

ПОЛІТИЧНА КУЛЬТУРА ТА ІДЕОЛОГІЯ

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IMAGE MAKING AS A POLITICAL TECHNOLOGY: SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE POLITICIANS' LONG-TERM AND SHORT-TERM IMAGE BUILDING

The present article analyzes the modern understanding of content of image-making as a political technology based on foreign and Ukrainian researchers' studies. The authors focus on the special features of creating a politician's long-term and short-term image. The main focuses and distinctions of various image-making techniques are determined. It is established that the short-term image-making prevails in the Ukrainian image-making practices. It is noted that the analysis of this problem is built mainly on interdisciplinary and communicative approaches, as well as on the use of comparative and systematic methods.

The twentieth century has changed the view of how an image of a politician should be built. Back in the first half of the twentieth century, advertising became a successful business and became a highly sophisticated tool for manipulation of the consumer's mind. Such manipulations have quickly found their way from marketing sphere to political and interpersonal relations. With time, manipulative strategies became more widespread, and an individual was perceived less as a personality and became more of a "statistical unit" or an "abstract consumer of goods and services", who is to be involved in the advertising and political gaming.

The image is based on a formal system of roles that a person plays in his life, complemented by features, character traits, appearance, clothing. The image is formed both on the basis of real behavior of the individual, and under the influence of estimations and opinions of other people. The image can be classified according to the mechanism of formation and distribution: formed artificially and that arose in the mass consciousness spontaneously. It is worth noting that today there are few politicians who do not turn to professionals and do not control the impact of their image on the audience. In politics, image determines victory in elections. Political image is always formed, changed, improved and adjusted to meet the demands of society.

In this view, the image-making as a political technology is becoming more important each year, especially in the Ukraine's political practices.

Keywords: image making, image, political technology, identity, media

Introduction. In the Ukrainian political literature, the concept of "political image" became widely used in connection with the development of democratic political institutions, intensification of political participation of citizens and with the entry of public politicians into the arena. First of all, its emergence is associated with the transition from an authoritarian-totalitarian system to a democratic, law-based, social state, which predetermines the need for an appropriate political culture, the formation of new ideas and concepts in the minds of the voters adequate to the changes that were taking place. At the same time, the development of Ukrainian imageology was also influenced by the establishment of a multi-party system, and hence the emergence of new players in the political arena, as well as a significant number of new mass media and their increasing commercialization.

Materials and Methods. The main purpose of the authors of the present article is to study the image making as a political technology, focusing on the research of technologies for creating long-term and short-

term images of politicians. Another purpose is to analyze the impact of the politicians' biography and electoral program on the formation of their image.

Recent research analysis. Ukrainian and foreign researchers have made an important contribution to the development of the theoretical foundations of the problem and the analysis of practical experience of image making as a political technology. These well-known experts include D. V. Olshansky, M. M. Shashlov, M. M. Koshelyuk, A. M. Vihrov, V. M. Shepel, V. M. Lyaporov, P. V. Povetyev, O. F. Potemkina, G. G. Pocheptsov, O. F. Rusakova, D. A. Maksimov, L. G. Lapteva, O. A. Petrova, whose works focus on various aspects, from the analysis of meaning and essence of the concept to specific techniques, tools and special aspects in the development of programs and building the image of politicians at various levels.

Results. The concept of image usually refers to a specific person, but can extend to a group of people, an organization, or a product. It is formed both on the basis of a person's actual behavior and under the influence of other people's evaluations. "Political image" is considered by Russian scholars to be "a set of ideas, perceptions, and beliefs that an individual or group of individuals has about certain political phenomena or goods." [8, p.84].

According to V.P. Gorbatenko, this concept is most successfully disclosed in the political science dictionary: "Political image is a particular idea of the population about the perfect embodiment of a particular social role. A politician's image includes the following features: personal qualities, organizational, managerial abilities (competence, ability to debate, participation in decision-making processes); characteristics that bring the leader closer to the voters (ordinary background, simplicity)"[2, p.228].

It is clear that a political image is perceived as a purposefully created identity of a politician, designed to emotionally and psychologically influence a certain social community to promote the leaders and to position them in the electoral field [5, p.156]. It is not just an identity in the human mind as a reflection of reality, but a specially modeled reflection of it, created by professional image-makers and based on a certain reality [4, p.62]. The modern concept of how a political image is built was clearly defined during R. Nixon's presidential election campaign: "... These tend to be more a gut reaction, unarticulated, non-analytical, a product of the particular chemistry between the voter and the image of the candidate." [9, p.164]. V. M. Shepel, for example, relates the image to the visual attractiveness of an individual and states that "those who were born visually attractive are lucky. However, as a rule, many people gain public acknowledgement thanks to the art of self-presentation. Without it, you can neither achieve great success in any activity nor experience the joy of being in the spotlight". The Russian researcher begins his book with the following words: "As long as your heart beats, you must use every chance to be well-liked. Each of us lives on the recognition by other people" [10, p.342].

Some politicians say that they do not build their image, and, in general, they do not care about it. But it's the same as sooner or later we find out that we speak in prose. Whether you care about your image or not it is there; but what is the quality of it? In the fair opinion of A.F. Potemkina, a public politician should not just be liked by many, he should be liked by the majority. If a politician wants to have a winner's image, he will find what he needs, given the will. Then a need arises for the knowledge about the image and its main components, for an ability to brighten up the image if it fades over time, to reassure and convince others that you are a modern and promising politician who can defend the voters' interests. And then, they will vote for you [6, p.35].

E.V. Koroleva draws attention to the fact that it is negative information that is essential for the feedback to be successful. The politician's image is built dynamically, with a special role being also played by the opponents. The purpose here becomes to protect the significance of the information provided by the opponent. Image structures underlie the perception of the country's political structure, since the concepts of "democracy," "capitalism," and "communism" are essentially based on image [3, p.14].

In the authors' opinion, the building of a politician's image should be viewed through the short-term or long-term image strategy. Analyzing the technological aspect, we should note that it is better for politicians to create a long-term image for political longevity. Based on our own experience, we can say that the most important principle in creating a long-term image is regular work with the subject (politician, organization, event, etc.). Electoral campaign should not be the only thing to stick to. All actions of the politician and the team must be repeated persistently, creating a closed circle. The image of the politician must be constantly correlated with the results of sociological surveys, the dynamics of events taking place in the world, etc.

The main task of an image-maker or a political consultant is to individualize the "product" to the greatest extent possible. The subject needs to be recognizable and undoubtedly distinguishable from the others. For example, Viktor Yushchenko's orange ribbon or Yulia Tymoshenko's braid and white outfit. For his part,

Viktor Yanukovych was remembered for breaking his pen during a meeting. Right or wrong, it was undoubtedly a spectacular move. Behavior should be the continuation of leader's symbolic type. This is already the symbolism of behavior. It is easier for us to decode a person with the expected behavior. So, we can see that both the type of politician and the type (model) of their behavior become individualized. However, this individualization is typical. It is in any case a fitting into some symbolic model.

Individualization is followed by *accentuation*. An image maker needs to add certain features to the subject's image, when certain potential qualities begin to become exaggerated, overshadowing others. Among the main qualities of a person that an image-maker should emphasize, professionalism comes first. Eleri Sampson (an image researcher from UK) decomposes professionalism into five components: competence, confidence, trust, consistency, and control.

Control means, first of all, control over one's own emotions (A. Lyashko, M. Poturaev, and I. Kiva are not good enough in this regard). It is also the ability to control others, to control the execution of projects. As for consistency, Sampson states that the image must be implemented constantly to be effective, and your image affects not only yourself but also everyone you meet on a daily basis. Confidence is expressed even in appearance, its individual elements: a person stands straight, breathes easily, is not afraid to make eye contact. The person feels well-prepared and well-informed (this is where the team should step in to help).

As for competence, both politicians and businessmen must have a clear understanding of what makes them outperform their opponents. The standard phrase that is often used to try to lower this level of competence is "Everyone could do it!" That is why a candidate should be prepared for such attacks.

The next step after the individualization and accentuation is the *promotion*. As in advertising, it is necessary to conduct campaigns so that people not only learn about the "product", but also understand all of its features and benefits.

Election time is a period of active efforts, but it essentially only completes a certain image building stage. Similarly, a smear campaign organized by opponents is developing, although in a less clear-cut form. The opposition is always in a more advantageous situation, because it is easier to criticize than to do something; moreover, when criticizing they make full use of the showiness effect. If one side needs to accentuate the success, the other side needs to discredit the same. Such an approach has been called a discrediting campaign, when the attackers are not too nice about the means to achieve their goal. For example, during the U.S. campaign, the "negative vibes" take up to 50% of television air time.

So how does the "quick" image technology work? It is known that in modern politics there is still a demand for immediate results, because customers are not always willing to wait years until the necessary basis of a positive image – the reputation – is formed. Numerous technologies exist to accelerate the image-building, but in our opinion, the main one is the so-called 'performance'. G. Pocheptsov notes: "Performances become a central form both in times of social crises and of dramatic change. In both cases, 'performance' allows for a unified interpretation of reality. For this very reason, the Soviet Union, especially Ukraine, included a large number of writers, journalists, and other wordsmiths among their first people's deputies. And the point here is not even a new appointment, but the fact that the verbal means become the main production tools during such periods, and literary artists are capable of adapting more easily in this respect than others. They always go ahead of reality, only modeling it within the framework of a symbolic reality. They live on the rhetoric of future victories, so they never experience the bitterness of defeat." [7, p.216] However, the authors believe that 'performance' itself is a necessary but insufficient basis to build a winning image on. A particular event (or more often a quasi-event) must necessarily be complemented by other components, one of them being an image story.

An *image story* is a necessary information basis for image-making. Technologically, it is the history of the politician's image, put into beautiful words and portraying the image the politician or candidate would like to present to the voters. In modern conditions, for example, the image story for an election campaign includes two main aspects: biography and a short but solid presentation of the electoral platform. However, ideally, it should be constructed as a summary of deeds committed by this person during her or his lifetime.

B. Amelin and S. Peshkov state that the result of efforts to popularize a candidate's image is a certain legend where truth and lies, actual achievements and voters' fantasies about the candidate are mixed up. A legend is such a mental construct that is capable of living on its own, without anyone's interference. Moreover, any explanations of it are often perceived in the exact opposite way [1, p.48].

The storytelling method also contributes to a favorable image of a political organization through its appeal to its glorious past. For example, the British moderate-right Conservative Party traces its history back to the late 1670s, when the English Tories appeared. The Democratic Party of the United States refers

to Presidents M. Buren, T. Jefferson, and E. Jackson as their founders. In this case, image-makers are assisted by political branding [11].

A *politician's biography* is important for any image. In modern politics, the sameness and the large number of clichés in the biographies of candidates for elected office are striking. "Born ... Baptized ... Graduated... Had a long trudge to the top... Married, has children." This is rather a note from the HR department than a political biography. All this is usually replicated along with poorly printed photos. The authors believe that a great political biography should be the candidate's first-person narrative written as emotionally as possible. For instance, the Bill Clinton's biography for his presidential campaign begins with: "I was born in a small town called Hope three months after my father had died". One seemingly unpretentious phrase immediately builds a large associative chain. Let us remember V. Putin, who stresses more and more often in his public speeches that he began living in government residences not long ago – "before that I lived in a municipal apartment for thirty years". Another example is the biography of U.S. President Jimmy Carter. During his campaign he shared, "I'm a farmer ... I don't have a lot of money ... I owe everything to the people." Although at that time his annual income was already 2,500,000 USD.

An important point of the image legend is considered the "social origin" of the politician. It is true that the focus here was changing historically. With the development of democracy, there was a transition from the demonstration of "clan" and "noble origin" to "simplicity" and "grassroots". One of the first to boast of his "simple" origins was A. Hitler. This helped, but it was not always enough. Then other elements of the biography appeared. For example, deprivation and suffering. Thus, the "Cinderella myth" was born. The main thing among past achievements is professional activity. Professional experience does not necessarily have to be related with public administration. It can be anything, but the most important thing is that it should be successful.

In addition to the professional dimension of image, voters are also interested in its human component. A candidate's human qualities are usually presented through a demonstration of family relationships. It is important for the voters to know who the candidate's parents were, how he or she was raised, what his/her spouse does, how many children the candidate has, and how he/she treats them.

A mandatory closing statement of a political profile is an explanation of how, why, and for what purpose a person became a politician. When explaining the motives for "climbing to power", a politician must find the right words so that voters would not suspect him of being a power addict.

Election platform. From our own experience, we would like to note that an election platform should include first of all a preamble – a short declarative statement like: "I stick to this and I cannot do otherwise". Then the politician's main ideas and initiatives are outlined. The program refers to well-founded proposals for improving the lives of voters and solving socially significant problems. The ratio of these two parts of the program may be different, but they are mandatory. The program should contain assessments of the current socio-political and life situation, but even more importantly it offers voters a life perspective. The program has to clearly show the direction in which society should develop, and it should be a clear and realistic path. The program gives hope to those who doubt and strengthens the spirit of those who have believed. It is almost a spiritual text designed to inspire people [1, p. 44].

It should be noted that it is not only the content of the program that is important, but also the form in which it is delivered to the audience. As a rule, the ways in which programs are resented to the public are mainly traditional. They are printed on postcards and disseminated through the media. Today, six basic "moves" for mass channels have already been developed: 1) Participation of a politician in analytical TV shows stating the "problem" and ways of solving it. 2) Short interviews for news programs on program topics. 3) Special press conferences in the same vein. 4) Having the celebrities comment on the politician's speeches. 5) Publication of specially prepared fundamental articles analyzing this politician's program. 6) Organization of "reviews" of newspaper publications and speeches, including debatable ones.

Conclusions. To summarize, a political image is a concept that has developed in the popular consciousness and has the character of a stereotype. Image is an emotionally colored impression of a politician. The purpose of the election campaign is to make the politician's image evoke a positive emotional attitude. The image is formed both spontaneously, i.e. unconsciously, and consciously, i.e. the peculiarities of the politician's perception by voters are carefully monitored, and each time a new strategy and techniques for building a favorable image are thought out.

A long-term image needs to be built continuously, not only during elections. In order to build such image, it is necessary to go through the following stages: individualization, accentuation, and promotion. Each stage is followed by long and painstaking work. To build a short-term image, a 'performance' or an image legend is used.

When compiling a politician's biography, facts about the leader's social background, professional activities, and the so-called human factor should be used. A political program should avoid scientific theorizing. It is more of a spiritual manifesto than a technical justification for a project.

In politics, the image is what decides who will win the elections. The methods used to build an image do not imply any changes in the "image bearers"; they only change our perception of them. In perceiving this image, we rely on the mass media, which we believe provide diverse, multifaceted, and targeted information on the subject. In doing so, we mistakenly believe that we draw our own conclusions and form "our own independent opinion" which we then trust.

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Мілова М. І., Трушевич Г. Б. Іміджмейкінг як політична технологія: особливості побудови довгострокових та короткострокових образів політиків

У статті проаналізовано сучасне розуміння змісту іміджмейкінгу як політичної технології в контексті досліджень зарубіжних та українських дослідників. Автори зосереджують увагу на особливостях побудови довготривалого та короткотривалого образу політика. Визначені основні акценти та відмінності різних технологічних прийомів щодо формування іміджу. З'ясовано, що в практичній частині українського іміджмейкінгу домінує практика короткострокового формування іміджу. Наголошено, що аналіз означеної проблеми побудовано в основному на міждисциплінарному та комунікативному підходах, а також на використанні принципів порівняльного і системного методів.

XX століття внесло свої корективи в уявлення про те, як повинен формуватися імідж політика. Ще в першій половині XX століття реклама стає успішним бізнесом і досягає

досконалості в маніпуляціях свідомістю споживача. Зі сфери ринкових відносин маніпуляції швидко проникають в сферу політичних і міжособистісних відносин. З плином часу частка маніпуляцій зростає, а індивід все менше сприймається як особистість і все більше перетворюється в «статистичну одиницю» або «абстрактного споживача ідей і товарів», який залучається до рекламних та політичних ігор.

В основі іміджу лежить формальна система ролей, які людина грає у своєму житті, доповнюється особливостями, рисами характеру, зовнішніми даними, одягом. Імідж формується як на основі реальної поведінки індивіда, так і під впливом оцінок і думок інших людей. Імідж можна класифікувати за механізмом формування і поширення: сформований штучно і що виник в масовій свідомості стихійно. Варто зазначити, що сьогодні мало політичних діячів, які не звертаються до професіоналів і не контролюють вплив їх іміджу на аудиторію. У політиці імідж визначає перемогу на виборах. Політичний імідж завжди формується, змінюється, удосконалюється та коригується, щоб відповідати запитам суспільства.

В зв'язку з цим іміджмейкінг як політична технологія з кожним роком стає все більше актуальною, зокрема в українській політичній практиці.

Ключові слова: іміджмейкінг, імідж, політична технологія, образ, ЗМІ