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## Ways of Manipulating Public Consciousness with Modern Media: an Analysis of the Russian Regional Publications

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### Abstract

In the modern world, society is inseparable from democratic processes. At the same time, the media are the guarantor of information support for these processes. Information support is provided by providing information to citizens about events taking place in society, in the country, in the world, including about the political life of the country. Russia has historically developed a system of trust in the print media. This statement is true, if only for those reasons that in the relatively recent past in the territory of most of Russia, only newspapers and magazines were the only source of information.

At the beginning of the XXI century, the media (mass media) play an important and often crucial role in shaping the public consciousness of citizens. The media have both creative and destructive power, which can both consolidate the audience and divide it.

The work of a journalist can be structured in such a way as to primarily influence the opinion of the audience, forming it, and not informing, but this is achieved most effectively due to all the reserves of the language, linguistic norms, ways and methods of means of influence.

The language of modern media is a universal medium for transmitting information, ensuring communication and semantic ties in society, influencing its consciousness and the formation of public opinion, its assessment. Domestic media have the most powerful influence on contemporary Russian public consciousness, largely modeling it. In this regard, comprehension of the essence of manipulation by the mass consciousness, the study of various manipulative techniques and technologies, as well as the development of effective ways to counteract them, are becoming increasingly relevant.

**Keywords:** mass media, manipulations of mass consciousness, manipulative techniques and technologies.

### 1. Introduction

In scientific and modern journalistic literature and in the media, we are increasingly confronted with the term "socio-political manipulation". The authors who describe this phenomenon argue that there are methods and means of influencing a person that allow hidden control of public consciousness for the purpose of socio-political manipulation.

In this way, information is introduced into the public consciousness that is desirable for certain manipulative persons. At the same time, with the help of the media, this is done secretly and imperceptibly, with simultaneous exposure to different people, different ages, with different education, etc. By this, the tasks of socio-political manipulation are achieved and solved.

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The media are a kind of public forum, a public space where the formation of public opinion, dialogue between representatives of various social and political forces takes place.

The purpose of this study is to study the mechanisms of manipulating public consciousness in the Russian regional print media using examples of socially significant publications printed periodicals of the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug-Ugra – newspapers *Local Time* and *Varta* (Nizhnevartovsk).

In accordance with the goal, the following research objectives are defined:

1. Consider the concept of “manipulation” and “manipulation” in the historical and theoretical aspect and characterize the phenomenon of manipulation;
2. To reveal the essence and signs of manipulative influence on public consciousness by modern media;
3. Consider the technologies and mechanisms of manipulation in the media;
4. To analyze the manipulative impact of the texts of these regional publications, to identify the specifics of the implementation of manipulation mechanisms through various linguistic, intertextual means.

Thus, the object of research is domestic print media (in particular, printed periodicals of the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug-Ugra – the newspapers *Local Time* and *Varta* (Nizhnevartovsk)) as a means of manipulating consciousness.

The subject of the research is the technologies and mechanisms of manipulating public consciousness used in the analyzed print media.

## 2. Materials and methods

The theoretical foundations of the study of political manipulation are presented in the works of Aristotle, Demosthenes, Plato, Plutarch, Cicero and other thinkers of antiquity.

N. Machiavelli ([Machiavelli, 1990](#)) was a supporter of the use of negative human qualities such as hypocrisy and deceit in politics for the good of the state. According to his teachings, public order is based on hidden political influence.

The cultural and historical background of manipulation, its technologies and mechanisms were considered by T. Hobbes ([Hobbes, 1991](#)), G. Schiller ([Schiller, 1980](#)), R. Harris ([Harris, 2001](#)), G. Pocheptsov ([Pocheptsov, 2001](#)), E.L. Dotsenko ([Dotsenko, 2000](#)), S.G. Kara-Murza ([Kara-Murza, 2008](#)) and others.

K. Marx and F. Engels ([Marx, Engels, 1988](#)) wrote about the need to “inspire” the masses with its true interests, which should determine its revolutionary behavior. F. Nietzsche ([Nietzsche, 1912](#)) made a significant contribution to the study of the formation of a distorted picture of the world in the mind. H. Ortega-i-Gasset ([Ortega-i-Gasset, 1991, 2001](#)) considered hidden control of the masses as part of social control.

In recent years, interest in the problem of the media as a means of manipulating public consciousness has grown significantly: from the point of view of considering the impact of communication on modern social processes and ideology ([Grachev, 2000; Grachev, Melnik, 1999, 2002](#)), from attention to the personal and group bases of manipulation ([Dotsenko, 2000](#)).

S. Kara-Murza ([Kara-Murza, 2001, 2008](#)) considers the features of modern information warfare at the domestic level. I. Dzyaloshinsky ([Dzyaloshinsky, 2005](#)) considers manipulation as an instrument of influence on the mass consciousness, which can be used for good or harm. The works of T. Evgenyeva ([Evgenyeva, 2007](#)), P. Kirichyok ([Kirichyok, 2006](#)), A. Kozyreva ([Kozyreva, 2003](#)), K. Markelov ([Markelov, 2004](#)) are devoted to the application possibilities and methods of exposing manipulative technologies. The regional aspect of political media manipulation was considered by such authors as V. Shuvanov ([Shuvanov, 2005](#)), O. Konovalova ([Konovalova, 2003](#)), A. Kiselev ([Kiselev, 2007](#)). Political consciousness and people's behavior, depending on the information field created by the media, are considered by A. Grabelnikov ([Grabelnikov, 2001](#)), B. Kretov ([Kretov, 2000](#)).

Scientific interest in the problem of linguistic influence on consciousness in journalistic activities arose at the beginning of the 20th century. Since World War II, the study of the propaganda methods of the warring socio-political systems began. It should be emphasized until the early 1990s. Russian science almost denied the role of the media in managing public opinion.

The philological aspects of manipulating public consciousness in the texts of the media are investigated in works on linguistics: V.I. Annushkin ([Annushkin, 2001](#)), M.N. Volodina ([Volodina, 2008](#)), D.B. Gudkov ([Gudkov, 2000](#)), T.G. Dobrosklonskaya ([Dobrosklonskaya, 2000](#)),

M.R. Zheltuhina (Zheltuhina, 2003), A.A. Maslennikova (Maslennikova, 1999), G.Ya. Solganik (Solganik, 1981), I.G. Kateneva (Kateneva, 2010) and others.

Research Methods: targeted selection of the main sources on the selected topic; the formation of a set of empirical materials based on observation, generalization; analysis of intertextual inclusions and their functions in the text of the publication; media monitoring; content analysis of texts covering significant social events in print media *Local Time, Varta*.

### 3. Discussion

Consider the nature and signs of manipulative impact on public consciousness. Let's define the meaning of the terms "public consciousness" and "manipulation".

M.A. Heveschi (Heveshi, 2001) wrote that "politics considers the mass as the sum of individuals, each of which can be convinced and thereby push to certain political actions", and it is easiest to push political actions by manipulation, as one French proverb says – "a man, like a rabbit, they catch it by the ears" (Oleshko, 2008).

Society, as a collection of millions of people, is divided into various classes, associations, groups that occupy a specific place in social stratification, and although each of these units has its own system of views, sometimes contradictory, there is a phenomenon of social consciousness.

The warring parties in ancient times "tried to use the means of spiritual influence to weaken the morale and fighting power of the enemy, as well as to raise the morale of their troops." This was historically the first form of informational confrontation – informational-psychological support of military and rebel operations.

In their texts, Maya often manipulated historical dates, rulers' life expectancy, astronomical cycles and real events in order to present their ruler in a favorable light, for example, coordinated his date of birth with the date of birth of the illustrious ruler of the past (reincarnation), exaggerated the number of enemies killed.

Plato, in his treatise *The State*, said that lies, deceit and other means of influencing society are allowed for the public good. He suggests "rewriting" the biographies of the gods so that they do not look in a bad light; substantiates a peculiar method of art, designed to introduce the image of a "good hero" into the mass consciousness. Plato tries to introduce a social myth for the state in the name of the public good, the truth of which must be convinced of all (Plato, 1994).

In the views of the school of Plato, who believed that the ideal type of ruler is a "philosopher on the throne," the "aristocratic" political tradition was quite openly expressed. According to his views, far from all can be "true rulers". The majority of the population is generally not capable of political life.

Sophists believed that you can prove anything. This indicates the relativity of truth and the polysemy of language. The views of the sophists played an important role in the theory of knowledge and in linguistics. According to E. Aronson, sophists were a group of itinerant teachers who gave lectures and wrote the first books of persuasion. These ancient reference books (most of which have been lost) described "typical cases" – arguments and methods that could be used for various purposes related to the need to convince (Aronson, Pratkanis, 2003).

Solon, who carried out his famous reforms in the IV century BC, wrote that each individual Athenian is a sly fox, but when they get together for a meeting, they are a herd of sheep.

Herodotus and Thucydides operated with such concepts as "mass", "many", and reflected on their "arrogance", "ignorance", and "arrogance". It was in Ancient Greece that the speaker Demosthenes was the first to study the mechanisms of political influence on the masses: on their mind, emotions.

Aristotle linked "the mood of the uprising" (their psychological state) with "political unrest and internecine wars." At the first, verbal stage, the person acted as the main carrier and means of communicating information, as the object of influence – the human psyche, which determines the direction of his activity.

Back in the 4th century BC Aristotle singled out those components of the human psyche that are currently the main objects of informational influence – consciousness, will and feelings of a person: "There are three soul forces, the main ones for an act and for truth: feeling, mind, aspiration" (Aristotle, 1983).

Like Plato, Aristotle understands democracy as ochlocracy, i.e., the power of the crowd. In contrast to the thinkers of antiquity, according to M.A. Heveshi, "the humanists of the

Renaissance, speaking of the crowd, had in mind not only ordinary people, not social division, but ignorant people belonging to any class” (Heveshi, 2001).

The Catholic religious philosopher Thomas Aquinas on the basis of the teachings of Aristotle (his worldview laid the foundation for the activities of the modern Roman Catholic church) as early as the 13th century proclaimed the formation of ideology and control of journalism as the most important for strengthening the clergy and state the right of the church.

In the meaning of “control performed skillfully (with dexterity), discreetly (hiding both the purpose of the influence and its character) and with selfish intentions”, the term “manipulation”, according to scientists, replaced the previously existing term “Machiavellianism” (designation of technology positions, scientific according to the term of which “the end of some justifies citizens by any means”).

N. Machiavelli thus developed this principle: “Of all the animals, let the sovereign be likened to two: a lion and a fox. A lion is afraid of traps, and a fox is afraid of wolves, therefore, one must be like a fox in order to get around traps, and a lion in order to scare away wolves” (Machiavelli, 1990).

Let's look at the “Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language” S.I. Ozhegova and N.Yu. Shvedova: “*Manipulation*’s, and, f. 1. A complex technique, action on smth. when working with hands, by hand (book). 2. trans. Trick, fraud (disapproved)” (Ozhegov, Shvedova, 2003: 341).

At the moment, the media have the opportunity to manipulate public consciousness. The general democratization of society, the growth of information activity and consumption influenced this. At V.F. Oleshko “manipulation in the media” means “the type of deliberate or situationally determined psychological impact through the media” (Oleshko, 2008: 235).

Of all types of media, television has the greatest impact on the life of modern society. Since the first experimental broadcasts, television has entered every home in economically developed countries. Close interaction with the outside world and social environment is one of the most important conditions for normal human life, and the rapidly increasing volume of incoming information, its content and structure have a great influence on us.

According to the researchers, over time and with the rapid development of information technology, people are increasingly dependent on mass communication. Thus, a peculiar second reality is created – subjective, its influence is almost as great as the influence of objective reality. “Only gods and animals can live outside society”, – said Aristotle (Aristotle, 1983). A man is a social being, he is an individual, which means “atom” in Latin, that is, indivisible, but in reality a person arises and exists only in interaction with other people. The process of reading news media texts as a synthesis of interpersonal and mass communication has been repeatedly studied by scientists from different countries (Johansson, 2014; Lee, Tandoc, 2017; Lehmann et al., 2017).

Sociopolitical manipulation – “it is the hidden control of the political consciousness and behavior of people with the aim of forcing them to act or inaction in the interests of manipulators, imposing the will of the manipulator on the manipulated in the form of hidden influence” (Voroshilov, 2001: 447).

In the work of V. Amelin, “Sociology of Politics,” political manipulation is considered from the point of view of sociology. As a result, it becomes clear that political manipulation sets itself the task of influencing public consciousness and public opinion. To do this, the following actions are expected:

- introducing into the public mind information of the necessary content, while exhibiting the characteristic features of manipulation;
- the impact on public consciousness and public opinion through manipulation, to achieve hidden intentions, to strengthen their political position (Amelin, 1992: 38).

Proceeding from this, it is confirmed that political life is closely related to political manipulation, because the goal of political manipulation is the acquisition, execution and preservation of power.

The concept of “social consciousness” is a spectrum of certain ideas, views, judgments that exist in society at the moment, acts as a holistic spiritual system that expresses the characteristics of any social group, collective. The most influential institution that is able to shape and model public consciousness is the media.

The external expression of public consciousness, according to some researchers, is public opinion, under which the method of forming mass consciousness and the attitude (hidden or explicit) of various groups of people to events and processes of real life affecting their interests and needs.

So, E.P. Prokhorov draws a figurative model of mass consciousness as an object of journalistic activity, in which such a component as public opinion occupies an important place. The model contains four elements: worldview, worldview, historical consciousness, and public opinion (Prokhorov, 2002: 324). Characterizing public opinion, E.P. Prokhorov writes: “this is a system of understood and appreciated concrete situations of the current life of society reflected in the mass consciousness and the resulting set of ideas about what, in the name of what and how should be changed in reality” (Prokhorov, 2002: 324).

Public opinion in this structure is presented as a system of orientations in modern times, and journalism as an effective way of disseminating these orientations, i.e. the formation of public opinion. Based on all the values of all the components of mass consciousness, it can be argued that they all occupy a significant place in the ideological activity of journalism. Journalism is a means of servicing all components of the mass consciousness, however, the main attention of journalism is still drawn to public opinion. So, on the newspaper page are the most significant headlines of current events. An important role is played by the style of news headlines. According to a study of the effectiveness of news headlines on the Internet (Kuiken et al., 2017), in order to “attract” the reader and make him want to “open” the article, the headings use questions, direct links, numbers, dramatization and a negative emotional tone, font selections are applied. Thus, a panorama of current reality is created. In this connection, the frequency of issuing a newspaper or magazine, television programs and radio programs is regulated.

The formation of public consciousness, the management of people through communication has a huge advantage: there is no need, for example, to carry out reprisals against the opposition, it is much more effective, using the possibilities of information and psychological influence, to direct the masses on the “only right” path than to restore the national economy after civil wars or other internal shocks. Moreover, the information-psychological impact can be directed not only to compatriots, but also to foreign opponents, which can significantly reduce the number of casualties and material costs for military operations (Ponomarev, 2007: 128).

During the information-psychological impact, the population becomes the bearer of the necessary ideology, which makes it possible to fully use the means of production, labor, infrastructure for the purpose of organizing the impact. To achieve the greatest effect in the psychological subjugation of the masses through the transfer of information, it is necessary to reach the widest possible audience, which is achieved, firstly, due to the technical ability to disseminate information and the degree of its accessibility (comprehensibility).

The creation of an information society, that is, a society managed through information, began with the invention of typography. The relatively cheap way of reproducing information then led to the rapid development of newspaper business. Information became available to more or less broad sections of society, and newspapers thus played the role of the first means of targeted mass information.

Until the beginning of the twentieth century, print media were the main tool for shaping public opinion. As for the correlation of public opinion and public consciousness, it should be emphasized that the latter, due to its nature, lends itself to transformation much more difficult, therefore, the main role books first played in the formation of public consciousness. But in order to gather information from a book or newspaper, you must be able to read. Consequently, an illiterate audience could not be involved in the process of obtaining information. The picture changed dramatically with the advent of radio - the first truly massive means of informing the population, when almost any person got the opportunity to freely absorb the ideas of the organizers of the information impact.

After the Second World War, the television era began – a fundamentally new phase in the development of technologies for the formation of public consciousness, and until now television is the most powerful means of informational and psychological manipulation of the masses. The amount of information acquired by a person depends on the number of sensory organs involved in the process of obtaining information. The success of television is that in this process, in addition to the organs of hearing, the organs of vision are involved, through which a person receives the lion's share of information.

Television was the most popular means of mastering information, and it was with its appearance that the information society was formed. Broadcasting capabilities make it possible to transmit the maximum amount of information in the form in which it is most easily absorbed, having the greatest impact (Pocheptsov, 2001: 656).

Thus, in modern society, a person is exposed to the simultaneous influence of the print media, radio and television, and therefore, the manipulation of public consciousness. It is almost impossible to hide from information flows, no matter where the object of their influence is. A major role in this regard was played by the invention of portable and car radios and televisions. It's extremely difficult to navigate a huge amount of information, because a person does not always have the opportunity to verify the accuracy of the information received. Sometimes he has no choice but to take the proposed information on faith, which can contribute to the formation of ideas that have nothing to do with the true state of things.

First of all, the danger of falling under the influence of manipulators by the public consciousness through the media exists in relation to young people. Active interaction with digital content contained in electronic media and increasingly becoming a translator of social and political news on social networks is especially characteristic of young readers. A young news reader actively interacts with content. It is motivated by an interest in obtaining situational information against the background of "preliminary" knowledge (Karnowski et al., 2017).

As scientists have proved, in accordance with various personal interests and educational activities, young people are more active than adults in finding the necessary information, and more often - not in traditional media, but through news applications on smartphones or social networks. They are more likely to comment on news, share information with friends, use creative formats (Internet memes, etc.) (Cortesi, Gasser, 2015).

In the formed information society, not only a specialist in the field of communications, information and social technologies needs to master media literacy and protection skills from manipulative techniques and technologies that are used in the media, but also an ordinary – especially young – recipient of information. At the same time, according to Maria Claudia Cuc, a young man should "develop his communication skills, critical thinking, develop his responsibility, tolerance, develop his aesthetic sensitivity and use his own experience, connecting with experience and social reality" (Cuc, 2014: 68). The actualization of the positive self-concept and the continuous growth of cognitive individual activity contributes to everything mentioned above (Florescu, 2014).

Thus, the leading role of journalism in socio-political life can be both the nature of the impact on decision-making by various social institutions, and the nature of the impact on the world of consciousness and the direction of behavior of the mass audience and the individual. This determines the significance of journalism as the "fourth power".

Modern Russian media use various technologies and tools to manipulate public consciousness. Russia has historically developed a system of trust in the print media. This statement is true, if only for those reasons that in the relatively recent past in the territory of most of Russia, only newspapers and magazines were the only source of information.

One of the ways of manipulating public consciousness is language manipulation, which involves a type of manipulation carried out by selecting and using the resources of a language in communication, taking into account the features of its structure and functioning.

Language manipulation is a secretive (unconscious by the addressee) application by the addressee of the possibilities of the language in order to transform the cognitive-psychological system of the addressee, impose a certain idea of reality, attitude to its elements and, ultimately, change its behavior in the interests of the manipulator.

The language of the newspaper seems to be a productive sphere in the field of influencing public consciousness and forming public opinion. Skillful use of the language allows you to influence other people. Language is one of the key components from which the internal models of the world are built. The gift of speech is a unique asset of man. The outstanding psychiatrist S. Freud, for example, believed that words are the basic tool of human consciousness and, as such, are endowed with special power.

Unlike other types of influence, the influence with the help of linguistic means is characterized by "greater secrecy, a process of argumentation unconscious for the recipient, the absence of obvious psychological aggression, veiled focus on the result of the impact."

Classifying manipulative technologies in the media, I.M. Dzyaloshinsky distinguishes the following groups of methods of manipulation in the media: the use of social control mechanisms; actualization, transformation or formation of mental and mythological constructs; actualization of value-emotional representations; information space management; the use of psychological automatisms; the use of psychological and persuasive logical tricks.

Consider the possible means and techniques of language manipulation, starting from the classification of I.M. Dzyaloshinsky (Dzyaloshinsky, 2005: 32-53).

Firstly, the use of various logical tricks at the expense of language resources (implications are meanings that are not literally expressed in speech acts by sentences, words and phrases, but are derived using certain interpretation procedures; presuppositions are part of the content of the statement, which, according to the speaker is known to the listener and/or is a condition of his meaningfulness, that is, a condition for the possibility of his assessment as true or false; distortion of the thesis, incorrect comparisons, unfounded generalization, etc.).

Secondly, the use of psychological tricks ("double-entry bookkeeping", "reading in the hearts", arguments "to the public", "to fear", "to the individual", rhetorical questions, etc.), unlike logical ones, are not aimed at convincing by forming an impression of the validity of judgments, but at influencing on the level of feelings.

Thirdly, the use of figures of speech (metaphors, metonyms, synecdoche, etc.). Thus, a metaphor is an important linguistic tool in manipulating public consciousness. "A metaphor is a transfer of a name from one subject to another based on their similarities. However, linguists define a metaphor as a semantic phenomenon caused by the imposition of an additional meaning on the word's direct meaning, which this word becomes main in the context <...> Among other tropes, the metaphor takes the main place, it allows you to create a capacious image based on bright, often unexpected, bold associations."

This expressive path touches upon "primarily the mechanism of associative thinking of the recipient, and allows to achieve significant savings in intellectual efforts. It gives rise to a stable image that arises in the mind every time the word associated with it appears" (Dzyaloshinsky, 2005: 43).

The use of metaphors for manipulative purposes, as a way of expressing estimates and the status version of an argument when proving a certain point of view, characterizes the method of metaphorization.

Metaphorization is one of the favorite techniques in newspaper journalism. Because, as notes L.A. Gavrilov, "as a result of metaphorization, a capacious and expressive image is created, with which certain associations are associated in the public consciousness. Subsequently, this image can be actively used in media texts, causing the necessary reaction of the audience" (Gavrilov, 2011).

Fourth, the manipulative effect at the expense of linguistic means (syntactic, lexical-semantic, derivational and morphological-semantic means). For example, vocabulary can be evaluative and connotated, contain a direct peremptory indication of a mistake or flaw, which may have a subjective nature. For example, the so-called medical vocabulary, which belongs to the group of euphemisms, is often used to describe military operations or to cover an anti-corruption topic. In general, the use of this type of vocabulary in modern newspaper media is no longer news, but a peculiar stylistic feature of the newspaper text.

The maximum impact on the reader is provided by an assessment expressed in disguise. If the opinion is presented openly and emotionally, it can be perceived as a private point of view, and determines the reaction of the recipient. At the same time, it is impossible to deny the obvious fact that vivid and emotional author's images can be well imprinted in the reader's memory and model his attitude to certain events. Therefore, we can say that the important in the process of the influence of the language on the consciousness is the emotional, or emotional and evaluative value.

Fifthly, one of the ways to manipulate public consciousness with linguistic means can be a language game.

E.M. Beregovskaya in the book "The principle of organizing text as a game moment" relies on the vision of a language game by Ludwig Wittgenstein, that is, agrees with the view that one cannot speak about a language outside the context of an action. E.M. Beregovskaya writes: "The language game is omnipresent and diverse. It penetrates into all spheres of human life, from the everyday sphere, where it exists in the form of a walking joke or simply in the form of echoing, to an advertising slogan, newspaper feuilleton, oratory and poetry. The language game is omnipresent because it has mastered all language levels – phonics, word formation, vocabulary, syntax" (Beregovskaya, 1999: 32).

E.A. Zemskaya in "Russian colloquial speech" expresses the opinion that the language game in colloquial speech is used primarily to achieve a comic effect (Zemskaya, 1983: 172).

However, it should be understood that achieving comic speech is far from the only function of the language game in both colloquial and written speech. For example, a language game can be

used to increase the emotionality of speech or its imagery, for a more accurate transmission of thought, for accentuated accents, etc. Due to the inclusion of information in the context of the game, the textual situation looks new, which, of course, is important for the communication process. After all, the new is connected with the departure from boring formulations, monotony; and everything new and interesting is easier to remember. Unusual speeds up the speed of reaction, simplifies perception. Getting into non-standard textual conditions, the known acquires unexpected nuances and enriches itself in a semantic sense. As a result, thanks to the language game, a certain new, transformed reality is formed, and this reality is characterized by a free attitude to the language with great respect for it, because, as you know, without knowing the norms, it is impossible to violate them purposefully.

In this reality of the language game, standard models, language stamps are destroyed, which leads to the achievement of the goals set for the journalistic text, in the first place – to attract attention, memorability, conviction – as a guarantee of further formation of opinion.

Intertextual referral as a strong manipulative marker can be used in the position of the title, and then indirectly extends to the subtext of the entire article. So, for example, introducing some historical parallel in the title of the article, the author can take advantage of the external similarity of the two objects being compared, situations, to replace one phenomenon with another. Such a substitution, as a rule, initiates in the reader a ready-made complex of associations, emotions and connotations, set by the journalist. Also, the introduction of such false historical parallels intertextually introduces the idea of a confrontation between two civilizations, two peoples. Some headings are a “remake” of famous phrases, expressions, proverbs, which can be regarded as an intertextual game (Markov, 2011: 223).

By “intertextuality” we mean the property of all verbal texts, which manifests itself in the formal presence of one text in another in the form of marked quotes, allusions, and other intertextual inclusions. A journalist using quotes, allusions, puns based on proverbs, sayings, winged expressions and other intertextual elements in his materials should be aware that such an inclusion will be realized only if this knowledge turns out to be common for the author and for the recipient. Thus, “quotation of thinking” as a property of intertextuality implies a corresponding response from the reader.

Among intertextual inclusions, we will distinguish between “allusion (from lat. Allusion – a joke, a hint) – a hint at a historical event, everyday and literary fact, presumably known to the reader, and reminiscence (from Latin *reminiscentia* – memory) – not a literal reproduction, involuntary or intentional, of other people's structures, words that leads to memories about another work”. For example, intertextual elements referring to fiction will be considered an allusion.

One of the important properties of updating intertextual means in a journalistic text is the effect on the recipient and his conviction of the correctness of his position. In accordance with this, the strategy of language manipulation is to build, taking into account the peculiarities of the communicative situation, the general project (or scenario) of the speech effect, designed to produce a certain perlocutionary effect and, ultimately, achieve the planned result.

The latent effect can be carried out not only due to the already considered features of speech perception, but also through the actualization in the mind of the object of a certain content known to the manipulator, but not directly mentioned.

Similarly indirectly updated content, to which the manipulative device is directed, can be previously formed in the human mind patterns of thinking and behavior, reality model, value system, experience, linguistic picture of the world, stable images, automatisms, stereotypes, attitudes and other mental and cognitive formations.

At the moment, the development of communications has advanced tremendously. Information has become the main mass product in modern society, the information society. A person consumes it on a massive scale, mostly without even thinking about it. But it is precisely in view of this mass character that the modern rational person needs to understand the principle of this process, otherwise his consciousness risks simply being discriminated against by the flow of low-quality information.

In the context of attacks on the public consciousness of low-quality manipulative information and the creation of a “media ecosystem”, the role of information literacy is growing in society; in particular, researchers pay special attention to the fact that vigilance, alertness in the perception of news should be caused by an unknown source of information, the narrative nature of the news,

emotional responses when evaluating news messages in various media platforms (Albright, 2017). Perhaps it's for the sake of caring for their informational and psychological safety that users turn to sources of quality information, preferring, as recent studies have shown, to receive news from professional sources with a high degree of reliability compared to the fried news of suspicious media sites and social networks (Pearson, Knobloch-Westerwick, 2018).

Recently, the media have become an essential tool for implementing political strategies in the information market. This is more pronounced in states where the government or other political actors can not only inform the population about the goals and values of their policies, but also actually impose certain stereotypes of power on the public.

The closest connection between the media and politics is gained during periods of election campaigns. During this period, people are convinced by informing and reasoning about the various qualities of political opponents. At the same time, there is competition among various media in the struggle for attention and trust of the audience.

General principles for attracting the attention of media audiences lie on the surface (Kharitonov, 2008: 198):

1. Priority, importance (real and imaginary) and attractiveness of the topic for citizens (media reports often mention problems associated with natural, technological and environmental disasters, actions of terrorist organizations, as well as all information related to the threat to the life and health of citizens) .

2. Eccentricity of the facts (media coverage of the ordinary everyday life of society and the country is not so attractive as reporting on extreme events, such as hostilities, major car accidents with a large number of casualties, crashes of civilian aircraft, violent crimes. Some media believe that negative information is a sensation).

3. The novelty of the facts (when new news appears, they immediately get into the media. This applies to both positive news, such as successes in the development of regions, the end of major social construction projects, the results of economic development, and negative news, such as the emergence of refugees as a result of local military conflict, an increase in the number of illegal workers, etc.).

4. Political success (on this principle, news is transmitted on a positive side. The successes of political leaders and parties or the entire state are highlighted).

5. High public status (the media are trying to ensure that a comment on an event is received from persons holding high public status, while the news increases in popularity and is considered plausible).

Following the media on the above principles, which seek to attract attention, worsens the quality of the information provided, makes the information superficial and devoid of a deep analytical assessment.

Analyzing the principles by which the media attracts an audience, one can also trace the use of manipulation techniques, such as the use of frightening topics and messages, one-way negative valve, one-way positive valve, distraction method, use of authorities (influence groups), additional evidence, publication of opinions ordinary participants in the conflict.

Thus, depending on the goals set, the media can use manipulation methods to solve both their tasks and the tasks of political structures. Moreover, in most cases, the media themselves decide what news or news to bring to the public, while political topics are often covered not by the choice of media leaders, as the modern market society dictates.

In the work "Manipulation of consciousness" S.G. Kara-Murza (Kara-Murza, 2001) submits that the media do not consider it important to fulfill their main function of delivering reliable information to the masses, and often distort it under the interests of political structures. For the most part, the media are guided by the main goal – to receive any benefits, whether it be upgrading ratings or high fees of customers.

In the same book, he identified the main ways to achieve the media of their selfish goals, namely, methods of manipulating consciousness. Kara-Murza divided them into three groups: "language of symbols", "language of images" and "other sign systems". The first and second groups are used quite actively, while the second is partially used: it includes numbers, sounds and smells, and for technical reasons, modern media have not yet learned to use smell as a means of manipulation.

Consider following S.G. Kara-Murza the most typical for Russian media methodological methods of manipulation.

Manipulation through metaprograms is a person's habits, systematically repeated sustainable elements of his behavior. They rely on perceptual filters. Metaprograms used for media manipulation:

1. Classification of the world by... Getting information is in the various interests of people. Those, each for himself in a political event selects the information he is interested in, for example, the place of the event, the participants of the event, the meaning of the event, the chronology of the event, etc.

2. The size of the generalization. Information is obtained by a general idea or by focusing on details.

3. The focus of comparison. Getting information is sorted by general similarities or differences, which affects the perception of certain political events.

4. Focus of power. A person evaluates an event based on his personal point of view or the opinions of others.

Manipulative psychotechnologies:

1. Using frightening topics and messages. Fear ensures the unity of society and stimulates the adoption of the opinion of a leader.

2. The use of contrast. Information is transmitted against a background of contrasts, as a result of forming an opinion on the political situation it will take the necessary form.

3. Simplification of the problem. Information about the political situation is transmitted in a simple form, it does not have analytical estimates. In this case, the psychological need of a person is used to get a simple answer to your question.

4. Mockery. It is mainly used in the information war against political competitors by ridiculing their ideas and views.

5. The right to choose. When applying this type of suggestion, drawing intonation to the person's attention to the reaction that they want to provoke, full freedom of choice is offered. The subtlety lies in the fact that when listing alternatives, the voice slightly changes when the response is pronounced that is most preferred to the communicator

Manipulation through the management of information flows or information environment (optically, first of all, the methods of "filtering the information flow". The essence of the methods is to restrict a person's access to the information he receives):

1. Information "shutter". Information about a political event is blocked even if the information is not confidential.

2. One-way negative valve. Information appears with a negative comment, and has no other interpretations.

3. One-way positive valve. The information appears with a positive comment, and has no other interpretations.

4. Open valve. A large flow of various information arrives, impossible for processing and assimilation, as a result, a person ceases to understand what is happening.

5. Two-way open valve. Several large flows of various information arrive, impossible for processing and assimilation, with opposite value judgments, as a result, a person ceases to understand what is happening. The uncontrolled use of this method can lead to a deep domestic crisis and a split in society.

6. Temporary selector. Information comes in special time modes. These include, depending on the goal: "shock" information (emergency reports, sensations, etc.); episodic mode ("accidental information leakage", more often used for misinformation); periodic mode – usually to create sustainable addiction (advertising, broadcast on television).

7. Multi-link selective valve. Combined presentation of information. Combines all of the above methods. In this case, multilayer information is used, including neutral information, a block of positive information, a block of negative information, in which the specified information is included in an episodic fragment.

8. Umbrella. The transmitted informational message does not reach the intended consumer.

9. The funnel. The transmitted informational message is neutralized by the combined action of other messages.

10. The wheel. The substitution in the mass consciousness of one message for another by highlighting it with more important priorities.

11. Replacement. Doubt is not an informational message, but a source of information.

12. Selective selection of information. The transmitted informational message consists of the necessary facts that are beneficial for the psychological information impact.

13. The method of distraction. The transmitted informational message is presented in the most sensational form in order to divert the attention of the audience from significant, but objectionable to political structures.

14. The method of creating facts. It is possible to create facts in a less laborious way: it is only necessary to convey real plausible, real implausible and invented plausible facts in a news compilation – doubts that fall into the second category are debunked quite easily, and facts of the third category penetrate consciousness automatically.

15. Advance use of a predicament or problem. The method consists in using a question or problem that is difficult for the other side, with the simultaneous preparation of a propaganda event in order to provoke the other side to actions unfavorable for him.

16. The method of an objective approach. It consists in the selection of facts and skillfully commenting on them – by eliminating some little-known facts or adding them.

17. Informational noise. Many other materials are added to the basic information. At the same time, “noise” is created by an abundance of ambiguous comments and opinions, interpretation of facts by complex theoretical calculations, and abstruse speeches by narrow specialists. As a result, the main topic is lost in a continuous stream of messages unrelated to each other, which quickly and in large numbers fall upon the audience.

18. Leaks of classified information. Information is transmitted about the alleged political actions of the authorities, which organize its transfer. This is done with the aim of sensing public opinion on a particular political issue. In the event of a negative reaction, public opinion undergoes additional processing in order to prepare it for a certain political action. And if the reaction is extremely negative, then the authorities always have the opportunity to “refute” the sensational information by declaring it “Idle inventions of journalists.”

19. The use of misinformation. Disinformation is used, as a rule, at the moment of making some important decision, and when the truth is known, the purpose of disinformation will already be achieved.

In addition, for the purpose of sociopolitical manipulation in the media, social control mechanisms are used (using authorities (influence groups), the “Just Like Everyone Like Us” technique, additional evidence and coercive propaganda); logical tricks built on a deliberate violation of the basic laws and rules of formal logic, or, conversely, on their skillful use for manipulation purposes by an insufficiently informed opponent; methods of rational manipulation (pseudological conclusions, affirmative statements, selection of arguments, comparison of positions of the parties, comparison of expert opinions, causal analysis of events, reasoned refutation, results of opinion polls, expert commentary on opinion polls, publication of opinions of ordinary participants in the conflict, forecasting).

In addition to the listed manipulative tactics, the techniques presented by N.V. Demyanenko:

1. “Labeling” opponents and “using nicknames” to ridicule or inculcate a negative attitude towards the subject. The researcher claims that this technique has a long-lasting effect and “labels” can take root for many years.

2. “Creation of negative associations”, in which a certain, existing in the mind of the subject, negative image is superimposed on the image of the opponent.

3. “Creating counter-associations” is the opposite of “creating negative associations”, aimed at creating a positive image of the manipulator.

4. “Appeal to specific facts and documents” implies the tendency of most people to blindly trust statistics and stamped papers.

5. The technique of “strangulation in a friendly embrace” implies endowing an opponent with positive qualities that he does not have, so that, by lulling his vigilance, he can strike (Demyanenko, 2012: 20-27).

Note that the manipulation of public consciousness at the initial stage of its formation was considered as a necessary and effective way to exercise control over the activities of the people in order to prevent riots within the country, as well as harmonious rallying of people to improve living conditions. However, current trends in manipulating public consciousness raise concerns about the emergence of an impersonal, mechanized society without a soul and individuality, without its own will, as is often described in utopias. Such a way of life may be easier for the existence of mankind, but it deprives life of meaning, since life without vivid sensations becomes boring and meaningless.

The development of the media has had a huge impact on the effectiveness of the use of information and the improvement of technologies for managing public consciousness. The media plays an important role in the formation of public consciousness in modern society, and, accordingly, in the construction of social reality. Changing the information space, in turn, leads to the formation of a single global media environment and artificially created social reality. An important role in this process is played by various methods of manipulation.

#### 4. Results

As a result of the analysis of the manipulation techniques that are most characteristic of regional mass media, such as the newspaper *Local Time* and *Varta* (Nizhnevartovsk), it can be concluded that most of the methodological methods mentioned above are viewed when transmitting information by data Media, and this can serve as the fulfillment of the task of socio-political manipulation.

In order to understand the target settings of a particular media and to use certain methods of manipulation to solve certain problems, it is necessary to characterize the most important typological features of the printed periodicals of the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug-Ugra that we analyze – the newspapers *Local Time* and *Varta* (Nizhnevartovsk). We structure the typological features of publications in tables and analyze the methods of manipulation in the studied media.

Typological aspects of the newspaper *Local Time* are presented in [Table 1](#).

**Tab. 1.** Typological aspects of the newspaper *Local Time*

Purpose of the publication	Information service for citizens of the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug – Ugra on the events of the socio-political life of the region and the city.
Concept	Coverage of current events of the socio-political, cultural and sports life of the region in the context of editorial policy – active participation in social events in the region, following the motto “Every point of view has a right to exist. Truth is extracted from the difference of views”.
Audience	From 16 years old
Type of press	Bulk
Founder	Government of the Khanty-Mansiysk autonomous okrug; Duma of the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug; the editors of the newspaper <i>Local Time</i> .
Territorial characteristic	Socio-political regional newspaper
Categories	Front page, National News, Picture of the day, City, District, Politics, Economics, Oil, Construction, Housing and Public Utilities, Education, Medicine, Society, Culture, Sports, Law and Order.
Frequency	5 times a week
Volume	12 bands
Format	A3
Circulation	8400 copies

The wide popularity of this media in the city of Nizhnevartovsk allows us to describe the nature of the impact on the consciousness and emotions of a large number of readers. Publications were selected by the continuous sampling method, only journalistic materials were considered.

Consider the use of technology of socio-political manipulation in the periodical *Local Time* in order to influence the mass consciousness and the formation of a certain public opinion.

All methods and techniques for manipulating the reader’s attention in the headings *Local Time* can be conditionally divided into speech and non-speech. Speech includes lexical, word-building, morphological, syntactic, stylistic techniques used with a manipulative purpose in the headings. To non-speech – graphic, semantic and informative techniques. A language game can be used at all levels.

It should be noted that the first page of the publication was made with the maximum use of various techniques to attract the reader’s attention: in the center there is a bright collage, as a rule, representing well-known political figures of the country in an unexpected perspective. By the way,

this is another manipulative trick of the weekly, which forms a negative perception of the image of power in the reader. Such illustrations are always made in bright colors, as a rule, red color and its shades are used. This color is known to cause emotional stress, agitation, and aggression.

As with any print publication, the title occupies the most powerful, accentuating position. This is what the reader immediately pays attention to. Therefore, the headings and subheadings of the materials are characterized by increased expression. They should, as they say, “catch the eye”, attracting the attention of the reader to the material.

Contrast is used as an inclusion in the text of a manipulative psychotechnological method. Information is transmitted against a background of contrasts, as a result of forming an opinion on the political situation it will take the necessary form.

For example, in the article “It's time to relax at home” (07/19/2016, No. 71, author M. Subbotina), the method reports on an event of a military-political nature – an attempted armed coup in Turkey on July 16, 2016. This informational message has subtext which contains the main idea of the article about the temporary impossibility of a trip of Russian tourists to this country by order of the Ministry of Transport of the Russian Federation. The article also reports on the difficulties that tourists expected when leaving for their homeland, about the long wait at the airport.

The following is an idea of a more relaxed and intimate vacation within the region with references to various centers, exhibitions, bases, travel agencies, etc. The conclusion is made: “And for this you do not have to go to distant lands. So it's time to relax at home. “The amazing is always there, you just need to discover it for yourself, and then Ugra will present many pleasant surprises.” Here, the information comes in using coercive selection of words and sentences to stimulate the desired behavior, to encourage the choice of places of rest within a certain region, i.e. through coercive propaganda.

The inclusion of public opinion from social networks about the article “It's time to relax at home” can also be considered a stimulating method of manipulation. Obviously, this public opinion poll has an accent point in the general plan of the article and gives the largest persuasive effect.

The article consists of 4 parts created by the fragmentation method, i.e. the information flow, in fact, is divided into separate fragments that are not related to each other, as a result of which the audience is not able to form a correct and complete picture of the world:

1. General information about the armed coup in Turkey.
2. Presentation of the difficulties encountered by tourists with their return to their homeland.
3. A story about the tourist programs of the region, about outdoor activities within Nizhnevartovsk, Ugra.
4. The inclusion of the views of ordinary people from social networks about an attempted armed coup in Turkey.

As a result, consumers of information cannot concentrate on one thing, isolate the main idea from all that they have learned.

A fragmented method of manipulation is also present in other publications of this media and pursues the same goal – information consumers cannot concentrate on one thing, isolate the main idea from all that they have learned: “Step towards the world” (02.17.2015, No. 27, author A. Mironova) – the signing of the Minsk Treaty and issues related to the charge of involvement of Nadezhda Savchenko in the murder of Russian journalists.

As the analysis of publications showed, the method of including a quote or commentary of a media person, public figure, an authoritative person known in the region, as well as using a poll, opinions of ordinary citizens, rating indicators, statistics, are the most preferred methods of manipulating public consciousness in a regional newspaper *Local Time*.

For example, in the note “Putin will not give Russia a grudge” (02/06/2015, No. 24, author N. Evsina), information about the work of deputies is cited against the background of information coverage of events in Ukraine and the sanctioned behavior of the West regarding accession of Crimea to Russia.

“United Russia” in the region, their special opinion on this matter and the authoritative status of the head of the Russian Federation V. Putin are emphasized, the results of a rating survey among citizens of the region are contained: “According to a survey conducted in January this year, 79.2 % of Ugra residents trust the president of the country. This once again confirms that no sanctions and other problems that arise with the filing of the West are not terrible for the Russians. This makes us stronger, we rally around our leader, as we know well: Putin will not give Russia a grudge”.

The closest connection between the media and politics is gained during periods of election campaigns. During this period, people are convinced by informing and reasoning about the various qualities of political opponents. At the same time, various media compete in the struggle for attention and trust of the audience.

Quite often, a publication covering political events in a region introduces a technique for introducing into the text opinions or quotes of authoritative people or groups known to the target audience. Such influence groups can include well-known political figures, cultural figures, church representatives, famous actors, business leaders, teachers of higher and secondary educational institutions, etc.: “Natalia Komarova headed Ugra” (09/15/2015, No. 36, author T. Shironina) (Metropolitan Pavel Khanty-Mansiysk and Surgutsky and the chief scientific consultant of the autonomous institution of scientific and Analytical Center for Rational Subsoil Use, Honored Geologist of Russia S.G. Kuzmenkov). Thus, the principle of manipulation is traced – attracting attention due to the high public status of commenting individuals and highlighting the political success of the leader in their comments.

We also note the language methods of manipulating public consciousness in the publications of the newspaper *Local Time*. For example, in the publication “The deputy’s chair is vacant,” the expression “Who’s new?” (01/27/2015, No. 19, author N. Evsina) is an allusion and appeals to the famous phrase from the song “The Sword Song” by E. Krylatov and Yu. Entin, which was performed by A. Mironov in the movie “Property of the Republic”. This intertextual turn is not entirely appropriate in this context and does not emphasize the concept “that the new deputy should work not for his own image for the next elections, but for the good of the city”, however, in this game form, a method is used to draw the reader’s attention to the topic of elections of an individual, a new person to be chosen. In this regard, we note that a journalist using quotes, allusions, puns based on proverbs, sayings, winged expressions and other intertextual elements in his materials should be aware that the implementation of such an inclusion will happen only if this knowledge is common for the author and for the recipient.

Thus, as one of the most popular and enjoyed the attention of the readership of the publications “Local Time”, naturally, it uses various methods and technologies of manipulating public opinion, which can be classified as direct and hidden.

By the nature of the perception of the subject (that is, the reader), the media exposure technologies existing in the weekly can be divided into propaganda and techniques that involve the use of a dialogical form. Depending on the tasks set by the addressee of the information, compositional and substantial manipulation is carried out on the pages of the printed weekly, the peculiarity of which is its multi-level and multi-layer nature. In this regard, manipulative methods and techniques can only be distinguished artificially, in the text they are interconnected and interact with each other.

Typological aspects of the newspaper *Varta* are presented in [Table 2](#).

**Table 2.** Typological aspects of the newspaper *Varta*

Purpose of the publication	Information services for citizens of Nizhnevartovsk, Ugra, the Tyumen region and the Urals Federal District
Concept	Publication of information and analytical materials covering the events in the city of Nizhnevartovsk, official documents of the federal, district and municipal levels, legislative and regulatory acts; operational release of an information product, instant replenishment of emergency information in the generated number.
Audience	From 16 years old
Type of press	Bulk
Founder	Official publication of local governments
Territorial characteristic	City
Frequency	5 times a week
Volume	8 bands
Format	A3
Circulation	9000 copies

Established 27 years ago as the official publication of local government, the newspaper *Varta* remains a reliable supplier of a quality product in the information services market of Nizhnevartovsk, Ugra, the Tyumen Region and the Urals Federal District.

During its activities, the publication has gained extensive experience in the execution of the most complex orders. Among the clients of the editorial office, in addition to the main customer (the Duma and the City Administration), for many years there have been regular partners in the oil sector enterprises, construction organizations, representatives of small and medium-sized businesses, public associations and individual Vartovites.

The newspaper is distinguished by high professionalism of staff, scrupulousness and punctuality in the implementation of tasks. To do this, there is a phased quality control system in the production process, starting from the development of technical specifications with subsequent coordination with the customer of the texts themselves and the pages drawn up to the optimal output of the material among other information products, including the time.

A distinctive feature of *Varta* (its visiting card) is the speed in processing and submitting information. The editorial staff is able to instantly concentrate and print out emergency information that has already arrived at production even when the issue is formally closed (signed).

The high professionalism of the team has been confirmed many times at the most prestigious competitions, both among journalistic skills, and among specialists in the field of design and layout. Among the journalists of the editorial board there are specialists who are well versed in narrow areas of life (from housing and communal services and construction to education, child custody and culture).

The publication is also distinguished by the important fact that all official documents of the municipality are published here, which leaves no questions for our regular subscribers, among which are ordinary citizens, public organizations, and informal associations, and representatives of the opposition.

In light of the objective reasons on the information market, when print media circulations tend to zero, *Varta* retains a significant weight among reading Vartovites. The circulation of the newspaper almost invariably remains one of the highest in Ugra and the Tyumen region. An additional bonus to the main content is the adapted version of the newspaper on the "VKontakte" page and the electronic issues of *Varta* on the official website of the publication.

Consider the use of sociopolitical manipulation technologies in the *Varta* periodical in order to influence the mass consciousness and form a certain public opinion.

Manipulation in the publication is most often hidden, implicit. The study shows that the arsenal of hidden methods of manipulating this media today is quite diverse.

One such technique is the method of supplying material. We are talking about the reception of "crushing", which can be identified already when viewing the first page of the newspaper (in particular, its layout). So, on the first page you can see the announcement of materials of various topics and degrees of importance. As shows observation, the first page of the publication has a collage character: on the right is the material under the permanent heading "Pervonapervo", on the left is the announcement of the issue. It is worth paying attention to what materials are presented as the most significant. As a rule, these are publications that address the problems of politics, economics, housing and communal services, education, that is, issues that are most relevant to the readership. The announcement contains materials that occupy an insignificant place in the issue itself (very often these are short notes). This is one of the manipulative techniques, the essence of which is to "hook" the reader with some sensational event, and then the so-called effect.

"Deceived expectations": the title of the article and the reader's expectations do not match. However, the material is already read, which is what its creator needs. The technique of special arrangement of material on the *Varta* pages is associated with this technique.

Often, materials devoted to a serious topic coexist with frivolous, entertaining information. On the one hand, this is connected with the process of demassization and segmentation of modern media, as each publication seeks to find its own audience. On the other hand, this tactic can also be considered as a method of manipulating public consciousness: placing entertainment material (or most often advertising) next to serious and problematic ones, journalists seek to distract the reader.

Language manipulation in this media deserves special attention. It has already been noted that the language of the media is able to influence the economic, social and cultural aspects of life, as well as form the linguistic consciousness of a person. On the pages of the weekly, language

manipulation is implemented, first of all, at the lexical and syntactic levels. One of its manifestations is speech aggression, which in the publication is presented in explicit and implicit forms. At an explicit level, speech aggression and language manipulation are carried out through the use of lexical means of the Russian language, expressing a negative assessment (invective, stylistically reduced, profanity, aggressive metaphor, etc.). At an implicit level, they are realized through the use of words and expressions with an unreconciled context of ambiguity, cynical irony, euphemisms, passive voice, etc.

The affirmative statement method is present in articles where the journalist makes various statements presented as a fact, and it is understood that these statements are self-evident and do not require evidence. However, these statements can be both reliable and not, i.e. fully contain a subjective assessment of the author of the material.

For example, in the article “And they have gas. And with us?” (01/26/2016, issue 12 (6596), author A. Lbov) it is postulated that citizens after the speech of the Governor of Ugra N. Komarova in Nizhnevartovsk on the problems of urban order received the necessary productive dialogue with the authorities: “People, satisfied with the answers of Natalia Komarova, there were much more.” This conclusion is preceded by a number of contrasting assessments of what is happening: “The Vartovites, of course, were satisfied. Although not all ...”, “During the event, shouts were often heard from the audience. People demanded that they give them the opportunity to ask out of turn or speak out, or even just make a booth”, “Many Vartovites left the meeting place with the governor satisfied. The answer is received and the procedure is clear ...”.

The opinion of ordinary meeting participants, who form the image of the governor equally with the author of the article, as a calm and restrained person, whose leadership qualities normalized the excitement in the hall, is also summarized.

The method “The same as everyone like us”, whose main function is to instill confidence in a political leader by psychologically approaching the image of one of everyone who is experiencing the same difficulties, is present in the following articles: “The same as everyone like us” (01/26/2016, Issue 12 (6596), author A. Potekhin): “I also know this: you get up in the morning, and your hair freezes to the wall. Because everything cooled down during the night, and it is cold”, – the governor said and asked to approach the issue calmly, without unnecessary emotions”). This method can be used through the prism of political leader’s involvement not only in problems of a private and general nature, but also with a party of a certain relationship with people from the common people, mention of origin, place of birth, with the unconditional linking of this mention to the topic of the article: “They live here people with whom he worked, was friends, with whom he made plans for the prospects of the city”. All this has a wide emotional response among citizens and causes a certain degree of confidence, the realization that the problems are close to the politician and he knows them quite closely.

A metaphor as a way to create a vivid image for controlling the reader’s imagination when activating patriotic feelings, for example, is present in the expression “The oil heart of Nizhnevartovsk” (article “Two days in my hometown” (03/15/2016, issue 44 (6628), authors L. Podroikova, A. Churbanova): “Oil flows through the veins of our city, for which many years ago the current old-timers and pioneers came here”. Here the formed image is associated with the political actions of the politician-hero of the article and is intended to cause certain associations in the public mind: “And in the life of the chairman of the Duma of Ugra, Boris Khokhryakov, there was a stage directly related to oil production”.

Intertextual inclusions in Warta publications are most often found in heading complexes, are allusions or reminiscences, and appeal to lines from famous songs (“Fascists, I couldn’t sleep” from 06/20/2015, issue 119-120, author L. Podroikova), sayings, proverbs, winged expressions, idioms. “The district helps us build and live” (08/15/2015, issue 168, author A. Lbov) – reminiscence on lines from the famous song “Peppy March” to the words of V. Lebedev-Kumach (1936), which represents the author’s optimistic view articles on the event, in this case, this is the work of the regional forum of builders. The construction theme is directly associated with the original quote of the famous song in the Soviet Union – “A song helps us build and live” – and sets a certain tonality of the prospects of this event in the eyes of readers, which also underlines the headings “To the sounds of fanfare”, “Problems of optimism do not cancel”.

Some headings containing an intertextual element in the main text do not reveal it at all, leaving them at the subtext level: “Not with fire and sword, but with word and deed” (06/27/2015, issue 127-128, author A. Zhuravlev) – phraseology “with fire and the sword” does not reveal any

historical allusions, or, for example, direct indications of G. Senkevich's famous novel "Fire and Sword" about the struggle of the Ukrainian Cossacks with Pan Poland in the 17th century.

Thus, as a result of the study, the following main conclusion can be drawn: a special place (which, of course, is connected with the policy of the publication under study) in *Varta* is occupied by propaganda methods of manipulation, in which the reader acts only as an object of persuasion. The main goal of these technologies is to form a certain ideology in the reader, to make him a supporter of his beliefs.

## 5. Conclusion

Thus, the external expression of public consciousness is public opinion. Public opinion in relation to certain situations can be either realistic or illusory, depending on what kind of information (provided by the media) penetrated the citizen's consciousness and served as a source of this or that opinion.

Today, the formation of public consciousness through communication using the methods of psychological influence through the media is becoming the most effective and cheapest way of total control and manipulation both within the state and beyond. However, the individual has a certain space for independent formulation of his own opinion regarding the reality surrounding him - this is his culture. In this case, the level of cultural development of a person should be considered an indicator of the effectiveness of his protection from outside manipulation.

The media have great potential for active influence not only on the perception by citizens of individual political phenomena and events, but also on their attitude to politics as a whole. Both the political passivity of the population in any issue, and its mass activity are directly related to the position of the media in this issue. The role of the media is especially significant during the transitional periods of social development, since without their active work it is impossible to change the political consciousness, value orientations and goals of the general population and achieve mass support for the policy of social transformation.

The media in the life of modern society sometimes play a very dangerous role when they replace their original function of informing the population with the tasks of forming certain views, ideas, opinions.

To date, specialists have developed a significant number of manipulative methods of influencing public consciousness: juggling facts, lying, slander, distorting objective data, hiding and hiding unprofitable information, etc.

As a result of the analysis of the manipulation techniques that are most characteristic of regional mass media, it can be concluded that most of these methods are seen in the transmission of information in many domestic media, and in turn this can serve as the fulfillment of the task of socio-political manipulation.

According to the results of the study, the following main conclusion can be drawn: any print media seeks to use methods of manipulating the consciousness of the population in order to bring their position to the maximum possible number of people.

To understand the target settings of a particular media and to use certain methods of manipulation to solve certain problems, we analyzed printed periodicals of the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug-Ugra – the newspaper *Local Time* and *Varta*, Nizhnevartovsk.

According to the results of the content analysis, it can be argued that the newspaper *Local Time* and the *Varta* of Nizhnevartovsk actively uses manipulations with public consciousness, especially when covering topics such as politics, public life, and crime. The picture of the world presented by these publications on its pages cannot be called complete and objective, it is rather illusory. The basic principles of journalism and the journalistic profession are being undermined.

An analysis of language tools showed that, despite the claims of these publications to the title of objective and independent newspapers, they still use language manipulation tools to achieve a certain effect. The following means of language manipulation are revealed: synonymy, euphemization, syntactic transformations, metaphor, allusion, reminiscence.

Speech tools include lexical, word-building, morphological, syntactic, stylistic techniques used with a manipulative purpose in the headings. To non-speech – graphic, semantic and informative techniques. A language game can be used at all levels.

We note the use of contrast as the inclusion of a manipulative psychotechnological method in the text. The fragmented method of manipulation and the method of including in the article or note a quote or comment of a media person, public figure, an authoritative person known in the region,

as well as the use of a poll, opinions of ordinary citizens, rating indicators, statistics, are the most preferred methods of manipulating public consciousness in regional newspapers.

In these newspapers, most of the articles are supplemented by photographs and illustrations, creating together with the text a single semiotic series. A visual image that quickly and effectively affects the consciousness and subconscious mind sometimes changes the entire content of the article.

By the nature of the perception of the subject (that is, the reader), the media exposure technologies existing in newspapers can be divided into propaganda and techniques that involve the use of a dialogical form.

In general, depending on the tasks set by the addressee, on the pages of *Local Time* and *Varta* compositional and substantial manipulation, a feature of which is its multi-level and multi-layer. In this regard, manipulative methods and techniques can only be distinguished artificially, in the text they are interconnected and interact with each other.

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