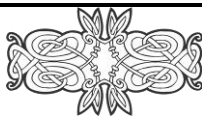


ПІДПРИЄМНИЦТВО,
ТОРГІВЛЯ ТА БІРЖОВА
ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ



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MARKETING MEANS OF COMMUNICATION IN POLITICS AND APPLICATION OF POLITICAL MARKETING TECHNOLOGIES USING PR IN THE AGE OF DIGITAL TECHNOLOGIES

Abstract

Introduction. Modern life is characterized by the interpenetration of social spheres, and political marketing is one of the examples of this. At the same time, the core of political reality is the political market, whose players compete for public support and trust using propaganda, populism and manipulation technologies. The use of the latter in the digital age is directly related to marketization and consumerization. Therefore, it is relevant to study the peculiarities of the use and impact of these technologies in a marketing way.

Methods. The raised problem was investigated theoretically using general scientific (analysis and synthesis, comparison and systematization) and special scientific (specialized economic and political approaches) methodology; the central method is the analysis of the available source and scientific and theoretical base.

Results. The tendency of borrowing economic marketing concepts by political marketing for their productive and effective transformation into the political field was revealed; it was investigated that the trust of the general population as the basic and most valuable resource of modern political marketing and as an immanent feature of society and public opinion is the object of the main competitions of political players and influencers, which was influenced by the technologies of propaganda, populism and manipulation; it was proved that digital technologies and media tools have modified the above means of influencing the consciousness of the masses in the direction of increasing their communication component, which indicates that with the development of the digital age, these technologies of political marketing have acquired the features of a full-fledged PR of classical marketing and are increasingly influencing the mass consciousness.

Discussion. The revealed problem creates the basis for further development of political marketing research, the study of which has been launched in the national science only recently and still lags behind the world scientific trends.

Keywords: political marketing, political market, consumerization, social capital, target audience, political

communication, mediaocracy.

Introduction.

Modern scientific theory recognizes the approach according to which society can be represented as a complex of interconnected autonomous spheres (subsystems), the essential relations between which are of a complex and diverse nature [1; 2; 3]. The political sphere of society, associated with political activity in general, the struggle for power and regulation of political relations in society, reaching agreement and mutual understanding between actors in politics in particular, is, on the one hand, particularly determined by the influence of other social spheres (economic, social, spiritual and others), and on the other hand, it actively influences and penetrates them. In this regard, F. Bentham rightly points out that “politics is by its nature unifying, not because it is designed to unite everything, but in the sense that it concerns the political community as a whole, determines the way of life together, lays the foundations of common life, and determines everything else. No social activity can escape politics” [4]. In fact, today it can be argued that politics has entered the subject area of most spheres of public life.

One example of such interconnection and interpenetration and, at the same time, one of the political and economic trends of recent decades is political marketing, a modern interdisciplinary field of political knowledge that emerged on the border of social and political sciences and classical marketing. According to domestic experts, “political marketing is an intellectual (a set of ideas, theories, methods) and purposeful system, a consistent political practice based on a deep and comprehensive knowledge of competition in the political space, needs, interests, expectations in politics of individuals and their communities, peculiarities of political behavior, reaction to political influences, etc.” [5].

In today's environment, the marketing approach permeates the entire political market, satisfying the demands and needs of buyers (customers) and sellers (suppliers) of specific political goods and services. This situation is naturally caused by the characteristic connection between the subject field of marketing and political theory and practice. In this regard, A. Makota argues that there is a close substantive connection between the commercial and political markets, which can be traced through the existing common basic components - a tandem of buyers and sellers, exchange processes, competitive foundations of functioning, mechanisms of product sales (image, brand, positioning, promotion, segmentation, etc.), functioning according to the laws of economic development of the system [6, p. 406]. In addition, the channels of implementation of political marketing technologies are political communication, the institutional nature of which has purely marketing roots and is fully subordinated to marketing ideas and understanding of communication activities and communication policy.

Modern political marketing in the process of practical application has accumulated a significant set of applied tools for the development, promotion and sale of a political product in the political market. The most effective and widespread tools (resources) are propaganda, populism and manipulation. In the twenty-first century, these tools are actively used in the social and information communication environment (primarily in social networks and messengers). At the same time, being by their nature political and psychological resources of influence on consciousness and mass sentiments, political propaganda, populism and manipulation in the virtual space acquire the features of PR technologies, become subject to economic laws and market patterns and can be described with the help of marketing research. In fact, it can be stated that the importance of the marketing component of the political market has increased with the advent of digitalization, which determines and actualizes the study of these tools in the context of general marketing theory and practice.

Analysis of recent research and publications.

The study of the political sphere through the prism of economics began in the 1950s in the works of C. Arrow and E. Downs, the founders of the theory of rational choice and the economic theory of democracy, who proceeded from the position that the basic principles of the economic and political spheres are human egoism and rationality. In the 1960s, F. Kotler and S. Levy substantiated the

possibility of applying marketing to non-profit areas of activity, as they saw its purpose in meeting the needs of clients of socio-political and religious organizations, government agencies and enterprises.

Over the next forty years, such foreign and domestic scholars as P. Bourdieu, V. Bebig, V. Korolko, E. Morozova, V. Poltorak, A. Solovyov, S. Shubin and a number of others have made a significant contribution to the formation of the institutional theory of political marketing. The work of T. Amlber, M. Brown, K. Weiss, U. Lippmann, D. Mannheim, R. Rich, L. Pal, and L. Pal is of great importance for the development of political marketing as a branch of political knowledge.

In modern domestic science, the theory of political marketing is not developing rapidly enough, although its dynamics has increased significantly in the last decade. In this regard, the works of O. Bandurovych, O. Vyshniak, O. Kartunov, A. Kuptsov, O. Marukhovska, N. Pysarenko, M. Khilko and some others have gained recognition.

It should be noted that the vast majority of the above scholars consider political marketing from the standpoint of political theory (science), in fact, ignoring its dualistic nature and essence, and therefore, not paying due attention to the marketing component.

The study of propaganda as one of the key tools of political marketing is devoted to the works of D. Arabadzhiev, G. Bloomer, B. Demianenko, S. Denysiuk, O. Dokash, G. Lasswell, J. Ellul, N. Chomsky and others. Studies of populism in the context of political marketing have been conducted at different times by E. Gellner, J. Germani, G. Ionescu, M. Kenovan, E. Lacklau, C. Mudd, F. Panizzi, I. Sorel, P. Taggart, S. Hoffman, S. Schaap, and others. The problems of the essence of manipulative influence and the role of political manipulation in public life were studied mainly by representatives of Western scholarship, in particular, G. Marcuse, C. Mills, D. Riesman, P. Robinson, W. Ricker, H. Frank, C. Farber and others.

Despite the significant scientific and theoretical base of political marketing aspects related to the subject of this article, the consideration of propaganda, populism and manipulation through the prism of PR technologies in the light of classical marketing approaches has not yet been systematized in a systematic way.

Purpose.

The aim - to study propaganda, populism and manipulation as political marketing technologies in the digital age.

Research methodology.

The following methodology was used in the study of the problem: general scientific approaches (analysis and comparison - to study the level of research of the problem; scientific synthesis - to highlight previously unexplored aspects; systematization and generalization - to formulate the purpose, objectives and results of the study) and special economic and political methods (analysis of special sources - to establish the content and essence of the raised aspects of political marketing).

Results.

According to N. Pysarenko, despite the fact that marketing was originally formed as a theory and practice of economic relations in the market of goods and services, it later evolved into a concept of development, production and marketing of everything for which there is demand [7, p. 537]. Since a person has not only material but also non-material needs (spiritual, psychological, ideological, etc.), there is naturally a non-commercial marketing segment within which political marketing functions. In this context, the opinion of S. Andreev and L. Melnychenko is valuable, as they distinguish three main prerequisites for the emergence of non-profit marketing: 1) the objective existence of the non-commercial sphere and non-commercial (non-profit) activities; 2) the existence of free non-commercial exchange of the results of these activities and 3) the existence of competition in the non-commercial sphere [8, p. 31].

Focusing on the goals of classical marketing, it is advisable to clarify the goals of political marketing, the main ones of which should be considered the following:

- generating maximum demand for political products, which contributes to high social support, which, in turn, is converted into votes, loyalty and legitimacy of the authorities;
- convincing the target audience of the value of their choice to support a particular political organization;
- increasing the supply on the political market, creating a developed competitive environment of forces, ideas, representation and lobbies.

The marketing approach in the political sphere of society is conditioned by the existence of a political market (sometimes synonymous with the market of power, although it is a broader concept and phenomenon) - a system of interaction between competing political forces (subjects of political relations) that compete for the right to dispose of a share of political power delegated to them by citizens through elections [9; 10]. At the same time, all specialized studies on this issue unanimously point out that the existence of a developed political market is directly related to the process of marketization of politics on the one hand and the development of a democratic society and its institutions on the other [11; 12; 13].

The marketization of politics is essentially a process of effective extrapolation of commercial market concepts and technologies to the political market, the import tools of which are theories of adaptation of the marketing approach. The latter are ultimately based on the analysis and comparison of the behavior of economic and political actors (A. Smith's theory of rational choice, G. Simon's theory of bounded rationality, J. Buchanan's theory of public choice, E. Downs, etc.) At the same time, according to the analysis of the vast majority of specialized scientific sources, experts note a significant commonality of marketing and political components in the functioning of the political market [14; 15]:

- competitive environment (a field of competitive relations between different political entities (parties, leaders, etc.); a system that includes various social institutions, competing political structures, and policies formed on the basis of interaction between political forces and the electorate in the struggle for power);
- political resources as a specific type of capital (in the case of the political sphere of society, it is advisable to talk about social capital (primarily in the form of trust, legitimacy, which can be converted into specific political dividends, as well as other types of capital - financial, cultural, power) and symbolic capital (credit for the future), which are institutionally of an economic nature);
- availability of market strategies (unique plans to achieve a specific goal, objectives in a specific competitive environment and the means required for this);
- market segmentation and assortment of political goods and services (separation of the target group of consumers from the entire mass of consumers into a homogeneous community aimed at obtaining and consuming a specific political product offered among others);
- positioning, image and brand of a political product for its promotion in the market (modeled imagery of a political product to idealize it in the minds of consumers at the level of emotional and sensory perception);
- tools for effective market activity (market research, communication and concept testing).

In this context, V. Torianyk quite rightly points out that the marketization of the political market is a direct consequence of the processes of consumerization [16, p. 101].

Thus, the core of modern political reality as a sphere of competition for positions of power in modern society is the political market, the essential characteristics of which are the basic principles of the commercial market (primarily, focus on the end user) and the marketization of its components, one of which is the promotion of political goods through PR technologies on the Internet.

We propose to understand political marketing technologies (political technologies, tools) as a set of currently existing methodological and applied techniques, procedures, actions and established techniques aimed at achieving a projected goal in a certain segment of political reality.

Modern political theory traditionally points to seven main approaches to the interpretation of

political technologies:

- the instrumental approach considers political technology as a set of methods (techniques, procedures) that facilitate the transformation of public opinion, moods and preferences into a specific political product (e.g., electoral support, legitimacy, etc.);
- within the communicative approach, political marketing technologies are considered as a sequence of actions (general algorithms) for the formation of communication channels between consumers and producers of a political product;
- the strategic approach differentiates political technologies into technologies in the political environment (a set of strategic principles and/or approaches to the organization of applied political activities), technological techniques (e.g., manipulation, populism) and communication channels;
- the psychological approach emphasizes the importance and priority of public opinion and is technologically oriented to the study of emotional and psychological impact on consumers of a political product;
- from the perspective of the leadership approach, technology is a sequence of actions to transform informal leaders (politicians) into formal ones (government officials) and keep the levers of state and political power in their hands;
- in the model approach, technology is interpreted as a model of activity on the basis of which the optimal type of political activity is chosen;
- representatives of the interactive approach interpret political technologies as practices of power interaction between representatives of public authorities and citizens (between political and civil society) [17; 18; 19].

Structurally, political marketing technologies consist of three basic components:

- technological knowledge (formed as a result of the actions of technologists, customers and executors);
- a set of specifically applied procedures, techniques and methods;
- technical and resource support.

Generally recognized political marketing technologies that have a significant impact on consumers of political products are propaganda, populism and manipulation.

The concept of “propaganda” (from the Latin *propaganda* - “to be spread”) is quite traditional for political theory, as it has its roots in the first half of the seventeenth century - with the creation of the Vatican Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith as a new tool to influence the consciousness and worldview of believers in Western Europe.

The content of propaganda is ambiguous. Thus, reference dictionaries and encyclopedic sources interpret it in several ways: 1) as a system of activities aimed at disseminating knowledge, artistic values and other information in order to form certain positions, ideas, emotional states, and influence the social behavior of people; 2) as the spread of ideology and politics of certain classes, parties, states among the masses; and 3) as a means of manipulating the mass consciousness [20, p. 348; 21, p. 231]. Despite the ambiguity of semantic meanings, a number of key features of propaganda as a phenomenon can be identified:

- a form of communication;
- a way of disseminating information (true and false, real and artificially created) and other data among the general public;
- focus on influencing public opinion;
- reflects the interests of certain groups, communities, parts of society.

The essential and substantive features of propaganda (in the broad sense and in the specific political sense) are theoretically revealed in scientific sources of various, primarily political science, orientations. Thus, LP. Makarenko interprets political propaganda as “the main form of unilateral and monologic organization of information flows in the sphere of power, which is formed without taking into

account the recipient's opinions and on the basis of the communicator's negative attitude to alternative ideas and positions; propaganda is mostly associated with an authoritarian dictatorial regime and is considered a form of communication that satisfies the regime's need for manipulative control over public consciousness" [22, p. 362].

G. Jowett and W. O'Donnell believe that propaganda does not take into account the interests of the consumer of information, as it happens in the process of communication, and propose to consider it as a deliberate and systematic effort to achieve a reaction that would meet the intentions of the propagandist [23].

E. Rogers considers propaganda in relation to mass persuasion, emphasizing the presence of a powerful interactive component in the usual version of persuasion [24].

Our content analysis of definitions, interpretations and other theoretical interpretations of propaganda proposed by foreign and domestic scholars convincingly demonstrates that the following aspects should be taken into account when considering this phenomenon: first, the context of the study (in our case, political propaganda); second, the scale of the content (broad, general or narrow, contextual; in this article – narrow) and third, the main focus of propaganda influence (in our case, the formation of certain political attitudes and sentiments). In this light, we agree with the position of O. Kuzmuk and V. Lyubchuk, who believe that "political propaganda is the main form of unilateral and monologue organization of information flows in the sphere of power, which is formed without taking into account the recipient's opinions and on the basis of the communicator's sharply critical attitude to the positions of his competitors. In other words, political propaganda should be viewed as an open or covert disregard by its subject of the society's needs for reliable information and the imposition of its own views and ideals. Accordingly, propaganda is seen as a one-sided process where the public (or a certain part of it) becomes a target, and the goal is to change public thinking or suggest how society should behave" [25, p. 978].

Based on the above, the definition of propaganda proposed by the recognized classic of this issue, G. Lasswell, who believes that "propaganda is an expression of thought or action deliberately directed by an individual or group to influence the thought or action of another individual or group with a specific end goal through manipulation, sounds objective and accurate" [26].

The Institute for the Analysis of Propaganda in the United States has identified seven propaganda techniques: 1) labeling; 2) "brilliant statement" (essentially metaphorization or framing); 3) transference (extending the prestigious, respectable to the dubious); 4) recommendation of authority; 5) "common people" (persuasion by appealing to the consent of common people); 6) card shuffling (selective use of facts to substantiate a claim) and 7) bandwagon (use of the herd instinct, convincing that all members of the target group share the propagandist's opinion) [27].

Today, there is an interpenetration of marketing and propaganda, especially in the advertising segment. Thus, the analysis of this aspect allows us to talk about the functioning of the successor of propaganda techniques in marketing activities and the use of marketing techniques by political market actors:

1) testimonials (a form of propaganda that uses well-known and/or authoritative persons to influence the target audience);

2) stereotypes (highlighting stereotypes that are reinforced or discredited by an advertising message);

3) appeal to fear (a propaganda technique based on human fears and experiences, which are manipulated to force people to perform a specific act, action, form a habit, etc.)

4) involvement in a group (as a phenomenon of joining a desired group);

5) positioning a person as a person of the people;

6) transfer as an irrational binding of positive associations of the audience to a completely unrelated phenomenon or process (based on symbolism and influence on the target audience through the development of illogical connections);

7) "brilliant generalizations" (the use of ambiguous words and loud slogans to influence the target

audience; plays a major role in brand positioning);

8) “card shuffling” (the use of selective information to create psychological and emotional narratives in the mass consciousness);

9) annoying repetition (obsessive appeal to the target audience with a very high frequency in order to “stick” in the memory).

The phenomenon of populism as a widespread phenomenon of political (primarily), economic, cultural and religious life is becoming increasingly relevant for study by both individual sciences and the latest interdisciplinary fields. At the same time, according to A. Kliushkovich, “a significant amount of empirical evidence has been accumulated, many conceptual approaches to understanding the phenomenon of populism have been developed, but researchers continue to face difficulties in categorizing it and making it typologically clear. The conceptualization of this multidimensional and ambivalent phenomenon is complicated by the specific features of populism within individual countries and the mosaic of its political carriers” [28, p. 24].

Being a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, social and political populism is essentially a tactic to win the sympathy of the target audience, which, in our opinion, indicates either its marketing roots or a meaningful convergence with classical marketing practices.

A thorough study of the current scientific and theoretical debate on explaining the nature and essence of populism gives grounds to interpret it as a set of special methods and techniques used to win the preferences of the target audience (in politics - the electorate, in marketing and trade - consumers, etc.) At the same time, in the general public consciousness, populism is mostly associated with excessive and unfulfilled promises, deception of consumers of goods and services, as well as appeal to the emotional component of perception and the “crowd instinct” of the target audience.

Experts on populism note a number of its key features, such as simplicity (sometimes close to primitivism and marginalism), conciseness and bias of statements, appeals, slogans; manipulative nature of doctrinal constructions (program provisions, communiqués, declarations, manifestos, etc.); making a large number of promises without detailed explanations and plans for their fulfillment and implementation; appeal to the simplest instincts and desires of the target audience, primitivization of socio-political dialogue [29; 30].

At the same time, there is a significant substantive difference between populism and purely marketing technologies. As I. Gusarov aptly notes in this regard, “populism is an opportunity to achieve quick results, but it is not enough for sustainable development. Where politicians operate in the short term, brands cannot afford to think only about the next election, because, as a rule, products or services are chosen (or not) more often than once every few years. We can say that marketing is based on the idea of insight, which means understanding the need that the brand addresses. But populism is not based on insight, but on stereotypes” [31]. However, it should be noted that the very concept of “populism” appeared in the context of the studies of F. Kotler and S. Levy, who substantiated the expediency of considering political processes by analogy with market processes [32, p. 13].

At the current stage of development of political marketing in practical terms, populism is increasingly turning into a type of political communication between politicians and voters, characterized by the lack of a clear ideological platform and the use of manipulative constructions.

Manipulation (from the Latin *manipulus* – a handful or filling; in another interpretation – a small detachment of soldiers of the Roman army) is traditionally attributed to the classical technologies of influence on the masses, the object of which is the irrational perception of given narratives and political formulas by the crowd. The relevance of its research has increased with the emergence of the information society, which has contributed to the emergence of new forms of social and information communication.

The analysis of more than 50 scientific and theoretical interpretations and interpretations of manipulation can be reduced with some caution to a kind of psychological influence on the minds of others in order to covertly change their decision-making that does not correspond to their real intentions.

As R. Mazniak points out in this context, it can now be considered proven that political manipulation is present in any society in one or another of its manifestations and form [33, p. 49]. In other words, manipulation is an integral part of the modern political market, and its manifestations include mind manipulation, techniques of political psychology and influence psychology, as well as some forms of populism and propaganda.

Experts point out five basic principles on which manipulative influence is based:

- 1) mass political participation, which naturally affects the volatility of public opinion;
- 2) the communicative nature of the political market, in which the social recommendations of influencers are of particular importance;
- 3) the ability of everyone to influence public opinion (to be an influencer) with the help of modern information and communication technologies (primarily social networks and messengers);
- 4) the ability to influence the information received by transforming and distorting it;
- 5) the objective existence of a permanent process of social interaction [34; 35].

Thus, manipulation (primarily in the form of political manipulation), being a part of the political process, affects the development, adoption and implementation of political decisions, the forms of political participation and the functioning of political power, and acts as a specific form of governance that benefits only manipulators.

The above gives grounds to argue that in the current conditions of functioning of the political sphere of society, characterized by mediaocracy (politics carried out through the mediation and influence of modern media), digital technologies and media tools have modified such means of influencing the consciousness of the masses as propaganda, populism and manipulation towards increasing their communication component. In fact, it is reasonable to assert that with the development of the digital age, these political marketing technologies have acquired the features of a full-fledged PR of classical marketing and are increasingly influencing the mass consciousness.

Conclusions and Discussion.

Currently, there is a steady trend of political marketing borrowing economic marketing concepts for their productive and effective transformation into the political field, which some researchers consider dangerous “mechanical copying”, while others consider it a natural process of evolution of marketing theories that are universal. At the same time, both camps of scholars recognize the etymological, institutional and substantive affinity of economic (classical, traditional) and political marketing.

One of the basic and most valuable resources of modern political marketing is the trust of the general population as an immanent feature of society and public opinion. It is for this trust that political players and influencers compete, and it is also the central focus of propaganda, populism, and manipulation technologies. The latter, being a kind of hybrid of marketing concepts and political technologies of influence on the mass consciousness, are gaining more and more popularity in the digital age through social and communication channels of social networks and messengers. Most experts are increasingly pointing to the marketization and consumerization of the modern political market, which is, in fact, a natural and logical process.

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