

**THE ROLE OF AI IN MODERN POLITICAL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES****Shaxzoda K. Jumaniyazova***Master's student**Political Science**University of world economy and diplomacy*[jumshaxzoda@gmail.com](mailto:jumshaxzoda@gmail.com)*Tashkent, Uzbekistan***ABOUT ARTICLE**

**Key words:** AI, Political Campaigns, Narrative Shaping, Social Media Algorithms, Chatbots, Deepfakes, Sentiment Analysis, Disinformation, Political Communication, United States, Electoral Ethics.

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**Abstract:** As political campaigns in the United States increasingly integrate artificial intelligence (AI) into their communications, the tools used—from social media feed algorithms to chatbots, voter profiling engines, sentiment analysis systems, and deepfake generators—are profoundly transforming how narratives are crafted and disseminated. This article surveys recent research on the strategic deployment of AI in U.S. elections and its effects on public discourse. The author reviews studies of social media algorithms that filter and personalize political content, the use of automated bots and chatbots to engage or mislead voters, and advanced voter profiling and microtargeting enabled by machine learning. She also considers analyses of generative technologies (large language models and synthetic media) used to produce persuasive messages. In each case, strategic advantages (such as hyper-personalized outreach and 24/7 voter engagement) must be weighed against ethical and societal concerns. These include privacy and surveillance risks, information integrity (misinformation and the “liar’s dividend”), algorithmic bias and echo chambers, and the challenge of regulating opaque AI-driven campaign tactics. The author concludes that while AI can streamline campaign operations and broaden outreach, it also poses grave challenges for democratic accountability.

## ZAMONAVIY SIYOSIY KAMPANIYA STRATEGIYALARIDA SUN'IY INTELLEKTNING O'RNI

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### MAQOLA HAQIDA

**Kalit so'zlar:** Sun'iy intellekt (SI), siyosiy kampaniyalar, narrativ shakllantirish, ijtimoiy tarmoq algoritmlari, chat-botlar, deepfake texnologiyalari, kayfiyat tahlili, dezinformatsiya, siyosiy kommunikatsiya, Amerika Qo'shma Shtatlari, saylov etikasiga oid masalalar.

**Annotasiya:** AQSHdagi siyosiy kampaniyalar tobora ko'proq sun'iy intellekt (SI) texnologiyalarini o'z kommunikatsiyalariga joriy qilar ekan, foydalanilayotgan vositalar — ijtimoiy tarmoqlardagi algoritmlar, chat-botlar, saylovchilarni tahlil qilish tizimlari, kayfiyatni aniqlovchi dasturlar va deepfake generatorlar — siyosiy hikoyalarni yaratish va tarqatish usullarini tubdan o'zgartirmoqda. Ushbu maqolada AQSH saylovlarida SI'ning strategik qo'llanilishi va bu jarayonning ommaviy muloqotga ta'siri yuzasidan olib borilgan so'nggi tadqiqotlar ko'rib chiqiladi. Muallif ijtimoiy tarmoqlarda siyosiy kontentni filtrlovchi va shaxsiylashtiruvchi algoritmlar, saylovchilar bilan muloqot qilish yoki ularni chalg'itish uchun ishlatiladigan avtomatlashtirilgan botlar va chat-botlar, shuningdek, mashina o'rganish texnologiyalari asosida ishlovchi ilg'or profillash va mikro-nishonlash usullarini tahlil qiladi. Shuningdek, ishonarli siyosiy xabarlarni yaratish uchun ishlatiladigan generativ texnologiyalar (katta til modellari va sun'iy media) ham tahlil qilinadi. Har bir holatda, strategik afzalliklar (masalan, shaxsiylashtirilgan yondashuv va 24/7 saylovchilar bilan aloqada bo'lish) axloqiy va ijtimoiy xavf-xatarlar bilan muvozanatli baholanishi kerak. Bular qatoriga shaxsiy hayot daxlsizligi va kuzatuv, noto'g'ri ma'lumotlar (dezinformatsiya va "yolg'on dividend"), algoritmik tarfkashlik va "aks-sado kameralar" hamda SI vositalariga asoslangan saylov kampaniyalarini tartibga solishdagi qiyinchiliklar kiradi. Muallifning xulosasiga ko'ra, SI kampaniyalarni samarali tashkil qilish va auditoriyani kengaytirishda foydali bo'lsa-da, u demokratiya va javobgarlik tamoyillariga jiddiy tahdid soladi.

## РОЛЬ ИСКУССТВЕННОГО ИНТЕЛЛЕКТА В СОВРЕМЕННЫХ СТРАТЕГИЯХ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ КАМПАНИЙ

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### О СТАТЬЕ

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**Ключевые слова:** ИИ, политические кампании, формирование нарратива, алгоритмы социальных сетей, чат-боты, дипфейки, анализ настроений, дезинформация, политическая коммуникация, Соединённые Штаты, избирательная этика.

**Аннотация:** По мере того как политические кампании в США всё активнее интегрируют искусственный интеллект (ИИ) в свои коммуникационные стратегии, используемые инструменты — от алгоритмов ленты в социальных сетях до чат-ботов, систем профилирования избирателей, анализа настроений и генераторов дипфейков — кардинально меняют способы создания и распространения политических нарративов. В данной статье рассматриваются современные исследования, посвящённые стратегическому использованию ИИ в избирательных кампаниях США и его влиянию на общественный дискурс. Автор анализирует исследования алгоритмов социальных сетей, которые фильтруют и персонализируют политический контент, использование автоматизированных ботов и чат-ботов для вовлечения или введения в заблуждение избирателей, а также продвинутые методы профилирования и микротаргетинга избирателей, основанные на машинном обучении. Также рассматриваются технологии генеративного ИИ (крупные языковые модели и синтетические медиа), используемые для создания убедительных сообщений. В каждом из этих случаев стратегические преимущества (такие как гиперперсонализированная агитация и круглосуточное взаимодействие с избирателями) необходимо сопоставлять с этическими и социальными рисками. К ним относятся проблемы конфиденциальности и слежки, угрозы информационной целостности (дезинформация и «дивиденд лжеца»), алгоритмические искажения и

эффект «эхо-камер», а также сложности регулирования непрозрачных ИИ-методов предвыборной агитации. Автор приходит к выводу, что, несмотря на эффективность ИИ в оптимизации предвыборной деятельности и расширении охвата, он также представляет серьёзную угрозу демократической подотчётности.

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Political campaigns have always sought to control narratives and influence public opinion, but the advent of AI and big data has dramatically expanded these capabilities. Modern U.S. elections now occur in an environment where online platforms, data analytics firms, and campaigns wield AI tools that collect data continuously, profile individuals, and tailor messages at scale. For example, AI-driven analytics can scrape millions of voters' social media interactions and use machine learning to infer their psychological traits and political preferences. Meanwhile, social media algorithms decide which news and ads appear in citizens' feeds, effectively shaping what each person sees and believes. The combination of these technologies creates a kind of "manipulation machine" that can personalize persuasion down to the individual level.

Such powers have heightened public concern: in one recent survey, 39% of Americans expected AI to be used "mostly for bad" purposes in the 2024 campaign, with only 5% expecting mostly good uses. Citizens and experts worry about AI amplifying misinformation, reinforcing polarization, and undermining trust in elections. At the same time, proponents note that AI can also help campaigns engage voters more effectively, translate messages into multiple languages, and manage large datasets.

Campaigns now employ a diverse suite of AI-driven tools to shape political narratives in the United States. These tools enable campaigns to reach specific audiences more efficiently, tailor persuasive messages, and respond rapidly to emerging events or controversies. The key categories of AI application in this context include social media feed algorithms, chatbots and conversational AI, voter profiling and microtargeting, sentiment analysis, and synthetic media (deepfakes).

Platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, and X (formerly Twitter) use AI to algorithmically curate the content that appears in users' feeds, thereby determining the visibility and prominence of political messages. These ranking systems prioritize content based on predicted user engagement, often leading to ideological segregation. A meta-study conducted during the 2020 U.S. presidential election found that Facebook's algorithm significantly increased the homogeneity of users' news exposure, filtering out content that contradicted their pre-existing beliefs. As a result, conservative and liberal users were largely exposed to different political realities, with conservatives disproportionately encountering stories that were flagged as false by independent fact-checkers. Moreover, experiments that removed reshared content from feeds

showed a marked decrease in user exposure to unreliable political news and a decline in engagement with low-quality posts . These findings underscore the power of AI-driven recommendation systems to both amplify echo chambers and spread misinformation unless appropriately constrained.

Increasingly, campaigns are using automated systems such as AI-powered chatbots and robocalls to simulate personalized communication with voters. For instance, text-based bots can answer voter queries, conduct surveys, or simulate conversations with a candidate. In some controversial instances, AI has been deployed to impersonate real political figures. In one high-profile case during the 2024 primaries, a deepfake voice of President Joe Biden was used in a robocall that discouraged New Hampshire voters from participating in the primary election—an example of AI-driven voter suppression . Other campaigns have experimented with AI tools for more constructive purposes. For example, a political action committee launched a ChatGPT-powered bot that mimicked the voice of Rep. Dean Phillips, and Robert F. Kennedy Jr.'s campaign tested an AI chatbot to communicate campaign positions . While OpenAI prohibits explicit political campaigning on its ChatGPT platform, other open-source models remain unregulated and can be fine-tuned for outreach. These developments point to an emerging frontier where AI enables campaigns to hold simulated “conversations” with millions of voters simultaneously, across multiple languages and platforms.

Advanced machine learning algorithms allow campaigns to segment the electorate into highly specific subgroups based on demographics, psychographics, and behavioral data. By analyzing social media activity, consumer data, and other digital footprints, campaigns can predict how likely an individual is to support a given candidate or respond to specific issues. A recent study by Simchon et al. (2024) demonstrated that AI-generated, psychologically tailored messages were significantly more persuasive than generic ones. This form of microtargeting builds on techniques pioneered by firms like Cambridge Analytica and has evolved into a “scalable manipulation machine” capable of deploying millions of personalized messages with minimal human intervention. Facebook “likes”, for example, can be used to infer sensitive attributes like race, religion and political ideology with high accuracy . Such data is then used to optimize campaign messaging and ground operations, determining which households to canvass, what messages to send, and which voters to prioritize for turnout efforts.

AI is also central to monitoring public opinion in real time. Sentiment analysis tools can scan millions of tweets, Facebook comments, and news articles to assess how voters feel about a candidate, policy, or event. Campaigns use this information to fine-tune their messaging and decide when to emphasize or de-emphasize certain themes. Studies show that social media sentiment can even predict electoral outcomes: in one such study, researchers found that although

Donald Trump had more overall Twitter mentions in the 2020 election cycle, Joe Biden received a higher share of positive sentiment—a factor that the authors linked to electoral performance . However, reliance on AI-generated sentiment analysis has risks. It may incentivize reactive communication strategies that chase short-term trends at the expense of coherent messaging, or it may misinterpret sarcasm or coded language, especially in polarized discourse. Moreover, online sentiment does not always translate to real-world behavior. Nonetheless, sentiment analysis remains a vital feedback loop, informing strategic decisions on speech topics, ad placement, and crisis response.

One of the most powerful—and dangerous—uses of AI in political campaigns involves the creation of synthetic media. Deepfakes use neural networks to generate hyper-realistic video, audio, or images of public figures. In 2023, Florida Governor Ron DeSantis circulated deepfake videos of Donald Trump interacting with Dr. Anthony Fauci, and similar tactics were used by opposition groups to embarrass rivals through fabricated content. During the 2024 campaign cycle, deepfake ads falsely depicting Trump endorsing unpopular policies were also disseminated. These tools raise serious concerns about authenticity and the “liar’s dividend,” a term describing how the mere possibility of deepfakes allows politicians to discredit real but damaging information . In response to these developments, the FCC has banned AI-generated voices in robocalls, and major tech companies have pledged to label synthetic content. Nevertheless, studies suggest that detection technologies remain unreliable and easily circumvented . Deepfakes can thus be exploited not only to fabricate narratives but also to erode trust in genuine reporting, creating a post-truth environment in which citizens struggle to determine what is real.

In combination, these tools offer campaigns the ability to personalize, automate, and optimize narrative control on a scale never before possible. While they offer legitimate advantages—efficiency, inclusiveness, and responsiveness—they also risk turning political communication into a closed feedback loop of manipulation, where AI-generated content reinforces itself across multiple platforms and voter segments. As such, AI is not just a tool for communication—it is a powerful instrument for shaping political reality.

The growing use of AI in campaigns raises a host of ethical concerns. These issues affect the integrity of political communication, citizens’ rights, and the health of democracy.

**Key concerns include:**

1. **Privacy and Surveillance:** In the U.S., regulations around political data use are still evolving: voter file data is available to campaigns, but third-party data harvesting is loosely regulated. The combination of AI and big data thus poses risks to privacy and informed consent, as voters may not know the extent to which their personal information is being used to influence them.



2.       Manipulation and Misinformation: Personalized messaging tailored to psychological traits can push emotional triggers without the recipient's awareness. Moreover, AI's ability to generate convincing content can blur truth and fiction. The phenomenon of the liar's dividend illustrates this worry: as AI creates more realistic fakes, public figures might get away with dismissing genuine information as "fake news" or blaming opponents for AI-generated distortions . Studies show that false claims framed as deepfakes can actually boost a politician's support after a scandal, because some voters doubt any media . In the campaign context, this means attackers might find cover in the ambiguity of AI-generated media. Indeed, the Biden robocall case shows how AI-enabled disinformation can be hard to counter: even when exposed, the damage (voter confusion or suppression) may already be done. Such tactics exploit AI's strengths to spread false narratives, making it ethically challenging to distinguish honest persuasion from deceit.

3.       Bias and Inequity: AI systems inherit biases from their data. If an AI campaign tool learns from a skewed dataset (e.g. one that underrepresents minorities), its outputs may unfairly favor certain groups or amplify stereotypes. This can exacerbate existing social divisions. For example, Kofi Annan Foundation analysts note that machine learning models trained on past data will reflect historical prejudices. In politics, this could mean that some communities receive more positive outreach while others are neglected or misrepresented, depending on what data the algorithms learned. Moreover, the benefits of AI in campaigns accrue unevenly: well-funded campaigns and tech-savvy parties gain an edge, widening the gap between political actors. Smaller or resource-poor campaigns (or underfunded groups) may lack the means to harness advanced AI, leading to a digital divide in political influence.

4.       Algorithmic Filter Bubbles: The segregation effects of social algorithms raise the concern that citizens are increasingly trapped in filter bubbles. As we saw, algorithmic curation can confine users within narrow ideological silos. This makes it harder for campaigns to reach across the aisle with fact-based messages, and it fuels polarization by reinforcing selective narratives. The implication is that AI-driven platforms may distort the national discourse, allowing each side's narrative to thrive unchallenged in its own subnetwork. Studies found, for instance, that many political news URLs were consumed almost exclusively by one ideological group. Even attempts to moderate content (like removing reshared posts) can change engagement patterns, but campaigns cannot directly control platform algorithms. Still, they can exploit them by crafting posts likely to go viral within target subgroups.

5.       Transparency and Regulation: Currently, oversight of AI in campaigns is minimal. The Federal Election Commission has no specific rules on AI-generated content, and voluntary disclosure is rare. Federally, efforts so far include an executive order on AI (focused on general use) and proposed FEC rules on "deceptive" AI ads, but these have limited teeth. Meanwhile,

some states have introduced laws (mostly about deepfakes), leading to a patchwork of rules. Ethical campaigners have called for clear norms – for example, requiring labels on AI-generated political ads – but opponents argue enforcement is impractical given fast-moving tech. Without robust guidelines, there is a risk that campaign practices outpace oversight. As one analysis notes, companies and campaigns currently rely on “unwritten industry norms” rather than enforceable policies.

6. Erosion of Trust: Finally, the overall impact of AI on public trust is worrisome. When every piece of media could be AI-generated, citizens may begin to distrust legitimate news or campaign statements as well. Researchers warn that heavy use of AI-generated content could make voters cynically label any negative story as a “deepfake”. This “cry-wolf” effect undermines accountability, since officials can dodge responsibility by claiming a story is fabricated. The Brookings authors describe this as a threat to accountability and public trust. Moreover, continuous exposure to subtle manipulation may foster resignation or disengagement among voters. If people feel they cannot distinguish truth from AI-crafted lies, they may simply withdraw from political debate. This jeopardizes the informational basis of democracy, making it hard for voters to make reasoned choices.

In sum, the strategic advantages of AI in campaigns come with substantial ethical costs. They raise questions about fairness (Who gets targeted? Who is excluded?), consent (Do voters know how their data is used?), and accountability (Who is responsible if an AI-generated message sways an election?). Many scholars call for multidisciplinary scrutiny of AI in politics and new frameworks for transparency. For example, one proposed approach is a Digital Civic Education, helping citizens learn to critically evaluate AI content. Another is technological: developing more reliable content-authenticity verification (e.g. blockchain-based provenance). The key will be vigilance and safeguards to ensure AI-powered campaigns do not corrupt democratic processes.

The narrative battlefield is transforming: messages no longer simply compete in a marketplace of ideas, but are amplified by invisible algorithms and generated by machines. Ensuring that this transformation does not subvert democratic values will require ongoing research, cross-sector collaboration, and a public willing to question what they see and hear. The studies and reports surveyed here underscore both the promise and peril of AI in campaign narratives. A vigilant democracy must harness the former while defending against the latter.

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