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ПОЛІТИЧНІ НАУКИ

Олександр Юрійович Висоцький

Доктор політичних наук, професор,
професор кафедри міжнародних відносин,
Дніпровський національний університет
імені Олеся Гончара,
пр. Гагаріна 72, Дніпро, 49000, Україна
Email: vysalek@gmail.com,

Oleksandr Vysotskyi

D.Sc. (Political Science), PhD (History),
Professor, Professor of the International
Relations Department,
Oles Honchar Dnipro National University,
72 Gagarin Ave., Dnipro, 49010, Ukraine
ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0712-8499>

Дмитро Миколайович Павлов

Доктор політичних наук, доцент,
професор кафедри освітнього менеджменту,
державної політики та економіки,
КЗВО «Дніпровська академія неперервної
освіти» ДОР,
вул.Антоновича,70, Дніпро, 49096, Україна,

Dmytro Pavlov

D.Sc. (Political Science), Associate Professor,
Professor of the Department of Educational Management,
Public Policy and Economics,
Communal institution of higher education «Dnipro
Academy of Continuing Education» of Dnipropetrovsk
Regional Council,
70 Antonovycha str., Dnipro, 49006, Ukraine
ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4410-9588>

Email: dnepr_smru@ukr.net,

UDC 32.019.5

SPACES OF PROPAGANDA AS STRUCTURAL AND FUNCTIONAL DIMENSIONS OF ITS DEPLOYMENT IN DOMESTIC POLITICS AND IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA

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Abstract

The authors present a new vision of political propaganda as a space that unites several autonomous propaganda spaces. They prove that the essence of propaganda is to spread its space as a constant process of constructing and intensifying convincing and mobilizing values for society in order to ensure the victory of some political forces over others in the processes of gaining power, making certain socially important decisions, as well as implementing the interests of international players on the world arena. The propaganda space in the process of expansion and with the goal of total coverage of all life manifestations of individuals, groups and societies and due to the corresponding differentiation of means of influence is divided into several autonomous spaces. The main propaganda spaces that have their own specifics of functioning are symbolic, mythological, ideological, virtual, communicative, value-normative, psychological, technological, counter-propaganda, domestic and international. In each of these spaces, the propaganda influence is carried out due to the nature of their components. The specificity of power relations in domestic and international spaces determines spaces of propaganda as structural and functional dimensions of its deployment in domestic politics and in the international arena. The authors argue that an important condition for the efficiency of propaganda is the system integration of all propaganda spaces.

Keywords: *mythologization, counter-propaganda, communication, political propaganda, public opinion formation, political technologies, international relations.*

Простори пропаганди як структурно-функціональні виміри її розгортання у внутрішній політиці та на міжнародній арені

Анотація

Автори репрезентують нове бачення політичної пропаганди як простору, що об'єднує декілька автономних пропагандистських просторів. Вони доводять, що сутність пропаганди полягає у розповсюдженні свого простору як постійного процесу конструювання та інтенсифікації переконливих та мобілізуючих для суспільства значень з метою забезпечення перемоги одних політичних сил над іншими у процесах здобуття влади, прийнятті тих чи тих суспільно важливих рішень, а також

реалізації інтересів міжнародних гравців на світовій арені. Пропагандистський простір в процесі розширення та з метою тотального охоплення всіх життєвих проявів індивідів, груп та суспільств та внаслідок відповідної диференціації засобів впливу розпадається на декілька автономних просторів. Основними пропагандистськими просторами, що мають свою специфіку функціонування, є символічний, міфологічний, ідеологічний, віртуальний, комунікативний, ціннісно-нормативний, психологічний, технологічний, контрпропагандистський, внутрішньополітичний та міжнародний. На кожному з цих просторів пропагандистський вплив здійснюється з огляду на характер їх компонентів. Простори пропаганди як структурно-функціональні виміри її розгортання у внутрішній політиці та на міжнародній арені обумовлюються специфікою владних відносин, відповідно, у внутрішньополітичному та міжнародному просторах. Автори стверджують, що важливою умовою ефективності пропаганди є системна інтегрованість всіх просторів пропаганди.

Ключові слова: міфологізація, контрпропаганда, комунікація, політична пропаганда, формування громадської думки, політичні технології, міжнародні відносини.

Introduction.

The study of propaganda has a long history. But until now, it remains an insufficiently studied phenomenon. The reason for this is that scientists have tried to make sense of propaganda as a whole, without sufficient consideration of the specifics of its arsenal in different dimensions of application. Researchers tried to prove theories of propaganda, which were based on the predominant allocation of only one of its dimensions and the extension of its properties to the entire nature of propaganda. This is how ideological, psychological, communicative, and other theories of propaganda emerged. This is somewhat reminiscent of the parable of the elephant and the blind sages. As you know, each of the blind sages touched a separate part of the elephant and came to their own conclusions, identifying the elephant with a fan, a tree, a rope, a spear, a wall and a snake. Propaganda is an integral phenomenon that has a multidimensional structure of functioning. All this multidimensional structure of propaganda determines its complex nature and efficiency of influence, based on the multiplication of effects. It is the multi-dimensionality that gives propaganda the opportunity to influence society and the individual simultaneously in several directions. This is also facilitated by the fact that society and the individual are susceptible to propaganda in many aspects of their existence. Structural and functional analysis of propaganda spaces is an attempt to solve the problem of propaganda influence in a new way by defining the spatial structure of its tools.

Literature review.

Based on the analysis of recent publications

on the subject of the article, it is worth noting that a certain number of interesting works from political propaganda have recently appeared. At the same time, some old works devoted to propaganda issues are important in the context of our research. We would like to highlight among them a number of interesting studies by M.Alford [Alford 2018], D.A.Barclay [Barclay 2018], C.Bjola [Bjola 2019], C.Fuchs [Fuchs 2018], A.V.Laskin [Laskin 2019], H.Liu [Liu 2020], A.Macleod [Macleod 2019], R.Magnusdottir [Magnusdottir 2019], L.J.Martin [Martin 1971], L.Risso [Risso 2014], P.Robinson [Robinson 2018], M.Tanji, D.Broudy [Tanji & Broudy 2017], C.Till [Till 2020], M.H.Van Herpen [Van Herpen 2016], O.Vysotskyi [Vysotskyi 2018], D.Pavlov, I.Ishchenko [Vysotskyi, Pavlov & Ishchenko 2019], Ch.Winter [Winter 2020]. These works have laid a solid foundation for understanding the research topic and have given us a significant impetus to understand spaces of propaganda as structural and functional dimensions of its deployment in domestic politics and in the international arena.

Based on the above, the **purpose** of the article is to define the main spaces of propaganda and outline the specifics of the arsenal of propaganda influence in each of these spaces.

Research methodology.

The research methodology is a structural and functional approach that allowed us to study propaganda as a multidimensional system of spaces, each of which has specific mechanisms of influence.

Research results.

Propaganda has its own space, which according to its structural and functional characteristics

is divided into several autonomous spaces. The propaganda space is one of the central concepts for defining the essence of propaganda, since it combines all the structural and functional dimensions of propaganda deployment. The propaganda space ontologizes political reality and breathes life into it. The actions of government representatives and political subjects have no meaning in the context of gaining, exercising and retaining power, if they do not fall into the propaganda space and do not affect the behavior of those under their control through the means of propaganda. The propaganda space is a universe of meanings that promote certain interests and regulate behavioral responses to various, primarily unstable situations in the objects of influence. The essence of propaganda is to spread its space as a constant process of constructing and intensifying convincing and mobilizing values for society in order to ensure the victory of some political forces over others in the processes of gaining power, making certain socially important decisions, as well as realizing the interests of international players in the world arena.

The mechanism for carrying out propaganda is to offer, strengthen and maintain meanings that are designed to structure the perception, thinking and behavior of individuals and groups in order to change the power potentials in the domestic and global spaces to meet the interests of those forces that initiate relevant public opinion reactions. The meanings that propaganda disseminates become the driving force of power when they turn into a motive for action and force those who are the object of propaganda to act in a certain way. The meanings carry out the structuring of the relationship, determine the dispositions, the capabilities, strategic vision, competencies and functions of political actors.

The propaganda space in the process of expansion and with the goal of total coverage of all life manifestations of individuals, groups and societies, and due to the corresponding differentiation of means of influence, splits into several autonomous spaces that determine human thinking and behavior. Cognitive-deterministic propaganda spaces include symbolic, mythological, ideological, and virtual.

The symbolic space of propaganda is a sys-

tem of interconnected symbols, the complex impact of which turns individuals and social groups into obedient tools of information and psychological struggle for power. Without the use of symbols, any political power and propaganda is impossible. The symbol as a sign, which makes sense, is an elementary particle of the diversity of which the propaganda process consists. Symbols play the role of carriers of meanings, from which symbolic universes and worlds are constructed as certain symbolic systems that serve for self-interpretation and self-identification of societies and groups, to justify political orders, decisions and projects of political development. The symbol in the propaganda system of influence acts as a desire. On the part of propagandists, this is a desire to attract under the influence of a «symbolic umbrella» of a certain slogans, ideas or flag as many subjects of socio-political relations as possible, to impose their will on them, to make them an obedient force. On the part of social subjects-recipients of propaganda, this is a desire to increase their social significance, their own prestige.

The symbolic space of propaganda provides for the attribution of meanings to things, events, and persons in order to structure the perception of the flow of reality for the benefit of those who claim to exercise power. This space consists of such components as nominalization (assigning and fixing meanings due to naming), mythologization (constructing, spreading and developing myths), metaphorization (structuring reality with words that have an indirect meaning in order to construct meaning) and ritualization (spreading and strengthening the significance of political ideas in the form of emotional and sensory images).

The mythological space of propaganda exists due to the substitution of meanings for facts. Myth recodes the unconscious components of a person's perception of socio-political reality into meaning-intensive, narrative, emotionally rich models, through which consciousness makes an unfamiliar and complex real reality familiar and structurally understandable, corresponding to stereotypes, fears and desires. Even history in the propaganda space becomes a policy of memory, which is focused on constructing a narrative that can inspire society to support the ideologi-

cal foundations of the regime. With the help of emotions, the induction of experiences, fears, and desires, myth engages the political subject in the struggle for freedom, security, and the ideals of a better life. The subject can put an end to the myths and return to the «desert of the real» only after being freed from goals, desires, and fears.

Archetypes play an important role in political myth. In fact, archetypes are the reference points of the myth, on the basis of which propaganda is carried out. Archetypes are ready-made models for which the propagandist must adapt the statements and actions of politicians or interpret their activities and statements in the spirit of archetypes. Any modern political myth has two dimensions of structural organization. First, these are invariant structures. They can be called prototypes, that is, models on the basis of which a message is built, a propaganda narrative. This is, for example, the prototype of the hero, mother, villain, trickster, sage, golden age, savior, unity, conspiracy. Second, they are actual projections, changing constructs, and unambiguous messages that prototypes provide alibis for.

The propaganda effect of the myth is based on the fact that it offers the political subject the meaning of being in exchange for taking on a certain role. Myth in propaganda, in addition to emotionalization and drawing the masses into the political game, performs an explanatory function. For example, government failures to implement reforms can be interpreted using the conspiracy archetype. The conspiracy myth gives the authorities a basis for making any decisions to strengthen security measures at the expense of ensuring human rights, in particular the limits of freedom. The myth of the Golden age draws society into the expectation of a bright future, in the hope of a savior. In the context of the golden age myth, any promise of a politician can be perceived as a projection of such an archetype on the golden age.

The mythological space of propaganda includes binary opposition as its component. Binary oppositions are convenient for structuring political reality in the minds of the masses. They work most vividly within the framework of the myth of unity, which is based on the contradistinction of «friends-foes», «we-they». «They» or «foes» want to take away our values, and there-

fore our salvation lies in unity and in any means of resisting them.

First of all, modern propagandists take care to activate those binary oppositions that will not be directed against the sponsors of the regime or the ruling class of society. Thus, binary oppositions are updated on a horizontal basis (ethnic, territorial), but not on a class basis. The class principle of applying the «we-they» binary opposition threatens, in particular in Ukraine, to break the oligarchic system that finances both the political ruling elite and the political opposition. Therefore, it is easier and safer to build unity on the ethnic and territorial principle or on the principle of «power-opposition», than on the principle of «oligarchs – people», «corrupt official – disempowered citizen».

Functioning in the system of propaganda reality, political myth inspires, emotionally transforms the political subject, appealing to his imagination. Due to this, the real political reality in the recipient's perception is replaced by symbolic and imaginary objects that squeeze out the real understanding of it. Propaganda, plunging the mass consciousness into the mythological space of politics, gets access to the imagination, in which everything is possible, it is possible to miraculously win, and the country can be made prosperous in a short time.

The ideological space of propaganda is a place of existence of interconnected ideas, the complex impact of which turns individuals and social groups into obedient tools of information and psychological struggle for power. Ideas in the propaganda space are well-structured representations that stimulate the desire of individuals and groups to get rid of the suffering that traumatic reality generates, and to satisfy spiritual and material desires, the realization of which is hindered by various enemies. The importance of the ideological space of propaganda lies in the fact that it focuses the public's attention on the fight against enemies. Thanks to this, not only public opinion is formed in the «right direction», but also an active part of society is attracted to the side of one of the political camps that compete for power. As a result, propaganda influences not only minds, but also social and political actions, and the objects of propaganda, having become carriers of

its ideas, act as its secondary subjects.

The desire of individuals is formed in the ideological space of propaganda. They are given the status of fair demands to political actors involved in the use of power. However, since desire is the main energy of propaganda, desires must retain the potential of driving causes of social and political activity, but not be realized. Because the realization of desires that are shaped by the dominant ideology can cause a propaganda crisis and forced reformatting of propaganda under the influence of orientation to new suffering, collective desires and symbolic models of the future, as well strategies of socio-political creativity to achieve new ideals of society development. In turn, this may lead to a new redistribution of income in society and a change in the structure of power relations. Since the power subjects do not want to lose anything, they will carry out endless reforms and delay the implementation of society's requests so that the desire of individuals, on the one hand, does not lose its force, and on the other – is not satisfied.

Virtual space is one of the main spaces of propaganda. This space has a tangible significance due to the generation and formation of images (representatives, substitutes, substitutes) of reality, which can attract large masses of people to a trance state by systematically mastering their attention and at the same time distracting it from the experience of real personal existence in space-time specifics. Virtualization is the process of replacing the immediate reality (people, things, actions, etc.) with a system of its representations, images. Thanks to virtualization, a world of figurative and symbolic substitutes for the physical, primary (original) reality is created, that is, the installation of virtuality as a visible or imaginary space for the existence of images, models, phantasms, ideals and desires. Virtual reality is always more attractive to individuals, since it is more or less the result of escaping from the traumatic nature of everyday primary reality into the sphere of perfection, ideals, the triumph of the desired over the actual, the imaginary, embodied in the symbolic.

The virtual space of political propaganda functions through the actualization of associations, their binding and fixing to specific imag-

es of personalized, institutional, ideological and even phantom political objects. Personified objects are political leaders, institutional objects include parties, socio-political organizations, States, international and state-political bodies, ideological objects are ideas, doctrines, party and election programs, declarations, appeals, and phantom objects are abstract or nameless enemies, as well as peoples.

The virtual space of political propaganda exists due to the Antinomian and polysemous interpretation of verbal and visual images, which act as a representation and, at the same time, as a substitute for the original reality. The influence of propaganda in this space begins to work when the individual is transported into a world of illusions and fantasies that not only resemble his personal experience and connect it with the experience of other members of society, but also make it excessive due to the impressions received from the images that were perceived. The significance of the virtual space of propaganda is determined by the fact that here propaganda turns the lack of knowledge about the meaning of political phenomena and processes at the mass level into an excess of information for various representatives (in particular, images, symbols) of political objects. Because of this, propaganda presupposes and transcends the original reality, since it creates illusions and stirs the imagination, which, in turn, determine the actual actions of its recipients. The extraordinary role of the virtual propaganda space lies in the ability of constructed images of political reality to ontologize and at the same time represent the interests, feelings, desires and fears of social subjects who are the objects of propaganda. Virtualization through the effect of ontological images of political reality allows hiding from society the true motives, intentions and goals of propagandists and political actors who use propaganda.

The communicative, value-normative and psychological spaces of propaganda determine the behavior of its objects. The communication space provides involvement, retention and consolidation of consumer groups of propaganda, according to communication channels. The value-normative space of propaganda normalizes the behavior of recipients of propaganda and provides ideals for the political activity of social groups and society as

a whole. The psychological space of propaganda provides an irrational perception of political reality. This space mobilizes political support by activating the emotional and sensory sphere.

Let's look at each of these spaces in more detail. The communication space of propaganda is a place for transmitting meanings to recipients in order to control their behavior for propaganda purposes.

The efficiency of political propaganda mainly depends on its ability to provide conditions for such communication, which would help to strengthen trust between the opposite sides of the political process – political actors and society. One of the main conditions for such communication should be empathy for the feelings, emotions, experiences, sufferings, problems of representatives of a wide range of groups of society on the part of applicants for the exercise of power. First of all, this implies treating every citizen and voter as a unique being who deserves the highest degree of respect, care, freedom, trust and a bright future. The maximum efficiency of communication tools of propaganda is directly dependent on the establishment of such communication, which would be built on the principle of increasing empathy between agents and objects of political and propaganda influence.

The efficiency of political propaganda depends on the norms and values prevailing in society as a whole or within its individual groups. Norms and values that determine the perception of political actors and political reality in General. Only thanks to the value-normative universe, which serves as an interpretive axiological matrix for reality, can political reality be evaluated, defined as significant or insignificant in its various manifestations and components. Therefore, from the point of view of its goals, propaganda is interested in the correct value definition of reality, its axiological reinterpretation.

The value-normative space of propaganda determines the behavior of political actors by activating existing or imaginary threats with the following proposal: not only to overcome the threats, but also to guarantee the strengthening of values that are important for the majority. Certain «points of connection» for the value definition of reality are ideals and enemies. Ideals are stimuli,

some «toposes of desires», while «enemies» are points of aversion, repulsion, sources of aggression and goals of struggle. Thanks to images of the ideal and hostile, propaganda is filled with mobilization potential and determines the behavior of political actors.

The psychological space of propaganda plays a significant role in its dissemination and is a system of interrelated means of influencing the psyche of a person, groups and society, which turn them into obedient tools of information and psychological competition for power. The psychological space of propaganda ensures the functioning of power, infinitely expands the prospects of subordination, because it acts outside the rational perception of reality. An important component of the psychological space of propaganda is the permanent stimulation of human desires and shortcomings. The psychological space of propaganda provides for the dramatization of politics, forcing the recipients of propaganda to act not on the basis of rational calculation, but under the influence of fear, despair, anger, anxiety, hatred, disgust, hope, pride, admiration, adoration, joy, and various kinds of desires.

An important space for propaganda is the technological space, which is a set of techniques, technologies and principles for their efficient application. Propaganda technologies play an important role in gaining, retaining, and exercising political power. In contrast to the techniques of propaganda, technologies are of institutional nature, they operate continuously and are based on the mechanisms of propaganda. Technologies are systems of consistently applied procedures, techniques and methods of activity aimed at the optimal and efficient implementation of the goals and objectives of a particular subject at a certain time and place. Based on the nature of influence, propaganda technologies are divided into hard and soft. According to the orientation of influence on human thinking or behavior, technologies are divided into cognitive-structuring and behavioral-constituting ones. The cognitive-structuring technologies of propaganda are framing, priming, symbolization, ritualization, mythologization, political moking, and virtualization. Behavioral-constitutive technologies include such propaganda technologies as image-making, pub-

lic relations, psychological, value-mobilization, norm-forming and manipulative technologies.

The technological space of propaganda intersects with most other propaganda spaces, since it is difficult to imagine the efficient action of propaganda in any space without technological tools.

A special propaganda space is counter-propaganda one. Protection and counteraction to propaganda largely depends on counter-propaganda technologies, the success of which is a significant factor in winning the propaganda confrontation. Counter-propaganda is an integral part of propaganda activities, a system of measures that consists of a set of tools, techniques and methods aimed at neutralizing and exposing the propaganda of political opponents in order to prevent possible negative consequences regarding the propaganda activity of a politician, political force or hostile state.

Technologies of political counter-propaganda are of great importance in preventing and countering the propaganda of opponents. Counter-propaganda technologies can be classified by their functional orientation. Counter-propaganda technologies are divided into preventive, counteracting (neutralizing) and offensive. Warning technologies work in advance of the opponent's reaction, explaining the situation before it becomes a target for negative messages from the opponent. Counteracting propaganda technologies are aimed at reducing or neutralizing the opponent's propaganda. Counteracting technologies include direct refutation of enemy propaganda, indirect refutation, distraction, silence (silencing), restrictive measures, imitative delusion, prevention and minimization. Technologies of offensive counter-propaganda aimed at pre-emptively discrediting the subjects, sources, means and content of propaganda messages of political opponents. Technologies of offensive counter-propaganda include, first, the initiation of topics that reduce the authority of subjects, sources and means of spreading hostile propaganda, second, ridiculing its value and ideological positions; third, bringing to the absurd through hyperbolization of the picture of the world that propaganda represents, and fourth, irony at those who tend to believe in the plausibility of the messages of propaganda of the opponent.

The domestic political space of propaganda has its own specifics. The leading means of political propaganda in the domestic political space of the state are various media (newspapers, TV channels, the Internet, social networks, blogs, etc.), which are channels for spreading and introducing propaganda into the mass consciousness. The success and efficiency of this process is due to media politics, which is actually a set of means for politicians to exercise their propaganda influence through the media and, at the same time, the order of functioning of the media, which is aimed at gaining the trust of the audience and its expansion. Therefore, the means of propaganda that allow it to efficiently spread and influence the mass audience through the media can be called media-political propaganda tools. In turn, they can be divided into those used by politicians and those used by the media themselves. Media-political propaganda tools used by the media sphere employees include framing, priming events, indexing news, setting an agenda, infotainment, image messages, personalization of policies, emotionalization, and providing sensationalism to the message. The media-political propaganda tools used by politicians include censorship, the politics of scandals, spin, the use of voter databases in building propaganda strategies, the formation and management of image, the demonstration of personal reliability, leadership potential, determination, competence, efficiency, honesty, education, independence, the use of mythologems, as well as the use of accurate metaphors to describe political reality.

The international propaganda space is different from the domestic political one. This space serves to regulate relations in the world, as well as to strengthen the state's position in the international arena. Propaganda in the sphere of international relations is intended to protect the national interests of one's state or the interests of allies from the influence or hostile plans of other Nations. During wartime, propaganda was carried out through films, newsreels, magazines, newspapers, radio, cartoons, and the educational system. In peacetime, public diplomacy has successfully fulfilled propaganda functions. With the spread of the Internet and electronic means of communication, e-diplomacy, which has expand-

ed the possibilities of public diplomacy as its extension in the digital plane, has made the implementation of propaganda tasks in the international arena easier and more effective [Vysotskyi 2018]. Among the forms of propaganda used in the international arena, it should also be noted the formation of the image of the state. A fairly powerful channel of international propaganda is mass culture – Hollywood movies, TV series, pop music, international sports competitions, including the Olympics, various forums, festivals, performances, art exhibitions, expositions, works of art, consumer goods, travel offers, as well as travel to other countries.

Modern political propaganda in the international arena operates through the principle of «soft power» and the regime of dialogue. It affects its object through temptation, offering another, more attractive life based on other values that make the social subject feel more free and happy.

An important argumentative tool of international propaganda is the appeal to the protection of universal values, first of all, world security and human rights. Proclaiming a state as a violator of the principles of world security or human rights leads to the weakening of such a state in the international arena, turning it into an object of interference by international forces.

Peacemaking, humanitarian, social, political and any other cooperation of States in the international arena has a propaganda effect, since any manifestation, act, event of such cooperation positions the member states and international organizations within which such cooperation takes place as those that have the power to solve social, economic, political and any other problems.

Conclusion.

Propaganda space is one of the central concepts for defining the essence of propaganda. It ontologizes political reality and breathes life into it. The propaganda space is divided into sever-

al autonomous spaces, since it combines all the structural and functional dimensions of propaganda deployment. The propaganda space is a universe of meanings that promote certain interests and regulate behavioral responses to various, primarily unstable situations in the objects of influence. The essence of propaganda is to spread its space as a constant process of constructing and intensifying convincing and mobilizing values for society in order to ensure the victory of some political forces over others in the processes of gaining power, making certain socially important decisions, as well as realizing the interests of international players in the world arena.

The propaganda space in the process of expansion and with the goal of total coverage of all life manifestations of individuals, groups and societies, and due to the corresponding differentiation of means of influence, splits into several autonomous spaces. The main propaganda spaces that have their own specifics of functioning are symbolic, mythological, ideological, virtual, communicative, value-normative, psychological, technological, counter-propaganda, domestic and international ones. In each of these spaces, propaganda works using the nature and possibilities of influence of their components. It should be noted that spaces of propaganda as structural and functional dimensions of its deployment in domestic politics and in the international arena are determined by the specifics of power relations, respectively, in the domestic and international spaces. At the same time, domestic and international propaganda spaces specify the functioning of other propaganda spaces. At the same time, an important condition for the efficiency of propaganda is the systemic compatibility and complementary integration of all propaganda spaces.

Further research of propaganda spaces provides for both identification of other spaces through which propaganda operates, and in-depth study of already analyzed propaganda spaces.

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