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EVROPSKÝ POLITICKÝ A PRÁVNÍ DISKURZ

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Evropský politický a právní diskurz – mezinárodní časopis věnovaný mezinárodnímu právu, vnitřním právním předpisům evropských zemí, politologie, mezinárodním vztahům. Pro publikaci v časopisu přijímají se vysoce kvalitní články, což představují důležité inovativní, teoretické, koncepční, metodické a empirické příspěvky v příslušných oborech vědy.

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DIGITAL AND MEDIA DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DISCOURSE

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POLITICAL ADVERTISING AS A POWERFUL TECHNOLOGY OF THE REALIZATION OF POWER

The article analyzes the phenomenon of communication technologies – political propaganda, advertising and PR. The peculiarities of political advertising as an effective form of communications' interaction between collective and individual political actors with the public are explored. The high relevance of the use of communication technologies, namely advertising in the political space, is determined.

The purpose of the article is to determine the role and place of advertising in the political space, to understand its essence and factors influencing the political choice of the citizen.

It is justified that in the modern world there is an intensification of information flows, which serves as the basis of pluralism and competition of advertising products. In this situation, the role of political advertising increases, aimed at achieving the specific political goals of individual participants of the political process. Particularly, the role of advertising increases in the period of election campaigns, when image technology prevails over ideological programming principles. Being a component of political marketing, political advertising in the modern world is becoming a powerful technology for the exercise of power, which helps to create an attractive image of a politician or political institute and, as a result, encourages the voter to behave appropriately during the election campaign. Due to accessibility, advertising becomes a powerful means of political struggle.

Keywords: political advertising, political technologies, communication technologies, political PR, political activity, propaganda.

Introduction. Advertising is one of the most influential tools of informational influence on the mass audiences, and the powerful capabilities of modern electronic media (television and the Internet) create the conditions for the dissemination of certain social and political values, norms, political knowledge and judgements, and manipulation of public opinion during election campaigns. It can be argued that political advertising in modern society determines the level of political culture, depends directly on advertising and the activities of the media, those for which advertising is the main source of funding, and therefore is the source of independence from the authorities and oligarchic groups.

Purpose and tasks. The purpose of the article is to determine the role and place of advertising in the political space, understanding its essence and factors influencing the political choice of the citizen.

Achieving this purpose led to the formulation and solution of the following research objectives:

- reveal the essence of advertising as a communication technology;
- determine the current characteristics of the advantages, disadvantages and prospects of advertising in the political space.

Results. In the current conditions of political development, political communications, discursive practices of political actors, activities of the media and communication technologies are of particular relevance to the political sciences. This is based on the need of theoretical justification of those global changes that take place in the political, economic and social realities of the modern world. It is primarily about the growing role of the communicative sphere of social life, the emergence of the information society and the onset of the era of the “third wave” of human civilization development.

In different languages, the meaning of the word “advertising” has different contents, for example, in Latin “reclamare” means “to shout, proclaim”; in German “werbung” is “to recruit, manipulate”;

in English “advertise” means “to offer”; from French “publicite” means “to reach a large number of the public”, so advertising combines such features as: the proclamation of information, manipulative influence, the focus of information and the mass nature of the message. With regard to political advertising, here is the most complete definition given by Serhii Fedorovych Lisovsky: “Political advertising is a form of political communication in the conditions of choice, associated with targeted influence on electoral groups, and one which occurs in a brief and easily memorable form”¹.

In modern world, political advertising is of great importance to society and performs a number of important functions. The most important function of any advertisement, including political one, is the informative function. It informs, presents the audience certain political information, this may be information about the candidate; parties, their views and proposals; promotions; activities, etc. There is also the function of socialization of the individual – through political advertising, the individual learns certain norms, values, stereotypes, models and patterns of behavior. Undoubtedly, the communicative function should be noted. Political advertising acts as a kind of communication channel between the authorities and the society, with its help representatives of power structures transmit to us their ideas, suggestions and views².

Advertising spreads texts, images, patterns of behavior to different audiences that contribute to the formation of common values, norms, stereotypes in society. However, political advertising also contributes to the opposite process – differentiation of society. Society is a collection of large and small socio-cultural groups; advertising “works” on certain groups of consumers by presenting a set of desirable goods, a desirable model of consumption for a given sociocultural group, thus it helps to identify the members of the group and separate them from other groups, promoting the formation and development of democratic foundations in society.

The possibility to choose is an indispensable attribute of democracy, and advertising helps us to make this choice by providing us with the information we need.

In the context of contemporary political development features, the transformation of political technologies and the means of organizing political space is taking place. The administrative regulation of political processes by public authorities is being replaced by new forms of articulation of the interests of social groups and communities, in particular, communication technologies which political advertising, propaganda and political PR belong to. In the information space, the political advertising is the leading means of communication between government and society, especially during election campaigns.

The scientific works of such foreign and domestic authors as V. Bebyk, O. Zernetska, O. Egorova Hatman, Y. Levenets, G. Pocheptsov, R. Reeves, A. Deiman, O. Kutsova, S. Lisovsky, O. Olshansky, T. Melnyk, L. Kochubey, L. Klymanska, G. Lasswell, K. Pleshakov, V. Baibachova, V. Stotsky, C. Feuerstone, I. Shovkun, D. Yakovlev and others are devoted to the research of political advertising as a communicative technology.

In the modern world, information flows are intensifying (we can speak of the “information shock” that Ukrainian society experiences), what serves as the basis for pluralism and competition for advertising products. In this situation, the role of political advertising grows, aimed at achieving the specific (selfish) political goals of individual participants of political process. Particularly, the role of advertising increases in the period of election campaigns, when image technology prevails over ideological programming principles.

In these circumstances, political actors seek to push the public to their side and direct the course of events to their advantage. In trying to influence public opinion, they “resort to all kinds of means, including mass-media manipulation technologies, some of these technologies are used for the purpose of hidden discredit of certain subjects of the electoral process and agitation the public for their opponents”³.

One of the most important and influential tools in this area is political advertising, which provides political actors with wide opportunities to manipulate the consciousness of the population. Political advertising is an integral part of political marketing that is used by political actors to influence public opinion. While performing information and propaganda functions, political advertising influences

¹ Лисовский, С. Ф. (2010). *Политическая реклама*. Москва: Маркетинг, 10.

² Ibid, 11-12.

³ Джига, Т. В. (2003). *Методи та технології впливу політичної реклами (на прикладі передвиборної кампанії): автореферат дисертації на здобуття наукового ступеня кандидата політичних наук*. Київ: Київський національний університет імені Тараса Шевченка.

the content and quality of the social values, traditions, and norms that regulate political relations. The level and nature of political knowledge, assessments and actions of citizens influenced by political advertising determines the state of political culture in society.

Advertising helps to increase business activity, expand markets, stimulate acceleration of funds, increase investment and increase the number of jobs; increases the overall efficiency of national economies and the international economy as a whole. The consequence is a general expansion of social production. Advertising supports and sharpens competition, enabling consumers to expand their choice. Therefore, the development of civilized advertising is one of the main directions of national economic policy to support fair competition in any country.

Political advertising, unlike political PR and propaganda, is a paid informational message, characterized by a targeted audience and propaganda content, that is disseminated through the media and acts as a special channel for transmitting political information. Political advertising as a communication technology in the election process has the following characteristics:

- artificiality of the advertising product;
- control of the customer over the process of creating an advertising product and its distribution;
- the advertising product goes to the recipient without censorship (distortions and notes);
- payment for advertising in accordance with official media agreements.

Political advertising can be understood as political texts expressed in communications. Firstly, these are texts designed to simultaneously influence both specific social institutions or individuals, and also the awareness of the general public. Secondly, texts aimed at influencing the consciousness of a mass audience are fundamentally designed for immediate response from any person or social institute. Thirdly, texts that are designed for immediate reaction requiring intervention in reality and are not designed for influencing the consciousness of a mass audience. Fourth, the texts that are neutral, informational, not designed for immediate reaction.

It is necessary to take into account the lack of a direct correlation between the cost of advertising in the media and the result of the election in the form of a certain number of votes.

Political advertising plays a particularly important role in political marketing. Its purpose is to bring political programs, platforms of political parties, electoral blocs and individual candidates to the citizens. Moreover, it is not just to inform the potential electorate about their content, but to show that the advertised program has indisputable advantages over all others. The purpose of political advertising is to convince voters that the implementation of the program of the advertised party or individual candidate will give them the greatest benefits. So, you have to vote for those who offer this program.

In order to achieve this goal, advertising by a political force or candidate must meet a number of requirements. In particular, its quality depends on how well political programs and other promotional material are presented. They should be presented in an accessible, vivid, emotional, concise, original form. It is very important that the advertising is memorable, which sets the voters to support the party or candidate. But no matter how perfect political advertising is by itself, it will not reach its goal unless at the moment there is a proper psychological climate in the country. When it comes to political forces seeking re-election, prolongation of their term in power, their psychological climate will be negative in case of unfavorable situation in the country, for example, the war in which its citizens die, the low standard of living, the facts of corruption in high-level authorities, etc. Such a psychological climate can be used quite effectively in political advertising conducted by opposition political parties and candidates.

The problem of political advertising holds one of the leading positions in the whole complex of political knowledge, because it is directly related to the nature of political leadership, the quality of political elites, political power, the specific way of legitimizing and exercising it in our country.

For Ukrainian society, the relevance of the study of political advertising is justified with the specificity of democratic transformations, the unique experience of post-communist reforms, the broad context of the historical, political and cultural conditions of the country's development, which created the preconditions for the emergence of a peculiar political advertising market that combines administrative and marketing influence.

In the opinion of Ihor Shovkun, "Political advertising is a form of political communication in the conditions of choice that has an aggressive impact on groups of people and electoral groups in a brief, original, easily memorable form. Political advertising reflects the essence of the political platform of certain

political forces, sets the voters to their support, generates and introduces into the mass consciousness certain ideas about the nature of these political forces, creates the desired psychological setting for voting”¹.

Studies of political advertising combine the heuristic possibilities of such theoretical approaches as communicative, marketing, functional, cultural; each of them defines the concept of advertising. The marketing approach emphasizes that advertising is a type of commercial communication aimed at forming a specific target audience. From a point of view of the functional approach, advertising is defined as a paid targeted activity of indirect impact to encourage certain actions of the objects.

Political advertising is a part of the political marketing communication complex (which also includes the organization of public opinion, “personal sale”, “sales promotion”, propaganda) and works together with its other elements on the basis of the variable additionality of all elements.

The communicative essence of political advertising is that it establishes contact between the authorities or the candidates for positions in power structures and the mass, and in a certain way directs the targeted communication between them, using a highly accessible to the perception and an adequate sign system. Political advertising is a kind of a conduit of ideas, a repeater of images, symbols, myths. It also performs an informational function, since one of its tasks is to inform, presentation of the party, candidate, their views, promotions, offers, their advantages over competitors to the audience. Political advertising functions in the conditions of political competition, it distinguishes its own object from among others, so we can talk about its socially-oriented, ideological function.

Political advertising uses both rational and emotional ways of influencing the audience, which are oriented both to the conscious and unconscious reactions of the recipients. Political advertising uses verbal, visual, and audio tools.

One of the central concepts of political advertising is the image of the candidate. Its characteristic features are: simplicity in comparison with the prototype; demonstration of the specificity and uniqueness of the advertised object; concreteness, mobility, flexibility; partial, idealized match of the advertised object.

With the help of political advertising, the formation of an institution of political leadership, the modernization of political relations (the transition from traditional forms of interaction between government and society to modern ones), the formation of a democratic political system as a whole is taking place. That is why the market for advertising products requires competent professionals – specialists in marketing, media, political communications and technology, sociologists and political scientists.

The modern encyclopedic dictionary describes political image-making as “the system of mutually agreed actions, technologies, techniques and popularization of the image of any politician, party or public-political movement held during electoral campaigns and between them; they direct their influence on voters and other target groups, with the aim of promoting positive public reaction, high reputation and support in elections”².

The basis of regulatory acts about advertising activity (both commercial and political) in modern Ukraine consists of the Constitution of Ukraine, the laws of Ukraine “On advertising”, “On entrepreneurship”, “On information”, “On consumer protection”, “On television and radio broadcasting” and others.

Specificity of political advertising, first of all, is in the clear definition of its tasks and subject, in the active, “force” nature of its communicative influence. Political advertising is a sort of accumulator of strategic ideas and development of an advertising campaign, a regulator of electoral behavior.

Political choice, the will of the voter are not free even in societies with the most advanced democratic institutions. His/her decision to vote in one way or another depends on the latent effect of various natural and random factors. These are the ideological attitudes and political culture of the voter, his interest in politics, social status, nature of work and material level, gender and age, the surrounding environment. Thus, the model of the voter’s behavior depends on: the social characteristics of the individual, his/her biography, personal qualities, cultural educational level, living conditions, age, influence of the environment; his/her political positions – the type of political culture, moods and anxieties of the current day, thoughts on certain issues, attitude to the candidate’s “camp”; proposed political choices, voting habits.

All of the above factors are of particular importance in cases where voters’ ideological and political views are unstable and their social awareness is underdeveloped. Appearing at the time of voting, this

¹ Шовкун, І. В. (2004). Політична реклама як комунікативний процес: автореферат дисертації на здобуття наукового ступеня кандидата політичних наук. Київ: Київський національний ун-т імені Тараса Шевченка.

² Мальована, Ю. (2015). *Іміджмейкінг політичний. Новітні політична лексика (неологізм, оказіоналізм та інші новотворення)*. Львів: Новий Світ-2000, 147-148.

instability and underdevelopment cause countless shades of electoral behavior. The emergence and dissemination of policy marketing activities is associated with the gradual displacement of class and ideological party representation mechanisms from the political space, which has transformed the role and status of political parties, diminished the role of programmatic foundations and ideologies in the activities of political and state actors, and the destruction of class identifications. The class and ideological models of group and communities presentation in the political space have been replaced by communication technologies, advertising and the political image of the actor, who is perceived as a commodity in the political market.

Development of marketing tools for constructing political space (first of all – political advertising leads to democratization of political interaction, and bureaucratization and administrative regulation of political relations create conditions for using administrative, economic, nomenclature levers to influence the choice of citizen during electoral competitions¹.

Interpreting politics as a market of specific goods and services requires taking into account these factors in the process of creating and disseminating political advertising. First, the study of public consciousness and public opinion in order to identify the social and economic attitudes of voters. Secondly, detailed professional development of relevant images of political, state and other institutions, ideas, doctrines, individual leaders and personalities. Third, the creation and distribution of promotional items during the election campaign under market law. This means studying the ideological, social and political attitudes of citizens regarding the image of the “ideal” politician, identifying the main characteristics of the image of the political actor before the election campaign, designing the image of the candidate, developing a media plan for the distribution of political advertising.

In order to successfully solve the communicative problems of political advertising, it is necessary to carry out detailed studies of the political space (legislative, political, demographic and economic situation, the system of power, the deployment of forces in the political arena, in the economic sphere, etc.). The state of this space and situational changes largely determine the direction of voters’ actions. In order to maximize the effectiveness of political advertising communication, particular attention should be paid to the study of public opinion, the needs, motivations and preferences of voters, the definition of target audiences.

Image of politician acts in political communication as a mediator between the leader and the mass. It is constantly reproduced by the subject and the means of communication. A specific feature of the image is dominance: we operate with collapsed basic information instead of operating with complete information. The specificity of image communication is also that the messages are created taking into account the expected response of the population.

Thus, at the sociological stage, the leading topics of the forthcoming advertising campaign, the important characteristics of the political actor and the target audience of the advertising message (groups that support the candidate) are determined. At the stage of political image formation, advertising messages are formed concerning the personality of the political actor, arguments regarding his/her competence and professional qualities, vision of the future, arguments regarding the negative qualities of the opponent (opponents). During the testing phase of the advertising political campaign, the quality of the advertising products is checked on the focus groups. The next – the main – stage of the advertising campaign is the implementation of the chosen strategy by disseminating information to the media. During the monitoring phase, it is necessary to analyze the level of effectiveness of the advertising messages created during the election campaign. During the election campaign, both direct and indirect forms of advertising are actively used. The first form is messages that are distributed in the conditions of interpersonal contact between the advertising subject and the object of advertising influence. The second form involves the use of the media: the press, television and radio.

The development of the Internet opens up new opportunities for the spread of advertising messages. This is due to the combination of audiovisual and textual information in the network, interactivity and integrated use of e-mail, social networks, websites, forums, etc.

In Ukraine, the development of political advertising is characterized by the following features:

– predominance of indirect advertising. The main means of distribution of political advertising is television, which is able to create vivid visual images, emotional background of the advertising message,

¹ Ромат, Є. В. (2004). Державне управління рекламною діяльністю в Україні (теоретико-методологічний аспект): автореферат дисертації на здобуття наукового ступеня кандидата наук з державного управління. Київ: Національна академія державного управління при Президентові України.

to create the audience's trust in advertising, to use the mechanisms of stereotyping, archotyping, techniques of video rhetoric, etc.;

- use of advertising as a tool of political manipulation in election campaigns (“tagging”, hidden advertising in the form of imaginary ratings of actors, sociological research). The following methods and techniques of influence are used: manipulation by numbers, images, techniques of audience capture, acceptance of approval, acceptance of the authority of science, reception of “shift of accents”, reception of focus on the personality of the candidate, appeal to emotions and empathy, manipulative influence on the sphere of emotions, imagination, attention, memory of the audience;

- large gap between the declarations in advertising messages and the real activities of political actors (advertising subjects);

- problems with financing of advertising campaigns, their opacity;

- emotionality and personification of political advertising, blurring of ideological and value orientations of political actors in Ukraine.

Thus, the main objective of advertising as a communication technology in the political space is to influence the target audience in order to change its behavior in the direction required by the customer (individual or collective political actor).

Appearing as a component of political marketing, political advertising in the modern world is becoming a powerful technology for the exercise of power, which helps to create an attractive image of a politician or political institute and, as a result, encourage voters to behave appropriately during the election campaign.

Conclusions. Political advertising creates political priorities in a situation when a voter has to make his or her choice (one of several possible ones). Therefore, it is obvious that it becomes an instrument of the political market, a means of competition for the votes of voters. The main force of political marketing is not in specific election events, but in the scientific approach to voter psychology. This is reflected in the study and identification of voters' interests, expectations and priorities. The data obtained is used in the political platform of the party and serves to shape the candidate's image. The smallest details are taken into account in the technology of political struggle. Political advertising, by simplifying the content of programs run by parties and individual candidates, makes them simple and accessible to potential voters. It actually reduces the content of these programs to simple alternatives. Due to accessibility, advertising is becoming a powerful means of political struggle.

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