

POLITICAL MARKETING STRATEGY OF VLADIMIR PUTIN

MISS SUPHATTRA BORIBOONCHATUPORN

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts Program in Russian Studies
(Interdisciplinary Program)

Graduate School

Chulalongkorn University

Academic Year 2011

Copyright of Chulalongkorn University

บทคัดย่อและแฟ้มข้อมูลฉบับเต็มของวิทยานิพนธ์ตั้งแต่ปีการศึกษา 2554 ที่ให้บริการในคลังปัญญาจุฬาฯ (CUIR)
เป็นแฟ้มข้อมูลของนิสิตเจ้าของวิทยานิพนธ์ที่ส่งผ่านทางบัณฑิตวิทยาลัย

The abstract and full text of theses from the academic year 2011 in Chulalongkorn University Intellectual Repository (CUIR)
are the thesis authors' files submitted through the Graduate School.

กลยุทธ์การตลาดทางการเมืองของประธานาธิบดีวลาดิมีร์ ปูติน

นางสาวสุภัทรา บริบูรณ์จตุพร

วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต
สาขาวิชารัฐศึกษา (สหสาขาวิชา)
บัณฑิตวิทยาลัย จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย
ปีการศึกษา 2554
ลิขสิทธิ์ของจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

Thesis Title	POLITICAL MARKETING STRATEGY OF VLADIMIR PUTIN
By	Ms. Suphattra Boriboonchutuporn
Field of Study	Russian Studies
Thesis Advisor	Rom Phiramontri, Ph.D
Thesis Co-advisor	Associate Professor Chulanee Thianthai, Ph.D.

Accepted by the Graduate School, Chulalongkorn University in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Master's Degree

..... Dean of the Graduate School
(Associate Professor Pornpote Piumsomboon, Ph.D.)

THESIS COMMITTEE

..... Chairman
(Associate Professor Pachee Yuvajita, Ph.D.)

..... Thesis Advisor
(Rom Phiramontri, Ph.D)

..... Thesis Co-advisor
(Associate Professor Chulanee Thianthai, Ph.D.)

..... Examiner
(Assistant Professor Theera Nuchpiam, Ph.D.)

..... External Examiner
(Associate Professor Naruemit Sodsuk)

สุภัทรา บริบูรณ์จตุพร : กลยุทธ์การตลาดทางการเมืองของประธานาธิบดีวลาดิมีร์ปูติน.
(POLITICAL MARKETING STRATEGY OF VLADIMIR PUTIN) อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์
หลัก: ดร.รมย์ ภิรมนตรี อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์ร่วม: รศ.ดร.จลณี เทียนไทย, 95 หน้า.

การวิจัยในครั้งนี้เป็นการวิจัยเชิงคุณภาพ (Qualitative Research) มีวัตถุประสงค์ คือ 1) เพื่อศึกษาที่มาและประวัติส่วนตัวของวลาดิมีร์ ปูติน 2) เพื่อวิเคราะห์การตลาดทางการเมืองของวลาดิมีร์ ปูติน 3) เพื่อศึกษาการใช้บุคลิกภาพตราสินค้าของปูตินในฐานะกลยุทธ์การตลาดทางการเมืองที่ส่งผลต่อการประสบความสำเร็จทางการเมือง

การวิจัยในครั้งนี้ประกอบไปด้วย 2 กระบวนการวิจัยหลัก ในส่วนแรก คือ การวิจัยสื่อผ่านทางเว็บไซต์อินเทอร์เน็ต บริบทของข่าวและรูปภาพต่างๆที่มีความเกี่ยวข้องกับปูตินผ่านทางเว็บไซต์ของนายกรัฐมนตรีของสหพันธรัฐรัสเซีย และเว็บไซต์ของทางราชการรัสเซียถูกนำมาใช้ในการศึกษา ในส่วนที่สอง คือ การวิจัยเอกสารซึ่งใช้เพื่อสนับสนุนและตรวจสอบความน่าเชื่อถือของข้อมูลต่างๆถูกนำมาใช้ จากนั้นจึงนำข้อมูลที่ได้ไปตรวจสอบและวิเคราะห์เพื่อหาว่าลักษณะบุคลิกภาพตราสินค้าของวลาดิมีร์ ปูตินได้สร้างความสำเร็จในการดำรงตำแหน่งทางการเมืองของเขาได้อย่างไร

ผลการศึกษาค้นคว้าพบว่า ลักษณะบุคลิกภาพตราสินค้าของปูติน เข้ากับหลักการทั้งสิ้น 19 คุณสมบัติอันได้แก่ การเข้าถึงประชาชนคนระดับล่าง ความซื่อสัตย์ การมีมนุษยสัมพันธ์ ความน่าเชื่อถือ การทำงานหนัก ความฉลาด การมีทักษะเฉพาะทาง การทำงานร่วมกับผู้อื่นได้ การประสบความสำเร็จ การเป็นผู้นำ การมีชีวิตชีวา ความเท่ การมีเอกลักษณ์เฉพาะ ความมีเสน่ห์ ความอ่อนโยนและนุ่มนวล การชอบทำกิจกรรมกลางแจ้ง ความเป็นผู้ชาย ความแข็งแกร่ง และความเด็ดเดี่ยว โดยผลการศึกษาที่ได้มีความสอดคล้องกับสมมุติฐานการวิจัยที่ว่าวลาดิมีร์ ปูตินใช้ลักษณะบุคลิกภาพตราสินค้าของเขาในฐานะกลยุทธ์การตลาดทางการเมือง เพื่อเสริมสร้างการรับรู้ในเชิงบวกให้กับประชาชนชาวรัสเซีย และส่งเสริมให้เขาประสบความสำเร็จทางการเมือง และการคงความนิยมมาได้จนถึงปัจจุบัน

สาขาวิชา รัสเซียศึกษา..... ลายมือชื่อนิสิต.....
สาขาวิชา 2554..... ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก.....
ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์ร่วม.....

5387579120 . MAJOR RUSSIAN STUDIES

KEYWORDS : VLADIMIR PUTIN / POLITICAL MARKETING / BRAND BUILDING /
BRAND PERSONALITY DIMENSION / IMAGE OF PUTIN

SUPHATTRA BORIBOONCHATUPORN . POLITICAL MARKETING STRATEGY
OF VLADIMIR PUTIN. ADVISOR . ROM PHIRAMONTRI, Ph.D.,
CO-ADVISOR . ASSOC.PROF. CHULANEE THIANTHAI, Ph.D. 95 pp.

This research is a qualitative research. The objectives are 1) to study background and personal information of Vladimir Putin 2) to analyze Vladimir Putin's political marketing strategy and 3) to explore how Vladimir Putin uses his brand personality as a political marketing strategy to succeed in his political position.

In this research, there are two main research techniques. The former is media research through the use of the internet. The news contents and photos involving with Putin via his own website (the website of the Prime Minister of the Russian Federation) and Russian official websites were studied and examined. The latter is documentary research, which was used to support and verify the reliability of information. Thereafter, Putin's brand personalities were analyzed and examined to find out how Vladimir Putin's brand personality has contributed to his political success.

The result of the research shows that Putin's brand personality totally consists of 19 facets: Down-to-Earth, Honest, Friendly, Reliable, Hard working, Intelligent, Technical, Cooperative, Successful, Leadership, Spirited, Cool, Unique, Charming, Smooth, Outdoor, Masculine, Tough and Rugged. The hypothesis of the research turns to be accurate. The study shows that Vladimir Putin used his brand personality as Political Marketing Strategy to create the positive perception of Russian people and optimizes to maintain his popularity.

Field of Study: RUSSIAN STUDIES	Student's Signature
Academic Year: 2011	Advisor's Signature
	Co-advisor's Signature

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all I would like to take this opportunity to express my most sincere appreciation and thankfulness to Dr.Rom Phiramontri, the thesis advisor, for his warm generosity and hospitality which have been given to me as always. I would like to express my deep appreciation to Associate Professor Chulanee Thianthai, Ph.D., the co-thesis advisor, for her precious guidance and assistance. Without her kind and thoughtful assistance, this accomplishment would not be possible. I would like to express my gratitude to Associate Professor Naruemit Sodsuk who has given me worthy help and advice. For invaluable help and correcting the English language I am grateful to Associate Professor Pachee Yuvajita, Ph.D. I would also like to acknowledge Assistant Professor Theera Nuchpiam, Ph.D. for his suggestion and time to be one of the committee members.

Moreover, I feel indebted to many authors of the books and documents about political marketing, branding and image. They inspire me to do research on the topic of this thesis.

My thanks go to all my friends who have spent time together with me, mentioned or unmentioned, Miss Kusuma Thongniem, Miss Wallaya Monchuket, Miss Pawalee Intarasompong, and, in particular, Miss Sathita Dejthongpong for their encouragement and support in every process of thesis writing. I would like to express special thanks to Assistant Professor Suyanee Dejthongpong, Ph.D. for her kindness and helpful assistance. For preparing and planning everything in order I would like to thank Miss Atchara Kaewwande, Russian Studies' officer. I do sincerely thank Mr.Sompob Tangsawanich for his encouragement, understanding and time sharing.

Most of all, I would like to express my sincerest thanks to my beloved family: Mr.Kodshayut Boriboonchatuporn, my father, Mrs.Mussamon Boriboonchatuporn, my mother, Miss Patchaya Thongsila, my aunt, Mr.Kraisit Boriboonchatuporn, my adoring brother, and my lovely little sister for their encouragement, understanding and timeless love. They are always beside me, supporting and helping me all through the time.

CONTENTS

	Page
Abstract (Thai).....	iv
Abstract (English).....	v
Acknowledgements.....	vi
Contents.....	vii
List of Tables.....	x
List of Figures.....	xi
List of Photos.....	xii
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
Background and Rationale.....	1
Objectives.....	4
Hypothesis.....	4
Conceptual Framework.....	5
Significance.....	6
Definition of Terms.....	7
II. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	9
Theory and Approaches.....	9
Political Marketing.....	9
Marketing Concept.....	11
Marketing Mix.....	12
Brand Personality.....	14
Related Research.....	18
III. METHODOLOGY.....	26
Research Methodology.....	27
Media Sample and Setting.....	28
Research Instrument.....	32
Data Collection and Data Analysis.....	32
Plan for Research Activity.....	35

IV.	RESEARCH RESULT AND DISCUSSION.....	36
	Content Analysis of Putin’s background and personal Information.....	36
	Content Analysis of Putin’s Political Marketing Strategy.....	56
	Content Analysis of Putin’s Brand Personality.....	59
V.	CONCLUSION	80
	Conclusion.....	80
	Limitation.....	87
	Recommendation.....	87
	References.....	88
	Bibliography.....	92
	Biography.....	95

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Brand Personality Dimension.....	16
2. 26 March 2000 Russian presidential election results.....	52
3. 14 March 2004 Russian presidential election results.....	53

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Conceptual Framework.....	5
2. Putin's Brand Personality Diagram	6
3. Marketing Mix Diagram.....	14
4. Brand Personality Diagram.....	17
5. Hypothesis Proving Diagram.....	81

LIST OF PHOTOS

Photo	Page
1. Website of the Prime Minister of the Russian Federation	28
2. Website of the First Channel.....	28
3. Website of Russia-1.....	29
4. Website of Russian Newspapers.....	29
5. Website of Russian Today.....	29
6. Website of Radio Russia.....	30
7. Website of Lighthouse Radio.....	30
8. Website of RIA News.....	30
9. Website of ITAR-TASS.....	31
10.Process of Data Collection I.....	33
11. Process of Data Collection II.....	34
12. Person of the year 2007 by the TIME Magazine.....	36
13.Putin Performing a tradition ritual.....	60
14.Putin’s reliable image.....	61
15.The cover page of a sexy calendar.....	63
16.Putin’s party at Paradise Nightclub.....	63
17.Car wash for Putin.....	64
18.Campaign ‘Tear it up for Putin’.....	65

LIST OF PHOTOS

Photo	Page
19.Putin and a variety of animals.....	66
20.Special Project of the Prime Minister.....	67
21.Putin with his pets	67
22.The images of Putin as a sportsman.....	68
23.Military images of Putin.....	69
24.Putin's photos at official meetings.....	72
25.Woking time table of Putin.....	73
26.Putin plays the piano and sings.....	74
27.Putin's cool photo.....	75
28.Putin's Resume'	75
29.Putin fishes in the Yeisei River.....	76
30.Putin's vacation in the Republic of Tuva.....	76
31.Putin's outdoor adventure	77
32.Putin's tough image.....	78

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background and Rationale

Vladimir Putin is one of the most influential politicians in Russia, one of the world's largest countries. His full name is Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin. He served Russia as President for two consecutive terms and then became Prime Minister. Although he serves in the position of Prime Minister, he still seems the most powerful, influential and beloved politician in Russia. As the researcher has attended Graduate School Chulalongkorn University and majors in Russian Studies, the researcher had the chance to go to Russia for a couple months. The researcher could reach many books and articles in the Russian source and also access to Russian websites, which give many ideas for the understanding of Russian senses and behaviors. Moreover, meeting with Russian people and professor, in person enabled the researcher to gain first-hand experience and useful perspectives. So, the researcher is interested how Vladimir Putin succeed in his political position. From the study of his biography, work experience and honors on Newspapers, Radio and Television via Russian official Websites the researcher has found that, he is interesting in terms of his background, his personality and his image which have made him distinguished from others. Vladimir Putin has been named by the *Time* magazine in 2007 as "the Tsar of the New Russia". He was elected President of the Russian Federation in 2000 and then re-elected in a landslide election in 2004. In 2008, he stepped down to become Prime Minister of the country and supported Dmitri Medvedev to hold the President position as his political successor. Medvedev can be seen as a puppet leader of Vladimir Putin. He stepped down because of the condition in the Constitution, indicating that a president cannot be in office for more than two consecutive terms. It does not mean that his popularity is in decline. It is quite possible that Vladimir Putin will return to be President again in the coming presidential election or the next (on September 11, 2010, Vladimir Putin has announced that he will be a candidate for the presidential election in 2012).

Vladimir Putin's special personality is an important factor to explore. He is a man of little words, with a poker face. His words are ambiguous, equivocal and questionable and left soon for interpretations. What he said means nothing for anyone. And because of his personality, it is possible that his supporters helped and voted for him to win the election.

In general, it can be stated that the popularity of a politician often depends on the image he or she projects. Political candidates, therefore, use the media, images and ideas to create their special image, hoping to influence voters and gain political power. Presently, politicians have set up a more aggressive policy in order to bridge the gap between politics, business and media. Some politicians try to create activities that stimulate social interest, such as political and public activities. Politicians have paid visits to local communities to create their image through the media. However, politicians cannot meet all people in their constituency; therefore, they must rely on the media in order to communicate with the people who both support or do not support them. Most of the successful politicians rest their time and resources on the media. The most important way to current political success in a democratic country is that politicians must pay much attention to their images, which sometimes are more crucial than their political policy. Politicians will give a positive image of themselves and negative images will not be revealed. Therefore, whether the politician's image is going to be positive or negative may depend on the effective procedures in dealing with the media.

When the people repeatedly consume the news, they will unconsciously have good impression on it. Likewise, the recurrence of a politician's positive activities will influence people to support him without doubt. Thus, skilled politicians will try their best to have the media regularly emphasize their good side. Politicians believe that the mass media is the most important way to achieve their political career. They will make every endeavor to strengthen their relations with the media in order to get support from them. Actually, the media and politicians are both colleagues and opponents to one another. Each party has the same interest to harness.

From the aforementioned information, the researcher intends to study Vladimir Putin's brand personality and his use of mass media (communication) for his Political Marketing strategy.

Political Marketing is marketing concepts and tool for the politician to utilize to win election and remain in office. This is because there are the competitions among political parties. They have to present themselves to the public and they hope to win the election by attacking their competitors. So, Marketing is used for their success.

“Marketing, it is the social process by which individuals and groups obtain what they need and want through creating and exchanging products and value with others” (Kotler, 1969).

Nowadays "marketing" affects the creation and existence of many things, as Kotler and Levy argue that "...marketing, previously confined to commercial and business organizations, could actually be used by all organizations, including non-profit, state, public sector and charitable ones." (Philip Kotler and Sidney J. Levy, 1969)

Marketing directs itself to how organizations can behave in relation to their market to help them achieve their goals, or how they fail to respond to their market and lose their customers. Organizations that adopt the marketing philosophy will design their product to lead consumer's satisfaction to achieve their goals. A market-orientation is much more likely to satisfy its consumers and will stand a better chance of securing their long-term customs. Marketing strategy and branding also offer additional perspectives to capture the way organizations think and respond to their market.

Marketing strategy has been introduced and has been used along with political communication, which is called "Political Marketing." It aims to convince people to trust the policies of the political party their and each politician, in addition to support for the next election. This basic direction is easily applicable to politics, where parties are constantly losing elections and looking for a means to help them win the next one. Political parties can use political marketing to increase their chances to achieve their goal of winning general elections.

Political Marketing is not just about communication, public relations or campaigning. It is something much more than that. Parties are acting like businesses, using market intelligence to inform the design of political product they offer, becoming marketing-oriented rather than focusing on selling. The key difference is that political marketing is now seen as potentially affecting the way politicians, parties and governments behave, not just how they behave.

Nowadays, besides political marketing, there is interesting and relevant strategy known as "branding," that has been used widely in political campaigns. Branding is about how a political organization or individual is perceived as a whole. It is broader than the product; whereas a product has a functional purpose, a brand offers something additional, which is more psychological and less tangible. It is concerned with impressions, images, attitudes and recognition. Branding helps the party or candidate to change or maintain reputation and support. Branding can also be used to sell policies.

This element helps to create a trusting relationship between producer and consumer when it achieves its goal.

Brand personality is the personal identification. On this matter, the leader's behavior has affected perceptions of the brand. Therefore, the leader is an important part of branding in politics; it will be a problem also if the leader's popularity declines.

The theories mentioned above have been accepted and successfully deployed around the world by famous political leaders, such as John F. Kennedy, Ronald Regan, Margaret Thatcher, Tony Blair, Barack Obama and etc. These theories made them succeed in the elections.

Vladimir Putin is the one who has brought and used these theories as well. He has been one of the most influential politicians in Russia, from his first public appearance until 2011. For this reason the researcher is interested in examining his adverse background and finding why he has been able to rule the country up to the present time. To make it clearer to understand, the next chapter will present Vladimir Putin's information in the section, "Background and Personal Information of Vladimir Putin." It will give the guidance and foundation to answer "Who Vladimir Putin is" and "How he became President of the largest country in the world."

Objectives

- 1) To study background and personal information of Vladimir Putin
- 2) To analyze Vladimir Putin's political marketing strategy
- 3) To explore how Vladimir Putin uses his brand personality as a political marketing strategy to succeed in his political position

Hypothesis

Vladimir Putin has used his brand personality as Political Marketing Strategy to contribute to the positive perception of Russian people and to optimize the chance to maintain his popularity.

Conceptual Framework

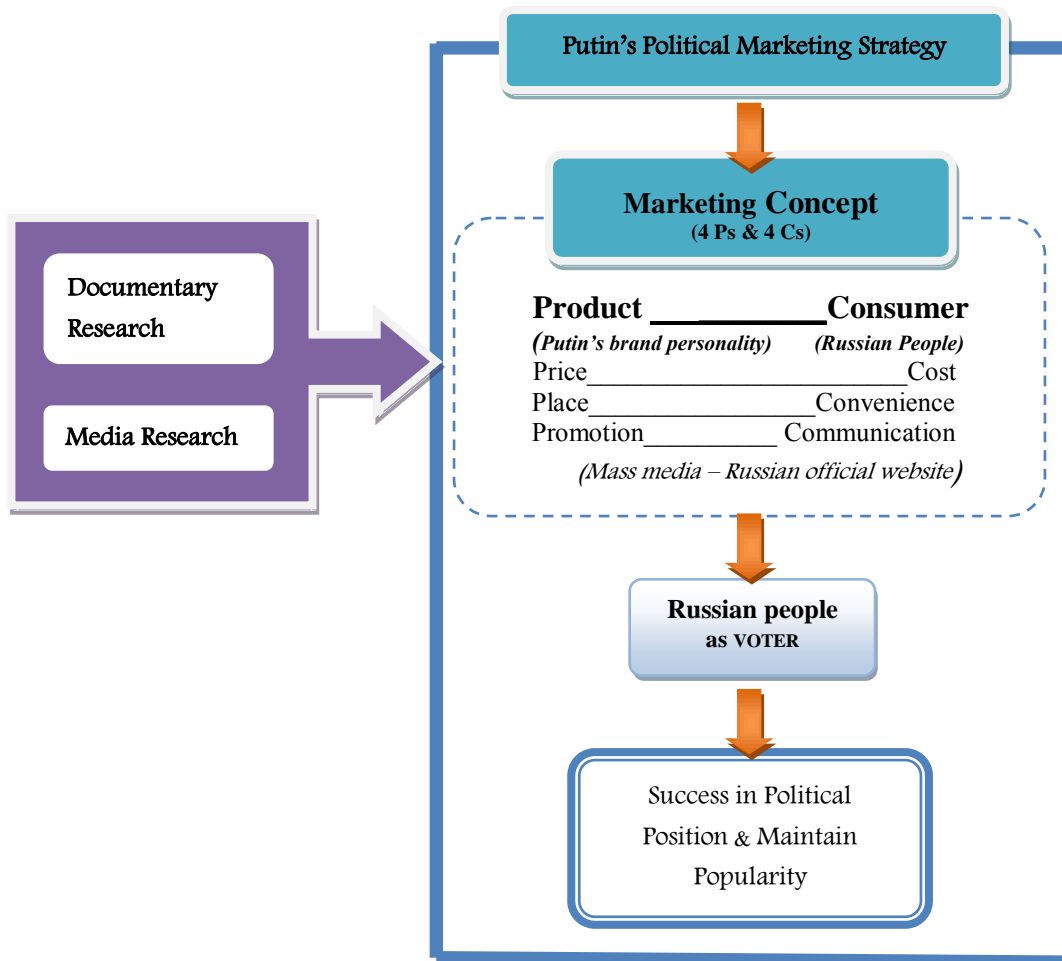


Figure 1. Conceptual Framework

The scope of this research covers the analysis of the political marketing which was used by Vladimir Putin for his success in the political position. It was described by the above conceptual framework. However, on the studying, the researcher found that Vladimir Putin used his brand personality as the product in marketing mix of marketing strategy to apply to his political marketing strategy. So, Putin's Brand Personality Diagram will be used as the main conceptual framework for this research and can be presented in the diagram below.

Putin's Brand Personality Diagram

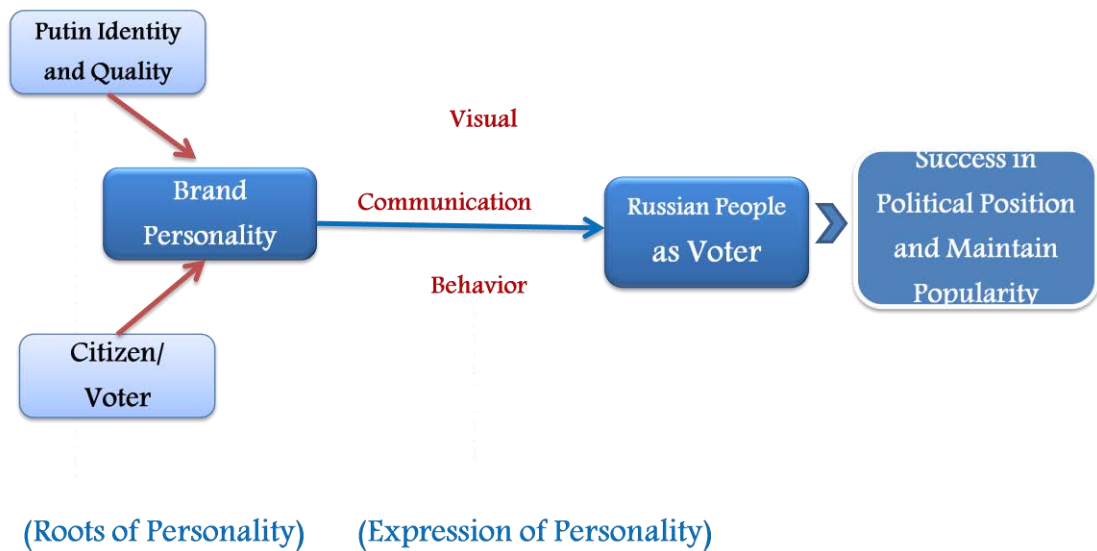


Figure 2 : Putin's Brand Personality Diagram

Significance

- 1) Knowledge of Vladimir Putin's Biography and his work experience from the study will be useful in understanding one of the most famous politicians of the world.
- 2) Knowledge of Vladimir Putin's Political Marketing strategy from the study will be the foundation for further studies.
- 3) Knowledge gained from the study will be useful in giving the idea of how Vladimir Putin used his brand personality as a political marketing strategy to succeed in his political position

Definitions of terms

- **Political Marketing** utilized marketing concept as a component in the development of political strategies, is an instrument the political organization uses to present the aspiring information to the public (voters). A political image is created to demonstrate a candidate, a party or a policy by implementing marketing strategy. Political parties are acting like businesses; they sell their candidates and policies in the same way that businessmen sell their services and goods.
- **Marketing Concept** holds that achieving organizational goals depends on knowing the needs and wants of target markets and delivering the desired satisfactions. It proposes that in order to satisfy its organizational objectives, an organization should anticipate the needs and wants of consumers and satisfy these more effectively than competitors.
- **Marketing** is the process used to determine what products or services may be of interest to customers, and the strategy to use in sale, communications and business development. It generates the strategy that underlines sales techniques, business communications, and business developments. It is an integrated process through which companies build strong customer relationships and create values for their customers and for themselves. Marketing is used to identify the customer, satisfy the customer, and keep the customer. With the customer as the focus of its activities, marketing management is one of the major components of business management. Marketing had evolved to meet the stasis in developing new markets caused by mature markets and overcapacities in the last 2-3 centuries. The adoption of marketing strategies requires businesses to shift their focus from the production to the perceived needs and wants of their customers as the mean of staying profitable. The marketing refers to marketing mix which consists of the elements of 4Ps and 4Cs.
- **Marketing mix** consists of the elements of 4Ps (Product, Price, Place, and Promotion) and 4Cs (Customer, Cost, Convenience, and Communication)

- **Brand Personality** is specific attributes of a person consisting of personal background, personality, image and all those things that involve with him and become to his 'brand.'
- **Mass Media** (communication) is the tools or which are used for various purposes in mass communications; advertising, marketing, propaganda, public relations, and political communication. The media in this research will focus on the Internet (The Russian official websites), presenting Putin's brand personality.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The researcher has studied and collected many books, articles, editorials, previous researches and also Russian websites. This chapter consists of two main parts. Firstly, "Theories and Approaches" describes the theory of political marketing, including brand personality. Secondly, "Related Researches" presents related researches which were previously conducted by others researchers.

Part I : Theories and Approaches

The research on 'Political Marketing Strategy of Vladimir Putin' is inspired by contemporary politics which increasingly brings the Marketing concept to be used as a component in the development of political strategies. Marketing strategy helps and leads political parties to accomplish in selling their products, such as their political party, policies and candidates. The marketing, therefore, has been considered as a political tool to help overall political activities reach their goal.

a) Political Marketing

Political Marketing is the utilization of the marketing concept as a component in the development of political strategies (Lee-Marshment, 2009: 3). So, Marketing is a foundation of political marketing. Therefore, the simplest term to define Political Marketing is a marriage between two social science disciplines; political science and marketing. In the matter of practice, tools and strategies of Political Marketing are not different from the Mainstream Marketing. The principles of marketing strategies consist of Research, Segmentation, Targeting, Positioning, Marketing Strategies, Marketing Program, Implementation and Control etc((Newman, 1994: 86). Moreover, consumers' behavior is applied for analysis because voters are consumers also. Therefore, it can be

said that both business affairs and political affairs require personal and marketing tools to achieve success.

Although business marketing and political marketing look similar in some aspects, there are some noticeable differences as Nicholas J. O'Shaughnessy, Stephan C.M Henneberg state in the book Idea of Political Marketing that there are, of course, many clear parallels between the selling of politicians and the selling of certain products. Most obviously, politics sell an abstract and intangible product; it is value-laden; it embodies a certain level of promise about the future, some kind of attractive life vision, or anything the satisfactions of which are not immediate but long-term, vague, and uncertain. Vendors of products that share the above characteristics will have legitimate things to say to politicians: the analogies are with promise-based offers (O'Shaughnessy and Henneberg, 2002).

However, there is something remarkable that the voter as a consumer who believes in the policies and contracts of political parties, has to prepay a vote in the form of a ballot instead of money and expect to receive goods or service which politicians already promised. Under these circumstances, Rangsan Thanaphonpan says that costumers (voters) will have to face with an uncertain situation at least for three levels (Rangsan Thanaphonpan, 2010: Online)

Firstly, in the case of the politicians and political parties that they elect are defeated in the election, all voters will have no chance to be delivered with "Political Service."

Secondly, in the case of the politicians and political parties of their choice win the election but they do not have the opportunity to participate in the formation of a government to push the campaign policy into practice, the voter will not have the chance to get his order in effect.

Eventually, in the case of politicians and political parties of their choice win the election and have the right to form a government, people may be at risk of "distorting" the contract when politicians do not pursue policies that they promised to the public.

From aforementioned information, due to 'the product' in politics is abstract and intangible; therefore, 'political actors' (political party, political candidate) must be reliable to convincing the voter to vote for.

The concept of Political Marketing Theory which comes in many aspects will be applied as the basic theory to this thesis, with some modification bases on marketing theory. Due to the marketing is a foundation of political marketing, the researcher collected the definitions of marketing theory to apply on this thesis as follows.

b) Marketing Concept

“The Marketing is the social process by which individuals and groups obtain what they need and want through creating and exchanging products and value with others”, Kotler states (Philip Kotler, 1969).

“The Marketing is the management process that identifies, anticipates and satisfies customer requirements profitably,” is the definition by the Chartered Institute of Marketing (CIM, 1976), in common with Barwell's definition of the marketing concept, which states, “Marketing looks not only at identifying customer needs, but also satisfying them (short-term) and anticipating them in the future (long-term retention)(What is Marketing?, 2011: Online).”

“Marketing is essentially about marshalling the resources of an organization so that they meet the changing needs of the customer on whom the organization depends,” Palmer says (Palmer, 2009).

“Marketing is the process whereby society, to supply its consumption needs, evolves distributive systems composed of participants, who, interacting under constraints - technical (economic) and ethical (social) - create the transactions or flows which resolve market separations and result in exchange and consumption,” Bartles states (What is Marketing?, 2011: Online).

To sum up, marketing is the analysis of customers, competitors, and a company, combining this understanding into an overall understanding of what segments exist, aiming to target the most profitable segments, positioning of the products, and then doing what is necessary to deliver that positioning. There are many ways to deliver on a positioning, for instance, by branding, advertising and communicating. For one thing, all of these should be done in a way that is consistent with the analysis of the marketing.

S.H. Simmons considers that “Marketing is your strategy for allocating resources (time and money) in order to achieve your objectives (a fair profit for supplying a good product or service), marketing includes diverse disciplines like sales, public relations, pricing, packaging, and distribution. ...people have their own unique perceptions of the world based on their belief system. The most innovative ideas, the greatest products, or a superior service succeed only when you market within the context of people's perceptions. They don't just "buy" a product. They "buy" the concept of what that product will do for them, or help them do for themselves. People who are overweight don't join a franchise diet center to eat pre-packaged micro-meals. They "buy" the concept of a new, thin, happy and successful self.”

Marketing plan is more than the map for success. It is actually a map-making process when completed will reveal a clear route to your prospective customers. A good map reveals specific items of information. A good marketing plan should do the same for you. The marketing mix is considered to accomplish the marketing plan based on research and analysis because information can be manipulated to prove almost anything, insight is equally important.

c) Marketing mix

The term “marketing mix” was coined in 1953 by Neil Borden in his American Marketing Association presidential address. However, this was actually a reformulation of an earlier idea by his associate, James Culliton, who, in 1948, described the role of the marketing manager as a “mixer of ingredients”, who sometimes follows recipes prepared by others, sometimes prepares his own recipes as he goes along, sometimes adapts a recipe from immediately available ingredients, and at other times invents new ingredients no one else has tried. The marketing mix (price ,product, place, promotion) forms the entire promotional campaign. As stated in “Management of a Sales Force” by Rosann L. Spiro, Gregory A. Rich and William J.Stanton, “when these are effectively blended, they form a marketing program that provides want-satisfying goods and services for the company’s market.” The term become popular in the article written by Neil Borden entitled, “The concept of the Marketing Mix,” as explained on the website netmba.com. He started teaching the term to many after he himself learned about it with an associate of his. The marketing mix is a broad concept which includes several aspects of marketing which all inquire to obtain a similar goal of creating awareness and customer loyalty (Marketing Mix, 2011: Online) The marketing mix is not only an important concept, but a guideline to reference back to when implementing the price, product, place and promotion. Those are the four main ingredients of the marketing mix, but there are other components already mentioned on the Wikipedia website, including, planning, branding, packaging display, distribution channels, personal selling, advertising, servicing, and physical handling. All in all, the current description of the marketing mix is accurate, but missing some vital pieces of information which will allow individuals to gain a better understanding and implement a more effective marketing mix. A prominent marketer, E. Jerome McCarthy, proposed a 4Ps classification in 1960, which has seen wide use.

The marketing mix is probably the most famous phrase in marketing. The elements are the marketing 'tactics'. The marketing mix is also known as the 'four Ps', its elements are price, place, product, and promotion. Then it was developed to four Cs by Don E. Schutt, its elements are consumer, cost, convenience and communication (Schultz, Tannenbaum and Lauterborn, 1996). The details of these concepts are as below.

Four(4) Ps

Elements of the marketing mix refer to Four(4) Ps based on Producer's focus as follows.

Product – It is a tangible good or an intangible service.

Price- It is the amount a customer pays for the product or service.

Place- It is the location where a product can be purchased.

Promotion- It is all of the communications which used to promote the product or service.

Four(4) Cs

Elements of the marketing mix refer to Four(4) Cs based on Consumer's focus as follows.

Consumer – Product or service is depended on the demand of the consumer rather than the producer's.

Cost- Price is considered that it is worth for the customer rather than pricing by the producer.

Convenience- Place should be anywhere for the consumer to purchase product or service.

Communication- Promotion means the good communications between the producer and the consumer.



Figure 3 : Marketing Mix Diagram

Having studied Putin's information, the researcher found that Vladimir Putin used his brand personality as the product in marketing mix of marketing strategy to apply to his political marketing strategy. Therefore, this research will specially consider one of the four main elements that is the 'product' by the assumption that Putin (a political actor) has the function as a producer and a product at the same time. He tried to manage voters' expectations by using his background, personality and image which are called 'brand personality' to reach the goal.

d) Brand Personality

Since 1997, literature and research on the concept of brand personality has been flourishing, and specific scales have widely used in academic circles, unchallenged on their validity. Brand personality is certainly a key facet of a brand identity. Majority of the works in marketing are based on Jennifer Aaker's global definition of the concept that brand personality is a set of human characteristics associated to a brand.

Studying Susan Fournier's theory: 'The Big Five' (Model of human personality), Jennifer Aaker develops a conceptual model to explain the profile of a brand by using an analogy with a human being which is called 'Brand Personality Scale.'

To better understand what brand personality is, the research begins to brief the roots and history of brand personality, then looks at the model of brand personality dimension; finally, focuses on how to apply these theories.

The Big Five theory or Five Factor Model by Susan Fournier is widely accepted. The 5 dimensions are often labeled as O.C.E.A.N. The Big Five framework is a

hierarchical model of personality traits with five broad factors, which represent personality at the broadest level of abstraction. This framework suggests that most of the individual differences in human personality can be classified into five broad empirically derived domains as below.

- 1) Dimension O: Openness to new experiences, imagination and intellectual curiosity. This dimension gathers such elements as intensity, span and complexity of an individual experiences.
- 2) Dimension C: Conscientiousness. This dimension gathers such traits as scrupulous, orderly, and trustworthy.
- 3) Dimension E: Extraversion. This dimension gathers such traits as openness to others, sociability, impulsivity, likeability to feel positive emotions.
- 4) Dimension A: Agreeableness. This dimension includes such traits as kind, modest, trust, and altruist.
- 5) Dimension N: Neuroticism. An individual is said to be neurotic if he is not emotionally stable. This dimension includes such traits as anxious, unstable, and nervous.

The Five Factors Model has been directly borrowed and developed to measure brand personality which has an important role in the establishment of ties with the consumer. It was constructed to test the model named 'Brand Personality Dimensions' by J.Aaker, which are classified in five domains of Sincerity, Competence, Excitement, Sophistication and Ruggedness.

Brand Personality Dimensions of Jennifer Aaker (Aaker, 1997: Online) is a framework to describe and measure the personality of brand in five core dimensions; each is divided into a set of totally 42 facets.

The five core dimensions and their facets are as below.

Sincerity	Competence	Excitement	Sophistication	Ruggedness
Down-to-earth	Reliable	Daring	Upper class	Outdoor
Family-oriented	Hard working	Trendy	Glamorous	Masculine
Honest	Secure	Exciting	Good looking	Western
Sincere	Intelligent	Spirited	Charming	Tough
Wholesome	Technical	Cool	Feminine	Rugged
Original	Corporative	Young	Smooth	
Cheerful	Successful	Imaginative		
Friendly	Leadership	Unique		
Sentimental	Confident	Up-to-date		
		Independent		
		Contemporary		

Table 1 : Brand Personality Dimension

This concept can be applied to this study to explore the types of brand personality which are Vladimir Putin's characteristics and how it functions to maintain his popularity.

Brand Personality Diagram

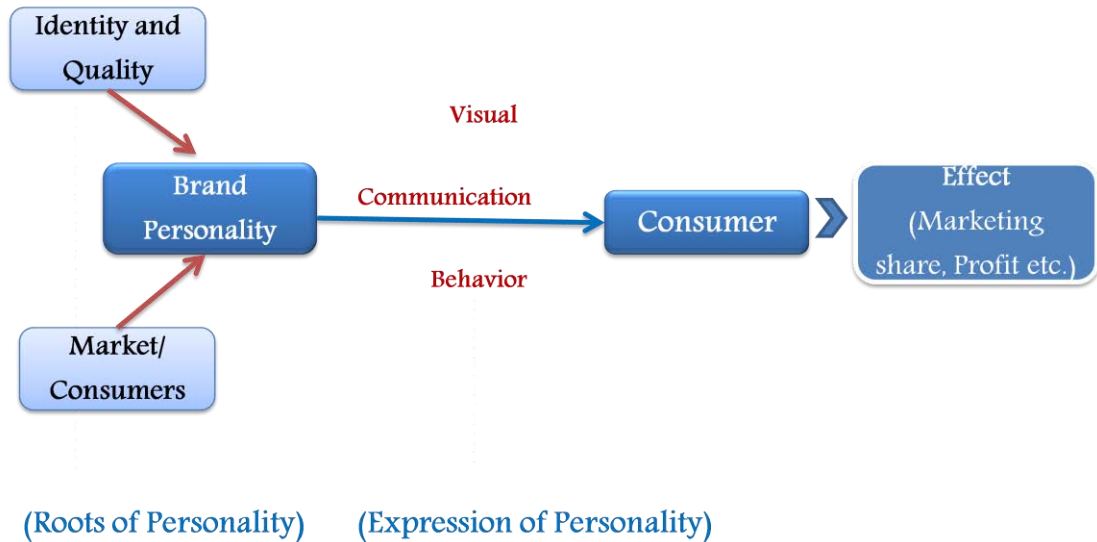


Figure 4 : Brand Personality Diagram

(Dorresteijn, 2007: Online)

The above diagram, from the left side to the right side, generally describes that Brand Personality is created by the Identification and Quality of the product itself and Brand Personality is also evaluated by the consumers in the market via communication, visualization of consumers and its (product) behavior, then the result can be detected from the effects such as market share, profits or success in the target.

It is necessary to clarify that this research will focus mainly on the Image of politicians (Politician Branding), using President Vladimir Putin as a case study to demonstrate that the media is one of the main causes that makes him win in the election for two consecutive terms.

By these concepts, the candidate can convince voters and publicize his image by using mass media and journalists as tools to present the information about the candidate or anyone in the party.

The majority of candidates who can reach the goal of potential and optimistic image are usually the persons who have been mentioned and presented in the news frequently. In everyday life, it is rarely possible to meet and know candidates in person. Therefore, decisions of any person who has the right to vote are always influenced by the information in the media.

From the part of Theories and Approaches, it is very useful for the researcher to understand Marketing theory and having studied Putin's information, the researcher can use the theory to analyze his Political Marketing Strategy.

Part II . Related Research

By the time that this research started, the researcher had already studied various related researches. Unfortunately, most of researches were conducted in Thai, due to a problem of data access. However, as the guidance for the framework of this research, these researches are very useful to me. As this research aims to study personal branding via the media, so, the selected researches will mainly illustrate the use of media in politics. In this chapter, the researcher would like to divide the related researches into 3 sections, which can be described as follows.

- Firstly, the researches related to the significance of the relationship between politics and media,
- Secondly, the researches related to the use of media in Russia, including analysis of Putin use, and some other countries,
- Thirdly, the researches related to the use of media in Thai politics.

For the first section, in terms of general media use, nowadays, media have a great influence on society. There are some related studies concerning media research. Mass Media and Influences in Today's Society by Charinee Suwanpasit states that such influences are, for example, on production consuming, entertainment, social violence and also politics. Many politicians have set up a more aggressive policy than a passive policy in order to bridge the gap between politics, business and media. Some politicians try to create activities that stimulate social interest, such as political and public activities.

Obviously, certain politicians have paid visits to the local communities to create their image through the media (Charinee Suwanpasit, 1999).

Another work that attracted the researcher's attention is a book of Arpa Anantaku, The Use of Mass Media to Create Celebrity and Make a Name in Political Circles. This work shows that there are three ways that politicians use mass media to create their reputation: 1) to present their activities and publicize their movement 2) to form good relationships with the mass media and 3) to form private teams of supporters with media experience in the past and the present. Moreover, it is found that the significant factors for politicians to create their good reputation are their background, namely family, educational background, performance before entering political circles, political life development and personality traits, activities and the degree of their relationships with the mass media (Arpa Anantakul, 1999).

For clear understanding, the researcher uses the research of Wandee Chuadnuch, The Relationship between Politics and Mass Media. It discusses political communication and analyzes it by Marxism ideology. Mass media use was explained by Karl Marx that, in every stage, the politicians who have the idea to use political tools such as mass media, will get the advantage The Politics of Mass Society by William Kornhauser explains that people in the social environment are forced by politicians to learn through their own experience via mass media, called "Public Opinion" which is controlled by politicians and then democracy will disappear. Finally, the people will be controlled by mass media of the politicians which are in many patterns (Wandee Chuadnuch, 2006).

The second section, in the Soviet Union, mass media was usually used as a tool of propaganda in order to promote the Communist Party and its activities. In the later period of Soviet, Gorbachev considered that the mass media was the main tool for promoting his politics of the Glasnost and gaining support of its reforms. As before, mass media mobilized people for the ideology of socialism but now in a more dynamic way. After that, when Yeltsin came into power, he presented himself as the self-constituted personal guarantor for democracy and freedom of the press. While it is obvious that Yeltsin allowed more freedom than any of his predecessors, he never questioned his presumed right to allow such freedom.

Certainly, during the Putin era, Putin also used the mass media to advocate his celebrity and popularity. Not only did he create a good relationship with the mass media, but he also took over the media's asset by the name of the government in order to promote his activities. Although he has usually been criticized as a dictator from the

western perspective, Russians still see that he is a strong and resolute leader who has brought Russia to play a major role in the world again. It might be mentioned that his skill in using the mass media is one of the main reasons that promotes his reputation. Until now, the popularity of politicians still depends on the image of their activities. Political candidates, therefore, use the media, images and ideas to create their special image, hoping to influence voters and gain political power. Putin is also one of those who has effectively used and controlled the mass media.

Among the English language source that were used, the researcher would like to particularly note “Russian Media Criticism of Vladimir Putin: Evidence and Significance” by Maria Lipman. It distinctly analyzes Putin’s influences on the mass media that

The problem, however, is that this movement by the media is isolated from any response of civil society, and, at the same time, civil society fails to stimulate any sort of response from the media. There is a complete lack of a democratic lattice in which both civil society and the media would be effectively integrated. Such a framework could emerge if access to information was increased, and the media became a tool with which the public could hold the government accountable and which could serve as a stimulant for civil society to take action.

(Lipman, 2004. Online)

Moreover, “ Putin and the Media: Revival of Soviet Style Propaganda,” by Oleg Panfilov and Michael Binyon, analyzes the state of the media in Russia today, looking particularly at the challenges journalists have faced in the post-Soviet era. It was agreed that the media was not the priority in the minds of the majority of the Russians; that journalists do not have a full understanding of to what extent they can engage in critical commentary, nor is there any recognition of the link between the media and business. The researcher also used several articles written by Masha Gessen’s “Fear and Self-censorship in Vladimir Putin’s Russia,” Alex Lupis, “Increasing Press Repression in Russia” and etc.

One interesting thing about Russian behavior in using the internet is remarked by Agence France-Presse that, "The Internet is the freest area of the media in Russia, where almost all television and many newspapers are under formal or unofficial government control".

It is also reported by Kirill Pankratov in The Moscow Times of April 2009,

Even discounting the chaotic nature of the web, there is plenty of Russian-language material on political and social issues that is well-written and represents a wide range of views. This does not mean, though that most Russians are well-informed of the important political and social issues of today. But this is largely a matter of personal choice, not government restrictions. If somebody is too lazy to make just a few clicks to read and become aware of various issues and points of view, maybe he deserves to be fed bland, one-sided government propaganda.

(Pankratov, 2009. Online)

As mentioned above, the Russian government under the leadership of Putin was harshly criticized about the press freedom. Many academicians and politicians attacked his performance in many ways, in contrast; the researcher is interested in his performance and his strategy: how he can manage the vast country and control it with his influence for a long time.

The third section is about the use of media in Thai politics, in the Thaksin Shinnawattra era, when the phenomenon of using Political Marketing emerged and it has been increasing since then. As a result of this phenomenon, many researchers are interested in conducting research related to this topic.

The study of Patamaporn Netinant, Brand Communication Process of the Thai Political Party extensively describes the process of brand communication and its function. The study proposes two objectives: firstly, it is to study the brand communication process of Thai political parties and secondly, it is to make a comparative study of the brand communication process of two Thai political parties, Thairakthai Political Party and the Democrat Party (Patamaporn Netinant, 2009).

The result of the study shows that those two Thai Political Parties employed the branding political process in accordance with Dominic Wring's political marketing concept. It also finds that those two Thai political parties do not adopt some brand communication process concept as the guideline of the study.

The brand communication process of the two Thai political parties, according to political marketing concept, consists of the following steps:

1. analysis of environment
2. market research, segmentation and positioning

3. political marketing mixed : 4Ps which are, in turn, divided into
 - a. product,
 - b. marketing promotion,
 - c. place,
 - d. price, and
4. political marketing strategy.

The brand communication process of the two Thai political parties, according to the brand communication process concept, consists of the following steps:

1. brand analysis,
2. target market segmentation,
3. branding,
4. integrated marketing communication-IMC,
5. customer-brand relationship,
6. brand evaluation.

Besides, it appears that the sequence of steps, in the brand communication process of the two Thai political parties, is not the same sequence as that in the political marketing concept and the brand communication process concept. It is due to the fact that the sequence of steps of the brand communication process of the two political parties is over-lapping. Anyway, it shows the significance of the beginning of the political marketing concept and the brand communication process concept has been adopted by Thai politics.

The study indicates that political marketing concept, the marketing mix: 4Ps principle and the brand communication theory were applied in the brand communication process of Thai political parties. But they were not seriously adopted.

The result of the comparative study of the brand communication process of the two Thai political parties, in adopting of the political marketing concept and brand communication process concept for usage, shows that the Thai political parties realize the significance of political marketing concept and brand communication process concept. However, the Thairakthai Political Party emphasizes more on process strategies than the Democrat Party.

Recently, an interesting research involved with analysis of political marketing was conducted by Mr. Tummanoon Tun meesuk, Political Marketing in Thai Politics: An Analysis of Political Popularity of Thaksin Shinawatra's Government. The objectives of

this research were to (1)investigate factors and components of political marketing in Thai politics which Thaksin Shinawatra optimized to popularize his administration; (2)study impacts and changes, strengths and weaknesses caused by political marketing during Thaksin's Administration; (3)analyze changes in political campaigns and competition, political canvass and methods of political marketing applied in Taksin's administration.

The finding of this research precisely indicated that the democratic states were under the influence of globalization and capitalism. Global forces, phenomenal business administration of Thaksin's business, marketing knowledge and management, and new election law enshrined in the 1997 Constitution are the major factors and components of political marketing which Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra optimized to popularize his political party during his administration.

Interestingly, this research gives a notion that theoretically, marketing is a good business tool because its purposes are to identify and satisfy consumers' demands. As the matter of fact, it relies heavily on all communication techniques to access and analysis prospective customers as best as it can. However, political marketing will likely be exploited if it is used by unethical politicians. As a result, knowledge-based society, strong people sectors, freedom in mass communications, ethical society and strong law enforcement in the Checks and Balances system are possible ways forward for democratic states in peacefully dealing with political issues in the political marketing age. It is one of the most complete researches that analyzes the use of Political Marketing to optimize the popularity which I could adopt to this thesis.

Another research by Mr.Kwanchai Rungfapaisarn, Thaksin's Image-Building Process in the Eyes of Sociology / Humanities Academia and Newspapermen, also proves to be helpful in my research for the analysis the politician image-building process through the perspective of experts in various fields.

Equally useful was a work by Miss Toungpom Jampasri, The Image of Thaksin Shinawatra in Thai Newspapers which examines the political image of Thaksin that occurred in newspapers. The objectives of this research are to study the image of Thaksin Shinawatra in Thai newspapers; to study the role of newspapers in the image presentation of Thaksin Shinawatra as related to the political development of the readers; and lastly, to study the factors influencing the information of the political image of Thaksin Shinawatra by political editors. Newspapers use words or phrases which indicate the characteristics of Thaksin Shinawatra, mostly behavioral characteristics. Words, nicknames, pronouns which are used to call him instead of his

name in the newspapers. These words, nicknames and pronouns reflect the attitude toward the action and characteristics of Thaksin Shinawatra. The mass media can clearly communicate the image of Thaksin Shinawatra to readers (Toungpom Jampasri, 2006).

The Image of Thaksin Shinawatra in the Bangkok Post and the Nation By Mrs. Huong Thi Le Nguyen is also very helpful. Studying the image of Thaksin in newspapers, especially English language newspapers – the last frontier that Thaksin attacked to maintain his absolute ruling power – one can understand the level of press freedom in Thailand under his regime. The research aims to 1) study the image of Thaksin introduced in the Bangkok Post and the Nation through journalists, illustrations and feedbacks from readers; 2) study whether there is a trend in covering Thaksin in both newspaper from the beginning until the end of his administration; 3) study whether there are any differences in covering Thaksin in the two newspapers and 4) study why there is such a trend or such difference. The sample includes one-week coverage of both newspapers in seven most important periods throughout his ruling time. The study utilized both quantitative and qualitative content analysis skills as well as unstructured in-depth interviews (Huong Thi Le Nguyen, 2004).

For the main analysis of this research, I relied mostly on the work by Miss Apiradee Tantisuntharodom, Image building through personality identification of Mr. Abhisit Vejjajiva via Hi5, which gives many ideas of brand personality distinction. In terms of data analysis, I made use of this ideology as the main criteria. The research aims to study: 1) Identification of Mr. Abhisit's personality via Hi5 2) Hi5 members' perception regarding Mr. Abhisit's personality 3) Correlation between Mr. Abhisit's personality and his image. The research finds that image building of Mr. Abhisit through Hi5 has to be identified through pictures, texts, symbols, and colors especially pictures and messages which can create perceptions regarding Mr. Abhisit's personality. Moreover, Mr. Abhisit's Hi5 members perceive 3 types of personality of Abhisit via Hi5 i.e. high capability, natural manner and upper class. Those personalities are also related to the image of Abhisit i.e. physical, knowledge, thoughts and mind with statistically significant level at 0.05, which is considered in a high level (Apiradee Tantisuntharodom, 2008).

From the part of Related Researches, it is very useful for the researcher to learn what other researchers have studied. It can support this research that using marketing through the media (mean Promotion-Communication of marketing mix) for the politic propose has been applied to politicians in other countries too.

Throughout the preceding chapters, the researcher has introduced the ideologies and documents which are the main idea of this research. In the next chapter, the researcher will consider how research methodology is used and the last chapter will analyze how Putin's image is presented via media.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This research is a qualitative research, aiming to explore how Putin has used brand personality to create his image and maintain his popularity from year 2000 till 2011. The researcher has structured this chapter to explain the research methodology which is grouped as follows. Firstly, the research methodology focuses on an overview of the research, with the indication of what kind of research method is used, as well as, why this research should be conducted as qualitative. Secondly, the media sample and setting is divided into two parts: ‘Media Research’ (media sample) consists of the website of the Prime Minister of the Russian Federation and 8 Russian official websites are as follows.

- “Official Site of Prime Minister of the Russian Federation”
<http://premier.gov.ru/eng/>
- "First Channel" (Первый канал) <http://www.1tv.ru/>
- "Russia-1" (Россия-1) <http://www.rutv.ru/?d=0>
- "Russian Newspaper" (Российская газета) <http://www.rg.ru/>
- "Russian Today" (Российская Федерация сегодня)
<http://www.russia-today.ru/>
- “Radio Russia”(Радио России) <http://www.radiorus.ru/>
- "Lighthouse Radio" (Маяк) <http://www.radiomayak.ru/>
- "RIA News" (РИА Новости) <http://www.rian.ru/>
- "ITAR-TASS" (ИТАР-ТАСС) <http://www.itar-tass.com/>

In addition, the researcher also includes ‘Documentary Research’ which is selected from books and articles by journalists and academics who are interested in Russia Politics, both in English and Russian.

Thirdly, in terms of the research instrument within this section, the researcher will lay down the guideline questions that were used in media research. For documentary research, there is no guideline question because this process was just used in the form of comparison and support of the accuracy and reliability of Putin's information. Fourthly, data collection and data analysis focus on the process of methodology that was used in this research. It initially notes on the data selection, data collection, both in media research and documentary research, including data analysis. Finally, it is very useful for the researcher to plan research activities and carry out the research orderly.

Research Methodology

Being exposed to the significance of the use of media, the researcher realizes that the power of one's image via the media has rather highly dominated in the public mind. In this case, the news contents and photos involving with Putin are always embedded and created his brand personality. Due to the hypothesis that Putin used brand personality as Political Marketing Strategy to contribute to a positive perception of Russian people and to maintain his popularity, this research can be classified as a qualitative research. It mainly uses content analysis by the research leading questions of 'Why' (Putin succeeds in maintaining his popularity) and 'How' (he uses political marketing via the media).

In this research, there are two main research techniques. The former is media research through the use of the internet. The news contents and photos involving with Putin via his own website (website of the Prime Minister of the Russian Federation) and Russian official websites were studied and examined. The latter is documentary research, which was used to support and verify the reliability of information. Thereafter, Putin's brand personalities were analyzed and examined to find out how Vladimir Putin's brand personality has contributed to his political success.

The scope of time in this research is three main periods of Putin's political role in the Russian administration from 2000 to 2011: the first term of presidency (2000 - 2004); the second term of presidency (2004 - 2008); and the term as Russian Prime Minister (2008 - 2011).

Media Sample and Setting

The setting of this research is divided into two parts. The first part is the setting of media sample in media research. Remarkably, Political Internet Marketing is becoming more powerful. Many candidates succeed in their political affairs with aggressive and smart Internet Marketing strategies. The researcher notices that the Internet is an innovative media which can satisfactorily reach a large number of people, easily to research backward in time and it has become the prime source of political information. There are the website of the Prime Minister of the Russian Federation and all of official websites which present Putin's images as below.



Photo 1: "Official Site of Prime Minister of the Russian Federation"

<http://premier.gov.ru/eng/>

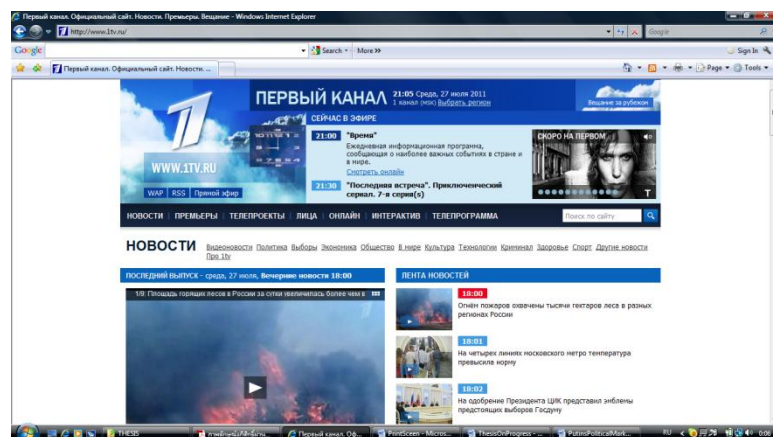


Photo 2: "Website of First Channel" <http://www.1tv.ru/>

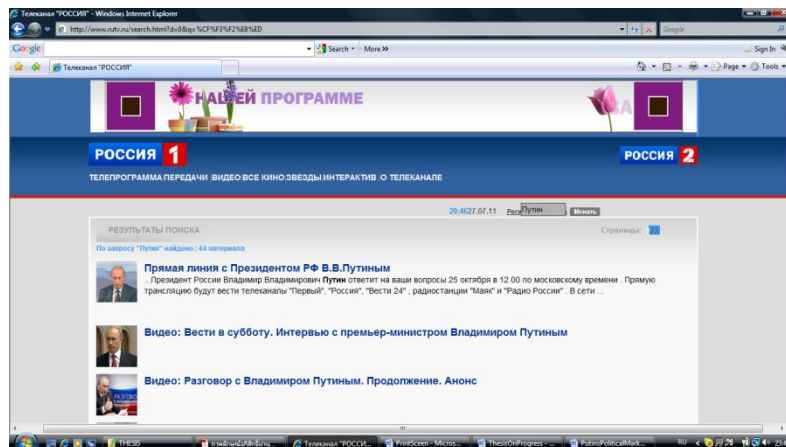


Photo 3: "Website of Russia-1 <http://www.rutv.ru/?d=0>

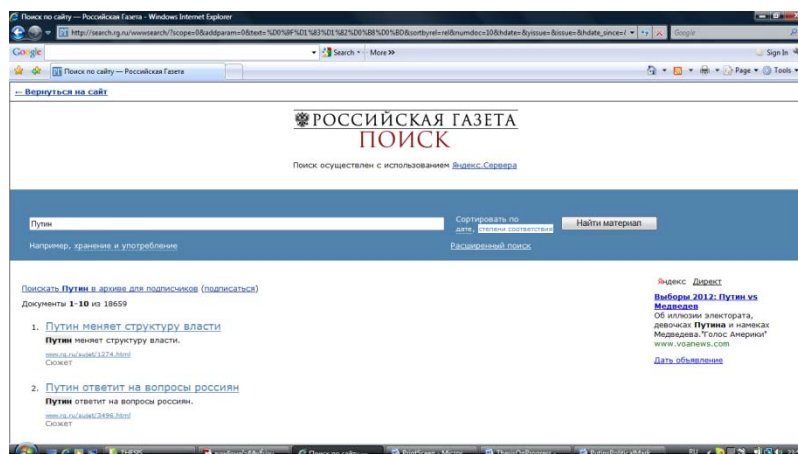


Photo 4: "Website of Russian Newspaper" <http://www.rg.ru/>

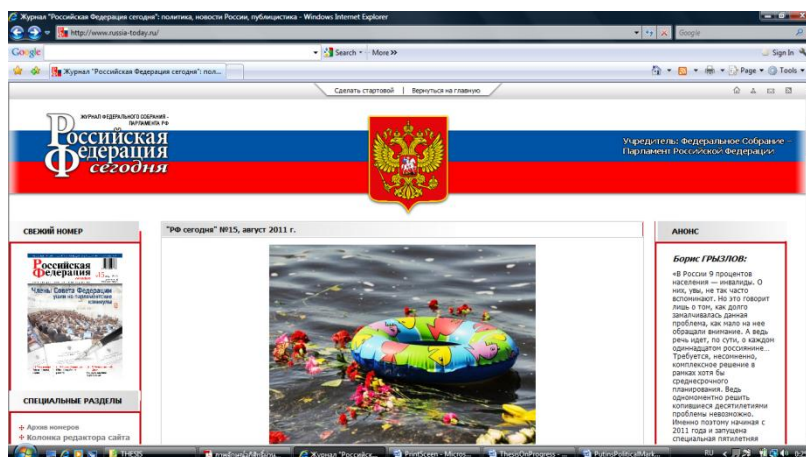


Photo 5: "Website of Russian Today" <http://www.russia-today.ru/>

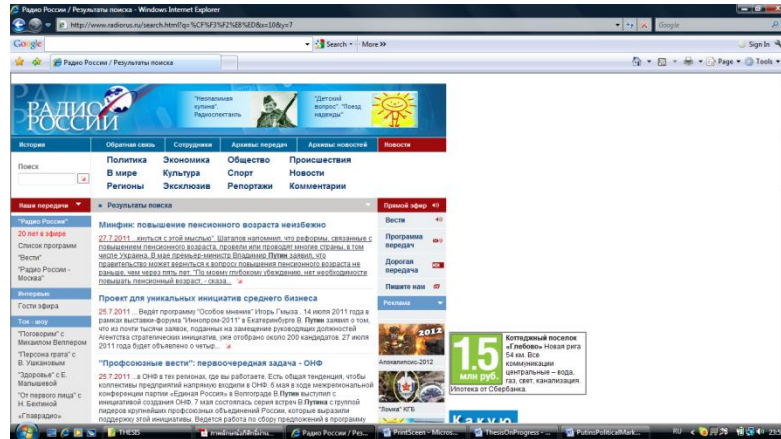


Photo 6: "Website of Radio Russia" <http://www.radiorus.ru/>

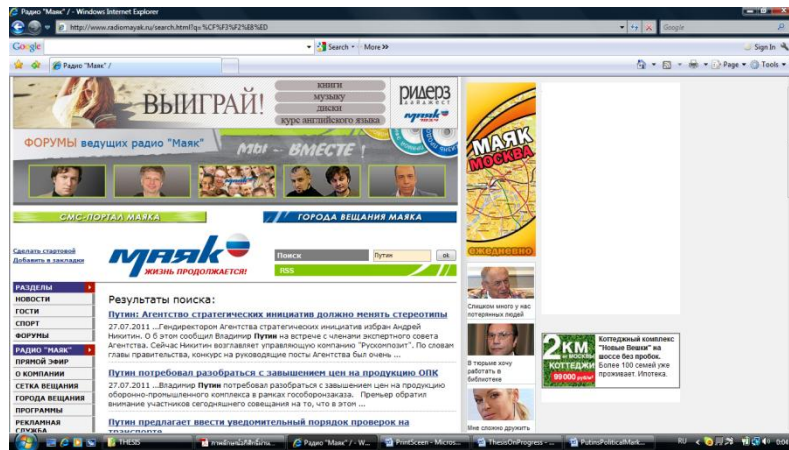


Photo 7: "Website of Lighthouse Radio" <http://www.radiomayak.ru/>

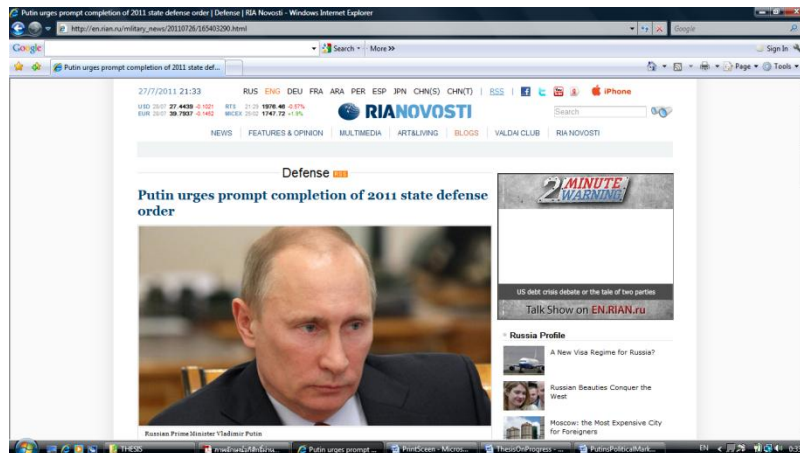


Photo 8: "Website of RIA News" <http://www.rian.ru/>

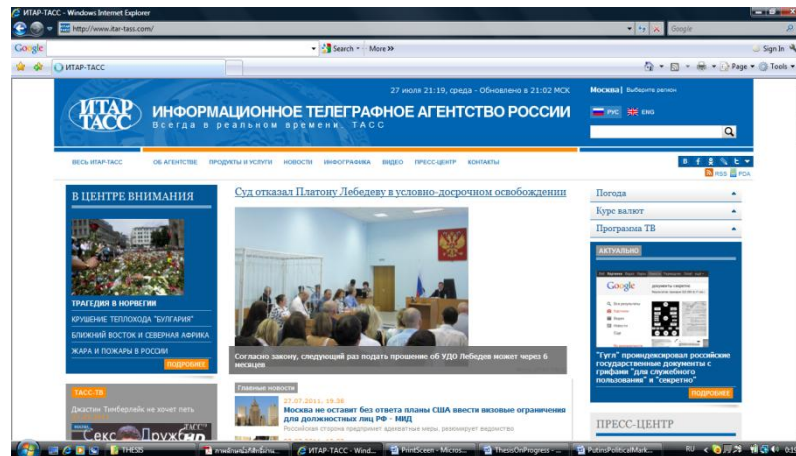


Photo 9: "Website of ITAR-TASS" <http://www.itar-tass.com/>

The second part is the settings that are used in documentary research. There are both English and Russian sources collected from the perspective of Westerners and Russians. There are many books, articles and journals that were used as below.

English sources:

- Putin: Russia's Choice by Richard Sakwa
- Putin and the Rise of Russia by Michael Stuemer
- Putin's Progress: A biography of Russia's enigmatic President Vladimir Putin by Peter Truscott
- Leading Russia: Putin in Perspective by Alex Pravda
- Putin's Russia by Lilia Shevtsova

Russian sources:

- Loop of Putin (Петля Путина) by Alexander Kostin
- Vladimir Putin (Владимир Путин) by Roy Medvedev
- Vladimir Putin and Lyudmila Putina (Владимир Путин и Людмила Путина) by Nelly Goreslavskaya

Research Instrument

The research instrument of this qualitative research is media observation guideline (criteria setting of analysis) which were used to analyze while exploring and observing each of the media sample.

Set media observation guideline.

Written content

- Wording (sentences, article, critique and description)
- Slogan
- Headline of News

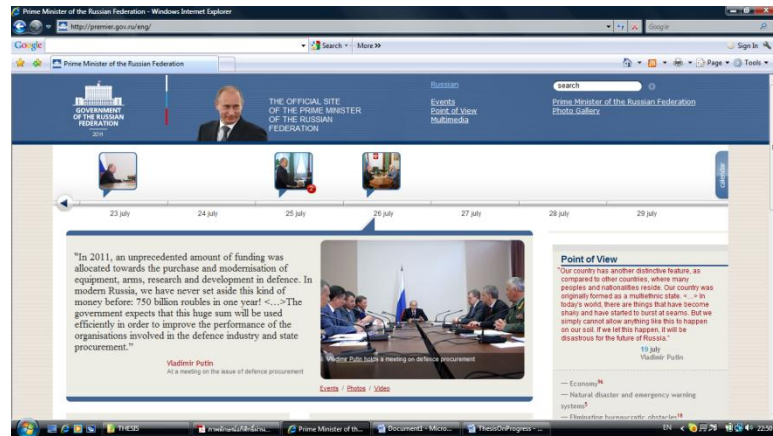
Photos

- Facial expression, posture, gesture, dressing and decoration
- Surroundings
- Interaction with others actors
- Observable atmosphere
- Color and mood tone

In addition, every time the researcher observes, the researcher also takes note of frequency and consistency of Brand Personality Dimension in order to analyze Brand Personality of Vladimir Putin.

Data Collection and Data Analysis

Initially, the researcher has started with data collection of Media Research which can be divided into two categories. Firstly, the website of the Prime Minister of the Russian Federation, which is created for direct communication with the public, consists of Putin's biography, status and responsibility, photo gallery, events, point of view, special projects and his activity plans. This website is the main source of media research because it is uncomplicated to search for Putin's image.



Homepage

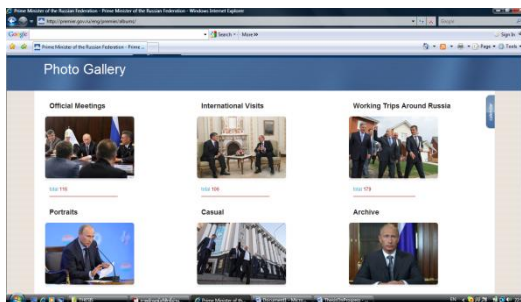
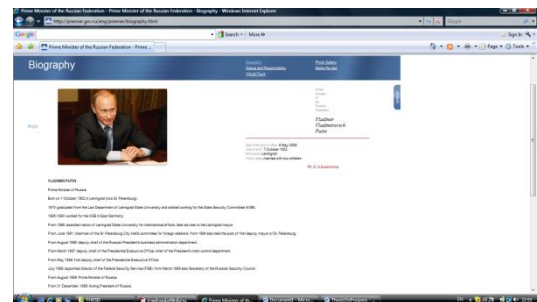
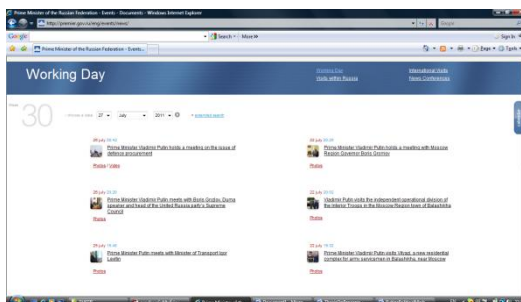


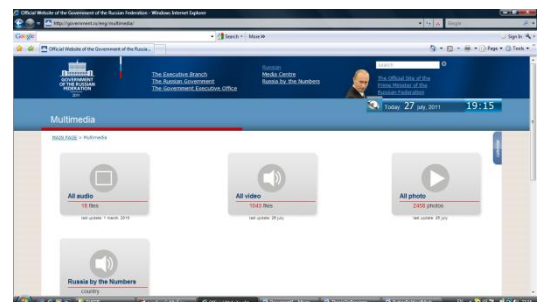
Photo Gallery



Biography



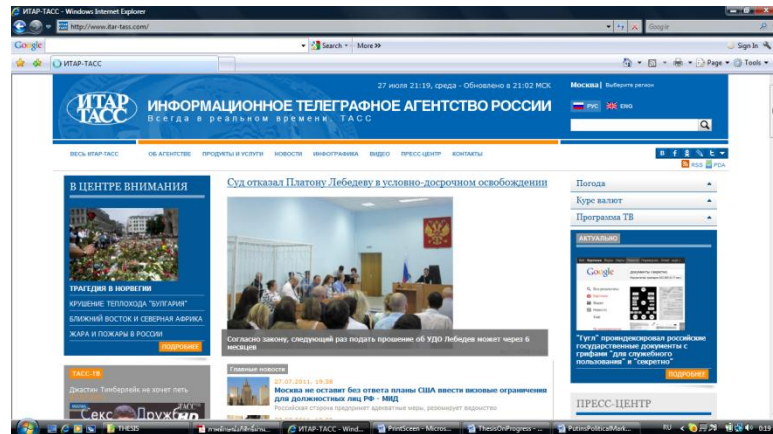
Activity Plans



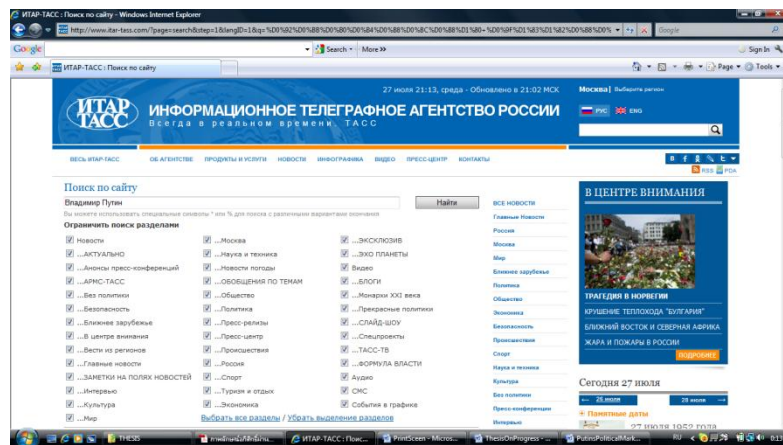
Multimedia

Photo 10: Process of Data Collection I

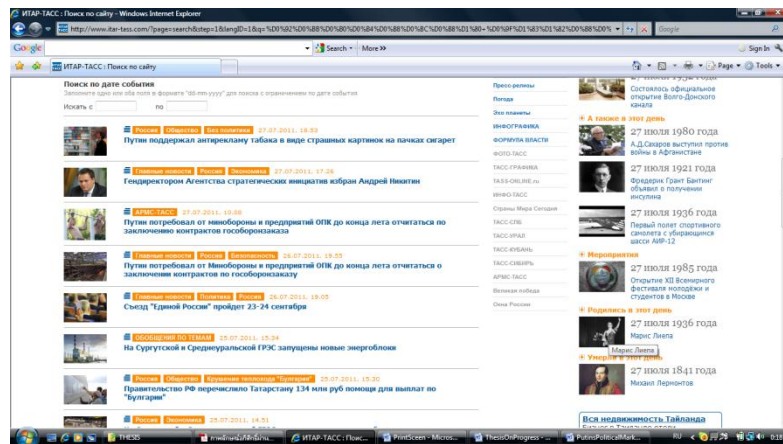
Secondly, the Russian official website not only presents Putin's activities but also general Russian news in various types. Therefore, the researcher has to select the news involving with Putin by searching and gathering his activities and news. Here, the researcher uses the website of ITAR-TASS (ИТАР-ТАСС) as an example.



Homepage



Searching page



Result Page

Photo 11: Process of Data Collection II

Thereafter, media observation guideline was used to analyze while exploring and observing each website, combined with documentary research by using both English and Russian sources. The researcher will gather and analyze Putin’s brand personality that has been presented in the websites and information in document and classify them by following ‘Brand Personality Dimension Scale’ by J.Aaker. Eventually, Putin’s brand personality is analyzed and examined to see how Vladimir Putin's brand personality has contributed to his political success.

Plan for Research Activities

Length of time	2010							2011								
	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP
Research Activities																
Literature Review	—————															
Data Collection Process	—————															
Analysis				—————												
Thesis Writing											—————					

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This chapter will focus on the content analysis of Putin's Background and Personal Information, Putin's Political Marketing Strategy and Putin's Brand Personality Dimension, respectively.

Content Analysis of Putin's Background and Personal Information



Photo 12 . Person of the year 2007 by TIME Magazine

Vladimir Putin is one of the most influential politicians in one of the world's largest countries. His full name is Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin. He served two terms of presidency of the Russian Federation and was named by the *Time* magazine in 2007 as "the Tsar of the New Russia". He was elected President of the Russian Federation in 2000 and then re-elected in a landslide election in 2004. In 2008, he stepped down to become

Prime Minister of the country and supported Dmitri Medvedev to hold the Presidential position as his political successor. Medvedev can be seen as a puppet leader of Vladimir Putin. He stepped down because of the condition in the Constitution, indicating that a president cannot be in office for more than two consecutive terms. It does not mean that his popularity is in decline. It is quite possible that Vladimir Putin will return to be President again in the coming presidential election or the next (on September 11, 2010, Vladimir Putin announced that he will be a candidate for the presidential election in 2012).

Vladimir Putin's special personality is an important factor to explore. He is a man of little words, with a poker face. His words are ambiguous, equivocal and questionable and left room for interpretations. What he said means nothing for anyone. And because of his personality, it is possible that his supporters helped and voted for him to win the election though they may have their own idea but various different parties gave their own interpretations of the partisan party.

Vladimir Putin is quite different from former country's leaders. He is like a representative of the new generation, who is very active. He is also a charismatic man. By using harsh and inflexible policies against terrorism, he led the country back to fame again. When Vladimir Putin became President, it was the country's luck as it was in a crisis and people wanted a better alternative to their lives. So, he was the best option. Although Vladimir Putin was criticized for exploitation of his position by experts that he was supported by oligarchs and he exercised his power by controlling public media, some Russians accepted that "It is very hard for a large country as Russia to be governed without a great leader as Vladimir Putin." His background is also interesting. Here, there are some details of his background and personal information which lead to the foundation of Putin's personality.

Childhood

Vladimir Putin was born in a working class family on 7 October 1952 (Sakwa, 2004; Stuermer, 2008; Truscott, 2004). As he was a late child, his mother feared that he might be weak or disabled because they had Vladimir Putin in their advanced age. Moreover, earlier his parents had suffered and deprived by the death of their first two children, Oleg and Viktor (Sakwa, 2004).

As the only surviving son, Vladimir Putin was the focus of his parents' attention. In his childhood, Vladimir Putin was called Vovka and Volodya by his close friends and

family (Truscott, 2004 and Slavskaya, 2002). By the time he was born, the family lived in a communal flat number 12 in central Leningrad's Baskov Lane (St. Petersburg). The Putin family shared their fifth-floor flat with several other families. The sink and gas cooker were in the corridor, without hot water or a bathroom, and of course there was no lift. The Putin family used to live, sleep and wash in their one room, twenty square meters.

Although he was born in a working class family, his forefather had been involved with Politics. Putin's paternal grandfather, Spiridon Ivanavich Putin, had been an outstanding cook employed for a time at Lenin's country house and later on several occasions, cooked for Stalin when the latter visited one of the Moscow Dachas (Sakwa, 2004). Then, he later worked in the country house of the Moscow City Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in Ilinsky, where young Vladimir Putin visited him.

Putin's father, Vladimir Spiridonovich, was born on 23 February 1911 and spent his childhood in the village of Pominovo in Tver region, while his mother, Maria Ivanona, was born on 17 October 1911 and lived in the neighbouring village of Zareche. Although coming from different villages, the two met in adolescence and thereafter proved inseparable and were married at the age of 17 in 1928. Their first son Oleg died before reaching his first birthday in 1932, while their second son, Viktor, aged five, died of diphtheria in the first year of the blockade (Sakwa, 2004 and Truscott, 2004). When Vladimir Putin was born, Maria decided not to send him to a kindergarten. Instead, feeling understandably protective towards her one surviving son, Maria took a number of part-time jobs near home to spend more time with Volodya. She worked in a bakery, unloading trays of bread, as a night watchwoman in a shop; and took a succession of cleaning jobs, including working as a laboratory cleaner. Meanwhile, Putin's father continued working at the Yegorov plant, getting up at 5 a.m. every day to go to work (Truscott, 2004).

On 1 September 1960 Putin started at school No.193 on Baskov Lane just opposite the flat where his family lived and just a brisk seven-minute walk from home (Sakwa, 2004; Stuermer, 2008; Truscott, 2004 and Slavskaya, 2002). Actually, Vladimir Putin started school late, he did not begin to go to school until he was almost eight (in Russia, children usually start school at age seven). His first teacher was Tamara Pavlovna Chizhova, who always understood and encouraged him (Truscott, 2004). Vladimir Putin was an energetic and strong-willed boy. Although he was not top of his class, he was not stupid. In fact, he could appear clever although deeply self-contained, with a good

memory and a quick mind. His marks were average, 3s and 4s (the highest is a 5). In 1964, Vladimir Putin was one of the only handful in the class of over 45 pupils who was not yet a member of the Pioneer (the Communist Pupil's Organization), largely because of his rowdy behavior. Usually, pupils were admitted in the third grade unless their behavior was regarded as entirely unsatisfactory, but for three years the Pioneers refused to admit Vladimir Putin. Nevertheless, the young Vladimir Putin evidently felt the need to impress his peers. He would have preferred to play the guitar, like his idols 'The Beatles.' After school hours, Putin would disappear for hours to play in the courtyard, mostly with older boys who used to fight, swear, drink alcohol and stand around the local courtyard. Many of the gang ended up in prison.

At school, something seemed to click inside Vladimir Putin in the sixth grade when he was thirteen, and he decided to start taking his schoolwork seriously. He began to get better grades with a particular interest in history and literature. He joined a German language class with Vera Gurevich, and surprised his teacher with his good memory and eagerness to learn (Stuermer, 2008). In the sixth grade he also started taking sports seriously in the form of sambo and then judo. He stopped hanging around with the older friends, who used to spend their time on the streets and jumping off garage roofs. He was finally admitted to the Pioneers, and became chair of his unit's council. In those days one could not join the Komsomal (the Communist Youth League) without having been a Pioneer; and without Komsomol membership the door would be closed to most good higher education institutions and professions.

By the eighth grade, Vladimir Putin's grades were improved, he no longer got 3 for his schoolwork. Now all his grades were 4s or 5s. It was in this academic year that Putin entered the Komsomal organization in a ceremony at the districts Party committee. After the eighth grade, he was sent by his parents to the secondary school number 281, specializing in training of future chemists (Truscott, 2004).

Outside his studies, the young student was interested in Western music. He played the guitar and gave a recital from time to time. Literature captivated him; he would read poems to his classmates and even the banned samizdat (anti-soviet joke) from the political underground. Vladimir Putin had a strong political awareness, enjoying political club discussions in which 'he defends Russia and Russians.'

In 1969 Putin's parents bought a small three-roomed dacha (country house) in Tosno. The Putin's dacha was modest but adequate. They had a simple wooden banya (bathhouse), built by Putin's father, where the family would have a sauna (Truscott, 2004).

. At this dacha Putin was able to take out of city in the summer. He would gather with his friends to play the guitar, sing and listen to records, while in winter it was used as a base for skiing.

In 1970, barely seventeen years old, Vladimir Putin had the courage and asked to join the KGB. He decided to simply walk along to the 'Big House', the KGB's Leningrad Head Office at 4 Liteiny Street (Sakwa, 2004; Stuermer, 2008; Truscott, 2004). Vladimir Putin was seen by a KGB officer on his third visit. The first time he checked the opening time, the second time he met a receptionist and was told to come back at a certain time, and only on the third occasion he met a desk officer named Yegorovich whose job was to deal with the public. Vladimir Putin wished to work as the secret service, immediately after finishing college he went over there in the administration and asked how he could become a KGB agent. The officer told him that there was not any exceptional application. However, he advised Vladimir Putin to wait a little and first get a degree in legal studies. Vladimir Putin decided there and then went to study law at Leningrad University. He knew he would have to rely on his own efforts, as he had no connections, which might help him get a place at university. Dropping physics and chemistry, he concentrated on those subjects he needed for the university, including Russian language and literature. He had always liked Russian literature anyway. Once again, his teachers were mystified by his career choice. No one could explain his sudden interest in studying law. The year following his meeting with Yegorovich, he applied to Leningrad State University to study law (Sakwa, 2004; Stuermer, 2008; Truscott, 2004).

While he was there, he would also continue studying German. It was the ideal combination for a budding KGB agent. When he completed the ninth and the tenth grades, he left the secondary school in 1970 and prepared to attend Leningrad State University.

Leningrad State was one of the best and most prestigious universities in the country, and competition for places was intense. Vladimir Putin admitted it was not easy for him to win a place. After serious preparation, he eventually attended the famous Faculty of Law founded by Peter the Great (Truscott, 2004).

The fact that he worked hard to improve his grades to gain a university place showed that he had the drive and determination to succeed in life.

At the university, Vladimir Putin devoted his time to studies, and became generally more reclusive. His major was international law but he also studied Communist history and dialectical materialism. Marx, Engels and Lenin became his bedtime reading. His only extra-curricular activity was sports, where he continued his

interest in sambo and judo. Vladimir Putin became a sambo black belt after starting university, and a judo black belt two years later. But as he became immersed in his studies, he spent less time doing sports. His interest in civil law led him to the take course taught by Anatoly Sobchak a leading lecturer in the department of civil law. This experience took an important turn to his life. In later life the professor and the student were to meet again, the older one Mayor of St.Petersburg, the younger one an Administrator (Truscott, 2004).

His diploma work was on the subject ‘Principles of Successful Nations in the International Sphere.’

Sports

Another important point to mention here is sport, which is the key factor to Vladimir Putin’s success. After Vladimir Putin realized that the courtyard was a jungle and largely his street friends ended up in prison, in order to defend himself properly, he started doing martial arts. However, his new passion did not work out. He initially took up boxing, but after his nose was broken, he decided to switch to sambo, a Soviet combination of judo and wrestling. Two or three times a week, for almost two hours, he took classes near the Finland Railway Station, on the right bank of the Neva, in a plain gym belonging to the ‘Trud’ sport club in 1965. There, he met his trainer, Anatoly Semyonovich Rakhlin (Sakwa, 2004; Stuermer, 2008; Truscott, 2004; Slavskaya, 2002). Years later, when Vladimir Putin was already twenty, Rakhlin persuaded his pupil to switch to judo, a sport very similar to sambo. Judo was an Olympic sport and would give Volodya the chance to try for the Olympics. The Judo fulfilled the young Volodya’s need for personal security, but perhaps subconsciously it provided him with the physical contact he lacked at home. Vladimir Putin excelled in the sport, later winning a black belt by training hard and regularly jogging at 5 a.m.

Sports also helped Vladimir Putin focus on his academic studies. If his school marks became too low, he would not have been allowed to continue as a Trud club member. Judo and Putin’s inherent inborn ability were perfectly matched. As Vladimir Putin noted ‘Judo is not just a sport, you know. It’s a philosophy. It’s respect for your elders and for your opponent. It’s not for weaklings.’ He later co-authored a book and VCD training on judo, published in English under the title “Judo. History, Theory, Practice (Truscott, 2004).”

In 1973, Vladimir Putin became a master of sambo, and in 1975 of judo. A year

after joining the KGB, in 1976, Vladimir Putin finally achieved his aim in judo by becoming a champion of Leningrad. In the early 1970s, his judo record had steadily improved, but the city championship eluded him. After winning that title, as he pursued his career in the KGB, his training became less and less. By late 1970s he had almost stopped training altogether.

Family

Vladimir Putin is married to Lyudmila Alexandrovna Shkrebnayova, a former domestic airhostess for Kaliningrad Airlines and teacher of German, who was born in Kaliningrad on 6 January 1958 (Sakwa, 2004 and Stuermer, 2008). Her friends and family called her Lyudik or Lyuda for short (Truscott, 2004). Lyudmila was five years Putin's junior. They married after three and a half years courtship on 28 July 1983, when Vladimir Putin was already 30 and working with the first department intelligence of KGB. They have two daughters, Mariya Putina was born on 28 April 1985 and Yekaterina Putina was born on 31 August 1986 (in Dresden). They study not only German and Russian but also English. The daughters grew up in East Germany and attended the German School in Moscow (Deutsche Schule Moskau) until his appointment as Prime Minister. After that they studied international economics at the Finance Academy in Moscow. Both play the piano and the violin, and are reputed for skiing even better than their father (Sakwa, 2004 and Truscott, 2004).

Career

KGB

When Vladimir Putin was younger, he wanted to become a seaman or a pilot. Thereby, in his early teens, he started to have other ideas. Once Putin was influenced by the spy thriller popular at that time named 'Sword and Shield.' It was about the Soviet spy Stirlitz working in the Foreign Ministry at the heart of the Nazi regime. Vladimir Putin noted of his fascination with the spy thriller genre, 'what amazed me most of all was how one man's effort could achieve what whole armies could not. One spy could decide the fate of thousands of people. At least, that's the way I understood it (Sakwa, 2004 and Truscott, 2004).' This impression shaped Putin's personality and later took him into a career with the KGB.

Vladimir Putin was at first interested in studying at the Civil Aviation Academy but in the end decided that he would try to enter the Law Faculty of Leningrad State University (LGU). The reason for this choice of the academic path was derived from a KGB officer's advice at "Big House" (KGB's headquarters). He was told, firstly, that they did not take volunteers and secondly, they only took those who had done military service or graduated with a law degree. Vladimir Putin followed the advice and sought to study at LGU.

Vladimir Putin had waited for a contact from the KGB. Four years passed, and he began thinking that he might have to find a job as a prosecutor or an attorney. Eventually, when he had almost given up hope, a KGB officer approached him in the Law Faculty and asked him whether he would join the secret service. He was delighted and agreed at once. Aged twenty-two, Vladimir Putin accepted the KGB's job offer in 1975. He worked initially in the KGB's Counter-Intelligence Department in Leningrad, in the 'Big House' on Liteiny Street. His counter-intelligence training took place at School 401 in Leningrad, near the Okhta River, where they specialized in preparing recruits in covert observation work. Some of Putin's works involved monitoring religious and dissident groups in Leningrad. After six months, he was spotted by KGB foreign intelligence officers as a good prospect, and sent to Moscow for a year of special training (Stuermer, 2008; Slavskaya, 2002).

After his first stint in Moscow, Putin returned to Leningrad, where he was based for four and a half years in the KGB's First Chief Directorate as a foreign intelligence agent. Vladimir Putin acted very much as a traditional intelligence officer, routinely analyzing information and preparing reports for his secret service superiors. However, some of the works of his small department did involve making contact with foreign businessmen, visitors and academics, and recruiting some as agents and informers.

Four and a half years after joining the KGB's First Department in Leningrad, Vladimir Putin was sent to Moscow for further training at the Andropov Red Banner Institute, which subsequently became the Academy of Foreign Intelligence. This was the KGB's elite school for foreign agents, where the USSR's top spies were trained. For a year or more, its students are taught all the arts of espionage, including how to jump with a parachute at night, arrange dead-letter drops, lose a tail and run agents (Truscott, 2004).

In addition, they learned foreign languages, diplomacy, philosophy, literature and social etiquette. Vladimir Putin had already risen to the rank of a Major in the KGB before being sent to the spy school. Once there, he was made a section or group head, and was designated to study Austria, Switzerland and East and West Germany in depth. It was

logical that with his knowledge of German he would be assigned to work in a German-speaking country (Truscott, 2004).

The year-long training was tough at the Institute, including tests for physical stamina and mental endurance. Students were given a code name that began with the same letter as their real name and Putin became 'Platov (Sakwa, 2004).' He graduated in July 1985 and when Putin's foreign posting eventually came through he was posted to the KGB Office in Dresden, East German. His wife, Lyudmila, and his six-month old daughter, Masha came along with him. In August 1986, a year after Vladimir first arrived in the city, Putin's second daughter, Katya, was born. During four and a half years in Dresden, the Putin family sat out the chaos of Perestroika and Mikhail Gorbachev's ultimately unsuccessful attempts to reform Communism. They lived modestly in a small apartment in Germany.

Once the outer empire had crumbled – the fall of the Berlin wall on the night of 9 November 1989 was both in reality and symbolically the breakthrough – there was no way, except by putting up a desperate last struggle and sending in the tanks, to preserve the inner empire. What happened at that time was a warning that turned slowly and inexorably into the Soviet Regime. The fall of the Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989 meant not only uncertainty about the greater scheme of things, but also uncertainty as to the KGB officer's personal future and that of his family.

For Vladimir Putin and his KGB colleagues, the precipitate collapse of the Wall and all it stood for caught them totally unprepared. No one had predicted it. Vladimir Putin destroyed all his secret communication equipment, his lists of contacts and confidential files. The KGB station was burning so many papers that the furnace became over-heated and blew up. The angry crowd broke into the local officer of the Ministry of Security. The mob next moved on to the KGB's compound. In the meantime the besieged KGB agents contacted the local Soviet garrison. Putin was shocked to be told, 'We cannot do anything without orders from Moscow and Moscow is silent.' For the first time in his life, Vladimir Putin felt abandoned by the Motherland. He felt that the country no longer existed (Sakwa, 2004; Stuermer, 2008 and Truscott, 2004). Eventually, the Soviet garrison sent some vehicles filled with paratroopers to the KGB compound, and the mob dispersed. Putin did not insist on seeing the Soviet rule over East Germany. By early 1990, the Putin's family packed up and returned to Leningrad.

Advisor of Leningrad Mayor

In early February 1990 Vladimir Putin returned to St.Petersburg (Leningrad). With the end of his service in East Germany, Vladimir Putin had lost his KGB flat. They did not provide him with another in Leningrad, nor were they ever likely to. Vladimir Putin and his family thus moved in once more with his parents, which was uncomfortable for everyone concerned. They now had two young girls, and all of them lived together in the one flat. The family had no choice for the time being.

Actually he was offered to work at the headquarters of the Foreign Intelligence Agency (SVR) at Yasenovo in Moscow but he declined the offer, largely because no apartment was forthcoming (at that time accommodations were more important than careers). However, he was still placed in the 'active reserves of the KGB.' Instead moving to Moscow, he planned to study International Law at LGU, hoping to write a doctoral dissertation and move into a new sphere of work. At Leningrad University, Vladimir Putin was appointed head of the Foreign Section and thus became Assistant Rector for International Affairs Rector, responsible for international liaison and looking after foreign students, while preparing a doctoral dissertation at the same time.

Vladimir Putin maintained contacts with friends from the Law Faculty, and in this way was introduced to the Office of Sobchak, the Chair of the Leningrad City Soviet from May 1990. The first Russian presidential elections were held on 12 June 1991, when Yeltsin became the country's first president. The first mayoral elections were held on the same day, and Sobchak was elected. He took Vladimir Putin as his advisor, and later appointed him head of the newly formed city committee for foreign economic relations with responsibility to attract foreign investment (Stuermer, 2008). Vladimir Putin did his job very well. St.Petersburg became the most successful city for attracting major Western investment. From March 1994 to 1996 he was the first deputy mayor overseeing the law-enforcement agencies and the media. For the last year and a half of his term in office, many rumours had circulated about the extent of corruption in Anatoly Sobchak's administration. Sobchak himself came under criminal investigation for allegedly buying an apartment with city funds, and procuring other desirable state-owned flats for his relatives.

In April 1996, Vladimir Putin was placed in charge of Sobchak's re-election campaign. Sobchak was totally challenged by his other deputy, Vladimir Yakovlev, in a very dirty campaign, with numerous charges addressed against Putin personally. Vladimir Putin was no master of electoral 'black PR', and it was clear that he felt deeply uncomfortable in his role as electoral manager. Sobchak lost to Vladimir Yakovlev, who

under the new system, became governor of St.Petersburg. Vladimir Putin never forgave Yakovlev (who also worked in the city administration) for standing against Sobchak, calling him a 'Judas' an epithet that he did not retract later on TV. Sobchak was later forced into exile in the face of corruption charges. On 7 November 1997, Vladimir Putin organized a covert operation that smuggled him by a medical plane to Finland and then on to France (Slavskaya, 2002).

There is clearly a contradiction between Putin's loyalty to his mentor and what could be considered a cavalier approach to the law. Sobchak could only return once Vladimir Putin was Acting President, only to die of a heart attack soon after.

In case of Vladimir Putin, undoubtedly, given the times and his position involving foreign investment, casinos and local businesses, Vladimir Putin could have made millions of dollars for himself. Yet, in none of these cases has there appeared any evidence that he personally enriched himself. Ten or so years later on, there have still had no evidences, which would seem to indicate that the rumours were unfounded. Putin's reputation as Deputy Mayor in Western diplomatic and business circles was as an efficient, competent and honest operator.

When Sobchak lost the election to Yakovlev, Vladimir Putin once more found himself out of job. These were some of Putin's hardest times, and he was filled with self-doubt and worried. Earlier in the campaign, Yakovlev had offered him the chance to stay in his old job and join the new regime. Vladimir Putin disdainfully rejected the offer, and made a statement on behalf of Sobchak's staff that they would all leave Smolny if their boss lost (Stuermer, 2008).

Presidential Administration

Following Sobchak's defeat, Vladimir Putin made a significant choice. He resigned from the city administration and rejected a job offered by Yakovlev. Before he left his office in Smolny, he did another job by working with Boris Yelsin's presidential campaign headquarter in St.Petersburg, and when that election ended with Yelsin's being re-elected, Vladimir Putin was subtly told it was time to leave his office. But before he went, he received a call from Pavel Borodin, who headed the General Affairs Department in the Kremlin. Borodin suggested Vladimir Putin might be able to get a job in the Presidential Administration in Moscow, under Nikolai Yegorov (Sakwa, 2004; Stuermer, 2008).

After Borodin's phone call, Putin rushed off to Moscow to meet Nikolai Yegorov,

who offered him a job as Deputy Head of the Presidential Administration, and everything seemed to be going well. But a few days later, Yegorov was replaced as Head of the Presidential Administration by Anatoly Chubais, and there was no news for about two months. Vladimir Putin did not hear anything more about his promised Moscow job.

He became unemployed once again. The hard time for him was not over yet; in August 1996 his dacha, which he had spent six years building, was burned. The expected Moscow job offered had not been materialized, and no one else seemed to queue up to offer him a job. Vladimir Putin was worried about the future of his wife and children.

Being an ex-KGB political class, Vladimir Putin did not have to wait too long to be offered a position in tune with his ambition. In June 1996, Pavel Borodin, in charge of the Kremlin's property service, brought Vladimir Putin into the presidential administration, at first as Head of the General Affairs Department and then as his Deputy (Sakwa, 2004; Stuermer, 2008 and Truscott, 2004). Thereafter, Putin's career went into overdrive through a series of lucky breaks; although this luck was determined as much by his character as by chance. The Putin family moved to a state dacha in Arkhangelskoye, just outside Moscow. On 26 March 1997 he was appointed deputy to the Head of the Presidential Administration and Head of the Main Control Department, replacing Alexei Kudrin, who had recommended him for the job.

The following year, on 25 May 1998, Vladimir Putin was appointed the first Deputy Head of Presidential Administration, under President Yeltsin's senior aide, Valentin Yumashev. This role gave him more executive power from the government. He was put in charge of relations with the 89 Subjects or Constituent Parts of the Russian Federation, and was firm in his dealings with Russia's elected governors (Stuermer, 2008).

. It was while working here that he got to know many regional leaders and learnt that the vertical chain of government, had been destroyed and that it had to be restored. From 15 July he headed the Presidential Commission drafting treaties on the division of responsibilities between the centre and the region.

Due to his personal qualities: loyalty, trustworthy, certainly not power-obsessed, but at the same time effective, Vladimir Putin started to gain the attention of President Boris Yeltsin's 'family', the president circle of close relatives, advisers and confidants. Putin's administrative skills and loyalty were not difficult to notice. On 25 July 1998 he was appointed Head of the FSB (the Federal Intelligence Service), the domestic security successor to the KGB (Stuermer, 2008).

As the FSB Director, Vladimir Putin found himself in a position to help his old

superior, former St.Petersburg mayor Anatoly Sobchak. Under the investigation for corruption and misuse of city funds, Sobchak had been admitted to hospital for cardiac problems. Although based in Moscow, Vladimir Putin visited Sobchak in his St.Petersburg hospital in November 1998. Within days, although Sobchak was the subject of an arrest warrant from the General Prosecutor's Office, the former mayor was whisked out of the city in a private plane. Sobchak fled to Paris, where he stayed until Vladimir Putin came to power and it was safe for him to return to St.Petersburg (Sakwa, 2004 and Truscott, 2004). Although Vladimir Putin denied it, Boris Yelsin had no doubt that Sobchak's former Deputy arranged for his mentor to be spirited out of the city. Yelsin ignored what Vladimir Putin had done; actually, he quite appreciated to it.

Yelsin recalled, 'Later, when I learned about what Vladimir Putin had done. I felt profound sense of respect for and gratitude towards him.' For Yelsin, helping one's former superior escape from justice was a cardinal principle and a touchstone of loyalty, recommending the person concerned for the highest of offices. Vladimir Putin certainly went up in Yelsin's estimation after the Sobchak affair. When Anatoly Sobchak died of a heart attack in February 2000, his funeral was one of the rare occasions when Vladimir Putin allowed himself to be seen weeping in public. He was loyal to his old mentor to the very end. Vladimir Putin always earned the gratitude of the Yelsin 'family' and proved his unquestioning loyalty (Stuermer, 2008). Here, he was a man who had shown he could be depended upon to look after the family's vital interests. On 29 March of the following year, he was assigned an additional post of Secretary to the Security Council while keeping his post as Director of the FSB and thus became one of the most powerful men in Russia (Slavskaya, 2002)

Prime Minister

On 9 August 1999, President Yelsin appointed the unknown Vladimir Putin as his fifth Prime Minister in two years. During his presidency Yelsin replaced five Prime Ministers, three Foreign Ministers, six Prosecutors-General, seven Heads of the Security Service (FSB), nine Finance Ministers and six Interior Ministers. Experience suggested that this was an uncertain position. On appointing Putin as Prime Minister, Yelsin had declared him his successor. Already at various points Yelsin had considered Sergei Shakhrai, Vladimir Shumeiko, Oleg Soskovets, Alexander Lebed, Boris Nemstov, Sergei Kirienko, Nikolai Bodyuzha, Sergei Stepashin and Nikolai Aksyonenko as potential successors, and all had been wanted and finally discarded (Sakwa, 2004).

Yeltsin who was notorious for his heavy drinking and his sometimes uncontrolled behavior, was not only the man who had given democracy a chance in post-Soviet Russia and secured amicable relations with the West but who also had brought many men into positions of power that they did not want to lose. Moreover, Yeltsin's health was seriously declining, due to in part to his unstoppable drinking habit. The question for the 'family' was how to make sure that Yeltsin's concept of reform could somehow be carried on and how the family fortune could be secured against painful questions once the presidential mantle was passed on to the successor. He had been thinking about the succession since 1991, particularly with greater urgency after his being re-elected in 1996 and multiple heart bypass operations. He set his administration one main task: 'the succession of power through the election of 2000.' They had four years to make sure that in 2000 the new President would be 'a person who would continue democratic reforms in the country, who would not turn back to the totalitarian system, and who would ensure Russia's movement forward, to a civilized community.'

On 23 March 1998 after the long-standing Prime Minister, Chernomyrdin, was discarded, the procession of Prime Ministers followed – Kirienko (March–August 1998), Primakov (September 1998–May 1999), and Stepashin (May–August 1999) – and this was in part determined by the logic of succession. The appointment of Stepashin was quite explicitly a stopgap while preparing the way for Putin. In introducing Putin to the country Yeltsin spoke of Putin as a 'Prime Minister with a future', and talked of him as someone 'who can consolidate society, based on the widest possible political spectrum, and ensuring the continuation of reforms in Russia (Sakwa, 2004).' Putin was appointed as a Yeltsin loyalist, and it appeared at first that he would have little more freedom than his predecessors under Yeltsin's overbearing leadership.

As Richard Sakwa notes in Putin Russia's Choice (2004: 18 – 20) that there are at least four factors to help explain Putin's astonishing rise.

The first factor is the fact that the Kremlin put its entire weight behind him.

The second is the second Chechnya War that happened in the period of Putin's premiership. Its militants presented Vladimir Putin with his first major challenge and his first opportunity to prove his mettle. He decided to use a crucial military answer to this political challenge. Vladimir Putin image as an 'Iron Chancellor' was created and sustained by his uncompromising approach to the Chechen problem. His use of street language in a press conference on 8 September, he used the underworld jargon of 'soaking the bandits in the John', appeared at first as if it would be a public relations disaster, but in the event it only reinforced Putin's image as a man of the people. Far more

importantly, at the press conference Putin insisted: ‘Russia is defending itself. We have been attacked. And therefore we must throw off all our syndromes, including the guilt syndrome.’ Overnight past, the war made the Prime Minister a hero, a Savior of the Russian Nation.

The third factor is that, unlike his predecessors, Vladimir Putin soon enjoyed unprecedented power over the policy process, and could take credit for the raft of good economic news that saw the economy grow, living standards rise and more wages paid on time.

The fourth is Putin’s capability to restore Russia’s national dignity, adopting neither an obsequiously subservient nor an impotently assertive attitude towards the West but one based on a measured understanding of Russia’s real needs and capacity. It soon became clear to both domestic and foreign observers that Putin represented a new breed of Russian politicians, honest and intelligent and untainted by any demonstrable corruption. Vladimir Putin clearly cared about Russia more than his personal interests. He quickly came to epitomize Russia, its sufferings and its aspirations and thus he became ‘the President of Hope.’

President

Eventually, Putin’s time arrived, when Yelsin unexpectedly resigned on 31 December 1999. The process was carefully planned since, as Yelsin admitted, ‘there was no precedent for a voluntary resignation by Russia’s head of state’, and he clearly enjoyed taking everyone by surprise. Yelsin had first initiated to Putin about his plan two weeks earlier, on 14 December at his Gorki-9 residence. On being told that Yelsin planned to make him Acting President, Putin’s immediately reaction was to say, ‘I’m not ready for that decision, Boris Nikolayevich.’ But eventually the conversation ended with Vladimir Putin agreeing: ‘I will work wherever you assign me’, reportedly said with military terseness. Yelsin noted how pleased he was with the way that the conversation went.

“I really liked Putin. I liked how he reacted, how he corrected several points in the plan—everything was clear and precise ... Strictly by the law, accurately, and dryly, we were implementing the article of the Russian constitution concerning the transfer of power.”

(Sakwa, 2004: 23)

In Yeltsin's speech on 31 December, he spoke for his desire to have established the precedent of the 'civilized voluntary transfer of power' after the presidential elections set for June 2000, but 'Nevertheless, I have taken another decision. I am resigning.' He continued his speech that 'No reason to hang on to power when the country had a strong person worthy of becoming President.' He also asked for forgiveness: 'Not all our dreams came to fulfillment... we thought we could jump from the gray, stagnatory totalitarian past to a light, rich and civilized future in one leap. I believe that myself...But it took more than one jump.' After the speech the nuclear suitcase was passed to Putin and, as a last gesture on leaving the Kremlin, he gave Putin the pen with which he had signed so many decrees and laws and said, 'Take care of Russia.' Putin would be Acting President until pre-term elections were held within the mandated three months (Sakwa, 2004).

Yeltsin's reason was almost too simple. Yeltsin was too ill to carry on as President for much longer. No one knew how long Yeltsin could survive. But before he retired, he needed to find a successor he could trust to protect his family and his interests once he stepped down. Russia had not been particularly kind to its ex-leaders, and there had never before been a peaceful democratic transfer of power. He wanted immunity from prosecution on corruption or any other charges for himself and his immediate family. He also wanted a decent pension and lifestyle after his resignation.

Vladimir Putin's loyalty was unquestionable. Following Yeltsin's resignation, Putin's first move, indeed, as Acting President on 31 December was to sign a decree granting Yeltsin and future Russian Presidents' immunity from criminal prosecution, arrest, search or interrogation. Yeltsin was awarded a generous pension, state security protection, medical care for him and his family, and retained the Gorky-9 state dacha for his personal use. He could also access to VIP lounges in Russia's airports, railway stations, ports and airports (Sakwa, 2004; Stuermer, 2008; Truscott, 2004; Slavskaya, 2002).

On 26 March 2000 Zyuganov collected 29,2 percent of the popular vote, Grigori Yavlinski put up a brave fight but reached not much over 6 percent, while 52.6 percent of the overall vote, with more than 50 percent of the voters caring to go to the polls, carried Putin to the presidency of Russia (Stuermer, 2008).

. The transition from Acting President to President of Russian Federation was seamless. His background and work experience, especially KGB training, once again came to benefit him. Moreover, unlike Yeltsin, Vladimir Putin looked manly: intelligent, strong, and energetic. At that time, Vladimir Putin was the best choice to lead Russia through the period of the new millennium.

Table2 . 26 March 2000 Russian presidential election results

Candidates	Nominating parties	Votes	%
Vladimir Putin	United Russia Party	39,740,467	52.94
Gennady Zyuganov	Communist Party of the Russian Federation	21,928,468	29.21
Aman Tuleyev		2,217,364	3.84
Vladimir Zhirinovskiy	Liberal Democratic Party of Russia	2,026,509	2.70
Konstantin Titov		1,107,269	1.47
Ella Pamfilova	For civil dignity	758,967	1.01
Stanislav Govorukhin		328,723	0.44
Yury Skuratov		319,189	0.43
Alexey Podberezkin		98,177	0.13
Umar Dzhabrailov		78,498	0.10
	Against all	1,414,673	1.88

TOTAL	74,387,754	100.00
-------	------------	--------

(wikipedia, 2000: online)

After the first term of presidency, Vladimir Putin's popularity and reputation continually increased. In 2004 Putin won the re-election in a landslide once again.

Table 3. 14 March 2004 Russian presidential election results

Candidates	Nominating parties	Votes	%
Vladimir Putin	none, but supported by United Russia Party	49,565,238	71.31
Nikolay Kharitonov	Communist Party of the Russian Federation, but a member of Agrarian Party of Russia	9,513,313	13.69
Sergey Glazyev	none, but supported by Rodina	2,850,063	4.10
Irina Khakamada		2,671,313	3.84
Oleg Malyshkin	Liberal Democratic Party of Russia	1,405,315	2.02
Sergey Mironov	Russian Party of Life	1,107,269	1.47
Ella Pamfilova	For civil dignity	524,324	0.75

Against all	2,396,219	3.45
TOTAL	68,925,785	100.00

(wikipedia, 2004: online)

Concerning Russia's need for Vladimir Putin. Mikhail Gorbachev, the former President, emphasizes.

“Vladimir Putin has done a lot for Russia. After the chaos in the 1990s, it was vital to consolidate the state and prevent its breakup. Under such conditions, a leader has to take certain steps of an authoritarian nature, although some of them were avoidable — for instance, the restrictive changes in the election laws and controls over electronic media. I disagree with those who say Putin has retreated from democracy. He has not crossed the line that would turn Russia's system into an authoritarian regime. I commend Putin's decision not to run for President a third time. And I see nothing wrong in his desire to influence events even after the end of his term. That's his right — and Russia will need his experience to smooth our transition to a fully sustainable democracy. There are many challenges ahead. While there is real growth in the economy, there is also inflation, a huge income gap and persistent poverty. The stranglehold of bureaucracy is becoming unbearable; the battle against corruption has yet to start. The authorities are not doing enough to fight organized crime. We need an effective opposition, accountable government and a greater role for parliament and the judiciary. We also need understanding from our partners. Unfair criticism and unwarranted demands of Russia are not conducive to good relations with the West. But I am convinced that Russia will make new strides on the path of democracy, in a manner that befits a world power: without upheaval or revolutions and with dignity.”

(The *Time* Magazine 2007: Interview by Mikhail Gorbachev)

Due to the condition in the Constitution that a president cannot be in office for more than two consecutive terms, Vladimir Putin had to leave his long-term position behind and set someone as his nominee. He decided to play with the idea of leading United Russia, the Kremlin party, while at the same time still stayed in power and looked after the Russian government. In 2008, he stepped down and became Prime Minister of the country and supported Dmitri Medvedev to hold the Presidential position as his political successor. Vladimir Putin might take the position as Prime Minister for a while and wait for the suitable time to return to the full presidential honors and powers.

During the Russian administration under Vladimir Putin, he proved that he was not only the leader of the Russia Federation who was formidable, credible, acceptable by Russians and various countries around the world but his image was also unique properties and interesting. He is one of those whose story in various aspects makes people feel closer and want to know him more. He is an expert who presents himself by using Brand personality via mass media.

Brand personality is entirely different from imitative image. Brand personality itself tries to present the strength of someone and make it remarkable. It does not just create a fake image or personality to betray someone in a short-term. Fortunately, Vladimir Putin has his own unique characteristics. It is not too difficult to embellish his personality into the way that it is supposed to be. In Putin's campaigning strategy, he tried to put himself in the news in various aspects, not only just before the election. His image could reach each target group of people in every social class. Many outstanding images were used to convey other aspects of Vladimir Putin that he was not only a politician but also a sportsman, a musician, and a family man. All of these would be totally beneficial to him.

Without doubt, although Vladimir Putin has strongly been criticized by the West, he is currently gaining much popularity in Russia and it will not become lower. The majority of Russian people see that he is a strong and resolute leader who has brought Russia to play a major role in the world again and they will always respect and believe in him.

Content Analysis of Putin's Political Marketing Strategy

In Russia, by the mid 90 (during Yeltsin era), political marketing began to play an important role in political competition as 'the ultimate tool of victory.' (Diukarev and Sekretarev, 2010: Online) Boris Yeltsin was approaching the end of his first five-year term, and the next presidential election was held for 1996. By the time, in 1996, The electoral campaign and PR was the biggest political marketing event that Russia had ever witnessed. Yeltsin and his opponent, Communist Gennady Zyuganov, fiercely fought. Each has contracted with specialist of PR and advertising professionals, called 'spin-doctor' or 'politteknolog' to manage the sophisticated political marketing (Diukarev and Sekretarev, 2010: Online). Eventually, Yeltsin won another term of presidential election which can be mentioned that 'Yeltsin's success was political marketing success.' Even now, Yeltsin's notable slogan 'Vote or Lose' and his dancing at a rock concert in Rostov while campaigning for his re-election still remind in the memory of Russians.

Following the 1996 elections, it marked the beginning of a Golden Age of political marketing, especially PR industry. In ensuing years, each and every electoral campaign, federal or local, became a battle between political consulting agencies, as much as a battle between candidates. The President himself was hugely reliant on his PR advisors, first Valentin Yumashev and later Alexander Voloshin (Diukarev and Sekretarev, 2010: Online). Yeltsin also appointed his own daughter, Tatyana Svetlana as his official image advisor and, moreover, had a close tie with two oligarchs, Vladimir Gusinsky and Boris Berezovsky, who own TV channels and influence media-controlled. At that time, the list of Yeltsin's PR specialists had been clearly revealed. However, when Yeltsin second term closely came to the end, and Putin was appointed to be Prime Minister and, subsequently, Acting President, the list of his PR specialist were not officially shown up. Due to Putin was a former KGB, his personal information is confidential and could not be precisely specified.

The research found no official evidence, that, who exactly are Putin's PR specialist or how the political marketing that were used behind Putin political success. However, there is some information which indicates that Putin use PR specialist and political marketing strategy to succeed in his political position.

For instance, the research found that Sergey Yastrzhembsky, and Gleb Pavlovsky, the two Kremlin spin doctors who had worked for Yeltsin administration took the important role once again in Putin era. For Yastrzhembsky, he was mainly responsible for shaping public opinion on the counter terrorism operation in Second Chechnya War and

Pavlovsky, the Kremlin's royal spin-doctor, helped to bring Putin into the power in 2000.

However, the researcher lack the good data which show how was the process of those spin-doctors worked, but from studying Putin information it can be assumed that the first step of Putin in Russian administration used strategy 'turning a crisis into an opportunity.' The fact that Yelsin's popularity rating was gradually decreased by the economic crisis and his ill-health, he had to find someone who can inherit his role as the President of Russian Federation. Vladimir Putin seemed tough enough, and also he was a responsive and efficient person, who is suitable to become the successor. Putin, the unknown newcomer, was named as Russian Prime Minister on 9 August 1999. The most important of Putin's spin-doctors is that they have worked hard to distance him from the former president Boris Yeltsin, who gained a negative reputation as a doddering drunkard and weak person (Parfitt, 2004. Online).

Putin has conquered the nation's heart by being everything that Russian people needed at that time through using sophisticated political marketing. Firstly, although he was 'nobody', he could impress Russian people by his Second Chechen War policy. They favored his 'continuing the military operation' policy in Chechen rather than 'negotiation with the terrorists. They were attracted to him by his performance of 'Savior of the nation.' However, at that time, his background and personal information was still mysterious. Thereafter, when he won the first term of presidential election, the book of Putin's autobiography was published. It revealed his fascinating unusual autobiography and made the reader understand more about him in many aspects: his background came from ordinary family, he was an energetic, decisive and strong-will person since he was young, he has high-education, he was a judo black belt and was judo Leningrad Championship, he was a former KGB and the Head of Russian Security Council. These entire things suggest that Putin has appropriate experience and connection, which made him proper to rule the country and guaranteed the voters' trust.

Putin's popularity, which gain from his reputation as a strong leader, stands in contrast to the unpopularity of Yelsin, his predecessor, A year after Putin took office, his personality cult was being created. A vast choice of Putin portrait could be generally bought at shopping mall. Putin had managed to build a personality cult around himself similar to those created by Soviet leaders; although there had not been giant statues of Putin put up across the country (like those of Joseph Stalin before), he had the honor of being the only Russian leader to have had a pop song written about him. "I want a man like Putin" of the Pop Band 'Singing Together', which hit the charts in 2002. The lyric

example was 'I want a man like Putin. One full of strength, who doesn't drink or offend. And who won't run away.' Disc Jockey of two leading radio stations have been playing the song, but said that they cannot be sure where it came from (Rainsford, 2002: Online). The record does not appear to be sold anywhere and the band was also a newcomer. Therefore, it has all prompted suspicions that the song is official PR.

Moreover, during his eight year of presidency, Putin's photo in various act and news involving with him were emerged to the public: riding on submarine, scuba diving, racing car, riding on horseback, shirtless fishing and etc. Even he stepped down the position as Prime Minister (in 2008), his image still have been continuously launched. Perhaps, these might be one of his strategies to make the people recognize and keep him in mind as always whatever his position is. As Zygmunt Dzieciolowski, a polish journalist and writer said Russia's president has created a mechanism to realize his long-term political ambitions. Almost 12 years Putin was in power, his charismatic and macho image have been attracted Russian people. Nowadays, he is still the chief of the country's political figure, with no (real) alternatives.

For analysis of Putin's Political Marketing, the researcher used Marketing concept through 'Marketing Mix' (4Ps) then focus on "Product" which is one of four elements. Due to this research assumed that Putin have the function as product. From the aforementioned information show that within the 4 elements of Marketing Mix (Product-Consumer, Price-Cost, Place-Convenience and Promotion-Communication), the most important and easiest to be observed of Putin strategy is the 'Product.' He managed voters' expectation by using his background, personality and image which called 'brand personality' for his success. It's mean that Putin used his brand personality as the product in Marketing Mix in his Political Marketing. Therefore, the following part will analyzed Putin's brand personality.

Content Analysis of Putin's Brand Personality

For Analysis of Putin's Brand Personality, the research used Media Research, Documentary Research and 'Brand Personality Dimension' of J. Aaker to identify the type of Putin's Brand Personality. This dimension consists of 42 facets as showed in table below.

Sincerity	Competence	Excitement	Sophisticated	Ruggedness
Down-to-earth	Reliable	Daring	Upper class	Outdoor
Family-oriented	Hard working	Trendy	Glamorous	Masculine
Honest	Secure	Exciting	Good looking	Western
Sincere	Intelligent	Spirited	Charming	Tough
Wholesome	Technical	Cool	Feminine	Rugged
Original	Corporative	Young	Smooth	
Cheerful	Successful	Imaginative		
Friendly	Leadership	Unique		
Sentimental	Confident	Up-to-date		
		Independent		
		Contemporary		

From the analysis of Putin's biography, personal background, and image via Russian Official Media and his related work, the researcher has found that Putin's Brand Personality consists of 19 root facets: Down-to-Earth, Honest, Friendly, Reliable, Hard working, Intelligent, Technical, Cooperative, Successful, Leadership, Spirited, Cool, Unique, Upper class, Charming, Smooth, Outdoor, Masculine, Tough and Rugged which can be grouped into the original facets and the creative facets as follows.

Original facets of Putin's brand personality

Down-to-Earth

This brand personality can be analyzed from his root and his act as well. Putin came from a working class family, which led him to understand what ordinary people want. Therefore, the speeches of Putin were encouraged and expressed in a 'language' well understood by all. Several times, Putin used street words in public speeches; instead of damaging him, his radical and progressive character became his advantage, making him a hero. A majority of Russian people think 'he as them' and feel that they have close ties with him than with the others. Moreover, many activities that he has engaged in, for instance, his interactions with the ordinary people and his performance of traditional ritual, contributed to his image of being down-to-earth and made him belong to the people.



Photo 13. Putin performing a traditional ritual

Honest

This Brand Personality can be analyzed from his honesty and loyalty to Anatoly Sobshak and Boris Yeltsin, his superiors. In case of Anatoly Sobchak, St.Petersburg mayor, it happened when Putin worked in Russian Administration as his advisor. Sobchak was accused of corruption and was sentenced to imprisonment. Although it was risky, Putin decided to help his superior escape and refused to work with Yakovlev who became the St.Petersburg mayor replacing his former superior. Another case happened when Putin became Acting President of the Russian Federation, Putin showed his gratitude to Yeltsin by signing a decree to grant Yeltsin and future Russian Presidents' immunity from criminal prosecution, arrest, search or interrogation and awarding Yeltsin a generous

pension. Moreover, during his time in Russian Administration, Putin worked without corruption and he also conveyed to the public that his important priority was the national interest and Russian people. Therefore, it can be mentioned that honesty and loyalty were the most distinctive and outstanding brand personality of Putin.

Friendly

This Brand Personality can be analyzed from his relationship with his friends. Putin has a good relationship with his friends. He keeps contact with his old friends as always, in particular his close college friends at the Faculty of Law in St.Petersburg University. Even when he was a KGB, which made him must conceal the position and cut off from friends, he has never done so. In time of hardship, he has never abandoned his friends and sticks with them, no matter what. He is ready to take risks to help them as well.

Reliable

This Brand Personality can be analyzed from his dressing style and his posing. The photos that appear in news and Official Websites show his modestly and imposing dressing style matched with a choice of controlled colors, always in dark tone and earth tone colors such as white, gray, black and dark blue. The dark controlled-color suit indicates a reliable, stable and trustworthy personality. Besides, his posing in the public which always appears as poker-face can refer to his commitment and strong-will.



Photo 14: Putin's reliable image

Intelligent

This Brand Personality can be analyzed from his capability. During the Russian administration under Vladimir Putin, he proved that he was not only the leader of the Russia Federation who was formidable, credible; acceptable by Russians but was also various countries around the world. He was the first Russian leader since Lenin to speak foreign languages, having a good command of both German and English.

Moreover, in his early age, whenever Putin tried to do something with his intention, he could accomplish in a short time. For instance, when he learned German he could remember it rapidly and correctly, and when he trying to developed his grade to reach the of point average he could eventually attended to faculty of law in the country's top university.

Cooperative

This Brand Personality can be analyzed from his biography that he is a cooperative person who can work with others very well. He can act as both a leader and a follower. His role as a leader impressed Yeltsin. When Putin served as head of FSB, he was ordered to dismiss numerous officials. Putin strictly followed the order, but he tried to make sure that those who were dismissed could have a 'soft landing' with a new jobs or generous pensions.

His role of a follower, Yeltsin told Putin about his resignation-plan and wanted to appoint him as his successor. At first Putin's immediate reaction was, 'I'm not ready for that decision, Boris Nikolayevich.' But eventually the conversation ended with Putin agreeing. 'I will work wherever you assign me,' reportedly said with military terseness. Yeltsin noted how pleased he was with the way that the conversation went.

Did not allow himself to be manipulated in political games. Even I was amazed by his solid moral code ... for Putin, the single criterion was the morality of a given action or the decency of a given person. He would not do anything that conflicted with his understanding of honor. He was always ready to part with his high post if his sense of integrity would require it.

(Richard Sakwa, 2004: 17)

Charming

This Brand Personality can be analyzed from his character. He, actually, does not belong to a group of good-looking people but he has got a strong mysterious charm and is remarkably attractive, called Charisma. The evolution of Putin's images as Prime Minister, former President of the Russian Federation and former head of the FSB have been developed and constantly transmitted via media, in particular the presentation of his sex appeal that has attracted the public's eye several times.

The simplest thing that can emphasize his charm is the groups of Putin's supporters, especially the women's movement; 'Nashi'(Наши), 'Putin's Army' (Армию Путина), 'We really like Putin' (Нам действительно нравится Путин) and 'I want to see him' (Я хочу его видеть) who organized many activities on many occasions to show their support to Putin as follows.

On October 2010 : Birthday Calendar

Twelve girls, all journalism students of the Moscow State University, posed in lacy underwear and used sexual innuendo to create a sex calendar and dedicate it to the Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin's 58th birthday.



Photo 15: The cover page of a 2011 calendar which says "Vladimir Vladimirovich, We love you"

On March 2011: Putin's Party

Paradise nightclub held a the party called 'Putin's Party' with a slogan, "I want the prime minister!" and released «My Blueberry Hills» a new track of Dj Smash performed by Putin.



Photo 16. Pictures from Putin's Party at Paradise Night Club

On July 2011 : Carwash for Putin

'I Really Do Like Putin' the girl group, who will do just about anything to get Valdimir Putin back into the Kremlin next year, set up a hot car wash in front of the Moscow State University building by wearing bikinis and 8 inches high-heel shoes on July 21, 2011, offering their free cleaning services exclusively to drivers of Russian cars such as Ladas and Volgas to support Putin's policy of Russian domestic car industry.



Photo 17. Car wash for Putin

On August 2011: Tear it up and join Putin's Army

Putin's Army, another group of young, female Putin supporters who formed on VKontakte, Russian version of Facebook, released a professionally-made video calling on "young, smart, and beautiful" girls to tear off their shirts and back a Putin campaign for presidency and persuaded audiences to join their legion and show their love and support to Vladimir Putin by tearing up their shirts to win the Tablet PC iPad2.



Photo 18: Campaign 'Tear it up for Putin'

Unique

This Brand Personality can be analyzed from the data that he is one of the most beloved political figures in the history of Russia. He is charismatic, heroic, youthful and intellectual in his speeches and in his dressing. He is an icon to many, especially the younger population and he knows how to catch people mind. He has great personality and interesting background which make him different from other politicians. The combination of these attributes makes him a remarkable and influential politician. The people can remember him as 'Unique.' His name has been used in advertising and taken to set up a brand such as 'Putina' vodka.

Smooth

This Brand Personality can be analyzed from his photos with a variety of animals: horses, fish, chickens, dogs and much more, presenting the image of a smooth, kind and sympathetic person. Although on the world stage, Putin is an aggressive and strong person, at the same time he is smooth, gentle and tender. This brand personality can be

seen via media when Putin is with animals. His image is an animal lover as below.



Photo 19. Putin and a variety of animals

In addition, as Prime Minister, Putin has set up a special project called 'Special Project of the Prime Minister' to protect animals. The 4 types of animals under this project are the amur tiger, the polar bear, the white whale and the snow leopard. Putin has regularly worked to fix transmitter signals on the animals by himself.



Photo20. Special Project of the Prime Minister'

Moreover, in his personal life, Putin owns two dogs, named Koni and Buffy. The photos when he played with them can be seen often in news.



Photo 21. Putin with his pets; a black Labrador Retriever named Koni and a caramel-white-patched Saint Bernard Puppy named 'Buffy'

Masculine

This Brand Personality can be analyzed from his strong and healthy image. Putin represents a perfect man who has both sports and military skills. Although he is near the age of sixty, Putin is still strong and healthy because he does not smoke and hardly drinks. His semi-nude (shirtless) photos with fit and firm muscles can be seen via media several times.



Putin's favorite sport, judo



Photo 22 : The image of Putin as a sportsman



Photo 23 : Military Images of Putin

Rugged

This Brand Personality can be analyzed from his character and his act when he deals with any situations. He has been criticized for his rugged behavior via media, especially presented when he gave speeches on the foreign policy and world stage. As Russia is the world's largest country, Putin has dramatically controlled in governance to secure the country. He was referred as Dictator and Iron Chancellor for using harsh and inflexible policies against terrorists. The interesting situation was his speech on the solution of the second Chechen war. When a reporter asked Putin why his government did not negotiate with the leaders of Chechen rebels, Putin answered "Russia does not negotiate with terrorists (Russia) destroys them." He also used street words in the speech without fear on Chechen extremists by saying "We will follow terrorists everywhere. Should we catch them in a shithouse, we will whack them in a shithouse. "

The rugged and aggressive brand personality of Putin can be observed from his public speech, called 'Putinism.' The samplings of 'Putinism' style are as below.

— In 2000, CNN's Larry King asked Putin what had happened to cause the Kursk nuclear submarine accident, which killed 118 crew members in the Barents Sea. Putin made light of the question, answering, "It sank." During the failed rescue operation, Russia had turned down offers of help from other countries, and Putin was criticized for refusing to cut short a vacation.

— Meeting reporters in 2003, Putin said jailed Yukos oil company chairman Mikhail Khodorkovsky's offer to pay back taxes from the 1990s had come too late. "One must always obey the law," Putin said, "and not only when you're grabbed in a certain place."

— In 2005, Putin met with American businessmen in Moscow, among them was Robert Kraft, owner of the New England Patriots football team, which had recently won the Super Bowl. When Kraft showed Putin his diamond-encrusted championship ring, Putin surprised his guests by trying on the ring, slipping it into his pocket and leaving. Kraft later said he had given the ring to Putin as a gift and token of respect.

— During a joint news conference with Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert in 2006, a Russian journalist overheard Putin talking about Israeli President Moshe Katsav, who had been accused of multiple rapes. "What a mighty man he turns out to be!" Putin said. "He raped 10 women; I'd never have expected that from him. He surprised us all — we all envy him!" The Kremlin later confirmed Putin had made the comments. During a call-in television program, Putin criticized reporters for "eavesdropping" on his conversation with Olmert, saying it was "unseemly."

— When asked by a journalist in 2006 about Russia's possible support for sanctions against Iran, Putin denied accusations that Tehran was developing nuclear weapons, saying, "If a grandmother had certain reproductive organs, she would be a grandfather."

— During a summit of the Group of Eight leading industrialized countries in Germany in 2007, Putin attacked the United States and Europe and described himself as the world's only "pure democrat." "After the death of Mahatma Gandhi," he said, "there's no one to talk to." Putin rejected criticism that he has ended democracy and reinstated authoritarianism in Russia, accusing European countries of "killing demonstrators in the streets."

— During a news conference in 2008, Putin criticized Western elections observers by quoting a well-known line from a popular television crime drama. "They're trying to teach us something!" he said. "Well, let them teach their wives how to make cabbage soup!"

(Feifer, 2008. Online)

The aforementioned examples do not look good in the international scene and can damage Putin, but from the Russian perspective Putin has been overwhelmingly popular and can be seen as a hero and savior of Russia.

Leadership

This Brand Personality can be analyzed from his biography, his role and his duty in the administration. Putin obviously has leadership skills, guaranteed by two consecutive terms as presidency. Even he became Prime Minister, he seems to be the real leader of Russia and the most influential politician of the country. In childhood, his leadership capabilities and qualities were apparently shown. He held the leader's position such as Chair of his Pioneer Unit's council when he was thirteen. Thereafter, in his working age, he has always been appointed in high positions such as First Deputy Mayor of St.Petersburg, First Deputy Overseeing the Law Enforcement Agencies and Media, Deputy Chief of the Russian Presidential Business Administration Department, Deputy Chief of the Presidential Executive Office, Head of FSB (the Federation Security Service), Secretary of the Russian Security Council and etc. Moreover, in the position of Prime Minister, he acts as representative and leader in official meetings, international visits, and working trips around Russia.

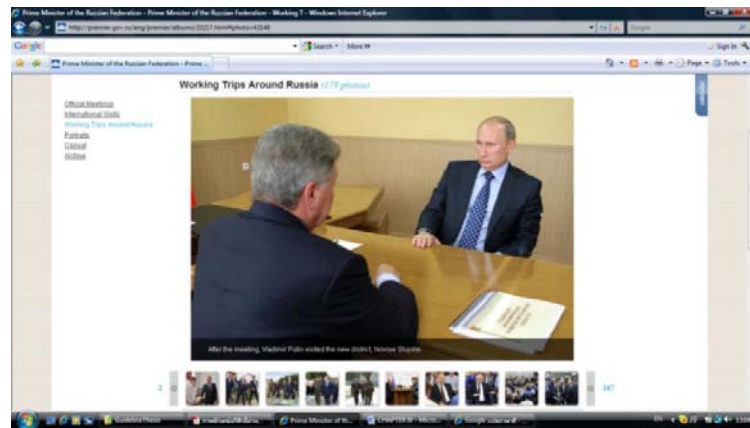
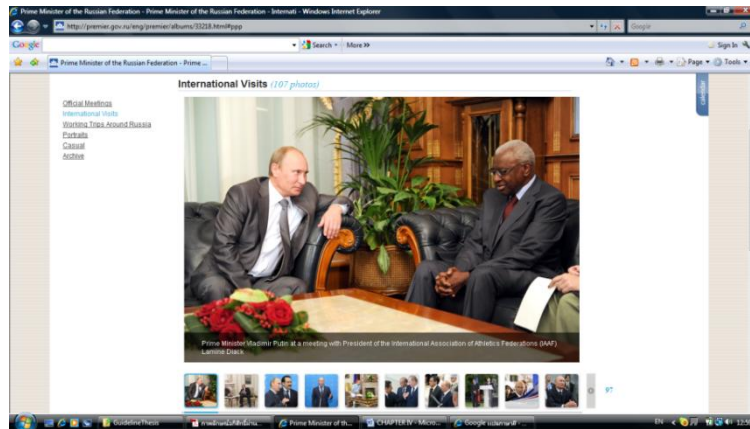
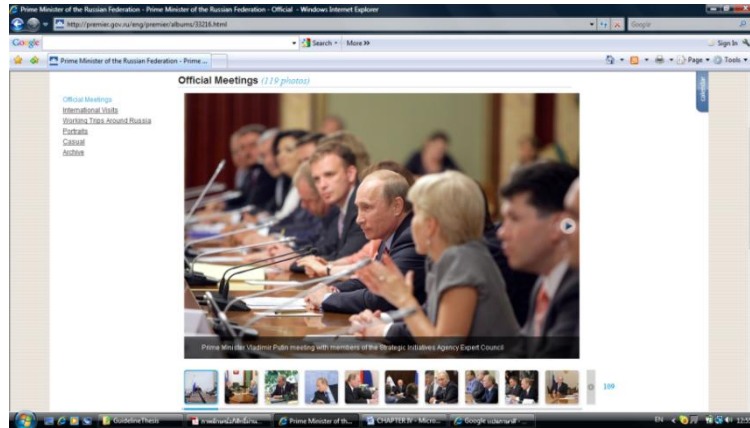


Photo 24. Putin's photos during official meeting and international visit

Creative facets of Putin's brand personality

Hard working

This Brand Personality can be analyzed from his working table time, his responsibility and photos of his activities. It indicates that he has worked hard continuously almost everyday.

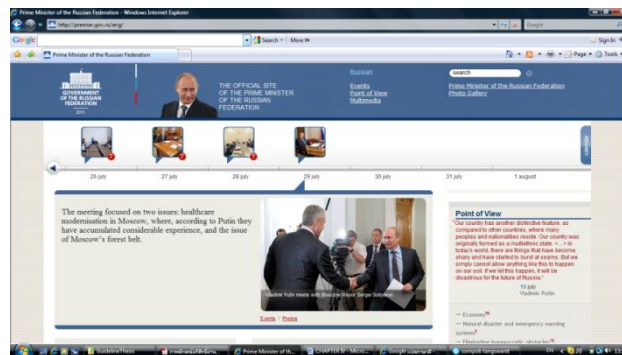


Photo 25: Putin Working table time

Moreover, having studied Putin's biography found that he was hard-working since his childhood. This brand personality appeared when he made a decision to continue his studying in the Faculty of Law, St.Petersburg University, the country's leading university, but his grade were not great and he had no back up. Putin crucial attempted to develop his grade and finally, he could attend to study there, following his intention.

Technical

This Brand Personality can be analyzed from his biography in part of his education and his work experience. In term of education, Putin have well-educated, he attend to St.Petersburg University in Faculty of Law in his Master Degree and completely graduated in PH.D. Economic. In term of work experience, Putin was the former KGB and served in the agency more than ten years. He received training in various technical skills, typically in military skill, such as parachute, piloting, patience-practice, cooperating with people and etc. All these skills were used when Putin hold the political position once again.

Spirited

This Brand Personality can be analyzed from his musical talent by playing the piano "From Where the Motherland Begins" and singing "Blueberry Hill." Although his character always seems aggressive, there are some spirited and playful characteristics. On 11 December 2010, Putin got on stage during a charity concert to support the fight against children's ontological and ophthalmological diseases in Russia.



Photo 26. Vladimir Putin was playing the piano and was singing "Blueberry Hill."

Cool

This Brand Personality can be analyzed from the photo gallery on the website and his biography. His photos captured Putin in various poses and manners, showing that he is cool, smart and good looking. In addition, Putin is supported by his unique and extraordinary background as a former KGB, along with his personality, habit and lifestyle, making him interesting and outstanding even more.





Photo 27: Putin's cool photos

Successful

This Brand Personality can be analyzed from the data that appear in the Official Website of the Prime Minister of the Russian Federation in the biography section, showing his work experiences.

Putin is a very successful person. He has working progress and gains a lot of honors such as 'Judo championships of St.Petersburg' (in 1976), 'the insignia of Grand-Croix (Grand Cross) of the Légion d'honneur', the highest French decoration (in 2006), 'Person of the Year' by the Time magazine (in 2007), 'the King Abdul Aziz Award', Saudi Arabia's top civilian decoration (in 2007), 'the Order of Zayed', UAE's top civil decoration (in 2007) and etc.

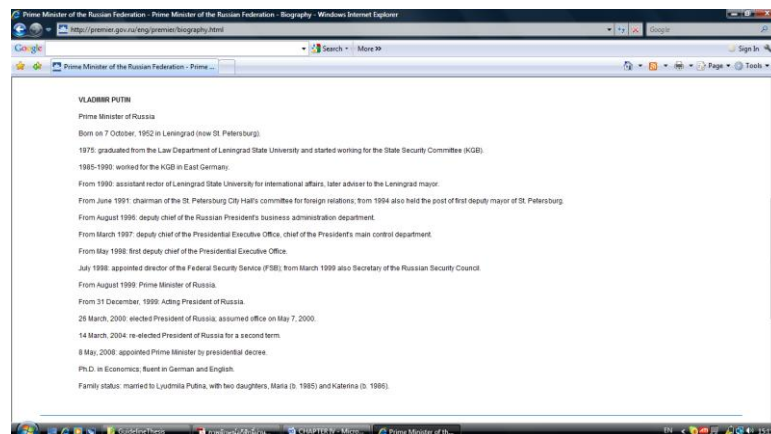


Photo 28: Putin's resume

Outdoor

This Brand Personality can be analyzed from his photos and his vacation activities. Putin extremely likes adventures. In his free time, he always goes upcountry and has outdoor activities. His outdoor lifestyle has always been presented via media as below.

On August 2007 : The Russian President, Vladimir Putin, entertained Kremlin cohorts and international dignitaries, including Prince Albert of Monaco on a fishing holiday in Siberia.



Photo 29. Putin and his royal guest fish in the Yenisei river

On 15 August 2007. Russian President Vladimir Putin visited the Republic of Tuva.



Photo 30. Russian President Vladimir Putin fishes in the Khemchik River in the Republic of Tuva.

On August 2009. Outdoor adventure vacation outside the town of Kyzyl in Southern Siberia



Putin on horseback



Putin swims a butterfly stroke.



Putin drives an outboard motorboat

Photo 31 : On his outdoor adventure

Tough

This Brand Personality can be analyzed from his character, presented through photos. Almost sixty years old, Putin is still strong and healthy. He has a fit and firm body which makes him allow himself to be photographed shirtless. Putin can be seen as a tough guy image with shirtless photos several times. Moreover, his photos that have been previously presented as sampling were clearly parts of carefully crafted photos to the impression of a strong and macho leader who can handle any situation.



Photo 32: Putin's tough image

Having studied and analyzed Putin personal information, background, his image and his personality that have been presented via the Russian Official Website and documents, the researcher has found that, Putin truly used his Brand Personality as product identity and quality, which consists of 19 root facets. These are Down-to-Earth, Honest, Friendly, Reliable, Hard working, Intelligent, Technical, Cooperative, Successful, Leadership, Spirited, Cool, Unique, Charming, Smooth, Outdoor, Masculine, Tough and Rugged, which can fill in the brand personality dimension as below.

Sincerity	Competence	Excitement	Sophisticated	Ruggedness
Down-to-earth Honest Friendly	Reliable Hard working Intelligent Technical Corporate Successful Leader	Spirited Cool Unique	Upper class Charming Smooth	Outdoorsy Masculine Tough Rugged

The above table shows that Putin's brand personality includes all five dimensions, which indicate that he has perfect brand personality. The diversity of Putin's brand personality affects the emotional sphere of electorate and access to several target groups, which led to his popularity. Moreover, from this table, it can be concluded that his two main dimensions are 'Competence' and 'Ruggedness.' Both dimensions are the key of his success as the great political leader, who has to play the role in the world's largest country like Russia.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Political Marketing Strategy of Vladimir Putin is a qualitative research aiming to study the background and personal information of Vladimir Putin, to analyze his political marketing strategy and to explore how he has used brand personality as a political marketing strategy to succeed in his political position.

To achieving these aims, the researcher uses Putin as the center of the study and combines the concept of political marketing (Marketing Mix) which focuses on 'product' to trace Putin's brand personality. The hypothesis is that Vladimir Putin used his brand personality as Political Marketing Strategy to contribute to the positive perception of Russian people and optimize the chance to maintain his popularity.

The result found that, Putin truly used his Brand Personality as product identity and quality, which consists of 19 root facets. These are Down-to-Earth, Honest, Friendly, Reliable, Hard working, Intelligent, Technical, Cooperative, Successful, Leadership, Spirited, Cool, Unique, Charming, Smooth, Outdoor, Masculine, Tough and Rugged.

The hypothesis of the research turns to be accurate. The result of the research shows that Vladimir Putin has used his brand personality as Political Marketing Strategy to create the positive perception of Russian people and to optimize the chance to maintain his popularity.

Hypothesis Proving

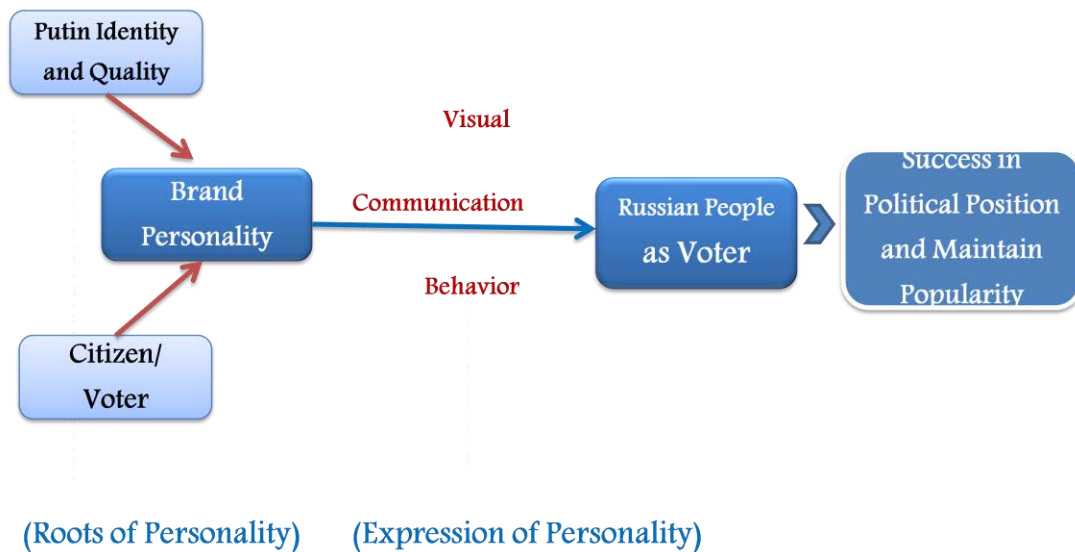


Figure 5 : Hypothesis Proving Diagram

Putin's success in political position can be pointed out from his long term serving in the Russian administration and his position is still dominant in the country, which makes him the most powerful politician in Russia. His popularity can be illustrated by the popularity rating, which increased from 31 percent in August 1999 to 84 percent in January 2000. In his eight years as president, his rating rose as high as 87 percent and never fell below 60 percent.

Putin's success in using of political marketing strategy can also be seen from the reflection of the public opinion about him as below.

'I don't know why I voted for him,' one middle-aged woman said. 'He's young. He's quiet. He works effectively.' Alexander, another voter said, 'Putin is the best of poor options... We don't know Putin. But there is no one else I can vote for.' 'His age give him contrast,' said Igor Ilyushin, Dean of the Faculty of Social Technology at the University of the Far East. 'We've known the others for years, on television, in the media,' said Natalya, aged thirty. 'But we don't see action from them. Putin has been

acting-president for a few months, but he's already proven he's worth our trust. He will change life for the better.' In St.Petersburg, seventy-three-year-old Nicolai Ivanov said He's young, he's a lawyer, he's smart, and he's not compromised. We are proud of him around here.' Mr. Ivanov admitted he don't know much about Putin. 'But I see him on TV. He's a good sportsman. Old Yelsin was sick. Putin will be better. I will definitely be voting for him. We just want some stability.' Victor Ivanovich gave other reasons for supporting Putin. 'He is like Stalin. He knows how to get the country into shape, and he will restore order. Putin is a strong man. Only he can help us,' said the fifty-five-year-old caretaker. 'After Yelsin, it's enough that he is young and energetic,' said Andrei, said Andrei, a building site foreman. 'I don't know what he plans to do with the country – we'll know that after the election. But he is the man we need.'

(Truscott, 2004: 146-148)

The aforementioned information, shows some voters' opinion about their decision to vote for Putin. Most of those voters expected Putin to win and the result was effective. Putin was elected on the first ballot, without the need for a second-round run-off against his opponent, which emphasizes the fact that it was a triumph of his Kremlin campaign team.

As mentioned above, the research has applied Marketing Mix, which consists of 4 elements: 'Product-Customer', 'Price-Cost'. 'Place-Convenience' and 'Promotion-Communication' and focuses only on 'Product-Customer' element, Putin as the center of this study can be seen as the 'Product.' There is no doubt that Putin is the product with high identity and quality. The researcher is interested in studying Putin's identity and qualities, therefore, Brand Personality Dimension is used. All of his 19 facets of brand personality can describe Putin's 'product quality' which can be divided into 5 main parts as follows.

Putin as the Product

1. Putin as a suitable product

After a long-term marathon pose as Russian President, Yelsin's popularity gradually declined. He decided to push someone, who got the look of the young generation and could be seen as a democratic and patriotic politician at the same time as

his successor. The preparation was set up on 19 August 1999, when Vladimir Putin was appointed as Russian Prime Minister and immediately became known informally successor to Boris Yeltsin. At that time, Putin was seen as a 'nobody' comparing with others candidates. Many media called him the "dark horse", the new man in politics, whom no one had previously known.

Thereafter, on September 1999 the 'nobody' motivated a love affair with the Russian population by becoming popular in the second Chechen War. Its militants presented Putin with his first major challenge and his first opportunity to prove his mettle. He decided to use a crucial military answer to this political challenge. He smartly took this crisis as an opportunity to attract Russian people. Soon after hostility began, the man who later became President surprised the country with the first speech that became known as "Putinism." He issued a threat to Chechen rebels using slangs usually heard only in Russia's notoriously tough prisons. "We will follow terrorists everywhere. Should we catch them in a shithouse, we will soak them in a shithouse."

This circumstance could be a disaster to his public image, but indeed, it only reinforced Putin's image as a man of the people. Overnight, the war made the Prime Minister a hero, a Savior of the Russian Nation and, of course, his rating was improving radically. His rating, which stood on estimations of sociologists, in early September 1999, was only 1%; in mid-September it rose to 4% and early in October, it reached 15%, etc.

On 31 December 1999, as a result of the resignation of Boris Yeltsin, Russian people were waiting for the "ideal leader", who were tough, confident, and clever, especially, the one who could bring back Russian dignity so there was no one suitable for this position than Vladimir Putin. Therefore, at the presidential election on March 2000, once again, like Yeltsin's election, Russian people voted for Putin by their "heart" not from their mind with a landslide victory in the first round. It is not possible to explain Putin's victory rational factors. As Alexander Oslon, the head of "public opinion" stated that " It will be a big mistake, if we use rational attempt to describe the attitude of the Russian voters who vote for Putin. In fact, the main component of attitude toward Putin is not rational, but it rather emotional and sensual." One reason for the success can be described among the Russian people that although they do not know what to expect, they believe in it. 'Well begun is half done' is the proper proverb that can be applied to explain this circumstance of Putin's victory.

2. Putin as a charismatic product

Putin's personality is also interesting and it is one main factor that supports his political success. He has got many different brand personalities, which affect the emotional sphere of the electorate and act on several target groups. The brand personality needs to suit the audience and some audiences are not easily impressed by the personality of raw physical power, determination and vigor. Therefore, sometime the brand personality is required to make the aspect of the raw power less threatening – and thus more attractive, which seems to work better with the mind and emotion.

Physically, unlike his predecessor, Putin looks so fit and attractive. He does not smoke and hardly drinks. In contrast, he actively plays many kinds of sports. Putin's image is always that of a healthy sportsman. Officially, in working as the leader of his country, Putin looks smart and reliable in the outfits that are neat and match with a necktie – blue, gray, or red in color. Putin's style is well seasoned and geometrically correct. However, he is not just a one-look politician in a suit or the 'shirt guy' all the time. Putin can be seen in a simple down jacket (taken in hot spots), in a tracksuit (when he is on a sporting event), and a jumper (when he spends time at the family or unofficial meeting.) Moreover, Putin's image which is presented via the media shows many activities and his abilities on several occasions. The diversity of Putin's image that is flexible, changeable and adaptable implies that he is able to handle different situations.

Putin's personality is regarded as rugged, daring, tough, and spirited. When he appears in front of the media, he always looks smart and dominates the ambience with his charisma. In contrast, he is also emotionally rich with his smooth facet, sometimes his image of a kind and sympathetic person can be seen. His diversity brand personality is adaptable to any situation at any target group in social class. Different parts of his personality are valid for different target audiences.

3. Putin as an understandable and accessible product

Putin is an influential politician who has always been an 'Idol' for many people. Perhaps, the reasons for the Putin political success is his simple background as well as his honorable and remarkable reputation which has been acquired over the years and it is difficult to change. His autobiography 'The First Person' (От первого лица) describes that although the former president of the Russian Federation did not come from a noble-class family, he could gain respect and become an influential politician by his ambition and

attempt. His root from the working class makes a close link between him and ordinary people. Most of Russian people feel that 'he as them' and with this sentiment, it is not difficult to fall in love with him.

Moreover, although he comes from an ordinary family, he has worked hard to gain his reputation by himself. His personal background is clean and, as a new politician, he is not blackened in the public eye. Although he has a close tie with Yelsin's "family", he has never been involved with corruption.

Putin's background makes him deserve long holding top positions in the lists of the elites. His character is good and advantageous. Putin is the first Russian leader since Lenin to speak foreign languages, having a good command of both German and English. The many times winner of the sambo championships of St.Petersburg, a black belt in judo, and a long record of effective work in intelligence services, Putin is clearly a man of considerable self-discipline.

Thereafter, in August 1999, Putin was appointed Prime Minister. He had already gained wide experience: had travelled extensively across the country as a member of his sports team; he had completed a full-time higher education degree from one of the country's best universities; he had worked for a decade as a security official; he had lived aboard for five years; he had become the second figure in the politics of Russia's second important city; he had successfully defended his doctoral dissertation; and as a senior member of the presidential administration in Moscow he was already familiar with the problems of the regions, the work of the government, the presidential apparatus and the security services. He was certainly far from being a 'nobody' as some suggested on his being appointed to the premiership. All of these suggest that Vladimir Putin is a real man, not only a man of words but a man of deeds.

4. Putin as a unique and strong product

Another factor that supports Putin's political success is his capability to restore Russia's national dignity, adopting neither an obsequiously subservient nor an impotently assertive attitude towards the West but one based on a measured understanding of Russia's real needs and capacity. It soon became clear to both domestic and foreign observers that Putin represented a new breed of Russian politicians, honest, intelligent and untainted by any demonstrable corruption. Putin clearly cared about Russia more than his personal interests. He quickly came to epitomize Russia, its sufferings and its aspirations and thus he became 'the President of Hope.'

5. Putin as a good quality and good publicity product

Another reason for his success is the support or back up from Kremlin, which has been prepared by TV and official media, using electoral slogan which is clear and simple and conducting the mystery of Putin's personal life as a selling point. Putin's image is perfectly constructed, created within expectations of the people and the predictions of experts on political communication. Putin was a masterpiece of Kremlin's PR-work. His characteristics were balanced and connected between the "right" and the "left" values and in his reign it was called 'democracy - a dictatorship of law.' (the essence of the right-left synthetic product under the name "Putin", made in Kremlin under the US license)

In addition, the slogan for Putin's political campaign is very simple. It was - a decent life. The slogan has not defined its position on specific issues in the economic, social and political spheres. It was a thoughtful account - a particular position would not be able to unite the majority of the population, for such a union is needed in pathetic winning rhetoric, which may optionally be put any content. Moreover, the mystery of Putin's personal life also became an advantage for him, a newcomer in political challenge as a selling point. As Putin was a ex-KGB, no one knows much about him. Putin himself did not reveal his personal information until he was elected. He then published his biography 'the First Person.' For Russian people, the mystery was not bad: it made Putin become a dark horse and created some attractive reasons for the image of the prime minister. The most important thing for his political success is that Putin's image was formed on the basis of natural qualities. Therefore, it will last long and will not deteriorate over time.

All of these factors concerning Political marketing strategy, as discussed above, are useful for Vladimir Putin to create the positive perception of Russian people and to maintain his popularity.

However, there are the same case of the politicians in other countries who also used Political marketing strategy for the success in their political position. In Thailand, the public image of Thaksin Shinawatra is related to political development and his political image is influenced by political newspapers and mass media. The new election law enshrined in the 1997 Constitution is the major factor and component of political marketing which Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra optimized to popularize his political party during his administration.

Interestingly, this research would like to remark that theoretically, marketing is a

good business tool because its purposes are to identify and satisfy consumers' demands. As the matter of fact, it relies heavily on all communication techniques to access and analyze prospective customers the best as it can.

Limitation

This research is a qualitative research and is presented in a descriptive manner. During the process of data collection, the researcher found that it was difficult to gather the information with lot of contents back to over 10 years and it was hard to find official information because of the confidentiality, for security reasons. Moreover, the process of the data is quite difficult. Due to time limit, difficult to compile the contents and present them accurately for maker the reader understand the issues discussed by the scope of time that was limited.

Recommendation

In this research, the researcher has analysed Vladimir Putin's Political Marketing Strategy through the concept of Marketing Mix, however, with some modifications. The research has covered only one main part of Marketing Mix, that is 'product-consumer.' Hence, future researchers may fulfill the conceptual framework by using other marketing mix elements; price-cost, place-convenience and promotion-communication to give broader analysis of the subject matter.

REFERENCES

- Aaker, J. Journal of Marketing Research [Online]. 1997. Available from:
http://facultygsb.stanford.edu/aaker/PDF/Dimensions_of_Brand_Personality.pdf
 [2011, Feb]
- Anantakul Arpa. The use of mass media to create celebrity and make a name in political circles . Master's Thesis, Faculty of Communication Arts, Chulalongkorn University, 1999.
- Chuadnuch Wandee. The Relationship between Politic and Mass Media. Master's Thesis, Faculty of Communication Arts, Ramkhamheng University, 2006.
- Diukarev, R. and Sekretarev, N. Soviet Collapse Ushers in the Dawn of Public Relations [Online]. 2010. Available from:
<http://marketing-monthly.com/0/224/8> [2011, July]
- Dorresteijn, T. Creating a brand personality [Online]. 2007. Available from:
<http://visual-branding.com/eight-outlines/creating-a-brand-personality/>
 [2011, Feb]
- Feifer, G. Tough-Talking Putin Craft His Image Way [Online]. 2008. Available from:
<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=90083829> [2011, March]
- Huong Thi Le Nguyen. The Image of Thaksin Shinawatra in the Bangkok Post and the Nation. Master's thesis, Southeast Asia Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 2004.
- Jampasri Toungpom. The Image of Thaksin Shinawatra in Thai Newspapers. Master's Thesis, Faculty of Communication Arts, Graduated School, Chulalongkorn University, 2006.

Kotler, P. Marketing Management. Edition 11. United State: Prentice Hall, 1969.

Kotler, P. and Levy, J. Broadening the Concept of Marketing : Journal of Marketing. 1969.

Lees-Marshment J. Political Marketing: Principles and Applications. New York, Taylor and Francis Group, 2009.

Lipman, M. Russian Media Criticism of Vladimir Putin: Evidence and Significance [Online]. 2004. Available from : <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/events/?fa=eventDetail&id=745> [2010, June]

Netinant Patamaporn., Brand Communication Process of the Thai Political Party. Doctoral dissertation, Faculty of Journalism and Mass Communication, Thammasat University, 2009.

Newman, B. The Marketing of the President: Political Marketing as Campaign Strategy. London: Sage Publication, 1994.

O'Shaughnessy, N. and Henneberg, S. Idea of Political Marketing. United State: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002.

Palmer, A. Introduction to marketing: theory and practice. Edition2. Oxford University Press, 2009.

Parfitt, T. Russia's women fall for Putin's sobriety [Online]. 2004. Available from. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/russia/1456830/Russias> [2011, Aug]

Kirill Pankratov. Russia is no enemy of Internet [Online]. 2009. Available from. <http://www.themoscowtimes.com/opinion/article/russia-is-no-enemy-of-the-Internet/376027.html> [2010, Aug]

- Rainsford, S. Putin is Russia's new pop idol [Online]. 2002. Available from:
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/2212885.stm> [2011, Aug]
- Sakwa, R. Putin Russia's Choice. London, Routledge, 2004.
- Schultz, D., Tannenbaum, S. and Lauterborn, R. The New Marketing Paradigm. Integrated Marketing Communications . Edition1. McGraw Hill, 1996.
- Slavskaya, G. Vladimir Putin and Luydmila Putina. Moscow: algorithm, 2002.
- Stuermer, M. Putin and the rise of Russia. London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2008.
- Suwanpasit Charinee. Mass Media and Influences in Today's Society. Bachelor's Thesis, Faculty of Communication Arts, Khonkaen University, 1999.
- Tantisuntharodom Apiradee. Image building through personality identification of Mr.Abhisit Vejjajiva via Hi5. Master's Thesis, Department of Public Relation, Faculty of Communication Arts, Chulalongkorn University, 2008.
- Truscott, P. Putin's Progress: A biography of Russia's enigmatic President, Vladimir Putin. London, Africa House, 2004.
- Thanaphonpan Rangsan. Political Marketing [Online]. 2010. Available from:
http://www.nidambe11.net/ekonomiz/2010q4/2010_December29p2.html
[2011, April]
- Unknown author. What is Marketing [Online]. 2011. Available from:
<http://marketingteacher.com/lesson-store/lesson-what-is-marketing.html>
[2011, April]
- Unknown author. 26 March 2000 Russian presidential election results [Online].

2000. Available from.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russian_presidential_election,_2000
[2011, June]

Unknown author. 14 March 2004 Russian presidential election results [Online].

2004. Available from.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russian_presidential_election,_2004
[2011, June]

Wikipedia. Marketing Mix [Online]. 2011. Available from.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marketing_mix [2011, April]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Boonmanat Witsanu, Political Marketing Strategy: (un)confidential weapon of political party. Bangkok: Suan Dusit Rajabhat University, 2005.
- Butler P. and Collins N. A conceptual framework for political marketing. Cite in Newman, B. Handbook of political marketing. California, Sage Publications, 1997.
- Bussy, R. Marketing the Populist Politician: The Demotic Democrat. New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Chadaev, A. His Ideology. Moscow: Europa, 2006.
- Chanrueng Chumnan. Political Marketing [Online]. 2010. Available from http://www.nidambe11.net/ekonomiz/2010q4/2010_December29p2.htm [2011, Jan]
- Hernandez, J. Who rules Russia today: an analysis of Vladimir Putin and Political project. France: UNISCI, 2003.
- Kaputa, C. U R Brand. England: Davies-Black Publishing, 2007.
- Kavanagh, D. Election campaigning: the new marketing of politics. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1995.
- Kavanagh, D. New campaign communications: consequences for political parties. Harvard International Journal of Press and Politics, 1996.
- Koctin, A. Loop of Putin. Moscow, Algorithm, 2010.
- Kotler P. and Kotler N. Political marketing: generating effective candidates, campaigns, and causes. Cite in Newman, B. Handbook of political

marketing. California, Sage Publications, 1999.

Lees-Marshment J. The product, sales and market-oriented party: how Labour learnt to market the product, not just the presentation. *European Journal of Marketing*, 2001a.

Lees-Marshment J. The marriage of politics and marketing. *Political Studies*, 2001b.

Lock A. and Harris P. Political marketing – vive la difference. *European Journal of Marketing*, 1996.

Louw, E. The Media and Political Process. London, Sage Publication, 2005.

Maarek, P.J. Political Marketing and Communication. London, John Libbey and Company, 1995.

Medvedev, R. Vladimir Putin: Biography. Moscow: Young Guard, 2008.

Medvedev, R. Vladimir Putin: To be continued. Moscow: Time, 2010.

Newman, B. Handbook of political marketing. California, Sage Publications, 1999.

O' Cass A. Political marketing and the marketing concept. *European Journal of Marketing*, 1996.

O' Shaughnessy, N. Political marketing and political propaganda. Cite in Newman, B. Handbook of political marketing. California, Sage Publications, 1997.

O' Shaughnessy N. The marketing of political marketing. *European Journal of Marketing*, 2001.

Pravda A. Leading Russia: Putin in Perspective. New York, Oxford University Press,

2005.

Rathanasit Prathana. Obamarketing. Bangkok, BangkokBizbook, 2008.

Scammell, M. Designer politics: how elections are won. Basingstoke, Macmillan Press, 1995. (Scammell, 1995)

Scammell, M. Political marketing: lessons from political science. Political Studies, 1999. (Scammell, 1999)

Schubert, J. Imaging the Putin Personality Cult. [Online]. 2009. Available from: <http://schubert.tn.mbs.ac.uk/uncategorized/imaging-the-putin-personality-cult>. [2011, June]

Shevtsova, L. Putin's Russia. Washington D.C., The Brookings Institute Press, 2002.

Siriwat Nichapa. Branding Thairakthai. Bangkok, Healthcare Publishing, 2003.

Treisman, D. Presidential Popularity in a Hybrid Regime: Russia under Yeltsin and Putin, Los Angeles: University of California, 2010.

Tiengtum Anuchit. Political Marketing [Online]. 2001. Available from: http://www.marketeer.co.th/inside_detail.php?inside_id=951who [2011, Jan]

Unknown author. Freedom of the press [Online]. 2002. Available from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Freedom_of_the_press_in_Russia [2010, Aug]

Wongmontha Seri. Politician Branding. Bangkok, Thanbook, 2008.

Wring, D. Political marketing and party development in Britain: a "secret" history. European Journal of Marketing, 1996.

Wring, D. Reconciling marketing with political science: theories of political marketing. Journal of Marketing Management, 1997.

BIOGRAPHY

Miss Suphattra Boriboonchatuporn was born on 30th April 1988 in Saraburi, Thailand. She received a B.A. (Second Class Honors) in Russian Studies from the Faculty of Liberal Arts, Thammasat University in 2010. After that, she furthered her studies for an M.A. in Russian Studies (Interdisciplinary Program) at the Graduate School, Chulalongkorn University. The researcher is interested in Social Science mostly on human behavior and characteristic.