny De Vito, Michael Douglas and many others (more than forty well-known actors). Among well-known musicians, it is possible to name R. Kelly, Alisha Keys, B.B. King, Ricky Martin, Gwen Stefani, Barbara Streisand, Beyoncé, and the well-known movie director Stephen Spielberg. In addition, the president was supported by Bill Gates and Warren Buffett, holding the first two places on the list of the richest people of America. As in the previous election campaign, Barack Obama was actively supported by Hillary and Bill Clinton.

Mitt Romney was supported by the actors Cindy Crawford, Chuck Norris, John Voight, Tina Sloan, Robert Duvall, Clint Eastwood, the “queen of the porn industry” Jenna Jameson, the Hollywood producer Jerry Bruckheimer, the musician Kid Rock, the prominent businessman Donald Trump, and many others.

During Barack Obama’s election campaign, numerous videos were shown to the voters. Some of them had a plot and tried to convey one of Obama’s ideas or discredit his adversary. The others were simply aimed at promoting the president and represented a series of video portraits of Obama in various situations, shown to pleasant, cheery music. The duration of the videos is several minutes. Their main objective is the maintenance of the positive image of the president.

On Election Day, a campaign video emerged that was designed to turn out the vote¹. In the video, Barack Obama urges voters to come to the polling station and vote, and also to come with their friends. He insists that the outcome of the election depends “on you” personally. His words sound convincing. Obama looks very benevolent, cheerful, full of strength, and self-assured. He appears to voters as vigorous and healthy, inspires optimism. He looks stately against the American flag – patriotic.

¹ B. Obama’s campaign video: “Guys, stop watching this video and go vote”. <http://tvrain.ru/articles/rebjata_hvatit_smotret_eto_video_idite_golosovat_obama_v_poslednij_moment_vy_stupil_s_obrascheniem-332591/>.

Obama looks younger than he is, about 40–45, but his words and pitch reveal a mature man – the father, the leader, without a hint of boyishness. Eyes are wise, shine, “light up”. There is no tension, excitement, there are no negative emotions, and kindness is read on his face. Smile is open, charming. Obama speaks vividly, moderately emotionally, quietly, surely, very convincingly. Excellent diction: speaks distinctly, it is easily perceived.

During the election campaign, Obama was repeatedly shown against the American flag, which became a symbol of this campaign. The stars of the flag were arranged directly over his head, presenting him as a patriot, a true citizen of his country.

Aside from the videos, voters were shown some of Barack Obama’s election movies. In one such video¹, Obama talks about himself, about his ancestors. He remembers the patriotic moments of the past, mentioning that his grandfather served in the war. The appeal to the past correlates with a culture of citizens, where an important line is the appeal to traditions, the experience of ancestors, their honoring. Such videos are also considered part of the manipulative technology mentioned above – age-related regression. In the video, Obama talks about the problems of the USA. Numerous meetings of the president with citizens are shown. It presents him as a leader who understands the aspirations of average citizens, “just a guy”, “one of us”. When viewing this video, there is an impression of Obama as a real patriot, wishing to help the homeland.

Obama also touches on the subject of the economy, which is the most relevant issue for the public. He convincingly relates, providing statistical data, that the U.S. economy, heavily affected by the global crisis, is already experiencing positive shifts. It is the achievement of himself and his team. However, it is necessary to do a lot of work. He explains what he is going to do, to lift the economy to a high level and make the state powerful and prospering. Obama assures the voters that his plan on overcoming the consequences of the crisis is on target and very effective, but its

¹ B. Obama’s 2012 campaign video. <<http://www.videosostav.ru/video/056811cf69df5fbfedb171975f4f1f85/>>.

realization is being disrupted by Republican opposition in the Congress. This is also repeated often in the campaign advertising of the Democrats. Obama asserts that he needs one more presidential term for the reforms he has already started to yield results. The campaign video in support of Obama features the participation of many well-known people, who warrant that he is the person America needs.

It should be noted that Obama's speeches contain many generic words and phrases such as "world of harmony and goodness" – "love", "happiness", "future", "democracy", "human rights", "culture", "civilization", "era", etc. These words, on the one hand, lend universality and special importance to the speech of the politician and to him. On the other, they fill Obama's speeches with a vague yet positive "warmth", switching off the logic of listeners and substituting it with emotions. This applies to many of the phrases he often uses, such as "world leadership", "American century", "era of democracy", etc. So, for example, in urging people to vote for him, Obama says "vote for the future", identifying himself with the generic concept of "future". Most of the population associates the future with "bright future", with hope, laying the foundation for the perception of the present politician.

The subject of change emerged as the central theme of the present election campaign of Barack Obama once again. In addresses to the public, Obama said that America needs change – that people are eager for it and he is the leader to provide it. It should be noted that "change", also belonging to generic concepts, is closely related to the concept of hope and has pleasant, exciting associations. Good changes evoke a feeling of novelty that causes pleasure and positive feelings in the individual. Thus, change is always a winning subject. But, from the politician's side, the promise of change conceals a kind of bluff. Many desires of people expressing a thirst for change don't depend on the political sphere of society, for example, the need for love, beauty, and recognition. The public's discontent with life isn't always connected to its low standard of living. Especially since in the USA, the standard of living can hardly be called low. By different criteria, the USA boasts one of the highest

standards of living in the world¹. Thus, Obama's promises of change encourage the person, manipulatively stirring feelings aroused by a desire to solve his own personal problems and unrelated to the powers of a political leader.

In Obama's second election campaign, there was a new slogan: "Forward". Moving forward means advancement and positive change. Thus, Obama in a laconic and capacious form promises citizens economic, political, and social advancement. This slogan repeatedly appears on campaign posters, videos, films, and prompts.

As in the previous campaign, Obama tries to activate the political consciousness of citizens by encouraging them to engage in discussions at work, special-interest clubs, and in family settings, with particular emphasis placed on the success of social networks witnessed in the previous marathon. The purpose of the campaign of the Democratic leader is to rally Americans from below. It was the middle and lowest social groups that had to – according to the campaign plan – make up Obama's main electoral skeleton². The task was successfully executed.

The president's team actively and quite successfully involved the Internet in the election campaign once again. Thus, on the day of the official announcement of the election campaign of 2012, 13 million Americans received letters, signed "Barack", notifying them of the president's intention to run in the upcoming election. In his message, Obama urged the recipients to travel the victorious path with him once again. Similar "personal" messages have a positive influence on the formation of a confidential relationship with the leader, creating the feeling of participation in related events. One feels the urge to support such a leader.

The Internet-based communication platform (barackobama.com) was offered to supporters of the president once again. On this site, activists made offers on carrying out the election campaign, agitation, and headquarters activity personally to the candidate. Communication participants exchanged views and answered questions. This form of communication not only effectively influences the formation of a positive image of the candidate, but encourages people to civic consciousness and

¹ See example: Таблица уровня жизни стран мира 2012. <<http://gotoroad.ru/best/indexlife>>; Уровень жизни. <http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D3%F0%EE%E2%E5%ED%FC_%E6%E8%E7%ED%E8>>.

² Предвыборная кампания президента Обамы. Справка. 05.11.2012. <<http://rus.ruvr.ru/economics/>>.

expansion of the electoral platform. For a democratic state, this is also a means of achieving the political socialization of citizens, activation of civic consciousness, and motivation to engage in electoral activity. Effective communications in Obama's election campaign became one of the factors of the very high voter turnout on Election Day.

One of the ways of arranging communication between Obama and voters became the blog of the U.S. President on an official site of the White House (Change.Gov). This site is one of the informative tools for visitors and plays an important role, both in the election campaign and during Obama's presidency. For previous administrations, regular radio addresses to the public were traditional. The leader Barack Obama supplemented this tradition with something new – weekly video addresses via the Internet by means of his blog. In his video addresses, he talked about current plans and events: congratulated citizens on various holidays, covered major events – conveying them in the light most convenient to him, and popularized ideas – informing voters about the most important points of his program. The newswire, reporting on current events featuring the participation of the president, was widely used.

On the blog, wide-ranging information is also posted concerning the U.S. government, the president and the political life of the country. For the purposes of attracting the interest of the average American and simplifying the rollout of specific ideas, the information on this site is distinct in terms of its emotionality. It is saturated with headings and words in the superlative degree, the aforementioned generic phrases and hyperbole. Aside from this site, video and audio promos with messages from the president are published on other frequently-visited sites.

Throughout Obama's presidency and intensively during the election campaign of 2012, official and informal photo reports (for example, on the popular sites Flickr, Change.Gov, etc.) are published. Various events hosted by Obama and his team are depicted in the reports. Obama is captured with celebrities and also with ordinary people, in both official and informal settings. Such photos are intended to create the image of an interesting and many-sided person on the one hand, and an approachable

regular guy on the other. These photos try to show: “He’s the same as we are”, “He’s just an average Joe”, and “He’s one of us”.

During the second election, Obama participated in 16 various Internet services (Facebook, MySpace, YouTube, Twitter, Flickr, Google+ and others), where video accounts of the campaign were downloaded, news about the president was updated, and discussions on open topics unfolded. Information concerning the U.S. president was very popular. Thus, Barack Obama’s micro blog on Twitter was one of the most popular in the world: on December 1, 2011, it boasted more than four million followers (during the 2008 election – 129 thousand¹). On the popular video hosting site YouTube, Obama’s video channel had 1 billion minutes of viewing². Thus, the Internet became an important – and certainly the most popular – means of transmitting information from the president and about the president.

Mitt Romney, not to be outdone by Obama in this area, also used the Internet actively in the election campaign: election website (mittromney.com), social networks. Using the successful experience of the previous campaign of the president, in May, Mitt Romney’s team issued a free mobile application for the “iPhone” smartphones of “Apple” and other devices with the “iOS” operating system. Thanks to the engineering of designers, application launch causes the program to display the greeting “America is better with Mitt” on the screen. Opening the application, users can load the photo and embed it with an inscription or appeal in support of Romney’s election campaign.

However, there was an embarrassment during the campaign when Mitt Romney’s team made a mistake: instead of the word “America”, “Amercia” was written, prompting many sneers in the mass media and hot discussion on social networks. “Romney can’t spell ‘America’” jokes swirled around the candidate³.

¹ Предвыборная кампания президента Обамы. Справка. Указ. соч.

² Хромец О. Социально-сетевая избирательная кампания. <<http://rotoovsky.com/pr-community/socialnye-seti/>>.

³ Серьёзная ошибка: iPhone-приложение Ромни не умеет писать слово «Америка». <<http://www.admingroup.ru/?p=10784>>.

Overall, Internet technologies emerged as a new and highly-effective means of the image formation of political leaders in the U.S. election campaign. In today's world, the Internet's role in the life of each person is steadily increasing. Following this trend, it is possible to predict that it represents the future of election campaigns.

Obama's team actively attracted volunteers once again, as had proved so effective in the previous campaign. Work with volunteers was arranged in an interesting fashion. The election campaign was generally constructed "from the bottom up", in the absence of hierarchical relations. All internal communications were horizontal: any member of the team could directly communicate with its administrative structures: the initiative of a volunteer was transferred personally to the directors of headquarters. The lack of a rigid hierarchy, on the one hand, allowed for the adjustment of ongoing work, depending on a changing situation, emerging problem or participant initiative. On the other, as a result of their personal involvement in the creative process of campaign organization, each participant sensed their importance within it. Among Obama's activist-supporters, there was a popular belief that his election as president represented the means to an end for everyone, increasing both the motivation of participants and civic consciousness, encouraging activity. As a result, the team worked smoothly and effectively.

During this presidential campaign, the sites of supporters of the U.S. president were operational. Autobiographies and information about Obama's life, work, family, career, and political philosophy were posted there. He was portrayed as a worthy leader who could be entrusted with stewardship of the country. Thus, for the purposes of promoting Obama, his supporters created an information site rendered in the form of an encyclopedia – "Obamapedia". The existence of a large pool of active supporters, ready to support and vouch for the leader, highly influences the formation of his image. People want to trust such a candidate. The circulation of positive information, even from different sources, promotes public awareness of the personality and its embedding in the popular consciousness.

The elections of 2008 and 2012 featured the sale and distribution of souvenirs and other merchandise bearing the attributes of these elections and pictures of the

Democratic candidate for president. T-shirts, packages, bags, accessories, symbols and other things could be bought, including on Obama's election website. A similar practice had been embraced by previous candidates for elected office, though not on such a massive scale. During the last presidential campaign, America was awash in Obama likenesses and election symbols. Obama was most often shown against the American flag, with its stars "shining" over his head, which looked quite patriotic. This portrayal of Obama created a certain mould: Obama as the political leader of America. Merchandise sales, coupled with other technologies, elevated Barack Obama's profile among Americans, directing public opinion towards perceiving him as the head of state.

Barack Obama set records twice in terms of campaign fundraising. Thus, in 2008, he received roughly 750 million dollars from his supporters – twice more than his adversary John McCain¹. Having planned to collect one billion dollars for the 2012 campaign, Obama executed these plans. The 2012 campaign established the next absolute record for fundraising by the main candidates. The cost of carrying out the 2012 U.S. presidential election was two billion dollars – an all-time record in U.S. political history. The funds spent on the election campaign of the Republican Party, led by Mitt Romney, exceeded one billion dollars – almost as much as the campaign by U.S. President Barack Obama cost².

The major donations to Obama's campaign fund were contributed by the CEOs of large enterprises, well-known politicians, and cultural figures. Meanwhile, the emphasis was placed on ordinary Americans. Small donors (making donations of less than 200 dollars), including pensioners, the employees of medical and educational institutions, retailers, and others, accounted for 55% of the revenues in Obama's account. Maximum-allowable contributions (2.5 thousand dollars) accounted for 13%.

¹ Финансирование избирательных кампаний США. Справка. 05.11.2012. <http://rus.ruvr.ru/2012_11_05/Finansirovanie-izbiratelnih-kampanij-v-SSHA-Spravka/>.

² Президентские выборы в США стоили рекордные \$2 млрд. 07.11.2012 <http://rus.ruvr.ru/2012_12_07/Prezidentskie-vibori-v-SSHA-stoili-rekordnie-2-mlrd/>.

As for Mitt Romney, conversely, the bulk – 45% – represented maximum contributions, with 22% coming from small donations. Distinctions between the sources of the money in the campaign funds of the main competitors reflected the dramatic divergence of their political platforms. The financing of Obama’s election campaign mainly by small donors made it possible to position him as a “national leader”.

The specified sums don’t include the hundreds of millions of dollars collected and spent for the placement of materials in support of the candidates by non-profit organizations¹. Thus, for example, a prominent supporter of the Republican Party, the Las Vegas casino owner Sheldon Adelson, donated 33 million dollars for the final campaign push of Mitt Romney, with Adelson and his spouse giving the Republicans a total of 95 million dollars in support over the course of the entire campaign².

It should be noted that a presidential election campaign mobilizes into political participation various categories of citizens who actively join in the political process. By their donations, citizens and organizations signal, on the one hand, their readiness to support the candidate, and on the other – their attention to his political views, beliefs and personality. The presidential campaign acquaints citizens with the political process, socializes them, and stimulates their civic consciousness. Elections turn into national events to which the majority of citizens don’t remain indifferent.

The election took place on November 6, 2012. Based on the vote tally, Obama carried 50% of the voters taking part in the election, with Romney carrying 48%. According to a poll by the Pew Research Center conducted right after the election, 44% of Americans were pleased with Obama’s reelection to a second four-year term, with 44% dissatisfied and 13% indifferent to the winner, according to their network records³. The findings of this research generally correspond to the voting results. According to the Pew Research Center, the emotions of the American electorate were

¹ О ходе избирательной кампании в США. ЦИК РФ. 05.11.2012. <http://www.zoom.cikrf.ru/banners/president_usa/o_hode_0511.html>.

² Президентские выборы в США стоили рекордные \$2 млрд. 07.11.2012 <http://rus.ruvr.ru/2012_12_07/Prezidentskie-vibori-v-SSHA-stoili-rekordnie-2-mlrd/>.

³ Выборы разделили американцев на счастливых и разочарованных. 08.11.2012. <http://rus.ruvr.ru/2012_11_08/Vibori-razdelili-amerikancev-na-schastlivih-i-razocharovannih/>.

entirely dependent on their political preferences. Obama's victory caused such emotions as "pleasure", "relief" and even "thrills" and "delight" among adherents of the Democratic ideology. Supporters of the Republican Party experienced "grief", "despondency", and even "disgust" and fear"¹.

It should be noted that a steadily-increasing trend over the last two decades has been the "transparency" of the U.S. presidency. The heads of this state try as much as possible not just to remain in the public eye and center of attention, but mostly to promote their ideas, reforms, and actions. The Obama presidency could fairly be deemed the apex of this trend, in which each of his "steps" and political actions is transmitted and circulated by various broadcast media thanks to the efforts of his administration. What's more, the president explains all of his actions to the public in order to be the clearest and most "accessible" leader possible and avoid any misunderstanding or misinterpretation of his policies.

It is also important that the policies pursued by state institutions, including the presidential office, closely rely on polls, which are widespread in the USA. Possible speeches by the president, variants of political actions, are first approved by means of sociological polls or based on already available data on public opinion. This excludes the possibility of adopting clearly unpopular decisions that run counter to the public interest (as often occurs, for example, in Russia). This makes the policies effective and the image of the leader more attractive to citizens.

Thus, political platforms have traditionally played a pivotal role in forming the images of the candidates for president in the U.S. In contrast to the trend over recent years towards a rapprochement of the ideologies of the Republican and Democratic Parties, the elections of 2008 and 2012 were polarized along ideological lines. This energized the political activity of citizens, inducing them to participate in the political life of the country, and also caused a political split in society.

¹ Выборы разделили американцев на счастливых и разочарованных. Указ. соч.

Following the socio-economic situation in the country, the candidates assigned a major role to the economic perspective, offering “unique” plans on the rescue of the American economy. According to the geopolitical position of the state and also following the public mood, the candidates for presidential office created images of global leaders for themselves.

The election campaign, as was the case the previous time, stood out for the abundance of criticism the main foes heaped on one another, each interested in “undermining” the positions of his opponent and casting himself in the most favorable light in front of the voters. Thus, Obama successfully chose a label for his adversary that highlighted his shortcomings and chipped away at his image as a competent, intelligent leader. Not lagging behind in this area was Romney, whose campaign was built on discrediting his main competitor. He and his team broadly employed the campaign technology of “exposing” the leadership of Obama as lacking common sense.

An important role in formation of the leaders’ images was played by the televised debates, which showcased the accomplishments of the candidates and revealed their weak spots. Changing positions on a number of domestic and foreign policy issues, which portrayed him as a politician without a clear, firm stance was Mitt Romney’s mistake, and it took a negative toll on his image.

The candidates successfully used a natural disaster to present themselves in a new and favorable light. Hurricane Sandy allowed Obama to appear before voters as the “hero-rescuer” rushing to assist people in need, thereby elevating his popular approval rating. His foe also tried to use the unfolding events, depicting himself as a sensitive and concerned leader.

In their campaigns, the candidates broadly employed manipulative methods and technologies: the “transfer” method, the usage of “generalizations”, the creation of myths, the “average Joe game”, reliance on sociological research, the creation of newsworthy events, advertising, etc. Meetings with voters and journalists, televised debates, and discussion of issues relevant to voters made it possible to strengthen the

ideological component of the images of the leaders, forcing citizens to join the electoral process and energizing civic mindedness.

The candidates actively involved the Internet technologies and mobile technologies that had proven themselves in the previous election: mailing of informative SMS, communication through social networks, public relations through election websites, placement of addresses, photo reports, videos on the Internet, agitation of volunteers and a whip-round via the Internet. During the election campaign, the campaign “atmosphere” of a national event was created by means of the distribution and sale of souvenirs bearing election attributes.

The campaigns of the candidates in this election, as well as the previous, set fundraising records that demonstrated the high level of public support for the leaders by various segments of the population.

As a result of all campaign actions, the image of the sitting president formed at the national level: “missionary-leader” and “leader-rescuer” ultimately proved more successful. Voters agreed to give him a second chance to do everything he hadn’t had time to implement during his first term in office.

CONCLUSION

The image of the modern political leader, defined by democratic rules of the distribution of power in society and nuances of the modern information space, features a manipulative aspect that defines its essence – distortion of a specific area of reality in order to subliminally activate specific emotions of the individual, inducing him to take the actions planned by the manipulator.

In addition, manipulative technologies are practiced on a wide scale in creating the images of political leaders. The modern level of their development allows for the creation of inorganic images for political leaders. An image designed by manipulation to provoke human emotions has no less impact on citizens than one created with the help of rational technologies. The usage of manipulative technologies is especially effective in cases where the electorate is politically inexperienced, during periods of crisis, and in the absence of information about the leader. Rational technologies, providing complete and accurate information about political leaders, minimize the power of voter manipulation.

This study made it possible to identify the main steps involved in creating the images of American political leaders, establish the influence of specific historical conditions on this process and its technological features, define the specific traits embedded in the images of candidates, and identify the similarities and differences among the image-making efforts of specific political figures.

On the basis of a comparative analysis of the formation of the images of political leaders, the author identified the common regularities of this process in the USA. They can be classified as follows.

1. A determining factor in creation of the images of U.S. presidential candidates was the social-historical conditions in which the political leaders acted, reflecting social expectations. These conditions were then used to formulate the strategy and tactics for formation of the image and define its main characteristics, as well as the theme of the ideological component. Images distorting the specific historical situation had fewer chances of success.

2. Various manipulative image technologies were involved in creation of the images of U.S. political leaders. They were an effective way of “strengthening” the image, attributing brightness to it. Thus, the popular technologies among candidates are: “image legend”, reliance on sociological research, myth creation, the creation of newsworthy events, advertising films and videos, public relations, utilization of the patterns of social perception, usage of verbal and linguistic methods, forecasting the results of voting, mudslinging. Effective new technologies of election campaigns include the Internet and mobile technologies.

3. Formation of the images of U.S. political leaders at the initial stages and during their execution of presidential powers was based on the results of public opinion research. With its help, the images of political leaders reflected the public mood, touched on long-standing issues, and evoked the possibility of their solution, as actualized in the public consciousness.

4. In creating the images of the political leaders under consideration, “image legend” technology was applied, which sets the “framework” for the creation of bright and attractive images, and also by means of which they were embedded with important qualities for political leaders – closeness to everyday people, simplicity, accessibility. At the heart of the autobiographies of all candidates were touching narratives that served to “disarm” the reader and make him fond of the candidate as someone “relatable”. Such narratives were designed to include an emotional background for the noncritical acceptance of further information and substitution of logical interpretation by emotion.

5. During formation of the images of the researched political leaders, specially-created myths were operated. B. Clinton had myths about the “future and past of the country”, and about the “high-moral leader”. George W. Bush had myths about an “era of new prosperity” and “happiness for all”, as well as those about the “terrible enemy” and “hero savior”. Barack Obama has a myth about “the fantastic changes in store for America during his governance” and the “source of all troubles – George W. Bush”. The traditional myth about the “mission of the USA in the world” was also involved in creation of the images of presidents.

6. In the case of the low approval of the performance of the previous leader, use of contextual characteristics in creating the images of candidates in campaign periods has been particularly effective. Thus, B. Clinton and Barack Obama's presidential election campaigns were based on the strategy of associating the leader and his main rival with the "future" and "past", respectively. The main steps involved in creating the image were put to this test. In order to strengthen the effect of the present technology, the candidate and his team create the myth that all existing problems of the society and state are associated with the competing party, against which the leaders appear as the "shining future" and "means for the solution of all problems".

7. The discrediting of competitors helped cast the leaders in a favorable light. The exposure of others' mistakes and shortcomings positioned leaders as intelligent and competent, earning them "points".

8. Extreme situations threatening the life and limb of citizens and causing fear were a favorable background, under their correct usage, for the formation of bright and attractive images. With their help, leaders appeared to voters in the new images of "hero-liberators" and "hero-rescuers", which had the greatest popularity.

9. Together with the usage of manipulations of popular consciousness, technologies appealing to the mind of citizens are also widely involved in creation of the images of American political leaders, which rationalizes the choice of the voter as much as possible. It should be noted that rational technologies aren't an obligatory attribute of election campaigns, as the practice of a number of countries would attest. As a result of their usage, the image of the U.S. political leader most closely approximates its prototype. The effectiveness of the usage of rational technologies in the USA is predicated on the following factors: the existing system for holding election campaigns, the presence of real competing forces in the political arena, independent mass media, broad experience of electoral participation, literacy of voters, high level of political consciousness, level of development of the political culture of citizens ready to engage in the political process.

10. In formation of the images of U.S. political leaders during the election period, an important place is occupied by technology – televised debates, to which citizens pay special attention. The candidate is exposed to a careful “competency” test: his leadership and personal skills come to light, knowledge and erudition are checked, and ideological positions become clear.

11. The central place in the image construction of U.S. political leaders during the election period was occupied by the creation of an ideological component based on the specifics of the electoral political culture of Americans, for whom the ideological platform of the candidate plays a crucial role. The political platform is important to American voters, as in practice, they value the image of the party, just as it’s important to the leaders themselves, insofar as the candidates seek to keep election promises and the program serves as a real action plan. Prior to the campaign, the researched political leaders each had an explicated program of social, economic, and political development for the country offering voters a system of transformation in the various spheres of society and state.

12. A prominent place in the election programs of future American presidents was occupied by the national economy and international issues.

13. An important role in formation of the images of U.S. political leaders was played by party identification. This, on the one hand, delivered to the winning candidates the votes of the strong supporters of their parties, and on the other – set the direction for the formation of their images, which was especially reflected in the ideological component.

14. An important condition of the formation of an effective image of the U.S. political leader was the activity of politicians, by means of which the images were assigned a number of qualities important to recognition of the political leader by society. Candidates showed oratorical abilities, the ability to communicate with the audience, answer questions, competent speech and speed of reaction, firm grasp of domestic and foreign policy issues, existence of an ideological platform. The entire “arsenal” of image technologies appealing to the activity of politicians was involved:

personal meetings, televised debates, campaign trips at home and abroad, public appearances in the mass media.

15. Before the presidential election, the political leaders under consideration widely used the technology of stumping on the campaign trail. In doing so, the leaders “became” more average and close to the citizens, showed concern for the people, demonstrated knowledge of the problems faced by Americans. The personal acquaintance of the leader with voters encouraged his support.

16. Great value during the image formation of American presidents was attached to such qualities as “sociability” and availability to citizens, creating the image of “one of the boys” who is close to the people and understands their problems. These qualities were amplified during the election period. A special place in the images of political leaders is occupied by “patriotism”.

17. The images of U.S. political leaders correspond to the democratic type – “servant of the people”, which is explained by the civic political culture of Americans. In the USA, the people’s representative must depict himself as a real citizen and guardian of law and order, show a readiness to serve society.

18. The images of the researched politicians were formed not only on the national stage but the international stage as well, caused by the dominant geopolitical position of the USA. One of the central elements of the images of the American presidents as international leaders was the chosen mission – the spread of freedom and democracy around the world, conducive to justifying their military intervention in the internal affairs of other states to the American public.

19. During the discharge of presidential duties by political leaders, the top spot in terms of their perception by citizens is filled by image characteristic – the efficiency and performance of the leader. The attitude of the population towards sitting presidents is proportional to the situation in the country. At the same time, a considerable role is played by way of giving citizens information about current affairs, which “becomes much better” with the right coverage of events.

20. Analysis of the images of political leaders in crisis situations showed that an image based on manipulative technologies or exhibiting weaknesses can be easily

destroyed. On the contrary, a complete and multifaceted image, based on rational technologies and attuned to the essence of the political leader, grows stronger in crisis situations, proving its relation to reality.

The analysis of the images of U.S. political leaders and means of their formation show that the choice of the American voters has a high level of rationality. Arguing in favor of this is the value the American electorate places in the ideological component of the image of the political leader, as well as its interest in rational political technologies. Their electoral decision is sound and balanced, which works for the democratic system of the state. U.S. citizens have a high level of political consciousness, prompting the broad usage of rational methods of influence during election campaigns.

In the USA, real competition in the political arena is provided by the presence of two strong political foes, represented by the Republican and Democratic Parties. The system of the distribution of power by means of elections has a competitive character, causing a breadth of opportunities for many persons possessing leadership potential – provided they belong to one of the traditional parties. This creates opportunities for the development of new leaders.

Elections in the USA are a real expression of the people's will, on the one hand, while working to familiarize citizens with the political life of the country and enhance their political socialization on the other. The campaign system of the USA promotes the development of the political culture of its citizens. The election of the nation's president, widely involving its citizens in the campaign process, becomes a national event. The election campaign, as a result, is not the competition of domain-specific interests, but a fight among public interests. Electoral outcome is predetermined by the arrangement of the country's social forces (specific weight of classes, layers). The U.S. election campaign system makes it possible to choose worthy political leaders while protecting and promoting the interests of the voters.

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APPENDIX

Diagram 1. Review the 1992 race*

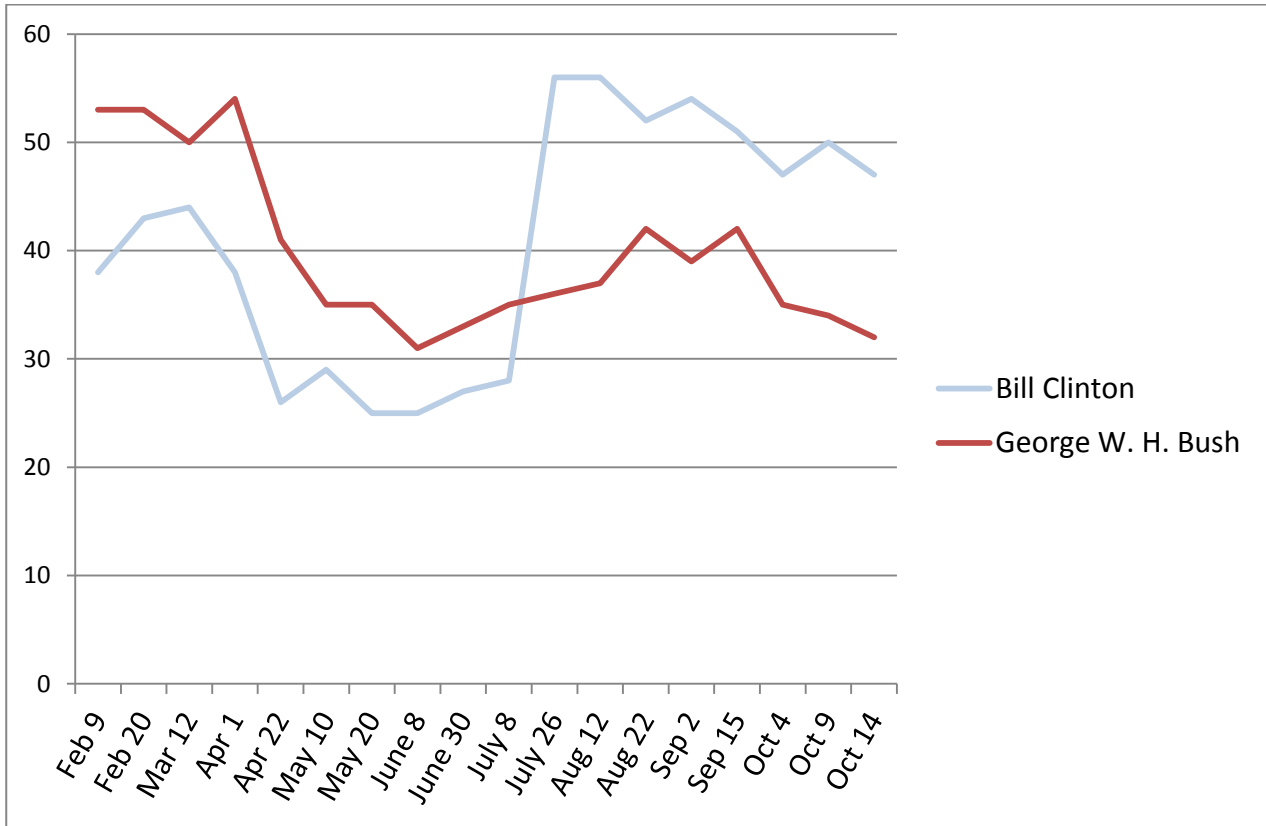


Diagram 2. Review the 1996 race*

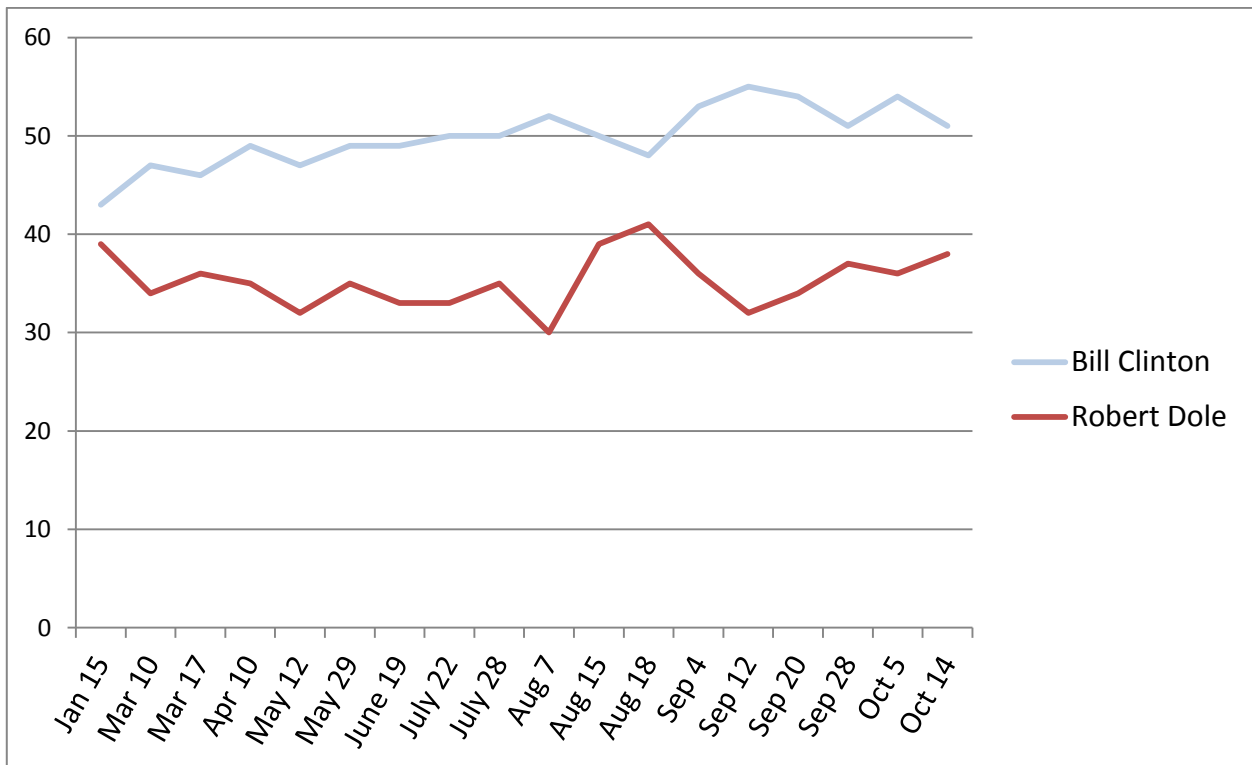


Diagram 3. Review the 2000 race*

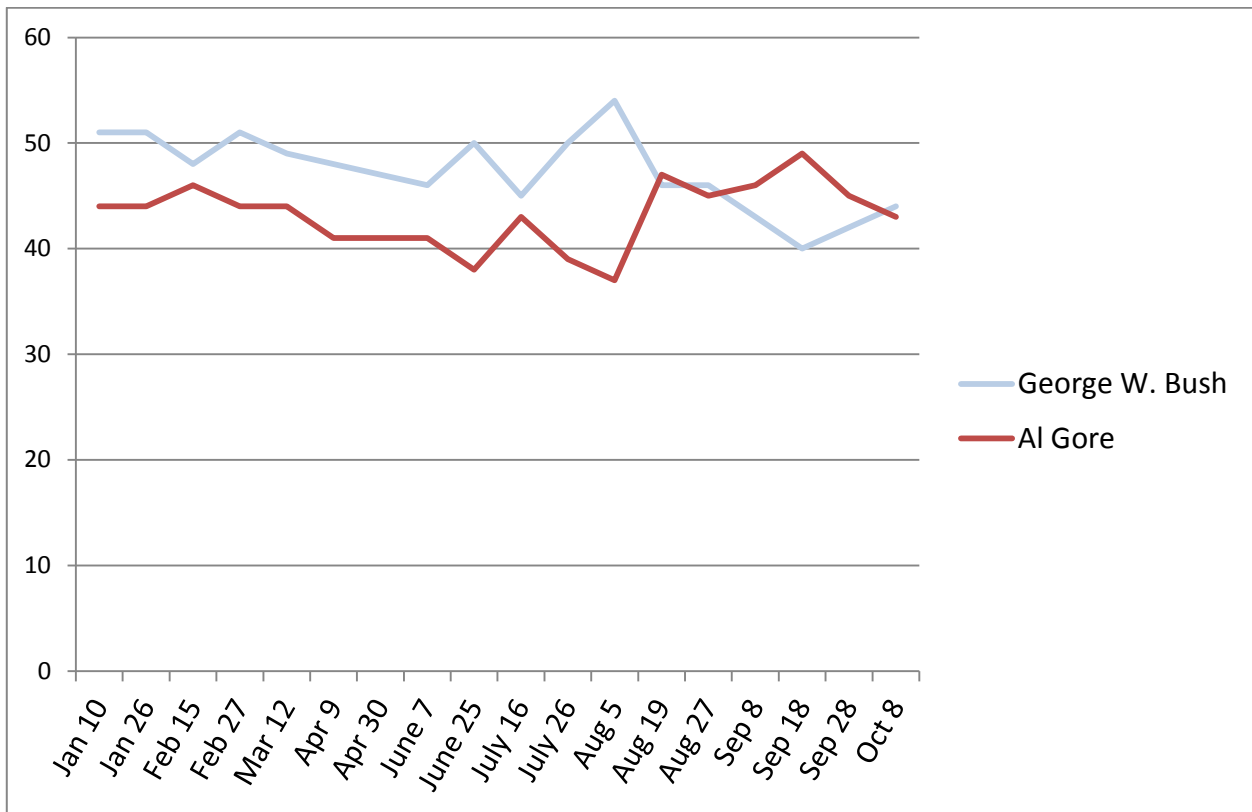


Diagram 4. Review the 2004 race*

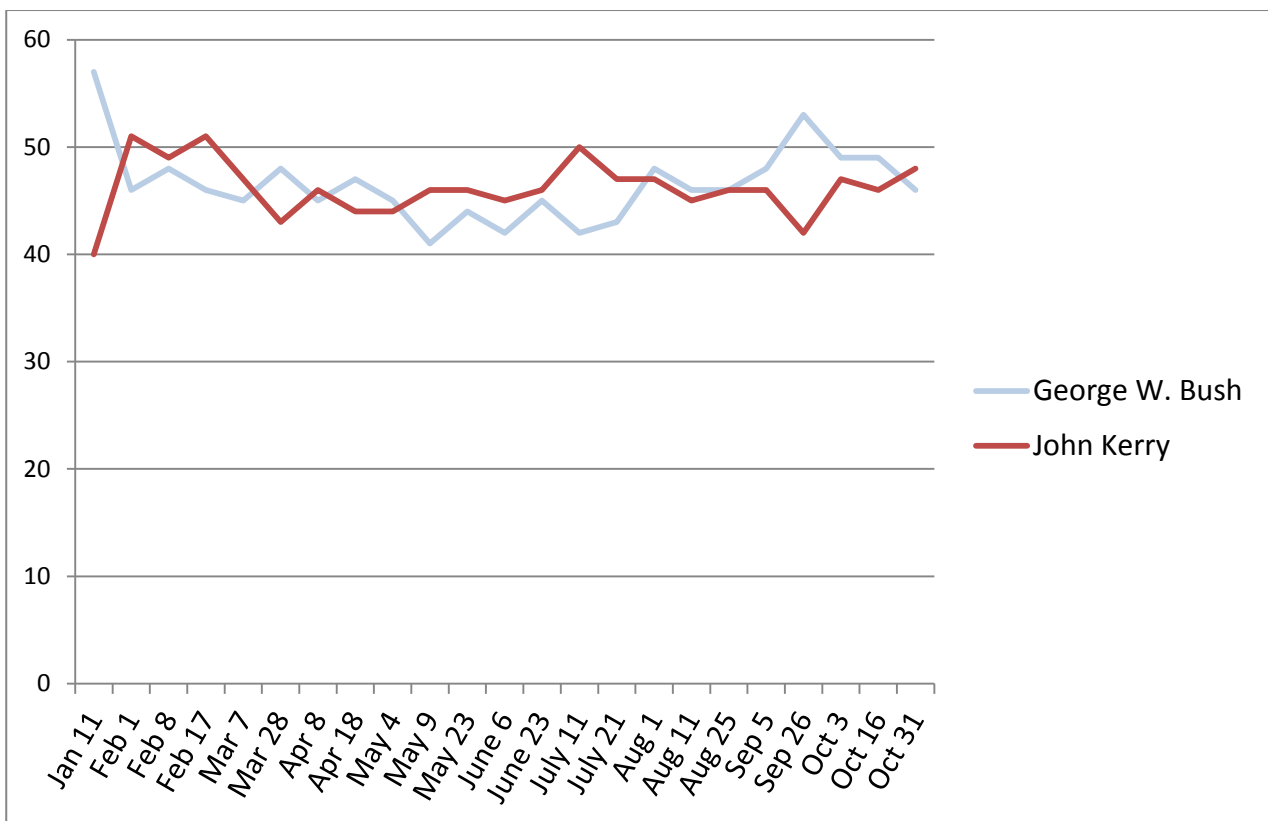


Diagram 5. Review the 2008 race*

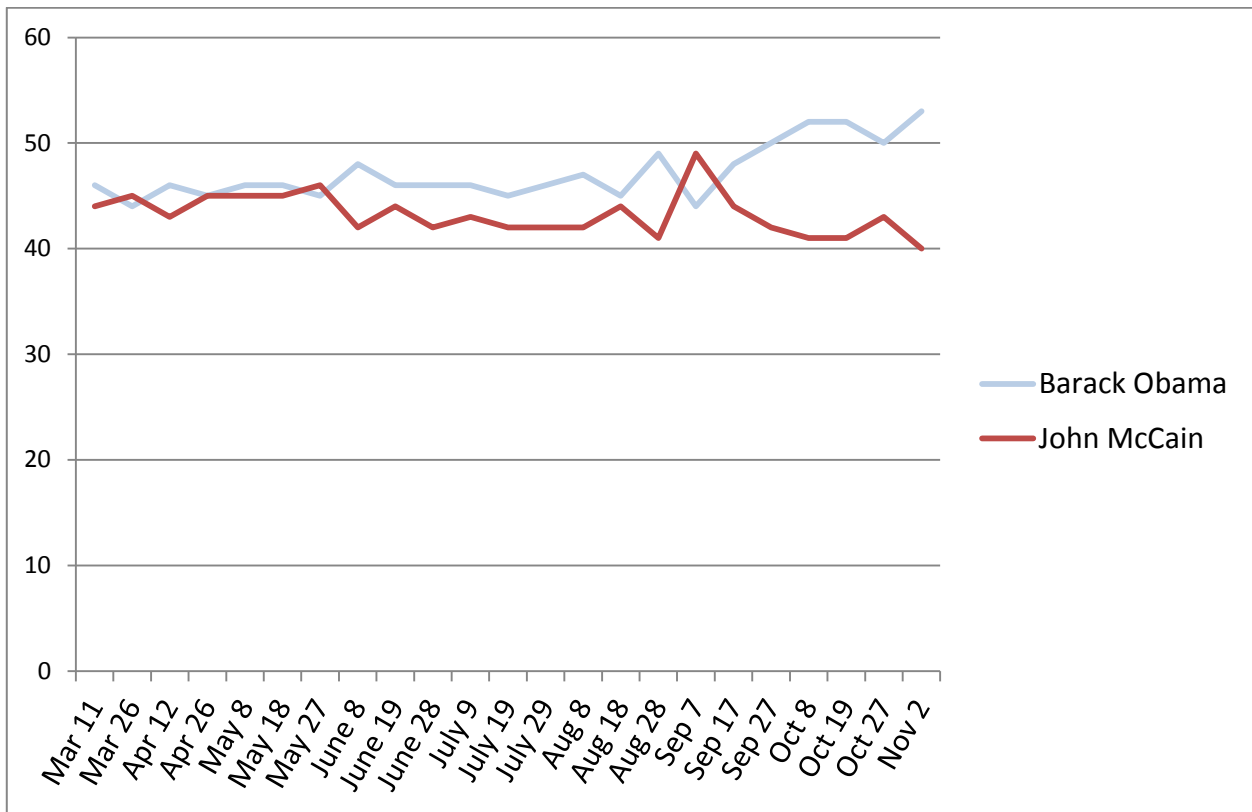


Diagram 6. Review the 2012 race*

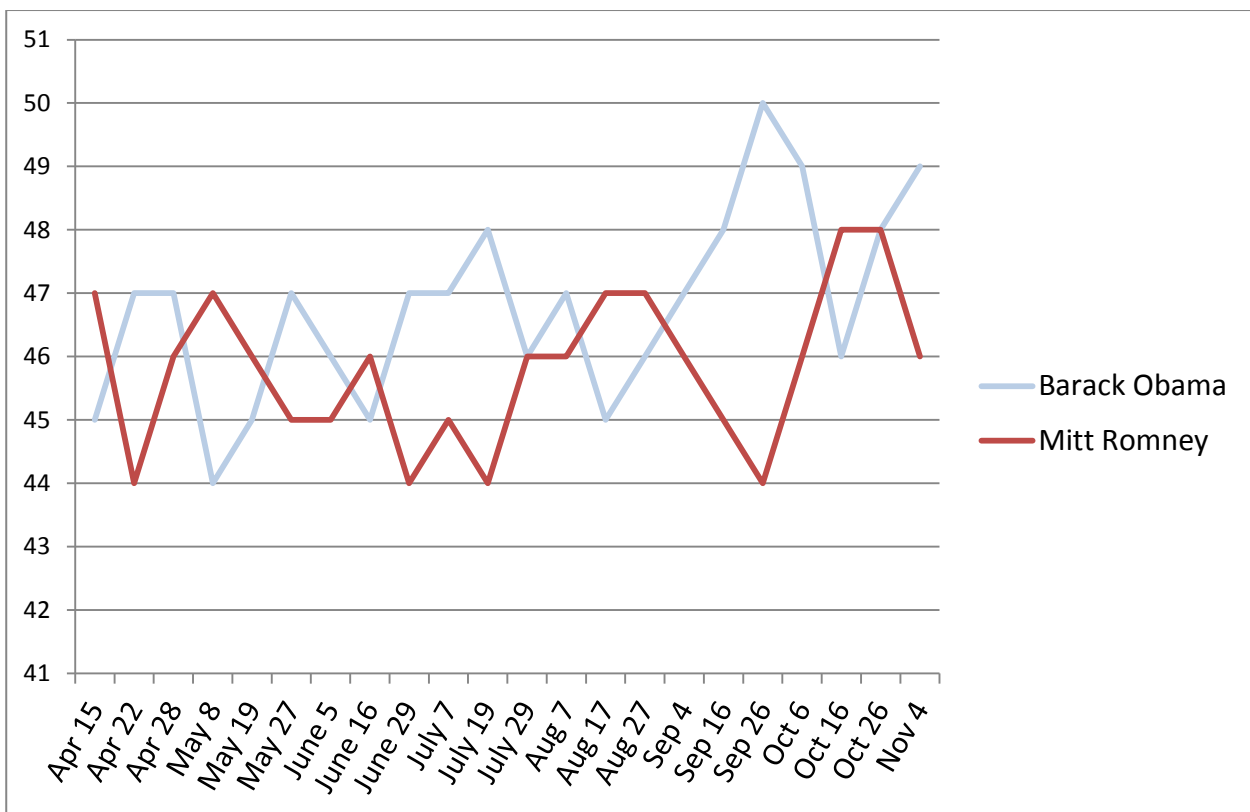


Diagram 7. Bill Clinton's job approval rating**

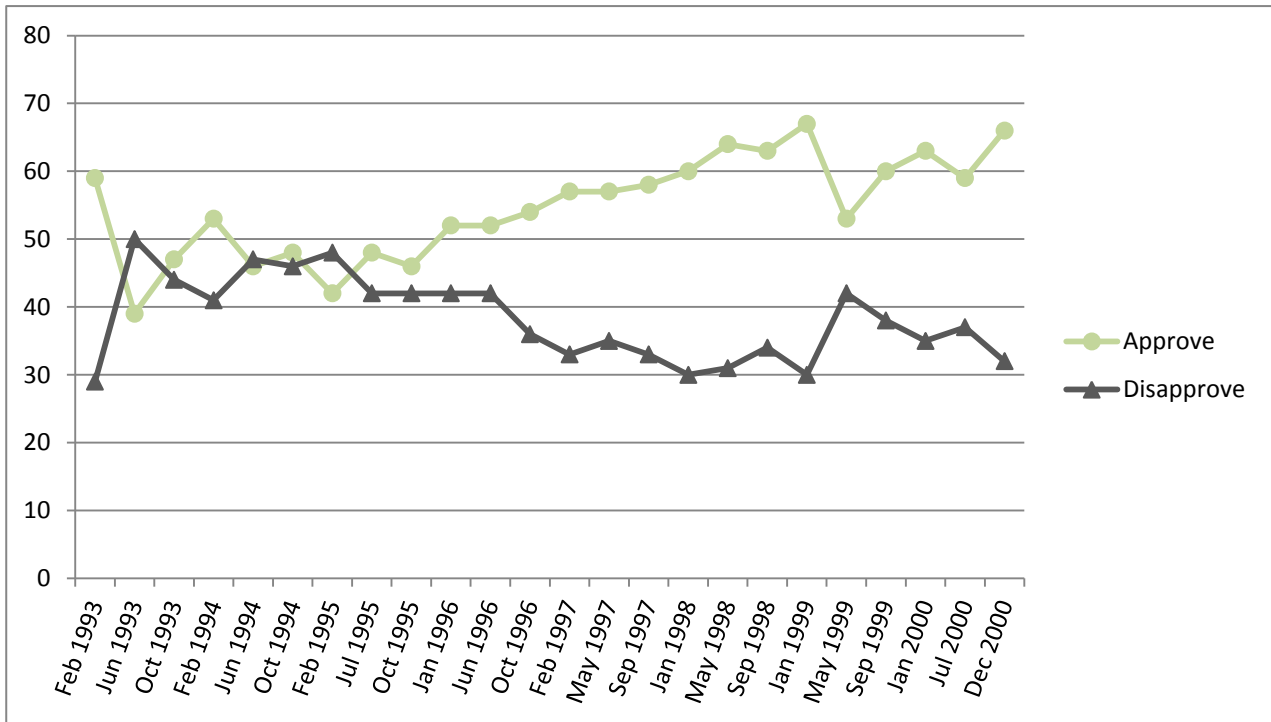


Diagram 8. Approval rating of Bill Clinton among party-affiliated voters and independents**

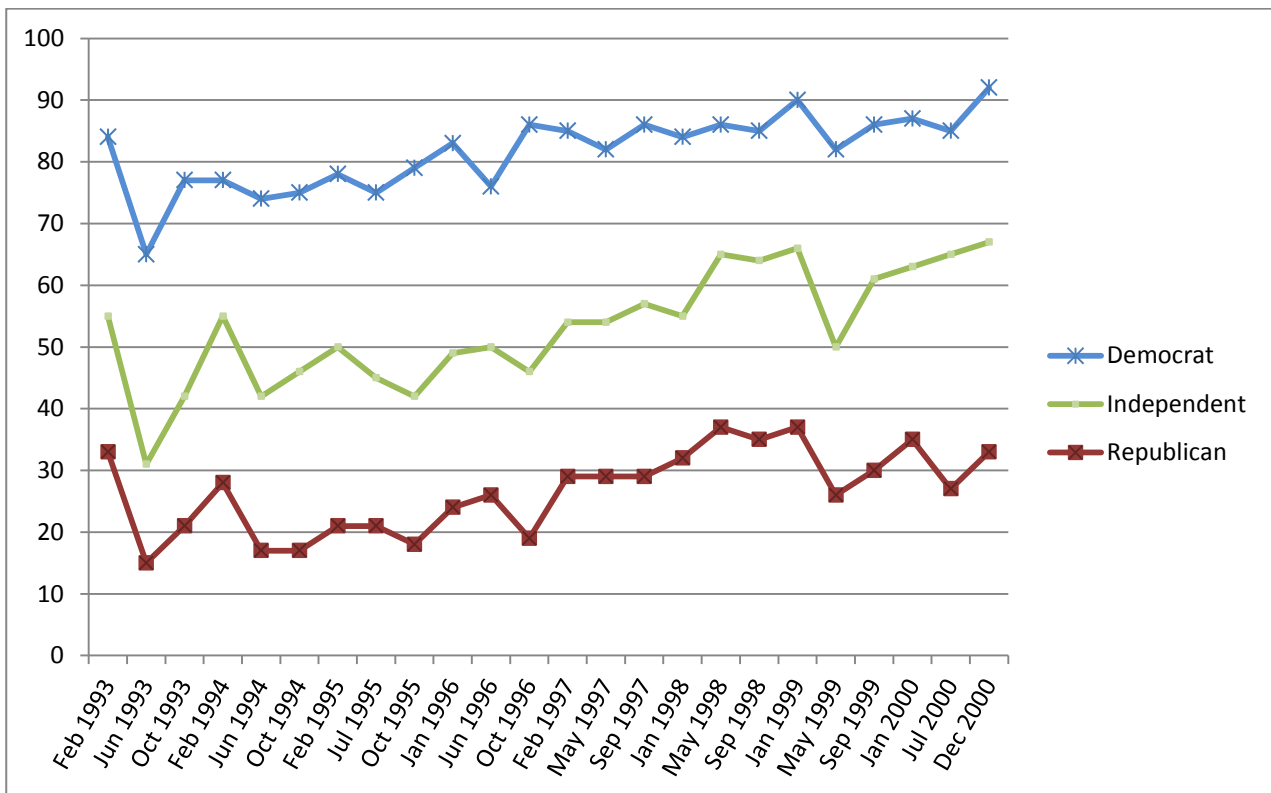


Diagram 9. George W. Bush's job approval rating**

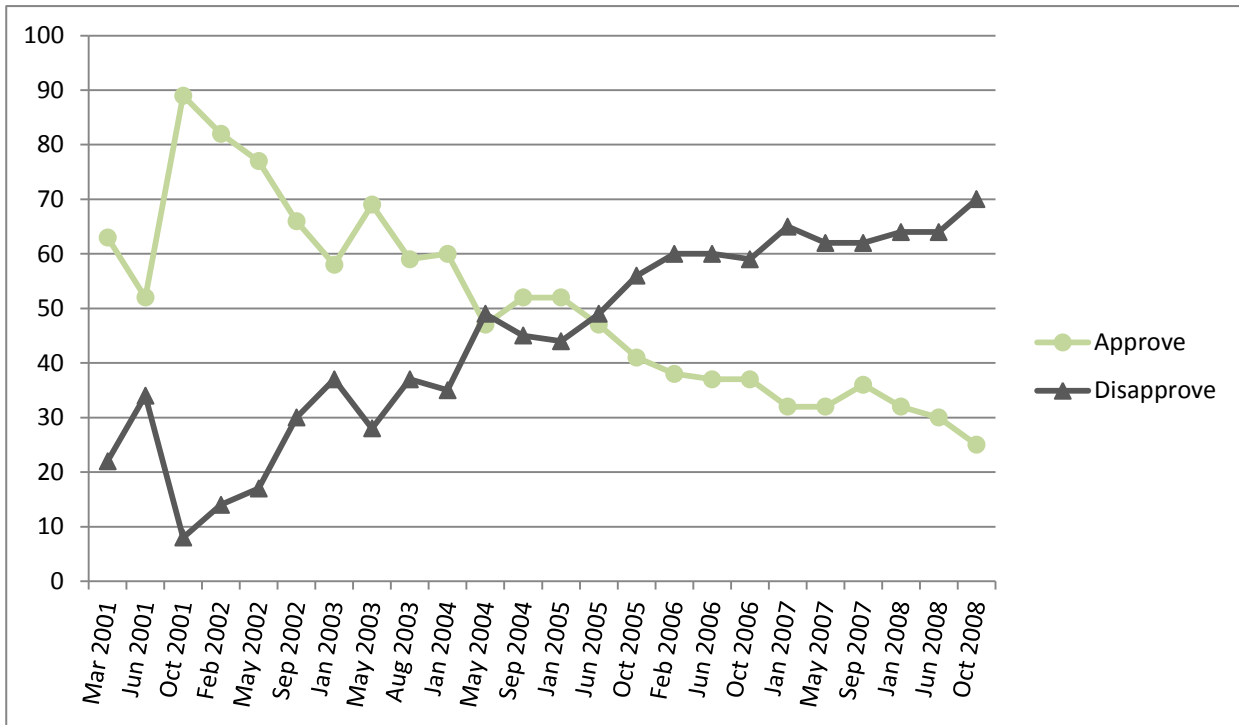


Diagram 10. Approval rating of George W. Bush among party-affiliated voters and independents**

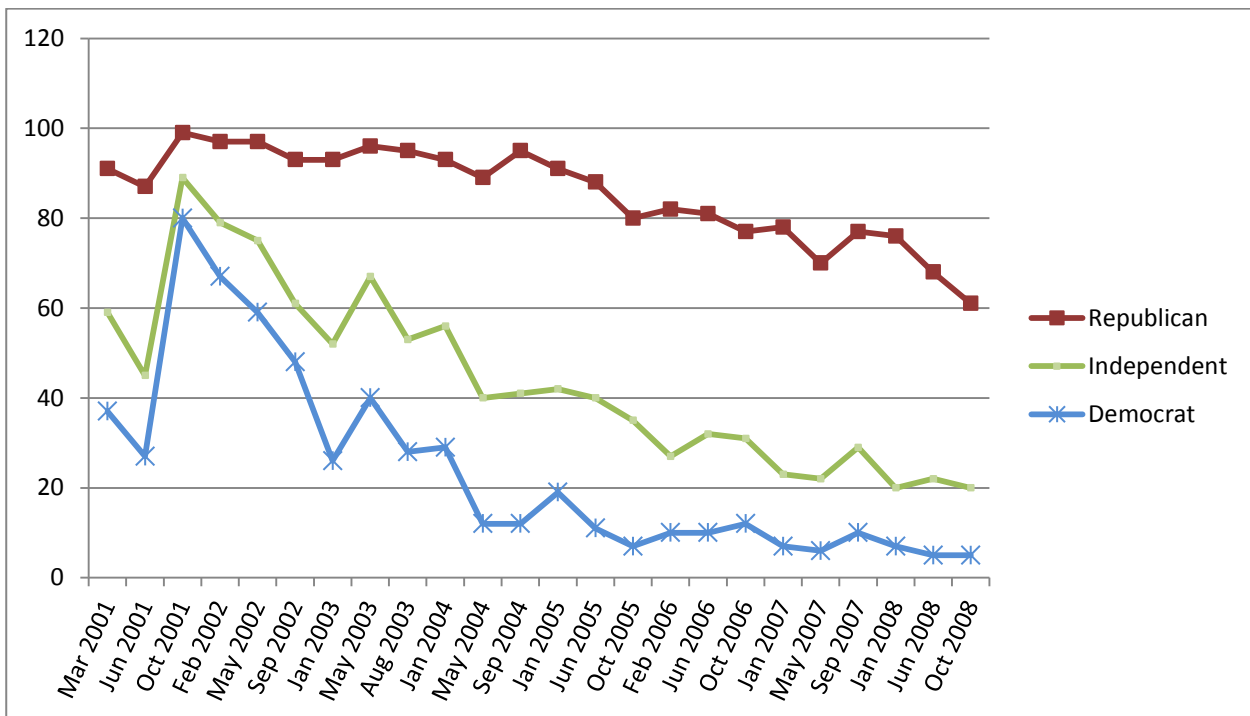


Diagram 11. Barack Obama's job approval rating**

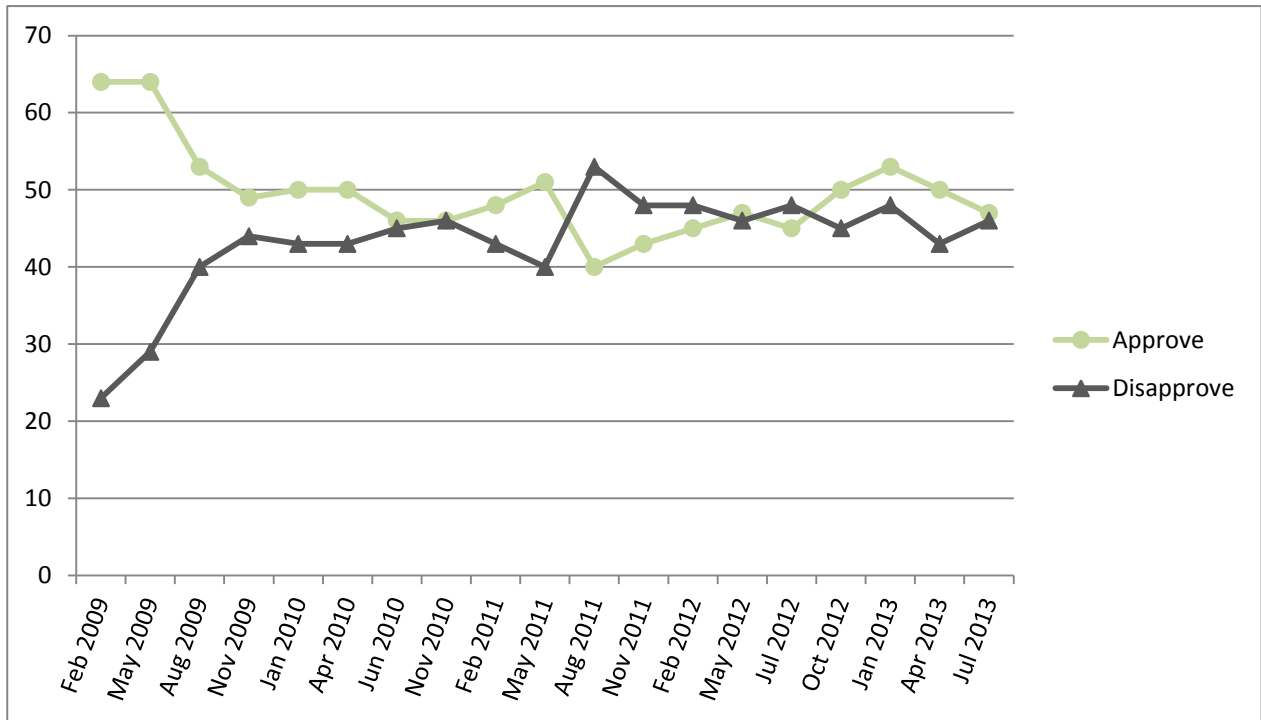
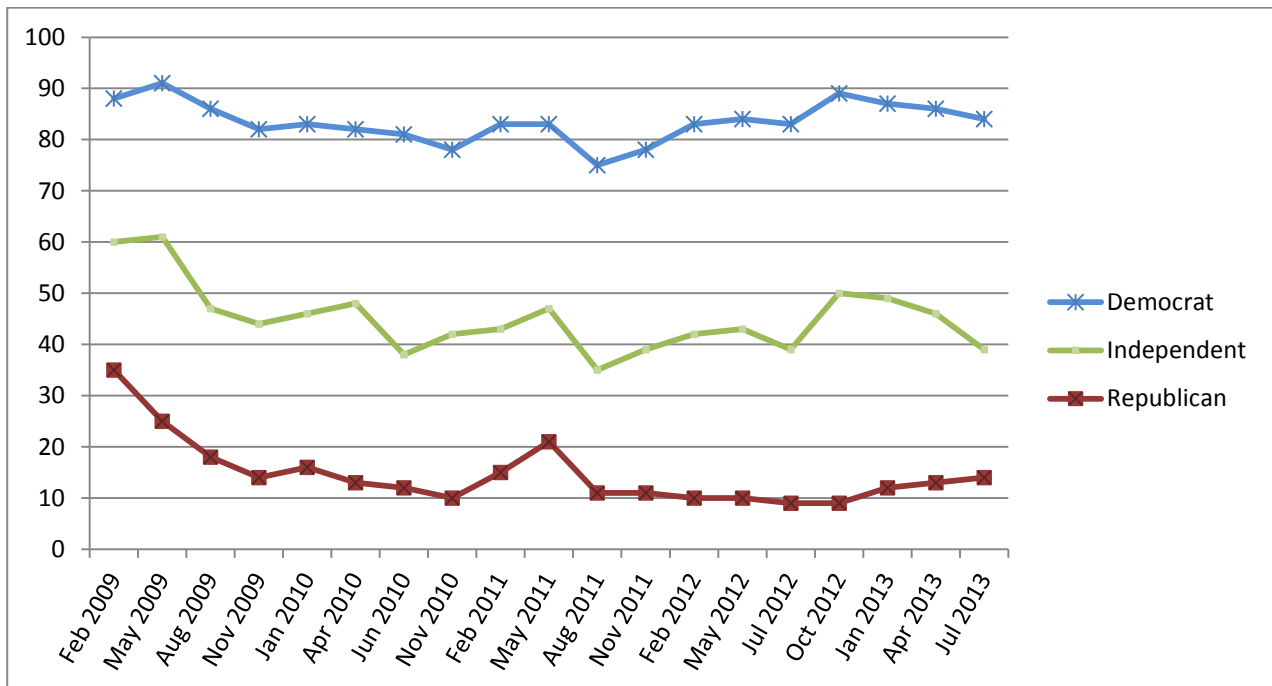


Diagram 12. Approval rating of Barack Obama among party-affiliated voters and independents**



* The diagrams are based on data from the Gallup polls. <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/154559/US-Presidential-Election-Center.aspx?ref=interactive>>.

** The diagrams are based on data from the Gallup polls. <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/124922/Presidential-Approval-Center.aspx?ref=interactive>>.

I. External characteristics of physical object	Craniofacial signs, figure, age, clothes and accessories, body language and pantomimes, gestures and gesticulation, speech (articulation, voice tone, speed and features of speech).
II. Personal image characteristics	
II.I. The traits of a political leader's character, necessary for presentation to people and also which are necessary for the leader for the "conquest" of the people.	
- Individual	An exceptional nature, eccentricity, exclusivity
- Social	Accessibility for the people, care, kindness, sensitive, an aspiration to help people, knowledge of social problems, ability to listen to others
- Moral	Sincerity, honesty, decency, generosity, altruism, responsibility, reliability, call of duty, patriotism, correct attitude towards people
- Power	Enthusiasm, optimism, vigor, dynamism, activity, health
- Volitional powers	Willpower, strong personality, determination, courage, confidence in himself and in his actions, in his forces, the will to win
- Affective	Ability to influence people, charm, charisma, magnetism, brightness, ability to convince, telegenic
- Intellectual	Erudition, intelligence, common sense, ability to think logically, reason, sense of humor

- Communicative	Oratorical abilities, existence in speech of specific turns of phrase
- Professional	Experience, competence, professional knowledge ,and success in previous occupation, an ability to create and line-up the team behind him
II.II. Personal image characteristics, which haven't been based directly on a political leader's character traits	
- World outlook characteristics	System of ideas and values, commitment to any ideology, program
- Mythological characteristics	Set of traits corresponding to a specific social archetype, vision of the leader based on the myth; here it is also possible to refer to luck, luckiness
- Context characteristics	Qualities of the political leader, which are marked out against other people: previous leader, his opponents, his team
- Status characteristics	Leader's biography and origins, social and marital status, hobbies, relationship with people or individuals, identification of the leader
- Efficiency of the leader	Contact with the situation in the country or the region, according to position held
- Geopolitical characteristics	Role of the political leader on the international stage
- Disadvantages of the leader	May be of any character, but for the image's efficiency must correspond in general to society's culture

Factors affecting image creation

Diagram 13

