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**The use of the media in recent electoral campaigns.
The cases of American presidential and Italian political elections**

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Introduction

The relevance of the chosen topic is related to the fact that information resources of the country, its communicative mobility are the most important resources of "soft power" used by the States for reformatting the geopolitical space. It takes place under the influence of globalization processes in the modern world. Media as the element of "soft power" is a tool for managing international processes and relations. It became the most powerful system of social communications. We can say that information governs society, since the effectiveness of the power structures depends on how fully they possess information about the state of affairs in all the spheres of life of the state, and how quickly they receive this information. Informational interaction of the ruling elites with civil society is realized, first of all, by the mass media. Mass media became a powerful tool for the purposeful construction of political systems and rules as well as a mean for establishing the necessary ties and relations with the society and other countries. Media in the process of political communication perform both informative and ideological functions. The media do not just transmit information that reflects reality but also create this reality with the help of specifically presented information, using various methods of manipulation of the subconscious of citizens. According to V. Crosby, media "mainly selects that kind of information and misinformation that we use to evaluate socio-political reality. Our attitude to problems and phenomena, even the approach to what is considered a problem or a phenomenon, is largely predetermined by those who control the world of communications".¹

In fact, now politics, political activity can be described as an informational struggle for influencing opinions, judgments on the political elite, social groups and the international community. The modern media-political system is a balanced system that consists of a set of political and media institutions that manage information flows and communication channels, the purpose of which is to form public opinion on various issues. Despite the heterogeneity of society, the media-political system achieves its goal quite often. It happens because of the mobilization of various information flows focused on various social groups. Since the world public opinion has become an important factor in the functioning of the state, the role of the media resource in the internal State's policy has been growing rapidly. Methods of public opinion manipulation as a real part of the foreign and domestic policy of the State are fully based on the media, which allows to adjust, regulate and construct a certain attitude in the mass consciousness of citizens to certain events, State intentions and actions. The mass media are considered as a source of influence on political processes: internal and external. Mass communications are constantly evolving and have an increasing influence on political decision-making processes. Information flows are increasing, the audience that perceives this information is increasing, new methods of manipulating public opinion are being developed. The functionality of the media is also developing very quickly and non-stop: means of communication, software, hardware, external media, etc. In addition to the traditional media (newspapers, radio, television) new media on the basis of the Internet appeared.

¹ Vin Crosby "What Is New Media?". Corante. April 2006

The digitalization of information, interactivity, speed and volume of data transfer provide users of these innovations with great opportunities. These processes of development are endless. That is why the topic of the possibilities of media influence on the life of civil society is relevant. Power structures form the internal and foreign policy of the State. The media are active participants in the elections of power structures. In the context of the election struggle, the interaction between the media, public opinion, domestic and foreign policy is becoming increasingly important.

The choice of the election campaigns of D. Trump and S. Berlusconi for the comparative analysis is due to the similarity of the personal characteristics of the candidates: charismatic, active, self - confident, possessing leadership qualities and with elements of theatricality in the manner of behavior, extraordinary candidates who had no political experience and claimed high public positions, successful businessmen. Both candidates held their election campaigns using innovative communication technologies. D. Trump's presidential election campaign caused a wide resonance, both in the United States and in the international community. The results of the presidential elections in 2016 were unexpected in the United States for the political elite and the media, despite their enormous efforts that were made for H. Clinton's victory. The foreign press noted that Donald Trump was an emotional person who makes often contradictory statements that create tensions in other countries. Political communication innovations, developed and implemented by S. Berlusconi in Italy (personification, professionalization, telecracy), raised the electoral process to a new level and became widely used in other countries. The media began to play the role of a social institution. Many researchers examined what explains the political success and long tenure as head of government of media tycoon S. Berlusconi who was not a professional politician.

Election campaigns of D. Trump and S. Berlusconi were considered both from the point of view of influence of mass media on electoral processes and results of elections, and from the point of view of the use of resources of mass media by candidates.

The object of the current study: Mass Media as a tool of politics

The subject of the study: the activities of the media and their methods and ways of influence during the election campaigns in the United States and in Italy

The aim of the research is to identify the effects of the usage of the media in the election campaigns of Trump and Berlusconi.

Objectives of the study:

- to reveal the role of the media in the modern world and in modern politics;
- to consider the formation and the use of the media in the creation of an image of a political leader;
- to reveal the features of the election campaign of Trump;
- to regard the personality of Donald Trump and his image;
- to analyze the technologies used to build the image of US President D. Trump during the election campaign of 2016;

-- to regard the Silvio Berlusconi phenomenon in the context of the peculiarities of Italian politics and the media;

- to consider Berlusconi's innovation in terms of the political technologies he used in his election campaign in order to manipulate public opinion through television;

- to compare of Trump's and Berlusconi's election campaigns;

- to identify the differences in the role of the media in these campaigns.

The structure of the research includes an introduction, three chapters, a conclusion and the list of literature.

These questions will be answered according to the following **structure and order of the thesis**:

The first chapter is devoted to the political media and their functions. The concept and the essence of the media, functions and types of the media, as well as the role of the media in the modern world are revealed in this chapter. Particular attention is paid to the role of the media in modern politics, the formation and the use of the media in the creation of an image of a political leader.

The second chapter is devoted to the influence of the media on the election campaign of Donald Trump. The features of the election campaign of Trump, the personality of Donald Trump and his image on the basis of different sources of information are discussed in the chapter. Besides, the technologies used to build the image of US President D. Trump during the election campaign of 2016 are analyzed.

The third chapter is devoted to the influence of the media on the election campaign of Silvio Berlusconi. The chapter deals with the Silvio Berlusconi phenomenon in the context of the peculiarities of Italian politics and the media. Berlusconi's innovation in terms of the political technologies he used in his election campaign is in the system of manipulating public opinion through television. The phenomenon of the notorious Berlusconi vividly illustrates the personification of politics and the decline in the role of traditional institutions in the political life of Italy. There is also a comparison of Trump's and Berlusconi's election campaigns in conclusion and the differences in the role of the media in these campaigns are identified.

The theoretical and methodological basis of the study will be founded on the examination and comparison of the similarities and differences of the usage of the media in election campaigns in two countries. The processes of the influence and the fact of interdependence between the media, the officials and the citizens. A more detailed comparison will be conducted in concrete examples of Trump and Berlusconi. An important element of the current part will be the emphasis of their personalities, images in the Mass Media. The analytical methodology that the current work insists to use is content analysis where valid inference will be made through the interpretation of textual material, various scientific articles and studies, chapters from books will be analyzed with a related topic, as well as newspaper articles. Also the method of case study will be used, which will be necessary for analyzing the existing voting systems that different countries are applying, which are provided as examples of the usage of the specific models in election campaigns and aim to provide the reader with an understanding that every nation practices its policy

according to its traditions. Here the United States and Italy are given as examples where it can be seen that similarities and differences in approaches can be used in different ways and have different outcomes. Also, the author considers appropriate the use of event analysis, which will be applied for the research of events, their analysis and for the arrival to relative conclusions. Finally, comparative analysis and logical- intuitive research methods will be widely used to observe both cases.

Literature review. The current work is based on the analysis of theoretical and practical sources of information taken from books, electronic books, journals and other sources such as electronic newspapers and articles. Works of many authors including scientists and journalists had been used. Vasileva L.A.², Lukina M.M.³, Gurevich S.M.⁴, Mihailov S.A.⁵, Orlova V.V.⁶. In their works these authors examine general rules and principles of how Mass Media works; their methods of work with information on different stages including its collection, generalization, interpretation and construction of the article. Zelinsky S.⁷, Zegonov O.V.⁸, Bedritsky A.V.⁹, Buharin S.N.¹⁰ in their works focused on informational manipulations and information wars, on how different mass media and communication sources influence people's consciousness. Such authors as Zonova T.V.¹¹, Levin I.B.¹², Lener.D.¹³, Lubin V.P.¹⁴ Sardaryan G.T.¹⁵ in their works examine Italian political situation and in particular the main figure of the Italian political elections Silvio Berlusconi.

The following authors: Campus D.¹⁶, Caprara G.V.¹⁷, Garzia, D.¹⁸ in their works focused on such phenomenon as personalization of politics, the evolution of leadership and how different factors influenced it. Another important phenomenon for the Italian political sphere as "Berlusconism" is considered in works

² Vasileva L.A. Making news. M.: Aspect press, 2003

³ Lukina M.M., Fomicheva I.D. Mass Media in the Internet. Moscow State University, 2005

⁴ Gurevich S.M. Economics of domestic media. M.: Aspect press, 2004

⁵ Mihailov S.A. Modern foreign journalism: rules and paradoxes. Spb.: Mikhailova V.A. 2002

⁶ Orlova V.V. Global news networks in the information market. "Prakticheskaya zhurnalistika". 2003

⁷ Zelinsky S. Manipulation of mass consciousness with the help of mass media

<https://psyfactor.org/lib/zln1.htm>

⁸ Zegonov O.V. States and the media in the context of world political interaction. Kosmopolis 2008. The role of global media in world politics: dissertation. MGIMO. Moscow . 2009

⁹ Bedritsky A.V. Information war: concepts and their implementation in the United States. M.:RISI, 2008

¹⁰ Buharin S.N., Kulba V.V. Methods and technologies of information warfare. M.:Akademicheskyy proekt, 2007

¹¹ Zonova T.V. "On the era and phenomenon of Silvio Berlusconi".

https://mgimo.ru/about/news/experts/212768/?sphrase_id=1067966

Zonova T.V. "Government of minority".

https://mgimo.ru/about/news/experts/172131/?sphrase_id=1067966

¹² Levin I.B. "Silvio Berlusconi" //God planet. M., 2002.

¹³ Lener D. Silvio Berlusconi effect. M., Olma-press, 2002

¹⁴ Lubin V.P. "Berlusconi and Forza Italia"//Modern Italy. M., 2004

¹⁵ Sardaryan G.T. "Berlusconi's chances of winning". <https://mgimo.ru/about/news/experts/233650/>

¹⁶ Campus D. Antipolitics in power: populist language as a tool for government. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton. 2010

Campus D. And Gianfranco Pasquino. Leadership in Italy: The changing role of leaders in elections and in government, Journal of contemporary European studies, 14:1. 2006

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14782800600617912>

¹⁷ Caprara, G. V. The personalization of modern politics. European Review, 2007

<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/european-review/article/personalization-of-modern-politics/5CB8016D230851A9CB534378FCD4EF4D>

¹⁸ Garzia D. The Personalization of Politics in Western Democracies: Causes and Consequences on Leader-Follower Relationships. The Leadership Quarterly, 2011

of such authors as Mancini P.¹⁹ and Orsina G.²⁰ Many articles on the websites of The New York Times, The Guardian, The Economist, CNN, BBC, The Washington Post, Times, Politico, The Hill, USA Today, as well as in Russian language RT, RBC, RIA, TASS, Republic, Meduza, Izvestia, Kommersant, Rossiyskaya Gazeta were examined to define the image of the candidates in different Mass Media. Among them concerning fake information and fake news were considered: "What is Fake News? Its Origins and How It Grew in 2016"²¹, "Social Media and Fake News in the 2016 Election"²², "Many Americans Believe Fake News Is Sowing Confusion"²³, "Fake News and the Spread of Misinformation"²⁴, "With Facebook, blogs, and fake news, teens reject journalistic «objectivity»"²⁵. Weaver D.²⁶, Thorndyke, J.²⁷ and McCombs M.²⁸ in their works consider the agenda setting theory, how it can be used in different situations and how effective it is. There are a lot of works where authors examine the influence of Mass Media on the government and vice versa. For example Nikolaev A. G., Goregin A.G,²⁹ Graber D.,³⁰ Taylor P.³¹

The novelty of the work consists in the fact that previous studies examined media in a broad context of world interaction or on the contrary within one state, compare state and regional media, consider connections of the electoral processes and the media in another angle and took other personalities as examples for studies. In my work I took two cases of successful election campaigns and examine different factors that had an influence on the outcome of the elections.

¹⁹ Mancini P. The Berlusconi Case: Mass Media and Politics in Italy Media in Democracy and European Culture https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/978-1-137-58696-4_5

²⁰ Orsina G. Berlusconi and Italy: a historical Interpretation. Palgrave Macmillan, 2014

²¹ Carson, James. 2017. "What is Fake News? Its Origins and How It Grew in 2016," The Telegraph, March 10.

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/technology/0/fake-news-origins-grew-2016/>

²² Allcott, Hunt, and Matthew Gentzkow. 2017. "Social Media and Fake News in the 2016 Election," Journal of Economic Perspectives.

²³ Barthel, Michael, Amy Mitchell, and Jesse Holcomb. 2016. "Many Americans Believe Fake News Is Sowing Confusion." Research Report. Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center. <http://www.journalism.org/2016/12/15/many-americansbelieve-fake-news-is-sowing-confusion/>

²⁴ Ordway, Denise-Marie. 2017. "Fake News and the Spread of Misinformation," Journalist Resource. Boston, MA: The Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics and Public Policy, Harvard University.

<https://journalistsresource.org/studies/society/internet/fake-news-conspiracy-theories-journalism-research>

²⁵ Marchi R. With Facebook, blogs, and fake news, teens reject journalistic «objectivity» / R. Marchi // Journal of Communication Inquiry. — 2012.

²⁶ Weaver D. Thoughts on Agenda'setting, Framing, and Priming // Journal of Communication. University Indiana. 2017.

²⁷ Thorndyke, J The Role of Agenda Setting in Social Media: A Look at the Relationship Between Twitter and the Mass Media's Agenda. Vasa. Carolina del Norte, USA.

²⁸ McCombs, M.E. and Reynolds, A. 'How the News Shapes our Civic Agenda'. In J. Bryant and M.B. Oliver (eds.), Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research. New York: Routledge, 1–16. 2009.

²⁹ Nikolaev A. G., Goregin A.G. США Средства массовой информации, политическая власть и общество SPB. 1993

³⁰ Graber D.A. Mass Media and American politics. Washington 2002

³¹ Taylor P. H. Global Communications, International affairs and the Media. New York. 2002

CHAPTER 1 Media as a tool for the implementation of public policy

1.1. Media and public policy

Any state has always required certain resources to support its decisions, actions, and reforms, which would ensure their most adequate and desirable support and acceptance on the part of the citizens of that State. Since ancient times, the stability of the political system of any state has depended on how quickly and fully the political elite received information and how quickly they reacted to it. As a result of the analysis of information about changes in the external environment, the political elite took measures to maintain the stability of the political system of the State.

However, over time, the participation of citizens, their opinions, judgments about changes in the state, certain steps in domestic or foreign policy, began to acquire a certain weight. The ruling circles, the ranks of the state began to come into dependence on public opinion. This influenced their personal popularity and the possibility of further work in their public posts.

It became obvious that in the social and political life of the state, along with the everyday life of every person, information and, therefore, the means that possess and transmit this information has become increasingly important. In modern society, the degree of informatization, the development of various channels for preparing, receiving, transmitting information has reached a peak. According to the American sociologist V. Crosby, in modern society, information is the most valuable product. Almost every action of a modern person is determined by the information available to him. Information has turned into a global, inexhaustible resource of mankind, which entered into the era of its intensive development. The possession of some form of information changes not only the people's perception of some ordinary things. In a certain way, the information presented affects the opinion of the public in a much more important and large-scale dimension - in the field of social, economic and political relations. With the development of informatization of society, mass media are beginning to exert an increasingly tangible impact on various spheres of society, in particular on the political consciousness and behavior of the population. Consequently, it is especially important from where this or that information comes from, how it is formed and presented, distributed in society and reaches its addressees - a specific social or electoral group or citizens of other states.³²

Media in the modern world play a significant role in the political life of society we can say one of the determining ones, having a direct relation to its life and performing reproductive and creative functions, displaying politics through radio, television, the press and the Internet.³³ The main reason for the media gaining such a high place in the political life of modern societies is that with their help the state and other political actors can not only inform the population about the goals and values of their policies, but also model public relations regarding the formation of representative authorities and ruling elites, maintaining the authority of relevant goals, traditions and stereotypes.

With the increasing role of democratic trends and values in modern society (freedom of speech, choice,

³² Vin Crosby "What Is New Media?". Corante. April 2006

³³ Ibid

active participation of citizens in public life and their ability to change the placement of political cadres of the state, etc.), each state needs public support of their reforms and steps in both domestic and foreign policy, the question inevitably arises of the interaction of power and the media. The process of making decisions for a politician is always limited by the influence of environmental behavior and the adequacy of the politician's ideas about this environment. Therefore, for a correct assessment of what is happening, it is extremely important to imagine the mechanisms of social behavior.

However the behavior of human collectives can be formed by setting certain guidelines by subtle psychological manipulations. And modern media have created new opportunities for this, repeatedly enhancing the effectiveness of the use of information for political purposes, in political relations and ways of social management of the world. So, already in the XX century possession and management of information flows is becoming a decisive factor in the conquest, preservation, and retention of power.³⁴ One of the most important functions of the media is its direct influence on power and power structures. Various journalistic works on exposing unscrupulous officials, dubious government decisions and bills submitted to the public court give reason to believe that the media are capable of influencing state authorities. The mass media not only create an eventual picture of political life, establish an "agenda", draw attention to the activities of various political leaders, form value orientations of citizens, but also control the direction of political activity of various social communities and groups. However, real practice has its differences with theory, namely: in modern society, there is obvious interaction between the state and the media. It is the state that acts as the customer and controller of the information disseminated through the media.

Such a structure as a media-political system has been formed and should be considered as a symbiosis of the media-community with political power. The media political system is being formed as an institution that provides the authorities with a set of instruments of political pressure both on society as a whole and on individual political entities.³⁵ Thus, it is a media resource that gives a possibility to manipulate international politics today. However, no matter how potentially dangerous the consequences of state information exposure by means of the media may be, one can nevertheless state with confidence that the principles of information exposure, which are the media, every citizen is drawn hundreds and thousands of times daily.

1.2. The role of the media in electoral processes

An election campaign is a period established by law during which political parties, organizations and government bodies responsible for conducting elections carry out their organizational, propaganda, and ideological-informational preparations in accordance with established rules, as well as a set of organizational, propaganda, and other events held individual parties and candidates.

³⁴ McCombs, M.E. and Reynolds, A. 'How the News Shapes our Civic Agenda'. In J. Bryant and M.B. Oliver (eds.), *Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research*. New York: Routledge, 1-16. 2009

³⁵ Ibid

An election campaign is a large-scale process that must be carefully thought out and planned by professionals. Influence on the mass consciousness occurs both in direct communication of a political actor with the electorate, and in an indirect way. In order to win the elections it is necessary to promise to voter exactly what he expects. Therefore, professional image makers and other campaign organizers should think through every little thing, starting with the color of the candidate's costume, ending with every word in a speech that is full of a lot of attractive promises. T. Takeshita believes that "a successful strategy involves the vision of various aspects of relationships with voters. The choice of means of campaigning in this case should be determined, on the one hand, by the most accurate sociological data on the state of the environment during the elections, and on the other, by a sober assessment of the characteristics of the promoted candidate. If these characteristics conflict with the lifestyle and aspirations of the voters, then no technology will convince them to vote".³⁶ As O. Toffler notes, the highest quality and the greatest efficiency of modern power are given by the knowledge that allows "to achieve the desired goals, minimally spending the resources of power; convince people of their personal interest in these goals; turn opponents into allies"³⁷

Today, it is very difficult for the audience to get objective information about what is happening, especially during the election campaign, when almost any publication is initiated purposefully to achieve certain results. The media have an important means of influencing the course of the political struggle: they are often the ones who shape the topics, the directions of discussions, to which general attention will be directed. The editorial policy of various publications determines which information will be presented to the audience and which should be ignored. But, it is important to note that the solution to these issues depends not only on the ideas of the leaders and owners of the media. In modern society, publications are competing for the attention of the public, as the main criterion for success, and in order to attract it, it is necessary to take into account some principles when selecting topics for publications and programs:

1. The priority, importance (real and imaginary) and the attractiveness of the topic for citizens. In accordance with this principle, most often media reports relate to, for example, problems such as a threat to peace and security of citizens, terrorism, economic, environmental and other problems.

2. The novelty of the facts. To attract the attention of the population media use messages that have not been published for broad public yet. This can be the latest data on the results of economic development or the number of unemployed, on flights to other planets, on new political parties and their leaders, etc.

3. Political success. According to this principle, reports about successes of political leaders, parties or entire states get into programs and articles. Particular attention is paid to election winners or in rating polls. The cult of stars in politics, art, sports is a typical phenomenon for the media in a market society.

4. High public status. The higher the status of the source of information, the more significant is the interview or telecast, since it is assumed that their popularity, other things being equal, is directly

³⁶ Takeshita T. Agenda-setting effects of the press in a Japanese local election // *Studies of Broadcasting*, 29, P. 193-216.

³⁷ Toffler, E. *Metamorphosis of Power = Powershift: Knowledge, Wealth and Violence at the Edge of the 21st Century*, 1990. M.: AST, 2004. P. 51.

proportional to the social situation of the people reporting the information. By virtue of this rule, the easiest access to the media is given to persons occupying the highest places in the political, military, church or other hierarchies: presidents, military leaders, ministers. The front pages of newspapers and the main radio and television broadcasts are focused on them.

5. The originality of the facts.³⁸

Thus the media can influence not only people's assessment of certain particular political events, but also contribute to the formation of an attitude to the political situation in general.

Professionals actively use existing knowledge about mass psychology. The theory of the “spiral of silence,” authored by the German sociologist and political scientist Elizabeth Noel-Neumann, was widely used among manipulators. The principle of this tool lies in the fact that on the basis of the falsified opinion polls or other necessary facts, the audience can vote for the right party or candidate that is suggested by the organizers of electoral campaigns. Many people in this situation are forced to remain silent, and sometimes even change their beliefs, so as not to be socially rejected. In this case, the position of opponents is hushed up. It allows either to entice the voter to the right side, or to make him hide his point of view. As a result the goal of the manipulators is achieved.³⁹ In addition, during election campaigns, the media often act in concert, which increases the effectiveness of imposing the necessary decisions. Regular repetition of the necessary ideas and decisions, even if they are broadcast only by a few media, allows you to have the maximum impact on the consciousness of citizens.

It is necessary to take into account that manipulative possibilities of the media are not limitless. J. Thorndyke, studying the degree of influence of the media on public opinion, came to the conclusion that “total interest, attention and trust in the media that were observed 10-15 years ago, today is no longer there. This is caused by a drop in confidence in media reports”.⁴⁰ These findings do not mean that the media are completely devoid of influence. This means that society has become more selective and biased towards the media. Accordingly, the information provided can cause a completely different reaction in different groups of recipients. The pre-election period is that period of time when the population most of all needs information and shows great interest in what is happening in the political arena. Therefore, in this period, the media have the greatest potential for influencing information consumers and obtaining financial benefits.

Speaking about the manipulative methods used by media in coverage of electoral campaigns, it is necessary to mention also such phenomenon as fake news. Today it is possible to face this term in the media sphere everywhere. The word "fake" means "forgery" or "falsification". Most often it is possible to face this term on the Internet portals and on the websites of traditional media. The fake as the phenomenon has an aim to imitate reality by creation of virtual reality in electronic media, and also in the Internet. Identification of

³⁸ Danilova A. A. Manipulation of the word in the media. - M.: Dobrosvet, KDU, 2015.

³⁹ Thorndyke J. 2017 The Role of Agenda Setting in Social Media: A Look at the Relationship Between Twitter and the Mass Media's Agenda. Elon University

⁴⁰ Ibid

news, information, an event as fake means loss of trust of potential audience. In modern media practice it is possible to distinguish the following types of fakes:

- the videos made from already used initial material, that was filmed not at that time and not in that place which they are designed to imitate;
- any false news;
- personal pages on social networks created on behalf of other people;
- false accounts in twitter with borrowed photos;
- the counterfeit photos which have been processing through the special computer programs for their correction in order to increase their imaginary reliability.

As a result of action of fake news phenomenon and actions of fake accounts in the Internet we receive the distorted picture of objective reality. Another principle is "speed is more important than accuracy". No time for checks, and therefore it is important to manage to be ahead of competitors.

Technical innovations throughout all history of existence of the media industry promoted its development. During different periods functioning of mass media was influenced by the invention of the press, cable networks, television, "a global web". According to Thorndyke, the usage of the Internet allows to make information comprehensive and impartial but more susceptible for manipulation.⁴¹ These features are intensively used during election campaigns. The defining feature of the new media, according to Thorndyke J., is their opportunity to cover extensive geographical spaces with unlimited number of users at the same time.⁴² Researchers like R. Coleman and M. McCombs say that the primary target activity of mass media shall be connected to informing mass audiences⁴³, this feature allows to reach desirable outcomes in electoral campaigns. According to M. Deuze, mass media should not only inform citizens but also promote respect for their freedoms and self-government.⁴⁴ It is necessary to bear in mind during the process of the election campaign. The means and channels of distribution of information during the pre election period should provide citizens with technical and informative availability, that assumes the freedom of choice of time and the place of consuming of information. As a result of the Mass Media activity in this period is an ability to connect big and dispersed audiences, to achieve goals by promoting the information, integration of big social communities. Interactivity of new media gives to audience the chance to take part in creation and distribution of information flow. Consumers of new media are more active. Their activity is shown in search of necessary information and its interpretation; search of additional information; participation in creation or modification of already available content of media, creation and distribution by own forces of unique

⁴¹ Thorndyke J. The Role of Agenda'Setting in Social Media: A Look at the Relationship Between Twitter and the Mass Media's Agenda. Elon University 2017

⁴² Ibid

⁴³ Coleman R., McCombs M. The Young and Agenda-Less? Age-related Differences in Agenda-Setting on the Youngest Generation// *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 84, P. 299-311. 2017

⁴⁴ Deuze M. The web and its journalism: considering the consequences of different types of newsmedia online // *New media & Society*, Sage, P. 211. 2017

content.⁴⁵ Interactivity allows to make a "multilateral information exchange with consumers, both certain representatives, and with audience in general".⁴⁶

On the other hand, with the development of technologies interactivity became the powerful mechanism for influence of audience on the media and as a result the audience stops being the simple receiver of information and begins to participate in production and content distribution. Considering the election campaign as a political process, it should be kept in mind that, firstly, the initiators of the election campaign, acting as a management entity, are deprived of the right to dictate their rules of the game, create standards that are mandatory for the object of its impact. No candidate or electoral bloc can issue an order or decree prescribing models of electoral behavior to the masses. Secondly, the subject of governance is deprived of the opportunity to rely on the right of legitimate violence, on the application of sanctions and other measures of influence on potential voters. Therefore, in many countries a whole direction of the advertising business has been successfully developing - image-making, which specializes in creating images of political figures attractive to voters. Image-making professionals and campaign organizers think through every little thing, starting from the style of clothing, and ending with the content of speeches abounding with a large number of attractive promises.

Therefore, the media play an important role in the election campaigns. Information is becoming the main resource that every political subject must possess in order to perform one or another action in the political process. Media are not only a means of transmitting information from the subject of the political process to the object of influence. They are also a platform for the exchange of views inherent in different actors. The main task of election campaigning is to attract the maximum number of supporters and, as a result, to obtain the largest number of votes.

Experienced political strategists begin to exert a manipulative effect on the audience even before the start of the election race - imperceptibly, unobtrusively, in informational programs and publications. Advertising and manipulative activities of the media often do not allow to see the real business and moral qualities of candidates, to determine their political positions. This makes the choice of citizens not an independently made decision, but an act preformed by specialists. When forming the information field around his person, the candidate and his team should take into account that the election campaign is usually divided into several stages, since in the pre-election period the psycho-emotional state of society is very dynamic. The first stage is characterized by growing tension in society, and it is important for the candidate to make a statement about himself. The next stage is the formation of electoral preference groups, as well as the formation of the passive community - a part of the population that does not participate in the elections. With the skillful conduct of the election campaign, one can draw a lot of votes from the passive community. At this stage, electoral preferences are formed, redistributed and consolidated. At the final stage, there is a decrease in social activity, a depressed state of people who are tired of the massive imposition of a choice.

⁴⁵ Weaver D. Thoughts on Agenda'setting, Framing, and Priming // Journal of Communication. University Indiana. 2017

⁴⁶ Lee G. Agenda Setting Effects in the Digital Age: Uses and Effects of Online Media. Dis. Doctor of Philosophy. Austin 2015

According to J. Lichterman, “a person can become a victim of manipulation only if he acts as its co-author, accomplice”. It should be noted that the most effective is the impact of the media on politically active citizens, while the impact on that part of the population, which refuses to participate and in every way protects itself from the field of political communication, is insignificant. In addition, the impact on politically active citizens can be carried out by acting cumulatively, conveying the necessary information on various information flows. Different groups of the electorate need to receive diverse information about the main political subject, around which the information campaign is conducting.⁴⁷ Thus, the media spread certain information in the interests of a candidate or a party, affect public opinion, the opinion of individual users and contribute to the achievement of goals in the election campaign as well as obtaining the desired result.

1.3. The methods of political manipulation used by the media

Speaking of manipulation by the media and of the main trends in the development of modern media in the political sphere, one of the recognized experts in this field, D. Weaver, believes that “the manipulation of mass consciousness is a way of realization of domination, based on indirect stimulation of a certain type of mass behavior by creating a picture of the world inadequate to reality”.⁴⁸ G. Lee interprets this concept as following: “Manipulation of consciousness is an impact on the mental structures of a person, carried out discreetly and setting itself the task of changing people's opinions, motives and goals in the right direction”.⁴⁹ It is important that the goal of any political manipulation is the conquest, realization and preservation of power. Elections are contributing to these goals. But to win the election, an important role is played by the opinion and support of the public and the electorate. Therefore, political manipulations are used to form the necessary attitudes and opinions of voters, based on which these voters will vote for a particular party or candidate.

Mass consciousness is an object in the process of political manipulation. If we take this term in the broadest sense, is an element that affects the processes taking place in society. It consists of norms, values and knowledge gained as a result of social communications. In the modern world, the development and emergence of new technologies in the field of communications is proceeding rapidly, in connection with this, not only the quality of information consumption by the audience is changing, but also the methods of dissemination. As S. G. Kara-Murza notes, “the people whose consciousness is manipulated are treated not like personalities but like objects.”⁵⁰ If someone manipulates mass consciousness, people have an illusion that they make a decision themselves, and they are not aware that they became an object of influence or suggestion.⁵¹

⁴⁷ J. Lichterman. The impact of social media on traditional media agenda setting theory. 2015

⁴⁸ Weaver D. Thoughts on Agenda'setting, Framing, and Priming // Journal of Communication, 57, P. 142-147

⁴⁹ Lee G. Agenda Setting Effects in the Digital Age: Uses and Effects of Online Media. Dis. Doctor of Philosophy. Austin. 2015

⁵⁰ Kara Murza S.G. Manipulation of consciousness. - M., 2001. p17

⁵¹ Moscovici, S. the Age of crowds. Historical treatise on mass psychology - M., 1998. p41

The Italian thinker and politician Niccolò Machiavelli studied the methods of influencing behavior and making decisions of various interest groups. He left morality outside the political process and became the founder of manipulation in politics. Later, modern scientists systematized them in their methodological and research works.

At the end of the XIX - in the first half of the XX century many researchers come to the conclusion that people are more likely to trust spectacularly presented data than actual. Also at this time, the development of sociology and psychology is taking place, and these sciences allow a deeper study of the essence of man and society and their interaction. Studies of the experimental impacts on society of the ideological machine of the Nazis became the basis for constructing theoretically sound models of manipulation in the field of politics.

Due to the inaccessibility for the ordinary reader to reliable information about political reality, the media are in a good position, in the sense that they can present the information in a light favorable for the interested party. Based on his research on the influence of stereotypes on public opinion, V. Crosby concluded that the media can influence the reader, thus creating the necessary stereotyped ideas about political and public events.⁵² This fact makes it possible to manipulate the individual in the interests of the political elite and its opponents. The media use the persuasion mechanisms in order to reach a compromise between different social strata. The media in the process of manipulation by the mass consciousness play a crucial role. Through the media, it is possible to synchronize the manifestations of public opinion.

Another researcher of communication and exposure mechanisms was Paul Lazarsfeld. It was he who became the author of the concept of a two-stage communication model. Throughout his research, he drew attention to the fact that the influence of information received by the audience after two weeks, not only does not decrease, but, on the contrary, is increasing. Having studied this phenomenon, Lazarsfeld came to the conclusion that in the chain "media recipient" there is another important link, which he gave the name "opinion leaders." According to this concept, opinion leaders, having received information, disseminate it among broad audience. The concept of a two-stage communication model had significant drawbacks, as it did not take into account the presence of the mechanism of transferring information from the media directly to the second level of recipients. This concept was replaced by a multi-stage communication model. This model took into account the features of obtaining information and communications in society.

The media have great potential in terms of influencing the audience. Through the press, radio, television and the Internet comes knowledge of the facts of reality, which causes the activity of human thought, creates the prerequisites for the assimilation of a suggested worldview and its consolidation with new facts. All means in the political sphere can be represented as a two-level system of manipulation:⁵³

1. manipulation of reality (management of the information environment);

⁵² Vin Crosby "What Is New Media?". Corante. April 2006

⁵³ Lazarsfeld P., Berelson B., Gaudet H. The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a residential Campaign. N. Y.

2. manipulation of the perception of reality (management of the mental processes of the audience).

American researcher G. Lasswell highlighted four main functions of the media:

- observation of the world (collection and dissemination of information);
- “editing” (selection and commenting of information);
- formation of public opinion;
- the spread of culture .⁵⁴

Media in their work use two main ways of disseminating information: sequential and fragmented. A consistent way of presenting information is mainly characteristic of print media. The press has consistently and diversely covered one or another informational occasion on a political topic. Manipulation in this case is carried out by choosing a theme, tone of presentation and connotation of lighting. A fragmented presentation method is especially common in television materials. The information is supplied separately, creating the appearance of efficiency. This prevents the formation of a holistic picture of what is happening in the vast majority of the population. As a result, this leads either to the fading of the audience’s interest in politics, giving rise to political apathy, or forces one to rely on imposed opinions.

There are two types of opinions - open and hidden.⁵⁵ An open opinion is a direct expression of the opinion of a journalist who does not hide the fact that he expresses an opinion coming directly from him. Closed - this is a disguised opinion, which is served in a veiled form. Thus, it already begins to seem not an opinion, but a fact. In addition, an important category of hidden interpretation is the attribution of the journalist's own ideas to an external source which, in fact, is the source of the manipulation. Nowadays, there are many classifications of such techniques. One of the first was compiled in the 30s of the XX century in the United States by specialists from the Institute for the Analysis of Propaganda and published under the title "ABC of Propaganda". It described the following methods:

1. “The tail wags the dog” (interested structures initiate an active discussion of events of secondary importance in order for a truly significant event to pass as imperceptibly as possible);
2. “The effect of a common carriage” (the reader is forced to accept this or that point of view with approval, focusing on the fact that the rest of the members of the social cluster to which he considers himself think so);
3. “Labeling” (for well-known figures or phenomena insulting metaphors, names, nicknames are selected and are “launched” into the information space, thus, it is possible to denigrate this or that person, or cause hostility to some social phenomenon);
4. “Link to authorities” (in this case, the public is presented with a value judgment of either a person who has a positive image or is rejected by society, often such statements are published out of context and provide manipulators with the opportunity to present the situation in the way they need);

⁵⁴ Lasswell G. D. Propaganda Technique in the World War. M.I.T. Press, 1971. P. 73.

⁵⁵J. Lichterman. The impact of social media on traditional media agenda setting theory. 2015

5. "The game of common people" (this technique is often used during election campaigns when a candidate is presented as "common citizen", in his speeches he uses simple vocabulary familiar to the audience. Sometimes even his biography is rewritten taking into account the needs of the electorate);

6. "Card juggling" (manipulators present the townsfolk with only one thing they need, they do not provide alternative information or point of view);

7. "Transfer" (this technique is based on the fact that specialists form communication messages in such a way that those concepts and phenomena that are positively perceived by the audience unconsciously associate the information consumer with the desired phenomenon or political figure).⁵⁶

But today, in connection with the implementation of social transformations and the development of technologies, many other manipulative techniques have been developed and described. For example, M. Calderone, B. Elgin and M. Riley identify the following most common means of manipulating consciousness: comments, the method of anonymous authority, the method of everyday storytelling, the method of emotional resonance, the method of stating facts, making false analogies, using feedback and information blockade, as well as the halo effect and primary effect.

Comments - the purpose of this method is to create a context that guides the reader's thoughts in the right direction. Information about the event is accompanied by the interpretation of the commentator, who offers the reader several fairly reasonable explanations of what happened. Whether the audience believes in the correct version of the event depends on the ability of the commentator.⁵⁷

The method of anonymous authority lie in the use of the following speech templates: "authoritative source in the government", "studies of independent experts have shown", "scientists have established". There is a link to an authoritative source, but the name is not called, this fact alone can make the reader doubt the reliability of the information.

The method called "everyday story" helps to adapt the reader to information that has negative connotation. In this case special vocabulary is used. It describes such events without an emotional component.

Another method of "emotional resonance" is based on the main rule of propaganda, on the appeal not to the human mind, but to his feelings. On television or radio, this effect can be achieved with the help of the intonations of the presenters; in the print press the information from eyewitness is used for this. This information is presented as emotional interviews directly at the scene which confirms the assumptions of the journalist and takes place naturally.

The method of "stating the fact" is used to determine one's own positions, the opponent's place, as well as to declare their own hopes and aspirations. An example of the use is the statements of various political figures on the eve of the elections, where the candidate unveils his expectations on the number of

⁵⁶ Danilova A. A. Manipulation of the word in the media. - M.: Dobrosvet, KDU, 2015.

⁵⁷ Calderone M., Elgin B., Riley M., Kocieniewski D, Brustein J. (2015) How much your audience is fake? Bloomberg Available at: <http://www.bloomberg.com/features/2015-click-fraud/>

votes that will be cast in his favor. Here the politician anticipates events and defines his position quite clearly.

The following two tricks are interconnected - the use of feedback and information blockade. Feedback enhances the possibilities of like-minded publications. They can express their point of view in the Internet, take part in surveys and other materials. The information blockade significantly narrows the possibilities of adherents of the opposite point of view. They are deprived of the opportunity to voice their opinion and explain it. They are limited in the access to information sources. In addition to the above mentioned methods of influence on the citizens it is necessary to pay attention to the effects that also help to influence the opinions and assessments of the audience. This is the halo effect, the effect of primacy or novelty, and the effect of a stereotype.

The halo effect is used to increase the significance of the political figure - a little-known politician tries to appear on the photos with significant, respected and famous people. Sometimes the following principle influence the decision: "if he coped well with his previous responsibilities, then he will be able to succeed in the new sphere". With regard to well-known political figures, the halo effect can be called a reputation. It is the image that has entrenched in the minds of the audience.

The effect of primacy works when the audience first meets the candidate. In this case crucial of importance is the first information about him. The effect of novelty acts upon the perception of an already familiar person, its principle is that the most relevant in this situation is the most updated information received about this person. The interaction built on the basis of previously obtained, but at the same time, limited experience, is built on the basis of the stereotype effect. "A stereotype is a certain stable image of a phenomenon or person that is used when interacting with this phenomenon or person".⁵⁸

The strategy "to create a problem and to propose a solution". Power structures provokes a situation in which the population a priori will feel uncomfortable, so people will demand from the government a solution to this problem (adoption of new laws, change of power).

The means of manipulating public consciousness and opinion include strategies of gradualism and postponement. The strategy of gradualism: this is a technique used to gradually impose on the people measures that will cause rejection and protest of the society if they are simultaneously applied. Postponement strategy: it is used when it is necessary to obtain the consent of the society to apply any measures that it does not approve. In this case the interested party tries to obtain permission to apply these measures in the future, which is perceived by citizens much easier for two reasons: the first - because people are not ready for immediate changes; the second - the society hopes for an improvement in the future, therefore, perhaps, measures will not be taken. Thus, manipulators achieve their goal, as over time the society gets used to the thought of impending changes.

⁵⁸ Calderone M., Elgin B., Riley M., Kocieniewski D, Brustein J. (2015) How much your audience is fake? Bloomberg URL: <http://www.bloomberg.com/features/2015-click-fraud/>

It is necessary to mention some manipulative techniques from V.P. Terin. The author divides the techniques into several subgroups.⁵⁹ Among them mythological and value manipulation:

1. Mythological manipulation. The impact comes through the creation of political myths.
2. "Value" manipulation is addressed to the emotional component of the person's consciousness, aimed at consolidating in the public consciousness one or another emotional mood, image and judgment.
3. Neuro-linguistic programming (programming of a person's psychological attitude is carried out by creating programs in the mind, using linguistic tools, since, according to the followers of this teaching, language is a means of formation and stimulation of the nervous system, but at the same time, it is a product nervous system The main idea of NLP is that the formation of the worldview and behavior of the person occurs under the influence of consciousness, body and language. The world, its behavior and perception changes over time, it is influenced by life experience and new information received from the outside, but these changes can be stimulated artificially using a set of NLP techniques).
4. Technologies of psychological violence (method of exposure by threatening to use the threat of punishment in relation to an individual who refuses to take the position necessary for the manipulator).

To each of these groups author relates a certain set of methods of manipulative influence. Methods included by the researcher in the "Value Manipulation" group will be mentioned, since these techniques are most actively used in the field of political communication:⁶⁰

The following methods of manipulating the public audience are widely used.

1. "Use of words related to the basic values of society" (manipulators use words that appeal to the values of society or a social group, for example, such as: patriotism, freedom, the desire to be proud of one's homeland, peace, trust, family, etc.);
2. "Labeling". This technique is aimed at blackening the image of the opponent by applying various words and concepts to it, the so-called labels, which cause rejection, fear, hostility, distrust, and the like in the public mind;
3. "The method of throwing mud". The essence of this method is to give sharp negative assessments to the opposing side by selecting sharply negative and brightly emotionally colored vocabulary;
4. "Uncertain expressions (positive)". In this case, expressions with an unspecified positive meaning are used. For example, many candidates use different slogans in their election speeches such as: "I will restore justice!", or "Together we will win!", or "The future is in our hands!", but the meaning of the positive words in these statements is rather blurred, and the audience is given the opportunity to interpret them in their own way, and in m in many campaigns they are perceived by the population positively and help to achieve the desired effect);

⁵⁹ Terin V.P. Mass communication. M.: Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, 2014

⁶⁰ Ibid

5. "Uncertain expressions with negative connotation". This method is the opposite to the previous one, here the audience builds its value judgments based on statements with a negative connotation, but also with a vague meaning.

"Use of euphemisms". Instead of emotionally vivid vocabulary, more "calm" words are used, or words are less clear in meaning. Use of slogans. Applying them in a concise and ideally memorable form. Thus, it is possible to consolidate the idealized image of the person in the minds of ordinary people.

Manipulation using associative binding (in this case, the formation of the information flow mainly takes into account the arrangement of information messages, since each previous message that caused the necessary emotions can associatively affect the next).

"Substitution" - it consists in the fact that an event or person is equated to certain values. For example, when a candidate or party equates itself with the value of society. Such as freedom homeland people. The name of a product or brand is generalized and equated with certain universal values.

Transfer of a negative image - in this case, the negative qualities of a well-known person, phenomenon or event are transferred to a political or other figure, with the aim of creating stable associative reactions among the population.⁶¹

Conclusions on Chapter 1

On the basis of foregoing, we can make the following conclusions: information and communication resources of the State, leader or lobby determine its ability to influence domestic policy; information controls policy, the media disseminate information; media have a great influence on public opinion both within the state and in the international arena. Traditional (newspapers, radio, television) and new interactive Mass Media on the basis of the Internet make it possible to create a certain public perception, provide support for the activities of power structures and state policy. The media have an impact on different areas of society.

Mass Media play an important role in election campaigns. The success of the election campaign depends on the choice of means of agitation, and the choice of means of agitation is determined by sociological data on what voters are thinking about candidates and what are their desires. The media influence the course of political struggle with its editorial policy. The main criterion of success is public attention to publications. To attract this attention when choosing topics for publications, the following principles are used: priority, importance, attractiveness of the topic for the audience, novelty of the facts, originality of presentation, status of the source of information, political success of the heroes of publications. In this way, the media form the public's attitude to the events, candidates, influence the decisions taken by voters, thereby achieving the desired result. Media affect the worldview of the civil society.

⁶¹Terin V.P. Mass communication. M.: Institute of Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, 2014

Scientists are developing various methods to increase the impact of the media on internal and external audiences. The media are active participants in the electoral processes. They use innovative inventions in their activities, which allows them to influence the political situation not only in the country but also in the world. The media use various mechanisms of influence on the mass consciousness of people. The problem of the relationship between the individual and the media is dealt with by many researchers. To increase the effectiveness of the media influence on the processes taking place in society, including election campaigns, various systems and methods of manipulating mass consciousness are widely used. Italian thinker and politician Niccolo Machiavelli on the basis of his research "left morality out of the political process" and became the founder of manipulation in politics. Currently, there are many methods of manipulating public consciousness. The development of the media contributes to the development of methods of manipulation of civil society, which is a serious problem. Thus, it can be concluded that the media is a tool of governance in public policy.

CHAPTER 2. The role of the media in the presidential campaign of D. Trump

2.1 The US Election Campaigns and Media in the United States.

The presidential elections in any country is a major political event, which the whole world follow closely. The system of elections in the United States is quite complex and sometimes even Americans do not understand it completely. The US presidential elections are held once in four years. The election campaign begins much earlier, about a year and a half before the election date. The President and Vice-President are sworn in and take office on January 20 of the year following the election year. The President and the Vice President of the United States are elected for the period of 4 years indirectly by the electoral college, which consists of 538 electors (it is formed according to the results of elections in every state). The total number of electors in electoral college from each state is equal to the number of senators and members of the House of representatives to be elected from each state, and it also includes three electors from the District of Columbia. The Federal District of Columbia, which has no elected representation in Congress, has three electoral votes.

In order to elect representatives to both houses of Congress direct elections are held. The U.S. Senate (Upper house) consists of 100 senators, where two senators from each state are elected. It allows to take into account the interests of small states that are poorly represented in the House of representatives. The term of office of the Senate is six years, the members are renewed every two years by 1/3. In accordance with the laws of the several states, the governor of the state has the right to appoint a successor to senator in case of early termination of his powers (for the rest of the term of office of the Senator), not appointing early elections. House of representatives (lower house) is composed of 435 representatives elected on a rotating basis for a term of two years and with full re-election of the House of representatives every six years. The number of seats given to each state is related to the number of voters in each state. The U.S. Constitution guarantees the state at least one Deputy mandate. In elections to the House of representatives and the Senate, a majority electoral system is applied. There is no turnout threshold.

Universal and equal suffrage by secret ballot is a voluntary act, however some states provide penalties for non-participation in elections, as well as exclusion from the voter list for non-participation in two federal election cycles. The U.S. voters must meet a number of requirements: the age of at least 18 years; the residency requirement (varies from state to state, usually 6 months or 1 year). Only state citizens can elect members of the U.S. Congress. This provision prevents non citizens from participating in Federal elections. Residents of the Federal district of Columbia cannot exercise voting rights to participate in Congressional elections. In order to vote, a voter must be registered. In some states, during registration process voters must declare which political party they prefer. It is necessary for the organization of primary elections (primaries). Different Federal elections have different restrictions on the right to vote. Thus, the minimum age for candidates for the House of representatives of the US Congress is 25 years, for candidates who want to be senators the minimum age is 30 years, for those who want to be president the minimum age

is 35 years. There are also citizenship requirements for candidates: at least 7 years for the U.S. House of representatives, 9 years for the U.S. Senate, and citizenship by birth for the U.S. presidential candidates. Another requirement is a residency qualification. the fact of residence in the state for candidates for the U.S. Congress and permanent residence in the U.S. for 14 years for the U.S. Presidential candidate. The President and the Vice President of the United States cannot represent the same state. The same person may not be elected as president of the United States for more than two terms.

The nomination of party candidates takes place in several stages, including primaries and decisions of national party conventions (for presidential candidates). All candidates in all elections are placed on a single ballot. Some state laws allow unopposed elections. Also from state to state varies the number of parties allowed to participate in the elections of deputies of the U.S. Congress. Federal and state law do not require a minimum number of political parties.

Official members of the two main political parties, the Democratic party and the Republican party, are only full – time employees of the political party apparatus. Candidates could use money from voluntary donations of individuals, contributions of political parties, own funds of the candidate and members of his family, funds allocated by the state (in presidential elections).

The period of the election campaign is not regulated by law. In America, there is no general federal law on the organization and conduct of elections, and in each state elections are held by state law in accordance with the requirements of the U.S. Constitution and a particular state. Only four Federal laws contain articles regulating the organization and conduct of elections.

In most states, the Congress consists of two chambers and is elected by analogy with the Federal Congress. Governors and their deputies (Vice-governors) are also elected by direct and secret ballot. Many states allow the appointment of observers from candidates and political parties (one or two) who do not have the right to interfere in the electoral process, but can monitor the conduct of the vote and the counting of votes. Candidates, their representatives and mass media may be present at polling stations and electoral commissions of districts on the election day and during the counting period.

The peculiarity of the American political system is that they do not have centralized Federal parties. Each state has its own party, with its leader. Thus, there are 50 democratic parties and 50 Republican parties in America, in many states there are Green parties. The procedure for nominating a candidate for the President and Vice President is not fixed in the Constitution or Federal laws of the United States, and therefore each state conducts it with its own peculiarities. The election race begins with the primaries. Depending on state law, voters may vote directly for the presidential candidates or indirectly for party conference and Convention delegates who have to vote for a particular candidate at a party conference. Republicans, who are more party-disciplined, sometimes simply invite their voters to choose a delegate to the party Convention, giving him the opportunity to decide on a worthy candidate for President.

Primaries can be closed (then the party's presidential candidate is chosen only by party members from that state) or open (any voter chooses the candidate of the party he or she supports). After the

primaries, the state party organizations count the votes from all over the state and it becomes clear how many votes each of the candidates received and how many voters supported a particular party, which party wins in a particular state. The state party Congress reviews presidential contenders supported by voters and approves one candidate who will be considered as a presidential contender from that state in the next stage of the election race. A presidential candidate picks a partner to become a Vice presidential candidate. Usually, parties try to nominate a person for Vice-President who will complement the presidential candidate in his qualities. State party congresses nominate deputies from each state who will participate in the national conferences of the respective parties (Democratic and Republican), where they will support their candidates nominated by state party congresses. The number of seats for each state is allocated in proportion to the number of voters in that state. Political scientists consider the work of party congresses and conferences as a sign of a high level of democracy. The party Congress becomes a channels for decisions made at the state and local levels, and therefore it makes the political system as close to the people as possible.

The next stage is the review of candidates for the post of the head of state, who were nominated by the party congresses of the states. This consideration is held by delegates, who were nominated by the state parties to the party conference at the Federal level. Thus delegates act as envoys from their states, transferring the wishes of voters to the national party Congress. In recent decades, primaries determine the candidate from each party before the party Congress. In 2016, those candidates were Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. The 2016 national convention was held by Democrats in Philadelphia, the Republican delegates held their Convention in Cleveland. According to the data published on the Web, the Republican national Convention on July 18-21 in Cleveland (Ohio) cost \$ 64 million.⁶² The Democratic Convention in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on July 25-28 cost about \$ 60 million. The 2016 national party conventions draw attention of Americans and many people around the world. For the first time in American history, the ruling party nominated a woman as Presidential candidate. The national party conference in the pre - election year always pursues two main goals: to choose one presidential candidate from the party and to determine the party program. The presidential candidate presents to the Congress his vision of the challenges facing America and outlines the ways to solve the main problems.

The President and Vice President are elected by the electoral College of each state. Electors in most states are elected under the rules of the relative majority system; electors from Nebraska and Maine are elected under the rules of the proportional representation system. A person who participated in a rebellion against the United States, or who aided or supported enemies of the United States cannot be an elector. Electors can vote for a candidate of a competing party. Usually state electors are required to vote for the candidate who wins the state election, but in theory they can vote for another candidate. Electors sit and vote for the President and Vice President under the U.S. Constitution in December of the year of the presidential election. A simple majority of votes (at least 270) is required for a candidate to be considered as elected.

⁶² Finance yahoo. How Much Will the Republican National Convention Cost?
<https://finance.yahoo.com/news/much-republican-national-convention-cost-213300257.html>

Voting is open and held formally. If no candidate receives a majority of the electoral votes, the winner must be determined by the House of representatives from the three candidates who received the most votes at the meeting of the electoral College.

Primaries are the first major step in any candidate's election campaign, and their results are largely decisive for the outcome of the election. Therefore, candidates carefully prepare for the primary elections and pay special attention to the states where they will participate in these elections (the candidate is not required to participate in all primaries held in the United States). Iowa and New Hampshire have gained the most from this, with primaries a few weeks earlier than elsewhere. The results of the primary voting in these states are discussed in details in the media, and by the time the other primaries have passed, public opinion about the main candidates has already been formed. Thus, the media are the main link of the election race and the electoral process itself.

The media cover of all the nuances of the electoral campaigns, comment on what is happening, quietly, and sometimes openly impose their views, shape public opinion, affect the mind of voters, using all available methods of manipulating public consciousness. The CBS and a research service YouGov carried out surveys of public opinion, CNN covers the debates of the candidates. The mass media monitor all statements of candidates, analyze them, make their conclusions, creating a particular image of the candidate and thereby manipulating public opinion, directing the electoral process in one or another direction. Modern media have a huge arsenal of technical and software resources that allow them to reach immediately an unlimited number of voters in unlimited territories, to attract attention of the world to the electoral process in the United States. It also has an impact on public opinion, it expands the range of participants in the process.

During the election race in the summer of 2016, John Tefft, who was at that time the American Ambassador to the Russian Federation (he was recalled from Russia after Trump's victory) shared his memories of how he was impressed by the media coverage of one of the election campaigns: "My first memories of our party congresses are associated with television reports about the congresses of the democratic party in Chicago and the Republican party in San Francisco in August 1956. I can still see Dwight Eisenhower and Eddie Stevenson on the little black-and-white TV screen. I was impressed by this spectacle of slogans, speeches and crowds. My first interest in politics came from these discussions that engulfed both politicians and ordinary citizens."

In the United States, there is minimal state regulation. Thus, the legislation does not regulate the participation of the print media in the coverage of the elections. The participation of private media is regulated only in terms of providing candidates with airtime for a fee. It is not guaranteed equal access of candidates to television and radio, but equal conditions for its purchase. All airtime is provided to the candidates on a paid basis. At the same time, it is forbidden to spend more than 60 percent of the amount of the electoral Fund on radio and television. The legislation does not prohibit candidates from campaigning on the Internet. The role of the media in shaping public opinion, their sympathy and antipathy to a particular candidate is not a new problem for any country, including the United States. Over the years, it has become a

source of constant controversy in society and in the journalistic environment itself, which escalates as the next election approaches. A country that positions itself internationally as a leader in freedom of speech and freedom of the press cannot boast of an absolutely impartial media, objectivity in covering events and decisions vital to Americans, as well as the politicians who make these decisions.

Special media attention during the 2016 election campaign was focused on the candidates during three rounds of debates, which in turn were organized by the leading US TV channels. At the end of each of them, Trump and Clinton declared their confident victory, although the press on the basis of the polls often preferred the candidate from the Democratic party. Trump responded by calling such polls "dirty" because some of them were conducted on more comfortable environment for his rival. According to a survey conducted by the associated Press and the GfK Institute for marketing research, 56% of possible voters agreed that the media is anti-Trump, only 5% believe that the media is on his side, another 37% of respondents see equality in the coverage of candidates. The opinion about the media bias against Trump is shared in the camp of Democrats: 30% of Clinton supporters agreed with this and only 8% expressed the opposite view. At the same time, 51% of Democrats believe that the press is playing along with their candidate.⁶³ Another poll conducted by Suffolk University and USA Today showed a similar picture: to the question "Who do the leading media want to see as President?" 75.9% of respondents called Clinton and only 7.9% — Trump.⁶⁴ Thus, the main phenomenon of the 2016 election campaign can be considered the "Trump factor", which formed a unique political and media picture for the United States.

2.2 Features of the presidential campaign of D. Trump

Elections of the 45th president of the United States was held November 8, 2016 date important for the entire world. The outcome was unexpected: the Republican candidate Donald Trump won by a large margin. At the age of 70, Donald Trump became the oldest first-elected President of the United States, and broke the record of Ronald Reagan, who took office at 69 years. Donald Trump began to be interested in politics in 2000, when he participated in the primaries of the small reform party. By 2009, he had decided on his own views and joined the Republican party. But the moment when he practically entered the political life of the United States was when on June 16, 2015, he officially announced his intention to become a candidate for the presidency of the United States from the Republican party. From that moment, the news about Trump gradually began to spread around the informational space of the world. The scandalous real estate developer, billionaire and TV star made a strong statement about his intention to become the best head of the United States and decided to run for the presidency in 2016 at his own expense, without attracting sponsors and lobbyists. In December 2016, Trump got the title of "Person of the year" according to the

⁶³RIA,2016. "Poll: 56% of voters in the US believe that the media are set against Trump".

Available at: <https://ria.ru/20161028/1480174761.html>

⁶⁴The Hill. Poll: Public overwhelmingly thinks media is in the tank for Clinton

Available at: <https://thehill.com/media/303552-poll-public-overwhelmingly-thinks-media-is-in-the-tank-for-clinton>

American Time magazine.⁶⁵ "I will be the greatest jobs president God ever created,"⁶⁶ "Make America great again," was his campaign slogan. Which can be classified as an expression with an unspecified positive meaning. As it was mentioned in the first chapter. Then the race began between the two contenders, in which the businessman Trump won over the politician Hillary Clinton. The latter was a front runner and many experts predicted her victory. Trump's strategy was to be proactive everywhere. "Don't be modest, go ahead, engage in the battle and fight back, these are some of my precepts," he says in his books.⁶⁷ The winner of the Republican primary was billionaire Donald Trump, who received support in 30 states and the Northern Mariana Islands. He also defeated senators Ted Cruz and Marco Rubio, Ohio Governor John Casey and thirteen other candidates. The Republican candidate for Vice President of the United States will be Indiana Governor Mike Pence. The Republican national convention, which was held July 18-21, 2016 approved Donald Trump's official candidacy for the U.S. presidential elections, and Michael Pence official candidacy for the post of Vice-President of the US from Republican party.

Trump's presidential campaign was designed carefully. He visited New Hampshire, traditionally considered as a Republican stronghold, then toured Nevada and California, those states that had previously received a solid financial investments from Donald Trump. Trump held many rallies to attract the electorate to support him. His campaign was successful and his popularity was influenced by his character. The Republican candidate always spoke openly, without veiling his speech. His election campaign was full of scandalous statements that caused outrage among members of the current American government and his rival in the presidential race Hillary Clinton. During the election campaign, the businessman positioned himself as a successful American, whose money do not separate him from the ordinary people. At the same time, he paid for participation in the presidential elections from his own funds, what made him a step higher than other candidates, asking for help lobbyists and sponsors. Trump made strong statements that he could become the best American President and make every citizen of the country rich. Many people believed that if he succeed in business and became rich he could do the same for them and for the country. At the same time, known for the extravagant actions and scandalous statements, the US presidential candidate Trump considered himself as a leader in the presidential race, calling his rivals "incompetent idiots." The businessman was confident that society will support him in the election and he will defeat his Democrat rival Hillary Clinton. The main proposals of his campaign concerned the following areas of the American society: immigration, health care, the economy and domestic politics. He strongly opposed immigrants from Mexico and the Middle East. He became famous for his harsh remarks about Mexican migrants, calling the US a "dump for Mexico." If he wins the election, Trump promised to build an analogue of the great wall of China on the border with Mexico. Furthermore, many times he pleaded for the immediate elimination of the ISIS

⁶⁵ Time, 2016. "Person of the year 2016."

Available at: <https://time.com/time-person-of-the-year-2016-donald-trump-choice/>

⁶⁶ The Guardian, 2015. "Donald Trump: 'I will be greatest jobs president God ever created'". Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/video/2015/jun/16/donald-trump-us-president-republicans-video>

⁶⁷ TASS, 2016. "Fight back": What Donald Trump teaches in his books".

Available at: <https://tass.ru/kultura/3777027>

(banned in Russia). Trump has accused Democrats of creating ISIS.⁶⁸ In an interview for NBC, he said he approved the fact that Vladimir Putin "bombed ISIS."⁶⁹ He advocated the abolition of Barack Obama's medical program, saying that it costs too much, and that he would find more effective and cheaper methods for taxpayers. In the economic sector, even Democrats listened to the billionaire Trump. He spoke of the need to return production to the United States by raising duties on U.S. companies' goods manufactured abroad, and argued for a trade war with China. He elaborated on his point of view in the book "Crippled America"⁷⁰, published in 2015. According to Forbes magazine, in 2016, Donald Trump's fortune exceeded four billion dollars. The US Federal election Commission needed 92 pages to describe the assets of Trump—the richest presidential candidate.⁷¹ In March 2016, the media named Donald Trump as the most likely Republican presidential candidate, predicting that he would face Hillary Clinton in the final round of the election. In Russia, the nomination of Trump for the presidency was warmly welcomed, as the billionaire has repeatedly and publicly promised to improve relations with the Kremlin.

The outcomes of the 45th presidential elections were unpredictable. A month before the final, both candidates were involved in scandals. Clinton involved in a scandal with the FBI, Trump was accused of sexual harassment and possible Russian interference in the election campaign to influence the election results. For the first time in the history of the US elections, both during the election campaign and after it was announced about a large-scale foreign "Russian intervention" to influence the course and results of the elections, about the support of one of the candidates (D. Trump) and discredit the other (H. Clinton). Such interference was called cyberattacks on the Democratic national committee and automated election systems. Also Russian media RT and Sputnik were accused of propaganda, so called "Troll factory" work in the Internet, contacts of members of the presidential teams and relatives of Trump with the Russian direct investment fund and other Russian representatives, payment of RT events of Michael Flynn and others. Russian authorities deny the fact of interference.

In 2017, when Trump became president, there was an extensive investigation of Congress of alleged interference in elections. This investigation was led by former FBI director Robert Mueller. The investigation resulted in the resignation of some important members of the Trump's administration (Michael Flynn and others). Members of the presidential teams and Trump's relatives were questioned. Many participants of communities in social networks from "Troll factory" were banned. For RT and Sputnik it was prohibited to advertise in social networks and they were forced to register as foreign agents). The charges were initially based on the activities of the Internet research agency in St. Petersburg and a cyber attack on

⁶⁸ Business insider, 2016. TRUMP: 'Hillary Clinton created ISIS with Obama'
<https://www.businessinsider.com/donald-trump-hillary-clinton-created-isis-obama-2016-1>

⁶⁹ RT, 2015. "Donald Trump supports Putin 'bombing the hell out of ISIS'"
<https://www.rt.com/usa/317641-trump-syria-putin-isis/>

⁷⁰ TASS, 2016. "Fight back": What Donald Trump teaches in his books".
Available at: <https://tass.ru/kultura/3777027>

⁷¹ Forbes, 2018. "Trump's New Financial Disclosure Report Shows Big Revenue At D.C. Hotel, Debt to Michael Cohen"
Available at: <https://www.forbes.com/sites/danalexander/2018/05/16/trumps-financial-disclosure-report-shows-big-revenue-at-dc-hotel-apparent-decline-at-mar-a-lago/#2b7f8ac241ae>

the national committee of the Democratic party of the United States. According to CNN, the FBI in September 2015 told the national committee of the US Democratic party that at least one of its computers hacked by Russian hackers, but the technical experts of the National Committee did not find any suspicious activity.⁷² In November of the same year, the FBI re-warned the Democratic national committee that one of its computers was transmitting information to Russia, but the Democrats' IT specialists were again unable to identify the leak. In June 2016, WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange announced his intention to publish a large number of emails from Hillary Clinton. The newspaper The Washington Post published information about the hacking of computers of the Democratic party by Russian hackers.⁷³

A few days after the termination of investigation against Hillary Clinton on suspicion of violating security rules when using official e-mail (late July), the FBI began an investigation concerning ties of D. Trump with Russia. Several colleagues of the Republican were in the middle of a scandal: Michael Flynn (former head of the intelligence department of the Ministry of defense), by Paul Manafort (D. Trump's campaign Manager), Carter Page (advisor on international politics, one of the organizers of his election campaign), George Papadopoulos (political adviser in the election campaign). The main question the FBI had to answer was: were any of these individuals connected to Russian efforts to undermine the election? CIA director John Brennan also provided information about Russia's involvement. In October 2016, President Obama's administration officially accused the Russian government of attempting to interfere in the election by hacking the computers of the Democratic party and other organizations.⁷⁴ The report was prepared by the office of the director of national intelligence and the department of homeland security. The report was approved by the U.S. Congress, which has made similar accusations before. A long process of investigation began, which continued throughout the election campaign, affecting its course and the ratings of the candidates. On November 8, 2016, the US presidential election was held, bringing victory to Donald Trump. In December 2016, the CIA presented a report to the US Congress confirming with high probability the involvement of Russian government officials in the cyber attack, but provided the report on its investigation with conclusions about the absence of any significant impact of the alleged Russian activities on the outcome of the election. The Russian side and Julian Assange rejected accusations of involvement of the Russian authorities in hacking computers.⁷⁵ In May 2017, former FBI Director Robert Mueller was appointed as a special prosecutor to investigate the interference. In early June 2017, the online edition of the Intercept published information about at least one cyber attack on electronic voting systems on the eve of the

⁷² CNN, 2017. "Sources: FBI investigation continues into 'odd' computer link between Russian bank and Trump Organization" Available at: <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/03/09/politics/fbi-investigation-continues-into-odd-computer-link-between-russian-bank-and-trump-organization>

⁷³ The Washington Post, 2016. "Russian government hackers penetrated DNC, stole opposition research on Trump" Available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/russian-government-hackers-penetrated-dnc-stole-opposition-research-on-trump/2016/06/14/cf006cb4-316e-11e6-8ff7-7b6c1998b7a0_story.html

⁷⁴ Gazeta ru, 2016. "CIA: Trump's victory-Russia's accomplishment". Available at: https://www.gazeta.ru/politics/2016/12/10_a_10417913.shtml

⁷⁵ Fox News, 2017. "Assange: Russian government not the source of WikiLeaks emails". Available at: <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/assange-russian-government-not-the-source-of-wikileaks-emails>

presidential election and sending e-mails to more than 100 heads of local election commissions, allegedly made by Russian military intelligence. According to the authors of the publication, it is based on the content of a top-secret document of the national security Agency that fell into their hands. President Trump categorically denied any assumptions about the critical importance of the Russian intervention into his victory and called all attempts to investigate foreign interference in American elections "witch hunt", and in March 2018, stated: "the Russians had no impact on our vote." In September 2018 columnist in the magazine "The New Yorker," Jane Mayer expressed the opinion that few, including Trump's opponents, has publicly opposed the widespread perception about the lack of strong evidence of the significance of the Russian actions for the outcome of the elections. She said even Democrats were inclined to blame FBI Director James Comey in Clinton's defeat because he at a crucial moment reopened the investigation about her email leaks. In March 2019, Mueller's investigation was officially finished and his materials were handed over to attorney general William Barr. At the end of July 2019, Robert Mueller spoke at a Senate hearing, repeating the findings of his report on the results of the investigation of the special prosecutor and not putting forward against Donald Trump direct accusations of illegal actions, but reporting information about suspicions against people from the inner circle of the president in connections with Russia. Due to lack of evidence, no formal charges were brought against them.

After the third, final debates experts predicted Clinton's victory. However, the results surprised everyone. Trump beat his rival, gaining 306 electoral votes out of the 270 needed to win (H. Clinton scored 232 votes), thereby securing a seat in the oval office of the White House. On December 19, 2016, the electoral College confirmed the election results, giving 304 votes to Trump and 227 votes to Clinton. Only two electors refused the original decision. However, Clinton was ahead of Trump by 2.9 million votes, gaining 65.8 million against 62.9 million. This elections were the fifth in the U.S. history when a candidate with fewer votes became president. The US Congress approved the results of the vote on January 6, 2017, and the 45th US president Donald Trump became the official head of state on January 20. The inauguration of the president took place on January 20, 2017. During his inaugural speech Trump called to "overcome the split between the ruling elite, a corrupt establishment and American society," a radical change in the labor market, drove from the country all the illegal immigrants to leave the U.S. unfavorable political blocs to reach an understanding with Russia, to transport all resources to the benefit of the country and destroy Islamist terrorists.⁷⁶ It should be noted that Trump's victory provoked mass protests against the election results. Rallies were held in cities such as new York, Portland (Oregon), Los Angeles, Oakland (California), Philadelphia (Pennsylvania), Denver (Colorado), Minneapolis (Minnesota), who voted mainly for the Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton.

Formally Republican, and in fact an independent candidate, eccentric billionaire Trump was initially perceived by the elite of the Republican party as a "person from the outside", whose popularity for the

⁷⁶ Time, 2017. "Donald Trump's Full Inauguration Speech"

Available at: <https://time.com/4640707/donald-trump-inauguration-speech-transcript/>

establishment was a surprise. Part of the elite immediately tried to distance themselves from him (the Bush family, Mitt Romney, John McCain). Some media traditionally loyal to Republicans did the same. One of the first newspaper which opposed billionaire was the newspaper Huffington Post. After Trump's proposals to tighten the rules of entry for Muslims, the edition accused him of lies, xenophobia, racism and misogyny. After that, the newspaper said that it would not just cover the Trump's campaign, but also the "catastrophic effect" it has. The media that were loyal to Democrats criticized him and some members of his own party criticized him. Thus, there was a situation in which Trump initially could not count on the support of the press, but on the contrary, was forced to confront it. Some analysts suggest that the strategy of the Trump's image makers was to provide this style of behavior of the politician, and they managed to achieve the main goal: popularity. This is evident from the fact that during the primaries, for a person who has never been elected to any position voted more electors than for any other Republican candidate in the U.S. history (more than 14 million people).

2.3 The image of D. Trump in the American and foreign media.

It is also important to consider how different news and myths during the electoral campaign were formed, how did they influence the media image of the US President Donald Trump. To conduct the analysis it is necessary to examine the texts of the main American and foreign media (Russian media were taken as an example of foreign). Regarding American media sources such examples as The New York Times, Washington Post, CNN, NBC, CBS, Daily News, Fox News, MRCTV, Huffington Post had been used. They published a lot of information about candidates during the election campaign 2016. Among Russian sources I took online media and electronic versions of newspapers to trace how the image of Donald Trump was formed. The publications of BBC, Kommersant, Meduza, Izvestia, RIA Novosti, Rossiyskaya Gazeta, Republic and RBC were analyzed. The period from September 2016 to February 2017 was taken for the analysis with a few publications that go beyond that period. Before debates 26.09.2016 - 19.10.2016 , Trump was presented as a successful construction magnate who has been nominated by the Republican party as a candidate for Presidents. But this image was significantly influenced by the statements of the candidate and the facts of his personal life that became known during the election race. Donald Trump spoke positively about Vladimir Putin, calling him a "real leader", and promised to establish good relations with Russia. His controversial statements about banning entry of Muslims to the United States and the construction of a wall on the border with Mexico provoked a great discussion in media and among citizens and contributed to changes of his perception by electorate.

To this group of provocative statements and scandals we can add the scandal over Trump's recorded conversation with TV host Billy Bush. Thus, the expression of D. Trump's own attitude to a number of issues led to the emergence of more specific perceptions of his personality: "Donald Trump is a sexist", " Donald Trump is a fighter with immigrants", "Donald Trump stands for the interests of ordinary workers"

and many analysts believe that these scandals brought victory to the Republican candidate. The US elections as a fact is a major information occasion, but it is possible to distinguish several waves that have affected the image of the candidates and which were observed also by Russian media. These include scandal with Hillary Clinton's emails, a recording of a conversation between Donald Trump and TV host Billy Bush, published by the Washington Post, in which the presidential candidate told how he behaves with girls, as well as information about his tax evasion, Trump's statements about banning Muslims entering the US, Hillary Clinton's health problems and others, smaller-scale topics that have shaped the images of presidential candidates.

A video recording of a conversation with TV host Billy Bush provoked one of the strongest media waves. In "RIA Novosti" the text titled "D. Trump's son said his father's words about women was 'totally unacceptable'"⁷⁷ was published. A quote was inserted: "That conversation, it was locker room banter, I mean, that's really what it was. It was two alpha guys in a thing, and by the way, it is totally unacceptable. He acknowledged that, and he apologized for it. It's two guys by themselves in private at some event going back and forth. Eric Trump added that his father was a man with a heart of gold and the greatest father in the world."⁷⁸

In RBC publications "Ordinary sexism: How the video with Trump blew up the election campaign"⁷⁹ and "Trump promised to sue on women accused him of harassment"⁸⁰ the cases in which Trump was accused of sexism were examined in details and only at the end of the article there were statements of relatives that characterize the candidate as a good man who is very sorry for his words. There was also a quotation from the Hill edition⁸¹: "Despite these apologies on Central TV channels, Republican politicians massively refuse to support D. Trump's candidacy." In the article "From Bill to Donald. The sex scandals again seized American policy"⁸² published in the online edition of the Republic, along with Trump's apologizes there were quotations of women who accused the magnate of harassment.⁸³ On the web page of TASS in the article under the headline "The Republican party did not refuse to support Donald Trump"⁸⁴ there were the words of Reince Priebus chairman of the Republican National Committee (RNC): "In over

⁷⁷ RIA, 2016. "Trump's son called his father's words about women unacceptable".

Available at: <https://ria.ru/20161012/1479047066.html>

⁷⁸ CNN, 2016. "Eric Trump: My dad's 2005 'alpha' talk was 'totally unacceptable'"

Available at: <https://edition.cnn.com/2016/10/11/politics/eric-trump-alpha-unacceptable/index.html>

⁷⁹ RBC, 2016. "Ordinary sexism: how a video with Trump blew up the election campaign". Available at: <https://www.rbc.ru/politics/09/10/2016/57fa134f9a79471024cbf6b3#>

⁸⁰ RBC, 2016. "Trump promised to sue women who accused him of harassment". Available at: <https://www.rbc.ru/politics/22/10/2016/580ba3e99a79474931752526>

⁸¹ The Hill, "Chaos in GOP: Calls grow for Trump to drop out of race"

Available at: <https://thehill.com/blogs/ballot-box/presidential-races/300005-chaos-in-gop-calls-grow-for-trump-to-drop-out-of-race>

⁸² Republic, 2016. "From Bill to Donald. How sex scandals have taken over American politics again".

Available at: <https://republic.ru/posts/74874>

⁸³ The New York Times, 2016. Two Women Say Donald Trump Touched Them Inappropriately

Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/13/us/politics/donald-trump-women.html?smid=tw-nytimes&smtyp=cur&_r=0

⁸⁴ TASS, 2016. Media: Republican leadership has not refused to support Trump".

Available at: <https://tass.ru/mezhdunarodnaya-panorama/3693421>

the past 24-48 hours, there have been a lot of rumors that we do not want to be more involved in his campaign. However in our support of the official republican candidate for presidency nothing changed." Priebus also said that Trump made a "sincere apology" to everyone who might have been offended by his words." The article "The leaders of Republicans continue to support Trump"⁸⁵ in "Rossiyskaya Gazeta" was proceed in the same manner. However in this publication there were surveys of several publications, including research of Politico which says that scandal didn't have an effect on choices that voters will make. Another Russian edition Meduza by contrast publishes the text under the title "Republicans refuse to support the Trump's candidacy after the scandal with women"⁸⁶, which says that the candidate will be replaced at the pre-election event: "in addition, due to the scandal with the publication of the audio recording senior representatives of the Republican party decided to distance themselves from Trump". But also cited by The Wall Street Journal, to which Trump said: There is 'zero chance I'll quit'⁸⁷ In a similar way the scandal was covered by the publication in Kommersant. The newspaper wrote that some Republicans have not accepted the apologizes of D. Trump and declared unwillingness to support him in the presidential election.⁸⁸ The publication entitled "Trump apologized for the offensive words"⁸⁹ in Rossiyskaya gazeta was built exclusively on information that the candidate for presidency apologized to abused women. The essence of the scandal, as in the publication in Izvestia, was given in a small fragment of the text, the rest of the article was the material of apologizes of D. Trump and his family. Thus, at the peak of thematic wave of scandal media create a perception that Donald Trump treat women with disdain. The negative perception is fixed in the minds of the audience but image-makers through the statements of D. Trump's relatives, colleagues and his own apologizes try to minimize the negative consequences for the image of a politician. However media cannot ignore new controversial statements of the politician because it allows them to attract an audience that wants to learn more details.

Donald Trump spoke a lot about Russia. Thus a perception that the US presidential candidate is on friendly terms with Russian leader appeared. In the publication right after Trumps' victory "Putin talked on the phone with Trump"⁹⁰ Medusa journalist quotes the Kremlin website: "Agreed to continue contacts by phone and in the future to provide personal meeting, which will be prepared by representatives of both sides". In the next publication, "Putin congratulated Trump on his victory in the US presidential elections" also states that "the Russian President expressed confidence that "building a constructive dialogue between

⁸⁵ Rossiyskaya Gazeta, 2016. "The leadership of the Republican party will continue to support Trump". Available at: <https://rg.ru/2016/10/11/rukovodstvo-respublikanskoj-partii-prodolzhit-podderzivat-trampa.html>

⁸⁶ Meduza, 2016. "Republicans renounce Trump because of his insults to women. 11-year-old record could destroy his campaign". Available at: <https://meduza.io/feature/2016/10/09/respublikantsy-otkazyvayutsya-ot-trampa-iz-za-oskorbleniy-v-adres-zhenschin>

⁸⁷ The Wall Street Journal, 2016. Donald Trump Says Campaign Not in Crisis, and There Is 'Zero Chance I'll Quit' <https://www.wsj.com/articles/trump-tells-wsj-i-never-give-up-and-getting-unbelievable-support-1475940443>

⁸⁸ Kommersant, 2016. " Donald Trump's political career is threatened by women". Available at: <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/3112074>

⁸⁹ Rossiyskaya Gazeta, 2016. "Trump apologized to women for offensive words". Available at: <https://rg.ru/2016/10/08/tramp-izvinilsia-pered-zhenshchinami-za-oskorbitelnye-slova.html>

⁹⁰ Meduza, 2016. "Putin spoke with Trump by phone". Available at: <https://meduza.io/news/2016/11/14/putin-pogovoril-po-telefonu-s-trampom>

Moscow and Washington, based on the principles of equality and mutual respect, meets the interests of the two countries." In the text "Obama criticized Trump for the RT interview,"⁹¹ is a quote of the current at the time, US President Barack Obama: "Trump last week came to Russian state television to defame our the military and praise Vladimir Putin." In another article under the headline "Trump promised to establish good relations with Putin"⁹² it was said that "According Trump Putin has better leadership qualities compared to the US President Barack Obama." It should be noted that, the presidential candidate himself fueled the myth of his warm relations with V. Putin, saying that if he was elected the President, he will meet with the Russian leader before the inauguration". In many publications about Trump Medusa used the quotes of politicians, their colleagues and relatives, this edition tries to give information objectively, using the words of speakers. However in this case, the image of the edition, which has the opposition connotation does not match myth of believing in friendship between the two states and their leaders. We can see it in other publications such as "Trump — Putin's project. What's wrong with that?"⁹³ and "Donald Trump. For what people like and hate him?"⁹⁴. In the latter the edition expressed its position about the relationships between the two leaders, saying that Trump " ... stands for better relations with Russia and criticizes Obama administration for failing to negotiate with Putin, but in general nor in his public speeches, nor in election program relations with Moscow do not play a special role." And in material: "Trump is Putin's project. What's wrong with that?" Medusa proved why information that if Donald Trump becomes president, he will give Russia of the Baltic States is not true: "In may 2016, he said, that he was ready to order to attack Russian fighters, in a dangerous rapprochement with American military equipment»; furthermore the edition dispels the myth about friendship between the Russian leader and the American politician: "in early 2016 on his instagram billionaire has published a video in which Putin and ISIS militants were named the most serious threats for the United States"; and the myth about the help of Russian hackers in victory over Hillary Clinton: "maybe Russian hackers participated in the attack, but their connection with the Russian authorities and with the Republicans was not confirmed." In "Izvestiya" the myth about friendship of the Russian and American politicians was constructed through quotes and actions of Russian politicians. Materials about congratulations on winning the elections from Vladimir Putin⁹⁵, news that The State Duma met his victory with applauses were published on the website.⁹⁶ In some publications translated from English to Russian the authors of the articles use 'have to' instead of "need to" and it changes the original idea of the speaker and

⁹¹ RT, 2016. "Obama criticized Trump for the RT interview". Available at:

<https://russian.rt.com/article/320755-obama-raskritikoval-trampa-za-intervyu-rt>

⁹² RBC, 2016. "Trump promised to establish a "very, very good relationship" with Putin". Available at:

<https://www.rbc.ru/politics/08/09/2016/57d0e3839a794769e0e756dd>

⁹³ Meduza, 2016. "Trump is Putin's project. What's wrong with that?"

Available at: <https://meduza.io/feature/2016/07/25/tramp-proekt-putina-chto-s-etim-ne-tak>

⁹⁴ Meduza, 2016. "Donald Trump. For what like and hate". Available at:

<https://meduza.io/feature/2016/10/24/donald-tramp-za-chto-ego-lyubyat-i-nenavidyat>

⁹⁵ Izvestia, 2016. "Putin congratulated Trump with his victory in the US elections and wished success".

Available at: <https://iz.ru/export/google/amp/199709>

⁹⁶ Izvestia, 2016. "The state Duma met Trump's victory with applause".

Available at: <https://iz.ru/news/643751>

makes the reader think that things are more serious than they are in reality. Furthermore it is a useful strategy to put the quotes of selected experts. In the publication "Zakharova: those who says, that Trump is good for Russia," are bad experts" a quote from the speech given by the representative of the Russian Foreign Ministry Maria Zakharova, who denies that "Donald Trump's victory in the US elections was a "gift" for the Kremlin." ⁹⁷

The analysis of the titles of the articles shows that they create the myth about friendship between two politicians. A number of publications on the Izvestia website have also retransmitted the myth that he is the out-of-system candidate of the Republican party. In the text "Donald Trump defeated the system" it was said that Americans are tired of the system. Trump won system. Only a few materials expressed skepticism towards this "friendly relations". In one of them, under the headline "Trump's victory will not improve relations between Russia and the USA"⁹⁸ there was an opinion of the expert who said that "Trump can make a few demonstrative steps, but they will be superficial and will not affect the fundamental attitude of America to Russia."

There were many articles on the RBC web page that included statements of the American politician, creating a perception about the friendship between the two politicians, but in comparison with the number of publications on the same topic in Izvestia they are fewer. There were much more materials that provided negative quotes of politician about the actions of the Russian authorities, such as in the publication "Donald Trump has accused Russia of not respecting the leaders of the United States"⁹⁹ where the journalist of RBC quoted D. Trump: "Russia has violated the agreement about a truce, and now in Syria there is shoot and bomb. We should put an end to it and do it quickly." Also in the publication "Trump told about his attitude to Putin"¹⁰⁰ was an explanation of the statement American policy on his attitude to Vladimir Putin: "in March 2016 Trump really called Putin "a leader much stronger Obama". However, then the Republican stressed that this does not mean, that he expresses unconditional support to the president of Russia." An article under the headline "Financial Times told about Trump's ties to Russia"¹⁰¹ also ends with a quote in which D. Trump denies any connection with Russia: "He added that he knows nothing about the internal affairs of Russia and has no ties with Russia." The involvement of experts in the discussion by the publication should also be taken into account. For instance in the publication "Experts excluded the possibility of resetting relations with Russia after Trump's victory"¹⁰² in RBC experts discussed relations

⁹⁷ Izvestia, 2016. "Zakharova: those who say that Trump is good for Russia, are " bad " experts".

Available at: <https://iz.ru/news/644036>

⁹⁸ Izvestia, 2016. "Trump's victory will not improve relations between Russia and the US".

Available at: <https://iz.ru/news/643654>

⁹⁹ RBC, 2016. Donald Trump accused Russia of disrespecting the US leaders

Available at: <https://www.rbc.ru/politics/05/10/2016/57f45dbd9a7947cc2f95559b>

¹⁰⁰ RBC, 2016. "Trump about Putin". Available at:

<https://www.rbc.ru/rbcfreenews/57f5c7619a79476d7e87e2f8>

¹⁰¹ RBC, 2016. "Financial Times about Trump's ties with Russia". Available at:

<https://www.rbc.ru/politics/17/10/2016/5804aecc9a7947502e947a23>

¹⁰² RBC, 2016. Experts exclude a reset of the US Russia relations after Trump's victory Available at:

<https://www.rbc.ru/politics/09/11/2016/5822efed9a7947efdd7bb578>

with the new US President and Russia. Expert opinion more strongly affects mass consciousness, causing greater trust of the audience. Another important factor is the special way of presenting the words of D. Trump. Journalists present information on the basis of opinions of the Russian politicians. We can see it in the articles entitled "Volodin perceived Trump's statements as the possibility of recognition of Russian Crimea"¹⁰³ and "Volodin has found many similarities in the positions of Putin and Trump."¹⁰⁴ On the website of "Rossiyskaya Gazeta" rg.ru quite the opposite rhetoric was presented. Quote from D. Trump's speech about violation of ceasefire agreements in Syria is interpreted as the ceasefire violations in which the United States has repeatedly accused Russia served as a consequence of the wrong policy of the current power and his opponent Hillary Clinton.¹⁰⁵ In a similar way publication "Trump: Russia did not interfere in the presidential election in the USA"¹⁰⁶ is constructed where the politician was quoted: "I don't believe in it. I don't believe they intervened". Furthermore journalists often use direct quotes of the politician as, for example, in the material "Trump stood up for Russia in debates with Clinton,"¹⁰⁷ in which D. Trump's statement was quoted about Russia's war crimes in Syria: "Damascus, Moscow and Tehran are fighting DAESH. Wouldn't that be great to cooperate with Russia against DAESH?". It is important to stress the fact that even in the title there was a balance "friend-foe". Donald Trump was presented as a friend. This technique can be traced in other titles of the edition, such as for example in the publication "How the US Congress intends to prevent Trump "to get along" with Moscow"¹⁰⁸, where the US Congress acts as a rival or opponent. In the article "Trump: Putin is a real leader in Russia"¹⁰⁹ journalist put only a part of the quotation of the politician in the headline, though the original one was: "I think when he calls me brilliant, I'll take the compliment, OK? If he says great things about me, I'm going to say great things about him. I've already said he is really very much a leader. I mean, you can say, 'Oh, isn't that a terrible thing?' The man has very strong control over a country," It is different system. I don't happen to like it "But certainly in that system he's been a leader far more than our president has been a leader. We have a divided country."¹¹⁰. The same method was used in another article entitled "Key remarks of Donald Trump on the foreign policy and Russia", where only positive statements of the politician about Russia were published. Many publications on the website of Kommersant were also based on D. Trump's statements. As an example there was an article

¹⁰³ RBC, 2016. "Volodin think that Trump may recognize Russian Crimea". Available at: <https://www.rbc.ru/politics/13/11/2016/582868759a79479381f5b9a3>

¹⁰⁴ RBC, 2016. "Volodin found much in common in the positions of Putin and Trump". Available at: <https://www.rbc.ru/politics/13/11/2016/582840a09a79478207d762a8>

¹⁰⁵ Rossiyskaya Gazeta, 2016. "Trump: Russia violated the agreement on Syria because of disrespect for the United States". Available at: <https://rg.ru/2016/10/05/tramp-rossiia-narushila-dogovorenosti-po-sirii-iz-za-neuvazheniia-k-ssha.html>

¹⁰⁶ Rossiyskaya Gazeta, 2016. "Trump: Russia did not interfere in the US presidential elections". <https://rg.ru/2016/12/07/tramp-ne-schitaet-cto-rf-vmeshivalas-v-hod-prezidentskih-vyborov-ssha.html>

¹⁰⁷ Rossiyskaya Gazeta, 2016. "Trump stood up for Russia to Clinton". Available at: <https://rg.ru/2016/10/10/tramp-vstupilsia-za-rossiiu-pered-klinton-moskva-srazhaetsia-protiv-daish.html>

¹⁰⁸ Rossiyskaya Gazeta, 2017. "How the us Congress intends to prevent Trump from "getting along" with Moscow". Available at: <https://rg.ru/2017/01/10/kak-kongress-ssha-nameren-pomeshat-trampu-poladit-s-moskvoj.html>

¹⁰⁹ Rossiyskaya Gazeta, 2016. "Trump: Putin is a real leader in Russia". Available at: <https://rg.ru/2016/09/08/tramp-putin-nastoiashchij-lider-v-rossii-a-za-obamoj-raskolotaia-strana.html>

¹¹⁰ News, 2016. "Trump: Putin more of a leader than Obama" <https://www.yahoo.com/news/trump-putin-more-of-a-leader-than-obama-130623259.html>

entitled "I think I will have very, very good relations with Russia"¹¹¹, where as a title was given the original quote of the politician. With the words of politician there were quotations from the foreign publications, such as in the article "Donald Trump "would like to get along" with Vladimir Putin"¹¹²: "He noticed that it would be great, if he and Putin got along. However, he rejected the idea of any warming relations, which would be called a reset," - said the edition." In many publications references were given to the US President Barack Obama criticized by Trump and his opponent in the elections Hillary Clinton to show, that the words of the politician were not an expression of his attitude to Russia and its leader, but presidential candidate's campaign rhetoric. For example, in the article "I hope we make friends with Vladimir Putin, the chances are good"¹¹³ D. Trump was quoted: "if Putin likes Donald trump, it's a plus, not a minus. I do not know if we'll make friends, I hope we will, the chances are good» with a comment by a journalist: "He also noted that the tensions between Russian leader and the US President Barack Obama reached "catastrophic level." This thought was also promoted through the words of speakers: "in their opinion, the course of the newly elected president to restore the dialogue with Moscow, announced during the election campaign, was part of the criticism of Barack Obama's foreign policy."¹¹⁴ The journalist quoted the first Deputy Chairman of the state Duma Committee Russian Federation on international Affairs Dmitry Novikov, who believes that "it is not necessary to expect changes after Donald Trump's victory." Later there is a quote by Sergey Mironov: "One thing is the statements of the candidates, and the other thing is real life."¹¹⁵

Another edition named Republic also quoted Donald Trump, but in comparison with other media much rare. In the article entitled "Kremlin unveiled the details of the talks between Putin and Trump", where it was said that Putin became the first leader who congratulated D. Trump with his victory, was given a statement by the American politician that "the US will maintain good relations with all countries that want this."¹¹⁶ After reading of a large number of such materials, the audience of the Republic website can have a perception that the friendly relationship between the two countries and their leaders is an illusion that is common only in Russia and not in the USA. Some texts directly express the opinion of the edition and journalists: "How would Vladimir Putin has not convinced the world that Russia will work with any President-elect of the United States, hope of the Russian authorities it was difficult to hide Trump's victory."

¹¹⁷Some of the titles also help to create another perception: "I'm for Donald, but against Putin": what people

¹¹¹ Kommersant, 2017. "I think I will have a very, very good relationship with Russia". Available at: <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/3083539>

¹¹² Kommersant, 2017. "Donald Trump "would like to get along" with Vladimir Putin". Available at: <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/3150659>

¹¹³ Kommersant, 2017. "I hope we will make friends with Vladimir Putin, the chances are good". Available at: <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/3188420>

¹¹⁴ Kommersant, 2016. "In God We Trump". Available at: <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/3137753>

¹¹⁵ Kommersant, 2016. "The state Duma applauded Donald Trump". Available at: <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/3137267>

¹¹⁶ Republic, 2016. "Putin congratulated Trump with his victory". Available at: <https://republic.ru/posts/75946>

¹¹⁷ Republic, 2016. "Bet on chaos. What does Russia expect from the new America?". Available at: <https://republic.ru/posts/75955>

think about Russia." Politician denies his ties with Russia: "Someone really believes that Clinton would be tougher with Putin than I am?". Newly elected American President has repeatedly denied his connections and any relations with Russia."¹¹⁸

It is also important to mention that one of the features of the edition is the construction of the political image of D. Trump through his colleagues. Thus, in a number of publications journalists quote politicians from his team: "Russia should take responsibility for its actions, including the situation with Crimea, Russia "had no rights for the territory which was not its part." Tillerson also noted Russian support for the Syrian army, which, he said, "violates the laws of wartime." The future US Secretary of State said the duty of Russia is to be responsible for its actions."¹¹⁹ Among other politicians who were cited: "James Mattis called Russia one of the "principle" threats to the world order since world war II. Mike Pompe also described Russia's behavior aggressive.

As conclusion to the analysis of the publications, we can state that during the election campaign Donald Trump's media image has changed. A number of mass media myths had an influence on it. It means that the media form the image of politicians not only on the basis of their speeches, statements and promises, but also according to the goals of the media source. Thus, we can say that all media use mechanisms that help them to correct and design the image of the politician. Foreign editions usually broadcast the words of politicians that in their turn can affect the construction of the media image. Media use mechanisms for selecting and presenting content to influence their audiences. Among the most frequently used techniques by the media in order to form special perception of the politician among citizens are: ignoring some sort of information or intentionally increasing the amount of information about politician, commenting on quotes from politician's speeches, adding information that conflicts with these quotes, giving special characteristics about politician on the basis of his colleagues opinions, interpretation of his own words in the necessary manner. Donald Trump's media image has changed during the election campaign several times. At the beginning of the election race he was described as a candidate who has no enough experience in the political field with minimal chances of winning. After some time his image transformed into a strong leader who successfully manages his business and can successfully manage the whole country, into a politician who can establish a dialogue with Russia and Vladimir Putin.

As concerning American editions there were many sources of information with different opinions about the candidacy of Donald Trump. Several times during his campaign he called The New York Times, NBC News, ABC, CBS and CNN¹²⁰ as fake news editions or even enemies of the people.¹²¹ He used his

¹¹⁸ Republic, 2017. "Trump has promised to make Russia respect the United States".

Available at: <https://republic.ru/posts/78402>

¹¹⁹ Republic, 2017. "The future US Secretary of state reminds Russia to be responsible for its actions".

Available at: <https://republic.ru/posts/78397>

¹²⁰ CNN, 2019. "How Trump's 'fake news' rhetoric has gotten out of control"

Available at: <https://edition.cnn.com/2019/06/11/politics/enemy-of-the-people-jim-acosta-donald-trump/index.html>

¹²¹ CNN, 2019. "New York Times responds to Trump's attack: 'It's not just false, it's dangerous'"

<https://edition.cnn.com/2019/02/20/media/new-york-times-enemy-of-the-people/index.html>

Twitter account very often to address the US citizens directly avoiding the traditional media. USA today stressed in the article on the website that newly elected president has zero government experience.¹²² Another edition named Politico published an article entitled "Trump's pay for pay scandal intensifies" where the Republican nominee is presented in a poor light.¹²³ On the webpage of Washington Post on the 9 November appeared a list of front pages of different newspapers expressing a great surprise after Trump's victory.¹²⁴ The titles of the articles were mainly negative, as for example "New York Daily News dubs Trump White House a 'House of Horrors'". Trump also used populism rhetoric in his campaign. He knew his audience very well and in every state promised the exact thing that citizens wanted to hear. There was a quote of Henry Olsen, the author of *The Four Faces Of The Republican Party* on the National public radio website: "Any ambitious politician has seen that there are millions of voters who can be mobilized using populist rhetoric who had not voted in any Republican presidential primary for the last 20 years," Olsen said. "You probably won't see an identical Trump-like figure in future years. But anti-trade, more nativist, more anti-free markets are there for the taking in the Republican Party. And that will influence campaigns and candidates for years to come."¹²⁵ "For people who are looking at the world through populist spectacles — their first question is now, what's in it for us?" said Galston a former Clinton White House aide. "And if there isn't a clear answer to that question, then the default conclusion is that what's going on beyond our borders is more of a burden than a benefit." "Trump's populist positions are challenging the Republican Party's basic DNA, its core ideology about foreign policy and trade and limited government. However as it was said in the article "foreign policy next year will have to deal with a new kind of nationalism. Galston calls it "Americans first" — which sounds pretty close to Donald Trump's foreign policy slogan." According many experts Trump relied on people's needs. The New York Times put a quotation in its article after the Republican candidate victory: "He was talking to people who weren't being spoken to," said Joseph Gravagna, a marketing company owner from Rockland County, N.Y. "That's how I knew he was going to win."¹²⁶ In the same article the election campaign of 2016 was described as "an explosive, populist and polarizing", and the result of it was "stunning". The outcome was unexpected because late polls showed that Hillary Clinton has a "modest but persistent edge". The personality of newly elected president was presented as "powerful rejection of the establishment forces that had assembled against him". According to the article from the very beginning "with a shocking set of claims that Mexican immigrants were rapists and criminals, Mr. Trump was widely underestimated as a candidate, first by his opponents for the Republican nomination

¹²² USA Today, 2016. "Where Trump ranks among least experienced presidents"

Available at: <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/onpolitics/2016/11/08/donald-trump-experience-president/93504134/>

¹²³ Politico, 2016. "Trump's pay-for-play scandal intensifies"

Available at: <https://www.politico.com/story/2016/09/trump-pam-bondi-scandal-227823>

¹²⁴ The Washington Post, 2016. "New York Daily News dubs Trump White House a 'House of Horrors'"

Available at: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/11/09/new-york-daily-news-dubs-trump-white-house-a-house-of-horrors/?noredirect=on>

¹²⁵ National Public Radio, 2016. "How This Election's Populist Politics Are Bigger Than Trump And Sanders".

Available at: <https://www.npr.org/2016/04/25/475551861/populist-candidates-appeal-to-voters-who-feel-theyre-unheard>

¹²⁶ The New York Times, 2016. "Donald Trump Is Elected President in Stunning Repudiation of the Establishment".

Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/09/us/politics/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-president.html>

and later by Mrs. Clinton, his Democratic rival." Polling organizations and data analysts missed his rise. The edition also stressed "his improvisational style and his appeal to disillusioned voters".

The author described his actions as following: "At times, he simply lied. But Mr. Trump's unfiltered rallies and unshakable self-regard attracted a zealous following, fusing unsubtle identity politics with an economic populism that often defied party doctrine." His rallies — furious, entertaining, heavy on name-calling and nationalist overtones — became the nexus of a political movement, with daily promises of sweeping victory, in the election and otherwise, and an insistence that the country's political machinery was "rigged" against Mr. Trump and those who admired him. He seemed to embody the success and grandeur that so many of his followers felt was missing from their own lives — and from the country itself." In the article it was also stressed that "he scoffed at the poll-driven word-parsing ways of modern politics, calling them a waste of time and money. Instead, he relied on his gut. His campaign featured a shape-shifting list of policy proposals, often seeming to change hour to hour." It was underlined that his relatives and colleagues played a huge role in his campaign: "His staff was in constant turmoil, with Mr. Trump's children serving critical campaign roles and a rotating cast of advisers alternately seeking access to Mr. Trump's ear, losing it and, often, regaining it, depending on the day." His controversial behavior was mentioned: "His refusal to release his tax returns, and his acknowledgment that he did not pay federal income taxes for years, has left the American people with considerable gaps in their understanding of the financial dealings."

Apart from fake information another form of fakes was used. As it was mentioned in the first chapter fake accounts is also one of the tools of manipulation. There are many users of Twitter and Facebook and some of them are not real. Special computer programs imitate "likes", "reposts" in these social networks and can even comment posts. According to Dhiraj Murthy, an Associate Professor of Journalism and Sociology at the University of Texas at Austin the accounts of presidential candidates, are followed by fake accounts, which can be attributed to the category of bots or even a bot networks. Special online services, like TwitterAudit and BotOrNot try to determine what percent of 9 million subscribers of Trump's account and 7 million Clinton's are real people, what are fake accounts, which of them are just abandoned empty profiles, and which are computer bots. In the article published in the Atlantic magazine, journalist Andrew McGill claims that at least 75 percent of the subscribers of each of the candidates are real people and only less than 4 percent of them differ in "behavior typical for bots." It is not much, but according the huge number of subscribers for both accounts Clinton and Trump, 4 percent means at least 200,000 bots. Amplification and dissemination of messages are key functions within the social media system. Messages can lose their relevance quickly and disappear in a flow of new content. "Bots can keep some topics relevant and spread messages pretty well. It depends on their program," Murthy says. However bots can also be used to "mute" criticism, they are successfully used to spam within discussions that can be found on certain hashtags, "says Philip Howard, a Professor at Oxford University who studies bots created to achieve political goals. It is extremely difficult to determine who exactly is hiding behind the thousands of Twitter bots that follow Trump and Clinton profiles. It's also unclear whether bots are being used-directly or indirectly - by political

race participants themselves to earn extra subscribers or to attack an opponent. Neither Clinton's nor Trump's staff responded to the request. It is clear that political bots are becoming an integral part of election campaigns - both in the US and abroad. "We need to get used to the fact that non - human actors are acting on social media, and this is going to become increasingly common," Cornelius Puschmann says an employee at the Alexander von Humboldt Institute for Internet and society in Berlin.¹²⁷

As concerning Facebook, according to President-elect Donald Trump's digital director Brad Parscale, the social media giant was very influential during the elections —not because it was tipping the scales with fake news, but because it helped generate the bulk of the campaign's \$250 million in online fundraising. "Our biggest incubator that allowed us to generate that money was Facebook," says Parscale, who has been working for the campaign since before Trump officially announced his candidacy a year and a half ago. Over the course of the election cycle, Trump's campaign funneled \$90 million to Parscale's San Antonio-based firm, most of which went toward digital advertising. And Parscale says more of that ad money went to Facebook than to any other platform. Media analysts worked to figure out how social media may have altered the outcome of the elections. They have pointed to online echo chambers and the proliferation of fake news as the building blocks of Trump's victory. Of course Facebook was hugely influential in the presidential election, in large part because Trump's campaign embraced Facebook as a key advertising channel in a way that no presidential campaign has before—not even Clinton's. Facebook proved to be a powerful way for Trump's team to hone the campaign's message with the kind of enormous sample sizes you can't get with traditional polling. "They have an advantage of a platform that has users that are conditioned to click and engage and give you feedback," says Gary Coby, director of advertising at the Republican National Committee, who worked on Trump's campaign. "Their platform's built to inform you about what people like and dislike." Social media was Trump's primary communication channel. It wasn't a platform for broadcasting pre-planned messages but for interacting with supporters and starting new conversations—however controversial those conversations often were. Whether fake news did or didn't affect the election's outcome, Facebook as a platform did. The winning candidate was not just willing, but eager to break with traditional models of campaigning. His team invested in new ways of using the digital tools and platforms that have come to dominate the media landscape. Anyone who wants to defeat him in the future will have to do the same.¹²⁸

Thus we can notice that during the election campaign the maximum attention by the media was given to the most scandalous events and statements. In order to attract more people policymakers and media used information from 30 years ago. Negative connotation of the statements and actions in the media prevailed over positive intentions and promises.

¹²⁷The Us presidential election: Twitter bots in the service of politicians Available at: <https://www.dw.com/ru>

¹²⁸ Here's How Facebook *Actually* Won Trump the Presidency
<https://www.wired.com/2016/11/facebook-won-trump-election-not-just-fake-news/>

Conclusions on Chapter 2

To sum up we can make the following conclusions: the election campaign in the United States is a complex and long process, which is governed by the Constitution and laws of the states and is carried out in several stages. The initial and time consuming stage is primaries, as it begins long before the elections. During this period, institutional arrangements are carried out, candidates for the presidency are nominated. Then the candidates campaigning among potential voters. During the next phase, each state votes for candidates and electors at polling stations, the votes received by the candidates across the state are counted. This process determines the number of voters who supported a particular party in that state. Usually Democratic and Republican parties receive the majority of votes. Then all the parties taking part in the election race hold their party congresses in the states. The state congresses determine the presidential candidates who will be nominated by each party to the national party congresses (at the Federal level) and the delegates (deputies) who will support these candidates at the national congresses. At the next stage, national party congresses (at the Federal level) are held. Usually, these are congresses of Democratic and Republican parties. The task of these congresses is to elect one candidate from each party, who will take part in further debates. In the 2016 presidential campaign, these candidates were H. Clinton from the Democratic party and D. Trump from the Republican party. The last stage of the election campaign is the electoral vote, which determines the winner and the future president of the United States. All stages of voting are conducted by majority system.

The outcome of 2016 presidential campaign was the election of Republican candidate Donald Trump. Constant attention was geared to this campaign. American voters were active, turnout was high (55.7%). For the first time in the history of the United States a woman candidate for the presidency from Democratic party was nominated. Former Secretary of state H. Clinton scored 2.9 million votes, more than the winner D. Trump (by the number of electoral votes: 304 to 227). It confirms the imperfection of the US electoral system. In addition, for the post of head of state was elected a billionaire businessman, not politician. He is the oldest (70 years) candidate who is elected to any position for the first time. During the election campaign, both candidates used all available methods of manipulating public opinion, including populist rhetoric, fake information, that in most cases discredit the opponent. The entire period of the presidential campaign was accompanied by multiple rallies of supporters and opponents, scandals and revelations, including the hacking of servers of the Democratic party, allegedly by Russian hackers, suspicions of the interference in the electoral process of the Russian security services in order to discredit H. Clinton and support D. Trump. Both candidates have not been formally charged because of the insufficient evidence. For the first time in the history of the US election, large-scale foreign interference in the electoral process was announced.

The media were very active and had a significant impact on the election race, on the entire electoral process. They formed images of the candidates extensively transmitting and using a lot of fake information.

Media were active in campaigning, violated ethics rules by using many available techniques to manipulate public opinion and resources of technical and software tools of the society. The United States holds the leading position in the world in the number of periodicals issues. About 24 thousand periodicals are published in the country. The most common daily newspapers: the Wall Street Journal, USA Today, The New York Times, The Los Angeles Times, The Washington Post. The Associated Press (AP) is the oldest news agency in the world and the leading news Agency in the United States. The leading TV companies: CNN, NBC, CBS, ABC, Fox News and the CW. The United States also holds the leading position in the world in the number and variety of online news resources. With technological progress, many traditional print media created their websites in the Internet. Many newspapers, television and radio stations have websites. Some of them have completely switched to the electronic version. A number of newspapers have developed mobile apps that adapt the message format to the phone and tablet screens (The New York Times and the Wall Street Journal). It allows to attract new audience, expand communication channels and opportunities for the publication of information.

The 2016 election campaign in the United States was followed by the entire world. American and foreign media covered its progress in detail and thoroughly discussed all aspects of life and activities, as well as the personal qualities of the presidential candidates and their colleagues. The media play a key role in shaping public opinion during election campaigns. In the center of discussion in the media was the 45th US president Donald Trump, the most unpredictable opponent in the history of the presidential elections. In the American media D. Trump was called an outsider, because he had never been part of the American political system. Donald Trump is a charismatic, unpredictable leader. "I will be the greatest president God ever created," "Make America great again," was his campaign slogan. His presidential campaign was designed carefully. He visited New Hampshire, traditionally considered as a Republican stronghold, then toured Nevada and California. Those states that had previously received a solid financial investments from Trump, as well as other states. His successes in the presidential campaign was unexpected not only for Democrats but also for Republicans. Billionaire Donald Trump received support in 30 states and the Northern Mariana Islands, and defeated senators Ted Cruz and Marco Rubio, Ohio Governor John Casey and thirteen other candidates. The biggest support for Trump was provided by such states as Texas (38 electoral votes), Florida (29 votes), Pennsylvania (20 votes), Ohio (18 votes), Georgia (16 electoral votes).

The main statements of his campaign concerned the following areas of American society: immigration, health care, the economy and domestic politics. He sharply opposed migrants from Mexico and the Middle East, demanded the abolition of Barack Obama's medical program, saying that its provision is too expensive for the state, and that he would find more effective and cheaper methods for taxpayers. In the economic sector, even Democrats listened to the billionaire Trump. He spoke of the need to return production to the United States by raising duties on the U.S. companies ' goods manufactured abroad, and argued for a trade war with China. He expressed his point of view in the book "Crippled America", published in 2015. The political elite did not welcomed Trump and did everything to discredit him. His character, manner of

communication and populism also influenced his rating in the media. Almost all the media supported Clinton. Some experts say that the anti-ratings of the elite and the media caused the opposite reaction among ordinary people and allowed him to win an undeniable victory.

To analyze image of D. Trump in the different periods of the campaign, as the American media were taken such as The New York Times, Washington Post, CNN, NBC, CBS, Daily News, Fox News, MRCTV, Huffington Post. They published a lot of information about the candidates during the 2016 election campaign. Russian media are taken as an example of foreign media. Among them online media and electronic versions of newspapers were analyzed. Publications in "Kommersant", "Medusa", "Izvestia", "RIA Novosti", "Rossiyskaya Gazeta", "Republic" and RBC.

At the initial stage of the election race, all the media (American and foreign) considered D. Trump as a businessman, that has nothing to do with politics. However, his speeches, slogans, manner of communication, information about his personal life and his relatives, caused a wave of scandals. The biggest scandals connected with Trump's statements about migrants, Mexico, Muslims, about the relationship with women, about Clinton's health, about the Russian leader, about relations with Russia, about domestic and foreign policy of the United States, as well as investigation of the fact of hacking computers of the Democratic party, about the possibility of Russian interference in the electoral process. All this contributed to a change in the attitude of the political elite, the media, the electorate, and also changed the previously formed image. Trump's rating fluctuated one way and then the other. American and Russian media actively discussed these topics, accompanying them with their comments. In order to confirm the reliability of publications, the Russian media used a lot of quotes from Trump's statements and American media. In Russian as well as in American media there were a lot of contradictory information, there were a lot of fake information, "wordplay" widely used ("should" instead of "need" and vice versa). This changed the meaning of what was said, made it more significant or vice versa less significant. The American press pays much attention to the relations between D. Trump and V. Putin. Trump always makes contradictory statements and use populist rhetoric. International and American press called Trump unpredictable politician. Publications of the Russian mass media also have a diverse nature depending on the views of these media. Different media in the same information material emphasize different words. This is typical for American and Russian media. Thus, all available methods of manipulation are used in the presentation of information. A large amount of information discussed during this period in the Russian media was about hacker attacks, about accusations of possible interference in the American elections, about the relationship between Trump and the Kremlin, the US and Russia. The articles have a different tone. Depending on the information circulating in various media throughout the election period, the image of Trump, his ratings, the attitude of the American, Russian and international public towards him changed.

D. Trump's visits to the different states during the primaries played an important role in the election campaign. In this period, Trump made a lot of populist statements. He knew very well his electorate and he made a lot of promises. Trump talked to people no one has ever talked to. This attracted huge number of

voters supporting him. Populist rhetoric attracted millions of people who previously did not want to take part in the elections. Trump in the first stage of the election race bypassed his rivals in the party and remained the only candidate to be considered at the national Congress of the Republican party for the presidency. American media for a long time considered Trump as a weak competitor of H. Clinton at the debate stage. Russian media described him carefully and did not express confidence in his victory.

With experience of managing popular TV shows, Trump in his manner uses an element of theatricality that attracts attention and is perceived differently. This image of Trump is present in many American and foreign media and makes it memorable.

During the election campaign, most media sought to describe Trump as an incompetent politician. The popular TV channel CNN and one of the most influential newspapers, the New York Times, were the first to create a negative image of D. Trump. After taking office, Trump called NBC, ABC, CBS, CNN and The New York Times on his Twitter enemies of the American people. The confrontation between president Trump and the American media began. The New York Times notes that Trump, dividing journalists into loyal and disloyal, started a war with the media and within the media. D. Trump does not trust the media. Therefore, he prefers to communicate with citizens via Twitter account or Fox News channel.

International media believe that Trump is a figure that cannot be controlled, as he is free in his arguments, because of his money. The monthly newspaper The American Spectator emphasizes that Trump's actions go beyond expectations. His foreign policy style keeps foreign governments alert and in good shape. The U.S. marketing companies called the 2016 election campaign "explosive, populist and polarizing."

CHAPTER 3. Analysis of S. Berlusconi's innovation in the context of the peculiarities of the use of the media in the political sphere

3.1 The specifics of the relationship between political power and the media in Italy

In Italy, political parties and their leaders have always shown an interest in media as an instrument of influence on public consciousness. There is a special relationship between politics and the media in Italy. The media mainly had to serve the interests of politicians and entrepreneurs. This led to their fusion with economic and political power, to political engagement.

The state-owned Italian radio and television (RAI), that was created in 1954, was placed under the strict control of the ruling parties and became an instrument of political power. Within this state-owned company, a protest movement against the authoritarian system of governance emerged. Demands to reform RAI started to appear. And then in the early 1970s, the weekly newspaper *Espresso* initiated a debate, echoed by many other Italian publications, about the legitimacy of the state's monopoly on television and radio, which are used in the interests of political parties and businesses, not society. On the pages of newspapers and magazines claims about the need of pluralism in the system of audio-visual media, greater autonomy of RAI structures appeared. This led to the fact that under the pressure of public opinion, in the formation of which the left-wing press was actively involved, in 1974 the constitutional court of Italy decided to grant private owners the right to rebroadcast television programs of foreign stations. In addition, private owners were allowed to establish local cable television stations. The legalization of already existing channels began, and new ones were created. At that time Silvio Berlusconi, who built his capital by the construction of housing in Milan comes to the TV business. He created a cable TV station "Telemilano", which conducts television programs for Milan. The owners of private television wanted live broadcasting and kept holding discussions in press about how to organize RAI broadcasting. The government passes the RAI reform act. However, it changed little in that situation, because it consolidated the state monopoly on national radio and television and only proclaimed pluralism in information activities. At the same time, the principle of party leadership of information programs was legalized. The struggle for liberalization of audiovisual media, which involved politicians, entrepreneurs and print media continued. As a result, the adopted law has been amended and individuals got the right to own local television and radio stations. The era of commercial broadcasting began. Berlusconi transformed Telemilano into an on-air station and created a television network on which numerous local television stations depended. Thus, he had an opportunity to influence people who lived in the regions. Berlusconi managed to drive his rivals out from the TV market through the purchase of their TV assets. In the late 1970s, he established the first major commercial television network in Europe.¹²⁹ S. Berlusconi demonstrated his interest not only in television, but in printed publications, acquiring a stake of the newspaper "II Giornale nuovo". This success was due not only to his enterprising, but also a good relationship with the Italian socialist party and its leader Bettino Craxi, who in

¹²⁹Vesti, 2010. The 10 biggest media tycoons in history

Available at: <https://www.vestifinance.ru/articles/91653?page=6>

1983-1987 headed the Italian government. According to a number of printed media in Italy, as well as the investigation, with the help of functionaries of the Italian socialist party, Berlusconi concealed the fraud in the construction and other business. According to investigators Berlusconi has achieved success at the TV market thanks to their support and not pro bono. He held a strong position on the market and began to compete with the state television. Such activity with signs of corruption caused concern among opponents. In Parliament discussions on the need to adopt a law for regulation of the activities in the air started. The broadcasting of Berlusconi's television stations in some areas was suspended because their activities contradicted the decision of the constitutional court on the local nature of commercial broadcasting. B. Craxi's government lifted the ban and passed a decree allowing Berlusconi's networks to broadcast. The decree was unconstitutional. Debates broke out in Parliament but ended with no result. Then the government of Craxi adopted a new decree, which referred to the possibility of private television and national private networks, as well as local television stations to exist in Italy. In 1985, the decree was converted into a law and became a long-term regulatory document. Thus, Berlusconi continued to conquer the media market with the help of the power of the state. He bought a controlling stake of the newspaper "Il Giornale nuovo", entered the European television market and bought the publishing house Mondadori. Mondadori publishing house was a third of the book market in Italy and dozens of different magazines. It was a very powerful tool for influencing public opinion. Years later, Berlusconi was charged with bribing a judge whose decision allowed him to obtain publishing assets. But the case was dismissed because of the statute of limitations.¹³⁰

In 1990, the Italian Parliament passed a new law on radio and television which confirmed the existence of a mixed system of audiovisual media, and also clearly established the number of national television networks that could be owned by a private owner, namely three channels.¹³¹ Thus, the Parliament legislated parity established on the TV market: three TV channels of the state corporation RAI and the three television network, owned by Silvio Berlusconi ("Italia 1 and Canale 5 and Rete-4")¹³². Thus, Berlusconi's business flourished with the help of the political power of the Italian socialist party. He owned print media, a publishing house and three national channels, as well as construction and food companies, a chain of stores, financial companies. The term "Berlusconism" appeared, that is, the lifestyle dictated by Silvio Berlusconi. A significant part of Italians lived in houses built by his firms, bought food in his supermarkets, read his newspapers and magazines, watched films purchased by his companies and broadcasted on his television channels. This significant part of Italian society became the core of his electorate. Even the scandal with Berlusconi's membership in the underground Masonic lodge Propaganda-2, associated with organized crime and neo-fascists did not prevent him from gaining popularity among citizens. In fact, a parallel centre of power with serious political, economic and financial possibilities had been formed in the country and its

¹³⁰ Ilinsky M.M. "Silvio Berlusconi Italian Prime Minister". Litagent « Legal center »2004

¹³¹ Urina N.V. Italian media. - M., 1996. - c. 53

¹³² RBC, 2012. "All the king's horses: How Silvio Berlusconi built an Empire". Available at: <https://www.rbc.ru/society/26/10/2012/5703fe9f9a7947fcbd441dee>

activities had been suppressed by prosecutors and judges. In 1990, Berlusconi and several other members were brought to trial. Despite his persistent denial of belonging to the Lodge, he was found guilty of perjury by the court. Nevertheless, he managed to avoid punishment under amnesty. No corruption scandals could compromise his power.

In 1992, prosecutors in Milan launched a "Clean hands" investigation. As a result of investigation it became clear that corruption flourished everywhere in power. Dozens of parliamentarians, government officials, party leaders and mayors were brought to justice. This scandal (it was called "Tangentopoli") completely discredited the political and economic elite of Italy, that was mired in bribery. The Italian socialist party ceased to exist, its leader Bettino Craxi fugitive from justice in Tunisia, Silvio Berlusconi was threatened with imprisonment. To avoid punishment Berlusconi decided to fill the political vacuum in the country. He organized clubs "Forza, Italia!" and then, when there were several thousand of them, on their basis the party "Forza, Italia!" was created. Relying on the propaganda power of his TV channels, as well as the print media with new editions, he kept the presence in Parliament and firmly established in the political arena of Italy. Berlusconi holds the record in the world political history: with the party founded in January 1994 in 60 days he won parliamentary elections¹³³. The whole point of his further actions as Prime Minister was, first of all, to protect himself from prosecution related to corruption cases. In 2003, when Berlusconi for the second time headed the Italian government, the Parliament under his control adopted the amendment "of Lodo Schifani" guaranteeing legal immunity for the President, Prime Minister and speakers of the both chambers of Parliament. This caused indignation in Italian society, because violated the rule "the law is equal for all." However, the parliamentary majority made another controversial step. It adopted the law "on conflict of interest", allowing the one of the richest people in Italy (Berlusconi's fortune was estimated at 17 billion Euros) not only to head the Cabinet, but also to profit from his enterprises. The parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe has repeatedly warned Italian lawmakers against adopting that document. But most of them did not agree with the opinion of European colleagues.

The center-left coalition of Romano Prodi, who succeeded Berlusconi's government, managed to abolish the legal document "Lodo Schifani". But coalition was not in power for a long time. The newly elected Parliament in 2008, controlled by Berlusconi's "People of freedom" party, adopted a new similar amendment, "Lodo Alfani" that was named after the Minister of justice. The opposition continued to insist that the amendment was contrary to the basic law of the country and eventually in 2009, the constitutional court abolished it. It was a big surprise for the Prime Minister. He did not expect such a verdict of the constitutional judges. On TV, he accused the constitutional court of ties with the Communists. He described himself as Italy's best head of government since the country was created nearly 150 years ago.¹³⁴ To constant enemies among which were journalists from left editions, judges, investigators and prosecutors were added.

¹³³Vesti, 2010. "Heads of state with no experience in politics"

Available at: <https://www.vestifinance.ru/articles/117175?page=2>

¹³⁴ BBC, 2011. "Italy crisis: Silvio Berlusconi resigns as PM".

Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-15708729>

The decision of the constitutional court reopened two frozen cases. But Berlusconi through the Parliament under his control implemented two new pieces of legislation. The first reduces the Statute of limitations on corruption crimes from 10 years to 6, the second - "for a good reason" - allows him not to appear in court due to the workload at the post of Prime Minister.

The impunity and political survival of Berlusconi lies in the fact that to the huge financial and political power concentrated in his hands, the media power was added. In addition to his own three national TV channels, own print media and hundreds of newspapers, he controls the first and second channels of the state-owned RAI Corporation. Through personnel changes in the leadership of these channels, Berlusconi achieved that they began to take a pro-government position. In spring 2010, there were regional elections in 13 regions. The most important political campaign in the run-up to the parliamentary elections. The national broadcasting control Agency shut down four television programs on state TV channels for the period of the election race. The reason was the following: TV programs did not provide equal access to the air to representatives of different parties. Telephone conversations in which Berlusconi expressed his feelings and anger about television programs, turned into an investigation on the relations between RAI-Agcom (broadcasting control Agency). At that time, the Ministry of justice inspectorate intervened in the investigation of the Prosecutor's office dealing with the case. Berlusconi called prosecutors a "Taliban bunch."¹³⁵ In response, representatives of the Prosecutor's office stated: "the Prime Minister is an institutional position, and the person occupying it bears political responsibility and cannot use the language of insults, and intimidation, in relation to the free exercise of the activities of the judiciary". The Italian Prime Minister regarded the results of the regional elections favorable for the ruling People of Freedom party (the newly created party of Berlusconi) as a verdict on freedom of action in relation to the press and political opponents. First of all, he initiated a bill restricting the right to wiretap. It caused condemnation from the UN.¹³⁶ Limiting wiretaps would make it impossible for them to be published in newspapers and magazines, and thus make it more difficult to conduct investigations. Control of the Internet, in addition to restrictions on freedom of expression, would give the Prime Minister's telecommunications companies an advantage. According to the text of the law proposed by the Executive branch, journalists and publishers faced serious penalties, up to imprisonment, for publishing printed telephone conversations.¹³⁷ Press workers considered it as an attempt to limit freedom of speech and press and took an active part in the strike.¹³⁸ In Parliament, the discussion of the bill to limit "wiretapping" was postponed. During this period, the ruling party "People of freedom" split between the co-founders-Silvio Berlusconi and Gianfranco Fini. A

¹³⁵ BBC, 2010. "Protests in Rome: Berlusconi "escapes justice". Available at:

https://www.bbc.com/russian/international/2010/02/100228_rally_against_berlusconi

¹³⁶ Euronews, 2010. Berlusconi's government is trying to limit the dissemination of information about corruption cases ".

Available at: <https://ru.euronews.com/2010/06/10/italy-votes-to-curb-wiretaps>

¹³⁷ Pravda, 2010. Italian media defend "the right to wiretap". Available at:

<https://www.pravda.ru/world/1040066-berls/>

¹³⁸ AIF, 2010. "Italian journalists strike against restrictions on wiretapping".

Available at: <https://irk.aif.ru/society/edu/408671>

government crisis broke out. With a slight majority in Parliament, Berlusconi managed to avoid early elections but failed to avoid trials. The details of an affair between the Prime Minister and an underage dancer was discussed in press. For this, as well as for a number of corruption cases, he had to answer in the court of Milan. Meanwhile, a series of sex scandals in which Berlusconi was involved, his endless proceedings with the opposition press and justice led to parliamentary crisis and a crisis of the institutions of Executive power. In addition, in early 2011, the Italian constitutional court stated that certain provisions of the "good excuse act" were unconstitutional. An absolute majority of Italians agreed with this during the referendum. Berlusconi was deprived of partial immunity from prosecution.¹³⁹ The opposition representatives said that the results of the referendum were the evidence of the complex relationship of modern media with various political, social forces and power structures.

The liberal Italian press, which was not connected with the political class and representatives of business, has always had a difficult relations with the authorities. Berlusconi's past, series of sex scandals related to him, a number of controversial legislative acts initiated by him were the reason of the confrontation between the media and the authorities. Relations between him and the press reached such a breaking point that on July 9, 2010 in Italy there was a strike of mass media representatives: no newspapers came out that day, there were no TV and radio news releases, the websites of a number of media sources did not work. In such a way journalists reacted to the next legislative initiative of the government of Silvio Berlusconi after the call of the national federation of the Italian press. Another period of tensions has begun between Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi and the independent media.

During Berlusconi's almost twenty-year period in the political arena, his relations with the press were very difficult. He has been the focus of constant media attention both for his political activities and for his involvement in various corruption scandals and related legal proceedings, which he managed to avoid without serious consequences every time. But the peak of his confrontation with the media was reached in 2009 and 2010. In the spring of 2009, "La Repubblica" and "L'unita", and then the rest of the Italian press published information about Silvio Berlusconi's visit to the birthday of 18-year-old Neapolitan girl. This led to a big family argument, which ended with the divorce with his wife. Then pictures of scandalous parties organized by the Prime Minister appeared, stories of girls from the escort services, their coordinator turned out to be a drug dealer involved in some crimes. In any other Western European country, such a scandal, which happened to a politician of this level, would lead to his imminent resignation. But Silvio Berlusconi with his media empire tried to turn the tide in his favour. However, the press, beyond his control, continued to discuss the topic of scandalous sexism, and also began to publish scenarios of Italian political life after Berlusconi's resignation.

For the invasion of privacy, the Prime Minister brought the centre-left newspapers La Repubblica and L'unita to justice and attacked the independent press, sometimes using threats. Then the newspaper 'La

¹³⁹ RIA, 2011. Italian CC about the law on "good excuse". Available at: <https://ria.ru/20110113/321222831.html>

Repubblica" began to write about the attempt on freedom of the press. Other publications also expressed concern about this situation. "The fact that freedom of the press is under threat," the Prime Minister said on his Canale-5," is a joke of the Communist minority and their newspapers, which make up 90% of the press."¹⁴⁰ This deceitful statement by Berlusconi further increased the tension in his relations with the press.

The newspaper "La Repubblica" initiated a proclamation in support of freedom of information, which was signed by the heads of the most prestigious European publications like The Financial Times, The Times, The Independent, Le Monde, "La Liberation, Le Nouvel Observateur", "El Pais", "Der Spiegel", but also famous public figures.

At the end of 2009, the national action "Day without Berlusconi" was held, which resulted in an unprecedented demonstration in Rome, organized by activists of the left forces and non-governmental organizations. Participants, dressed in purple - a symbol of their belonging to a unified civil society, and not to any party, accused Berlusconi of suppressing civil liberties and pursuing a "mafia policy." They also carried a huge doll depicting the Prime Minister and chanted: "Berlusconi resign!"and" Thief, mafioso, clown"¹⁴¹. Berlusconi regarded it as a political conspiracy of the left and said that he was a victim of the Italian media.

This statement was not true, because for almost twenty years of his power and influence spread to 90% of Italian television, various printed publications. No political party and no political leader had such power over the media in Italy as Silvio Berlusconi acquired. His long stay in the Italian political life was due to the personal qualities of Berlusconi, his power over the media. The existence of media empires in the media prevents the press from performing one of its main functions-the dissemination of objective and complete information about all aspects of society in accordance with the principle of pluralism in the presentation of information material and once again confirms the conclusions of political scientists that the authorities always strive to keep the media under their control.

3.2 Political communication techniques used in the parliamentary elections in Italy and the media image of S. Berlusconi

Silvio Berlusconi began his political career at the age of 57. The main purpose of his activities, which he declared at the beginning of his political career, was to change the Italian political system. Berlusconi became a politician who said that the current crisis is to blame the current political elite, not society¹⁴². He planned to change the Constitution of Italy, to turn it from parliamentary system to presidential, because he saw himself as the President of Italy. However he failed to do this, as well as failed to federalize Italy. Berlusconi believed that it was necessary to adapt the "legal side" of the state to the real situation, and not to

¹⁴⁰ "Il Corriere della Sera", 22.08.2009

¹⁴¹ Kommersant, 2009. "Clean hands are near Silvio Berlusconi". Available at: <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/1287902>

¹⁴² Orsina G. Berlusconi and Italy: a historical interpretation. Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

change people, on the basis of the idea of the existence of some ideal state and a wise ruling elite.¹⁴³ Political analysts believe that the appearance of S. Berlusconi at the Italian political arena marked the beginning of a new stage in the political life of the State. Berlusconi came on the political stage at a time when political scientists began to note the diminishing role of traditional parties and the increasing role of leadership. This process has been called the "personification" of politics. In many democratic countries, there were tendencies to reduce the influence of traditional institutions and to increase the role of the leader. Analysts called it a "personification" of the political sphere. Based on the research, it was found that voters in developed democratic countries are much more interested in the identity of the candidate, rather than his party affiliation. During election campaigns, traditional party symbols were replaced by images of party leaders¹⁴⁴, and in the media more often the names of the candidates themselves, rather than the names of the parties they represent began to appear. For civil society the most valuable is the ability of candidates to inspire confidence, their authority, charisma. The result of "personification" was a change in the requirements of the public to political leaders. It had previously been considered that the leader is a person who stands out by any criteria among his fellow citizens, the person who is able to lead them. However, as a result of "personification" the ability of political leader to identify himself with his voters came to the first place. As the criteria for selecting political leaders have changed, there has been a transformation in how leaders present themselves in front of the civil society. Many leaders, including Berlusconi, changed tactics and began to present themselves as "man of the people", ordinary people with flaws and weaknesses¹⁴⁵. Ordinary voters tend to perceive positively those who are similar to themselves, have similar problems and shortcomings. Thus, proximity to certain segment of society has become a prerequisite for the political success of the candidate. The ability to debate about complex ideological issues, has no longer been the crucial of importance. Everyday life and pressing problems came to the first place. The researcher Mancini writes that "a new era of political communication has come"¹⁴⁶. "Personification" of politics became possible due to changes in the structure of the parties themselves and innovations in the system of political communications: the use of television as an instrument of influence on the minds of the masses. According to Italian researchers Matstsoleni and Spadini, "political parties have lost the role of social agency in the daily affairs of society, while this role was transferred to the mass-media"¹⁴⁷. Realizing the importance of the role of the media and the need for cooperation, the parties were subordinated to the media¹⁴⁸ and underwent profound transformations. This complex process of party transformation was on the one hand the cause of the "personification" of politics, and on the other hand it was caused by the "personification" of politics.

¹⁴³ Ibid

¹⁴⁴ The Economist, 2011. "Italy and the euro zone. That's all, folks".

Available at: <https://www.economist.com/leaders/2011/11/12/thats-all-folks>

¹⁴⁵ Ethlyn A. Williams, Rajnandini Pillai, Kevin B. Lowe, Dongil Jung, David Herst. "Crisis, charisma, values, and voting behavior in the 2004 presidential election."

¹⁴⁶ The Economist, 2001. "An Italian story". Available at: <https://www.economist.com/special/2001/04/26/an-italian-story>

¹⁴⁷ The Economist, 2003. "Silvio Berlusconi Unfit to lead Europe". Available at:

<https://www.economist.com/leaders/2003/05/08/unfit-to-lead-europe>

¹⁴⁸ Shestopal E. B. Political psychology M.: Aspect Press, 2012.

Thus, party transformations are both a cause and a consequence of the "personification" of politics. Parties have been forced to adapt to a changing reality. Party ideology is losing its importance because there is a trend that personality of the party leader is becoming much more important. Among other reasons that led to the personification of politics, it is necessary to mention the desire to find a responsible person who could provide a reasonable account of the activities of the government, to answer the accusations and be punished for failures and missteps¹⁴⁹.

According to the sociologists, the degree of trust of voters to politicians falls every year. In order to win elections, politicians need to adapt to the changes that are taking place in the field of political communications, at the same time finding new ways to interact with their audience. New technologies of election campaigns demand professionalism from the organizers of these campaigns in the field of communications and marketing. Professional consultants, communicators, organizers are needed to help political parties and political leaders in presenting themselves in front of the voters. Berlusconi is one of the brightest political leaders who managed to implement the principles of corporate governance in politics and professionalize the process of political communication. Silvio Berlusconi presented a new approach to winning votes. He used the experience of the business world in the political field: professional skills, marketing approaches and techniques. Marketing technologies of mass media allowed to reveal orientations, aspirations, representations of voters. Their correct application in politics was a prerequisite for achieving popularity and winning elections. If then policy would only imply the existence of the program, formulation of problems, presenting alternatives of their solution and appeal to the interests and minds of citizens, now it is replaced by the competition of images of politicians, that were created under the laws of the advertising business. According to the Russian scientist I. B. Levin, "the fusion of big money, television and advertising sociology in a populist shell gave such an impressive success that the world started talking about Berlusconi"¹⁵⁰.

During Berlusconi's political formation in the 1990s, as parties found it increasingly difficult to mobilize the masses and seek the necessary support of the electorate, it was television that allowed political leaders to establish a direct, immediate connection with their potential voters, which gave them additional mobilization opportunities. Through the TV screen, the voices and faces of politicians were able to appear regularly in every house¹⁵¹. Researchers of mass communications have expressed the opinion that the development of information technology and the media have led to the emergence of the power of the media, which not only reflect and interpret reality, but also form it in accordance with its beliefs. According to the American media researcher R. McNeil, nothing before the spread of television has made such a significant change in the technique of persuasion of the masses. Telecracy is the domination of television, combined with politics and business, as an attempt to control society through the mass media. Under the telecracy,

¹⁴⁹ The Economist, 2011. "Silvio Berlusconi.Ciao". Available at: <https://www.economist.com/newsbook/2011/11/10/ciao>

¹⁵⁰ Levin I.B. "Reflections on the Italian crisis". //Polis. Political studies, 1995

¹⁵¹ Sardaryan G.T. "Berlusconi's chances of winning".
<https://mgimo.ru/about/news/experts/233650/>

television is the basis for the management of mass consciousness, and politics becomes its instrument. Media structures create political reality themselves. By creating certain images, television becomes a means of forming the consciousness of both the individual and the entire civil society. Political debates instead of exchanging rhetorical statements become a theatrical performance with a good direction. In such debates, not statements, but gestures and appearance play an important role. Those who watch these debates on TV become spectators and lose the freedom of will and responsibility of the citizen that makes a choice. Among the main advantages of using television as a mean of suggestion and persuasion is the ability to communicate with a large audience without direct contact.

The creation of the centre-right political party "Forza Italia" was an important event that marked the beginning of a new stage in Italy's political history. Founded just three months before the election, the party became one of the largest and in a short time was able to win the sympathy of a large part of the Italian electorate. Among the values advocated by the party were stated: freedom, personality, family, entrepreneurship, Italian traditions, Catholic tradition and sympathy for the weak. Berlusconi based his work on the liberal motto "more market - less state". He spoke with the position of entrepreneurial rationality, the logic of income and costs. Run the state as a private enterprise. This motto seemed convincing coming from a successful entrepreneur Berlusconi, who proved the validity of his arguments on his own experience. The strategy proved successful: in five elections between 1994 and 2008, Berlusconi's party and the coalitions in which it participated were consistently supported by entrepreneurs.

The media published a large number of positive reviews about Silvio Berlusconi and the party he created, which is largely due to the fact that these media were controlled by him. But there were also critical performances. The well-known Italian publicist, G. Bocca, who studies Italian politicians, conducted a journalistic investigation into Berlusconi's activities. In the article "Little Caesar" he expresses the opinion that as a result of the 1994 elections, the market won the victory over democracy.

"Berlusconi" began his political career when there was a clear lack of strong politicians.¹⁵² One of the main ideas of "Berlusconism" was the application of market principles in the functioning of the state. Orsina defines "Berlusconism" as an ideology that equally combines populism and liberalism.¹⁵³

The party "Forward, Italy" was able to demonstrate such impressive results, thanks to the fact that its founder Silvio Berlusconi was an influential businessman and one of the richest people in Italy. He effectively used his TV channels, publishing empire, links with the world of sports and advertising in his election campaign. Fininvest, owned by him, was the second largest private corporation in Italy and the largest media group in Europe. In addition to these resources Berlusconi and his assistants possessed better political marketing and management skills than others. Berlusconi's first election campaign in 1994 was very well planned and carried out on the basis of the latest developments and technologies in the field of advertising psychology. Fininvest had a powerful advertising company Publitalia, and extensive

¹⁵² Ilinsky M.M. "Silvio Berlusconi Italian Prime Minister". Litagent «Legal center »2004

¹⁵³ Orsina G. *Berlusconism and Italy: a historical interpretation*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

sociological services. In his campaign which was held on the basis of his media empire, Berlusconi argued that only he could solve Italy's problems. He saw himself as the best political leader in Europe and the world: "Because of my personal history, my professional skills and my business achievements, I am a man nobody can expect to compare himself with."¹⁵⁴

As a populist, Berlusconi built his campaign on advertising of himself. In his numerous speeches for the press and on television, the politician constantly emphasized his piety, tireless work for the benefit of all Italians, honesty and goodwill. In 2006, in his speech, Berlusconi expressed the view that only Napoleon did more for Italy than he did.¹⁵⁵ Through the screen he was perceived as a confident man who was firmly convinced of what he was saying, charismatic leader capable of changing Italy. Ambitious and charming Berlusconi urged to look into the future, not into the past. He talked a lot about what people would like, not about what was necessary to the state. Most often, Berlusconi talked about salaries, taxes, creating new jobs. He said: "I have achieved success for my enterprise, the same success awaits Italy if I am elected, " my football team Milan won, so Italy will win under my leadership". Berlusconi was a typical populist with all the characteristics and style of behavior: socializing with fellow citizens, making promises, using demagoguery.

In the Spring of 1994, Berlusconi's party "Forza Italia" won in national elections and entered the government in coalition with "the pole of freedoms" party. However, as a consequence of internal contradictions in the coalition, as well as a series of corruption scandals, the government resigned after about six months in power. Nevertheless, after a six-year break Silvio Berlusconi managed to return to power. Berlusconi formed a coalition that included the parties "Forward Italy", "the national Alliance", "the Christian democratic centre", "the League of the North" and "the New socialist party of Italy". This new coalition, called Casa delle Libertà, was led by Silvio Berlusconi. In 2001, Casa delle Libertà came to power. Berlusconi headed the Italian government for the second time. The victory in elections allowed the Casa delle Libertà coalition to establish itself in the Italian political system as an independent and dominant political force. The party's political marketing techniques proved their effectiveness. According to the editorial board of "the Economist", Berlusconi won the election and came to power because Italians relied on his personality and his qualities as a business leader. They believe that if a person has managed to make a great fortune for himself, he will be able to do it for the entire Italian people, will be able to improve the difficult economic situation in Italy. Berlusconi's victory in the 2001 elections, political strategists explained as a success of commercial advertising. The election campaign was built on the advertising patterns: the same symbol was shown many times, the same simple soundbites were used that were easy to remember. Even colors were chosen very well. Political agitation was modeled on the primitive advertising of consumer goods. The campaign was based on the same principle that exists in advertising: credibility does not matter.

¹⁵⁴ The Guardian, 2003. "He built a Milanese utopia but can Silvio Berlusconi be trusted with the future of the EU?"

Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2003/jun/28/pressandpublishing.italy>

¹⁵⁵ Kommersant, 2006. "Only Napoleon did more than I!" Silvio Berlusconi is in a hurry with the election campaign". Available at: <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/649031>

The consumer or the voter gives preference to the widely publicized product. The voter makes a choice at the subconscious level. The 2001 election campaign proved once again that the effectiveness of advertising is not in its content, but in its memorability. Berlusconi in his speech used a large number of simple phrases understandable for all social groups. In the election process, Berlusconi influenced the emotions and imagination of the electorate, using elements of theater. His gestures, facial expressions, behavior, conversations about family and everyday topics, anecdotes about himself brought him closer to the electorate. Most of his rivals elections made tedious and boring speeches in their campaigning. A certain role was also played by the fact that under the influence of audio-visual media, society became insensitive to the ideological appeals, populist statements started to cause great sympathy. According to sociologists, the electorate of the center-right party of Berlusconi were residents of small towns, the elderly population, women, people who are not interested in the political life of the country. Berlusconi's success was due to the fact that he managed to attract to his side a large number of those who were not interested in politics and never participated in the political life of Italy.

The well-known Russian political scientist I. B. Levin notes that "the TV screen, in fact, replaced the rally in the square, and the image of a person who got rich exclusively by own efforts replaced the party program."¹⁵⁶ Thus, one of the factors that ensured Berlusconi's election victory in 2001 was that he was able to correctly identify and attract his electoral audience¹⁵⁷. It is also a significant factor that Berlusconi was able to benefit from the criticism coming from the opposition press (Italian and foreign) and opponents, as his name became more and more famous, and his provocative responses to criticism made him the most discussed person.

In the Spring of 2005, Berlusconi's center-right coalition party Casa delle Libertà lost regional elections to Romano Prodi's center-left coalition "l'Ulivo". A month before the elections, the Milan Prosecutor's office resumed the trial on charges of corruption against Berlusconi. The Italian Prime Minister was accused of giving a bribe of 600 thousand dollars to his own lawyer in order that he keep secret information about the illegal activities of Berlusconi-controlled offshore companies.¹⁵⁸ Berlusconi's rivals took advantage of the situation and managed to influence the mood of the electorate. Italian citizens lost faith in Berlusconi's ability to manage public finances effectively, as he did not keep his promises. Global financial crisis also had an influence on the situation in the country. After the defeat, representatives of the parties "Union of Christian and Centre Democrats" and "The New Italian Socialist party" left the government, provoking a government crisis. These parties demanded the changes in composition of the current government, as they were dissatisfied with the influence of deputies from the Northern League party. They reaffirmed their support for Berlusconi as Prime Minister. As a result, Berlusconi's second government

¹⁵⁶ Levin I.B. "Silvio Berlusconi" //God planet. M., 2002

¹⁵⁷ Maslova E.A. "The balance of political forces in Italy on the eve of the 2006 parliamentary" // Izvestiya Ural Federal University. Seria 2, Gumanitarnye nauki. 2012. № 1. C. 180-188

¹⁵⁸ BBC, 2010. "Protests in Rome: Berlusconi "escapes justice" Available at:

https://www.bbc.com/russian/international/2010/02/100228_rally_against_berlusconi

resigned after around four years in power.¹⁵⁹ Berlusconi, as head of the second government, also formally resigned. Within a three days, the Parliament formed a new government, and Berlusconi was officially appointed by the President of Italy as the head of the new third government. The third Berlusconi government remained in power until the spring of 2006 (a little more than one year)¹⁶⁰. It continued to perform its duties for one month after the parliamentary elections in April 2006. Berlusconi's rival for the post of head of Italian government was a representative of the center-left party "Ulivo" R. Prodi. These elections were characterized by great tension and scandals and ended with the victory of R. Prodi with a slight margin, less than 1%.

In parliamentary elections in the spring of 2008, Berlusconi won in both houses of the Italian Parliament. The election campaign was held in unusual conditions for Berlusconi. The novelty of the situation for Berlusconi was that he was officially charged with illegal activities, including pressure on the press and bribery of members of Parliament in order to achieve the fall of the Prodi government¹⁶¹. However, numerous scandals and investigations did not affect the choice of voters. This election campaign was successful for Berlusconi. He won almost 10% of the vote over his rival representative of the "Democratic party" V. Veltroni. His new party, The people of freedom, formed a government in coalition with the Northern League and the Movement for autonomy. Berlusconi was appointed as a Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Italy (in 2008, the party "Forward, Italy" merged with the "National Alliance", creating the party "People of freedom"). Berlusconi's fourth government took the office in May 2008 and terminated its powers in November 2011. The resignation of the fourth Berlusconi government was initiated by the European Union. The European Union appealed to the US Treasury Secretary T. Geithner with a request to contribute to the fall of the fourth Berlusconi government in order to save Euro and overcoming the global economic crisis. T. Geithner, together with European Central Bank President Mario Draghi initiated the process of resignation of Berlusconi government.¹⁶² In Autumn 2011, the country began to discuss the scandals around Berlusconi's personal life: the accusation of his payment for sexual services to a minor, bribery and abuse of office.¹⁶³ After a series of scandals that led to prosecution, and amid serious financial and economic difficulties in the country, Berlusconi resigned with the agreement of Italian President Giorgio Napolitano.¹⁶⁴

In all election campaigns since 2001, Berlusconi and his political partners have pointed to the connection between immigration and crime.¹⁶⁵ In 2009, Berlusconi's party passed a series of laws through Parliament against illegal immigrants entering Italy from Africa, Asia, Latin America and Eastern Europe.

¹⁵⁹ Roberto Raja. Silvio Berlusconi (Italian.). Cinquantamila Giorni. Corriere della Sera.

¹⁶⁰ Governo Berlusconi III (dal 23 aprile 2005 al 17 maggio 2006) (ital.). I governi dal 1943 ad oggi. Governo Italiano. Silvio BERLUSCONI: Scheda di activities (ital.). XIV Legislatura (2001-2006). Senato della Italia.

¹⁶¹ Antonio Gibelli, 2010

¹⁶² Paolo Mastrolilli. L'ex ministro Usa: funzionari europei ci proposero di far cadere Silvio

¹⁶³ BBC, 2011. "Parliament did not send Berlusconi to resign".

Available at: https://www.bbc.com/russian/international/2011/10/111014_berlusconi_vote_confidence

¹⁶⁴ RIA, 2011. "Berlusconi's resignation is a resignation of a bright politician defeated by the crisis"

Available at: <https://ria.ru/20111113/487366116.html>

¹⁶⁵ Hooper J. 'The Italians,'. Penguin Books. 2015

These laws have given rise to criticism among Italian center-left politicians, as well as international human rights organizations and the UN¹⁶⁶.

Berlusconi's innovation in terms of political technologies consists in a technique of public opinion manipulation via television, so called telecracy, due to a well designed electoral campaign. As a consequence of the fact that the media became an independent social force, a serious tool of power and the development of the personification of politics, there is a decline of the role of traditional institutions in Italian political life. In terms of the development of political communication, Berlusconi's innovation consists in fact that he managed to oust the parties as intermediaries between society and power, to personify the party. The party has come to be seen as a group run by a single politician, whose actions often turn into a one-man show. Voters began to associate themselves not with the principles that the party defends, but with its leader. Some researchers express the opinion about the revival of the cult of personality in Italian politics. Paul Ginsburg, the famous modern Italian historian, in his book "Silvio Berlusconi. television, power and heritage" notes that the personification of politics indicates the crisis of democracy. The traditional connections between media and politics are broken, and new relationships are built on dependence on commercial television and on the attitude to information as a product. In these circumstances, Berlusconi managed to establish control over a modern democratic state and win political power. It indicates serious contradictions in the democratic life of the country, as the tendency to personification of politics excludes the possibility of serious political debate. According to political scientist G. Sardarian, Berlusconi was one of the few Italian leaders who managed to create relatively stable coalitions. Berlusconi performed and won in the southern regions with one coalition partner, in the northern regions with another.¹⁶⁷ David Lane in his book "the Shadow of Berlusconi. Crime. Justice. In pursuit of power," among the reasons of Berlusconi's success noted the fact that he was a politician of the new formation, that was acting not within the traditional framework of established political logic, but within the way of thinking of a businessman and the laws of corporate governance. The media empire provided him with strong media support during the elections. The support of citizens is due to the fact that many Italians believe that Berlusconi did what any Italian businessman would do. They believe that Berlusconi circumvent the law because the existing system allowed it. For Italians, Silvio Berlusconi is not just a politician, a successful entrepreneur, his name is associated with numerous scandals of various kinds and accusations of indecent behavior. Berlusconi has survived more than 50 votes of no confidence in Parliament, countless lawsuits and a scandalous divorce. Nevertheless, many Italians for many years trusted this politician with an ambiguous reputation, supported him during elections¹⁶⁸. The Italian philosopher and writer U. Eco noted that "Berlusconi is neither a

¹⁶⁶" Are Italians racist?" In Italy, an illegal immigrant is now equated to a criminal
http://www.stoletie.ru/geopolitika/italjancy__rasisty__2009-09-16.htm

¹⁶⁷ Sardaryan G.T. "Berlusconi is the future President of Italy?"
https://mgimo.ru/about/news/experts/229422/?sphrase_id=18454746

¹⁶⁸ Zonova T.V. "Berlusconi is unsinkable as Marxism".
<https://mgimo.ru/about/news/experts/240771/>

statesman nor a politician of the traditional type, but follows a different model of behavior"¹⁶⁹ He believed that Berlusconi was a politician of the newest formation that "even in its most ridiculous actions followed the complicated, cunning and subtle strategy, confirming that he has a strong operational mind". For all the years in power, Berlusconi failed to make radical changes in the life of the country. But he managed to develop and widely use in his political career a system of political technologies that helped him to win the sympathy of the electorate and four times to become a head of the Italian government.¹⁷⁰ Silvio Berlusconi presented to the world a new model of political leader - populist leader, combining the power and strength of the richest media tycoon of the country and politician, who owns the largest football club in Italy.

The role of the media in election campaigns cannot be overemphasized. Their role during the first stage of the election race is especially important. The media present the candidates for the post of head of state, making them recognizable. On TV screens, in newspapers and magazines, on websites images of candidates appear, their names are repeated many times, characteristics are given. This is crucial of importance for the course of the entire election campaign, because long before the elections mass media develop the attitude of voters towards the candidates through well-planned activities and direct them to take a particular decision. Media in addition to election promises of candidates provides their daily affairs, conflicts, problems. The daily newspaper "Corriere della Sera" forms a positive image of Silvio Berlusconi. On the pages of the newspaper he is presented as a successful political leader, decent representative of his country in the international arena, defender of the interests of citizens, possessing knowledge and political talent. His statements such as, for example, "punishing" the press for criticism are not criticized. All his errors and incorrect expressions are explained by his character or made by accident, by mistake. Paul Ginzburg, a well-known modern Italian historian, in his article "Silvio Berlusconi. Television, Power and Heritage" notes that "Berlusconi forms his image as a reliable and at the same time dynamic leader, using the strategy always make jokes, always smile and be confident and friendly in public." This strategy resonates for Italians, but could not achieve great success with the European public. Europeans believe that appearances can be deceiving: "Berlusconi is a serious political project, fueled by the most profound transformations in modern society, as well as new technologies of neoliberalism. Berlusconi's grandiose ambitions are personal control over a modern democratic state."¹⁷¹ Extraordinary politician Silvio Berlusconi has always been and continues to be in the center of attention of the Italian and foreign press. His relationships with the media were ambiguous. Depending on the degree of media loyalty to Berlusconi, his attitude towards the media was also shown. No one Italian politician can be compare with Berlusconi by the number of scandals with the press. The opposition newspaper "La Repubblica" asked Berlusconi several questions, one of which was: "Does Silvio Berlusconi consider himself mentally healthy enough to rule the

¹⁶⁹ Eco. U. "Turning Back The Clock: Hot wars and Media Populism" M.: Eksmo, 2007.

¹⁷⁰ Zonova T.V. "On the era and phenomenon of Silvio Berlusconi".

<https://mgimo.ru/about/news/experts/212768/>

¹⁷¹ Ginsborg P. Silvio Berlusconi: television, power and patrimony. London; N.Y.: Verso, 2004.

country?"¹⁷². The newspaper held a demonstration of many thousands. Participants carried posters with offensive slogans addressed to Berlusconi, and satirical drawings. The tone of the publications of this newspaper, as well as of a number of other printed publications, did not meet the criteria of political correctness. Berlusconi and his like-minded political parties, including media loyal to him, also felt free to express their opinions. Berlusconi's confrontation with the media was most acute in 2009 and 2010. The daily newspaper "La Repubblica" often criticized Silvio Berlusconi and his political activities. Berlusconi on the pages of this edition looks like a master of the country, a charismatic populist, a master of gross simplifications, a manipulator of public opinion, who transformed politics into an entertainment show, violating the rules of the law, flouting the Constitution, an untenable politician in crisis management, establishing a television dictatorship in the country. Berlusconi often incite a reaction of opposition, public opinion and the media to maintain interest to his personality. Often complains in the media about attacks from journalists, the opposition; distracts public opinion from important events; uses situations in public life as an excuse to implement a policy that is consistent with his personal interests; applies propaganda and populism. The mass media, reproaching Berlusconi for using the means and methods of public opinion manipulation, constantly use all existing methods of manipulation, including such as setting the agenda, publishing in the same amount of positive and neutral information and minimum criticism, speak more positively, praise, justify. This tactic when only the imitation of a confrontation of opinions is created was also used. For instance, both the opposition and the supporters of Berlusconi had opportunity to make a speech. But the opposition present their views first and only then the supporters. The one who speaks last wins. It covers mainly events and facts; there is no analysis. Such manipulation methods were used to form a positive image of the politician. To create a negative image of Berlusconi, statements with negative connotation were used: from superficial as labeling and ad hominem, to deep constructive. The main tool for such criticism is analytics. This technique is often used by the newspaper "La Repubblica". Sometimes the newspaper does not criticize openly, but publish criticisms of the opposition, which indirectly confirms the solidarity of the newspaper with the opinion of the opposition. The personality of Silvio Berlusconi attract great interest, both in Italy and abroad. Media write a lot about him. The media shape his media image in accordance with the editorial policy.

3.3 Evaluation of the role of the media in parliamentary elections in Italy

There is a large number of media representing different points of view on any issue in Italy. The Constitution guarantees freedom of speech and the press. However, the problem of ensuring freedom of the media exists and is relevant and important for the country. Most media in Italy are private. Usually they are associated with political parties or large media holdings with partially controlled editorial policy. Journalists

¹⁷² Kommersant, 2009. "Silvio Berlusconi and a judicial perspective". Available at: <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/1252135>

hold protests against attempts to influence the editorial policy of their publications. Small regional and national newspapers, including those which are closely linked to political parties, successfully coexist in the country. The editorial policy of newspapers is influenced by various groups. The Catholic Church also has influence. Among the national newspapers "Corriere della Sera" centrist newspaper, "La Stampa" and evening edition "Stampa sera" center-left newspaper, "Il giorno" independent. The newspaper "La Repubblica" has a great influence.

The leader among electronic media is the government holding "RAI" (Radiotelevisione Italia), which consists of three national radio stations and three national TV channels. The TV channels represent a part of a media holding that was controlled by Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi. Italy also has more than 2,000 private radio stations and 900 television channels, the vast majority of which are local. According to international organizations and local experts, the activities of the media holding controlled by Silvio Berlusconi cause the greatest resonance in Italian society. Before the 2001 parliamentary elections, Berlusconi's opponents used the occasion as part of a campaign against him.

In the mid-1970s, Berlusconi entered a new telecommunications and media market. His first investment in the media was the purchase of shares of the socio-political newspaper "il Giornale". Until 1974, Italian television was state-owned. In the late 1970s, the ban on commercial media was lifted by the constitutional court. But the state still prohibited private TV channels from broadcasting live. Berlusconi was the first to overcome these prohibitions.¹⁷³ He launched the cable channel Telemilano¹⁷⁴, which broadcasted to a small audience in the "Milan 2" area. Then Berlusconi became the owner of three national TV channels — "Canale 5", "Italia 1", "Rete 4". Later they entered the giant holding "Mediaset". These were the first Italian commercial television channels to be broadcast in Europe.¹⁷⁵ Berlusconi's rival was the state television corporation RAI. Berlusconi founded the family company Fininvest, which began to specialize in all of his projects in the television industry. The idea was very successful, and in the early 1980s, the share of television in the capital of "Fininvest" was 85%, and Berlusconi owned a whole network of cable television. Fininvest has become the largest media group in Europe and the second largest private company in Italy. During this period, the legal and political confrontation between Berlusconi and the state-owned company RAI begins. Officially equal broadcasting of public and private TV channels was established in Italy by the new law on mass media only in 1990¹⁷⁶. Berlusconi introduces his commercial TV channels in Germany, Spain and France. He had to overcome the resistance of the executive and legislative authorities, to get involved and win in a variety of conflicts of interest, so that by the early 1990s, the influential Italian billionaire became well known in Europe. After rebranding the media empire, Berlusconi merged all media assets into Mediaset media holding and entered the Forbes list for the first time.¹⁷⁷ Berlusconi understood the

¹⁷³ Friedman A. "Berlusconi. The epic story of the billionaire who took over Italy". Hachette Books 2015

¹⁷⁴ RIA, 2012. "Mediaset Case". Available at: <https://ria.ru/20121026/907135759.html>

¹⁷⁵ Friedman A. "Berlusconi. The epic story of the billionaire who took over Italy". Hachette Books 2015

¹⁷⁶ Ibid

¹⁷⁷ Ibid

potential of television and sought to strengthen his positions in this area. To achieve this goal, Berlusconi used all his friendly ties. One of the first documents that was adopted by the new Prime Minister Craxi, an old friend of Berlusconi, was a decree on the liberalization of the telecommunications market.

Parliamentary elections are the main event of the political life of Italy. The media usually start to discuss the topic long before the start of the official election campaign and pays a lot of attention to it. Media analyze carefully regional and local elections. The results are discussed, successes and failures of parties and their leaders are noted, appropriate conclusions for future parliamentary elections are drawn. In the early 1990s, there was a need to change the political system of Italy. The attitude of Italians towards parties and emerging alliances, towards representatives of the political class was changing, and the polarization of opinions is becoming more clearer. Some Italians remained confident in the importance of political parties, the appointment of which they associated with democracy. The other part of the citizens did not recognize their importance. There were also different opinions on the relationship between the ruling majority and the opposition. Some favored dialogue between them, while others believed that the majority should make its own decisions without taking in consideration the opinion of opposition. Thus, in these matters, the opinions of the Italians were divided. But both parts of the electorate were closely watching the election debates, which were actively discussed by the media. The media underlined the importance of forming coalitions, as the success in this task could bring victory during the elections. Berlusconi United the centre-right voters around his party Forza Italia. Since the blocks were personalized, the images of the leaders were of particular importance. The media controlled by Berlusconi portrayed him as a successful entrepreneur and active politician. At the same time, his personal qualities always remained constant: loyalty to friends, responsiveness. It was emphasized that he is a modern person, but tends to traditional values, especially family. All media controlled by Berlusconi worked to increase his popularity. He also praised himself. According to the former press secretary of the first Berlusconi government, and then a deputy from the party "Forward, Italy" in the European Parliament, Gavronski Berlusconi has undeniable advantages: "he is an abnormal character, not like anyone else, he is unique in the international arena, although he has a difficult relationship with the foreign press."¹⁷⁸ In all election campaigns, the media constantly focused their attention on the differences in the images of Berlusconi and other candidates. They underlined their temperament, the scale of values, and widely used this facts as additional arguments in the election debates. The attention of Italians was focused not only on the images of the leaders, but also on their programs, including points concerning the media.

Early parliamentary elections were held in 2006. Silvio Berlusconi from the centre-right party "House of Freedoms" and R. Prodi from the centre-left party "Union" were nominated as candidates for the post of head of government. The most important issues that worried Italians were socio-economic problems, the media market, issues of freedom of the press and the fate of Italian television, especially RAI. Left-wing candidates worked particularly hard on these issues in their programs. Their programs contained points about

¹⁷⁸ "Corriere della Sera". 7 aprile 2006

the right of Italians to be informed, about bringing order to the media system, about television bipolarity and public television RAI. The weakness and vulnerability of the proposed solutions was that they were destructive, as they were caused not so much by feasibility, but rather by anti-Berlusconi connotation and complete rejection of everything that was done by the Berlusconi government. The media, depending on their loyalty to a particular candidate, increased the aggressiveness of the opponents, which was characterized both the right and the left. Berlusconi's centre-right party and its supporting media were engaged in criticizing the left and promoting the government's successes. In the election campaign, each of the blocs assigned a large place to the media and actively used them in political debates. The right-wing party "House of Freedoms" (Casa delle Libertà), relied mainly on television, which has an undeniable advantage over other media. In addition, Berlusconi had strained relations with some of the leading Italian newspapers and magazines, and this could bring him a lot of trouble. This tension was exacerbated by many Western European publications that were opposed to Berlusconi. Among them stood out the "Economist". Many times Berlusconi expressed his complaints to correspondents accredited in Italy.¹⁷⁹ The left party "Union" in addition to RAI television counted on the support of newspapers, as well as web resources. The activities of the media during the official election campaign were regulated by the law "par condicio" and the decree of the Agency for guarantees in communications during the election campaign¹⁸⁰. In accordance with them, equal representation of candidates on the air was to be ensured, possible terms and forms of political campaigning were to be determined. Despite this, there were a lot of violations.

The print media supported the candidates from different parties. Left-wing candidates were supported by "La Repubblica", "Espresso", "UNITA", "Europa", "Liberazione", right wing candidates were supported by "il Giornale", "Libero", "Foglio", "Panorama", "Opinion". The Catholic press was largely in solidarity with the right. For example, the newspaper "La Stampa" wrote that "religious radio prays for Berlusconi" (about 10 million listeners)¹⁸¹. The situation in the 2006 parliamentary election campaign was very tense. Even the neutral newspaper Corriere della sera, which usually claims to be neutral, has openly declared its political position. A month before the elections, the newspaper published an article saying that the paper favored the centre-left because Berlusconi's former government cared more about itself than the country, so a change of government was needed. The article caused a fierce controversy, during which the most contradictory opinions were expressed. There were active political debates in the press, which included political scientists, cultural figures, journalists. At the same time, according to some experts, the possibilities of the Internet have not been used in full. Online media, such as daily newspapers "Repubblica" and "Corriere della Sera", were active. They were using blogs, Twitter accounts and other multimedia tools. The most popular media among Italians is television. No other media can compete with it.

¹⁷⁹ "Corriere della Sera". 2006. Febbraio, 22.

¹⁸⁰ Legge 22 febbraio 2000 N 28 "Disposizioni per la parità di accesso ai mezzi di informazione durante le campagne elettorali e referendarie e per la comunicazione politica".

¹⁸¹ La Stampa. 2006. Febbraio, 6

Along with the discussions, scandalous stories, which were mainly associated with Berlusconi and which were effectively used by his opponents, provoked a great resonance in the press. In one of the programs on RAI 3 as a reaction to quite aggressive questions Berlusconi left the studio.¹⁸² The partiality and bias of the journalists supporting the left, according to Berlusconi, was confirmation that the allegations of his control over RAI were unfounded.

Even greater resonance provoked, vulgar and offensive "coglioni", that was pronounced by Berlusconi on the air to voters sympathetic to the left. The opposition has done everything possible to escalate the situation among voters. A huge role was played by the media. A wave of indignation swept not only in Italy but also abroad. Foreign media actively supported Berlusconi's rivals and influenced the more educated segment of Italian society. This had a negative impact on Berlusconi's rating. Berlusconi's sharp polemic with the General Confederation of Italian industry (Confindustria-Confederazione generale Dell'industria italiana), which was covered and commented on by the media, had an even more negative impact on the rating. This Confederation protects the interests of entrepreneurs in the fields of industry and services. It brings together on a voluntary basis about 150,000 companies, including banks¹⁸³, as well as joint-stock companies. The total number of employees is more than five million people. Berlusconi accused business of colluding with his political opponents. The media have suggested that Berlusconi is seeking to split the Italian business community in order to enlist the support of small entrepreneurs in parliamentary elections in April. In response, Berlusconi delivered a very emotional speech, according the press "on the verge of hysteria." In his speech, he said: "Be optimistic! Do not believe the press, which distorts the situation in its own interests!" "Italy is rich and prosperous! We have no economic downturn. Your income is multiplied, over the years you have become even richer!".¹⁸⁴ In addition, Berlusconi accused business of a collusion with the center-left wing of Romano Prodi. Berlusconi constantly mentioned journalists and prosecutors as his personal enemies. The daily newspaper "La Repubblica" often interviews Berlusconi's opponents and resentful businessmen and entrepreneurs who do not hide the fact that they will vote for the center-left wing in the upcoming elections. The media, controlled by Berlusconi and disloyal to him, broadcast to the Italians a lot of statements containing mutual accusations and criticism. Under the influence of the media, the business community was divided. Representatives of medium and small businesses, who do not go into the political and economic detail, emotional words Berlusconi seemed convincing. Big business took the side of Romano Prodi. The press accused Berlusconi of trying to involve business in the election campaign. This conflict situation has reduced the rating of Berlusconi .

The press, which supported Berlusconi's opponents, discussed Berlusconi's actions and statements with dissatisfaction, tried to hold public attention on this topic as long as possible, and expanded the range of

¹⁸² Lenta ru, 2006. "Berlusconi escaped from the questions of the presenter".

Available at: <https://lenta.ru/news/2006/03/13/stormed/>

¹⁸³ Astone F. Il partito dei padroni. Come Confindustria e la casta economica comandano in Italia

¹⁸⁴ Kommersant, 2006. "Silvio Berlusconi lost big business".

Available at: <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/660558>

participants in discussions. The media controlled by Berlusconi, tried to remove the heat of indignation, broadcasted a lot of information characterizing Berlusconi from the positive side, but a significant part of the electorate has already made a decision not in favor of Berlusconi. The behavior of the left-centrist Prodi, in contrast to the scandalous Berlusconi was more balanced. The overall impression of his media appearances was more favorable. However many voters noted that they were boring and not interesting. As a result, the 2006 election campaign ended against Berlusconi.

To a greater extent, the victory of the center left was due not to a well-prepared election campaign as to the failures of the right wing and the activities of the media. The center right did not sufficiently appreciate the possibilities of the print media, with which Berlusconi had difficult relationships. They considered the possibilities of the audiovisual media unlimited. Television has repeatedly helped Berlusconi to win over rivals. He was always confident in himself and in his exclusivity, originality, success. But in this election campaign, Berlusconi's ambiguous statements and his nervousness, caused a lot of negativity among voters. The press disloyal to him provoked an activity of the left electorate. Thus, we can say that the center-left won the election thanks to the strong support of the media and the use of the mistakes of rivals. The election campaign was "anti-Berlusconi" in nature. It was a campaign not for the particular candidate, but against the leader of the party "House of Freedoms" Silvio Berlusconi. Berlusconi lost with lag of 0.07% gaining 49,74% of the votes against 49,81% of Prodi, when voter turnout was 83.6%.

The previous parliamentary elections in 1994 Berlusconi won with 46.3% of the votes against 34.5% of the votes of the progressive alliance; Berlusconi won the 2001 elections with 45.6% of the votes against 43.1% of the votes of the centre-left representative F. Rutelli. In the early elections of 2008, Berlusconi won 46.8% of the votes against 37.6% of the votes of The democratic party. The results, which confirmed the victory of the left with a minimal advantage of 0.07%, caused even more fierce debate in the media than it was before them, as the Italians still had to hold administrative elections and a referendum, which were of great importance for both the winning center-left and the losing right. The results of these campaigns were either to confirm the results of the past parliamentary elections or to refute them. Everyone was waiting for the final decision of the voters, who had the opportunity to once again express their support for the left, who felt the instability of their advantage, or to show solidarity with the right, who wanted revenge. Competition for the support of voters started again.

However, despite the fact that Berlusconi made the most of his media opportunities, the center-right failed to succeed. The press, loyal to Berlusconi assumed the role of an opposition force. Disloyal began to promote the policy of the new leadership of the country, which was aimed at rejecting everything that was done by predecessors.

The first very emotional assessments of the press were replaced by more or less in-depth analysis. Most of the media gave a negative assessment of the election campaign. Almost all publications throughout the year published on their pages analytical materials of well-known political scientists, experts in the field of political communication. Their focus was on the political situation in which the two opposing parties had

almost the same support of the electorate. Researchers and the media tried to find out whether this situation is evidence of the democracy of Italian society or it means a split in society. No consensus was reached. Immediately after the elections, the newspaper "Corriere della sera" published an article by the famous sociologist Renato Mannheimer "Dramatic elections that split the country."¹⁸⁵ It reflected views of journalists and politicians. In discussions organized by the media, almost all analysts wondered about the future of "Berlusconism."

After the spring 2006 elections, the Italian centre for socio-economic research (Censis) conducted a sociological survey in which there was a question about the role of the media in political communication.¹⁸⁶ The analysis of the responses revealed that the main source of information influencing the choice of voters was television (74%). Newspapers were the main source of useful political information for only 27.2% of Italians. Older people (13%) prefer radio and younger people prefer Internet (6.1%). The TV debates of the party leaders were on fourth place (23.1%) in terms of popularity among all TV programs and are rated almost equally by both the left (21.4%) and the right (24.8%). Overall, the Censis report noted that voters were increasingly paying attention to the leader's program and his coalition, not just his appearance and ability to speak. In addition, the researchers found that the Italians are like mono consumers of the media, it means, they use predominantly one-media that is TV and multi media consumers that use several sources. Among mono media there are 47% and multi media 53%.

The parliamentary election campaign of 2006 was marked by a high level of media activity, activity of the electorate, and the division of voters' opinions into two almost identical audiences. During the 2006 election campaign, the global financial crisis swept Europe. Berlusconi could not cope with the financial problems of the state, all his campaign promises in this area were not fulfilled and situation continued to worsen. Italian citizens began to doubt his ability to solve these problems. His opponents and the media took advantage of this. Disloyal media conducted a large-scale campaign to discredit Berlusconi. Television, radio, the Internet have become the battleground of the opponent parties. Berlusconi during the election campaign at times showed aggression and nervousness, which immediately drew the attention of the media, greatly exaggerating the importance of events, sometimes distorting the facts, shaping the agenda of their programs accordingly, using all possible methods of manipulation of public consciousness and opinion. Under the influence of the press, the image of Berlusconi acquired features that caused distrust of Berlusconi, the rejection of him as a candidate among a large part of still indecisive in their position citizens. Frequently conducted opinion polls, initiated by opponents, were intended to adjust the views of citizens in favor of the Berlusconi's rival. The results of the elections were influenced by the long stay in power of S. Berlusconi and his insignificant efficiency in solving some state problems, especially financial ones. The Italian citizens wanted changes. Mass rallies of opponents and supporters of Berlusconi displayed by the press and its comments increased the activity of the electorate and intensified the confrontation. The

¹⁸⁵ Corriere della sera. 2006. Aprile , 20

¹⁸⁶ Censis. Dopo il voto. Elezioni 2006. La comunicazione politica e le motivazioni degli italiani. Roma, giugno 2006

atmosphere of rivalry was very tensed by the media. The international press was initially against Berlusconi. British daily newspaper "Guardian" actively published criticism of Silvio Berlusconi. It gave him the following characteristic: bold politician (in some articles he is even called a clown), trampling the principles of democracy, as the successor of the Nazi ideology, abusing his political and financial power for personal gain, changing approaches to organization of political communication, insulting the judiciary, triggering a constitutional crisis in Italy, trying to censor the Internet. The most loyal British newspaper "The Times" did not have a tendency to criticize Berlusconi's political activities, but some criticism was present in 50% of the articles. The topics discussed in The Times are different from those in The Guardian. The newspaper is more restrained in its criticism of the Italian Prime Minister. The articles are either neutral or critical, but without excessive harshness. On the pages of The Times, Silvio Berlusconi described as following: he keeps pronouncing controversial statements, as well as sexist statements against women, he uses dangerous populism; he has no idea about the needs of people and trying to trample the Constitution.

The Russian newspaper Izvestia gives the following assessment of the Italian Prime Minister: he is a successful, very rich, nice in every sense politician with good intentions, who cares about the interests of Italy in the international arena. Russian "Nezavisimaya Gazeta" gives a neutral and positive assessment of the Italian Prime Minister's political activities, but publishes articles criticizing the Berlusconi regime. In Nezavisimaya Gazeta Berlusconi was described as a friend of Russia, who cares about his country and his people, but at the same time has shortcomings: he establishes a personal dictatorship, trying to change the form of government.

Thus, the media represent the same event and the same person in completely different ways. This is the strength and power of the media. The media play a central role in any election campaign. They are the engine of the electoral process and one of the main social institutions that influence the outcome of elections, pushing the voter to make a decision. Thus, taking the example of the influence of the media on the election campaign and its results in 2006, we can assess the role of the media in the parliamentary elections in Italy.

Conclusions on chapter 3

The mass media is an instrument of influence on public consciousness. The state-owned Italian radio and television (RAI) was tightly controlled by the ruling parties and became an instrument of political power. Under the influence of the public, the government passed the RAI reform law, which did not exempt the media from state dependence, but rather consolidated the state monopoly on national radio and television. At that time, a successful businessman Silvio Berlusconi entered the media business and succeeded thanks to the non-gratuitous support of the authorities and Prime Minister Craxi.

In 1992, a judicial investigation "Clean hands" discredited Italy's political and economic elite. To avoid punishment Berlusconi created his first party "Forward, Italy!", which won the national parliamentary elections and becomes head of government for the first time. Berlusconi's activities, corruption scandals,

laws that violate the Constitution, cause discontent in Italian society, which wanted to live by the following rule: "the law is equal for all". However, the Parliament passes a law "on conflict of interest", allowing one of the richest people in Italy not only to head the Cabinet, but also to profit from his businesses, what is contrary to the Constitution of Italy. Impunity and political stability of Berlusconi consisted in the fact that to the huge financial and political power concentrated in his hands media power was added. Berlusconi took action at the legislative level to censor the media. Some of the laws, including the "good excuse" act, were found unconstitutional. Thus, Berlusconi was partially deprived of immunity from prosecution.

The liberal press in Italy has always had a difficult relationship with the authorities. The reason for the confrontation between the liberal media and the authorities was Berlusconi's past, a series of sex scandals associated with him, a number of ambiguous legislative acts initiated by him. The most tense period of his confrontation with the media was in 2009 and 2010. Accusing the independent press Berlusconi used threats that the media considered as an attempt on freedom of press. When he was in power Berlusconi managed to take control of up to 90% of the information space in Italy. As a politician, businessman and media tycoon, he supported the process of merging political, economic and media structures that served each other, violating the principles of democracy.

Political analysts believe that the appearance of S. Berlusconi in the Italian political arena marked the beginning of a new stage in the political life of the state. Based on the research, it was found that voters in developed democratic countries are much more interested in the identity of the candidate, rather than his party affiliation. This process has been called the personification of politics. For the common citizen, it is much more important to talk with a specific candidate who is ready to solve his everyday problems and bear personal responsibility for the voter than to get acquainted with the party's program, which offers ways to solve the problems of the voter. Communication of the candidate with voters is carried out by mass media. Thus, there is a transformation of political communication, that is, the transformation of information interaction between the candidate and the voter. This change in information exchange became possible with the development of technical capabilities of the media. Electronic media, Internet, cable and satellite communications were added to the traditional ones such as printed, radio and television. The mass media is an instrument of information interaction, that is, an instrument of political communication. According to Italian researchers Matstsoleni and Spadini, "political parties have lost the role of social agency in the daily affairs of society, while this role was transferred to the mass-media". Realizing the importance of the role of the media and the need for cooperation, the parties were subordinated to the media. The main function of political communication is the struggle for power. Therefore, political communication is the main element of any election campaign. The result of "personification" was a change in requirements of public to political leaders. Ordinary voters positively perceive those who are similar to themselves, has similar problems and shortcomings. Thus, proximity to certain sectors of society has become a prerequisite for the political success of a candidate. To win elections, politicians need to adapt to the changes that are taking place in the sphere of political communications, to find new ways of positioning themselves in front of voters. New

technologies of election campaigns impose requirements to professionalism of organizers of these campaigns in the sphere of communications, marketing, advertizing. Berlusconi is one of political leaders who managed to implement the principles of corporate governance in politics and professionalize the process of political communication.

The dominance of television, combined with politics and business is telecracy. Among the main advantages of using television as a means of persuasion is the ability to communicate with a large audience without direct contact. Television is a powerful tool of manipulation. Berlusconi's success in politics is largely due to the fact that he was in charge of a wide network of media, both at the national and regional levels. In addition, he actively used new technologies in the field of technical and political communications. Another important factor in Berlusconi's success was his strategic ability and his centre-right party Forza Italia . Creation of this party was an important event that marked the beginning of a new stage in the political history of Italy, as it was a party of a new type. In the center of the party was its leader, not the ideology. Transforming this party, by uniting with other right-wing parties and changing the names of the newly created political party ("House of Freedom", "People of Freedom"), Berlusconi took part in four national parliamentary election campaigns (1994, 2001, 2006, 2008), in which he achieved victory three times (1994, 2001, 2008). All election campaigns were personalized, professional and were built according to the rules of the market. The ability to create coalitions allowed Berlusconi to hold the post of head of government four times (1994-1995, 2001-2005, 2005-2006, 2008-2011). Political strategists explain Berlusconi's success with the use of new technologies of political communication, and high-ranking party officials explained everything with the flexibility of the party structure and its ideology, which combines the traditions of liberalism, democratic socialism and liberal Catholicism. Italy is a country of small business with a fairly powerful shadow economy. Italians have peculiar, anarchist ideas about freedom and justice, and therefore the populist slogans of the party "Forward, Italy" and the speeches of its populist leader Berlusconi were perceived positively by them. In addition, Silvio Berlusconi is an influential businessman and one of the richest person in Italy. He effectively used his TV channels, publishing empire, links to the world of sports and advertising in his election campaigns. Fininvest, owned by him, was the second largest private corporation in Italy and the largest media group in Europe. Fininvest had a powerful advertising company, Publitalia, and extensive sociological services. Berlusconi saw himself as the best political leader in Europe and the world. The well-known Russian political scientist I. B. Levin notes that "the TV screen, in fact, replaced the rally in the square, and the image of a man who got rich exclusively by personal efforts replaced the party program." For the specifics of television is much more important is the external component: self-confidence, disposition to the audience. Berlusconi, in accordance with the recommendations of experts in the field of advertising, broadcast on television images of success, honesty, sociability, competence and awareness. He always looked great, was full of energy and optimism, constantly emphasized his piety, tireless work for the benefit of all Italians. In 2006, during a speech, Berlusconi expressed the view that only

Napoleon did more for Italy than he did. Berlusconi managed to win the support of a large number of those who were not interested in politics and had never participated in the Italian political life.

In terms of political communication, Berlusconi's innovation was that he managed to oust the parties as intermediaries between society and power and to personify the party. The party has come to be seen as a group run by a single politician, whose actions often turn into a one-man show. Researchers began to express opinions about the revival of the cult of personality in Italian politics. Paul Ginsburg, the famous Italian historian, notes that the personification of politics means the crisis of democracy. The traditional links between media and politics are broken, and the new relationship is built on dependence on commercial television and on the attitude to information as a commodity. In these circumstances, Berlusconi managed to establish control over a modern democratic state and win political power. It indicates serious contradictions in the democratic life of the country. Italian journalist Giorgio Bocca, who studied Italian politicians, conducted a journalistic investigation of Berlusconi. In the article "Little Caesar" he expresses the opinion that as a result of the 1994 elections, the market won the victory over democracy. According to the Italian researcher G. Orsina, "Berlusconi" began to develop when there was a lack of strong politicians. One of the main ideas of "Berlusconism" was the application of market principles in the functioning of the state. G. Orsina defines "berlusconism" as an ideology, combining populism and liberalism. Berlusconi's name is associated with numerous scandals of various kinds, including corruption and accusations of indecent behavior. Berlusconi has survived more than 50 votes of no confidence in Parliament, countless lawsuits and scandalous divorce. However, many Italians for many years trusted him and supported during the elections.

His relationship with the media was ambiguous. By the number of scandals associated with the press, Berlusconi cannot be compared to any politician in Italy. His media image is created both by the media and by Berlusconi himself (his behavior, facial expressions, gestures, speech style, appearance). The press loyal to Berlusconi presents him as a successful political leader, decent representative of his country in the international arena, defender of the interests of the people, possessing knowledge and political talent. The opposition media criticized Berlusconi's political activities, presenting him as a charismatic populist, a master of gross simplifications, a manipulator of public opinion, who transformed politics into an entertainment show, violated the law, a politician who established a television dictatorship in the country, secured the support of almost all the media. The activities of the media holding Mediaset controlled by Silvio Berlusconi cause a great resonance in Italian society. Berlusconi's opponents used this excuse as part of the campaign against him during the parliamentary elections.

Parliamentary elections are the main event of the political life of Italy. The role of the media in parliamentary elections is examined on the example of the 2006 election campaign (candidates S. Berlusconi and R. Prodi.) All media controlled by Berlusconi worked for his popularity. In all election campaigns, the media constantly focused on the differences in the images of Berlusconi and other candidates. The activities carried out by the opposition during the election campaign were "anti-Berlusconi". The situation in the 2006

parliamentary election campaign was very tense. This tension was exacerbated by many Western European publications that were opposed to Berlusconi. Among them stood out the "Economist". The block of the right "House of freedom" relied on television. The left bloc "Union" in addition to RAI television counted on the substantial support of newspapers, as well as Internet resources. Along with the discussions, scandalous stories, which were mainly associated with Berlusconi and which were effectively used by his opponents and the opposition media, received a great resonance in the press. The press, which supported Berlusconi's competitors, discussed Berlusconi's actions and statements, tried to hold public attention on this topic as long as possible, and expanded the range of participants in discussions. Media controlled by Berlusconi, tried to minimize the intensity of indignation, broadcast a lot of information that characterizes Berlusconi from the positive side. Ratings of candidates fluctuated. All mass media actively used available methods of manipulation of public consciousness and opinion, the main of which was the effect of setting the agenda, as it allowed the media not only to display political reality, but also to shape it in accordance with their beliefs. The media plays the role of the engine of the electoral process and one of the main social institutions that influence the outcome of elections, pushing the voter to make a decision. The parliamentary elections in Italy in 2006 ended with the victory of the left-centrist R. Prodi with a slight margin of votes, less than 1%. The results of this election campaign confirm the high degree of dependence of politics on the media and its mobilization capabilities.

The political innovations created by Berlusconi attracted the attention of foreign politicians, political scientists and the media. The new model of political leadership in a democratic state has caused debate, controversy, attracted the interest of world politics. The combination of the power of a media tycoon and a politician was an unusual phenomenon in European practice. It drew attention to the personality of S. Berlusconi, to the methods that he used in the process of political communication, to the new role of the mass media, which formed the media image of the politician. The new role of the media as a social institution has become a feature of Italian political system.

Conclusion

The US presidential campaign of the candidate Donald Trump in 2016 and the parliamentary election campaigns of the candidate for the post of Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi in 1994, 2001, 2006, 2008 were held in the conditions of large-scale media coverage. All campaigns were highly personalized and well prepared, with the usage of new political communications. The combination of these new political communications were used in the electoral process for the first time by S. Berlusconi in 1994. Over time, with the development of hardware, software communications, these technologies have been improved and introduced into election campaigns not only in Italy but also in other countries. They were used in the presidential election campaign in the United States in 2016. The difference is that Berlusconi proposed to civil society a new type of information interaction, in which the media begin to play a primary role in the electoral process as a social institution. Berlusconi applied the methods of market economy to the political process: marketing, advertising. Using his experience as a successful businessman, did it at a high professional level. As a result, a term "berlusconism" appeared. D. Trump in his campaign also used Berlusconi's innovations. In his case it was important because Trump did not receive support from Republican party although was nominated by it. Republicans did not consider Trump as a serious rival to the Democratic candidate. Trump also used his successful experience in the field of business, examined problems of different States, analyzed electoral public opinion and accordingly determined his electorate and sought to do everything possible to get support.

The media play a very important role from the very beginning of the election campaign. Different media sources represent candidates, characterize them, create media images of candidates. Their comments affect the subconscious of voters and form personal and public opinion about candidates. At the initial stage politicize and mobilize the electorate. Berlusconi was a businessman, media magnate, owner of a wide network of media. The media controlled by him created a positive image, the image of the leader. The amount of them was bigger than the opposition media, which created an ambiguous image of Berlusconi. In addition, many private audiovisual campaigns at the regional and local level, which were dependent on him for one reason or another supported Berlusconi. The media presented the image of Berlusconi in contrast to the images of other candidates in a self-serving way. The results of conducted opinion polls was the announcement of Berlusconi's future victory. Media that were loyal to Berlusconi, directed public opinion of citizens to the victory of Berlusconi.

Trump is a businessman who was known to the television audiences because of the entertainment shows he hosted. Many media outlets did not perceive Trump as a contender for high office. They created a negative media image of him as a person far from politics, a representative of show business. In addition, in the United States most media traditionally support the Democratic party and the Republican media also did not provide Trump with almost no support. Throughout the election campaign, the media presented D. Trump as an untenable politician, unable to govern the country. The media conducted informal voting before the date of the official elections, influencing the decisions of voters, and published the results on the pages of

major newspapers and well-known TV channels. The voting was conducted in such a way and in such an environment that the results could not be favorable to Trump. The press openly pursued an "anti-Trump" policy.

S. Berlusconi and D. Trump are charismatic, active, self-confident, extraordinary candidates, who applied for high State posts. They possess leadership qualities with elements of theatricality in their behavior. Both of them in their election campaigns were more than other candidates focused on the media, which could help them achieve the desired result. For Berlusconi, it was television, and Trump relied on the social networks and the Internet. D. Trump's assistants interacted with voters through social networks, where the political elite that did not accept Trump could not exercise control and influence. The press accused Trump of using social media to send campaign messages to users. Both Trump and Berlusconi knew the problems of different social groups and were able to identify their electorate correctly. Both candidates communicated with citizens in a language they understood and at an accessible level. They made a lot of promises. Populist rhetoric was perceived positively by citizens, while opposition media criticized this communicative technique.

The media discussed the details of the personal lives of Berlusconi and Trump, scandalous stories related to their activities. For Berlusconi, it was mostly corruption scandals, accusations of misconduct, activities that violate freedom of press. Trump has been accused of sexism, of links with foreign hackers allegedly influencing the electoral process and the outcome of the elections. Printed publications and broadcast on television used rude expressions and epithets. The response of both candidates was not delicate. They engaged in arguments with disloyal to them the media, entered into a confrontation with them.

Italian and American media during the election campaigns actively used all available methods of public opinion manipulation as well as fake information to achieve both positive and negative results. Especially acute and large-scale was the situation with fake news in the American media in the presidential campaign of D. Trump. It led to a tough confrontation first with presidential candidate and in the future with President Trump, both with the media and within the media themselves. The abundance of fake information in the press causes distrust in the media among citizens of any country. Political analysts express the opinion that a lot of fake information against D. Trump in the American press and its obvious anti-Trump policy caused a protest vote and led to an unexpected result for the political elite and the media. D. Trump won not thanks to the support of the media, but because of their massive anti-Trump policy.

The Italian opposition press also sought to discredit Berlusconi with fake information, but there was no such tension as in the US. S. Berlusconi's election campaigns, thanks to the strong support of the media controlled by him and especially television, despite the disagreements of the dissatisfied press, three times ended with his election to the post of Prime Minister of Italy. An important role in it was played by his personal qualities, and also skillfully used new for that time communicative political technologies. All parliamentary election campaigns were accompanied by high voter and media activity. The 2006 election campaign was the most intense for Berlusconi and the media loyal to him, as it had "anti-Berlusconi"

connotation and ended with Berlusconi's defeat. Opposition media were able to mobilize the protest electorate in the wake of Berlusconi's financial and economic failures.

The European media and political elites of the European countries were opposed to S. Berlusconi. Their statements about his personality and his political activities are mostly negative. Berlusconi also showed no respect for the EU partners. The world's media followed the political events in Italy and held discussions, trying to understand and explain the political success of the extraordinary Italian leader.

D. Trump was characterized by the foreign press as an incompetent politician, too emotional person who has no chance of being elected to the presidency of such a country as the United States. They noted that his actions are unpredictable and often contradictory, which causes tension among foreign politicians. The presidential election campaign in the United States in 2016 was closely watched by the entire world community. Each stage of the election campaign was covered in detail, discussed and analyzed by foreign media. The debates were the most interesting part. In 2016, the candidates' debates were very stormy and resembled a theatrical performance. Trump and Clinton argued in a rude way, using insults and sharply negative and brightly emotionally colored vocabulary. Thus “the method of throwing mud” mentioned in the first chapter. All this was put on TV screens and on the pages of newspapers, including in electronic versions. D. Trump's election as President of the United States was unexpected for the American and foreign media and was perceived differently in many countries. The Russian media reported this in a wide-ranging manner, with no regrets over the defeat of H. Clinton.

S. Berlusconi declared domestic policy as the priority of his subsequent political activity, promising prosperity to his compatriots. The mass media disseminated information confirming his sustainability and business qualities that can contribute to the achievement of the goal. At the international level, Berlusconi's aim was to secure Italy's rightful place in the international hierarchy. He advocated closer integration of Italy with the European Union and during the election campaign promised to make Italy's vote one of the decisive in the EU. Berlusconi appreciated the role and capabilities of the media in shaping public opinion at both the national and international levels. The media controlled by him also broadcast in European countries. The world media did not consider Italy influential on the international environment, but noted that during the period when Berlusconi was in power, Italian domestic and foreign policy became more independent. Berlusconi's anti-immigrant position has met with international disapproval.

In the US, politics is one of the most discussed topics. Political activity is stimulated by the media. This is especially true during the election campaigns. Most of the information provided by the media is information on the election processes, especially the periods of primaries and debates. The main slogans of the Trump's election campaign were promises to "make America great again" and "to become the best President of the United States," which implies active actions in foreign and domestic policy. Such statements were widely disseminated by the media and attracted attention both in the United States and abroad. Solving the problems of various social groups, including the creation of new jobs, entails the redistribution of production, changing trade and economic relations with other countries, for example, with China. Migration

issues are more closely related to Mexico. Profit from the expansion of hydrocarbon trade affects the interests of many European countries. That is, the solution of internal economic issues of the state, declared by presidential candidate Trump, affects foreign policy and causes tension in the sphere of international relations. His program also included the establishment of relations with Russia. Representatives of the political elite, business and US citizens took part in numerous discussions. The media stimulate discussions and present information to the American and international public. However, now it is not a one-way communication. Trump is actively using the Internet to explain his position. After the victory D. Trump is trying to implement his program, which entails resistance within the country and raises a wave of international political processes that affect the interests of many states and affect the international climate. S. Berlusconi and D. Trump's stay in power caused a split in the Italian and American communities.

The purpose of this analysis is to identify the similarities and differences in the conduct of election campaigns charismatic, extraordinary and controversial candidates for high public office, Silvio Berlusconi and Donald Trump, which caused the appearance of the terms "Berlusconism" and "anti-Trumpism" in politics. The choice of such personalities as Berlusconi and Trump was made due to the fact that these leaders are very similar in temperament, behavior, success in business, the goals they set for themselves. Both of them have not previously engaged in politics and managed to defeat more experienced rivals. It is interesting how could be explained the phenomenon of Berlusconi's long stay at the top of power and D. Trump's unpredictable victory in the elections, how they influenced domestic and foreign policy processes, what was the reaction of the media.

In my opinion, the successes of D. Trump in the presidential and S. Berlusconi in the parliamentary election campaigns were due to the fact that they, using new communication technologies (especially marketing), were able to correctly determine their electorate and its needs, to attract undecided citizens. On the basis of the laws of the advertising business to attract voters, using various methods of manipulation, including populist rhetoric. Personal qualities of these candidates also played an important role. Personal qualities of state leaders is an important component in creating a political climate at the international level. As a result of the analysis of the role of the media in electoral processes, it can be concluded that the media violate one of the basic principles of journalism: impartiality and are influenced by the authorities and owners of the media.

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Summary

The relevance of the chosen topic is related to the fact that information resources of the country, its communicative mobility are the most important resources of "soft power" used by the States for reformatting the geopolitical space. It takes place under the influence of globalization processes in the modern world. Media as the element of "soft power" is a tool for managing international processes and relations. It became the most powerful system of social communications. We can say that information governs society, since the effectiveness of the power structures depends on how fully they possess information about the state of affairs in all the spheres of life of the state, and how quickly they receive this information. Informational interaction of the ruling elites with civil society is realized, first of all, by the mass media. Mass media became a powerful tool for the purposeful construction of political systems and rules as well as a mean for establishing the necessary ties and relations with the society and other countries. Media in the process of political communication perform both informative and ideological functions. The media do not just transmit information that reflects reality but also create this reality with the help of specifically presented information, using various methods of manipulation of the subconscious of citizens. According to V. Crosby, media "mainly selects that kind of information and misinformation that we use to evaluate socio-political reality. Our attitude to problems and phenomena, even the approach to what is considered a problem or a phenomenon, is largely predetermined by those who control the world of communications".¹⁸⁷

In fact, now politics, political activity can be described as an informational struggle for influencing opinions, judgments on the political elite, social groups and the international community. The modern media-political system is a balanced system that consists of a set of political and media institutions that manage information flows and communication channels, the purpose of which is to form public opinion on various issues. Despite the heterogeneity of society, the media-political system achieves its goal quite often. It happens because of the mobilization of various information flows focused on various social groups. Since the world public opinion has become an important factor in the functioning of the state, the role of the media resource in the internal State's policy has been growing rapidly. Methods of public opinion manipulation as a real part of the foreign and domestic policy of the State are fully based on the media, which allows to adjust, regulate and construct a certain attitude in the mass consciousness of citizens to certain events, State intentions and actions. The mass media are considered as a source of influence on political processes: internal and external. Mass communications are constantly evolving and have an increasing influence on political decision-making processes. Information flows are increasing, the audience that perceives this information is increasing, new methods of manipulating public opinion are being developed. The functionality of the media is also developing very quickly and non-stop: means of communication, software, hardware, external media, etc. In addition to the traditional media (newspapers, radio, television) new media on the basis of the Internet appeared.

¹⁸⁷ Vin Crosby "What Is New Media?". Corante. April 2006

The digitalization of information, interactivity, speed and volume of data transfer provide users of these innovations with great opportunities. These processes of development are endless. That is why the topic of the possibilities of media influence on the life of civil society is relevant. Power structures form the internal and foreign policy of the State. The media are active participants in the elections of power structures. In the context of the election struggle, the interaction between the media, public opinion, domestic and foreign policy is becoming increasingly important.

The choice of the election campaigns of D. Trump and S. Berlusconi for the comparative analysis is due to the similarity of the personal characteristics of the candidates: charismatic, active, self - confident, possessing leadership qualities and with elements of theatricality in the manner of behavior, extraordinary candidates who had no political experience and claimed high public positions, successful businessmen. Both candidates held their election campaigns using innovative communication technologies. D. Trump's presidential election campaign caused a wide resonance, both in the United States and in the international community. The results of the presidential elections in 2016 were unexpected in the United States for the political elite and the media, despite their enormous efforts that were made for H. Clinton's victory. The foreign press noted that Donald Trump was an emotional person who makes often contradictory statements that create tensions in other countries. Political communication innovations, developed and implemented by S. Berlusconi in Italy (personification, professionalization, telecracy), raised the electoral process to a new level and became widely used in other countries. The media began to play the role of a social institution. Many researchers examined what explains the political success and long tenure as head of government of media tycoon S. Berlusconi who was not a professional politician.

Election campaigns of D. Trump and S. Berlusconi were considered both from the point of view of influence of mass media on electoral processes and results of elections, and from the point of view of the use of resources of mass media by candidates.

Chapter 1. Mass media as a tool of state policy implementation

Any state has always required certain resources to support its decisions, actions and reforms, which would ensure their most adequate and desirable support and acceptance by the citizens of that State. The ruling classes of the state began to fall into dependence on public opinion. The stability of the political system of any state depends on how quickly and fully the political elite receives information and how quickly it reacts to it. With the development of informatization of society, the mass media begin to have an increasingly tangible impact on the political consciousness and behavior of the population. Therefore, it is especially important where this or that information comes from, how it is formed and presented, distributed in society and reaches its addressees - a particular social or electoral group or citizens of other States. Media in the modern world play a significant role in the political life of society, reflecting politics through radio, television, press and the Internet. The main reason for the media gaining such a high place in the political life of modern societies is that with their help, power structures (authorities) can not only inform the population about the goals and values of their policies, but also model public relations, form representative

bodies of power, and maintain their authority. Politicians, when making a decision, must take into account the public mood of civil society.

The behavior of human collectives can be shaped by setting certain guidelines using psychological manipulation. And modern media have the opportunity to do so, increasing the efficiency of the use of information for political purposes. Thus, the ownership and management of information flows becomes a decisive factor in the conquest, preservation and retention of power. The close interaction of the mass media and the government leads to the formation of a media-political system. This media-political system is a symbiosis of the media community with political power, as well as a media resource that makes it possible to manipulate politics. Traditional (newspapers, radio, television) and new interactive media based on the Internet allow to form a certain public perception, provide support for the activities of power structures and public policy, have an impact on various spheres of society.

The media play an important role in election campaigns. They influence the course of political struggle with their editorial policies. The main criterion for the success of the media is public attention to publications. To attract this attention, the following principles are used when choosing topics for publications: priority, significance, attractiveness of the topic for the audience, novelty of facts, originality of presentation, status of the source of information, political success of the heroes of publications. Thus, the media form the public's attitude to the events, candidates, influence the decisions made by voters, thereby achieving the desired result. The defining feature of the new media is their ability to cover vast geographical spaces with an unlimited number of users at the same time. The interactivity of new media enables citizens to take part in the creation and dissemination of information flow. With the development of information technologies, interactivity has become a powerful mechanism of influence, as a result of which the audience ceases to be a simple recipient of information and begins to participate in the production and distribution of content.

The psycho-emotional state of society in the pre-election period is very dynamic. Experienced political strategists begin to exert manipulative influence on citizens imperceptibly in information programs and publications before the start of the election race. This makes the choice of citizens not an independent decision, but an act prepared in advance by political strategists. The goal of any political manipulation is the conquest, realization and preservation of power. Media in their work use two main ways of disseminating information: consistent and fragmented. A consistent way of presenting information is mainly characteristic of print media. The press consistently covers this or that information material on a political subject. Manipulation in this case is carried out by choosing the theme, tone of presentation and connotation of lighting. A fragmented presentation method is common in television materials. Separate fragments of information prevents the formation of a holistic picture of what is happening and forces to rely on imposed opinions. The information offered to the audience contains comments of the authors, in which their opinions are present. Currently, there are many methods of manipulating public opinion. One of the first methods of manipulation was compiled in the 30 - ies of XX century in the United States by experts From the Institute

for analysis of propaganda and published under the title "ABC propaganda". It describes the methods of manipulating the consciousness of citizens, which are used today.

Power structures of the state with the help of mass media for the purpose of manipulation of public consciousness and opinion widely use strategies "to create a problem and to offer the solution", "gradualism" and "delay". The authorities and the media create a situation in which the population a priori will feel uncomfortable, so people will demand from the authorities to solve this problem (the adoption of any measures, new laws). "Gradualism" strategy: this is a method used to gradually impose measures on people that will cause rejection and protest of society if they are applied simultaneously. "Delay" strategy: used when it is necessary to obtain the consent of the public to the application of any measures that it does not approve. In this case, the party concerned is trying to get permission to apply these measures in the future, which is perceived by citizens much easier for two reasons. The first is because people are not ready for immediate change; the second is that society hopes for improvement in the future, so perhaps no action will be taken. Thus, manipulators achieve their goal, as over time, society gets used to the idea of future changes. The development of the media contributes to the development of methods of manipulation of civil society.

Chapter 2. The role of the media in D. Trump's presidential campaign

The election campaign in the United States is a complex and long process, which is governed by the Constitution and laws of the states and is carried out in several stages. The initial and time consuming stage is primaries, as it begins long before the elections. During this period, candidates carry out intensive work on influencing the subconscious of potential voters, using all possible political communication technologies, including various methods of manipulation, in order to influence the public opinion of the population, form their electorate. In the United States the representatives of the Democratic and Republican parties (one person from each party) come to the final stage. In the presidential campaign of 2016, these candidates were H. Clinton from the Democratic party and D. Trump from the Republican party. The final stage of the election campaign includes the debates of the candidates and the vote of the electors. All voting is conducted by majority system.

The media were very active and had a significant impact on the election race, on the entire electoral process. They formed images of the candidates, using a lot of false information. They were actively campaigning, violated the rules of ethics, using a variety of available methods of manipulating public opinion and resources of hardware and software. The most common daily newspapers in the US are: The Wall Street Journal, USA Today, The New York Times, the Los Angeles Times, The Washington Post. The Associated Press (AP) is the world's oldest news Agency and the leading news Agency in the United States. Broadcasters: CNN, CBS and ABC, Fox news. The United States also leads the world in the number and variety of online news resources. It allows to attract a new audience, expand communication channels and opportunities for publishing information.

The result of the 2016 presidential campaign was the victory of the Republican candidate Donald Trump. The campaign attracted constant attention. American voters were active, the turnout was high (55.7

per cent). For the first time in the history of the United States a female presidential candidate from the Democratic party was nominated. Former US Secretary of state Hillary Clinton won 2.9 million votes, which is more than the winner D. Trump (by the number of electoral votes: 304 against 227). This confirms the imperfection of the US electoral system. In addition, a billionaire businessman, not a politician was elected to the post of head of state. He is the oldest (70 years) candidate to be elected to any office for the first time. During the election campaign, both candidates used all available methods of manipulating public opinion, including populist rhetoric, false information, which in most cases discredited the opponent. The entire period of the presidential campaign was accompanied by numerous rallies of supporters and opponents, scandals and revelations, including hacking of the servers of the Democratic party, alleged Russian hackers, suspicions of interference in the electoral process by Russian special services in order to discredit H. Clinton and support D. Trump. Both candidates were not formally charged due to insufficient evidence. For the first time in U.S. election history, large-scale foreign interference in the electoral process was announced.

The 2016 election campaign in the United States was followed by the whole world. The media play a key role in shaping public opinion during election campaigns. In the center of the discussion in the media was Donald Trump, the most unpredictable opponent in the history of presidential elections. In the American media Trump has been called an outsider because he was never part of the American political system. Donald Trump is a charismatic, unpredictable leader. "I will be the greatest President God ever created, "Make America great again," was his campaign slogan. His presidential campaign was carefully thought out. His success in the presidential campaign came as a surprise not only to Democrats but also to Republicans. Billionaire Donald Trump won support in 30 States and the Northern Mariana Islands, and defeated senators Ted Cruz and Marco Rubio, Ohio Governor John Casey and thirteen other candidates. The biggest support for Trump was provided by such States as Texas (38 electoral votes), Florida (29 votes), Pennsylvania (20 votes), Ohio (18 votes), Georgia (16 electoral votes). The main statements of his campaign concerned the following areas of American society: immigration, health care, economy and domestic policy. He sharply opposed migrants from Mexico and the Middle East, demanded the abolition of Barack Obama's medical program. In the economic sector, he spoke of the need to return businesses to the US, raise duties on goods that were produced abroad, and argued for a trade war with China. He expressed his point in the book *Crippled America*, published in 2015. The political elite did not welcome Trump and did everything to discredit him. His character, manner of communication and populism also influenced his rating in the media. Almost all the media supported Clinton. Some experts say that the anti-ratings of the elite and the media caused the opposite reaction among ordinary people and allowed him to win an undeniable victory.

To analyze the image of D. Trump such American media as *The New York Times*, *Washington Post*, CNN, NBC, CBS, *Daily News*, *Fox News*, MRCTV, *Huffington Post* were taken. They published a lot of information about the candidates during the 2016 election campaign. Russian media are taken as an example of foreign media. Among them were analyzed online media and electronic versions of newspapers. The

publication in "Kommersant", "Medusa", "Izvestiya", "RIA Novosti", "Rossiyskaya Gazeta", "Republic" and RBC.

At the initial stage of the election race, all the media (American and foreign) considered D. Trump as a businessman who has nothing to do with politics. However, his speeches, slogans, manner of communication, information about his personal life and loved ones, caused a wave of scandals. The biggest scandals were related to Trump's statements about migrants, Mexico, Muslims, about relations with women, about Clinton's health, about the Russian leader, about relations with Russia, about US domestic and foreign policy, as well as the investigation of the fact of hacking the computers of the Democratic party, about the possibility of Russian interference in the electoral process. All this contributed to a change in the attitude of the political elite, the media, the electorate, and also changed the previously formed image. The American press pays great attention to the relations between D. Trump and V. Putin. Trump always made contradictory statements and used populist rhetoric. International and American press called Trump unpredictable politician. Russian media publications were also diverse, depending on the views of these media. Depending on the information circulating in various media throughout the election period, Trump's image, his ratings, and the attitude of the American, Russian, and international public toward him changed.

The American media has long considered Trump as a weak competitor to H. Clinton at the debate stage. Russian media described him scrupulously and did not express confidence in his victory. With the experience of managing popular TV shows, Trump in his manner used an element of theatricality that attracts attention and is perceived differently. This image of Trump was present in many American and foreign media and made it memorable.

During the campaign, most media outlets sought to characterize Trump as an incompetent politician. The popular CNN channel and one of the most influential newspapers, The New York Times, were the first to create a negative image of D. Trump. After taking office, Trump called NBC, ABC, CBS, CNN and The New York Times on his Twitter enemies of the American people. The New York Times notes that Trump, dividing journalists into loyal and disloyal, began a war with the media and within the media. D. Trump does not trust the media. Therefore, he prefers to communicate with citizens through a Twitter account or Fox News channel. American marketing companies called the 2016 election campaign "explosive, populist and polarizing."

Chapter 3. Analysis of Berlusconi's innovations in the context of the peculiarities of the use of the media in the political sphere

The mass media is an instrument of influence on public consciousness. State-owned Italian radio and television (RAI) was tightly controlled by the ruling parties and became an instrument of political power. Under the influence of the public, the government passed the RAI reform act, which did not exempt the media from state dependence, but rather consolidated the state monopoly on national radio and television. At that time, a successful businessman Silvio Berlusconi entered the media business and succeeded thanks to the non-gratuitous support of the authorities and Prime Minister Craxi. In 1992, the judicial investigation"

clean hands " discredited the political and economic elite of Italy. In order to avoid punishment, Berlusconi created his first party "Forward, Italy!", which won the national parliamentary elections and he became the head of the government for the first time. Berlusconi's activities, corruption scandals, laws that violate the Constitution, cause discontent in Italian society, which wanted to live by the rule: "the law is equal for all." However, the Parliament passes a law "on conflict of interest", allowing one of the richest people in Italy not only to head the Cabinet, but also to profit from their business, which is contrary to the Constitution of Italy.

The liberal press in Italy has always had a difficult relationship with the authorities. The reason for the confrontation between the liberal media and the authorities was the past of Berlusconi, a series of sexual scandals associated with him, a number of ambiguous legislative acts initiated by him. While in power, Berlusconi was able to take control of up to 90% of the information space in Italy. As a politician and businessman he supported the process of merging political, economic and media structures that served each other, violating the principles of democracy. Political scientists believe that the appearance of S. Berlusconi in the Italian political arena marked the beginning of a new stage in the political life of the State. Voters in developed democracies are much more interested in the identity of the candidate than his party affiliation. This process has been called the personification of politics. For the average citizen, it is much more important to talk to a specific candidate who is ready to solve everyday problems and take personal responsibility for the voter than to get acquainted with the party's program, which offers ways to solve the problems of the voter. Communication of the candidate with voters is carried out by mass media. Thus, there is a transformation of political communication, that is, the transformation of information interaction between the candidate and the voter. This change in the exchange of information has been made possible by the development of the technical capabilities of the media. Electronic media, the Internet, cable and satellite television have been added to traditional media such as print, radio and television. The mass media is a tool of information interaction, that is, a tool of political communication. The main function of political communication is the struggle for power. Therefore, political communication is the main element of any election campaign. The result of "personification" was a change in public demands for political leaders. Proximity to certain segments of society became a prerequisite for the political success of the candidate. New technologies of election campaigns impose requirements to professionalism of organizers of these campaigns in the sphere of communications, marketing, advertizing. Berlusconi is one of the political leaders who managed to implement the principles of corporate governance in politics and professionalize the process of political communication.

The dominance of television combined with politics and business is a telecracy. Among the main advantages of using television as a means of persuasion is the ability to communicate with a large audience without direct contact. Television is a powerful tool of manipulation. Berlusconi's success in politics is largely due to the fact that he led a wide network of media. In addition, he actively used new technologies in the field of technical and political communications. Another important factor in Berlusconi's success was his strategic ability and his center-right party, Forza, Italia. The creation of this party was an important event,

marking the beginning of a new stage in the political history of Italy, as it was a party of a new type. In the center of the party was its leader, not ideology. Having transformed this party, merged with other right-wing parties and changed the names of the newly created political party (House of freedoms, People of freedom), Berlusconi took part in four national parliamentary election campaigns (1994, 2001, 2006, 2008), in which he won three times (1994, 2001, 2008). All election campaigns were personalized, professional and built according to the rules of the market. The ability to create coalitions allowed Berlusconi to hold the post of head of government four times (1994-1995, 2001-2005, 2005-2006, 2008-2011). Political strategists attribute Berlusconi's success to the use of new technologies of political communication. Populist slogans of the party "Forward, Italy" and the speeches of its populist leader Berlusconi were perceived positively. In addition, Silvio Berlusconi is an influential businessman, media tycoon and one of the richest people in Italy. He effectively used his TV channels, publishing empire, links with the world of sports and advertising in his election campaigns. Owned by him, Fininvest was the second largest private corporation in Italy and the largest media group in Europe. Berlusconi considered himself the best political leader in Europe and the world. The famous Russian political scientist I. B. Levin notes that "the television screen, in fact, replaced the rally in the square, and the image of a man who got rich solely by personal efforts, replaced the party program." For the specifics of television is much more important external component: self-confidence, location to the viewer. Berlusconi, in accordance with the recommendations of advertising experts, broadcast on television images of success, honesty, sociability, competence and awareness. He always looked great, was full of energy and optimism, constantly stressed his piety, tireless work for the benefit of all Italians. In 2006, during a speech, Berlusconi expressed the view that only Napoleon did more for Italy than he did. Berlusconi was able to enlist the support of a large number of those who were not interested in politics and never participated in the political life of Italy.

From the point of view of political communication, Berlusconi's innovation was that he managed to oust parties as intermediaries between society and power and to personify the leader. The party has come to be seen as a group run by a single politician whose actions often turn into a one-man show. Traditional links between media and politics are being broken, and new relationships are being built on dependence on commercial television and on the treatment of information as a commodity. In these circumstances, Berlusconi managed to establish control over a modern democratic state and win political power. This demonstrates the serious contradictions in the democratic life of the country. Italian journalist G. Bocca, who studied Italian politicians, conducted a journalistic investigation into Berlusconi. In the article "Little Caesar", he states that the 1994 elections resulted in the victory of the market over democracy. According to the Italian researcher G. Orsina, "Berlusconism" began to develop when there were not enough strong politicians. One of the main ideas of "Berlusconi" was the application of market principles in the functioning of the state. G. Orsina defines "Berlusconism" as an ideology that combines populism and liberalism. Berlusconi's name is associated with numerous scandals of various kinds, including corruption and accusations of indecent behavior. However, many Italians over the years trusted him to run the country and

supported during the elections. His relationship with the media was mixed. By the number of scandals associated with the press, Berlusconi cannot be compared with any politician in Italy. His media image is created both by the media and by Berlusconi himself (his behavior, facial expressions, gestures, speech style, appearance). Berlusconi's loyal press presents him as a successful political leader, a worthy representative of his country in the international arena, a defender of the interests of the people, with knowledge and political talent. Opposition media criticized Berlusconi's political activities, presenting him as a charismatic populist, a master of gross simplifications, a manipulator of public opinion, who turned politics into a spectacular show, broke the law, a politician who established a television dictatorship in the country, enlisted the support of almost all media. The activities of Mediaset, a media holding controlled by Silvio Berlusconi, cause a great resonance in Italian society. Berlusconi's opponents used this pretext as part of a campaign against him during the parliamentary elections.

Parliamentary elections are the main event of the political life of Italy. The role of the media in parliamentary elections is considered on the example of the 2006 election campaign (candidates S. Berlusconi and R. Prodi.) All the media controlled by Berlusconi and worked for his popularity. In all election campaigns, the media constantly focused on the differences in the images of Berlusconi and other candidates. The activities carried out by the opposition during the election campaign were "anti-Berlusconi". The situation during the 2006 parliamentary election campaign was very tense. This tension was exacerbated by many Western European publications opposed to Berlusconi. Among them stood out "Economist". House of freedoms, a right-wing bloc, relied on television. The left bloc "Union" in addition to RAI television counted on the substantial support of newspapers and Internet resources. Along with the discussions, scandalous stories, which were mainly associated with Berlusconi and which were effectively used by his opponents and the opposition media, received a great resonance in the press. The press, which supported Berlusconi's competitors, discussed his actions and statements, tried to keep the public's attention on this topic as long as possible, and expanded the range of participants in the discussions. Media controlled by Berlusconi, tried to minimize the intensity of indignation, broadcast a lot of information that characterizes Berlusconi from the positive side. All mass media actively used available methods of manipulation of public consciousness and opinion. The results of this election campaign confirm the high degree of dependence of politics on the media and on its mobilization capabilities.

Political innovations created by Berlusconi attracted the attention of foreign politicians, political scientists and the media. The new model of political leadership in a democratic state caused controversy, attracted the interest of world politics. The combination of the power of a media tycoon and a politician was unusual in European practice. It drew attention to the personality of S. Berlusconi, to the methods he used in the process of political communication, to the new role of the media, which formed the media image of the politician. The new role of the media as a social institution has become a characteristic feature of the Italian political system.

Conclusion

The US presidential campaign of the candidate Donald Trump in 2016 and the parliamentary election campaigns of the candidate for the post of Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi in 1994, 2001, 2006, 2008 were held in the conditions of large-scale media coverage. All campaigns were highly personalized and well prepared, with the usage of new political communications. The combination of these new political communications were used in the electoral process for the first time by S. Berlusconi in 1994. Over time, with the development of hardware, software communications, these technologies have been improved and introduced into election campaigns not only in Italy but also in other countries. They were used in the presidential election campaign in the United States in 2016. The difference is that Berlusconi proposed to civil society a new type of information interaction, in which the media begin to play a primary role in the electoral process as a social institution. Berlusconi applied the methods of market economy to the political process: marketing, advertising. Using his experience as a successful businessman, did it at a high professional level. As a result, a term "berlusconism" appeared. D. Trump in his campaign also used Berlusconi's innovations. In his case it was important because Trump did not receive support from Republican party although was nominated by it. Republicans did not consider Trump as a serious rival to the Democratic candidate. Trump also used his successful experience in the field of business, examined problems of different States, analyzed electoral public opinion and accordingly determined his electorate and sought to do everything possible to get support.

The media play a very important role from the very beginning of the election campaign. Different media sources represent candidates, characterize them, create media images of candidates. Their comments affect the subconscious of voters and form personal and public opinion about candidates. At the initial stage politicize and mobilize the electorate. Berlusconi was a businessman, media magnate, owner of a wide network of media. The media controlled by him created a positive image, the image of the leader. The amount of them was bigger than the opposition media, which created an ambiguous image of Berlusconi. In addition, many private audiovisual campaigns at the regional and local level, which were dependent on him for one reason or another supported Berlusconi. The media presented the image of Berlusconi in contrast to the images of other candidates in a self-serving way. The results of conducted opinion polls was the announcement of Berlusconi's future victory. Media that were loyal to Berlusconi, directed public opinion of citizens to the victory of Berlusconi.

Trump is a businessman who was known to the television audiences because of the entertainment shows he hosted. Many media outlets did not perceive Trump as a contender for high office. They created a negative media image of him as a person far from politics, a representative of show business. In addition, in the United States most media traditionally support the Democratic party and the Republican media also did not provide Trump with almost no support. Throughout the election campaign, the media presented D. Trump as an untenable politician, unable to govern the country. The media conducted informal voting before the date of the official elections, influencing the decisions of voters, and published the results on the pages of major newspapers and well-known TV channels. The voting was conducted in such a way and in such an

environment that the results could not be favorable to Trump. The press openly pursued an "anti-Trump" policy.

S. Berlusconi and D. Trump are charismatic, active, self-confident, extraordinary candidates, who applied for high State posts. They possess leadership qualities with elements of theatricality in their behavior. Both of them in their election campaigns were more than other candidates focused on the media, which could help them achieve the desired result. For Berlusconi, it was television, and Trump relied on the social networks and the Internet. D. Trump's assistants interacted with voters through social networks, where the political elite that did not accept Trump could not exercise control and influence. The press accused Trump of using social media to send campaign messages to users. Both Trump and Berlusconi knew the problems of different social groups and were able to identify their electorate correctly. Both candidates communicated with citizens in a language they understood and at an accessible level. They made a lot of promises. Populist rhetoric was perceived positively by citizens, while opposition media criticized this communicative technique.

The media discussed the details of the personal lives of Berlusconi and Trump, scandalous stories related to their activities. For Berlusconi, it was mostly corruption scandals, accusations of misconduct, activities that violate freedom of press. Trump has been accused of sexism, of links with foreign hackers allegedly influencing the electoral process and the outcome of the elections. Printed publications and broadcast on television used rude expressions and epithets. The response of both candidates was not delicate. They engaged in arguments with disloyal to them the media, entered into a confrontation with them.

Italian and American media during the election campaigns actively used all available methods of public opinion manipulation as well as fake information to achieve both positive and negative results. Especially acute and large-scale was the situation with fake news in the American media in the presidential campaign of D. Trump. It led to a tough confrontation first with presidential candidate and in the future with President Trump, both with the media and within the media themselves. The abundance of fake information in the press causes distrust in the media among citizens of any country. Political analysts express the opinion that a lot of fake information against D. Trump in the American press and its obvious anti-Trump policy caused a protest vote and led to an unexpected result for the political elite and the media. D. Trump won not thanks to the support of the media, but because of their massive anti-Trump policy.

The Italian opposition press also sought to discredit Berlusconi with fake information, but there was no such tension as in the US. S. Berlusconi's election campaigns, thanks to the strong support of the media controlled by him and especially television, despite the disagreements of the dissatisfied press, three times ended with his election to the post of Prime Minister of Italy. An important role in it was played by his personal qualities, and also skillfully used new for that time communicative political technologies. All parliamentary election campaigns were accompanied by high voter and media activity. The 2006 election campaign was the most intense for Berlusconi and the media loyal to him, as it had "anti-Berlusconi"

connotation and ended with Berlusconi's defeat. Opposition media were able to mobilize the protest electorate in the wake of Berlusconi's financial and economic failures.

The European media and political elites of the European countries were opposed to S. Berlusconi. Their statements about his personality and his political activities are mostly negative. Berlusconi also showed no respect for the EU partners. The world's media followed the political events in Italy and held discussions, trying to understand and explain the political success of the extraordinary Italian leader.

D. Trump was characterized by the foreign press as an incompetent politician, too emotional person who has no chance of being elected to the presidency of such a country as the United States. They noted that his actions are unpredictable and often contradictory, which causes tension among foreign politicians. The presidential election campaign in the United States in 2016 was closely watched by the entire world community. Each stage of the election campaign was covered in detail, discussed and analyzed by foreign media. The debates were the most interesting part. In 2016, the candidates' debates were very stormy and resembled a theatrical performance. Trump and Clinton argued in a rude way, using insults and sharply negative and brightly emotionally colored vocabulary. Thus "the method of throwing mud" mentioned in the first chapter. All this was put on TV screens and on the pages of newspapers, including in electronic versions. D. Trump's election as President of the United States was unexpected for the American and foreign media and was perceived differently in many countries. The Russian media reported this in a wide-ranging manner, with no regrets over the defeat of H. Clinton.

S. Berlusconi declared domestic policy as the priority of his subsequent political activity, promising prosperity to his compatriots. The mass media disseminated information confirming his sustainability and business qualities that can contribute to the achievement of the goal. At the international level, Berlusconi's aim was to secure Italy's rightful place in the international hierarchy. He advocated closer integration of Italy with the European Union and during the election campaign promised to make Italy's vote one of the decisive in the EU. Berlusconi appreciated the role and capabilities of the media in shaping public opinion at both the national and international levels. The media controlled by him also broadcast in European countries. The world media did not consider Italy influential on the international environment, but noted that during the period when Berlusconi was in power, Italian domestic and foreign policy became more independent. Berlusconi's anti-immigrant position has met with international disapproval.

In the US, politics is one of the most discussed topics. Political activity is stimulated by the media. This is especially true during the election campaigns. Most of the information provided by the media is information on the election processes, especially the periods of primaries and debates. The main slogans of the Trump's election campaign were promises to "make America great again" and "to become the best President of the United States," which implies active actions in foreign and domestic policy. Such statements were widely disseminated by the media and attracted attention both in the United States and abroad. Solving the problems of various social groups, including the creation of new jobs, entails the redistribution of production, changing trade and economic relations with other countries, for example, with China. Migration

issues are more closely related to Mexico. Profit from the expansion of hydrocarbon trade affects the interests of many European countries. That is, the solution of internal economic issues of the state, declared by presidential candidate Trump, affects foreign policy and causes tension in the sphere of international relations. His program also included the establishment of relations with Russia. Representatives of the political elite, business and US citizens took part in numerous discussions. The media stimulate discussions and present information to the American and international public. However, now it is not a one-way communication. Trump is actively using the Internet to explain his position. After the victory D. Trump is trying to implement his program, which entails resistance within the country and raises a wave of international political processes that affect the interests of many states and affect the international climate. S. Berlusconi and D. Trump's stay in power caused a split in the Italian and American communities.

The purpose of this analysis is to identify the similarities and differences in the conduct of election campaigns charismatic, extraordinary and controversial candidates for high public office, Silvio Berlusconi and Donald Trump, which caused the appearance of the terms "Berlusconism" and "anti-Trumpism" in politics. The choice of such personalities as Berlusconi and Trump was made due to the fact that these leaders are very similar in temperament, behavior, success in business, the goals they set for themselves. Both of them have not previously engaged in politics and managed to defeat more experienced rivals. It is interesting how could be explained the phenomenon of Berlusconi's long stay at the top of power and D. Trump's unpredictable victory in the elections, how they influenced domestic and foreign policy processes, what was the reaction of the media.

In my opinion, the successes of D. Trump in the presidential and S. Berlusconi in the parliamentary election campaigns were due to the fact that they, using new communication technologies (especially marketing), were able to correctly determine their electorate and its needs, to attract undecided citizens. On the basis of the laws of the advertising business to attract voters, using various methods of manipulation, including populist rhetoric. Personal qualities of these candidates also played an important role. Personal qualities of state leaders is an important component in creating a political climate at the international level. As a result of the analysis of the role of the media in electoral processes, it can be concluded that the media violate one of the basic principles of journalism: impartiality and are influenced by the authorities and owners of the media.