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**POLITICAL POSITIONING TECHNOLOGIES OF THE PRESIDENT OF  
THE UNITED STATES IN A GLOBAL DIMENSION: DETERMINING  
CRITERIA OF EFFECTIVENESS**

5.5.2 – Political institutions, processes, technologies

Abstract to the thesis for the degree of Candidate of Political Sciences

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**The main results of the thesis for the degree of Candidate of Political Sciences by  
Shevchenko Ekaterina Sergeevna «Political positioning technologies of the  
President of the United States in a global dimension: determining criteria of  
effectiveness»**

The thesis for the degree of Candidate of Political Sciences by Shevchenko Ekaterina Sergeevna «Political positioning technologies of the President of the United States in a global dimension: determining criteria of effectiveness» is an independent and complete study of the political positioning of the President of the United States in a global dimension, with specific political technologies having been formulated and used in this research. In theoretical terms, the author presents an updated, expansive interpretation of political positioning agenda as such. In practical terms, the author determines criteria of effectiveness of political positioning technologies used by the President of the United States in a global dimension on the basis of American modern and historical political experience. The results of the thesis contain scientific novelty and contribute to the development of Russian political science in the context of understanding political positioning in general and formulation and development of bilateral relations between the Russian Federation and the United States and the Russian political course.

**Relevance of the topic of the scientific research** is conditioned by the complexity of general dynamics of modern global political development at various levels: at the level of value aspect – objectivization of cultural and fundamental fractures at the interstate level, at the level of functional and role aspect – clash of political positions and actions of key political actors, at the level of institutional aspect – indication of the systemic crisis of the existing institutional platforms, and at the level of instrumentalist aspect – revealing the failure of some political instruments in use. This is conditioned by the revision of the political role of the United States and an increasingly problematic nature of political positions of the President of the United States within the framework of such criteria as effectiveness of political institutions, internal consistency of political decisions made by the political elite, legitimacy of

political power, orientation of political reforms, consecution of political and strategic management, effectiveness of the political and party system as a whole.

The actualization of political positioning problems within the framework of D. Trump's term of office should be mentioned separately. D. Trump launched numerous unprecedented political innovations for American politics and revealed problematic issues of the majority of semantic and procedural peculiarities of the American political system – his own alternative interpretation of some treaty-based political commitments, adoption of an SDN List as part of the Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act, subjectivization of bilateral political relations within private political and economic cases, his use of non-classical political language and expressions such as «Crazy Lunatics» and «Sick People» to address his political opponents, which is ambiguous at the level of the global political community, the American political elite, and the presidency of J. Biden, which embodies a large-scale struggle against the political legacy of the 45<sup>th</sup> President of the United States and, to an even greater extent, deepens the systemic crisis of the presidential power in the United States – democratization of economic of the United States and migration policy, tightening of political and competitive positions of Republicans and Democrats at the level of target constituencies of the United States, strengthening of systemic discrepancy of territorial-political factors and conditions, manifestation of political and conceptual failure of the idea of «Free World» in the optics of integrational and globalizational institutional architecture. In this regard, the existing inconsistencies and imbalances reveal themselves most strongly, on the one hand, in the exercise of official powers and, on the other hand, in the realization of the political functions of the President of the United States, considering stabilizing and destabilizing global political trends.

Considering all these facts, it is very important to understand the specifics of the Russian political agenda both in a broad and narrow sense. In the first case, we are talking about connotational and framework features of the Russian political course, which is associated with the necessity of political reorientation in the conditions of adjustments to institutional and procedural aspects of the global political space initiated



by the United States. In the second case, we are talking about opportunities and limitations of the Russian-American relations, which are conditioned, among other things, by American domestic and foreign policy dynamics. In this context, the specifics of bilateral political interaction between the President of the Russian Federation and the President of the United States is of vital importance mainly due to national political-regime characteristics.

**The object of the scientific research** – political positioning of the President of the United States.

**The subject of the scientific research** – political positioning technologies of the President of the United States in a global dimension.

**The aim of the scientific research** is to determine criteria of effectiveness of political positioning technologies of the President of the United States in a global dimension.

**Within the framework of the aim, the following objectives of the scientific research are achieved:**

1. To investigate theoretical and methodological approaches to the notion of political positioning in the modern political science.
2. To determine peculiarities of political positioning in the structure of political activity of the President of the United States.
3. To formulate political positioning technologies of the President of the United States in a global dimension.
4. To substantiate main political theories and doctrines of the United States as a basis for the use of political positioning technologies of the President of the United States in a global dimension.
5. To identify peculiarities of political positioning technologies of the President of the United States in a global dimension in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries.
6. To develop system of indicators, which determine criteria of effectiveness of political positioning technologies of the President of the United States in a global dimension on the basis of analysis of the presidency of D. Trump and J. Biden.

**The hypothesis of the scientific research** is based on the fact that the use of political positioning technologies of the President of the United States in a global dimension is conditioned not only by political and ideological orientation at the level of neoconservatism and neoliberalism and political-party affiliation, but also by the political image of the President of the United States and the global political conjuncture. In this regard, criteria of effectiveness of political positioning technologies of the President of the United States in a global dimension are determined by the degree of perceived effect of his political activity.

**The following theoretical and methodological approaches are used in the scientific research:** systemic, institutional, structural-functional, discursive. The following groups of methods and research tools are also used in connection with the theoretical and methodological approaches mentioned above:

1. Methods and research tools of the basic (broad) spectrum: secondary analysis of the research data, induction, systematization, gaining access to foreign and Russian research databases on the results of modern sociological and political science research, which form a relevant criterion set and understandable search query, taking into account the saving of time resources and non-disturbance of scientometric quality.

2. Methods and research tools of the political science (special) spectrum: system analysis and problem-chronological analysis, comparative-historical analysis and comparative-politological analysis, information analysis and content analysis, political discourse analysis and conceptual analysis, conceptual formalization, multivariate analysis, critical analysis, statistical presentation of data.

**The theoretical basis of the scientific research** is formed by works of American authors, including prominent American political scientists and researchers of issues and problems of political science, Russian Americanists, and political scientists and experts in the field of American political theory and practice.

**The legal and regulatory basis of the scientific research** is formed by current legal acts of the United States (the Constitution of the United States, the United States Code, sectoral sources of federal legislation of the United States), actualized sources



of international law (international treaties, declarations and conventions of the United Nations, program and procedural documents).

**The empirical basis of the scientific research** is formed by reported materials regarding the activities of the public authorities of the United States; political programs and conceptual documents, which determine the nature of official powers and the specifics of political activity of the President of the United States; audio and video recordings of public speeches and texts of addresses of the President of the United States; posts in social networks of the President of the United States; analytical reports of such American think tanks and research centers as the Center For Strategic & International Studies, the Brookings Institution, the Council On Foreign Relations, the Pew Research Center; data and information from publicly available sources; media publications and expert opinions; statistical indicators presented in the form of graphs and tables.

**The novelty of the scientific research** is in the following:

1. The author has introduced her own replication approach to the study of political positioning based on problematization and synthesis of relevant data from political elitology, political imageology, political communication studies, political comparativism, political comparativism. communicativism, political comparativism/comparative political science, political realism (political neorealism) and political pragmatism, institutionalism and neo-institutionalism.
2. The author has determined that peculiarities of political positioning in political activity of the President of the United States is structured by rational choice, political power, political agenda, political rhetoric, political decisions, global public governance within the framework of relevant political theories and concepts.
3. The author has proved that political positioning technologies of the President of the United States in a global dimension are conditioned by dualism of political positioning, which is, on the one hand, in the stabilization of political positions within the national political system, dependent, firstly, on the level of public support, and secondly, on the specifics of political positioning, and, on the other hand, in

maintaining the political image of the state as the main center of political decision-making as the main political goal.

4. The author has established that the use of political positioning technologies of the President of the United States in a global dimension depends on the dynamics of the realized political course, substantiated by specific political theories and doctrines of the United States – deterrence theory, domino theory, controlled chaos theory, grand strategy theory, doctrine of global political awakening, doctrine of progressive political realism, presidential political doctrines (in particular, J. Kennedy, L. Johnson, R. Nixon, J. Carter), influencing the choice of the ideological basis and instruments ensuring the internal political stability of the USA and the promotion of political interests of the United States at the global level.

5. The author has revealed specifics of the use of political positioning technologies of the President of the United States in a global dimension in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries on the basis of integration of common characteristics and properties and derivation of distinctive characteristics and properties within the framework of the presidency of J. Kennedy, L. Johnson, R. Nixon, J. Ford, J. Carter, R. Reagan, G. Bush Sr., B. Clinton, G. Bush Jr., B. Obama, D. Trump, J. Biden. As for the first aspect, we are talking about the missionary content of the political programs and projects implemented on the external track relying on the results of political consulting and proposals of the political team. As for the second aspect, we are talking about problems of foreign policy risks and threats in the direction of «mitigation/strengthening» of technical-instrumentalist specificity, which can be traced at the level of actualization of the pro-Russian context of the global political decisions and actions during the presidency of J. Kennedy, J. Carter, R. Reagan, and B. Obama and the interpretation of the fundamental phenomenology of the global political order during the presidency of L. Johnson, R. Nixon, G. Bush Sr., G. Bush Jr.

6. The author has developed system of indicators, which determine criteria of effectiveness of political positioning technologies of the President of the United States in a global dimension on the basis of analysis of the presidency of D. Trump and J. Biden. They are conditioned, firstly, by the political and conceptual principles of



neoconservatism and neoliberalism, secondly, by the political and ideological provisions of the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. Accordingly, it is the domestic political trend of D. Trump, focused on the national political-economic conjuncture, relying on his own ideological-narrative and semantic political developments and political tools (construction of political developments and political tools (construction of political image of a system outsider – personalized (personal) dimension), and the foreign policy trend of J. Biden, focused towards the global political establishment, relying on integrated political resources and interactions (restoration of security problems of political institutions – functional dimension).

### **Theses for the defense:**

1. The author has introduced her own replication approach to the study of political positioning on the basis of problematization and synthesis of elitological, image, communication, comparative, realist (neorealist) and pragmatic, institutional and neo-institutional research positions, according to which are presented:

- political elite as the main subject of political positioning;
- political image as the most personifying and positioning of a political subject;
- political communication as a component of substantial expansion of the range of political actors and optimization of the political-communication background of political positioning;
- comparative analysis as a promising theoretical and methodological basis for gaining competitive advantages and favorable positions of political positioning;
- political realism (political neorealism) and political pragmatism as priority principles of the Western political culture, included in the program of political positioning;
- political-institutional environment as the most formalized and logical from the historical point of view for political positioning.

2. The author has complemented some political theories and concepts existing in the modern political science (rational choice theory, information theory (practical aspects), concepts of political power, concepts of using strategic potential,



political agenda concepts, political rhetoric concepts, political decision-making concepts, concepts of global public governance) in terms of determining peculiarities of political positioning in the structure of political activity of the President of the United States:

- rational understanding of political phenomena and processes with significant disadvantages and advantages being worked out and taking into account the most favorable political factors and conditions;
- identification of procedural-activity and resource aspects in the context of enhancing the value and argumentation of political-authority characteristics;
- using modern formats and practices of successful integration and adaptation within the relevant problematic political agenda of the most influential representatives of the media community and mass media;
- consideration of convenient and accessible political interaction with the public using special political and rhetorical tools, consisting in orientation on the target electoral audience;
- presenting the Decision-Making Process as the basic one in terms of targeting and formalizing a system of criteria and requirements for political actions;
- consideration of issues and problems of interstate coordination and global political regulation through the use of digital, information, communication and conciliation tools and procedures.

3. The author has revealed dualism of political positioning, which allowed to formulate political positioning technologies of the President of the United States in a global dimension on the basis of the formed research sketch-map:

- identification of the actualized problem field of political agenda adaptation;
- introduction of a system of positive and negative comparative indicators of political decisions;
- formalization of main (permanent) and additional (adjustable) positions of political and image positivity;

- construction of targeted political interaction with representatives of national and global political elite in the direction of political cooperation and confrontation;
- clarification of the political-resource spectrum in relation to the system of opportunities and limitations of systematic management potential;
- updating the operational characteristics of political tools;
- metaphorization of individual products of real political experience from the point of view of comprehensibility and obviousness;
- conceptualization of ideological and semantic context of a public political situation;
- specialization of political means and methods of development of information and communication space, considering linking and interactive nomenclature;
- mediatization of political activity within the framework of ensuring political control over a problematic political discourse.

4. The author has substantiated the main political theories and doctrines of the United States as the basis for the use of political positioning technologies of the President of the United States in a global dimension from the point of view of ideological (conceptual) and activity (functional) features of a political course within the country and at the global level:

- political pressure on actually weak positions of a political rival;
- revealing the linking and cause-and-effect specifics of a certain totality of political objects, with political dismantling being modeled on the basis of these factors;
- optimization of political management and control, considering destructuring and destabilizing practices;
- mobilization of political resources and instruments within the framework of strategically important political goals and objectives;
- understanding of the need for an active inclusion into the ongoing political changes with prompt perception and response;



- recognizing the objectivity and naturalness of current political trends in their own favorable political scenario.

5. The author has revealed general and distinctive characteristics and properties of political positioning of the President of the United States in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, which allowed to propose a special schematization used in political positioning technologies of the President of the United States in a global dimension:

- approving a political agenda;
- making political decisions;
- constructing a political image;
- interacting with the political team;
- allocating political resources;
- development and implementation of «working» political technologies;
- working with political competitors;
- use of political symbols.

6. The author has developed system of indicators, which determine criteria of effectiveness of political positioning technologies of the President of the United States in a global dimension on the basis of analysis of the presidency of D. Trump and J. Biden:

- ideological and narrative: certainty (accessibility) of the ideological and narrative political attributes (public approval of current presidential activities);
- semantic (conceptual and categorical): semantic consonance (harmony) of the political conceptual and categorical apparatus (formation of target groups of electoral support);
- personalized (personal): adequacy of personalized (personal) features, considering the avoidance of exclusion from the global political community (influence on the formulation of the political agenda of the G7 and G20);

- image: positivity of perception and acceptance at the global level of the produced political and image characteristics (mentioning in the most influential national and foreign media);
- public-issue: presentation of relevant global political issues within the framework of the national political agenda (presidential reelection);
- interactive: coherence (coordination) of the proposed political interactive approaches and practices (support/rejection/revocation of legislative initiatives, executive orders and proclamations);
- institutionalized: ensuring political contributions to the optimization and renewal of the global political institutional structure (initiation of draft resolutions subsequently adopted by the UN General Assembly and the UN Security Council);
- instrumentalist: external consistency of the political tools in regard to in formal political criteria and requirements (correlation between legitimacy and legality of political activity);
- resource-based: operability of political resource potential based on the commonality and correlation of political interests (support of representatives of the political-economic and cultural elite);
- functional: fulfillment (functionality) of the existing political commitments within the framework of the achieved interstate arrangements and agreements (implementation of the sources of international law at the level of federal regulatory legal acts).

**Theoretical significance of the scientific research** for foreign and Russian political science is in the following: specification of the basic scientific concepts and categories, systematization of the available theoretical and methodological base, structuring of the accepted research directions and approaches, explanation of the expediency of using certain research practices and methods. This confirms, among other things, the construction of several variants of the author's definition of the term «political positioning» in relation to the stated research specifics (narrow and expansive interpretations), as well as the use of research tools of the basic (broad) spectrum and the political science (special) spectrum (research sketch-map).



**Practical significance of the scientific research** for foreign and Russian political experts, analysts, consultants and technologists is, first of all, in the organization of expert-analytical and advisory and methodological work on political positioning – work at the level of, firstly, the subject of political positioning, secondly, target audience of the subject of political positioning. The research has a special applied significance, considering the design of special roadmaps and point recommendations of strategic and tactical orientation – first of all, program-conceptual and formal-documentation support (with regard to the Russian political problems, the presented historical and actualized peculiarities of political experience of the United States are of particular importance, as they help to understand, firstly, the specifics of political changes in the United States, secondly, strong and weak political positions of the President of the United States himself, which is certainly taken into account in the framework of the formulation and development of bilateral relations between the Russian Federation and the United States and the Russian political course).

**The scientific research is consistent with the following points of 5.5.2 passport specialty – Political institutions, processes, technologies:** item 6. Political system and political regimes: structure, functions, types and varieties; item 8. Political institutions: formation, development and modern transformations; item 22. Political class and political elite: structure, properties, functions and dynamics; item 30. Political technologies and specifics of their application.

**Approbation of theses and results of the scientific research:**

Scientific journals indexed by Scopus:

- Shevchenko E., Burda M., Grigoryan D. The US President's Political Positioning In Global Political Process: Modern Approaches To Understanding Of Security Against The Background Of Political And Legal Consequences Of COVID-19 Spread / Proceedings Of The II International Scientific And Practical Conference «COVID-19: Implementation Of The Sustainable Development Goals (RTCOV 2021)». – 2023. – P. 29-35.

Scientific publications indexed by the Russian Science Citation Index (RSCI), included in the List of peer-reviewed scientific journals recommended for publication

by the Higher Attestation Commission under the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation (HAC of the RF):

- Shevchenko E.S. Conceptual Bases Of Formation And Realization Of Political Agenda By D. Trump: The Choice Of Decision-Making Tool // PolitBook. – 2018. – Vol. 2 – P. 58-71;
- Burda M.A., Shevchenko E.S. Political Aspects Of Implementation Of International Law In National Legislation Of The United States: From Theory To Practice // RUDN Journal of Political Science. – 2019. – Vol. 21, Issue 2. – P. 254-267;
- Shevchenko E.S. Formulation Of Sanction Policy As A Tool Of D. Trump's Positioning In Foreign Policy: Defining Of Efficiency Standarts // Proceedings Of The Southwest State University. Series: History And Law. – 2020. – Vol. 10, Issue 2. – P. 128-136;
- Shevchenko E.S., Vrachev V.A., Grishin V.O. Political Subjectivity As An Orientation Of D. Trump's Positioning In Global Political Process: Problems And Conditions Of Achieving Balance // Political Science Issues. – 2020. – Vol. 10, Issue 2(54). – P. 641-647;
- Shevchenko E.S. D. Trump's Positioning In Global Political Process: Correlation Of Stabilization And Destabilization Factors // Proceedings Of The Southwest State University. Series: History And Law. – 2020. – Vol. 10, Issue 6. – P. 188-197;
- Shevchenko E.S., Burda M.A. Some Origins And Scenarios Of Development Of Domestic Political Crisis In The USA: The Conflictogenicity Of J. Biden's Presidency // Conflictology. – 2021. – Vol. 16, Issue 2. – P. 72-80;
- Shevchenko E.S., Popov S.I., Shulenina N.V. Making Of D. Trump's Political Image By The US Authoritative Media Sources: To The Question Of Formulation Of A Tool // Political Science Issues. – 2021. – Vol. 11, Issue 8(72). – P. 2284-2295;
- Shevchenko E.S. Realization Of The US Foreign Policy Agenda In Post-Soviet Space In The Period Of D. Trump's Presidency: Experience Of Interaction With



The Republic Of Belarus And The Republic Of Kazakhstan // Proceedings Of The Southwest State University. Series: History And Law. – 2021. – Vol. 11, Issue 5. – P. 178-190.

Conference proceedings indexed by the Russian Science Citation Index (RSCI):

- Shevchenko E.S. Formulation The Key Aspects of American Migration Policy In The Context Of D. Trump's Political Role / Proceedings Of International Forum «Society. Trust. Risks: Trust In Migration Processes. Risks Of New Society». – 2019. – P. 273-277;
- Shevchenko E.S. The Main Problems And Prospects Of Realization Of D. Trump's Migration Policy / Proceedings Of The Xth All-Russian Scientific And Practical Conference « State, Power, Governance And Law ». – 2019. – P. 301-302;
- Shevchenko E.S. D. Trump's Political Agenda In The Context Of Current Problems Of International Relations: Features Of The Formulated Tool / Proceedings Of The Vth International Scientific And Practical Conference «Current Problems Of International Relations And Diplomacy». – 2020. – P. 132-135;
- Shevchenko E.S. The Main Directions Of Realization Of The US Foreign Policy Agenda In Post-Soviet Space In The Context Of The Formation Of Factors Of Regional Political Stability / Proceedings Of The Annual International Forum «Society. Trust. Risks». – 2020. – P. 319-323;
- Shevchenko E.S. The US President's Policy In The Context Of The Development Of Modern Global Political Processes Against The Background Of The Spread Of COVID-19: Key Guidelines For Building A Dialogue / Proceedings Of The Third International Forum «Society. Trust. Risks». – 2021. – P. 275-281;
- Shevchenko E.S. Search For New Scenarios Of Realization Of The US Foreign Policy Course: Rethinking Some J. Biden's Policy Decisions / Proceedings Of The IXth All-Russian Congress Of Political Scientists « Russia And Political Order In A Changing World: Values, Institutions, Prospects ». – 2021. – P. 578-579;
- Shevchenko E.S. Symbolic Nature Of The US President's Political Decisions: Conceptual And Activity-Based Comprehension / Proceedings Of The

XXXVIIIth International Charak Forum «Political Space And Social Time: Power Of Symbols And Memory Of Generations ». – 2022. – P. 354-359;

- Shevchenko E.S. Digital Security As A Priority Concept Of The US Modern Policy: Operational And Semantic Limits / Proceedings Of The Vth All-Russian Scientific And Practical Conference «Opportunities And Threats Of Digital Society». – 2022. – P. 114-120;

- Shevchenko E.S. The Main Approaches To Understanding And Assessing The US Foreign Policy Potential In The Context Of The Development Of Modern Global Political Process / Proceedings Of The VIth International Scientific And Practical Conference «Current Problems Of International Relations And Diplomacy». – 2022. – P. 30-33.

Structurally, the scientific research contains introduction, two chapters, six paragraphs, conclusion, literature review, appendices.

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