The place and role of political advertising in the system of manipulative technologies: the linguistic dimension

El lugar y el papel de la publicidad política en el sistema de tecnologías manipulativas: la dimensión lingüística

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Abstract

Issues of language and political discourse form a very dense framework for theories and studies of argumentation, the new rhetoric. The political discourse analysis is gaining in scope and epistemological precision. However, discursive effects remain largely understudied regarding linguistic means as manipulative tactics. This phenomenon shapes the relevance of this study. It also analyses how linguistic traces of political discourse affect the population in terms of psychosociology and manipulative tactics. The ideology of discursive persuasion reveals issues in cognitive activity (meaning, intentionality, and strategy) that the speaker performs, as well as the impact on a known target. The study focuses on the norms and use of language, image,
text, and sound in political advertising. It also analyses scholarly works related to the topic, offering an analysis based on observations on political communication and its media staging of the functioning of sociolinguistic variation regarding the norms and representations that operate in this official/dominant language market and specific to the language of politics. Research related to advertising and advertising language in relatively recent studies is still approached with some caution. Therefore, this paper attempts to deal with them from the perspective of linguistics in its broader discussion. To do so, the article focuses on studying linguistic means specific to political advertising on billboards during political campaigns. The most peculiar aspects of the contextual and formal expression of political advertising on billboards are identified.

**Keywords:** manipulative rhetoric, political discourse, nonverbal means, psycholinguistic coding, billboard.

**Introduction**

Advertising has become an integral part of everyday life, a component that is becoming increasingly important and diverse. For this reason, the number of scientific publications on this topic is also growing. This trend is not ignored by the branch of linguistics. Language as a tool of advertising is a very relevant topic for research, although many works consider only individual components of advertising language and refuse the general linguistic volume.

Advertising as a general social phenomenon cannot be limited to one sphere of human life but takes its place in society as a whole – thus, it is always present in politics, economics, culture, and psychology and is often called propaganda. In the past, in terms of social manipulation, the word propaganda has always been synonymous with advertising.

Today, advertising has become an indispensable element of political strategies. It is influential in public life. With this in view, the choice of rhetorical techniques, their verbal and visual transposition and their adaption to the cultural differences of the beneficiaries are vital to reaching the required acceptance and interpretation.

This study touches various disciplines concerning diverse topics in advertising (political science, communication science, psychology, sociology, business economics, and political economy) in order to research advertising from an interdisciplinary perspective.

The study on political advertising from a linguistic perspective also deals with studies in such areas as pragmatics, lexis, and syntax, and critical contributions to the field of linguistics.

Based on some 336 examples of political advertising presented in PR political companies, the paper aims 1) to propose a classification of the analytical study of this work, political advertising as an object of study in the field outside of the limits and scopes of linguistics; 2) to carry out a typological analysis between linguistics and all other disciplines dealing with advertising; 3) to highlight rhetorical techniques, their verbal and visual implementation, their assimilation and their interpretation by recipients.

**Theoretical Framework or Literature Review**

The manipulative purpose of political advertising is subject to diverse evaluations. They are expressed by means of epic/meta-linguistic...
discourses and generate specific attitudes within political-media communication (Susser, Roessler & Nissenbaum, 2019). In addition, political discourse makes extensive use of grammatical (syntactic constructions, use of tenses and temporal devices) and lexical (regionalisms, archaisms, specific jargon, and other subcultural lexicons) variations (Addawood, Badawy, Lerman & Ferrara, 2019).

So, the components of political-media communication have always been the subject of all sorts of scholarly debate. According to Van Peer (2021), the importance of language use concerning dominant sociolinguistic norms should not be seen as the result of ubiquitous political marketing. Oviatt (2021) notes that the problematic relationship of manipulative norms is not deprived of powerful interest in terms of political rhetoric. Noggle (2021) views as the perception of linguistic phenomena whose deviant use has the anti-technocratic and anti-centralizing character of peripheral politics. If considering political advertising as a phenomenon of mass media society, it can be assumed that mass media play an important role in modern society, especially because of its role in public communication. Addawood, Badawy, Lerman & Ferrara (2019) study the relationship between advertising and the media. Scholars emphasize that political advertising has the most important structural influence on the media. Reisach (2021) analyses political advertising in a cross-cultural way. Cultures and languages are different, just as the language of advertising differs across cultures because it uses different cultural factors to effectively influence audiences. According to scholars, the most important in this differentiation is the degree of effectiveness comprehension for recipients of different cultural and linguistic communities. Citizens of different countries perceive advertising from other cultures differently. This is due to the different cultural backgrounds of their respective ideology. Let us try and achieve a mutual understanding of this issue.

Proceeding from the hypothesis that different representations of values are the basis of cultures, since values are understood as the core of each culture, the question arises whether recipients of different cultural backgrounds perceive political advertising messages differently, and if so, how they differ. Since advertising these days increasingly appeals to the feelings of recipients and carries a manipulative influence, politicians need to ensure that the actual political advertising conveys the values of the experience perceived by the consumer in the desired way because this is the only way to get their attention (Yarmolyuk, 2022).

To summarize, political companies must consider the aspect of multinationalism and use a certain degree of cultural sensitivity in addition to linguistic knowledge (Di Domenico, Sit, Ishizaka & Nunan, 2021). In order to successfully sell a product or service, one has always resorted to psychology and oratory, and this is the main success strategy.

Thus, a deep knowledge of emotional values and the prevailing values of the present and the norms of society is important for an effective approach to manipulation through political advertising.

**Methodology**

The pragmatic perspective, through a thorough analysis of the manipulative function of language in political advertising, provides a detailed description of the language form; it considers vocabulary, phraseology, syntax, and punctuation, as well as individual components of political advertising, such as the title, the text itself, the slogan, etc., as well as image elements, which are usually in very close connection with language and text. In addition to linguistic and pragmatic tools, specific advertising strategies that analyse rhetoric, specialized and perceptual components, play an important role. In general, political advertising as a socio-psychological and sociological phenomenon includes all forms of conscious manipulation of people in relation to any object. Political advertising is seen as a means of public and planned message transmission, when the message influences the judgment and actions of groups, and thus serves a party or political bloc to achieve its goals. As part of the study of the place and role of political advertising in the system of manipulative technologies in the linguistic dimension, the second round of mayoral elections in the cities was analysed by the monitoring method: Kyiv, Lviv, Odesa, Kherson, Kamyanets-Podilsky, Lutsk, Sumy, Kramatorsk in November 2020 in Ukraine; (Kyiv - Vitaliy Klychko vs Oleksandr Popov, Lviv - Andriy Sadovy vs. Oleh Synyutka, Odesa - Hennadiy Trukhanov vs. Mykola Skoryk, Kherson - Ihor Kolokhayev vs. Volodymyr Saldo, Kamyanets-Podilsky - Mykhaylo Positko vs. Volodymyr Melnychenko, Lutsk - Ihor Polishchuk vs. Bohdan Shyba, Sumy - Oleksandr Lysenko vs. Vadym Akperov, Kramatorsk - Oleksandr Honcharenko vs. Andriy Pankov. All types of political advertising offered by the candidates to the voters were analysed:
articles in newspapers, TV spots, booklets, and most importantly, billboard advertising.

Results and Discussion

Political advertising is always focused on the recipient. In addition to linguistic manipulations, PR campaigns intensively use methods of propaganda of deep psychology. The results of monitoring and analysing the events and facts of the election campaign for the local mayoral elections in November 2020, studying the programs of speeches, media PR campaigns of candidates and propaganda on billboards showed that candidates use all possible methods of manipulation and argumentation in their election campaigns to the maximum extent possible. During the elections, candidates are actively practising newspaper publishing, cooperation with radio, FM radio projects, bookbinding and billboard campaigning (tab.1).

Table 1.
Linguistic and non-linguistic tactics in candidates’ political advertising during the PR company.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The city</th>
<th>The candidates and their results during elections</th>
<th>Tactics and ways of manipulation</th>
<th>The number of manipulative linguistic means</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kyiv</td>
<td>Vitaliy Klychko 47.8%</td>
<td>Print media, TV, debates, slogan, headline, articles, main text, echo phrase, headline, colour billboard advertising</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lviv</td>
<td>Andriy Sadovyy 62.8%</td>
<td>Print media, slogan, headline, articles, main text, echo phrase, headline, colour billboard advertising</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odesa</td>
<td>Hennadiy Trukhanov 38%</td>
<td>Main text, echo phrase, slogan, headline, colour, billboard advertising</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kherson</td>
<td>Ihor Kolokhayev 30%</td>
<td>Slogan, headline comic text, the use of numbers, billboard advertising</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamyanets-Podilskyy</td>
<td>Mykhaylo Positko 40%</td>
<td>Print media, slogan, headline, articles, main text, echo phrase, headline</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutsk</td>
<td>Ihor Polishchuk 37%</td>
<td>Slogan, headline comic text, the use of numbers, billboard advertising</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumy</td>
<td>Oleksandr Lysenko 42%</td>
<td>Articles in newspapers, TV spots, internet, booklets, billboard advertising</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kramatorsk</td>
<td>Oleksandr Honcharenko 37%</td>
<td>Main text, echo phrases, slogan, headline, colour, billboard advertising</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyiv</td>
<td>Oleksandr Popov 8.6%</td>
<td>Slogan, headline comic text, the use of numbers, billboard advertising</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lviv</td>
<td>Oleh Synyutka 37.2%</td>
<td>Main text, echo phrase, slogan, headline, colour, billboard advertising</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odesa</td>
<td>Mykola Skoryk 19%</td>
<td>Print media, internet, slogan, headline, articles, billboard advertising</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kherson</td>
<td>Volodyymyr Saldo 17%</td>
<td>Main text, echo phrase, slogan, headline, colour manipulation, billboard advertising</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamyanets-Podilskyy</td>
<td>Volodyymyr Melnychenko 35%</td>
<td>Slogan, headline comic text, fear and panic messages, the use of numbers, billboard advertising</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutsk</td>
<td>Bohdan Shyba 13%</td>
<td>Articles in newspapers, internet, booklets, billboard advertising</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumy</td>
<td>Vadym Akperov 14%</td>
<td>Main text, echo phrase, slogan, headline, colour manipulation, billboard advertising</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kramatorsk</td>
<td>Andriy Pankov 48%</td>
<td>Articles in newspapers, TV spots, booklets, billboard advertising</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: author’s own development
The table above shows the multilevel nature of the influence of the print media, which is expressed in the use of linguistic and extra-linguistic components in the process of influence. If comparing the results of votes for candidates in percentage, one can see that the more manipulative language device used by a candidate in the media, radio, the Internet, and billboard advertising, the higher the percentage of votes for the candidate is. Thus, one can talk about the linguistic potential of influence in political advertising.

In this aspect, Ihnatenko (2022) analysing a similar work, writes that if comparing the advertising of the past with the present, the following changes are noticeable: if earlier the language of political advertising was mostly objective, informative and rational, today it has become quite emotional. As for the length of texts, there are also noticeable changes, namely, advertising messages of the past had a much longer text length than modern advertising messages (Hall, Xing, Ross & Johnson, 2021). One agrees that images in the PR campaigns of the candidates selected for the study are used much more often than audio and video messages. In this regard, researchers have found that the brain records and processes images better and more easily than texts, and “in the case of images, the information to be processed can be encoded in a dual way, both mentally and verbally” (Hancock, Naaman, & Levy, 2020). According to Hacker (2021), the reason is consumer information overload, and the supply of information is constantly increasing with new information providers and new media channels. According to a research project by Mathur, Wang, Schwwemer, Hamin, Stewart & Narayanan (2023) on user consumption and behaviour, user spends only 2 seconds on an advertisement, and more than 95% of the information in an advertisement does not reach the target audience. Political advertising had to adapt to the situation and, with the help of experienced linguists and psychologists, manipulate with images and short but to-the-point messages (Lorenz-Spreen, Lewandowsky, Sunstein & Hertwig, 2020).

The traditional approach to persuasion through political advertising is coming to an end. In this context, Helberger, Dobber & de Vreese (2021) emphasize the importance of the Internet. The Internet represents a new solution for politicians, such as advertising outlets, agencies, and media, capable to influence the masses. Online publics represent a new interactive medium. There candidates and voters can interact directly (Karpitskaya & Chuyanava, 2021). While there is some debate about this, visualization and constant attention-grabbing through billboards have a much stronger manipulative, subconscious influence than the Internet (Fig. 1).

**Figure 1.** Critical aspects of the contextual and formal expression of political advertising on billboards.

The figure highlights the descriptive methods applied to the linguistic analysis level of the political PR campaign in the November 2020 mayoral elections. The most important aspects of the contextual and formal expression of political advertising on billboards are identified. These are...
the linguistic elements of advertising, such as the name of the party, the candidate’s own photo, the slogan, the title and content; the text and images; text size, text configuration and typography; as well as linguistic descriptive elements, such as vocabulary, stylistics, rhetoric and syntax.

Already in the 1960s, the language of advertising was widely considered as an object of study in linguistics (Nenadić, 2019). Specialized linguistic works on the language of advertising and linguistic descriptive studies are linguistic phenomena at the level of lexis, syntax and stylistics that, based on political texts, analysed aspects of vocabulary, word choice, parts of speech, semantic redefinition, syntax, rhetorical devices, as well as the impact of the language of advertising (Petre, Duffy & Hund, 2019). A political advertising campaign is characterized during its development mainly by a number of dimensions of action in the advertising system: the initial phase, where the candidate contacts advertising agencies; the production phase, where advertising agencies go through all the stages of advertising design and advertising concept; the distribution phase, where the final campaigns are promoted through various advertising sources; the reception phase, which includes two areas of “reception” and “effect”; and the fifth phase is the processing phase, where the feedback of the received manipulative message is expected. Word, image, sound and symbol are the means of communication that contribute to the presentation and development of political advertising messages. Among the various means of promotion, visualization and constant contact with advertising, and in this case, billboards, takes the first place, and the

analysis model is based on the use of verbal and nonverbal linguistic means. Impressions of the image, combined with a professionally selected test, generate a second artificial reality in the recipient, which mostly consists of “internal images”. Political advertising on billboards has a strong influence on the recipient’s future behavior. One more important category in this aspect is the political text within diplomatic activities. According to Kuchyk & Kuchyk (2022) the manipulative meaning in political texts should be analysed in terms of in political linguistics. Its manipulative potential in political communication within political and diplomatic activities of multilateral cooperation is of great importance.

In this context, images are particularly effective. They can be symbols, written forms and font size, colour, or a picture of a person. When creating political advertising, certain criteria should be followed (Ryabchenko, Katermina & Malysheva, 2019). According to Vasishth & Gelman (2021), the first criterion is the choice of colours (or it can also be colourless). First of all, it is necessary to decide whether to create an advertisement in black and white or multicolour format. The second important criterion when creating an advertisement is the choice of format (Silva et al., 2020). In this case, the principle applies that smaller ads attract less advertising effect. Exceptional ad formats, such as round or star shapes, are more likely to grab the reader’s attention.

The results of this study showed that the order of placement.

Table 2.
Ways of forming new linguistic terms in political discourse

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Changes in vocabulary composition</th>
<th>Formation of new linguistic signs by word formation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Genesis of word formation</td>
<td>Combination of lexemes and morphemes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neologisms</td>
<td>Authors’ neologisms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: author’s own development

Similar to the advertising industry, which is constantly changing, the vocabulary of political advertising is not a consistent inventory but is constantly updated and changed due to the constant need for new linguistic elements. The need for new linguistic terms can be satisfied in two ways: either in the vocabulary or in the new words formation. New terms in the dictionary appear by combining existing linguistic signs with new meanings or by forming new linguistic signs through word formation, namely by forming new word roots. In word formation, this is achieved by forming new words from existing and known lexemes and morphemes. Neologisms can interest the readers of an advertisement in a certain aspect and thus attract attention. According to Sætra & Mills (2022), derivatives that deviate from the norm or contradict the rules of existing formation models are particularly suitable for this purpose. Thus, words have an expressive character. According to Saurwein & Spencer-Smith (2020), stylistic figures fall into three broad categories: grammatical elements (nominal or verbal),
vocabulary elements (complex, limited, picturesque), and text structure elements (interesting, boring, descriptive). An important aspect of this study is to identify and analysed the rhetorical figures of advertising speech, to find out what is meant by rhetoric in political discourse. The main goal of any form of advertising is manipulation. In this sense, rhetorical figures are used, which undoubtedly develop a great appealing character. Rhetorical figures are “deviations from the normal sequence of linguistic elements”.

As for syntax, it is considered that political language prefers simple and short sentences. A possible reason is given by Hacker (2021) in his work, namely, that it’s not logical to trust complex sentences to the quick-witted and inattentive reader.

Consequently, the manipulative aspect of political advertising in an anthropological-cultural and economic context is expressed through linguistic pragmatics.

In today’s globalized world, effective advertising depends on such aspects as politics, economics, law, religion, culture, standard of living, level of education, and people’s language. An example of this is the linguistic strategies of political advertising. They can vary greatly from one language to another because political discourse depends on culture, so there may be differences in economic systems, value orientations, and traditions, which are reflected in the linguistic means of style.

Conclusions

Having shown the peculiarities of political discourse rhetorical concept, it is possible to better understand the social problems of the concept “manipulation”. By “manipulation” one understands the idea of massive and constant influence on consciousness through advertising, media, television, etc., rather than attempts at disinformation or destabilization. Manipulation is always linked to a specific historical context, which sees a combination of large-scale propaganda efforts and the rise of mass media based on simplistic behaviorism. It is the expansion of this concept, from political propaganda to manipulation tactics that shows its inaccurate and generalized nature.

In political terms, public discourse is not as relevant as face-to-face pressure; morphologically, it is the shape of the audiences that determines the discourse, not the discourse that determines the shape of the audiences. In this paper, one considers the pragmatic aspect of linguistics to be the basic one in analysing the manipulative impact of political advertising. Pragmatics has evolved into an empirical discipline, so that it increasingly integrates different language dimensions. Pragmalinguistics, psycholinguistics, and sociolinguistics are linguistic disciplines that analysed language signs in terms of their use by language users. In terms of advertising-pragmatic relations, pragmatics analyses the relationship between the advertising message and the recipients of the advertising message in the context of advertising. It analyses how the advertising message reaches the recipients and how they interpret it. The pragmatic aspect of political advertising concerns the effect of advertising messages of an idealistic, realistic or stereotypical nature or representations of foreign cultural practices. The analysis of political advertising on billboards during the November 2020 mayoral elections evaluated that the essence of the manipulative strategy is to form a positive emotional perception of the advertising text by the recipient. The design of billboards emphasizes optional components and is carried out with the help of linguistic and extralinguistic manipulative tactics. They are formally implemented through the use of certain nominal units and a specific compositional structure of the political advertising text.

Bibliographic references


