
Manipulative techniques in political election campaign advertising: experience of Ukraine

Маніпулятивні прийоми у політичній передвиборчій рекламі: досвід України

Манипулятивные приемы в политической предвыборной рекламе: опыт Украины

Techniki manipulatywne w przedwyborczej reklamie politycznej: doświadczenie Ukrainy

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Abstract

The article embraces the scope of the techniques used in manipulation of public opinion by candidates in the election process of Ukraine during the period of 2004-2012. The main focus is on the political election campaign advertising, revealing its meaning as communicative activity and as a process that mostly always is accompanied by the use of manipulative techniques. Based on the author's analysis of election campaigns and works of Ukrainian scholars, there were also determined manipulative methods and techniques that were most actively used during the last election cycles.

Резюме

У статті розкрито особливості використання прийомів маніпуляції суспільною свідо-містю суб’єктами виборчих процесів в Україні у 2004-2012 рр. Основна увага зосереджено на політичній передвиборчій рекламі; розкривається її зміст як комунікативної діяльності та процесу, який фактично завжди супроводжується використанням маніпулятивних технологій. На основі авторського аналізу виборчих кампаній та праць українських вчених, визначено маніпулятивні методики та прийоми, які найактивніше використовувалися під час останніх виборчих циклів.

Резюме

В статье раскрыты особенности использования приемов манипуляции общественным сознанием субъектами избирательных процессов в Украине в 2004-2012 гг. Основное внимание сосредоточено на политической предвыборной рекламе; раскрывается ее содержание как коммуникативной деятельности и процесса, который фактически всегда сопровождается использованием манипулятивных технологий. На основе авторского анализа избирательных кампаний и трудов украинских ученых, определены манипулятивные методики и приемы, которые активно использовались во время последних избирательных циклов.

Manipulation of consciousness of citizens consonant, usually with undemocratic regimes and appears often in the form of propaganda. However, even in democratic countries
Manipulative political technologies are also often used as a management tool of social processes and preferences. Especially - during election campaigns. Targeted capture the mood of the electorate with diverse linguistic, visual and sound techniques become commonplace of modern political communication practices in absolutely all political systems.\(^1\)

Several studies show that 40 to 75% of the adult population is exposed to "products" (suggestion) prepared by spin doctors. This indicates an extremely high efficiency technologies of information manipulation. Researcher M. Prisyazhnyuk reasonably believes that we can talk even about the actual "seizure of power" political parties in democratic countries through legitimate electoral manipulation\(^2\).

Criticism of democratic elections, as far imperfec\(^2\)t mechanism for recruiting elite for over a hundred years is justified by many thinkers.

Because artificially produced and delivered to the public "advertising wrapper" voter is often difficult to determine the true professional and moral quality candidates, their political positions to determine whether a preferences on the program of a political party.

Thus, manipulative activities with political advertising makes a conscious choice of citizens with a balanced solution is far from a deep understanding of the act, pre-programmed spin doctors and advertisers.\(^3\)

Particularly relevant is the problem for transitional societies (which include Ukraine) with no tradition of democratic elections and remains undergoing or paternalistic political culture.

Thus, the survey conducted by the Institute of Sociology of NAS of Ukraine in the 1994-2005 biennium, suggest that much of the public is convinced that politicians are more concerned about personal interests than about solving social problems. And this state of affairs has seen the public for granted, as something that can not be changed. Consequently, a very small number of people paying attention to the programs of political forces is also a short political memory Ukrainian. This means that activities aimed at manipulation of citizens is a tool in the hands of politicians that could lead them to power is, in essence, "a must" for use in total technologizing elections.

At the same time, we must realize that in whatever sphere of public life was not applied manipulation, its true purpose and, moreover, techniques remain invisible to society and man as an object of manipulation depreciates and becomes a part of the "gray mass" is not capable to think critically and make informed decisions.

Consequently, an important place in research technologies to the problem of political protection and neutralization of negative manipulative influences. Finding mechanisms to counteract the political manipulators is the main objective of researchers in the application of such technologies. (Although they will always have a place and obviously we can talk only about the scale). So, first of all investigated should the status quo and the processes associated with manipulation. Only a thorough knowledge of the mechanisms of working out an problem will solve it. Therefore, this article shows the results of analysis of political advertising during election campaigns in Ukraine and identified the most common manipulative techniques that have taken place and prove its effectiveness.

Initially, we will examine the concept of "political advertising" as a communicative activity and process, which is often accompanied by the use of manipulative techniques. In the future, will be the essence of the past and specific use in election campaigns. In the third part of the article contains material which, based on the experience gained from election campaigns in Ukraine highlights the manipulative techniques that have been and are most often used in election processes.

Political advertising not only during election campaigns, but in between them. It serves as a means of recruiting supporters of a particular party, informing the masses of ideas and principles as new parties and "old" members of the political process, encourages participation in various activities and more. However, in this particular article we will focus only on election advertisements.

Latter can be defined as a form of political communication in election campaigns, targeted impact on electoral group to report in an accessible, emotional, concise, lehkozapam'yatovuyuchiy form the essence of the political platform specific political forces, configure them to support, create and implement a mass consciousness some idea of their nature, to create the desired psychological setting, which determines the orientation of feelings, sympathies, and human actions.

Means of communication through which advertising messages reaching the audience, to otherwise referred to as distribution channels advertising information. And it's not just the press, radio and television, but also mail, print, outdoor communication, sending messages on the subject of advertising through other media (cars that are moving city, souvenirs, multimedia devices, etc..)

As a means of advertising, the are certain techniques, methods of work. Among them are verbal, graphic and sound tools. When advertising media also realize formed somehow in line with the flow of information, with some ratio of these channels shhififikatyvnyh of the types of advertisements. In print advertising - this advertisement, flyer, poster, brochure, booklet, and in newspaper and magazine - ads, promotional article, in radio advertising - ads, advertising Radio plays, radio spot, in television commercials - ads, video clip, spot, video, in outdoor advertising - firewall, illuminated signs, slogan, banner, etc.

The main objective of political advertising is to lead and motivate behavior in a meaningful way to influence it. Moreover, advertising efforts should be made so that they were not labeled. To effectively solve this problem it is necessary: 1) to attract voters, 2) cause them concern, 3) change (or create) their attitudes toward political figure or party, 4) "push" them to vote.

Effectiveness of political advertising depends the choice of adequate socio-political, economic and demographic conditions of the methods of psychological influences, their systematic organization and algorithms, channels of mass communication and other ways of making information available to voters, and the development and application of a unique policy proposal (Villi), a complete system of psychological influences.

Domestic scholars have identified four levels of audience manipulation by advertising messages:

1. Information. Recipient acquainted with the information and gave her some arbitrary assessment. However, there is no reason stated that he remembered this information.
2. Information given emotion + (estimate). After reviewing the recipient agreed with a given emotional assessment and remember information.
3. Information given score + ready for action. Recipient familiar with the information agreed with a given emotional assessment (openly shares her), ready to transmit information and act in accordance with its instructions.
4. Unthinking willingness to act. Recipient familiar with the information it want to share it assessment, ready to broadcast information and defend it, sacrificing other potential benefits and offers. It ideas are dominant in nature. A similar effect on humans often violate social norms and leaves a person without freedom of choice.

Ukrainian researcher S. Burtak convinced that virtually all modern advertising messages aimed at the activities of the third and fourth levels. Communicator does not seek to force citizens consciously analyzing and trying to appeal to the unconscious man and react on an emotional level. This is due to the specific perception of the world a man who continuously receives signals from the external environment, but knowingly accepts and handles only 1/1000 the amount of information. The remaining or stored in the subconscious, or deleted as unnecessary.

Therefore that consciousness - is the level of rational thinking when one understands what is happening and can explain why. Subconscious - deeper than the level at which a person knows about what is happening, or at least realize that something is happening with her emotions, feelings and attitudes, but can not explain what it was. This level of prejudice, fear, emotional and instinctive reactions. Qualitative advertisements appealing to the unconscious, they are aimed at manipulating the fears and desires. However, the message appeals to the subconscious hidden, giving consciousness safe neutral information.

Any advertising, including political, human perceived visually, aurally, vision, or a combination thereof, as advertising can be divided into visual, auditory and audiovisual. It is believed that the five senses of human perception for advertising are the most important vision and hearing (visual and auditory channels), with visual perception is active character, so the most effective in advertising is to influence the audience through visual or visual communication channel. Also it is believed that, in order to increase the efficiency of influence in political advertising, it is advisable to carry out a parallel or separate impact through visual, auditory and kinesthetic channels audience considering three representative systems or world maps Rights (neurolinguistic programming approach).

It is actually about what form of communicating the message will be the dominant (text, image, sound, or their combination). Or, in other words, that means advertising will be used. We share the opinion of researchers that modern political advertising operates on images, not information. The emotions’ message is, the more it gets to an unconscious bodily memory. Therefore, most making are not the ones that are remembered, and the ones that remain. Therefore, the task of the advertising message is to motivate the decision within a few days, weeks or months after it was seen. Namely, emotionally colored information remains in memory for a long time, perhaps for a lifetime.

It is this, in our opinion, is the main task of manipulative techniques in political advertising is as emotionally satiate and affect the consciousness of citizens in support of its content. In this sense, the manipulation is a psychological influence on the other person that it is not always conscious, and to act in accordance with the purpose of a handle. This kind of psychological impact, perfect implementation which leads to hidden push another man to the intentions that do not coincide with the actual existing (rational) wishes.

Under the manipulation you can also understand programming the behavior of citizens in a given direction.

Scientist M. Prisyazhnyuk believes that the manipulation of public opinion can be seen as a comprehensive strategy of persuasion with the aim of imposing collective values and transform
the mentality of a certain group of people to support the power of the ruling elite, and more broadly for the reproduction of the status quo, what happened in the social structure.11.

Researcher A. Nagorny determined manipulation of public consciousness as one way to domination and suppression of the will of the people by a spiritual impact on them through the programming of their behavior. This influence on the mental structure of human beings, is secretly and puts his task of changing opinions, motives and goals of the people in the right direction to a specific group of people12.

Russian explorer I. Dzâlošins'kij identify two main signs of manipulation: asymmetry (along the lines of "subject-object") and secretive of this process. As well as what information action paddle aimed at human psyche and requires special, special knowledge. The scientist selects three levels of manipulation: the first – strengthening existing in the minds of the people of the manipulator of ideas, attitudes, motivations, values, norms. the second level is partial, minor changes of views on those or other events, processes, facts, that also affects the emotional and practical attitude of the electorate to a specific phenomenon; the third fundamental, radical change vital settings spread among voters of the sensational, dramatic, extremely important for them messages.13

Therefore, the main characteristics of manipulation we can identify the following: neusvidomlenist' subject to the influence exercised over him; impact not only on the scope of conscious (mind), but also in the realm of the unconscious (instincts, emotions), which defies self-control; management attitude object manipulation to objects and phenomena of the world in the right direction to paddle; deliberate misrepresentation of the reality (disinformation, dosage information, etc.), forming the illusion and myth, etc. Political manipulation can minimize such operations: implementation in the public consciousness disguised as objective information is desired for a particular group of content; "pressure" on the pain points of public consciousness, what causes fear, anxiety, hatred, etc.; implementation of the declared and hidden intentions, which handles ties with the support of public opinion in his position. The first paragraph refers to the tasks, the second – to the methods, the third – the goals of political manipulation.14

What are the methods and techniques of manipulation in the political advertising makes native scientists, based on analysis of recent election campaigns in Ukraine? The number of tekstologičnih methods indicates researcher O. Pchelintseva. Yes, it indicates that one of the features of the language manipulation in political advertising say the logical error missing argument (the argument have no probative force). Very often it is compensated by taking the order of the arguments, when the lack of probative force compensated external consistency of presentation, that creates the impression of a.-.

Another admission of distraction from low-quality argument is the use of cause-effect designs X because Y, Y because X.

Another method is the nonbased argument is based on the fact that the proof of the thesis are unjustified, contradictory or false evidence in advance. The nedovedene judgment often entered contract clauses or past participle: such syntactically dependent position it focuses not on attention and reduces therefore the severity of his perception.

An extremely common technique – programming the minds of voters under the guise of political prediction. The perfective verb forms are used, lexical expression semantics inevitability or confidence. Widely used also the manipulation with figures when comparing the various economic indicators. If you want to belittle a political opponent, for comparison, is an

abstract measure of, say, the dynamics of growth and said that the last time she dropped (why that growth may have not stopped – it is not!). If you want to strengthen your own position, it is compared against the actual performance indicators (such as minimum wage), which in any case are growing.\textsuperscript{15}

The researchers, A. Balakirëva, V. Bebyk, A. Nalotov are the most common methods: method of fragmentation "is to present information in a single stream, therefore, any tendency becomes difficult to catch, and for the mass consumer generally virtually impossible. The maximum expression of this method is to call the "white noise" – reducing the perception of facts the following number of news when it becomes impossible to sort. "Noise" can be a lot of opposing comments that are not based on dostemennih facts.

The method of making the facts "is a combination of specific facts from the fictitious believable facts. As soon as the doubts the audience regarding the facts of the second category will be rozvìâno, then she will believe the false " facts".

Firstly, the promoter gets to pidlestitisâ to the audience, appealing to her erudovanostì. Secondly, in history and in fact you can find examples or not on all occasions. This method also helps in designing the "historical" metaphors that program object impact as well and the "historical myths that are used in the strategic perspective.\textsuperscript{17}

The method of getting bagnom "consists in the selection of epithets and terminology, which give the subject talk negative ethical assessment. This method belongs to the most "egregious", but it is often used in political struggles.

The Method of semantic manipulation ". The essence of it in priskiplivomu pidbiranni words that cause positive or negative associations, and therefore affect the perception of the information ("our man" – Scout, "their" is a spy; we are liberators, they are the occupiers; we are fighters for independence, they are fighters; the US-Army in them is illegal armed bandformuvannâ).

"Using disinformation". The strength of this admission is that misinformation is used, as a rule, at the time of making any important decisions, and when viplive the truth is the goal of misinformation will already be achieved. Refutation the misinformation on the psychological nastanovlennâ that already has does not affect.\textsuperscript{18}

Researcher I. Sinelnik, analyzing a number of election campaigns drew attention also to the common methods: "link to the authority, which is based on the trust of citizens to certain authoritative figures, the so-called opinion leaders, which are usually notable scientists, popular singers and actors, sportsmen, religious leaders, etc. This technology also has another name – use "icons" or "elephants".

«Link to anonymous authority". For this method, often in the mass media are the links, citations of documents, evaluation of the "experts", "socopituvan". Widely used linguistic constructions like: "the majority of experts agreed on the belief...", "a source with the closest surroundings of the candidate reported. etc.

\textsuperscript{17}Калинка, Г. Маніпуляція суспільною свідомістю під час виборчої компанії [Текст] / Г. Калинка // Збірник наукових праць. Психологічні науки, Том 2. – Випуск 8. – С. 142-149.
Links to non-existent authority adds information solidity and validity. This source is not identified and responsible for the false message no bear. "Name calling". A shortcut is an antiobrazu candidate, negative harak.

"Name calling". A shortcut is an antiobrazu candidate, negative characteristics, which usually is not true, however we actively headquarters rivals by using information technologies and taking into the mass consciousness. "A method of distraction or smoked herring. This term came up with image'makers (because the smell of smoked herring is smelling dog), and the technique is applied in order to distract the audience from the important, but unnecessary for a particular political force or a candidate information via another, filed as sensacyjnîj form.19

A significant list of used methods of manipulation thought researcher G. Kalynka. The method of «limited consensus viewpoints "is that point of view, it is supported by public opinion, not discarded, even if she is not satisfied with the manipulators.

Here the work is conducted slowly: by the Foundation come from the already existing perspective that stages the "converted" acceptable for a paddle. Method of establishing facts "is the lancûgovomu combination of real facts that actually took place, with fictitious plausible and implausible events.

As doubts about the audience of the facts of the second category will be resolved, she without hesitation believes in facts of the third category. In addition, you should keep in mind that you can create facts in the literal sense – creating, as it is customary to say today, "newsworthy".

The method of "objective approach" is a skillful might facts and "masterful" commenting them by including or excluding some little-known facts. In this way you can not only "discover" fictive tendency, but run it in mass consciousness as true. The impact of this method is named Oedipus effect.

The method of using rumors. Many people provide much more value than a whisper the news, massages - news, published. The man, who delivered the news, though, and through the media, with a certain „conspiratorial appearance”, believes that became the owner of unique information – so this fact itself contributes to it same assertion. This trick is often used in a different kind of "investigations" in the media under the aegis of "top secret", etc. In General, all this atmosphere of mystery and initiation leads to lasting freeze in memory of such messages. Therefore, reporting the news in a whisper ", the media reach the highest efficiency in the delivery of information, and at the same time remove from responsibility for its accuracy. And even view news as a refutation of the "secretative news" contributes to the mass consciousness embedded something in reverse. Here is the principle of expected cheating: If people chat all together, so it is not naively.

Method of leakage (reset) classified information, received allegedly from reliable, but "anonymous sources", is likely to hold the zondaž of public opinion on this or that question. In case of negative reactions in public opinion is posilenîj additional processing to prepare her to "proper" perception of planned political action. And if the reaction is fundamentally negative, then there is always the opportunity to "refute" sensational information, declaring it "the inventions of journalists".20

One of the key means of political manipulation that actively used during election campaigns in Ukraine are nasadžuvannî political myths. The latter, designed for the mass consumer, distort political reality and significantly simplify in the eyes of the target groups of the perception of the world.

Meanwhile, the manipulation can occur not only in the form of creation myths and stereotypes, but also in the form of ready-to-use forms (for example, in 2004, and later some

\[20\text{Калинка, Г. Маніпуляція суспільною свідомістю під час виборчої компанії [Текст] / Г. Калинка // Збірник наукових праць. Психологічні науки, Том 2. – Випуск 8. – С. 142-149.}
forces has imposed the myth of Yushchenko as an American resident, whose main task is to defend the interests of the United States.

The pre-election campaign materials he was depicted as a cowboy). This process is called "canalisation", i.e., direct them in the manipulation direction. In this form the myths and stereotypes exist as certain conditional "shortcuts" that stick to people and phenomena. Using the myths or stereotypes you can create persistent beliefs that define the necessary attitude to individual phenomena, ideas.\(^{21}\)

In addition to the text (content), and the above methods of manipulation are predominantly zmistovoï of great value in advertising also plays picture and sound that often accompany or are integral to an advertising message. Certain combinations of text, images and sound, too, is an important means of manipulation in political advertising. Schematically the dissemination of advertising messages via various channels can be plotted as follows:

Scheme 1. Messages and channels it reports in the (political) advertising.

![Scheme 1](image)

Source: own design (s).

The perception of advertising messages depends on the nominate aspect view of information as one of the types of mental programming media mind. Graphical text tools organization promote its clear visualization and choose accents, amplifying it to certain parts. These tools can be used separately or in combination with ikoničnimi, amplifying the manipulative potential verbal parts of the message. The images that accompany the text to enhance the impact of verbal reasoning through filtering iconish elements, which corresponds to a total manipulation intention adresant. This will also contribute to the color emphasis that attracted attention to the messages and through the properties of the colors in a specific way affect the psyche of human beings, set it to a specific emotional perception of information.

Note also that the use of different channels of distribution of advertising involves and specific techniques for working with image, light, sound, and text.

Yes, the media use sign language as a means of manipulation of the addressee, if we mix it pictures, which are characterized by a certain ocinne values of non-verbal behaviors of object

(for example, smile, open palms, fists clenched). As a rule, non-verbal elements confirm the assessment contained in the Autism impacts of the message, making it more effective.  

The sound and light of certain frequencies can lead to the creation of landmarks of states of consciousness that are most exposed to his entirely uncritical master information from subsequent willingness to commit certain actions (in our case a vote). It is these scientists explain the popularity of music concerts during the election campaigns of the proliferation of various kinds of advertising. Agitation is precisely in those moments when the State of the consciousness of the listeners can be characterized as a hypnotic. Moreover, very often this promotes and music.

Speaking about the visual impact, a group of American scientists (P. Laing, M. Bradley, B. Cuthbert) concluded: with the "pictures" used in political advertising, you can reach a specific outcome. Yes, the image of the family (mother with child, parents with children, Grandma-Grandpa with my grandchildren), children Frolic, smiling people actively used polit teknologists in MovieClip that appeal to hope. Therefore, a number of Ukrainian politicians used in their advertising messages, pictures of parents – Volodymyr Lytvyn, grandchildren – Leonid Kuchma, Yushchenko's children, etc.

Of particular influence on voters have colors that are able to evoke certain emotions. For example, the black and white video 10 times more causes fear or annoyance than admiration or pride. Darkness (blurred image), twilight or gray color-causing have the same emotions, and a black and white video. The last electoral campaign rife with advertising in black and white when it comes to opponents and "dips" in their policy. Instead, when the language of the story begins to go about political force that is advertised, the picture changes dramatically in color and attractive (for example, advertising "the Party of regions, Communist Party of Ukraine during the parliamentary campaign in 2007, 2012, presidential 2010).

The experience of the past election campaigns also showed that special effect on the occurrence of emotion makes music. Moreover, it affects subconsciously, when we consider the "picture" or listen to the speech by the candidate or his confidants. As a rule, sentimental, patriotic music affects the appearance of emot.  

The greatest manipulative potential has a television. This makes it the event channel of distribution of political advertising in Ukraine. Television has the ability to create an additional "semantic noise", which is significantly more difficult for consumer orientation in information flows and makes navigation on scores of commentators. Audiovisual information leads to the fact that the text, which reads the voice-over announcer, is perceived as absolute truth, if served on the background of a video. Critical understanding of cutting is bothered, even if the video sequence there is no connection with the text.

An important feature of televisual political advertising is an appeal to the sphere of emotions and unconscious reactions of man (in particular, operation imidzami, bright images instead of a discussion and analysis of specific political programs). This feature of television communication communication leads to the fact that instead of rationally-logical constructions subject influence operates with a set of colorful clichés and metaphors that evoke and zakr.

Modern political advertising in Ukraine is extremely mythologizованої и client on planting and maintaining the existing stereotypes. Moreover, very often the past is such that lay or extend partitions in society and contribute to confront and inflating antagonism (the question of language, historical heritage, religion, foreign policy directions, etc.).

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Actively used manipulative technique, associated with the use of certain colors and their combinations, images, sounds. Clearly traced the tendency to increase the level of aggressiveness of political advertising towards opponents and claim to absolute viklûčnist' and County.

Actually the missing elements of political advertising that is directed to the analysis programs or run past election promises. Instead, the widely used emotional language stamps and cliches the populist character without a clear enclosure.

The specifics of political advertising in Ukraine is also the fact that all the actors of the political process only work within the framework of operational-tactical purposes of manipulation. Unlike, say, the period of the Soviet Union, where the entire system has been configured on the strategic manipulation.

References in Transliteration


References: