Manipulative marketing technologies in new digital reality

Abstract. The spread of digital marketing technologies has become a global practice that significantly improves the quality of life and facilitates realization of individual consumer strategies. However, implementation of these technologies also has certain socio-anthropological risks which are discussed in the paper. Marketing manipulation can be very effective, sophisticated and implicit in digital reality which is stated on the basis of socio-anthropological and economic phenomena analysis.

The authors offer to highlight the most significant social and anthropological threats caused by an active and often unethical use of digital technologies. The first threat is a real danger of person's personal profile deformation, his cognitive and psycho-emotional abilities, partial dissociation of his identity and dominance of clip forms of thinking in digital tagging environment that often permeates an entire cyber-space. The second threat is digitalization of banking and trading sphere and their combining on the basis of scoring and screening interests. This happens when banks begin to collect information about the client base of potential borrowers not only on social networks but also on clients’ consumer basket in order to determine complete personal profile of a possible borrower. In such a way, more complete information is obtained using transaction data of payments by a bank card in cinemas, pharmacies, medical institutions, train stations. The authors outline that not only social and psychological profile but also problems of health, cultural and political preferences and other facts of personal life could be easily restored after an extended screening, violating ethical norms of invasion in private life of any person and can cause total control of citizens. Finally, the third risk is the possibility of personal data leakage from BIG DATA databases of large banks and trading networks, including details of private life or sale of this information by banks to other corporations, such as collecting agencies, in order to solve their problems.

The social survey «Modern social technologies as a tool of identity management» was undertaken by the authors in 2019 to study the perception of manipulation by the citizens in Russia. In particular, the results of the survey show that 43.4% of the respondents are absolutely negative about personal database collecting based on the use of personal bank cards, and only 3.1% are positive. Answering to the question «How do you feel about the leakage and sale of your personal data from banks, shops, medical institutions?» 87.9% show negative emotional attitude, and only 3.5% - the positive one.

The authors conclude that private data collected semi-legally through banking and marketing screening increasingly become a commodity, which cannot but cause a sense of protest and necessity for legal and ethical assessment and development of social and state regulators for harmonious development of digital marketing which serves citizens, not harms them, becoming a means of control and suppression of freedom.

Keywords: Digital Marketing; Socio-Anthropological Risks; Clip Thinking; Banking Scoring; Screening; Manipulative Practices; Private Space; Ethics; Social Networks; Digital Reality; Big Data; Information

JEL Classifications: O30; O39

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Манипулятивні маркетингові технології в новій цифровій реальності

Анотація. Появлення цифрових маркетингових технологій стало загальносвітовою практикою, яка істотно підвищує якість життя людей і полегшує реалізацію їх споживчих стратегій. Однак застосування цих технологій несе й певні соціо-антропологічні ризики, обговорювані в роботі. На основі аналізу соціально-антропологічних і економічних феноменів у цифрових маркетингових середовищах і проведених нами соціологічних досліджень було виявлено, що в цифровій реальності маркетингова маніпуляція може бути досить ефективною, витонченою та неявною. Авторами запропоновано виділити кілька найбільш значущих соціально-антропологічних загроз, викликаних активним і часто неетично використанням цифрових технологій. Перша – це реальна небезпека деформації особистісного профілю людини, її когнітивних і психо-емоційних здібностей, часткова дисоціація її ідентичності та домінування кліпових форм мислення в цифровому маркетинговому середовищі, яке часто пронизує весь кібер-простір. Друга загроза пов’язана з цифровізацією банківської та торгової сфери споживання та їх зросненням на основі скорингових і скринінгових інтересів, коли банки починають збирати інформацію про клієнську базу потенційних потенційних залежників не тільки з соціальних мереж, але й з інших джерел, які можуть використовуватись для створення кліпових форм профілю клієнта, що сприймається банком як їх інтерес. Такі розробки та зміни у соціальних мережах інтенсивно впроваджуються в нашому економічному просторі, що стимулює активну модернізацію цифровій економіки.

Ключові слова: цифровий маркетинг; соціально-антропологічні ризики; кліпове мислення; банківський скоринг; скринінг; маніпулятивні практики; приватний простір; етика; соціальні мережі; цифрова реальність; інформація.

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в таком расширенном скрининге, нарушая этические нормы вторжения в приватные пространства личности, и чреваты тотальным контролем граждан. Наконец, третий риск — это возможность утечки персональных данных из баз BIG DATA крупных банков и торговых сетей, включая подробности частной жизни, либо продажи банками этих сведений другим корпорациям, например коллекторским агентствам, с целью решения их проблем. Авторы делают вывод о том, что наши приватные данные, собранные несанкционированно через банковско-маркетинговый скрининг, все больше становятся товаром, что не может не вызывать чувства протеста, а также ведет к осознанию необходимости правовой и этической оценки вышеизложенных проблем и выработки общественно-государственных регулятивов гармоничного развития цифрового маркетинга.

Ключевые слова: цифровой маркетинг; социально-антропологические риски; клиповое мышление; банковский скоринг; скрининг; манипулятивные практики; приватное пространство; этика; социальные сети; цифровая реальность; информация.

1. Introduction
M. Castels in his works describes the modern stage of society’s development as an era of globalization which is characterized by the speed of information penetration across state borders. It has unprecedented influence on the world economy and international financial markets. He draws attention to the fact that information structures society on a network basis, without clear long-term centres and clear leaders overcoming national and other obstacles (Castells, 2000). In modern digital techno-anthroposphere a person is immersed not so much in natural and computer world but spends more and more time in virtual environments, cyber-physical reality (or augmented, virtual) and in social Internet networks. According to Gartner experts, the total amount of computer sales was 259.4 million units in 2018 (Gartner, 2019). In 2019 the amount of Internet users was 4.39 billion people, 3.48 billion users were registered in social networks and 3.26 billion people entered social networks from their mobile devices (Sergeeva, 2019). This statistics shows globalism of the digital civilization. New life worlds (Umwelts), such as «virtual», «augmented», «cyber-physical» and «networking» not only represent and govern our world through digital technologies but replace it. A person faces a huge number of different actors, individual and collective ones, and interests: social, economic, political, marketing in these worlds of increased communication speed and information flows. These environments include artificial intelligence which is represented by search engines, electronic assistants and client-oriented advertising, etc., and improve day by day (Tarabasz, 2019).

In recent years, such terms as electronic culture, virtual culture, Internet culture, media culture, digital culture etc., have begun to be developed and discussed in scientific and popular literature. These terms denote a modern type of culture coexisting with traditional material and spiritual culture (Uzelac & Cvjetcanin, 2008). Ch. Gere states that «digitalization can be considered as a culture marker because it encompasses both artefacts and the systems of significance and communication that most clearly distinguish our modern lifestyle from others» (Gere, 2008). It can be said that widespread informatization causes a complex of phenomena that A. Ronchi (2009) named «E-Culture». All these phenomena of new digital reality are stimulated by the trans-humanistic project «Human Improvement» and its habitats on the basis of converging NBICS-technologies (Roco, Bainbridge, Tonn, & Whitesides 2013) which emerged at the beginning of the 2000s, as well as the global project of digital economy, or the new industrial revolution Industry 4.0, which started at the beginning of 2010s (Schwab, 2016). New environments are not passive. They create not only new qualities of life and unique development opportunities of the society and a person, especially marketing environments, but are often very intrusive and try to manipulate the person which causes risks of identity loss and dissociation of personality in case of uncritical trust. In addition, unauthorized private data collection processes are largely carried out through digital environments. It becomes obvious that due to new digital technologies not only new forms of economy, marketing, and finance appear but also completely new sociality, culture and anthropology of the person changing his cognitive maps in completely radical way. New digital reality, on the one hand, makes it possible to develop different anti-totalitarian and more democratic forms of the society and economy self-government, but on the other hand, it creates more effective manipulation technologies which can be applied to all spheres of life. In this research, we are interested, first of all, in the process of digital marketing involving other aspects of human activity.

2. Brief Literature Review
Marketing is traditionally considered as a targeted social technology, communication of members at organizational and managerial level, a set of social and design activities to create conditions
for rational social actions in conditions of market economy. In modern reality, it is possible to note an increase in the use of destructive information influence in order to manage various social members (individuals, their communities and society as a whole) related to the process of informatization and dissemination of new information technologies. In recent years, a significant number of works about information influence, media influence on human consciousness, the use of information and new information technologies by various members in their groups have appeared. For example, H. Schiller (1975) consistently studied certain aspects of media influence on the formation of public opinion, on mass consciousness, on society management through aggressive advertising and propaganda methods. Socio-psychological analysis of human manipulation possibilities was carried out by different Russian researchers (Sladkova, 2006; Kozlova, 2010; Reigorodsky, 2007; Winn, 1983). The studies concerning manipulation of individuals, social groups, and public consciousness through the use of various tools, methods and technologies of information and psychological influence from the point of view of the information security of individuals in economy, political and everyday life can be exemplified by the works of Dotsenko (1997) and Chemikova (2015). For example, the current situation on the Russian stock market reflects the mood of a certain group of young investors who are more likely to enrich themselves quickly through information and economic technologies rather than revive the national economy (Podgorny, 2014).

Modern marketing technologies, or digital marketing, are extremely widespread in new digital reality. In particular, Russian and foreign scientists studied advertising as one of the effective techniques of digital marketing communications (Schultz & Kitchen, 1997; Benzo, Mohsen, & Fourati, 2017; Zhang, Zhao, & Xu, 2016; Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010, Dahl, Low, & Eagle, 2015); problems of practical use of advertising were studied by specialists in the field of advertising activity and social relations (Gormogenova, 1994; Golman, 1996; Musiciant, 2001; Reigorodsky, 2007).

Digital marketing (e-marketing, web marketing and mobile marketing) is a popular subject in the modern Western economic sociology. This concept describes specifics and possibilities of targeted and interactive promotion of goods and services in virtual environment. Modern digital technologies allow not only attracting a large number of potential customers and retaining them as consumers, but also purposefully shape their needs and direct them using personalized benefit purchasing activities. Foreign scientists describe special features of digital marketing in their works (Tarabasz, 2017; Gere, 2008; Ronchi, 2009; Sunil, Fukawa, & Swayne, 2016; Desai, 2019; Ryan, 2017; Chaffey & Ellis-Chadwick, 2012; Parsons, Zeisser, & Waitman, 1998; Wymb., 2011).

Selected aspects of social and ethical conflicts of digital marketing are discussed by Yogesh and Sharaha (2019), Hagel III and Armstrong (1997), Lengare (2018) and others.

In our opinion, specifics of modern marketing and its manipulative aspects are not sufficiently studied, as well as mutual relationship between digital marketing and fundamentally new anthropological and social forms of life in network digital reality.

3. The purpose of the paper is to single out specific features of new marketing technologies in digital reality and study ethical risks and socio-anthropological threats caused by these technologies.

4. Research methods

The following methods were used to identify features of modern digital marketing and to study the impact of manipulative marketing technologies:

- analysis of documents on this subject,
- questionnaire followed by empirical and theoretical generalization of obtained results.

Empiric material

- over 46 documents - thesis, articles and reviews in specialized literature and periodicals, handbooks, statistical yearbooks, public official Internet sources on the subject of the study;
- results of the authors’ social survey «Modern social technologies as a tool of identity management» conducted in June-July 2019 among citizens of Kursk city (the regional centre in Russia). Citizens of the city aged 18 years and over - 321,000 people, sampling method - quota, sample population - 384 the respondents.

5. Results

The authors determined that marketing manipulation can be highly sophisticated and implicit in digital reality on the basis of documents’ analysis. Several socio-anthropological threats can
be distinguished by the active and often unethical use of digital technologies. The first one is real
danger of personal profile deformation and partial dissociation of his identity in digital marking
environment that often permeates all cyber-space. First of all, let us describe anthropological de-
formations occurring with a person in digital reality. Life network worlds such as social, marke-
ting, virtual, are closely intertwined and exist in modes of huge rates of development and infor-
mation selection, change of sense and shape gestalts. This fact significantly changes cognitive
and psycho-emotional state of people. In particular, fast Internet surfing or high-speed gaming
involves not only the modes of alpha rhythms of consciousness but also the so-called modes of
theta-rhythms, accompanied by light trans states (hence characteristic gamer dependencies) and
tendencies to make rapid, not reflexed decisions based on primary internal impulses and impres-
sions. That is so-called «clip thinking». It was described by E. Toffler (1984), M. McLuhan (1962)
and F. Girenok (2014). «Clip thinking» is the main instrument of fast advertising ever since televi-
sion domination. Now this is the main style of processing of huge information flows in networks
and on markets.

At the same time, high speed of information processing, including parallel flows, is possible but
against the depth of critical reflection of this information. In particular, the most dramatic is the
dominance of this style of thinking during pre-educational period of schoolchildren development
(«children of networks») when critical thinking and ethical standards of behaviour have not fully
formed yet. It blocks the request for a holistic picture of the world and awareness of their identity.
Findings of the recent researches promote prohibition of smartphones in many European schools.
Even adults have a new criterion of information reliability - the frequency of its repetition instead
of rational criteria for its critical assessing. Hence, speed and frequency of repetition of the certain
message are great tools of manipulation since Goebbels’ propaganda.

It is known that the effect of public opinion, or crowd effect, has been present at all times,
however, it was never as strong as in the digital age. Who forms the agenda and public opinion
is right and if he is not, there is immediately another significant reason and no time left to under-
stand and reflect the past (that reflects the work of brain in the mode of theta rhythm). In addition,
selecting adequate and true information is very difficult and complicated because of large infor-
mation flows.«Information trash» is accumulated and fake information is deliberately dissemina-
ted in order to dominate in digital space, purposefully or spontaneously reducing society’s «im-
munity» to lies and preparing public consciousness for absorption of specially selected «context-
tual» information from familiar, «reliable,» subjectively interesting sources. We live in the «post-
truth» era when the truth is not important for many people anymore. The word «post-truth» was
even declared as the word of 2016 by the Oxford English Dictionary due to its huge use during
2016 (d’Ancona, 2017). Momentary «hype» and super-advertising have become a priority in con-
sumption society.

It is necessary to say that effectiveness of manipulation technologies increases in digital network
environments where clip thinking dominates (according to classification by O. B. Sladkova, 2006).
They are necessary for creation of such settings which can influence choice and behaviour. The fol-
lowing technologies can be singled out:
1. Fragmentation of information. It means that information is given to the society in «small portions»
or as excessive abundance of information which suppresses individual choice and disorientates.
2. «Direct commenting» which qualifies events as «black - white» or «good - evil».
3. «Playing numbers and facts» to create visibility of objectivity and accuracy.
4. Disinformation is used as an artificially disintegrated rumor which is subconscious desire of the
society.
5. «Sophistics» which is a set of techniques based on violation of formal logic laws.
6. «Double standard». This is emotional infestation, inspiration via repetition, NLP technologies, etc.
   (Sladkova, 2006).

There are also more sophisticated technical methods of manipulation on social networks. Non-
human actors are used to promote goods and doing hidden advertising online. These are program-
bots with artificial intelligence which simulate human activity in networks. It turns out that 10% of
supporters of unambiguously stated value judgment about new, poorly defined information are ne-
necessary in addition to banal rating promotion of any product through voting by bots. Afterwards,
the network can enter self-organization mode and accept this opinion. «Organizers» of this opinion
can be introduced into the network as intelligent program-robots which are an instrument of modern
network advertising as well as cyber-wars.

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The digital informatization process on the one hand gives impetus to an increasing maturity degree of social relations, openness of social structure, and efficiency of public opinion and mechanisms of social network self-organization. On the other hand, it provides more effective opportunities for manipulation with public consciousness and reduction of holistic reliable picture of the world to disorganized mosaic, kaleidoscopic perception patterns of atomized sub-projects (Ryan, 2017).

It is important to note that digital marketing is well-suited to goods and values promotion not only in usual environments of mass demand because «the m-marketing could bring a series of benefits to consumers, such as comparison shopping, services permitting users to examine the merchandise in a store and still shop electronically for the best price and better interactive relationships» (Hollensen, 2012). It can also be a highly inclusive, client-oriented service environment. The main prerequisite for creation such an environment is ability to collect and use BIG DATA in social environments (Sunil, Fukawa, & Swayne, 2016). However, it depends on the quality of the Internet connection and unscrupulous competitors spreading fake information about goods and services (Desai, 2019).

The second threat of manipulation is related to digitalization of banking and trading sphere and their combining on the basis of scoring and screening interests when banks begin to collect information about the client base of potential borrowers not only through social networks (Hagel III & Armstrong, 1997), but also by means of consumer basket of clients in order to determine the most complete personal profile of a possible borrower. In fact, it is also about even more complete information restored about the person on the basis of payments by a bank card in cinemas, pharmacies, medical institutions, train stations, etc. Socio-psychological profile, health problems, cultural and political preferences and other facts of personal life are easily restored in such extended screening, violating ethical norms of invasion to private life (Lengare, 2018).

Sociology is today an objective tool that allows identifying the influence of modern social technologies on personal attitude, manifestation of mechanisms of their manipulative influence in the society of «digitalization» and the attitude of responders to the use of social, in particular, marketing technologies.

The results of our social survey show that 27.3% of the respondents think that social technologies of goods advertising and promotion are the most popular, 25.9% of the respondents consider the most popular advertising and promotion in mass media, 19.7% - in social communications and interactions in the Internet networks. It is indicative that the respondents with incomplete higher education (students) note the spread of social technologies on the Internet and the media two times more than the respondents of other ages. It may indicate the specificity of the audience using social networks.

Almost a third of the respondents believe that social technologies are used to form mass public opinion (30.1%), and 17.4% think that social technologies are used to manipulate individual choice.

At the same time, women are three times more than men think that social technologies are used to form personal opinion (6.3%), while more men see social technology as a means of total control (7.3%).

As the results presented in Table 1 show, 39.7% of the respondents think that large business is interested in the use of social technologies most of all, while 14.4% mention political elite. At the same time, 17.5% of the respondents think that the spread of new technologies will contribute to the development of the whole civilization and the society as a whole.

Table 1:
Answers to the question «How do you think who is more interested (is the main beneficiary) in the development and dissemination of new technologies?», %

| Answers                                | Frequency | Percentage |
|----------------------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Ordinary people, users, consumers      | 46        | 11.9       |
| Political elite                        | 55        | 14.4       |
| Large business                         | 152       | 39.7       |
| Social institutions                    | 20        | 5.2        |
| All the civilization (all the society) | 67        | 17.5       |
| Scientists                             | 40        | 10.3       |
| None from the mentioned in the table   | 2         | 0.5        |
| Other                                  | 2         | 0.5        |
| Total                                  | 384       | 100.0      |

Source: Authors’ own study

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Then, we find out whether the respondents have experienced the influence of social technologies (Figure 1). Figure 1 shows that more than half of the respondents (59.3%) identify themselves as an object of manipulation with the use of social technologies, while 40.6% consider that they have never been manipulated.

The respondents with higher or incomplete higher education more often than the respondents with another level of education notice that their opinion is manipulated. Young people aged 18-25 perceive themselves been manipulated more often than the respondents of other ages (30.2%), compared to the respondents of 26-39 y.o. (16.7%) and of 40-55 y.o. (10.4%). It can be assumed that young people are more manipulated because of their increased use of the Internet as a source of information. A. Tarabasz (2017) describes the same point of view in her report «Cyber Threat Awareness in Digital Marketing Campaigns. Comparative Analysis of UAE and Poland». She thinks that «The trend of stable increase of the number of Internet users, along with the enormous growth of social networking, leads to disclosure of sensitive data, especially among the youngest audience» (Tarabasz, 2017).

Since advertising is among the most common social technologies according to the respondents, so we are interested in the question if they often notice that their interests are monitored (Figure 2).

**Figure 1:**
Answers to the question «How do you think, how often you have been manipulated by using the social technologies?», %
Source: Authors’ own study

**Figure 2:**
Answers to the question «Did you notice that you receive advertising about products that you were previously interested in on the Internet?», %
Source: Authors’ own study
In addition, 42.9% of the respondents note that they do not react to the personal-oriented advertising, 5.1% are absolutely positive about it, as advertising is specially oriented to their needs, and 20.7% of the respondents believe that this indicates tracking of their interests and requests, so they are absolutely negative.

The vast majority of the respondents disagree with unauthorized use of personal information (67.9%), while do not care 7.1%, and absolutely agree only 4.6% of the respondents (Table 2).

For example, how Google AdSense works: «The AdSense spiders will go through your website to see what all your pages are about. Then they will check their list of ads and put related ads next to each of your articles. For example, someone reading an article on fashion accessories is much more likely to buy fashion apparels than someone who is reading an article about automobiles. Google advertising display reaches over 90% of Internet users worldwide with about a trillion impressions served to over 1 billion users every month» (Yogesh & Sharaha, 2019).

Then, we were interested in the question related to the respondents’ choice manipulation that used the information from client-oriented advertising. According to our findings, 24.1% of the respondents never purchased services or goods that they regretted about. 75.9% of the respondents answered «yes, purchased and regretted» but with different periodicity. It should be noted that 40% of the respondents said that they regretted about a bad purchase made in the Internet.

It can be stated that the respondents consider the Internet to be the most relevant social technology, the most common source of information and a vast field for various manipulations as well. 84.9% of the respondents believe that information technologies significantly increase the impact of social technologies on people.

The third risk is the possibility of personal data leakage from BIG DATA databases of mobile operators or large banks including details of private life or the sale of this information by banks to other corporations, such as collecting agencies, in order to solve their problems (Figure 3).

Simple access to digitized information creates many problems associated with unauthorized use by the third party. In 2015, Anthem, Expert, Carphone Warehouse, Ashley Madison and TalkTalk were on the list of companies affected by cyber-attacks.

The media reports about new vulnerabilities in mobile platforms and increased cyber-attacks appear almost every week. According to InfoWatch Report (2017), 723 cases of confidential information leakage were registered in the first half of 2015. This is by 10% exceeds the number of leaks registered in the same period in 2014. Russia is the first in leak rating since 2013. In the first half of 2017 925 confidential leaks were identified, which, again, showed a 10% increase in comparison with the previous year. Also, 20 mega-leaks were identified which account for 98% of compromised records. Such companies as VTB-24 (banking), MTS (mobile services), Russian Railways (transportation) are among the companies that compromised personal users’ data (Vasilenko, 2016).

In fact, our private data collected semi-globally through banking and marketing screening is increasingly becoming a commodity which cannot but cause a sense of protest.

This attitude is backed by the results of our survey, as far as 43.4% of the respondents are absolutely negative about personal database collecting based on the use of personal bank cards, and only 3.1% are positive (Table 3).

The same responses are found by determining whether the respondents approve commercial use of their personal information (Table 4).

If we sum up the answers with the positive emotional attitude, we can get 3.5% against 87.9% with negative attitude and 8.6% indifferent to information leaks.

Table 2:
Answers to the question «Do you agree to provide detailed personal information, which you have not posted on social networks, to form targeted client-oriented advertising?», %

| Answers                                               | Frequency | Percentage |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Absolutely agree, interested in it                     | 18        | 4.6        |
| Agree, if I am interested in it                        | 78        | 20.4       |
| Do not agree, want to decide by myself which information I want to share or not | 261       | 67.9       |
| Does not matter                                        | 27        | 7.1        |
| Total                                                  | 384       | 100.0      |

Source: Authors’ own study
Researchers say that such social networks as Facebook and Twitter provide advertisers with information about likes and dislikes of their consumers. This technique is crucial, as it shows the businesses its «target audience» (Yogesh & Sharaha, 2019).

Having assessed the degree of active use of information technologies, it can be concluded that desired behaviour of users is developed by the Internet and mass media. Readiness for concrete and...
targeted actions, formation of necessary group attitude or individual attitude to a particular phenomenon of social reality is developed by using these techniques. A certain way of this phenomenon perception is imposed.

6. Conclusions

Active discussion of sociocultural situation in the media, on the Internet and in films has prepared people for possible radical changes in their way of life and formed a set for active actions to adapt to a new man-made reality (Bryant, Thompson, & Finklea, 2012).

At the same time, manipulative marketing technologies that inevitably accompany modern economy exacerbate socio-anthropological risks associated with identity loss, unauthorized violation of private spaces, leakage and use of personal data for unethical and illegal purposes, implicit imposition of marketing attitudes. Modern marketing technologies shape purchasing settings and manipulate economic interests and needs of people, and oftentimes far from their interests. It is done by means of special techniques. In addition, a widespread use of digital information and communication technologies, on the one hand, allows the state to protect itself as much as it possible from terrorism, crime, provocations and conflicts, while on the other hand, such protection causes total control over society not only by the state but also by banks and other major market players. In our opinion, all these challenges can be resolved in the sphere of ethics and new social contract, for example, using the ideas of sustainable development summarized in the report to the Club of Rome by von Weiszacker and Wijkman (2018).

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