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MANIPULATION AS THE MAIN FACTOR OF INFLUENCE ON WORLD POLITICS

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SUMMARY

The article examines the phenomenon of political manipulation as a mechanism for using hidden technologies in the political sphere to achieve political goals. Analysis of manipulation without ethical assessment allows us to highlight the following characteristics of the phenomenon: a communication act, the form of which depends on the goals of the subject; an alternative to authoritarian power, which involves achieving the goals of the subject without the use of violence; often does not include explicit threats to the object. The author believes that manipulation should be perceived with a dual view: if the actions of the subject take into account the interests of the object, the manipulation process becomes constructive and is perceived as socially acceptable, creative, albeit hidden control. In the case when the subject acts with selfish intentions, manipulation is perceived negatively and condemned by society. Political manipulation is the use of manipulative technologies in politics to achieve political goals. The main tool of political manipulation is the media, through which you can quickly reach a large audience. It was found that the close connection between political manipulation and the media leads to a change in the nature of manipulation in politics in parallel with a change in the media environment.

Keywords: *political manipulation, manipulative technologies, media, information war.*

Modern possibilities of influencing the political system using information and communication technologies have brought political relations to a qualitatively new level, providing feedback between the authorities and citizens. Modern political events in the world, especially in recent decades, have led to the actualization of the problem of studying the manipulation of consciousness. In this situation, the potential inherent in the concepts of manipulation of consciousness must be carefully analyzed so that they can be used to influence society.

The development and improvement of computer technologies, the Internet, as well as the high level of

acces-

sibility of mass media (radio, television, and mobile communications) contribute to the accelerated movement of information flows. Modern mechanisms of public memory and the information environment based on them create opportunities for manipulating various forms and levels of public consciousness. This is accomplished through the use of various methods of influencing a person's emotions and will in order to control his psyche and social behavior. Thus, manipulation of consciousness becomes a systemic characteristic, covering all spheres of life and manifesting itself in various forms.

Basic concepts of manipulation. An analysis of the concept of "manipulation" in the dictionaries of European languages showed that it is usually defined as "handling objects with specific intentions, goals." The root of the word "manipulation" comes from the Latin "manus" - hand (manipulus - manus - hand and ple - to fill). The Oxford English Dictionary defines manipulation as a masterful control of someone or something (English Oxford Living Dictionaries). If in medicine "manipulation" means examining some part of the body with the help of hands or medical procedures that are done with hands, and the emphasis is on dexterity, dexterity in performing manipulation actions, then consideration of the concept of "manipulation" in the technical sphere indicates certain actions with the levers of a mechanism (machine, machine) made by hands. The levers themselves are often called manipulators [1, 45].

It turns out that the original concept of "manipulation" meant certain complex actions that were performed manually and required skillful execution. This kind of manipulation is currently used almost everywhere, in particular, in technology, art, medicine and other areas. However, like most polysemantic concepts, the word "manipulation" has a figurative meaning, in which it is defined as a focal or selfish action of a deceptive nature, the purpose of which is to create in the consciousness of the object of manipulation various illusions when perceiving any phenomena of reality. Here, the essence of the manipulator's actions is not the skillful control of some

mechanism, but a virtuoso influence on the attention and consciousness of a person through the use of various techniques. It is in this sense that political manipulation is often used.

At the end of the 20th – beginning of the 21st century, the phenomenon of political manipulation was enriched with different approaches to its analysis. In general, in modern scientific and journalistic literature, there are many interpretations of the concept of "manipulation", which indicates the ambiguity of this term and a significant number of approaches to its consideration in the political process.

It is important to note that the term "manipulation" is often associated with such phenomena as information warfare, "soft power", propaganda, "brainwashing", "Machiavellianism", disinformation, political games, etc. "Manipulation" is often used as a synonym for "influence", "suggestion", "persuasion", which are most fully and completely reflected in psychological dictionaries. Suggestion is a holistic, targeted process of (in)direct influence on the human psyche, aimed at its specific programming, at the implementation of the suggested content. Persuasion is understood as a process through which a person's views and behavior are subject to the verbal influence of other people without coercion [2, 58].

The presented concepts of the term "manipulation" indicate that they are closely related. It is obvious that suggestion, influence and persuasion imply direct subject-object communication. All of them are procedural, dynamic in nature and are aimed at changing the internal state of a person or a group of people. At the same time, they also have significant differences. Firstly, influence, unlike suggestion, presupposes not only a psychological act. Impact is also carried out in physical space, in particular, an example of impact is a blow or a handshake. Impact does not presuppose targeted programming of a person's consciousness, unlike suggestion; it can be direct with a specific intent, like propaganda, [3, 175], although often indirect and is carried out accidentally. Suggestion is always a pre-thought-out program. A special feature of persuasion, which distinguishes it from suggestion, which is close in content, is procedural openness, in which the subject does not resort to psychological techniques and pressure.

How close in content are the concepts indicated to "manipulation" in the psychological dictionary? [4, 245] "Manipulation" is considered here as a communicative influence that actualizes certain motivational states (feelings, attitudes, stereotypes) in the object of influence, which encourage it to behave in a manner

that is desirable (beneficial) for the subject of influence. At the same time, it does not necessarily have to be unfavorable for the object of influence.

Comparing this approach with the above concepts, we can conclude that influence and suggestion are components of manipulation. Manipulation, like influence and suggestion, is a subject-object process. The goal of manipulation is to instill in the object attitudes, goals and behavior through a certain psychological, physical, direct or indirect impact. Despite this, manipulation and persuasion are polar concepts, because persuasion, unlike manipulation, is open in nature, in which the subject of influence does not hide his goals and positions. Manipulation, on the other hand, excludes in advance the possibility of disclosing to the object of influence his goals, familiarizing him with the real values, intentions and messages present in the influence exerted by the subject.

An interesting definition of political manipulation is given by M.A. Golovaty, who writes that "this is a system of means of ideological and spiritual-psychological influence on mass consciousness with the aim of imposing certain ideas, values; targeted influence on public opinion and political behavior to direct it in a given direction. It is carried out through various media - the press, radio, television, cinema, advertising, computer technology, etc. Technologically, political manipulation has borrowed a lot from manipulation in general, as a type of psychological influence, the perfect implementation of which leads to a hidden incentive for another person to intentions that do not coincide with his actual existing desires" [5, 455].

Consequently, in scientific and journalistic discourse there are many explanations of this term, which have accumulated over a long period of time, although there is no consensus on who is the founder of the theory of manipulation. It is also unknown how and when manipulation began to be actively used in practice in various types of activities. Despite this, we believe that the first theoretical concepts of manipulation refer to ancient Greek sophistry (Greek sophism - fiction, cunning, trick) - the deliberate use of false arguments in disputes and evidence based on a conscious violation of logical rules (sophisms). It should be added that such different verbal tricks helped to mislead the listener.

Thus, one of the first theorists of manipulation is the Italian thinker N. Machiavelli. His famous work "The Prince" is a collection of recommendations for rulers on achieving and seizing power, governing the people, and conducting foreign and domestic policy. Of particular interest in Machiavelli's work is the fol-

lowing thesis: «...those princes who have done great things have held good faith of little account, and have known how to circumvent the intellect of men by craft, and in the end have overcome those who have relied on their word». [6, 124] This expression demonstrates the priority of secret and cunning means that a ruler or a person involved in politics and governance can resort to. It is also important to remember that Machiavelli was the first to introduce the concept of "crowd" into political science. He believed that a crowd is a mass of people who have little understanding of what a ruler really is, but pay attention only to what the ruler demonstrates or how he presents himself. Therefore, it is important to distinguish between the concept of the people and the crowd. The former rely more on reason, while the latter rely on feelings and passions. According to Machiavelli, a reasonable ruler must be able to manage passions, both for his own benefit and for the benefit of the state.

Most scientists understand manipulation as a means of psychological influence, with the help of which the subject of manipulation secretly controls the object of manipulation. Many scientists note that the manipulation is carried out so masterfully that the essence is unnoticed by others. Manipulation is associated with the deliberate distortion of information. Such a transformation of it is a powerful tool in the creation of manipulation technologies. Manipulation of consciousness is possible only through widespread control and directed transformation of information that determines motivations, attitudes, ideas, rules and patterns of human activity. At the same time, the trigger mechanism for manipulation is a certain degree of nervous and emotional tension of the mass of people. That is why manipulation is considered one of the most effective forms of information psychological warfare. In this regard, there is a big psychological war going on in the world today and the ongoing information-psychological warfare makes it possible to exert an intense influence and influence various processes at almost all levels of the state and social system in any country or region [7, 145].

Methods of manipulating public consciousness. At the end of the 19th – middle of the 20th century, famous researchers of that time, who studied the essence and specificity of mass movements, addressed the problems of manipulating public consciousness – G. Le Bon, J. Ortega y Gasset, A. Gramsci, G. Lassuel. French psychologist, sociologist and anthropologist G. Le Bon wrote in his work "Psychology of the Masses" that the basis of people management are ideas, feelings and customs, the bearers of which

are the representatives of a given society [8, 175]. He identified key features of the masses that opened up opportunities for controlling people. First, the feeling of an irresistible force that arises in the consciousness of an individual under the influence of a numerical crowd; it eliminates the individual responsibility of a person for his actions, because it transfers it to the crowd as a whole. Second, contagiousness: any feelings that arise in a crowd embrace all its participants. Third, people's vulnerability to suggestion, arising from the suppression of rational thoughts of an individual in a crowd. These features create favorable ground for the introduction of any ideas and views into the mass consciousness.

In turn, the Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset noted in his work "The Revolt of the Masses" that «The mass is the assemblage of persons not specially qualified. By masses, then, is not to be understood, solely or mainly, «the working masses.» The mass is the average man. In this way what was mere quantity- the multitude- is converted into a qualitative determination: it becomes the common social quality, man as undifferentiated from other men, but as repeating in himself a generic type». [9, 6-7] These words emphasize the role of the masses in the political process, testify to the possibility of skillful management of their consciousness and behavior. Returning to the ideas of Lassuel, Le Bon, Ortega y Gasset and Gramsci, we emphasize that they saw manipulation as a phenomenon that manifests itself in the process of massification of individual consciousness and an instrument for managing large social groups.

A more detailed examination of the concept of hegemony by the leader and theorist Gramsci revealed that, in his opinion, the main mechanism of power in governing the people is not so much coercion as persuasion. Government, Gramsci believed, has two pillars: force and consent. In this context, the key factor is the phenomenon of hegemony, which, according to Gramsci, is achieved by obtaining a certain level of "active" consent from society to govern it. Hegemony affects the entire society as a dynamic (not static) state - a constant, continuous process [10, 205]. It can be seen as an element of "soft power", when power influences society without using elements of coercion.

Important for political scientists, within the framework of the theory of society management, is also the work of G. Lassuel "Propaganda Technique in World War" (1927), in which propaganda in the fight against the enemy is placed on a par with military and economic weapons. For Lassuel, propaganda is

an attempt to change people's views, an instrument of "mass persuasion". In relation to the enemy, the following are defined as propaganda tools: undermining patriotism, faith in victory, people's trust in their government, focusing people's attention on various wanderings and problems, damage arising as a result of confrontation [11, 14].

In our opinion, this is where it becomes necessary to clearly separate manipulation from propaganda. Let us consider two significant differences between the concepts. Firstly, propaganda is an attempt to inspire, to convince of the correctness and adequacy of a certain point of view on reality. Manipulation is a way (ways) to achieve support in society for such actions of the authorities that society would not accept without the use of special manipulation techniques. Secondly, in most cases, the subject carrying out propaganda is known (for example, the Ministry of Propaganda of Nazi Germany under the leadership of J. Goebbels). And the key feature of manipulation is the secrecy of the subject of influence, who should in no case be discovered, otherwise the entire manipulative effect will most likely disappear.

In the second half of the 20th century, the first works of scientists (G. Franke, G. Schiller, T.N. Dijk) were published, devoted to the direct study of manipulation. One of the first books directly devoted to the manipulation of consciousness was the book by the German sociologist Herbert Franke "The Manipulated Man" (1964). He defined manipulation as follows: "In most cases, manipulation should be understood as a mental influence that is carried out secretly, and, therefore, to the detriment of those persons at whom it is directed. The simplest example of this is advertising" [12, 16]. Subsequently, the American researcher G. Schiller in his work "Manipulators of Consciousness" (1980) confirmed the opinion that manipulation is "hidden coercion, programming of thoughts, intentions, feelings, relationships, attitudes, behavior" [13, 12]. So for these scientists, "manipulation" has a negative meaning, and manipulation is always a violation of ethical norms. Dutch linguist T. Dijk considers manipulation a form of illegal influence due to the violation of social norms, a form of abuse of power, a desire to dominate people by hidden ways and means [14, 360].

Thus, Western scientists G. Schiller, T. Dijk and others assess manipulation as a destructive phenomenon that harms a person and society. In turn, the American scientist R. Holiday distinguishes between the concepts of "manipulation" and "influence", emphasizing that "we all use influence on other peo-

ple to advance our goals, and this is one of the signs of healthy social functioning. Manipulation begins when we secretly try to force a person to perform a certain action, exploit him and thereby ignore his rights. [15] In our opinion, manipulation is an action aimed at the mental structures of a person, carried out covertly and pursuing the goal of changing the thoughts, motives and goals of people in the direction desired by the authorities.

Sometimes in sources there is a theory of positive manipulation by the New Zealand philosopher A. Zhivalevich, who believes that "the positive type of manipulation is often used by means of hidden motivation in various production organizations. Motivation must be strong enough to make people do what they do not want to do. Otherwise, the tasks assigned to the employee will not be perceived as desirable." [16] In this case, the manipulator pursues the goal of increasing the functionality and productivity of the organization's employee. The result of using manipulation tools and technologies in this direction can benefit the organization (ensuring high-quality performance of work) and employees (providing work and a reward system). Thus, this theory allows us to believe that manipulations can be constructive if the subject of their implementation has not only his own benefit, but also a benefit for the person he seeks to secretly influence.

However, some scientists see manipulation as a psychological influence, the skillful implementation of which leads to the hidden emergence of intentions in another person that do not coincide with his or her actual existing desires. They consider manipulation to be one of the most common and humane means of psychological influence, because it allows one to avoid violence and achieve the desired results by peaceful, albeit morally questionable means. They consider this phenomenon as a social and communicative act of influencing decisions, opinions and social behavior of society. It turns out that manipulation is an incentive, a motivation for communication between social actors.

Manipulation as a tool of soft power. Y. Ermakov considers manipulation as a tool of "soft power". The goal of manipulation, in his opinion, is to motivate a person to perform certain actions that are beneficial to the subject, but at the same time do not threaten the object of manipulation or its environment. [17, 216] But this definition is quite controversial due to the ambiguous interpretation of the phenomenon of "soft power". Because the meaning of "soft power" manipulation can be considered as a replacement for

authoritarian-coercive power. Here "soft power" will be used for the purpose of exerting political pressure on the sovereignty of the state, interfering in its internal affairs, destabilizing the situation, managing public opinion and consciousness.

The "invisible hand" of manipulation, its "soft power", manifests itself mainly in the illusion of freedom and independence of people's thoughts and actions, in the imaginary independence of their opinions, motives and actions. In other words, manipulation is an illusion of human subjectivity, independence, activity and individuality. The essence of this illusion is in the inverse proportion: the more an individual feels himself to be a subject, the less he is one, becoming an object of the hidden power of external forces. That is why, hiding behind the facade of imaginary freedom and awareness, manipulation with the help of special methods and technologies can take various forms of invisible enslavement, spiritual dictatorship, subordinating the mind and soul of a person, or using people as living instruments to achieve goals alien to them.

"Soft power", like socio-political manipulations in general, is primarily associated with the communicative-symbolic aspect of power. These dynamic and metaphorical concepts reflect in scientific practice the opposite sides of the impact and influence of people on each other. When talking about "manipulations", it is often implied that there is a negative programming effect of "soft power", consisting in a specific, primarily spiritual impact of a person on another. In the case of mentioning "soft power", a neutral or even positive effect of the influence of manipulation on the consciousness and behavior of people is implied.

Having analyzed the above theoretical approaches to explaining manipulation, we can summarize that most often this phenomenon is considered destructive. If we analyze manipulation outside of moral evaluation, then it is appropriate to recognize the following features of this phenomenon: manipulation is always a communication act, the nature of which depends on the goals of the subject; manipulation is an alternative to imperative power, which assumes the non-violent achievement of the subject's goals and often excludes obvious threats to the object. For a more complete explanation of the phenomenon, it should be emphasized that manipulation in most cases is assessed negatively by scientists and society precisely because of its simplification. People often perceive the process of manipulation, directly linking it with the subject of manipulation, which is usually presented by both

some researchers and ordinary citizens as a negative person with exclusively selfish goals and interests.

In our opinion, manipulation should be viewed ambivalently: if the subject's actions take into account the interests of the object, then the manipulation process acquires constructive features and is interpreted as socially approved, creative, albeit hidden management. If the subject acts for selfish purposes, then manipulation has a negative connotation and is condemned by society.

Therefore, as a result of the analysis, it can be stated that political manipulation is the use of manipulative technologies in the political sphere to achieve political goals. Manipulation of public consciousness for political purposes is today a recognized political instrument. Political manipulation is a psycho-emotional impact on mass consciousness in order to achieve the desired state for government structures or to solve certain socially significant problems. This method can be considered a powerful tool for influencing the population, used both in difficult economic and political situations and in everyday life to maintain the stability of public sentiment and prevent public resonance.

This phenomenon manifests itself in different forms, but is always based on the key principles of public opinion formation. Firstly, the process of manipulation often appeals to the unconscious perception of reality, when even people with a high level of education and developed technological awareness are unable to grasp all the details of contradictory and ambiguous events. In such cases, they are forced to rely on the unconscious image of what is happening, which is thought out in advance by political leaders before it becomes part of mass perception. Secondly, people's consciousness is prone to stereotypes and is not always ready to perceive innovations, which is actively used by the ruling circles interested in maintaining their influence. Political manipulation plays a key role in the effective functioning of the administrative apparatus, allowing it to set the necessary standards and maintain established social models of interaction between structures. This is an important channel of communication between the authorities and society. The creation of stability in the perception of constantly changing circumstances is carried out through a comprehensive impact on the mass idea of the most priority aspects that constitute the strategic and functional basis of the socio-cultural appearance of the state.

The most common tool of political manipulation is the media, which can quickly reach the widest

possible audience. The media have practically made possible the existence of many democratic and totalitarian ideas that previously seemed utopian, have significantly changed the methods of legitimization and implementation of power, the structure of its resources. Therefore, it is not surprising that the attempts of the authorities to carry out mass manipulation are carried out thanks to the mass media. The presence of a powerful information resource allows one to come to power, as well as to maintain and legitimize one's rule. In modern society, the media are increasingly acting not only as a necessary communication element in the complex mechanism of politics, but also as its creator.

The active role of media in politics is connected with their influence on different aspects and stages of the information process in society. The starting point of this process is the production and selection of messages disseminated in society. The further actions of political agents mainly depend on what information they receive. Having important information means having power; being able to distinguish important information from unimportant means having even more power; the ability to disseminate important information in one's own direction or to hush it up means double power.

In general, in order to support and direct mass communication in the right direction, media seek to create certain standards of media consumption that contribute to the formation of imposed ideas about reality, including political reality. On the other hand, the ability to attract large masses to communication makes the process of influencing mass consciousness much more accessible. Thus, today, media have become a means, an instrument through which anyone can influence large groups of the population, so targeted manipulative influence on the audience is becoming an increasingly common function of media.

Thus, summing up the above, we can draw a conclusion about the multifaceted nature of the phenomenon of political manipulation, its widespread use and effectiveness, which, with proper preparation and competent application, is successfully manifested in modern socio-political discourse. Various methods of using this instrument of influence are actively used in the practice of public administration and social influence, subordination and retention of attention and loyalty of the population, the introduction of ideological attitudes through the unconscious level, which allows for more covert control of people or deliberately depriving them of views undesirable for manipulators.

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МАНИПУЛЯЦИЯ КАК ГЛАВНЫЙ ФАКТОР ВЛИЯНИЯ НА МИРОВУЮ ПОЛИТИКУ

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РЕЗЮМЕ

В статье исследуется явление политической манипуляции как механизма применения скрытых технологий в политической сфере для достижения целей политического характера. Анализ манипуляции без этической оценки позволяет выделить следующие характеристики явления: коммуникационный акт, форма которого зависит от целей субъекта; альтернатива авторитарной власти, предполагающая достижение целей субъекта без применения насилия; часто не включает явных угроз в адрес объекта. Автор полагает, что манипуляцию следует воспринимать с двойственным взглядом: если действия субъекта учитывают интересы объекта, процесс манипуляции становится конструктивным и воспринимается как социально приемлемое, творческое, хотя и скрытое управление. В случае, когда субъект действует с корыстными намерениями, манипуляция воспринимается негативно и осуждается обществом. Политическая манипуляция – это использование манипулятивных технологий в политике для реализации политических целей. Основным инструментом политической манипуляции являются медиа, через которые можно быстро охватить большую аудиторию. Было установлено, что тесная связь между политическим манипулированием и медиа приводит к изменению характера манипуляций в политике параллельно с изменением медиа-среды.

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Ключевые слова: политическое манипулирование, манипулятивные технологии, СМИ, информационная война.

MANİPULYASIYA DÜNYA SIYASƏTİNƏ TƏSİRİN ƏSAS AMİLİ KİMİ

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XÜLASƏ

Məqalədə siyasi manipulyasiya fenomeni siyasi sahədə gizli texnologiyaların tətbiqi mexanizmi kimi araşdırılır və siyasi məqsədlərə nail olmaq vasitəsi kimi təhlil edilir. Manipulyasiyanın etik qiymətləndirilmədən təhlili bu fenomenin aşağıdakı xüsusiyyətlərini müəyyən etməyə imkan verir: bu, kommunikasiya aktıdır və onun forması subyektin məqsədlərindən asılıdır; zorakılıq tətbiq etmədən subyektin məqsədlərinə nail olmasını nəzərdə tutan avtoritar hakimiyyətə alternativdir; çox vaxt obyektə qarşı açıq təhdidləri ehtiva etmir.

Müəllif hesab edir ki, manipulyasiyaya ikili yanaşma ilə baxmaq lazımdır: əgər subyektin fəaliyyəti obyektin maraqlarını da nəzərə alırsa, manipulyasiya prosesi konstruktiv xarakter alır və sosial baxımdan qəbul edilən, yaradıcı, lakin gizli idarəetmə forması kimi dəyərləndirilir. Əksinə, subyekt şəxsi maraqlarla hərəkət etdikdə, manipulyasiya mənfəi qiymətləndirilir və cəmiyyət tərəfindən qınanılır.

Siyasi manipulyasiya siyasi məqsədlərin həyata keçirilməsi üçün manipulyativ texnologiyaların siyasətdə tətbiqidir. Siyasi manipulyasiyanın əsas aləti media vasitələridir ki, onların köməyi ilə qısa müddətdə geniş auditoriyanı əhatə etmək mümkündür. Müəyyən edilmişdir ki, siyasi manipulyasiya ilə media arasında sıx əlaqə mövcuddur və bu əlaqə media mühitində baş verən dəyişikliklərlə paralel olaraq siyasətdə manipulyasiya üsullarının da xarakterinin dəyişməsinə səbəb olur.

Açar sözlər: siyasi manipulyasiya, manipulyativ texnologiyalar, KİV, informasiya müharibəsi

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