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THE USE OF BLACK PR IN POLITICAL MANAGEMENT AND ITS INFLUENCE ON POLITICAL CULTURE IN UKRAINE AND POLAND

In the modern political process, black PR is becoming increasingly important as a tool of political management, especially in countries undergoing transitions to democratic values and stable political institutions. In post-Soviet states such as Ukraine and Poland, black PR has become a significant element of electoral campaigns and political strategies. This article is dedicated to the study of the use of black PR in political management and its impact on political culture in Ukraine and Poland. The aim of the work is to examine the role of black PR as a tool in political campaigns, analyze its influence on public opinion, ethical norms, and trust in political institutions. Special attention is paid to comparing black PR practices in both countries, which share a post-Soviet context but have different trajectories of political development. The study covers key stages of the use of black PR, from the stage of forming negative images of opponents to its impact on the media space and interaction with voters. The article also investigates how these strategies alter political culture, lowering political trust, undermining moral standards, and fostering negative attitudes towards politicians and political institutions. Ethical issues related to the use of black PR in political campaigns are also addressed, particularly the potential threats to democratic processes that may arise from such approaches. The study of Ukraine and Poland's experience provides insights into the specifics of using black PR during the transformation of political systems, as well as an evaluation of its consequences for the development of democracy in post-Soviet countries. The research is important for developing recommendations to improve ethical standards in political management, particularly regarding transparency in electoral processes and combating manipulations in political campaigns.

Keywords: black PR, political management, political culture, Ukraine, Poland, electoral campaigns, political strategies.

Statement of the problem. In the current conditions of globalization and the development of information technologies, black PR has become an important part of political management, particularly in post-Soviet countries. In Ukraine and Poland, where political processes are still at the stabilization stage, the use of negative media strategies to discredit opponents has become widespread. This not only affects electoral results, but also shapes political culture, changing the perception of politics and ethical standards. However, the impact of black PR on political culture has not been studied enough, especially in the context of post-Soviet countries. Black PR can manipulate electoral processes and have serious consequences for democratic values and trust in political institutions. The relevance of the study lies in the need to analyze the impact of black PR on political management and culture in Ukraine and Poland, as well as in studying the long-term consequences for the stability of political systems and democratic processes.

The aim of the article is to study the impact of black PR as a tool of political management on political culture in Ukraine and Poland, as well as to analyze its consequences for democratic processes and public trust.

Analysis of recent research. Recent studies of black PR, political management and political culture indicate the growing importance of these phenomena, particularly in post-Soviet countries. Black PR is actively used to manipulate public opinion and discredit opponents, particularly in Ukraine, where it has become a tool of election campaigns, forming negative images of opponents and contributing to the

polarization of society, as noted by Chubatenko O. [3; 4] and other researchers. In Poland, black PR has specific features, is actively used at all stages of the electoral process, which increases polarization and distrust of politicians, as written by Dzyadiya B. [6], Ilovetsky M. [8], Terpilovska K. [14]. Black PR changes the ethical norms of politics, reducing trust in political institutions and contributing to political apathy, since citizens perceive politics as corrupt. This weakens democratic processes and reduces participation in elections, as shown by Linnyk O.[1], Priymych A. [2]. Negative campaigns can form a "culture of resentment", where accusations replace discussions, which worsens the quality of democratic practices. Research on black PR is important not only as a tool of manipulation, but also as a factor in the formation of political culture, especially in the context of post-Soviet countries, where these strategies are of particular importance due to the socio-political context of transformational changes.

Presentation of the main material. Black PR, as a tool of political management, has gained particular popularity in recent years, when information technologies and social media have become the main channels for manipulating public opinion. In modern conditions, political campaigns in Ukraine and Poland actively use black PR to shift the attention of the electorate, create negative images of opponents and discredit political leaders. Election campaigns based on manipulation and disinformation significantly change the political culture of these countries, undermining trust in political institutions and forming a culture of cynicism among voters.

In Ukraine, black PR has become an integral part of election campaigns. According to a study by the Ukrainian Institute for the Future (2023), 78% of voters say that political parties and candidates regularly use negative media campaigns to discredit their opponents [1]. This creates an emotional atmosphere of fear and hatred, which makes elections less a competition of ideas and more a struggle for victory through political attack. Individual cases, such as the information campaign against President Volodymyr Zelensky in 2021, show how black PR based on social networks can influence public opinion [3]. Ukraine actively uses "pseudo-social proof" technologies, where fake accounts spread manipulative materials that are spread as true information. This reduces the level of political culture and increases the emotional perception of political events.

In Poland, the situation with the use of black PR has similar trends. The political party Law and Justice (PiS), which has been in power since 2015, actively uses the media to create negative images of its opponents, in particular through the state-owned TVP channel [10]. According to the analytical center "Ośrodek Badań nad Komunikwaniem Politycznym" (2022), in Poland, each election campaign over the past five years has been accompanied by numerous fake news and attacks on political opponents. This was especially active during the 2020 presidential election, when the ruling party created an anti-positive image of the opposition candidate, using accusations of cooperation with foreign agents and "betrayal of national interests". This contributed to increased polarization in society and a decrease in trust in democracy as a system where decisions should be made through constructive dialogue [7]. The negative impact of black PR on the political culture of these countries is to undermine trust in political institutions, which significantly reduces the effectiveness of democracy. According to a study by the Polish Institute for Democracy (2023), 65% of Poles say that they no longer believe in the promises of politicians and have the feeling that elections are a "show" where there is no real choice [14]. Similarly, in Ukraine, according to a survey by the Center for Social and Political Research "SOCIS" (2023), 71% of respondents believe that politicians use manipulation to gain benefits to the detriment of the country's interests [4]. This leads to a decrease in political activity, as citizens do not believe in the possibility of change through traditional democratic tools, such as elections.

The use of black PR also has serious ethical consequences. There are numerous examples of how manipulation through the media and social networks violates the ethical standards of political struggle, leading to the distortion of facts and the spread of false information. Thus, in the case of the 2019 Ukrainian parliamentary elections, the use of fake news and fake accounts to attack candidates led to the fact that most political debates were reduced to insults, rather than discussions of programs. This creates a serious ethical crisis in the political space, where issues of fair competition and openness recede into the background [1]. In conclusion, current data indicate that black PR continues to be an important tool in political management in both Ukraine and Poland. Its widespread use affects the political culture of these countries, reducing the level of trust in political institutions, increasing polarization and contributing to a decrease in political activity among citizens. At the same time, ethical issues arising from information manipulation call into question the stability of democratic processes. It is important to note that the latest technologies, in particular artificial intelligence and algorithms, have significantly changed the landscape of black PR. The spread of fake news and manipulation using automated systems has become so large-scale that in many countries this has led to

the introduction of new legislative initiatives [5]. For example, in Ukraine in 2021, the concept of "protection of information space" was adopted, which involves the fight against fake news and manipulation, but the success of this initiative is still in question [2]. This fact emphasizes not only the problem of the effectiveness of legislative measures, but also the importance of developing media literacy among citizens, which will help identify fake news. New technologies also contribute to a more fine-tuning of black PR through social networks, using personalized advertising. The international organization Freedom House in its 2023 report notes that election campaigns in Ukraine, Poland, and other European countries actively use algorithmic systems to create and distribute targeted propaganda messages, adapting content to the interests and vulnerabilities of different population groups. This allows manipulating not only emotions but also personal preferences of voters, which makes the influence even more effective [6].

One of the most modern trends in political management is the use of bot farms and "fake" influencers on social networks to shift the information landscape. For example, in 2022, more than 50 thousand fake accounts were recorded that were actively used during the parliamentary elections in Poland to attack opposition parties [9]. According to the company "Newsguard" (2023), it is the use of "artificial" elements in social networks that significantly increases the effectiveness of manipulation. Another important factor is the role of alternative media, which are often the main channels for spreading black PR [11]. In Ukraine, the active use of Telegram channels and messengers to spread manipulation and disinformation has become a phenomenon that has a serious impact on elections and political processes. The development of these alternative platforms allows taking black PR to a new level, where it is practically impossible to track the source of information and prohibit its distribution. These new technologies are changing not only the way black PR is spread, but also the very nature of political struggle, where emotional influence and manipulation are becoming more important than considering specific political programs and ideas [8]. This increases the cost of information warfare and forces political players to adapt their strategies to new realities, where competition is increasingly moving to the digital plane, not just the physical space. It is no coincidence that international organizations such as the European Union and the United Nations have begun to pay more attention to regulating the digital environment. In 2023, the EU adopted a new strategy to combat disinformation, in particular by improving the transparency of advertising campaigns on social networks and strengthening control over the use of algorithms for political purposes [13]. Similar initiatives are also actively discussed in Ukraine, where civil society organizations and media continue to demand greater responsibility from technology companies in combating manipulation in the information space. These modern technologies not only intensify political manipulation, but also change the way politicians and citizens interact. Voters who have become active users of social media can themselves become part of fake news campaigns, increasing their effectiveness, sometimes without even realizing it. [12] Given these new challenges, it becomes obvious that the fight against black PR must be comprehensive and multi-level, including through education, media literacy and the creation of more effective mechanisms for monitoring the digital environment.

Conclusions. The study of the impact of black PR on political management and political culture in Ukraine and Poland demonstrates that this tool of political struggle has become a key element of modern election campaigns. The growing use of black PR through new technologies and social media is significantly changing the political landscape of both countries, undermining trust in political institutions and contributing to increased polarization. Black PR not only manipulates voters' emotions, but also blurs the line between truth and fiction, turning political debates into a game of disinformation. In the context of Poland and Ukraine, this process has serious consequences for democratic processes. The constant use of manipulation and fake news not only leads to a decrease in political activity, but also undermines the foundations of political culture, making citizens more skeptical of politicians and electoral systems. The new role of social networks and digital platforms creates new opportunities for black PR, which requires attention from both state authorities and international organizations. Further research in this area should focus on several important aspects. First, it is worth paying attention to the analysis of the effectiveness of new legislative initiatives in combating disinformation and manipulation in both countries. Monitoring the results of the implementation of these measures will allow us to assess whether states are able to ensure transparency and fairness of the electoral process. Second, it is necessary to investigate the role of new technologies, such as artificial intelligence and social media algorithms, in the spread of black PR. This will allow us to understand how automated systems and personalized advertising campaigns affect the formation of emotional images and how measures can be developed to regulate them. Third, an important direction is to study the social consequences of the use of black PR, in particular on the level of political activity and public trust. An analysis of changes in political

culture and electoral behavior caused by black PR will allow us to develop recommendations for strengthening democratic processes and increasing media literacy among citizens. The last direction is to consider the ethical aspects of the use of black PR in political campaigns. Research in this area will help develop new ethical norms for political management that will contribute to more fair and transparent electoral processes in post-Soviet countries and democratic states. Thus, further research is important for understanding how black PR affects political processes in Ukraine and Poland, as well as for developing strategies aimed at ensuring democratic standards in election campaigns.

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Manipulation in media and her impact on safety of the state. AON, Warszawa, 2024. P. 328-342.

Докаш О. Ю., Лазарович М. В., Гончарук-Чолач Т. В. Використання чорного піару в політичному менеджменті та його вплив на політичну культуру в Україні та Польщі

У сучасному політичному процесі чорний піар набуває все більшого значення як інструмент політичного менеджменту, особливо в країнах, що переживають перехід до демократичних цінностей та стабільних політичних інститутів. У пострадянських державах, таких як Україна та Польща, чорний піар стає важливим елементом виборчих кампаній і політичних стратегій. Дана стаття присвячена дослідженню використання чорного піару в політичному менеджменті та його впливу на політичну культуру в Україні та Польщі. Метою роботи є вивчення ролі чорного піару як інструменту політичних кампаній, аналіз його впливу на громадську думку, етичні норми та довіру до політичних інститутів. Особлива увага приділяється порівнянню практик чорного піару в обох країнах, які мають спільний пострадянський контекст, але різні траєкторії політичного розвитку. У роботі розглядаються ключові етапи застосування чорного піару, від етапу формування негативних іміджів опонентів до його впливу на медіа-простір та взаємодію з виборцями. Окремо вивчається, як ці стратегії змінюють політичну культуру, знижуючи рівень політичної довіри, підриваючи моральні стандарти та формуючи негативне ставлення до політиків і політичних інститутів. Стаття також звертається до етичних питань, пов'язаних із використанням чорного піару в політичних кампаніях, зокрема до потенційних загроз для демократичних процесів, що можуть виникнути внаслідок такого підходу. Вивчення досвіду України та Польщі дає змогу зрозуміти специфіку використання чорного піару в умовах трансформації політичних систем, а також оцінити наслідки для розвитку демократії в пострадянських країнах. Зазначене дослідження має важливе значення для розробки рекомендацій щодо покращення етичних стандартів у політичному менеджменті, зокрема щодо забезпечення прозорості виборчих процесів і боротьби з маніпуляціями в політичних кампаніях.

Ключові слова: чорний піар, політичний менеджмент, політична культура, Україна, Польща, виборчі кампанії, політичні стратегії.