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Политическая интернет-реклама:  
основные парадигмы исследования

Political online advertising: the main  
paradigms of research

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**Аннотация.** В статье интернет-реклама раскрывается в качестве социально-политического явления, где авторы обращаются к различным парадигмам в качестве общих теоретических ориентаций для познания феномена. Доказывается, что исследования социально-политической реальности жизни современного социума, который уже не может обойтись без интернет-рекламы, в том числе и политической, базируются на трех основных парадигмальных основаниях: структурном, интерпретативном, объединительном (интегративном). Раскрывается, что интернет-реклама как социальный институт выступает в качестве в том числе и политического феномена и представляет собой довольно устойчивую совокупность, которую достаточно легко идентифицировать как совокупность формальных и неформальных правил, призванных служить интересам, в первую очередь, производителей рекламы.

**Ключевые слова:** интернет-реклама, политическая реклама, парадигмы, общественное развитие

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**Abstract.** In the article, Internet advertising is revealed as a socio-political phenomenon, where the authors turn to various paradigms as general theoretical orientations for cognition of the phenomenon. It is proved that studies of the socio-political reality of the life of modern society, which can no longer do without Internet advertising, including political advertising, are based on three main paradigmatic foundations: structural, interpretive, unifying (integrative). It is revealed that Internet advertising as a social institution acts as a political phenomenon, among other things, and is a fairly stable set, which is quite easy to identify as a set of formal and informal rules designed to serve the interests, first of all, of advertising producers.

**Keywords:** internet advertising, political advertising, paradigms, social development

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**Introduction.** The term advertising has an ancient origin: it originates from the Latin word “reklamare”, which means “to shout loudly” or “to announce”, which was practiced in Roman squares and in crowded places, where heralds loudly announced breaking news or conveyed vital issues to the attention of citizens. Researchers, studying online advertising as a socio-political phenomenon, turn to various paradigms as general theoretical orientations for understanding reality. Paradigms are intended to identify a set of stable and generally valid norms, and, as the American researcher J. Macionis put it, a paradigm is “that initial image of society that guides the course of thinking and research” [10, p. 42].

**Materials and research methods.** The thematic field of research contributed to the use of general scientific methods of theoretical knowledge, such as the scientific description of the object of knowledge, the axiomatization method, the hypothetico-deductive method, the formalization method, etc. Among the specific scientific research methods, the authors turned to the method of theoretical pluralism.

**The main part of the study.** Turning to paradigms that make it possible to study Internet advertising as a socio-political phenomenon, we can turn to the scheme of multi-paradigm research of advertising as a social phenomenon proposed by S.A. Kravchenko, N.E. Pokrovsky and M.O. Mnatsakyan [8, p. 26]. Research into the socio-political reality of life in modern society, which can no longer do without online advertising, including political advertising, is based on three main paradigmatic foundations: structural, interpretive, unifying (integrative).

If we turn to the structural paradigm, the task of which is to reveal the understanding of society as a universal and systemic structural field, then we must pay attention to the fact that the space for carrying out advertising activities has its own clear subordination, organization of roles and functioning parts. In turn, each part of society has its own function. We can notice the connection between the harmony of a social system and how society functions, develops, and how parts perform their functions. As for Internet advertising, the connection is built as follows: advertising on the Internet requires such components as the ability to access the Internet, the availability of accessible networks, Internet literacy of the population, the permitting level (since in some countries there is strict censorship in relation to users Internet), the availability of modern devices among the population, the level of technological development of the country and society, etc. It turns out that Internet advertising is a combination of traditional image advertising with the dissemination of information, including political information, and sales through the global Internet.

Here the researcher’s task is to consider what level of development the social system of a particular society has reached, paying attention to how online advertising plays the role of a social institution, intervenes in politics, constructs political reality through the manipulation of public consciousness, etc.

**Research results and their discussion.** Internet advertising as a social institution acts as a social phenomenon and is a fairly stable phenomenon today, which is quite easy to identify as a set of formal and informal rules that include and, in the course of social development, change the list of advertising principles, information structures and technologies. It is necessary to take into account that in the Internet environment all processes proceed very dynamically, so traditional planning methods may turn out to be unproductive, and the strategic plans themselves, and in particular political marketing ones, may be suitable only for short periods of time.

In the Internet environment, a perspective or strategy must form a mental image of the desired outcome, which will be the most important prerequisite for the success of promoting an organization or political campaign. Regarding other types of advertising, in this case, developing a strategy means correctly assessing the course of a political campaign and its competitors in the Internet market, developing political technology activities in the Internet environment for at least several months in advance, and finding ways to achieve set goals in the user environment. This process is very important in the context of the growing virtualization of everyday life in society, for functioning on the scale of a new virtual life. Unlike traditional advertising activities, where control of distribution channels is exercised by the enterprise, in the Internet environment this

control often passes to consumers: they have the potential to determine the demand for any product or service, influence the competitiveness of a product or service, and expect improvements and personalized service.

At the same time, it should be noted that “broad prospects for the development of political advertising are associated with the use of the blogosphere and social networks. Firstly, the social sector of the Internet can provide a huge reach to an information-active audience. Secondly, communication on social networks is horizontal communication, which is much more comfortable for the audience than traditional media. Thirdly, in social networks there are conditions to quickly find out and immediately share information, as well as express your personal opinion (interactive opportunities)” [7, p. 226]. Being in solidarity and being a researcher, we will add that the sphere of politics can no longer exist without political technologies that cover the practical activities of political actors and subjects of politics, despite the divergence of goals, sometimes their opposite.

Thus, we have come to an interpretive paradigm, which creates an image of the success of a politician or the success of a policy being pursued. The point is that “modern Internet technologies can serve as a building material for organizing political communication, for example, a political club on the Internet” [12, p. 62], building a political image, promoting a political course, building a political strategy and tactics, certain mindsets and political consciousness.

For socio-political institutions to work, it is important to have the trust of the audience, when the attitudes introduced by advertisers and image makers are assimilated as part of the inner world of the individual, as part of his personal worldview, value orientations and socio-political ideas, and expectations. Advertisers adhere to these principles because we are talking about the manipulative nature of advertising, which is able to produce significant changes in the psychological and behavioral characteristics of the audience. The socio-political context, coupled with the advertising text, ultimately determines whether the advertising offer will be accepted, i.e. whether the proposed model of consumer behavior will be implemented in practice, whether political advertising will be effective.

In this regard, E. Giddens makes an important point that people's strategic behavior is largely based on how they interpret their environment, therefore, to understand human behavior, subjective phenomenological concepts should be taken into account [17]. And J. Habermas is absolutely right when he reveals that “The concept of normatively regulated action concerns not the behavior of a fundamentally lonely acting subject who discovers other acting subjects in his environment, but members of a social group who orient their actions towards common values” [16, p. 10]. J. Habermas emphasizes the integrity of the interpretive paradigm, since “this world - whatever we call it - is quite diverse and complex, and people living in society constantly strive, through the production of practical experience, to cope with this world, to map it and agree on the appropriate maps” [16, p. 6].

Relying on the basic principles of the classics of the theory of communicative action, we agree with N.A. Gilmutdinova that interpretive paradigms place emphasis on the study and interpretation of human behavior in the socio-political environment [4, p. 15]. For example, advertising in the paradigm of facts (“structural functionalism”) is closest to a socio-political phenomenon, since within the framework of socio-political institutions advertising appears in a system of standardized expectations that influence and determine “expected, predicted” behavior. In this paradigm, which determines the “correct” behavior of an individual, the individual plays a certain social role.

As for the paradigm of the unifying (integrative) nature of political online advertising, this message is partially outlined in the Federal Law of June 12, 2002 No. 67-FL “On the Basic Guarantees of Electoral Rights and the Right to Participate in a Referendum of Citizens of the Russian Federation,” which normatively determines the course of pre-election campaigning carried out during the election campaign. As for organically integrated references to a political or other product in works of science, literature and art, the current edition of the FAS law on

advertising provides an exception for them, while the upcoming bill mitigating the punishment for violating the law on advertising implies amendments that “extend this exception for any results of intellectual activity, which significantly expands the scope of its application - including reviews from bloggers” [15].

Integrative concepts are more systematically revealed in the works of P. Bourdieu, P. Sztompka and others. Thus, P. Bourdieu, considering the communicative spheres of society's life from the point of view of its integration formulas, individual - social, subjective - objective, connects with the concept of "habitus" (incorporation), which is further revealed and linked into a single chain of interrelated concepts. According to P. Bourdieu, we are talking about ontological participation [2, p. 25] when building integrative bonds of society. In turn, P. Sztompka considered a culture of trust as the main basis for integration in society. As suggested by O.E. Bykova, “The originality of his system of views on the phenomenon of trust lies in the fact that he proposed a definition of trust as having an inextricable connection with action... When entering into interactions with other people or social institutions, a person experiences some uncertainty and anxiety due to the lack of reliable information about partners in sufficient volume. And trust is a way that helps her reduce the level of anxiety, uncertainty and risk, allows her to live and interact with the world around her” [3, p. 134].

All of the above confirms the point of view according to which we can consider online advertising, including political advertising, separately from other types of communication activities, since it has turned into a special professional niche focused on providing society with information aimed at producing information by interested parties about goods for the purpose of exchange by the audience, which must either buy the product or make the choice desired by the advertiser.

However, practice shows that advertising with a sufficient degree of probability guarantees the typification of consumer behavior of target audiences, maintaining balance in the “production and consumption” system (thus realizing its original function). But for an institution to work, it is necessary that the attitudes and stereotypes it introduces become the property of the individual's inner world, his value orientations and expectations. Therefore, our next task is to highlight the integrating functions of online advertising as a socio-political phenomenon. Most researchers believe that there are three of them: the function of socialization, adaptation and the function of promoting progress.

Let's consider the function of socialization. Indeed, Internet advertising performs an important function of the process of integrating into the consciousness of individuals general knowledge and ideas about the presence in society of certain proposals, norms, stereotypes, even certain values and motives inherent in a given society, behavior patterns, etc.

In everyday activities, a person encounters the fact that advertising confronts him with different opportunities for self-realization, broadcasting to the audience the opportunities provided in terms of opportunities of various kinds: ranging from cultural opportunities and spiritual self-improvement to material and social opportunities. At the same time, a person neutrally, and sometimes aggressively, obsessively and systematically develops desires to use these opportunities, to take active actions to bring these opportunities to life. It is believed that these human actions following the advertisement correspond to the interests of society as a whole [11], which can be argued. As an example, let us give active advertising on the Internet of various radical political organizations of a religious nature. Presented as necessary for spiritual development, these advertising “constructions” play a negative role in the life of society, in no way contributing to the interests of society as a whole. Yet, for the most part, advertising contributes to the dissemination of socio-political values, since in most cases a bright world is advertised, where respect, success, and care are welcomed. Thus, advertising, including online advertising, more often transmits socially approved values, rules and norms to the audience than negative attitudes.

As for the function of socio-political adaptation, we note that Internet advertising adapts a person to the environment in which he exists, introduces him to the world around him, with the

help of advertising, including Internet advertising, a person is included in a given society and gets to know its characteristics, habits, preferences and preferences, i.e. joins society. G.M. wrote about this back in the 60s. McLuhan in his famous treatise "Culture is our business" that the new generation literally "sucks in" precisely through advertising "all the times and all the space of the world from their mother's TV" [14, p. 108].

Additionally, researchers note the function of online advertising as promoting progress. Agreeing with the researchers, we note that Internet advertising really introduces into the individual's consciousness new knowledge and ideas about new technological innovations, about new ways to improve human life. Of course, thereby Internet advertising contributes to the introduction of technical innovations and novelties into human life, in completely different areas of social practice. This technological dependence of man was noticed back in the nineteenth century by the domestic researcher N. Plisky, who literally suggests the following: "the merit of advertising is that it... spreads knowledge and experience and explanations everywhere, it makes it possible for every inventor and improver to make their fruits publicly known." useful works, and for many other people to benefit from recent discoveries" [13, p. 47].

Researcher I.V. Krylov [9] additionally identifies another integrating function of Internet advertising, which is expressed in the fact that it serves to neutralize social anxiety and relieve the level of social tension. It is impossible to disagree with these theses, since Internet advertising, like all advertising in general, can play both a destructive or mobilizing role, and can "smooth out" a conflict situation, offering a uniform normative and value system for society. As a result, the emergence of coordinated and successful social functioning of various components of not only the social organism, but also the political world is possible, which is one of the central points of the integrating, social function of advertising, including in the Internet space.

The listed functions do not exhaust the communicative capabilities of online advertising as a socio-political phenomenon. Thus, we can talk about the innovation function, which serves not only to provide the individual with information about innovations, but also to prepare a person's consciousness for impending changes, upcoming changes, to some extent removing the protective barrier that is inherent in the majority before changes in science and technology, when humanity in its overwhelming majority is not ready for fundamental changes in existence, considering some new items to be a whim or premature. For example, many people in the early days of mobile phones considered them harmful or too complicated to use. Today, no one can do without their use. Advertising has significantly accelerated the introduction of various ideas: political, environmental, etc.

Researchers understand the features of conscientious advertising as follows:

1) truthfulness. This is a feature that is recognized by potential buyers and consumers as one of the main characteristics of advertising. Truthfulness obliges the advertiser and manufacturer to provide truthful information about the advantages and benefits that correspond to reality.

2) specificity must reflect factual material based on accurate arguments and reliable digital data. We assume that compliance with this principle in advertising should prevent unjustified objectivism and minimize the use of manipulative technologies.

3) targeted advertising means that its main purpose is the conscientious advertising of goods, services, ideas, etc. Additionally, the purposefulness of advertising, including political advertising, indicates a rational approach to advertising, when the audience perceives advertising as an integral part of their life.

4) the humanity of online advertising means that advertisers and political strategists must promote the spiritual and moral improvement of the individual, expand his political and other knowledge, promote solidarity with democratic principles, world values, support and develop the desire for the right way of life, etc.

5) advertising must necessarily be characterized by competence, which means building the basic foundations of advertising on the latest achievements of science and technology, when advertising corresponds to technical progress in all areas of social life: and not only in areas

close to technology and new products, such as mechanical engineering, instrument making or gadgets, but also in politics, art, design, sociology, medicine, psychology, economics and ergonomics, etc.

To the above list we would add the importance of having an educational component in conscientious advertising. For example, “citizens of many modern countries are given the right to exercise political activism, which is understood as actions performed by citizens whose goal is social, political, economic or other changes in the territory of their country, carried out on personal initiative, regardless of government authority” [6, With. 56]. As we understand, without an educational component in conscientious advertising, such a message loses its significance, although it is extremely important.

Advertising has become a constant companion in a person’s living space, occupying the minds and imagination of a modern manufacturer interested in promoting his product or service to the masses. Relying on the social conditionality of the advertising phenomenon, researcher M. Eisenberg classifies the types of social sphere of advertising activity in the Internet environment as follows [1, p. 136]:

- the economic sphere, which covers areas such as trade, production, labor supply, finance, job searches, etc.
- the sphere of household services (sewing, cleaning, mending, fortune telling, tourism, production of household items, service, tutoring services, nannies, recreation, etc.);
- the sphere of intellectual services: press, Internet, education, medicine, books, scientific works, etc.;
- religious sphere: religious texts, missionary appeals, invitations to ritual events, demonstration of the activities of religious cults, various sects, etc.;
- the sphere of political PR: slogans, appeals from politicians, advertisements calling for a rally, demonstration, manifestation; political campaigning for election candidates, electronic mailing, etc.;
- advertising of entertainment events: circus, concert, theater, etc.;
- legal advertising: advertising of rewards for assistance in catching criminals, assistance in finding missing persons, invitations to trials, etc.;
- environmental and scientific advertising: educational advertising, scientific popularization in electronic publications, blogs, webinars, etc.;
- advertising of family and interpersonal relationships: instilling family values, advertising of large families, invitations to meet, marriage announcements, advertising of joint travel, family horoscopes, etc.;
- charity advertising: calls for donations and messages about charity events, etc.

Researchers suggest that the above types of advertising activities have a significant drawback: they describe various objects or objects of advertising influence. If you follow the proposed logic, then you can continue the list, for example, in this way: advertising of animals (I’ll give it to good hands), calling it a zoological species, and, reasoning in this vein, advertising of medical services, etc., is skipped [5].

**Conclusion.** By its essence, Internet advertising remains the targeted dissemination of any information about the properties of goods that

are interesting to consumers and all kinds of services. It should be noted that information on the Internet is created to make goods or services popular, attract the attention of potential consumers to them, and create a political image. At the same time, any advertising, including political online advertising, should help improve the quality of life of people. Thus, with the help of political online advertising, the population more effectively understands the political course and political strategy of political parties and elites, the image of political figures and organizations with the greatest convenience. For political strategists and commodity producers, the sale of services or goods is accelerated, returns from the labor of working personnel are expected, and costs are minimized. Internet advertising that meets all the requirements of human society must have such features as humanity, specificity, truthfulness, competence and

purposefulness. And in general, the entire advertising process of influencing the consumer should be built in close connection with his lifestyle, economic, political, social and ethical tasks of modern society.

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