

FORMATION OF THE INFORMATION SPACE AS AN ELEMENT OF UKRAINE'S HUMANITARIAN POLICY IN THE CONTEXT OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

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Abstract: The article examines conceptual features of information space transformations in postclassical era and its implications for Ukraine within the process of European integration of the country. The key concerns of today's information space in Ukraine in its connection with humanitarian policy are considered. The presence of the phenomenon of paradigm shift in the information space caused by war, and the necessity of changing methods of organizing this space as an element of the humanitarian policy of Ukraine, taking into account national realities and the process of European integration, is noted.

Keywords: information space; media; journalism; mediaspace; paradigm shift.

1 Introduction

The relevance of the research topic is due to the need for scientific analysis and philosophical understanding of large-scale social and cultural changes occurring in the modern world under the influence of the processes of informatization and globalization. The development of information technology, media and electronic communication gives rise to global changes that modern society has been undergoing over the past decades. The transformation of culture, the emergence of new cultural practices, changes in the information space of modern society lead to the formation of a new system of values, the formation of the latest cognitive and practical priorities, which have a significant impact on human social behavior, on the development of the economic and political system, on the functioning of almost all social institutions. The study of new value priorities, updated by cultural innovations, is also one of the priority tasks of modern social philosophy.

Culture, politics, and economics in the modern information society are exposed to multiple dangers and risks associated with the use of information in the interests of certain power groups, or deliberate distortion of information. These problems oblige researchers to rethink the prospects for the development of culture in the conditions of the dominance of electronic communications, and also force them to adequately assess the capabilities of a new type of information space and create the necessary conditions for the implementation of its positive potential.

Identifying the socio-ontological status of the information society in the social order of today's society is impossible without understanding the mechanisms of the dynamics of transformation processes evolving along with the developing society. The solution to this task is possible only with the formation of an integrated systematic approach based on the synthesis of theories, principles, techniques of the above directions, capable of providing both an increase in socio-philosophical knowledge and the utilitarian effectiveness of the practical design and management of transformation processes.

Ukraine has long chosen the path to European integration, which consists not only in economic cooperation and improvement of legal norms, but also in Ukraine's entry into the information

space of the EU for the purpose of information exchange, ensuring information security and mutual cultural enrichment, popularizing Ukrainian culture and national values. It is especially important to cooperate and integrate the information spaces of Ukraine and the EU now, during a full-scale war started by the Russian Federation.

In the European information space, there is a powerful legal framework that regulates the functioning of the space itself, the use of information products, the protection of intellectual property rights, as well as compliance with security requirements [7]. Legal support for the functioning and openness of state information resources is a necessary condition for the integration of the unified information space of Ukraine with the European and world information space. The organizational basis of the information space concerns the functioning of state and non-state bodies for the formation of information policy and ensuring information security, the procedure for the functioning of information in mass media and other information sources, contains requirements for the reliability of information and, in general, is little different from the organizational foundations of the modern Ukrainian information space. The information space as a set of information processes in society determines the political, economic, social, security and cultural potential of society. The information space will be effective if it is open to society, which, in turn, will make it possible to comprehensively and systematically implement the agreed interests of citizens, society, and the state, that is, if the development of this space will take place on the basis of humanization.

A new information context of reality is being formed. Thus, the formulation of the problem of the humanistic trends spread in the study of information space in a wide range of interests of the social and humanities corresponds to modern directions of interdisciplinary approaches. At the same time, the process of social management of any complex object, including the information space, is effective when applying special management principles that take into account its structure and the functional connections of its main components in dynamics.

2 Method

The main methodological principle of the work is the principle of complementarity, which allows generalizing the results of disciplinary research and give them philosophical significance. The basis of the research was the methods of comparative analysis, unity of the abstract and concrete, logical and historical, comprehensiveness, realism, objectivity of consideration, and integrity.

3 Results and Discussion

The emergence of the very concept of "information space" is due to the increased need of society for continuous information. In addition, the formation of the "information society" is closely related to the introduction of innovative technologies that have reduced the time of delivery of information to the audience, making it possible to keep abreast of all the events that are happening at a given moment.

The realities of information society demonstrate a new quality of development of the social system. An essential factor determining all processes in society is the ever-increasing role of the media and communication. They are included in the dynamics of all processes of transformation of the economy, politics, social and cultural life, and undergo processes of social evolution corresponding to the system. Moreover, the media themselves are a complexly organized system that functions according to general and specific laws inherent only to it. The representation of human existence in other, more complex, sign and symbolic systems requires the mobilization of not only epistemological and rational ways of comprehending reality. Redundancy of information, randomness and unevenness of its

demand by subjects of the communication process significantly complicate the adequacy of the “translation” of the socially significant content of the information message [8].

The image of reality created by the media system in the era of the dominance of information technology is a special type of reality - virtual sociocultural reality. Presented in the form of a picture of the world, it plays a key role in the self-determination of modern humanity [1; 3; 4]. The role of sociocultural reality created by journalism is so great that understanding the mechanism of its formation and functioning can be attributed to the formation of a strategy for the survival of humanity in the information age, and should definitely be considered as an object of humanitarian policy [19].

The functioning of media occurs in social space, while spatiality is one of the main characteristics of social existence, and social theory in its development faced the need to interpret social reality in a spatial context. Media space, as part of the social space, carries within itself the features of constructive social activity, certain vital meanings that are important for the social subject. In the era of industrial modernity, interpretations of media space were possible based on the views of the founder of “social geometry” Ritzer, as well as Simmel, who believed that the filling of social space is the result of social interaction and is a consequence of the sensory perception of individuals. The views of Dürkheim developed in the same direction – he was noting that the differentiation and heterogeneity of social space has a value-normative basis, and its spatial organization is a form of representation of social organization [13]. Here we would also include P. Sorokin’s ideas about social space – he considered it as a factor in the preservation of collective unities from the point of view of integralism [20].

The identified sociological approaches to the interpretation of space belong to the first, industrial modernity. Based on them, it can be argued that during that historical period, changes in the social space itself occurred relatively slowly and with the dominance of linear trends [25-27]. This largely determined the qualities of the media space of the era of industrialism: 1) it had fairly clear boundaries determined by national cultures; 2) occurred at a time measured by a strictly defined system of units of reference adopted in a given culture; 3) all meaning-producing institutions created practically uniform values and norms, which shaped the generally predictable behavior of people, differed by their belonging to different social groups; 4) the general character of space was determined by fluctuation trends between ideological and sensual cultures; 5) in any case, such a media space formed individuals as objects of control.

The nature of space began to change radically during the period when society entered the second, reflexive modernity. Its structures, including the media space, increasingly acquired reflexive qualities, which, accordingly, began to affect the nature of people - individuals became not only objects, but also subjects, and then actors, which required the development of fundamentally new approaches to managing them.

These circumstances demanded a rethinking of the concept of space. In recent decades, space has acquired the status of a particularly significant sociological category [6-9]. The history of science teaches us that behind any “turn” in science we should look for a crisis of “old” realities and a transition to new ones. If we try to find the most general formulation to describe the crisis with which the proliferation of “turns” in modern social and humanitarian research is associated, then it will probably turn out to be a “crisis of individual and collective identity”, marking a qualitatively new stage in the development of society, which Buber would call “the era of homelessness” [11]. Reflexive realities subject the “home” to dispersion. Essentially, the space of “home” with its rather rigid and stable qualities disappears.

The “home” we are accustomed to has now practically disappeared. The modern “home” is formed by a reflexive media space - its qualities become, according to Z. Baumann’s definition, so “fluid” that it gives grounds to talk about the affirmation of the space of homelessness [6]. Thus, any major

change in the direction of research in social and humanities turns out to be a practical necessity realized by scientists, dictated by the increasingly complex dynamics of modern society of reflexive modernity and the changes associated with it: crises, collisions, traumas, ruptures and contradictions of practical life.

The position on the need to take into account the qualitatively new spatial aspect of human existence should be understood taking into account several points: the emphasis shifts from space in itself as a subject of study to a reflective, establishing space; establishing, according to P. Sztompka’s definition, is the result of modern, increasingly complex dynamics that give society a characteristic one, previously unseen feature of constant incomplete development, which is manifested in the enormous variety and diversity of forms of social life [22].

The formation of an information society, based on the transformation of information, information systems and technologies into a system-forming element of all spheres of human activity, not only ensured a rapid increase in its productivity, but also gave rise to a wide range of new problems associated with the use of information [13; 14]. The constantly growing information problems include the development of information and political threats that violate the political security of the country.

A refined understanding of information and political security is a complex problem that consists in protecting the vital interests of citizens, the state and post-industrial society as a whole in the political sphere from internal and external information and political threats [17; 21]. This clarification allows considering information and political security somewhat more broadly: firstly, by including within the framework of this definition the political activities of citizens, organizations and the state; secondly, by taking into account the information factor in the process of forming political threats, the influence of which on the state in recent years significantly exceeds purely sectoral effects and is one of the most important factors contributing to the solution of key tasks of state policy.

Previously, one of the main sources of increased conflict in the political space was the desire of political subjects to possess significant political resources. Nowadays, this reason is the desire to possess information resources that are significant from a political point of view [18-20]. The elite, which has greater access to information resources than other political actors, is becoming the new dominant class of society. Such an increase in the importance of the information foundations of political life contributes to the transformation of modern political space into a complexly organized system, one of the main content elements of which is the political and information space.

The effectiveness of measures to prevent political threats will largely depend on the knowledge of the environment where they are implemented. A significant part of the environment under consideration is occupied by the information space. The information space is usually understood as a set of databases and data banks, information and telecommunication networks and systems, as well as technologies for their use, operating on the basis of general principles and according to rules that ensure information interaction between organizations and citizens, as well as their information needs [1]. In addition, a number of authors include information objects in the information space, which are data formed according to certain rules and interpreted by the information system as a single whole [4].

In a philosophical plane, the change in relationship between information systems (space) development paradigms and methods is presented in Figure 1 below. Today understanding of information space, although it evidently gravitates towards neohumanism, still contains other three ‘visions’ – functionalism, social relativism, and radical structuralism. It is especially evident during social upheavals and war conflicts, and Ukraine represents a bright example here: during current war, democratic neohumanistic principles of information space, based on both journalistic ethics and constitutional state, sometimes gives place to purely functionalism approach, or to radical

structuralism and even social relativism, with manipulation of public opinion.

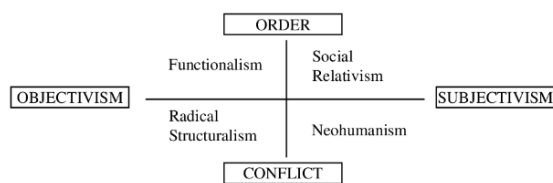


Figure 1. Relationship between information systems (space) development paradigms and methods [14]

The Ukrainian state is included in the process of universal informatization of society and the formation of a single world information market. Such transformations have led to the fact that currently ensuring the information security of Ukraine as an integral element of its national security is becoming increasingly urgent, and information protection is becoming one of the priority government tasks [28-30]. The problem of creating and maintaining a secure environment for information exchange, which determines certain rules and security policies of a modern state, is very relevant, since today information and information technology are becoming the main strategic national resource, the basis of the economic and defense power of the state. Information in the modern world is an attribute on which the efficiency of life in modern society largely depends.

The universality of the information space lies in the fact that it is the sphere of activity of public authorities and management (structures that enter into active communication with the population - public relations services and departments), state and non-state media, as well as non-state socio-political associations, whose information and communication activities meet the officially declared national interests of the media, professional groups, or individuals [31; 32]. This gives rise to unique opportunities for influencing in any professional field, including political, both on groups of people and on individuals.

At the same time, the national specificity of the information space lies in the fact that it has nationally specific ways of constructing, processing, and disseminating information [10; 21]. These methods are associated with at least two main aspects: technical-informational and national-informational. Technical-informational aspects presuppose the ability to create new hardware and software in the information space. National information aspects of building an information space are associated with the national and cultural characteristics of its corresponding part, as well as the political predilections of the regional (national) establishment.

Such properties of the modern information space as the high dynamics of its spatial development and semantic content, structure, security, universality, national specificity, accessibility and manufacturability, create additional opportunities for using information in the interests of creating external and internal information and political threats [12].

It should be noted that in political science there are normative and behavioral theories in understanding the processes associated with decision making. From the perspective of normative theory, decision making is based on the rational choice of policy goals. In turn, adherents of behavioral theory consider this process as a specific interaction between people through a description of various factors influencing decision-making in a specific social and political situation [33; 34]. Deviations in the practices of information support for the development and adoption of political decisions are embedded in the general social and political environment, characterized by the unity of politics and economics, social and individual-personal relations [13].

Deviations in the practices of information support for the development and adoption of political decisions are due to a large extent to the underestimation of the system-forming role of

information. A political actor who makes a significant political decision is able to effectively use the capabilities of the current political system only if he understands the systemic properties of information in political processes [2]. Accordingly, effective political management and political decision-making should be based on working with information that allows, among other things, to identify and structure emerging problems [5].

Deviations in the practices of information support for the development and adoption of political decisions are positioned in the information sphere - a special zone of communications of society and the political system, when the latter acts as a complex set of information flows and communication connections in the space of activity of political actors.

Existing attempts to write concepts of information space only partially solve the problem, because the space is no longer formed by the state only, but rather by the market and new commercial structures [37; 38]. There are two aspects of state information policy: technological (regulating the process of development of components of the information environment) and content (priorities of communication activities of participants in the socio-political process). The objects of state information policy are the media (television, radio, Internet), communications, information law, information security.

From a government point of view, the construction of an information space should be considered as the basis for socio-economic, political, and cultural development, which requires the implementation of a targeted information policy consistent with economic, cultural, social, and other basic government strategies. Current political pluralism creates a huge public need for information [40]. The need to satisfy this need determines the special role of the media in the life of society. The media are an effective channel for informing society about the activities of the government and taking into account its reaction to its actions. This feature makes the media the most important social institution and a system-forming factor in the information space of Ukraine [42; 44]. The innovative component lies in the fact that with the development of information technology, new opportunities for creating personal and collective virtual environments appear. It is obvious that Internet journalism has been added to traditional journalistic fields such as newspaper, radio and television journalism.

One of the reasons that the information space is a key one for modern society is that its active functioning and free access to it create a platform for the development and functioning of democracy. The acute sense of the inability of ordinary voters to influence the course of policies pursued by state and local authorities causes a high level of tension in society [46; 47]. This became especially noticeable in the second year of the war in Ukraine, when active hostilities gave way to trench warfare, and acute issues of mobilization are one of the main factors of social fluctuations. Meanwhile, the current level of development of the information space is able to offer an optimal model for solving problematic issues through the development of appropriate software products that ensure "participatory democracy." Consequently, the ideas of forming an effective civil society with the development of electronic communications acquire the necessary material and technical basis.

It should be noted that, unlike the media space, the information space reflects all the diverse events occurring in the social space. The information space is always multifunctional, the flows of information circulating in it are chaotic, and the messages are ambiguous [49]. One can consider the information space as a complex of continuous processes associated with the dissemination of messages and the exchange of various data. The information and media space are connected by many connections and are mutually dependent. In the media space, there are more flows of messages directed and regulated by political and economic subjects than in the information space [51-53]. The functions performed by the information and media space are unequal, and manifestations of dysfunctional potential are also possible.

Apparently, the phenomenon of channels of political leadership is a direct link between the government and the people. Vitaly Kim, the head of the Mykolaiv Regional State Administration (now the Regional Military Administration), created a Telegram channel on February 24, 2022, published an appeal to the population every hour and informed about the situation in the region. Today, Kim's channel has 657 thousand subscribers. The head of the Kharkiv Regional Military Administration, Oleg Syneubov, has slightly fewer supporters - 130,000 [16].

However, official channels are still far from the driving force of Telegram - anonymous channels. Channels such as "Trukha Ukraine" (almost 3 million subscribers), "Kyiv INFO" (almost 814 thousand subscribers), "Kharkov Life" (571 thousand subscribers), "Odessa INFO" (640 thousand subscribers) and dozens of others have common features: more than half a million followers and an anonymous owner. In fact, no one is responsible for the reliability of information in them and they are far from classical journalism. The advantages of these channels are the speed of response to the event and prompt informing of the population.

In 2022, the vast majority of Ukrainians consumed news from social networks - 74%, and internally displaced persons even more - 78%. This is evidenced by the data of the annual USAID-Internews study "Attitudes of the population towards the media and consumption of different types of media 2022".

Telegram has become the primary social network for both communication and news consumption in 2022, showing significant growth in both categories. In general, 60% of Ukrainians use it to get news (only 20% in 2021), and 66% to communicate (40% in 2021). Facebook has reduced audience reach and lost positions in news consumption. Viber also decreased in audience reach but remained stable for news consumption [23]. Almost half of those who have group chats in messengers read the news there, but the vast majority do not post links to news in group chats themselves.

According to the results of focus group interviews, respondents divided social networks and messengers by functionality. For them, Telegram is actually the main channel for receiving news. According to the participants of the focus groups, its main advantage is the promptness of the news. It fulfills two functions at once - communicating with loved ones and receiving information. Respondents note that after they started using the Telegram channel as a source of news, they switched to it from Viber and WhatsApp as the main messengers for communicating with friends and relatives. In the first months of the full-scale war, the number of telegram channels was very large (up to 10), now respondents are subscribed to 2-3 news channels [23].

Facebook is more often used to get acquainted with the attitude to particular news. Respondents look at how much the news resonates in the community, as well as what comments it causes. YouTube is used instead of TV and to find videos to confirm the news that has sparked interest for bloggers to watch. Viber is a messenger for communication. It is noted about the presence of news groups: first of all, it is Viber channel "Blyskavka" - popular among 45+ years old population, but this channel is criticized for the large number of publications (more than 200 per day). Instagram is increasingly moving away from the "youth" group and targeting the 31-45 age group. Respondents note that it has dramatically changed from an entertainment social network to a news network, and has also become a place for expressing a civil position [23].

Bloggers' accounts are most often used not to receive news, but rather to form an assessment of particular news. Group chats are not so much used to receive news but rather to review the reaction of society to news. The use of group chats is more often observed among young people, who receive either confirmation or refutation of a particular information there. More than 40% of respondents learn news from Internet sites (42% and 53%, respectively). The audience for television continues to decrease, radio and the press are also not the main source of news. Most often, Ukrainians receive news from several types of media; if

only one source is used, then it is, as a rule, social networks. The smartphone is the main device with which respondents get news [23].

The phenomenon of the Trukha Telegram channel deserves special attention. Administrator Trukha is even invited to meetings with the president 'behind the closed doors'.

The most popular Telegram channel in the real Ukrainian segment is namely Trukha-Ukraine, which has, as it was noted above, 3 million subscribers. It appeared at the end of autumn 2019 [17]. Until the spring of 2022, it specialized in Kharkiv news. Mostly, the channel disseminated criminal news, occasionally - news from the Kharkiv region, and even less often - news about events in Ukraine. By the end of January 2022, "Trukha-Ukraine" gradually increased from several thousand to several tens of thousands of subscribers per month based on such content. The peak of the channel's popularity occurred after February 24, 2022. Due to the promptness of the publications about the situation in the city, which the Russians were trying to conquer, the administrators of "Trukha" were ahead of the traditional media and official sources [55; 56]. With the growth of the audience, "Trukha" is trying to satisfy the need for news, the creation and distribution of which is the job of the mass media. The channel began to inform less and less about events in Kharkiv, and increasingly more about national and international events. The rapid rise in popularity of "Trukha" after the full-scale invasion of the Russian Federation is clearly shown in Figure 2.

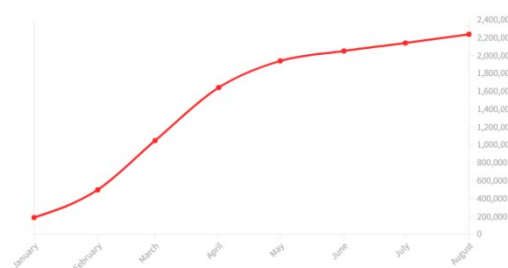


Figure 2. Dynamics of growth in the popularity of the Trukha Telegram channel in Ukraine in 2022 [17]

The media space performs informational, communicative, organizational, ideological, entertaining, integrating, and educational functions. Subjects of the information and media space can also implement dysfunctional potential. All these important issues should be addressed - this is evident condition for Ukraine' integration into the EU. The process of Ukraine's entry into the global information space is accompanied by certain difficulties and problems [58]. Meanwhile, the information space of Ukraine is a factor in the formation of a consolidated Ukrainian community and a constituent part of the European and world information space. Ukraine's entry into the global information space will have positive consequences only under the conditions of ensuring information sovereignty and information security, preservation of national identity.

The national information space is a powerful state-strengthening and nation-building lever of the national security of every state. Zbigniew Brzezinski expressed the opinion that "socially and economically, the world is becoming a single playing field, in which three dynamic realities increasingly dominate: globalization, "internetization" and deregulation" [5]. It is difficult to disagree with that.

Media space, if to use Parsonian terminology, is a product of two systems - cultural and social, fulfilling its role in ensuring balance and internal homeostasis of the system. Namely the media space forms a symbolic environment that is vital for people as social beings, which guides the actions of social actors, helps them cooperate with each other, indicates what goals should be strived for, what actions to achieve such goals are acceptable and what are not, and what result of efforts made

should be considered successful [61; 62]. The media space is the result of socially determined actions at the level of these two systems: social and cultural itself. The first of them, social, is based on the joint actions of people, driven, not least, by the goals of their biological self-preservation in a certain social environment. In relation to the social environment, media space makes it possible to adapt to it, achieve the tasks set for oneself, integrate, that is, unite with other individuals, reproduce already found social structures, and relieve oneself of emerging nervous and physical stress. In relation to the cultural system, the media space acts as a repository and place for the production of a complex system of symbols and norms [63; 64]. The media space acts as the most important regulator of society with its normativity and symbolism.

In the 21st century, the information space has become a full-fledged political space, to which the focus has partially shifted in all areas of international relations, from socio-economic interaction to issues of international security. The transformation of the nature of threats and interstate interaction in the information space can be traced through the prism of the theory of securitization, which was proposed by representatives of the Copenhagen School (Buzan, Hansen, Nissenbaum). This theory provides a stable methodological basis for studying security issues in the information space, since problems in the digital domain do not exist in a vacuum and most often are global in nature, influencing the international system without reference to state borders [9, p. 4]. These authors propose to compare the transformation of security problems and international regulation of the information space, comparing the nature of threats, the main actors and international legal regimes in order to trace the chronology of the securitization of the information space since the creation of the Internet. Technological development and the increase in ICT users have created a precedent for the transition of threats from the physical domain to the digital one, where the system of interaction between actors appears anarchic and not controlled by generally accepted regulatory regimes.

Due to the specifics of the information space, the nature of the so-called “bottlenecks”, or points of tension, in the information space has also changed. While initially the most vulnerable places in the digital domain were considered to be critical infrastructure - root servers, etc., then along with the evolution of the nature of interaction and threats, points of tension have become “virtual”.

Unprecedented transformations also took place in the social sphere. The nature of user behavior changed, and states, in turn, adapted their policies to new realities. Society began to switch to communication through devices connected to the global Internet. Currently, more than 4.8 billion people use the Internet, and the majority (90%) access the Internet from mobile devices [15]. At the same time, changes began to occur in the nature of power in society. Traditional power, usually using methods of punishment and intimidation, began to transform into network power, which is implemented through the creation (framing) of ideas and control over communication [3]. The theory of the “network society” allows considering the power of the state in a network society as a critical aspect of national security, since foreign influence on society from the outside can undermine the established ideas and frames of society and subsequently obtain mechanisms for managing society.

According to M. Castells, power relations in a network society are the basis, and the institutions and norms created in it are necessary to promote the interests and values of this power [3]. The main characteristic of such a society is the formation of power relations in which the power position is occupied by institutions governing the network society, including media companies, technology companies and political institutions that exercise global governance and oversight (surveillance).

As a new political space, the information space plays an important role not only in terms of issues of influence and control in a network society, but also in the context of modern international economic and political relations [65]. Such relationships formed between state and non-state actors require

rules of behavior and norms, but at the moment there is no full regulation of relationships in this area.

It is necessary to separate state and non-state information policies. State information policy is the ability and opportunity of policy subjects to influence the consciousness, psyche of people, their behavior and activities with the help of information in the interests of the state and civil society. Non-state subjects of communication can enter into dialogue with the state or oppose it, or entirely serve only the interests of certain groups and factions, parties and even individuals. Real humanitarianization of the information space is possible only in the case of synergy or at least consistency of these policies.

The causal complex that determines the relevance of the design and implementation of the concept of modern state humanitarian policy (anthropopolitics) as an integral part of the concept of the country's humanitarian development strategy, its socio-humanitarian (anthropological) transformation, one of the most important mechanisms for the formation of a human-oriented state, has “multiple causation” (P. Sorokin). In particular, in the political and philosophical context, the category “human-oriented state” is conceptualized as the highest manifestation, degree of development and form of the state, the state policy of which is aimed at creating conditions for the formation of a harmoniously developed personality, improving the quality of human potential, and the humanitarian transformation of the country.

Today, there is a kind of “paradigm shift” in the Ukrainian media and information space. Accordingly, the forms of public dialogue, the dialogue between the authorities and civic journalism as a representative of civil society, must also change. The driver of this sudden change was the military invasion of the Russian Federation, which changed many of the usual attitudes in Ukrainian society and discourse. The classical, ‘Newtonian’ information space, formed since the independence of Ukraine, has given way to a post-classical, ‘quantum’ information space. Accordingly, the methods of organizing this space as an element of Ukraine’s humanitarian policy must change.

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