TÍTULO: Tecnologías de Propaganda como instrumentos de legitimación del poder político.

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RESUMEN: El artículo está dedicado a las tecnologías de propaganda como medio para legitimar el poder político. El autor define las características y el papel de las tecnologías de propaganda en el fortalecimiento o debilitamiento de la legitimidad del poder. El análisis de la variedad de tecnologías de la propaganda política permite identificar los mecanismos de legitimación del poder político. El autor llega a una conclusión razonable de que las tecnologías de propaganda son los medios más eficaces para lograr los objetivos de los propagandistas, razón por la cual las tecnologías de propaganda son las herramientas claves para legitimar el poder político en el proceso político moderno.

PALABRAS CLAVES: tecnologías de propaganda, legitimación del poder político, opinión pública, comunicación.

TITLE: Propaganda technologies as tools of legitimation of political power.

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ABSTRACT: The article is devoted to propaganda technologies as a means of legitimizing political power. The author defines the features and role of propaganda technologies in strengthening or weakening the legitimacy of power. The analysis of the variety of technologies of political propaganda gives grounds to identify the mechanisms of legitimization of political power. The author comes to a reasonable conclusion that the propaganda technologies are the most effective means of achieving the goals of propagandists, which is why propaganda technologies are the key tools for legitimizing political power in the modern political process.

KEY WORDS: propaganda technologies, legitimation of political power, public opinion, communication.

INTRODUCTION.

Political propaganda is an important component of the political process. It determines not only the thoughts, behavior of politicians, their supporters and opponents, the content and quality of political decisions, but also the course of democratic reforms, the depth of reforms and the fate of the country as a whole.

Political propaganda functions in dozens and hundreds of hypostases, is realized through many mechanisms, techniques and technologies, has many names that ensure its hidden nature, since the effective action of propaganda in general is conditioned by its invisibility and unconsciousness for the participants of political life. On the one hand, the extreme efficiency and effectiveness of political

propaganda as an instrument of political competition and confrontation, and on the other – its secrecy determine the significance of the study of political propaganda.

Political propaganda is primarily aimed at achieving a high degree of legitimacy of political power. In other words, the main function of propaganda is to legitimize, in particular the legitimation of socio-political activity of subjects of political process, the legitimacy of the political system, the legitimization of political-power decisions in the perception of the public.

Propaganda operates in many dimensions simultaneously, using ideological, symbolic, mythological, verbal, visual, emotional, rational, communicative, entertainment, virtual, educational technologies to influence the perception of the target audience, which helps it to penetrate into all spheres of social interaction, including political relations.

Power exists primarily through legitimacy, which ensures subordination based on the good will of the subjects. In turn, the legitimacy of influence is largely determined by the possibilities of influence of political propaganda. It is fair to say that propaganda is an important instance of legitimation of modern politics, which operates through many forms of technological influence and, consequently, determines the content of political life and the power structure of political actors at the local, regional, national and international levels.

A significant amount of research by modern scientists is devoted to the topics of political propaganda and legitimization of power. The problems of political propaganda were comprehended in the works of of A.Macleod (Macleod, 2019), D.A.Barclay (Barclay, 2018), J.Pedro-Caranana, D.Broudy, J.Klaehn (Pedro-Caranana; Broudy; Klaehn, 2018), J.Stanley (Stanley, 2015), S.E.Graham, (Graham,2015). Various aspects of the legitimization of power were devoted to the research of O.Vysotskyi (O.Vysotskyi, 2010, 2017), M.F.Ibsen (Ibsen, 2018), S.Simonsen (Simonsen, 2019), D.Beetham (Beetham, 2013), I.Pardo, G.B.Prato (Pardo, Prato,2019), E.Díez-De-Castro, M.Peris-

Ortiz (Díez-De-Castro, Peris-Ortiz,2018). However, the problem of propaganda technologies as tools of legitimation of political power has not been sufficiently studied yet.

DEVELOPMENT.

The purpose of the article is to investigate propaganda technologies as a means of legitimizing political power, to determine the features of the mechanisms of their influence, the determinants of efficiency and the role in strengthening or weakening the legitimacy of power.

Propaganda always has been associated with power, which was realized as domination over minds and hearts. In contrast to the forced, violent, "hard" power, propaganda power is always the "soft" power. Propaganda works not by force, but by art. Its main task is attractive, which is to develop the desire of the masses to act in accordance with the intentions of the propagandist.

The nature of propaganda is manipulative. According to H.Lasswell, propaganda is the management of collective attitudes through the manipulation of meaningful symbols [Lasswell, p.627]. Propaganda operates in several dimensions simultaneously, using ideological, symbolic, mythological, verbal, visual, emotional, rational, communicative, entertainment, virtual, educational tools to influence the perception of the target audience, which helps it to penetrate into all spheres of social interaction, including political relations.

The role of propaganda as an effective tool for controlling the consciousness and behavior of the masses is conditioned by its such features: the ability to motivate, entice, confuse, intimidate the target audience; to give the object of influence the illusion that he can choose his actions freely and independently; to act invisibly on the decision-making process of the object of influence, during which he can not realize that he is exposed to propaganda influence; to neutralize the critical ability of his object; to create a connection between deliberate action (the goal of the propagandist) and the satisfaction of a strong desire of a certain audience.

Propaganda becomes political when it begins to influence the redistribution of power potentials in society, determining who, why and how legitimately makes decisions in the state. This means that political propaganda is an essential condition for the legitimacy of the conquest, retention and exercise of power. By influencing public opinion, it must provide the necessary level of legitimacy in the form of active or passive ("silent") public support for political forces that claim to dominate. Thus, political propaganda is a process of systematic and purposeful effective implementation of the impact on the consciousness and behavior of the masses in order to produce legitimacy to obtain, retain and exercise power through attracting the necessary number of supporters and neutralizing opponents.

The essence of political propaganda is the ability to find and intensify convincing and mobilizing for the masses meanings in order to gain power or make certain socially important decisions to ensure the legitimate victory of some political forces over others. One of the most common variants of the intensification of meanings is the construction of political space by propaganda in the political perception of the public as an arena of collision, tension and struggle for the definition of friends and enemies. At all times, playing on weaknesses, propaganda finds ways to influence both individuals and society as a whole.

Propaganda is readily accepted by recipients, as it performs an adaptive function. Especially felt the need for propaganda, when there are some new, unfamiliar situations that lead to confusion and scare. Propaganda should tell what to think, what to do and what to hope for. It is only through propaganda that the citizen again feels confident in his actions.

The effectiveness of propaganda is determined by the needs of the audience, so basically propaganda is designed taking into account the reaction to its challenges from specific social groups. Mass propaganda mainly works with the most simple, common and obvious things and events that can cause emotions in the masses of society. It is because of this that it is an important tool for legitimizing political power.

All the resources of propaganda are divided into those that transform political thinking, in a certain way shaping the perception of political reality, and those that shape political behavior. In fact, we argue that propaganda has a dual purpose of impact-consciousness and human action. Due to the fact that a person often acts not as a rational being, not as a consistent responsible social subject, but as part of the mass, as a mass person under the influence of impulses, impulses, emotions, sometimes the act has priority as the goal of propaganda.

The main majority of propaganda techniques has a psychological and linguistic basis. In their perspective, propaganda techniques are tactical in nature. First of all, they are focused on winning the attention, thought, act of a political subject here and now, in a certain political campaign. Techniques of propaganda include:

1) Approval of conflicting thoughts as fact without proper reasoning.

2) Orchestral wagon (specific implementation technique is to link to some General trend, which is placed as such that predominates).

3) Manipulation cards (the advantage of one point of view over another).

4) Brilliant generalizations (using words with a strong positive meaning without specifying them: freedom, democracy, security, welfare, choice, equality, change).

5) A fake dilemma.

6) The lesser of two evils.

7) Labeling.

8) Definitions of the enemy.

9) The "ordinary people" technique (allows politicians to demonstrate that they are theirs for a wide range of society and understand the problems of all its members)

10) Recommendations technique (used to ensure that the trust of experts, celebrities, respected people use to convert into trust in the interests of a certain group of people); political force or politics).

11) Technique transference (lies in initiating transference feelings, thought, positive relations with people, ideas on concrete political force or political figure). In fact, in the case of propaganda techniques, we are talking about political manipulation through symbols.

If propaganda techniques are aimed at the formation of short-term legitimacy of power, propaganda technologies are focused on the production of long-term legitimacy of power.

Unlike techniques, propaganda technologies have a strategic perspective of action. They are aimed not at changing the current attitudes, feelings, emotional attitudes, but at forming a person, the masses, society, the implementation of a certain anthropological project. Propaganda technologies work at the level of worldview, values, rationalized statements and conscious approaches. At the heart of the action of propaganda technologies are ideas, certain ideology, ideals. In turn, propaganda technologies are supplemented by techniques. Different audiences need different depths of propaganda influence. The thinking public demands inspiring ideas, bright arguments, convincing proofs, the sensitive public demands dramatic stories, narratives, the spiritually adjusted part of society waits for images, entertainment.

An important propaganda resource along with principles, techniques and technologies are the channels through which messages from propagandists reach the target audiences. These are primarily people-experts, journalists, rumor-mongers, press secretaries of state institutions and organizations. Secondly, it is a variety of media - newspapers, radio stations, television channels, internet platforms, blogs, social networks. Third, these are cultural products-paintings, posters, videos, movies, performances, happenings, songs, exhibitions. Fourth, it is commodities that are known to propagandate a lifestyle and preference for a particular political system.

The essence and peculiarities of technologies of propaganda to determine its various mechanisms. Through cognitive-deterministic mechanisms, political propaganda forms the perception of the socio-political reality of its recipients. The propaganda mechanism is a system of means consistently

organized to structure the perception, thinking and behavior of individuals and groups to change the power potentials in society in the interests of the forces that initiate the corresponding transformation of public opinion. Cognitive-deterministic mechanisms include symbolic, mythological, ideological, and virtualizing. According to this, it is possible to distinguish symbolic, mythological, ideological and virtualized technologies of propaganda.

Symbolic propaganda techniques provide for the attribution of meanings to things, events, and persons in order to successfully structure the perception of the flow of reality for the aspirants to exercise power. The mechanism of symbolic technologies of propaganda consists of components such as nominalization (the appropriation and consolidation of meanings using the name), mythologization (design, distribution and development of myths), metaphorization (structuring reality by means of words having indirect meaning, with the aim of sense-making) and ritualization (distribution and enhancing the relevance of political ideas in the form of emotionally-sensual images).

Mythological propaganda technologies are based on the mechanism of binary opposition. Binary oppositions are convenient for structuring political reality in the minds of the masses. The opposition works most vividly in the framework of the myth of unity, which is based on the opposition "friends-enemies", "friends-strangers", "we-they". They want to take away our values, and therefore our salvation is in unity and in any ways to confront them.

The propaganda effect of the myth is based on the fact that it offers the political subject a sense of being in exchange for the fact that he assumes a certain role. Myth in propaganda, in addition to emotionalization and drawing the masses into the political game, performs an explanatory function. For example, the conspiracy archetype can be used to interpret the failures of reform authorities. The myth of collusion gives the authorities the basis for any decision to strengthen security measures to the detriment of human rights, in particular the restriction of freedom. The myth of the Golden age draws society into the expectation of a bright future, in the hope of the Savior. In the context of the

Golden age myth, any promise of a politician can be seen as a projection of such an archetype on the Golden age.

Ideological propagandistic technologies are based on the activation of ideas, the complex impact of which turns individuals and social groups into obedient tools of information and psychological struggle for power. The ideas in the propaganda mechanism are well-structured representations, stimulate the desire of individuals and groups to get rid of the suffering of traumatic reality and to satisfy spiritual and material desires, which are in the way of realization of various enemies. The effectiveness of the ideological propaganda mechanism lies in the fact that it focuses public attention on the fight against enemies, thereby not only forming public opinion accordingly, but also attracts an active part of society to the side of one of the political camps that compete for power. As a result, propaganda influence is carried out not only on minds, but also on social and political actions, and objects of propaganda, having become carriers of its ideas, turn into its secondary subjects.

Virtualization technologies of political propaganda are based on the mechanism of antinomy and ambiguity of interpretations of verbal and visual images, which act as a representation and, at the same time, as a substitute for the original reality. The mechanism of such influence begins to work when the individual is transported into a world of illusions and fantasies that not only resemble his personal experience and connect it with the experience of other members of society, but also make it excessive at the expense of impressions received through perceived images.

The effectiveness of virtualization as a mechanism of political propaganda is due to the fact that the lack of knowledge about the significance of political phenomena and processes at the mass level, it turns into an excess of information for various representatives (in particular, images, symbols) of political objects, anticipating and surpassing the original reality, as it generates illusions and excites the imagination, which, in turn, determine the actual actions of a person. The extraordinary effectiveness of virtualization as a mechanism of political propaganda lies in its ability to ontologize constructed images of political reality,

to which it provides sufficient objectivity, sovereignty and representativeness of the interests, feelings, desires and fears of the social actors who are the objects of propaganda.

Virtualization due to the effect of ontologization of political reality allows to hide from society the true motives, intentions and goals of propagandists and political actors who act as customers of propaganda. The virtualization of political reality as a technology of political propaganda is carried out through the actualization of associations, their binding and fixation to specific images of personalized, institutional, ideological and even phantom political objects. The personified objects include political leaders; institutional ones - parties, socio-political organizations, states, international and state bodies; ideological ones - ideas, doctrines, party and electoral programs, declarations, appeals; phantom ones - abstract or nameless enemies, peoples (nations).

Virtualization of the political process is one of the main mechanisms of propaganda, which has a tangible effect through the use of images (representatives, substitutes, substitutes) of reality, able to attract large masses of people in trance States by systematically mastering their attention and at the same time its distraction from the experience of real personal existence in the space-time specifics. Virtualization is the process of replacing immediate reality (people, things, actions, etc.) with a system of its representations, images. Thanks to virtualization there is a creation of the world of figuratively-symbolic substitutes of physical, primary (initial) reality, that is establishment of virtuality as visible or imaginary space of existence of images, models, phantasms, ideals and desires. Virtual reality is always more attractive to individuals because it is more or less the result of escaping from the traumatic nature of everyday primary reality into the realm of perfection, ideals, the triumph of the wishful over the real, the imaginary embodied in the symbolic.

Communicative, value-normative and psychological technologies of propaganda play a decisive role in the management of political behavior. Communication technologies of propaganda provide involvement, retention and consolidation of groups of consumers of propaganda, according to communication channels.

Value-normative technologies of propaganda normalize the behavior of recipients of propaganda and provide ideals of political activity of social groups and society as a whole. Psychological technologies of propaganda provide irrational perception of political reality, mobilize political support by activating the emotional and sensual sphere of human life.

Effective use of propaganda is based both on the use of effective techniques and technologies, and on the observance of certain principles that guarantee the effectiveness of their impact. The principles of propaganda are requirements, compliance with which gives its technicians and technologies more opportunities to implement propaganda tasks and ensures a decrease in resources in their implementation.

There are several approaches to defining the principles of propaganda and its effective application. It is ideological, communicative and psychological approaches. The ideological approach is represented by the theoretical heritage of V.Lenin and the practice of Bolshevism. It is based on the fact that the basis of the success of propaganda is to ensure the dissemination of ideas and their credibility. The communicative approach was proved by H.Lasswell. This approach provides, first, borrowing principles from Aristotelian rhetoric, and secondly, the group nature of propaganda influence. The psychological approach is presented in the theory and practice of German Nazism. On the one hand, it focuses on the role of emotions in the success of propaganda; on the other, it assigns a key role to credibility as a strategic principle of propaganda. The derived principles of propaganda within these approaches are certainly important, having demonstrated their effectiveness in practice. It is important to note that propagandistic strategies are specific contexts that prioritize the application of relevant principles and their relevance. At the same time, it is worth noting the universal principles of propaganda that ensure its effectiveness. These are the principles of novelty, plausibility, consistency, clarity, accessibility, brightness, differentiation according to target audiences, consistency,

inclusiveness, repeatability, persuasiveness, weight for refutation and compliance with the desires of propaganda objects.

Propaganda technologies play an important role in obtaining, maintaining and exercising political power. Unlike propaganda techniques, technologies are institutional in nature, they operate continuously and rely on propaganda mechanisms. Technologies are systems of consistently applied procedures, techniques and methods of activity aimed at optimal and effective implementation of the goals and objectives of a particular subject at a certain time and in a certain place.

On the basis of the nature of the influence of propaganda technology are divided into hard and soft, the orientation of influence (on thinking or behavior) - cognitive-structuring and behavioral-constitutive. Cognitive-structuring technologies of propaganda include framing, priming, symbolization, ritualization, mythologization, political mokking, virtualization. Behavioral-constitutive technologies include such propaganda as image-making, public relations, psychological, value-mobilization, norm-forming and manipulative technologies.

Image-making plays an important role as an effective tool of political and propaganda influence. Its high efficiency is caused, first of all, by the hidden nature of the action and the reliance on the psychological dependence of a person on stereotypical ideas that determine the assessment of political reality. Images, which are stereotypical representations, peculiar mental pictures in the imagination of citizens, simplify the process of perception of political reality and allow qualitatively differentiating objects and manifestations. Political images not only shape public opinion, determining the political behavior of various social groups, especially during decision-making and elections, but also can influence the identification of social actors. As identifiers, political images concentrate in themselves in the active form stereotypical needs, hopes and desires of objects of propaganda, thus connecting them with dynamics of emergence and overcoming of threats and challenges of social and political reality.

Protection and counteraction to propaganda largely depends on counter-propaganda technologies, the success of which is a significant factor of victory in the propaganda confrontation. Counter-propaganda is an integral part of propaganda activity, a system of measures that constitutes a set of means, techniques and methods aimed at neutralizing and exposing the propaganda of political opponents in order to prevent possible negative consequences regarding the propaganda activity of a politician, political force or hostile state.

Technologies of political counter-propaganda are of great importance in preventing and countering opponents ' propaganda. Counter-propaganda technologies can be classified according to their functional orientation. Counter-propaganda technologies are divided into preventive, counteracting (neutralizing) and offensive. Warning technologies work to anticipate the opponent's reaction by explaining the situation before it becomes the target for the opponent's negative messages. Counteracting propagandistic technologies are aimed at reducing or neutralizing the opponent's propaganda. Counteracting technologies include direct refutation of enemy propaganda, indirect refutation, distraction, silence (silencing), restrictive measures, deception, prevention and minimization.

Technologies of offensive counter-propaganda aimed at preemptively discrediting the subjects, sources, means and content of propaganda messages of political opponents. Technologies of offensive counter-propaganda include, first, the initiation of topics that reduce the authority of subjects, sources and means of dissemination of hostile propaganda, secondly, ridiculing its value and ideological positions; thirdly, bringing to absurdity through hyperbolization of the world picture, which is propaganda, and fourth, ironizuvannya over those who tend to believe in the credibility of the messages of propaganda opponent.

The most primitive, but quite effective mechanism of propaganda are various forms and types of coercion. Propaganda coercion almost completely fits into the schemes described by E. Bernays in his classic work "Propaganda". Bernays presented modern propaganda as a planned informational influence on the mass consciousness in order to form public opinion. Technological capabilities of modern society allow to strengthen influence on the population thanks to instant distribution of information, not always objective and reliable, but emotional which is capable to mobilize society on rash acts: to cause psychosis, mass "madness", an exit to barricades, etc. [Berneys,1928, p.35-37].

The main dominant of modern propaganda technologies is manipulation. Despite the considerable number of definitions of this concept, manipulation as a leading mechanism of the propaganda process can be seen as the use of illegitimate influence through the mechanisms of discourse. Manipulators force others to do what is in their interests and contrary to the interests of those who are manipulated [Dijk, 2008, p.255]. In the broader semiotic understanding of manipulation, propaganda manipulative influence can also be realized through paintings, photographs, films, and other media. It is obvious that many forms of modern communicative manipulation (for example, manipulation in the media and, in particular, advertising) are multimodal in nature [Dijk, 2008, p.255].

The boundary between manipulation and persuasion is very illusory and can depend on context: what is manipulation for one person may not affect others. At the same time, in the processes of political propaganda, such types of manipulative strategies are most often used, as:

1) The impact on the emotional sphere of target audiences to increase social tension and destabilize the situation both in the case of consolidation of protest supporters, and to unite the whole society in a situation of external and internal threats.

2) The formation of the target audience of the necessary political attitudes and guidelines by introducing content into the public consciousness under the guise of objective information.

3) Refocusing public attention on topics favorable to the subject of propaganda.

4) Replacing the object's own goals with the goals of the manipulator.

5) Generalization of the event, in which the event that influenced the mental models of the addressees grows to the level of generally accepted knowledge or attitudes, and sometimes fundamental ideologies.

CONCLUSIONS.

Based on the results of the study, the following conclusions were reached:

1. Political propaganda performs both legitimation and delegitimization functions, since the problem of public recognition of political power or its weakening is solved at every facet of power.

2. The legitimation function of propaganda is the main one, since its implementation justifies the expediency of the existence of propaganda in the political space.

3. Propaganda technologies are the most effective means of achieving the goals of propagandists, which is why propaganda technologies are the key tools for legitimizing political power in the modern political process.

4. The analysis of the variety of technologies of political propaganda gives grounds to identify the mechanisms of legitimization of political power, which are associated, firstly, with the formation of a propaganda interpretation of socio-political reality in the interests of the dominant political forces, and secondly, with the direction of the behavior of the masses in the wake of support for power decisions and expectations of a better future.

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