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### СУЧАСНИЙ ІНСТРУМЕНТАРІЙ ПОЛІТИЧНОГО МАНІПУЛЮВАННЯ

*У статті доведено, що політичне маніпулювання є однією з умов стабільного існування політичних режимів та дозволяє контролювати особистість і її свідомість. Інструментарій та засоби політичного маніпулювання постійно розвиваються і вдосконалюються, адже вони допомагають політичним режимам стабільно функціонувати. Політичне маніпулювання зазвичай виступає спланованим і організованим, може нести в собі потенційні ризики для розвитку суспільства в цілому. Політичні маніпулятори активно залучають ЗМІ, які ефективно поширюють необхідну інформацію і мають найбільший вплив на суспільну свідомість. Особливості політичного маніпулювання як специфічної форми політичного впливу, полягають у створенні додаткових психологічних важелів ефективної дії у процесі боротьби за владу. Політичні маніпулятори через різні технології політичного маніпулювання приховано коригують масову свідомість; включають у неї штучні стимули (мотивації) дії; спрямовують суспільні настрої та громадську активність у потрібному для них руслі.*

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*Досліджені діючі у суспільстві прояви політичного маніпулювання: вплив на громадську думку; дискредитація органів державної влади; політична реклама. Для досягнення успіху у політичній боротьбі маніпулятору необхідна підтримка суспільства, яка гарантується шляхом дії механізмів впливу на громадську думку. Автор виділяє й аналізує наступні механізми інструментарію політичного маніпулювання: мовну сугестію (мовний вплив), нейролінгвістичне програмування та «чорний» піар.*

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**Ключові слова:** інформаційне суспільство, суспільна свідомість, політичне маніпулювання, технології політичного маніпулювання.

### Modern Tools of Political Manipulation

236 — *The article proves that political manipulation is one of the conditions for the stable existence of political regimes and allows to control people and their consciousness. Tools and means of political manipulation are being continuously developed and improved, because they help political regimes function stably. Political manipulation is usually planned and organized, and can carry potential risks for the development of society as a whole. Political manipulators actively attract the media, which effectively distribute needed information and have the fullest impact on social consciousness. Peculiarities of political manipulation as a specific form of political influence, involve creating additional psychological levers of effective action in the process of the struggle for power. Political manipulators, with the help of various technologies of political manipulation, latently correct mass consciousness; include artificial stimulus (motivations) for action; redirect public moods and social activity in the direction they need.*

*The author studies the current manifestations of political manipulation in the society: influence on public opinion; state authorities discredit; political advertising. To achieve success in the political struggle, the manipulator needs the support of society, which is guaranteed by the actions of mechanisms to influence public opinion. The author identifies and analyzes the following mechanisms of the means of political manipulation: language suggestion (speech influence), neuro-linguistic programming, and negative campaigning.*

**Keywords:** *information society, social consciousness, political manipulation, technologies of political manipulation.*

**Problem statement.** The formation of information civilization is characterized by an increasing role of social consciousness in all spheres of life. High technologies that embody the strength and power of the human intellect become a deciding factor in social representation in the material and spiritual spheres. The development of the information society is impossible without effective interaction of information flows, mass communication and public consciousness. At the same time, public consciousness is formed and modeled by many factors, among which the most influential institution is currently the media. Their role in shaping public conscious-

ness is achieved by the speed of information, accessibility, wide audience coverage, diversity (media provide different information), social orientation (demonstration of opinions and interests of large social groups), etc. (Efteni, 2015, 235). The impact of printing on individual and public consciousness has been discussed since the invention of the printing press by Johannes Gutenberg in 1450. History proves that «at first only the ruling elite of society was aware of the potential social impact of the printed word. Some state leaders, fearing the consequences of literacy and accessibility of printed materials, and the influence of the media, sought to control the press in order to deprive the opposition of the right to vote» (Bryant D., Thompson S., 2004, 41). A similar fear of media influence still exists in many totalitarian societies, where leaders seek to control media activities in order to preserve their power.

**Analysis of recent research and publications.** The problem of political manipulation in Ukraine is analyzed mainly in the media in the context of election races (G. Pocheptsov, V. Bebyk, L. Kochubey, A. Kolesnikov). Among the latest scientific research on manipulative issues, the work of V. Petrik and V. Ostroukhovdeserves a special attention. They identified specific forms of manipulation of consciousness in the religious sphere, and as a result – influence on the political sphere of the state. Such scientists as G. Tard, S. Freud, C. G. Jung, and G. Le Bon studied the psychology of a mass audience and the issues of influencing its consciousness. According to the theory of G. Le Bon, a conscious individual disappears in a crowd, while the feelings and ideas of the other individuals, who unite into integral whole, take the same direction. The study of the phenomenon of «manipulation» is also found in works of other foreign scholars G. Franke, E. Hoffman, J. Habermas.

**Presentation of the main material.** A paradoxical phenomenon of modern time – political manipulation – is a powerful tool of a hidden influence on the human psyche and the behavior of the masses, and is actively used in the struggle for power, in attempts to keep it (Boiko, 2010). In a state of peace and in a state of war – it is a reliable and effective means of achieving your goals in any confrontation. This may concern information manipulation of the consciousness of both the masses and individuals (through political interest, economic machinations, etc.). The root of the word «manipulation» comes from the Latin word «manus» –which means «hand». In dictionaries of European languages, the word is interpreted as an action aimed at objects with certain intentions, goals (manual control,

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examination of a patient by a doctor using hands). Such actions require skill and dexterity, which is inherent in the modern figurative meaning of the word – dexterous handling of people – just like objects or things (Semnenchenko, 2014).

Political manipulation was widely used in the management of subjects or citizens during the development of civilization. Political manipulation is distinguished by the political goal and consequences that arise in society when it is applied. The technology of political manipulation, according to V. Amelin, is carried out by introducing an unreal, but desired for certain groups, content into the consciousness, under the guise of objective information, and by influencing painful points of public consciousness that cause fear, anxiety, and hatred; by implementation of certain hidden goals, the achievement of which are associated by the communicant with the support of public opinion for its position (Amelin, 2009, 74).

238 — Political manipulation is used primarily for the purpose of acquiring power, its implementation and maintaining. The goal of any manipulator or group of manipulators is to bring another person or group of people under their own will. This is nothing but speculation on human emotions and feelings. Hence, the religious wars, deep national skirmishes and conflicts, fanaticism, extremism, terrorism, and other phenomena that are based primarily on the invasion into the deep feelings of not only individuals, but also other peoples and nations. Everything is used here: expressive language of gestures (M. Gorbachev); individual characteristic habits (W. Churchill's cigar, J. Stalin's pipe); eloquent rhetoric that comes close to acting (F. Castro), and so on. But the strongest and the most effective political manipulation is carried out through the media – press, radio, television, advertising and other information means (Tarasov, 2013, 70).

There are two types of political manipulation: interpersonal and mass manipulation. Both have a specific goal and technologies that help them achieve their goals. For interpersonal political manipulation it is important to know the personality type because the influence on a person is based on it, and to manipulate a group of people, a big one in particular, one needs to know its general characteristics and vulnerabilities to perfection (Gavrilov, 2012, 154).

There are quite a few manipulators known from history – psychologically strong or extraordinary individuals who skillfully influenced not only individuals, but also large groups of people thanks to their personal qualities, skillfully used technologies for processing public opinion in their

own interests. Napoleon Bonaparte, A. Hitler, J. Stalin, N. Gorbachev, and dozens of other politicians perfectly mastered the technology of forming public opinion through their own traits, qualities, abilities, skills, and with the help of various media.

Manipulation as a specific form of political influence performs several functions: informational: obtaining, passionate interpretation, biased commenting and retranslation of information about the most important events to citizens and authorities; acquiring (strengthening) the influence: stimulating changes in the motives and attitudes of the communication partner in order to transform his behavior and actions; establishing control over consciousness: fixing the necessary stereotypes, images and myths in the social consciousness, which will turn on the action of mechanisms of mental automatism at the right time; regulation: directing the behavior and actions of the object of political manipulation into the desired by the manipulator course, distracting the victims from the reliable information and shifting their perception to believe the falsified information; provocative: inspiring a conflict with a partner in political communication or in the camp of the opponents at the right moment; camouflage: disguising true intentions with the help of silence, concealment, distortion of information, which is needed by the partner in political communication to make the right decisions; defensive: use of manipulative means and actions during a frontal attack of the enemy in a situation of shortage of psychological and other resources; adaptive: adjustment of the manipulative strategy and tactics in a specific situation and the specifics of the partner in political communication; mobilization function: forming a complex of urges (information, motivational, emotional, etc.) that provide the necessary action or inaction to the object of manipulation (Boyko, 2010).

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Therefore, political manipulation is the hidden management of people's political consciousness and behavior in order to realize one's own interests. It is used at the interpersonal and mass levels. This type of manipulation performs many functions and is primarily intended to achieve certain goals by the means of persuasion, deception, and by suppressing the truth or distorting the content of reality.

In politics, situational manipulation is widely known, which allows you to act more discreetly. In this case, influence is carried out through other people, circumstances, and has a long-term and deep influence on the mind, subconscious, and behavior of a person. V. P. Pugachev defines this situation as «a system of relations or circumstances where the subject

is placed» (Pugachev, 2005, 93). Of great importance is the nature of a person's perception of the situation, based on the presence of certain values, beliefs, attitudes and the way they are received. Manipulators act, on the one hand, openly, often under the guise of slogans about the common good, but in most cases there is a hidden mechanism, goal, idea in their actions that the environment does not notice.

Political manipulation has a lot in common with the demagogy as a form of deliberate fooling the masses, speculating on the real difficulties and problems, needs and expectations of citizens. Among the arsenal of a political demagogue, such means as distortion of reality, populism, falsification of facts, making irresponsible statements, promises, hypocritical oaths, identifying the culprits, enemies, the fight against which allegedly will improve the existing situation, are common. (Kohan, 2013, 182). That is, such a person can be described as self-interested, dishonest, seeking ventures. This method is usually most common in society in the times of social and economic instability.

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— Myths are spreading in Ukraine's political processes. Myth – is a story as a symbolic reflection of certain events that existed among certain peoples at a certain time, at the beginning of their history. In addition, there is a certain mythologization of well-known concepts, so that the phenomena that lie at their basis, are perceived as undeveloped and unknown, and thus should be presented as believed and approved by the people. For example, the state, the people, the government, etc. People believe in political myths, because it allows us to understand the unknown or distant past (Kohan, 2013, 183). They are used to mobilize a significant number of people for certain actions, for example, to support unpopular political decisions of political figures and even anti-popular political regimes (Kolotilo, 2017).

The main types of political myths are – the main or the leading ones; according to the structure – «we and they»; heroic; pseudo-myths (Kuhta, 1998). The main ones form the collective consciousness. These include myths about individual nations (such as about the great advantages of the American nation), states, political systems, regimes, and forms of government. «We and they» myths are created and used solely for the purpose of separating certain structures and contrasting them (political parties, public associations, pressure groups during elections, referendums, and public opinion polls in order to present themselves in a winning way). Heroic myths are associated primarily with specific people – political figures, statesmen, leaders, outstanding individuals who are demonstrated to the

public as role models. Pseudo-myths are modern, temporary, short-lived myths (during elections, many politicians spread the idea that «only they can lead the country out of the crisis», «end the speculation, corruption and shadow economy», «solve the problem of unemployment»), and the like. E. Cassirer emphasizes: «if a modern person no longer believes in natural magic, then he or she, no doubt, professes some sort of «social magic» (Cassirer, 1990, 62).

Myth, as one of the important techniques in the entire manipulation technology, cannot create a manipulative effect by itself. Distorted information, affecting human behavior, does not significantly affect the spirit, intentions and attitudes. There are many techniques and principles that should be followed in order for the information to reach its goal. The manipulation process goes through seven phases: the formation of interest of the potential object of manipulating in the actions, words of the manipulator; manipulator gaining the trust of the object of manipulative action; interest in intrigue (the opportunity to win, learn, get); distraction maneuver (switching the attention of the manipulated object to a minor detail; reporting sensational news that does not concern the case); substitution, concealment (words, actions); stating a false result; hidden/explicit prompting of the object of manipulation to action, words, behavior, actions needed by the manipulator (Cassirer, 1990, 60).

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Scientists identify the main principles of political manipulation.

1. The principle of consistency. Experience shows that most people try to be consistent in their words, thoughts, and actions. The subconscious desire for consistency, on the one hand, is a form of protection of the brain from overloads, on the other – a fertile ground for political manipulation, because sequence as a form of behavior is based on stereotyped actions, which excludes the phase of critical analysis and understanding of information.

2. The principle of mutual exchange. This is one of the fundamental grounds of communication, when people seek to adequately thank other people for what they did for them (a provided service, money, information). Politics is also based on the exchange of mutual services, votes, and loans.

3. The principle of social proof. A person by nature is prone to imitation, which helps us quickly learn new technologies, forms of organization, avoid conflicts and maintain stability in society («I do as everyone else does»). That is why when deciding how to act and behave in a certain

situation, people focus primarily on the behavior patterns of their peers in similar situations. An example of applying this principle can be surveys, ratings, which are widely replicated by the media.

4. The principle of favor. Professional manipulators understand that one of the key bases for effective influence on ordinary citizens is their perception of a person who tries to convince them of something, as attractive or, at least, familiar. This principle has the following forms of implementation: physical attractiveness; similarity to the object of manipulation. A politician who portrays a «man of the people» often wins over a politician who demonstrates belonging to a refined elite. The electorate will trust «their guy» more.

5. The principle of authority. Society cannot exist without leaders – authoritative individuals, who are able to adequately analyze the situation, make optimal decisions and achieve success while leading people. In a broad sense, authority is the generally accepted influence of a person or organization on a person's beliefs and behavior in different areas of society, based on that person's knowledge, moral qualities, social status, experience, or myths.

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6. The principle of deficit. The point of this principle is that people appreciate what they lack the most. This principle is very popular because it is often implemented for the benefit of such methods of achieving compliance, such as the tactics of limiting the number or the tactics of setting a deadline. When a person lacks something, he or she loses some part of the freedom and reacts, of course, with the desire to have it (Litvinenko, 2013, 441).

Political manipulation is based on the principles of consistency, mutual exchange, social proof, favor, authority, and deficit. Which means that they are logically designed; focused on feedback from the object of influence; aimed at creating more support in the masses, encouraging the people to act «like everyone else»; based on building an attractive authority that becomes a role model and leader; aimed at raising painful questions and playing on what is missing for an ideal life. Political myths that function in the political life of modern Ukrainian society, on the one hand, perform a therapeutic function to restore the disturbed picture of the world. Thanks to them, a new national identity is formed, adequate to the new historical situation, and on the other hand, they perform specific tasks for manipulating human consciousness.



Verbal slogans become the main component of any election campaign. These slogans must meet two types of requirements: on the one hand, they must be based on the symbolism of the party, on the other – to reflect the main problems that were significant for the population at that time. From this point of view, we can highly appreciate the slogans of the Bolsheviks in 1917. The topical issues that were solved in Europe back in the XIX, even XVIII centuries – and in Ukraine they formed a painful clot. The unsolved problems were presented to the public, and the Bolsheviks – to their credit – were better at listening to them than the others. In short and clear slogans («Land to the peasants!»; «Peace to the peoples!»; «Factories – to the workers!»), they were able to formulate the urgent needs of the people and use them to seize power.

The rapid development of the information society makes it possible to use a large number of mechanisms and methods of influencing public opinion, which are used not only for positive but also for negative purposes, to distract people's attention from the main events and make people believe in what they do not need. The conducted analysis of sources helped identify such manifestations of political manipulation as: 1) influence on public opinion; 2) discrediting public authorities; 3) political advertising. To achieve success in the political struggle, the support of society is necessary. It can be guaranteed by using mechanisms of influence on public opinion, such as language suggestion (language influence), neuro-linguistic programming, and «negative campaigning» (Polishchuk, Gnatiuk, and Seylova, 2015, 303).

The problem of language suggestion in the political activities has an interdisciplinary character and arises at the intersection of linguistics, psychology, and public relations (PR). Language suggestion is the influence of one person on another by the means of correct selection of words, which can occur either unnoticed or with the knowledge of the person or group of people that are being manipulated. It has found a wide application in politics, and its object can be either one certain individual or a group of people or a certain social stratum. As examples of using language suggestion we can look at the speeches of politicians, interpretations of news in various sources that direct public opinion in the right direction (Prysiashniuk, Shymchuk, 2015, 105-106). For example, in the inauguration speech of the President of Ukraine V. Zelenskyhe accumulated topical issues that the people seek to solve: «After my victory in the elections, my six-year-old son said: «Dad! They say on TV that «Zelensky is the President». Does it

mean that I am also a President?!». Back then it sounded like a joke, but later I realized that this is actually the truth. Because each and every of us is a President. Not the 73 percent who voted for me, but all 100 percent of Ukrainians. This is not my victory, this is our common victory. And this is our common chance. For which we are jointly responsible. And just now – I was not the only one taking the oath. Each of us put our hand on the Constitution and each of us swore allegiance to Ukraine. Imagine the headlines: «The President does not pay taxes,» «The President ran a red light drunk», «The President steals on the sly because «everyone does it». Do you agree that this is a disgrace? That is what I mean when I say that each of us is a President. Starting from today, each of us is responsible for the country that we will leave to our children. Each of us, on our places, will be able to do everything for the flourishing of Ukraine» (Inauguration speech, 2019). Here, the belief is directed to one's own critical perception of reality (a moral and semantic filter), while the suggestion, on the contrary, is directed to subjects who perceive information uncritically.

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— Another example – the words of Theresa May on Brexit: «I want us to be a truly Global Britain – the best friend and neighbor to our European partners, but a country that reaches beyond the borders of Europe too. We are a European country and are proud of our common European heritage. But we have always been a country that looks beyond Europe» (What's after Brexit, 2017). We believe that due to deliberately distorted, selectively incomplete information and purposeful misinformation, T. Mei influences not only people's decision and their behavior, but also the elements of the filter (the system of spiritual and moral values, interests and needs, religious and philosophical views, etc.), correcting them in the desired direction.

The next mechanism that is often used is neuro-linguistic programming (NLP) – an effective tool designed to correct the thinking, behavior, emotions, and perception of a person, group, or masses, which is now widely used not only in politics and information confrontations, but also in advertising, media, and other sources of information. The purpose of using NLP in the political sphere is to try to use psychotechnologies to penetrate the subconscious and, by changing or transforming thoughts, views, and ideals, to determine the behavior of an individual, group, or masses that would contribute to the conquering, using, and maintaining the power as much as possible (Pocheptsov, 2008).

The purpose of the manipulator is not to impose a certain opinion onto the object of influence, but to artificially create an information context that would stimulate the «completely independent» formation of the necessary opinions and conclusions. The stability and long-term effect from using NLP in the political process comes due to the fact that the objects of influence consider the inspired thoughts to be their own.

The use of neuro-linguistic programming in the political sphere has certain features of using almost the entire spectrum of potential objects of influence; extreme secrecy (stealth); simplification (coarsening) of basic NLP calibration processes, etc.; systematic violation of the key principle of neuro-linguistic programming – «ecology»; a high level of cynicism of initiators of the NLP technologies use; dependence of the frequency and intensity of the NLP technologies use on the level of political confrontation; the lack of an adequate assessment of the facts of using NLP techniques and methods in the political struggle by the society (Pocheptsov, 2017).

For the first time in the post-Soviet space, neuro-linguistic programming technologies in the political sphere were used in the Russian Federation. In the election campaign of B. Yeltsin, one of the pioneers of Russian neuro-linguistic programming, O. Sitnikov, put the slogan «Vote – or lose» forward, which was based on two methods of NLP (pseudo-choice and artificial restriction of choice), which ensured the victory. Neuro-linguistic programming technologies are now mandatory manipulative tools for every election campaign in every country (Davis, 2015). The success of NLP is based on the use of the phenomenon of «interaction of three» (consciousness-subconscious-reality). Through these methods, the spiritual values of society are «melted down». Language suggestion and NLP are very closely related and are based on the correct selection of information. Language suggestion is more of a means (correctly chosen language phrases to focus attention on a particular issue), and NLP is a form, structure, or framework for presenting information.

Negative campaigning is another mechanism. It can be understood from the name that these are actions aimed to tar and defame the name of another person in the eye of the public. It is quite difficult to fight it, so the century-old history of Western PR allows solving such issues in court (Kolotylo, Zubrytska). Deliberately distorted, false information with the goal to tar an opponent is also a negative campaigning that is used when there are not enough real arguments. Negative campaigning is designed for those who are uncertain. Its effectiveness depends on the strength of the

suggestive influence and the size of this group. Modern science does not classify negative campaigning as a separate type of public relations, but the idea that the term was introduced and actively used by journalists makes sense. K. V. Kirichenko explains this phenomenon as follows: «Negative campaigning is the use of «black technologies» in order to tar and discredit the image of a competing party or group. It provides for the distribution of offensive or economically dangerous statements and compromising material on behalf of the opposing organization. The phrase is formed by analogy with the expression «black propaganda» (Kirichenko, 2016).

**Conclusions.** Political manipulation occupies an extremely important place in the life of society. It is difficult to determine where the truth lies, because everyone who has the power and authority, seeks to convince others of their rightness and the more supporters they have, the greater is the influence on the minds of others. Political manipulation is a way for a manipulator to achieve goals with a clear strategy and a set of principles. This ensures their effectiveness. The manipulator uses such means: distortion of realities, populism, falsification of facts, irresponsible statements, promises, hypocritical oaths, identification of the guilty, enemies, the fight against which allegedly will improve the current situation.

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Modern technologies make it easier to manipulate other people, because not only oratory and persuasion play a role, but also stimulating to actions that are beneficial to the party that manipulates. Creating a radically new human consciousness and vision of the world, which became possible with the use of means of language suggestion (correct selection of words), neuro-linguistic programming (NLP) (designed to correct the thinking, behavior, emotions, perception of a person, group or masses) and «negative campaigning» (actions aimed at defaming the name of another person in the eye of the public). This makes it easier to discredit public authorities and create political advertising. Which means, nowadays we have everything to achieve the goal and gain favor, and it does not require too much effort and time.

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