

**MYKOLAS ROMERIS UNIVERSITY  
FACULTY OF HUMAN AND SOCIAL STUDIES  
INSTITUTE OF COMMUNICATION**

**KETEVAN TSULUKIDZE  
PUBLIC RELATIONS MANAGEMENT**

**Propaganda on Social Media:  
A Comparative Study with Historical Propaganda**

**MASTER THESIS**

**Thesis supervisor:**

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Isabel Palomo Dominguez

**Vilnius, 2024**

## Table of Contents

<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>4</b>
Relevance of the Topic	4
Level of Research on the Topic	4
Research questions:	6
Research objectives:	6
Research methods:	7
<b>CHAPTER 1</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>1. CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF PROPAGANDA</b>	<b>8</b>
1.1 Propaganda definition	8
1.2 Historical origin of propaganda	10
<b>Table 1 Propaganda Theories</b>	<b>13</b>
1.3.1. <i>The Propaganda Model</i>	13
1.3.2. <i>Agenda-Setting Theory</i>	14
1.3.3. <i>Framing Theory</i>	14
1.3.4. <i>Networked Propaganda Theory</i>	14
<b>CHAPTER 2</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>1. TRADITIONAL PROPAGANDA</b>	<b>16</b>
1.1 Chronological view of traditional propaganda	16
1.1.1 <i>Ancient and classical eras</i>	16
1.1.2 <i>The Middle Ages</i>	17
1.1.3. <i>Renaissance and early modern era</i>	17
1.1.4. <i>18th and 19th centuries</i>	17
1.1.5. <i>The 20th century and world wars.</i>	18
1.2. Characteristics of traditional propaganda	18
1.3. Relevant traditional propaganda cases	19
<b>CHAPTER 3</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>1. MODERN AND DIGITAL PROPAGANDA</b>	<b>22</b>
1.1 Chronology of propaganda in social media	22
1.1.1. <i>Early Adoption of Social Media for Propaganda (2000s–2010s)</i>	22
1.1.2. <i>The Rise of Algorithmic Propaganda (2010s)</i>	23
1.1.3. <i>The Proliferation of Disinformation and Deepfakes (2020s)</i>	23
1.2. Characteristics of propaganda in social media	24
1.3. Cases of propaganda use in social media	25
1.2.2. <i>Social media in Brexit referendum</i>	26
1.2.3. <i>False information during the covid-19 pandemic</i>	26
1.2.4. <i>Facebook's involvement in the Rohingya crisis</i>	26

1.2.5. <i>Information warfare between Russia and Ukraine.</i>	27
<b>CHAPTER 3</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>1. COMPARISON BETWEEN TRADITIONAL AND MODERN PROPAGANDA BASED ON EXISTING LITERATURE</b>	<b>28</b>
1.1 Comparative description of characteristics	28
<i>Table 2 Characteristics of Propaganda</i>	30
1.2. Comparative studies or cases	30
<b>CHAPTER 4</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>EMPIRICAL PART</b>	<b>33</b>
1. Methodology and Methods	33
2. Data collection	33
4. Qualitative Data Collection and Content Analysis	34
4.1. 2024 Georgia Parliament Election	34
4.2. Facebook usage while political campaigns in Georgia.	36
4.3. Content Analysis of Facebook posts of Georgian dream party	36
<i>Table 3. Categorizing Facebook Posts of Georgian dream party</i>	<b>49</b>
4.4. Spread of posters during World War II	50
4.5. Content analysis of posters from World War II	51
<i>Table 4. Categorizing World War 2 Posters</i>	<b>63</b>
5. Content analysis results of Georgian Dream Party's Facebook posts.	64
7. Comparative analysis	68
8. General Discussion of Results	70
<b>CHAPTER 5</b>	<b>73</b>
<b>RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS</b>	<b>73</b>
<b>CHAPTER 6</b>	<b>75</b>
<b>CONCLUSION</b>	<b>75</b>
<b>REFERENCES</b>	<b>77</b>
<b>SUMMARY</b>	<b>82</b>
<b>SUMMARY IN LITHUANIAN</b>	<b>83</b>
<b>SUPPLEMENTS</b>	<b>84</b>

# INTRODUCTION

## Relevance of the Topic

Propaganda has long been employed as a strategic tool to shape public opinion and influence societal behavior, particularly during critical historical moments. The increasing prevalence of social media has significantly transformed the distribution and impact of propaganda, providing propagandists with new ways to reach and influence global audiences. Social media has emerged as a major arena for propaganda, altering the media landscape and influencing public opinion and behavior. The growth of social media platforms and the spread of propaganda in recent years have blurred the lines between information and manipulation, facilitating the rapid dissemination of both news and misinformation.

The study of propaganda is increasingly relevant today due to its role in the rapid spread of misinformation and disinformation, which poses a threat to democratic standards and societal stability (Bradshaw & Howard, 2019). Understanding these dynamics is critical both theoretically and practically, as it enables the development of strategies to identify, combat, and mitigate the effects of propaganda.

Social media platforms have experienced significant growth, with over 4.33 billion active users worldwide as of January 2022 (Statista, 2022). This growth highlights their significant impact on public discourse and perspectives. At the same time, there has been an alarming rise in digital propaganda as malicious actors exploit social media platforms to disseminate false information and sway public opinion. These trends underscore the importance of comprehending the processes and consequences of propaganda in the digital age.

## Level of Research on the Topic

Research on propaganda, particularly in the context of social media, has gained significant momentum over the past decade. Academic studies have begun exploring how digital platforms are utilized for propaganda. For example, in *Online propaganda: Use, Diffusion, and Radicalization in American Politics*, (Benkler, et.al 2018) examine the mechanisms of digital media that promote propaganda. Similarly, Peter Pomerantsev's *This Is Not Propaganda: Adventures in the War on Reality* (2019) offers insights into how modern propaganda techniques operate in the digital environment.

Internationally, scholars like Bradshaw and Howard provide a global overview of digital propaganda in their book, *The Global Disinformation Order: 2019 Global Inventory of Organized Social Media*

*Manipulation.* These works highlight the evolving nature of advertising and propaganda in the context of social media.

While critical studies of historical and contemporary propaganda have often been conducted independently, integrating both perspectives are essential for a deeper understanding of how propaganda strategies evolve. For example, during World War I and World War II, propaganda relied heavily on centralized content distribution via print media, radio, and film to influence public opinion and behavior (Taylor, 2014). By contrast, today's online social networks allow propaganda to spread rapidly and widely, often bypassing traditional media outlets (Benkler et al., 2018). This shift has led to a trend where messages can be both generalized and highly personalized, targeting specific audiences with tailored content (Tucker et al., 2018)

## **Novelty**

Extensive studies have examined the impact of propaganda on public opinion in historical and contemporary contexts. However, there is a notable gap in research on how contemporary political parties leverage social media platforms, such as Facebook, to influence public opinion during election campaigns. Social media tools provide political actors with a direct platform to share messages, interact with supporters, and respond to criticism without relying on traditional media. This wide reach and interactivity make social media a crucial space for political communication, particularly during election periods.

Despite its benefits, social media presents distinct challenges, including the dissemination of false information, manipulation by trolls and bots, and the distortion of public perception. This research addresses these challenges through a case study and content analysis of Facebook posts shared by the Georgian Dream party during the pre-election period. By analyzing the party's communication tactics, audience targeting, and coordinated online efforts, this study aims to understand the role of social media as a platform for digital propaganda in Georgia's political sphere.

Additionally, the research includes a comparative analysis of historical propaganda, focusing on iconic World War II posters. This dual focus explores continuity and change in media strategies over time, emphasizing the technological advancements and shifts in media influence. Through this multifaceted approach, the study provides a deeper understanding of propaganda's evolution and its implications for contemporary political communication.

## **Research problem**

Despite the growing prevalence of propaganda on social media platforms, particularly in the realm of political discourse, there remains a significant gap in understanding how these digital platforms facilitate propaganda dissemination compared to historical methods.

## **Research purpose**

This study adopts an exploratory approach, seeking to elucidate the nuances between propaganda dissemination on social media platforms and historical propaganda methods. It aims to uncover similarities and differences in strategies, content themes, and audience engagement, focusing on their implications for societal perceptions, information dissemination, and regulatory responses. The thesis aims to conduct a comparative study to deepen our understanding of propaganda dynamics across historical periods and contemporary social media platforms

## **Research questions:**

1. How do propaganda techniques on social media differ from historical propaganda methods?
2. How has the evolution of media technologies influenced the methods and impact of propaganda?
3. What are the similarities and differences in the effectiveness and reach of historical propaganda versus social media propaganda?

## **Research objectives:**

1. **Objective 1:** To offer a thorough understanding of propaganda, its transformation from historical to contemporary settings, and its utilization on social media platforms through a theoretical examination of relevant scientific literature.
2. **Objective 2:** To examine the propaganda techniques employed by the Georgian Dream Party on Facebook during the pre-election period, and compare these findings with historical World War II propaganda posters to identify similarities and differences in persuasive strategies.
3. **Objective 3:** To investigate the use of propaganda on social media by the Georgian Dream Party on public opinion and political discourse in the Georgian pre-election period, drawing parallels with historical propaganda techniques to shed light on broader implications for contemporary political communication.

## **Research methods:**

This study employs a qualitative research strategy to investigate the evolution and application of propaganda in historical and modern contexts. A case study method was chosen to examine phenomena in their natural contexts, offering detailed insights into the dynamics at play.

The research focuses on two cases:

1. The Georgian Dream party's social media activities on Facebook during the pre-election period in Georgia.
2. A set of World War II propaganda posters.

Qualitative methods were used to explore historical and digital propaganda strategies and themes. This involved reviewing existing primary literature and conducting content analysis enriched with discursive reflections inspired by the discursive analysis method, which seeks to uncover underlying intentions and contexts.

For both cases, key themes, strategies, and messages were identified and analyzed. The Georgian Dream case was examined for patterns of engagement, rhetorical strategies, and propaganda techniques, considering metrics such as likes, views, and comments. The World War II propaganda posters were analyzed for their visual, textual, and emotional appeals, with a focus on their sociopolitical and cultural contexts.

# CHAPTER 1

## 1. CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF PROPAGANDA

In this section, we will examine the theoretical and conceptual foundations of propaganda, exploring its evolution, mechanisms, and applications in both historical and contemporary contexts. This analysis will focus on the impact of propaganda on public opinion and political behavior. We will explore the strategies and techniques used by propagandists to craft and disseminate messages, comparing traditional methods from historical periods, such as WWII, with the dynamic, algorithm-driven approaches prevalent on modern social media platforms.

### 1.1 Propaganda definition

Communication technologies and societal changes have contributed to the evolution of propaganda. At its core, propaganda is a deliberate and systematic effort to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and influence behaviors to achieve specific objectives, often in ways that serve the interests of the propagator. This definition emphasizes intent, strategic planning, and the persuasive nature of propaganda, distinguishing it from other forms of communication. Propaganda often exploits selective information, emotional appeals, and the distortion of facts to sway public opinion and achieve its goals (Welch, 2019). Modern definitions of propaganda incorporate the unique characteristics of modern communication channels. According to Jowett and O'Donnell (2019), propaganda is the deliberate and systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist. The intentionality behind propaganda is highlighted in this definition, underscoring the emotional and psychological dimensions of influence, which are central to propaganda's effectiveness.

Government-led campaigns were often disseminated through traditional media, such as posters, radio broadcasts, and speeches. During World War II, these campaigns were especially prominent. According to Taylor, propaganda was used to mobilize public support, demonize enemies, and sustain morale. The primary medium was a one-way communication model, with messages sent to passive audiences. In contrast, in the digital era, propaganda has been tailored to the interactive, decentralized nature of social media structures. Propaganda on social media frequently blurs the lines between statistics and misinformation, leveraging algorithms, virality, and user-generated content to achieve its goals. As Benkler, Faris, and Roberts (2018) argue, the virtual age has given rise to “networked propaganda,”

where the dissemination of persuasive messages is no longer limited to nation-state actors but includes a wide range of entities, from private agencies to individual users. This shift necessitates a broader and more nuanced definition of propaganda that accounts for the participatory dynamics and algorithmic amplification unique to social media.

Propaganda is also distinct from related concepts such as persuasion, advertising, and public relations. While all these forms of communication aim to influence, propaganda is characterized by its manipulative intent, often employing emotional appeals, selective information, and even deception to achieve its ends. Welch (2019) emphasizes that propaganda frequently relies on “half-truths” or distorted realities, making it a tool for both overt and covert influence. In the context of this study, propaganda is defined as a deliberate and strategic effort to steer public opinion or behavior through the manipulation of information, emotions, and perceptions, often using mass communication channels and emerging technologies to achieve specific ideological, political, or cultural objectives. This working definition reflects both the historical roots and the modern manifestations of propaganda, offering a foundation for evaluating its practices across different eras.

The advent of digital technology has also allowed for more targeted and personalized propaganda. As social media platforms gather substantial amounts of data about individuals' preferences, behaviors, and political views, propagandists can tailor their messages to specific groups, enhancing the effectiveness of their campaigns. Research by Allcott and Gentzkow (2017) highlights the role of social media in spreading fake news and misinformation, demonstrating how these platforms can be leveraged to manipulate public opinion and influence political outcomes. The algorithms that govern social media platforms prioritize content that generates high engagement, often rewarding sensational or emotionally charged material that aligns with users' pre-existing beliefs. This has led to the formation of "echo chambers," where individuals are exposed primarily to information that reinforces their views, making it difficult for them to critically engage with opposing perspectives (Benkler et al., 2018).

By grounding this study in a clear and comprehensive definition of propaganda, the analysis can effectively explore the continuities and divergences between historical propaganda strategies and their modern counterparts on social media.

## 1.2 Historical origin of propaganda

Propaganda has a deep-rooted history as a strategic tool for shaping public opinion, guiding ideologies, and consolidating political power. Its applications span ancient civilizations, where communication methods were intentionally used to maintain authority, shape societal norms, and ensure the stability of regimes. Although the term "propaganda" itself gained prominence only much later, its practice can be traced to the earliest known human societies, evolving with changes in communication technologies and shifting social structures (Hansen & Rössler, 2017). The term "propaganda" originates from the Latin *propagare*, meaning "to spread" or "to propagate" (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2019). It was formally institutionalized in the early 17th century with the establishment of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith) by the Catholic Church in 1622, tasked with spreading Catholic doctrine globally and countering the influence of the Protestant Reformation (Freedman, 2018). Although this formalization played a significant role in the term's development, propaganda-like efforts had been employed for centuries prior. Ancient Egypt, for instance, used monumental architecture, visual symbols, and hieroglyphic inscriptions to propagate the divine nature of pharaohs, solidifying their power and promoting religious unity (Bunzl, 2018). Similarly, in classical Greece and Rome, political leaders and philosophers utilized rhetoric as a tool to sway public opinion. During the Roman Empire, propaganda took the form of coins, public monuments, and artworks that solidified the emperor's image, reinforcing the political order and enhancing the emperor's legitimacy (Hart, 2017).

The advent of the printing press in the 15th century brought about a revolution in propaganda, enabling the widespread production of written materials. This technological breakthrough was crucial during the Protestant Reformation, as Martin Luther's pamphlets and writings became a religious and political challenge to the Catholic Church's authority. In response, the Church released its own counterpropaganda through printed materials (Greenberg, 2020). The presence of printed materials showcased how advancements in communication technologies could greatly influence the terrain of ideological conflicts, broadening the reach and influence of propaganda, and making it more accessible to a wider range of people. As societies underwent industrialization in the 19th century, mass media played an even more significant role in shaping propaganda. The Industrial Revolution witnessed the emergence of newspapers, film, and radio as new platforms that governments and political entities started to utilize to shape public opinion.

By the time of World War I, countries like Britain and the United States had established governmental propaganda agencies, such as the U.S. Committee on Public Information and the British War Propaganda Bureau. These organizations utilized posters, films, and print media to sustain public morale, enlist soldiers, and vilify the enemy (Mills, 2018). Taylor (2018) notes that propaganda during this time aimed to bring nations together, fostering a shared sense of purpose and rallying public support for the war. World War II was the peak of state-controlled propaganda. The Nazi regime, under the direction of Joseph Goebbels, used mass media—film, radio, and public rallies—strategically to shape public opinion, bolster Nazi ideologies, and maintain tight control over the population (Léonard, 2019). Simultaneously, Allied nations employed propaganda to garner public backing, foster unity, and weaken the enemy's resolve. The effectiveness of wartime propaganda during this time was attributed to the strategic use of repetition, emotional manipulation, and the widespread dissemination of information through mass communication to rally public support on an unprecedented level (Hediger, 2017).

The digital era has fundamentally changed how messages are spread and the characteristics of propaganda. With the rise of social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, a new, decentralized mode of communication emerged. Unlike the traditional, centralized, and government-controlled forms of propaganda, digital platforms enable networked propaganda, where messages are not only spread by governments but also by individuals, organizations, and algorithms. The participatory nature of social media allows for the involvement of various actors, including grassroots movements, private companies, and foreign governments, in the creation and dissemination of propaganda. A prominent characteristic of contemporary propaganda is the fusion of truth and falsehood, where false information can spread rapidly, paralleling the dissemination of accurate news. This issue has become particularly worrisome in the political realm, with social media platforms intensifying the spread of false narratives, especially during election periods (Tufekci, 2018). For example, the role of social media in the 2016 U.S. presidential election highlighted the ability of domestic and foreign actors to use platforms like Facebook to spread divisive content and influence voter behavior (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017). This rise of "network propaganda" involves not only the manipulation of information but also the amplification of specific emotional responses through algorithmic processes. Spreading content designed to incite fear, anger, or outrage often leads to greater engagement, further increasing the reach of the propaganda (Fraser, 2020).

The advent of algorithm-driven platforms represents a key shift in the practice of propaganda. Unlike traditional forms of mass media that primarily relied on one-way communication from a centralized

authority, contemporary propaganda is highly interactive, dynamic, and interconnected (Benkler, Faris, & Roberts, 2018). This shift has made propaganda more ubiquitous and effective, allowing actors to tailor messages to specific audiences and strategically manipulate information in ways not possible in the past. For example, during political campaigns, social media platforms now serve as the primary space for targeted political ads to influence public opinion, often through sophisticated microtargeting techniques (Munger, 2020). The digital environment not only facilitates the spread of propaganda but also complicates the effort to distinguish between legitimate information and manipulative content. The viral nature of misinformation on platforms such as Twitter and Facebook has created challenges for both the public and government in maintaining information integrity (Keller, 2018).

As a result, propaganda in the digital age requires new methods of analysis and regulation to ensure that it does not disrupt democratic processes or reinforce social divisions.

### **1.3 Main theories of propaganda**

The study of propaganda is enhanced by foundational theories that shed light on its mechanisms, impacts, and development. These theoretical frameworks offer the necessary tools for examining propaganda in different historical and contemporary settings, facilitating a comparative analysis of its methods and consequences. This section delves into the historical roots of significant theories and analyzes their applicability to modern digital propaganda (table 1).

**Table 1** Propaganda Theories

Theory	Historical origin	Main idea
<b>The propaganda model</b>	Edward S. Herman & Noam Chomsky (1988)	Media serves elite interests through filters like ownership, advertising, and sourcing
<b>Agenda-Setting</b>	Maxwell McCombs & Donald Shaw (1972)	Media doesn't tell people what to think but what to think about by highlighting certain topics.
<b>Framing</b>	Erving Goffman (1974)	Media frames influence how audiences perceive and interpret events or issues.
<b>Networked Propaganda</b>	Yochai Benkler, Robert Faris, Hal Roberts (2018)	disinformation spreads through digital ecosystems, especially in polarized media.
<b>Two-Step Flow Model</b>	Paul Lazarsfeld & Elihu Katz (1940s)	Media effects are mediated by opinion leaders who influence broader audiences.

*Source: created by the author*

### **1.3.1. The Propaganda Model**

The propaganda model, initially introduced by Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, is a framework used to analyze media bias and control. In their 1988 book, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, Herman and Chomsky provide a critical perspective on how media systems disseminate and reinforce specific ideological narratives. The model outlines five filters—ownership, advertising, sourcing, flak, and ideology—that influence the distribution of information, guaranteeing that it aligns with the interests of influential entities. In the past, the model was created to analyze traditional mass media, especially in democratic societies, where hidden influences often shaped media stories. In modern-day scenarios, boyd-barrett (2019) broadens the model to digital media, highlighting elements such as algorithmic amplification and platform ownership. Social media platforms, like Facebook and Twitter, tend to prioritize content that encourages user interaction, frequently amplifying divisive or emotionally charged messages. These dynamics resemble the manipulative tactics described in the original propaganda model but function within decentralized and participatory digital ecosystems.

### ***1.3.2. Agenda-Setting Theory***

Agenda-setting theory, initially proposed by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1972, suggests that the media influences public discourse by deciding which issues are given prominence. The theory originated from their examination of media influence during the 1968 U.S. Presidential election, where they discovered a strong connection between the media's coverage of issues and their perceived significance by the general public. While traditional agenda-setting theory primarily focused on mass media's influence in shaping public attention, Meraz (2018) expands the theory to encompass the digital era. Social media platforms now shape public discourse through trending topics, viral content, and algorithmically curated feeds. In the past, state-controlled media campaigns utilized agenda-setting to direct public attention towards wartime unity or national identity. In the present day, similar tactics are employed through hashtags, influencer collaborations, and synchronized social media campaigns to shape public opinion.

### ***1.3.3. Framing Theory***

Framing theory, formally articulated by Robert M. Entman in 1993, Entman conducted a study to understand how the choice and emphasis of particular elements of an issue shape how audiences perceive and interpret it. Entman explained that framing is the process of defining issues, identifying causes, making moral evaluations, and proposing solutions, all of which influence how people interpret and respond to information. Throughout history, framing has played a crucial role in propaganda campaigns. For example, wartime propaganda frequently portrayed conflicts as moral struggles between righteous forces and malevolent entities, mobilizing public support through simplistic narratives. In contemporary times, as Entman (2020) points out, social media propaganda utilizes similar strategies. Memes, videos, and viral content employ framing techniques to construct narratives that align with ideological objectives, such as vilifying political adversaries or exploiting crises to legitimize policy choices. The theory emphasizes the significance of language, visuals, and the deliberate exclusion of certain details in constructing persuasive narratives, whether in historical or contemporary contexts.

### ***1.3.4. Networked Propaganda Theory***

Networked propaganda theory, developed by Yochai Benkler, Robert Faris, and Hal Roberts in their 2018 work *Network Propaganda: Manipulation, Disinformation, and Radicalization in American Politics*,

focuses on the decentralized and participatory nature of modern propaganda. Unlike traditional propaganda, which relied on centralized structures, networked propaganda flourishes within the interconnected networks of social media platforms. This theory examines the relationship between influencers, bots, and coordinated campaigns, which contribute to the amplification of messages, leading to the formation of echo chambers that reinforce particular narratives. In the past, state-led propaganda primarily utilized centralized communication channels, such as radio broadcasts or posters, to spread messages. In contrast to traditional propaganda, modern propaganda utilizes user-generated content, algorithmic curation, and the widespread sharing capabilities of social media to achieve similar goals more quickly and effectively. This progression showcases how technological progress has transformed the methods of propaganda while maintaining its fundamental goals.

### ***1.3.5 Two-Step Flow of Communication***

The two-step flow of communication, initially put forth by Paul Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet in their 1944 study on the people's choice, challenged the widely accepted belief that media had a direct impact on mass audiences. Instead, they discovered that opinion leaders, who were part of their social network, played a crucial role in interpreting and spreading messages before they reached the wider public. In the past, opinion leaders were individuals appointed by the government, such as political leaders or media personalities, who had a strong impact on shaping public opinion. Guo and saxton (2021) revise this theory to fit the digital era, where opinion leaders now encompass social media influencers, activists, and regular users with a significant number of followers. Social media platforms such as Instagram and Twitter enable these influential figures to mold narratives, connecting historical and modern propaganda techniques. This theory emphasizes the lasting significance of reliable intermediaries in spreading propaganda, underscoring the interpersonal aspects of influence across different time periods.

In this chapter propaganda is thoroughly examined, with particular attention paid to its development, workings, and use in both historical and contemporary settings. It distinguishes propaganda from other forms of communication by defining it as a purposeful and methodical attempt to alter attitudes and behaviors. From ancient civilizations to the digital age, the chapter explores the origins of propaganda and how its tactics have changed due to societal shifts and communication technologies. Important theories are also introduced, emphasizing their applicability in both conventional and modern contexts. These include the propaganda model, agenda-setting, framing, networked propaganda, and the two-step flow of information.

## CHAPTER 2

### 1. TRADITIONAL PROPAGANDA

In this section, we will analyze the historical evolution of traditional propaganda, focusing on its progression across different historical periods. We will examine how propagandists have utilized different tactics and platforms to sway public opinion, strengthen authority, and attain ideological or political objectives. Concurrently, we will delve into the fundamental attributes of traditional propaganda, with a specific emphasis on the techniques employed to consolidate messaging, evoke emotions, and condense intricate narratives. Furthermore, we will examine significant historical cases that illustrate the versatility and efficacy of traditional propaganda in various cultural and political settings, underscoring its profound influence on societal dynamics.

#### 1.1 Chronological view of traditional propaganda

The progression of traditional propaganda can be traced back to ancient civilizations, evolving through the early 20th century, and adapting to changes in technology, culture, and political systems. The chronological development of propaganda showcases how propagandists modified their techniques and utilized various media platforms to shape public opinion and strengthen their hold on power.

##### *1.1.1 Ancient and classical eras*

In ancient civilizations, propaganda frequently utilized visual and monumental means to convey messages regarding authority, divinity, and the legitimacy of rulers. For example, in ancient Egypt, rulers like Ramses II employed architectural projects and hieroglyphic inscriptions to demonstrate their divine authority and military triumphs. In a similar manner, Mesopotamian kings employed grandiose carvings to highlight their triumphs. The ancient Greek and Roman civilizations honed their propaganda techniques through the use of persuasive language and symbolic representations. Prominent figures such as Julius Caesar and Pericles delivered speeches intended to rally support for their political agendas. Roman coins and triumphal arches depicted emperors as heroic and divine beings, reinforcing their authority (ellul, 2021).

### ***1.1.2. The Middle Ages***

In the medieval era, propaganda was often intertwined with religious beliefs. The Catholic church played a crucial role in spreading messages through sermons, beautifully illustrated manuscripts, and religious artwork. In the 17th century, the formation of the congregation for the spread of the faith established propaganda as a means of countering religious reformation. Public ceremonies and religious symbols were utilized to demonstrate power and foster devotion among the followers. Simultaneously, monarchs employed symbols such as heraldry and proclamations to bolster their legitimacy and suppress opposing viewpoints (Hale, 2019). Chronicles and official records frequently portrayed rulers as divinely appointed, solidifying their authority and legitimacy.

### ***1.1.3. Renaissance and early modern era***

The advent of the printing press in the 15th century revolutionized propaganda by facilitating the widespread distribution of written materials. This innovation was crucial during the Protestant Reformation, as Martin Luther utilized pamphlets to challenge the Catholic Church, rapidly disseminating his ideas across Europe. The church responded with its own printed materials, resulting in a landscape of competing narratives. The printing press revolutionized the dissemination of knowledge, sparking ideological clashes while simultaneously enhancing the propagation of secular propaganda. Leaders utilized printed broadsheets and engravings to celebrate their accomplishments and criticize their opponents. As an illustration, printed materials were extensively employed by Spain to justify its colonial pursuits, presenting them as a moral and civilizing endeavor (Habermas, 2020).

### ***1.1.4. 18th and 19th centuries***

Propaganda thrived during the enlightenment and revolutionary periods as nations aimed to rally citizens and justify political movements. France popularized slogans like "liberty, equality, fraternity" through posters, pamphlets, and symbolic acts, including the destruction of monarchist symbols. Similarly, in the American Revolution, figures like Thomas Paine utilized persuasive pamphlets like *Common Sense* to ignite anti-British sentiment and foster unity among the colonies in their pursuit of independence. These endeavors emphasized the significant influence of propaganda in shaping political beliefs and fostering a sense of national identity (Thompson, 2018). The 19th century witnessed the growth of propaganda through the advancement of industrial printing. Newspapers emerged as a primary platform for spreading political messages and providing justifications for policies like imperialism.

British colonial propaganda frequently portrayed imperial expansion as a noble endeavor aimed at "civilizing" the colonized regions, conveniently overlooking the exploitative nature of colonial rule while garnering public support domestically (macdonald, 2021).

### ***1.1.5. The 20<sup>t</sup> h century and world wars.***

In the 20th century, propaganda transformed into a well-structured and coordinated campaign, particularly during World War I. Governments set up official propaganda organizations, like Britain's war propaganda bureau and the United States' Committee on Public Information, to gain public backing, enlist soldiers, and demonize rival nations. Iconic posters, like "uncle sam wants you," played a crucial role in appealing to patriotism and promoting national unity.

World War II further enhanced propaganda techniques, with Nazi Germany showcasing its expertise under Joseph Goebbels' Ministry of Propaganda. Radio, movies, and large gatherings were utilized to spread propaganda, celebrate the nazi government, and rationalize military actions. Conversely, the allied powers employed propaganda to boost morale, recruit new soldiers, and foster a sense of unity among their respective populations in the face of a shared adversary. Innovations like radio broadcasts and newsreels facilitated the widespread dissemination of propaganda, setting the stage for the development of modern mass communication (seaton, 2020).

## **1.2. Characteristics of traditional propaganda**

Propaganda exhibits unique traits that expose its systematic approach to persuasion and its underlying goals. These characteristics mirror the historical methods and instruments utilized by propagandists to mold public sentiment and steer collective actions. A key characteristic of traditional propaganda is the presence of centralized control. Central authorities, including governments, political organizations, or religious institutions, were responsible for creating and spreading messages to maintain consistency and align with their propagandistic goals. For instance, the Ministry of Propaganda in Nazi Germany, led by Joseph Goebbels, exerted tight control over media outlets to guarantee that all broadcasts, posters, and films aligned with the regime's ideology (Herman & Chomsky, 2020). Propagandists were able to maintain substantial control over public opinions through centralization.

One of the defining features of traditional propaganda is its one-way communication approach. Information was disseminated from propagandists to their audiences in a one-way direction, with no

opportunity for feedback or conversation. This method of communication made the audience passive recipients of the intended messages. For example, during World War II, radio broadcasts were utilized to disseminate morale-boosting messages and garner support for the war effort, guaranteeing that a vast number of people received consistent information with minimal room for dissent (Welch, 2021). Emotional appeal played a crucial role in traditional propaganda. By appealing to emotions such as fear, pride, anger, or hope, propagandists sought to bypass critical thinking and elicit immediate responses. During wartime, propaganda often utilized posters and films to evoke strong emotions, depicting enemies as cruel and savage to instill fear and animosity, while celebrating national heroes to promote a sense of unity and patriotism. These emotional appeals played a crucial role in rallying public support for governmental policies (doob, 2018). Simplicity and stereotyping were common features of traditional propaganda. Messages were intentionally made simpler to ensure they could be easily understood and remembered, often reducing complex issues into opposing categories like 'good versus evil' or 'us versus them.' stereotypes were used to dehumanize enemies or elevate allies, reinforcing the messages being conveyed. This was especially noticeable during challenging times, when people craved clear and concise explanations. Propaganda during wartime frequently employed exaggerated and derogatory caricatures of adversaries to rationalize military operations (ellul, 2021). Consistency and repetition were essential tactics in traditional propaganda. Consistent exposure to the same messages across different platforms played a crucial role in embedding ideas firmly in the audience's mind. Consistent themes were consistently present in newspapers, posters, speeches, and other media, creating a sense of reliability and inevitability regarding the propagandist's objectives. Repetition also amplified the psychological impact, as repeated exposure to messages increased their perceived validity (Bernays, 2020). These defining features—centralized control, one-way communication, emotional manipulation, simplification, and repetition—characterized the essence of traditional propaganda. Recognizing these features is crucial for gaining a comprehensive understanding of its historical use, as it played a significant role in shaping societies and advancing political or ideological goals.

### **1.3. Relevant traditional propaganda cases**

Throughout history, there have been numerous instances of traditional propaganda showcasing its ability to sway public opinion, consolidate power, and attain political or ideological goals. These examples demonstrate how centralized control, emotional manipulation, and mass communication were employed to influence perceptions and actions in significant historical periods.

One of the most well-known instances of traditional propaganda is its utilization during World War II. The governments of the countries at war launched extensive campaigns to sustain public support for the war effort. In Britain, the War Propaganda Bureau (WPB) created materials that highlighted the bravery of allied forces and the cruelty of the enemy. Posters like "your country needs you", with images of lord kitchener, aimed to evoke patriotism and a sense of duty, encouraging men to join the military. Similarly, the United States established the Committee on Public Information (CPI), led by George Creel, which utilized posters, films, and public speeches to promote enlistment, sell war bonds, and support wartime policies (Roetter, 2020). These campaigns extensively utilized emotional appeals and straightforward messages, cultivating a profound sense of national unity and purpose. The interwar period witnessed the emergence of propaganda as a means of consolidating political control, especially in autocratic governments. Joseph Goebbels, the mastermind behind Nazi Germany's propaganda machine, showcased the strategic implementation of traditional propaganda techniques. The ministry of propaganda had complete control over all forms of media and culture, including newspapers, radio broadcasts, films, and public events. Through these platforms, the regime spread anti-semitic propaganda, celebrated adolf hitler, and rationalized military expansion. Propaganda films like triumph of the will, directed by Leni Riefenstahl, portrayed Hitler as a heroic figure, leading to widespread support for the Nazi agenda (Herf, 2006). The extent of nazi propaganda's influence became a defining characteristic of its totalitarian control.

Another notable case is the Soviet Union's utilization of propaganda during the early 20th century. Leaders such as lenin and stalin employed propaganda as a tool to propagate communist ideology and uphold state authority. The Soviet government employed posters, newspapers, and public speeches to laud the working class, vilify capitalists, and emphasize socialist accomplishments. Iconic soviet posters often featured optimistic workers alongside slogans such as "all power to the soviets!" and "the five-year plan will bring prosperity!" these messages reinforced the communist party's legitimacy and inspired collective efforts toward state-defined goals (overy, 2004). During World War II, Soviet propaganda focused on promoting themes of patriotism and resilience in the face of Nazi invasion, effectively rallying the population. In the United States, traditional propaganda was extensively utilized during World War II to rally the population and support the war effort. Organizations such as the office of war information (owi) created posters, films, and radio broadcasts to promote enlistment, save resources, and promote unity. Iconic imagery, like the image of rosie the riveter with the slogan "we can do it!", motivated women to enter the workforce. Anti-axis propaganda portrayed enemy nations with stereotypes and exaggerated caricatures. These endeavors played a vital role in maintaining public morale and support

for the war (Campbell, 2021). The colonial era also emphasizes the significance of propaganda in influencing public opinion. Britain and France, among other European nations, employed propaganda to rationalize their colonial aspirations by presenting them as noble endeavors aimed at spreading civilization. Posters, photographs, and exhibitions highlighted the supposed advantages of colonization, such as the development of infrastructure and education, while downplaying its exploitative aspects. These stories sought to gain domestic backing for imperial policies and quell dissent within colonies (mackenzie, 1984).

Each of these examples demonstrates the versatility and influence of traditional propaganda in various historical and political settings. Throughout history, traditional propaganda has been utilized to rally support during wars and consolidate power in authoritarian states, highlighting the influence of centralized messaging and emotional manipulation in shaping societal dynamics.

This chapter provides an overview of the historical evolution and key characteristics of traditional propaganda. It traces its development from ancient civilizations to the 20th century, highlighting how propaganda techniques evolved with changing political, cultural, and technological contexts. The chapter examines various forms of traditional propaganda, including visual, written, and spoken media, and emphasizes its use by governments, religious institutions, and political leaders to influence public opinion, consolidate power, and advance ideological or political agendas. Through significant historical examples, the chapter underscores the enduring impact of traditional propaganda in shaping societies and political landscapes.

## CHAPTER 3

### 1. MODERN AND DIGITAL PROPAGANDA

In this section, we will analyze the historical development of propaganda on social media, starting with its initial integration into online platforms and progressing to the use of sophisticated algorithmic techniques. Simultaneously, we will examine how technological advancements, and the interactive nature of social media have transformed traditional propaganda methods. Additionally, this section will explore significant milestones in the evolution of social media propaganda, highlighting its impact on public perception, political outcomes, and societal transformation in the era of digital communication.

#### 1.1 Chronology of propaganda in social media

The utilization of social media as a tool for spreading propaganda has undergone significant changes in the past two decades, mirroring advancements in technology, the growth of global connectivity, and alterations in how people access and process information. Social media has revolutionized propaganda, turning it into a decentralized, interactive, and algorithmically driven phenomenon, which presents both opportunities and challenges for societies globally.

##### 1.1.1. *Early Adoption of Social Media for Propaganda (2000s–2010s)*

The advent of social media platforms like Facebook (2004), Twitter (2006), YouTube (2005), Instagram (2010) ushered in a new era of propaganda. Originally intended for personal communication and content sharing, these platforms gradually evolved into powerful tools for political messaging and influence. Governments, political parties, and organizations acknowledged the power of social media to connect with extensive, varied audiences directly, by passing the need for traditional gatekeepers like news outlets. During the Arab Spring (2010-2012), social media platforms had a dual function, acting as both a catalyst for mobilizing protestors and a platform for state propaganda. Activists utilized social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter to coordinate protests and share their messages, while authoritarian regimes countered these movements by spreading false information and attempting to undermine the legitimacy of the protests. This period emphasized the increasing influence of social media as a platform for both grassroots movements and state-sponsored propaganda (Howard & Hussain, 2013).

### ***1.1.2. The Rise of Algorithmic Propaganda (2010s)***

With the rise of algorithm-driven content curation on social media platforms, the nature of propaganda adapted to take advantage of these mechanisms. Algorithms, created to prioritize content based on user engagement, unintentionally amplified emotionally charged and divisive material. This created an opportune setting for propagandists to create messages that would deeply resonate with particular groups of people. Political campaigns started utilizing data analytics and micro-targeting to spread personalized propaganda. One of the most prominent instances of algorithmic propaganda was the influence of social media platforms in the 2016 U.S. Presidential election. Both domestic political campaigns and foreign actors, including Russia's internet research agency, utilized platforms like Facebook and Twitter to disseminate disinformation, polarize public opinion, and manipulate voter behavior. In contemporary propaganda tactics, fake news, troll farms, and bot networks emerged as crucial instruments, underscoring the susceptibility of social media platforms to manipulation (Vaidhyanathan, 2018).

### ***1.1.3. The Proliferation of Disinformation and Deepfakes (2020s)***

In the 2020s, social media propaganda has become more advanced, utilizing technologies like artificial intelligence and deepfake videos to manipulate public opinion. Deepfakes, which employ artificial intelligence to generate highly realistic but fabricated images or videos, have become potent instruments for disseminating false information. These technologies have been employed to impersonate political figures, fabricate scandals, and erode confidence in genuine media. Social media platforms like TikTok, Instagram, and WhatsApp have become significant sources of propaganda because they are widely used by younger generations and rely heavily on visual and temporary content. Memes and short videos that elicit intense emotional responses are highly efficient in disseminating propaganda quickly and widely. For instance, during the COVID-19 pandemic, false information about vaccines and public health measures proliferated on social media, driven by conspiratorial narratives and anti-establishment sentiment (Wardle & Derakhshan, 2018).

### ***1.1.4. The Evolution of Counter-Propaganda Measures***

In light of the increasing danger posed by social media propaganda, platforms and governments have taken steps to combat it. Efforts to combat the dissemination of false information have led to the creation of fact-checking initiatives, content moderation algorithms, and transparency tools. Nevertheless, these measures have been subject to criticism for being inconsistent, ineffective, or infringing on the right to free speech. The ongoing battle between propagandists and regulators highlights

the intricate and ever-changing landscape of propaganda in the digital era (bennett &, livingston, 2018). The timeline of propaganda on social media showcases its ability to quickly adapt to advancements in technology and shifts in societal norms. From the inception of online platforms to the advanced manipulation tactics employed in the 2020s, social media propaganda has emerged as a prominent characteristic of the contemporary information landscape. Its influence continues to expand, prompting important discussions about regulation, accountability, and the future of public discourse.

## **1.2. Characteristics of propaganda in social media**

Propaganda on social media is characterized by distinct features that set it apart from conventional methods of persuasion. The dynamic and algorithmic characteristics of social media platforms have revolutionized the production, distribution, and reception of propaganda, rendering it more widespread and flexible in contemporary communication environments. One of the most distinctive characteristics of social media propaganda is its unmatched speed and wide-reaching impact. Social media platforms enable the quick spread of messages, making it possible for propaganda to go viral in a matter of hours and reach audiences worldwide with little expense or exertion. The platform dynamics, which emphasize engagement and virality, tend to amplify emotionally charged or sensational content. This rapid pace allows propagandists to capitalize on current events or trending topics, ensuring their narratives swiftly gain popularity and dominate public conversations (jowett &, o'donnell, 2019). Social media platforms enable the production of propaganda on a decentralized scale, unlike the centralized control observed in traditional media outlets. Anyone with internet access can create and share content, resulting in the widespread dissemination of propaganda from various sources, including state actors, non-state organizations, and even individual users. The decentralization of propaganda makes it challenging to determine its source or confirm its accuracy. Moreover, propagandists frequently disguise their messages as user-generated content, making it more challenging to discern their true intentions and impact (vaidhyanathan, 2018).

One crucial aspect is the ability of social media platforms to personalize and target content to individual users. By having access to a vast amount of user data, propagandists can customize their messages to target specific groups based on demographics, interests, or behavioral patterns. Algorithms created to enhance user engagement selectively present content that resonates with personal preferences, making propaganda more convincing and less likely to be disregarded as unimportant. This capability to specifically target individuals with accuracy not only enhances the impact of propaganda but also worsens societal division by reinforcing pre-existing beliefs and biases (bennett &, livingston, 2018).

The interactive nature of social media introduces an additional layer to contemporary propaganda. Unlike traditional propaganda, where audiences were passive recipients, social media users actively participate in propaganda by liking, sharing, commenting, and engaging in discussions. The participatory nature of this platform generates a feedback loop, inadvertently amplifying the spread of propaganda as users unknowingly contribute to its dissemination. Additionally, the incorporation of memes, short videos, and other visually appealing formats enhances the relatability and accessibility of propaganda, particularly among younger audiences (Wardle & Derakhshan, 2018). Ultimately, the significance of algorithms and artificial intelligence lies at the core of comprehending social media propaganda. Algorithms tend to prioritize content that elicits strong reactions, often favoring divisive or emotionally charged messages. This leads to echo chambers where users are constantly exposed to the same narratives, strengthening their beliefs while limiting their exposure to differing viewpoints. The filter bubble effect, also referred to as this phenomenon, exacerbates polarization and heightens the vulnerability of users to propaganda (pariser, 2017).

To sum up, the features of propaganda on social media are a result of the platforms' capacity to deliver information quickly, tailor content to individual users, encourage interaction, and utilize algorithms to curate content. The unique characteristics of social media propaganda make it an exceptionally influential tool in shaping public opinion, with far-reaching consequences for politics, society, and individual actions.

### **1.3. Cases of propaganda use in social media**

Social media has emerged as a potent instrument for propaganda, as evidenced by numerous prominent instances where it has successfully influenced public sentiment, swayed political results, and spread false information. These instances emphasize the widespread influence of propaganda in the digital era and the difficulties it presents to societies globally.

#### ***1.2.1. Propaganda in 2016 U.S. Presidential election***

One of the most notable instances is the impact of social media in the 2016 U.S. Presidential election. Social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram were extensively utilized to disseminate disinformation, polarizing content, and fake news. Russian actors, including the internet research agency, initiated coordinated efforts to shape voter opinions and create division among Americans. The utilization of automated systems and organized networks of fake accounts intensified

the spread of divisive narratives, specifically targeting particular groups with customized messages aimed at evoking strong emotions and eroding faith in democratic institutions (Howard, 2020).

### ***1.2.2. Social media in Brexit referendum***

A notable case is the utilization of social media during the Brexit referendum in the United Kingdom in 2016. In support of Brexit, pro-Brexit campaigns heavily utilized social media platforms, such as Facebook, to reach out to voters by highlighting concerns about immigration, economic anxieties, and nationalist ideologies. Companies like Cambridge Analytica were involved in controversial practices of micro-targeting voters by utilizing personal data, enabling campaigners to create persuasive messages that struck an emotional chord. This case brought attention to the connection between propaganda, data privacy issues, and the manipulation of democratic processes (Cadwalladr, 2019).

### ***1.2.3. False information during the COVID-19 pandemic***

During the COVID-19 pandemic, social media turned into a battleground for different narratives about the virus, vaccines, and public health measures. Misinformation regarding the virus's origins, vaccine safety, and conspiracy theories spread quickly, sometimes surpassing accurate information. Anti-vaccine movements utilized platforms such as YouTube, Twitter, and WhatsApp to spread fear and skepticism, leading to a decline in public trust in scientific research and health institutions. Governments and health organizations faced difficulties in countering these narratives effectively, highlighting the challenges of combating propaganda during real-time crises (Chou & Gaysynsky, 2021).

### ***1.2.4. Facebook's involvement in the Rohingya crisis***

The Myanmar military's utilization of Facebook to incite violence against the Rohingya Muslim minority is a notable example. Over a span of several years, military personnel and their supporters utilized the platform to disseminate hate speech, inflammatory posts, and false information, which fueled widespread violence and a humanitarian crisis. Facebook faced criticism for its delayed reaction to the problem, emphasizing the platform's involvement in facilitating propaganda and intensifying ethnic conflicts (Mozur, 2018).

### ***1.2.5. Information warfare between Russia and Ukraine.***

In the context of international conflicts, social media has also played a significant role in shaping narratives surrounding the russia-ukraine war. Both sides have utilized social media platforms such as Twitter, Telegram, and TikTok to disseminate propaganda, garner domestic support, shape international perceptions, and undermine their adversaries. Viral videos, memes, and posts have emerged as powerful tools in the information warfare, demonstrating how propaganda has evolved to thrive in the digital era and blur the distinction between truth and misinformation (treverton & chen, 2023). These examples illustrate how social media has revolutionized the way propaganda is disseminated and its impact on a global scale. They emphasize the significance of comprehending how these platforms can be exploited to advance political, ideological, and commercial agendas, often at the cost of truth and societal cohesion.

To generalize this section social media has revolutionized the way propaganda operates, making it more decentralized, precise, and interactive in nature. These platforms have evolved into battlegrounds where disinformation, emotionally charged narratives, and personalized messaging can flourish, magnifying the influence and consequences of propaganda. Important cases demonstrate how social media has been used to manipulate public opinion, sway political events, and spread false or divisive information. Social media became strong instrument for them who wants to use propaganda for shaping public opinion, this is the faster way to change people's mind.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **1. COMPARISON BETWEEN TRADITIONAL AND MODERN PROPAGANDA BASED ON EXISTING LITERATURE**

This section explores the progression of propaganda from conventional to contemporary forms, drawing upon existing literature for analysis. This theoretical discussion draws upon existing theories in political communication and public relations to explore how advancements in communication technologies, particularly social media, have revolutionized the strategies employed to shape public opinion and political behavior. This theoretical framework offers a basis for comprehending the changing roles and effects of propaganda in today's political and social landscapes.

#### **1.1 Comparative description of characteristics**

The distinguishing features of traditional and contemporary propaganda highlight notable disparities influenced by technological progress and the transformation of media channels. While both forms of propaganda aim to influence public opinion and behavior, their methods, scope, and effectiveness diverge significantly due to the mediums through which they are disseminated and the audiences they target (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013).

Traditional propaganda is mainly known for its centralized control and one-sided communication. Governments, political organizations, and large institutions were the main creators and distributors of propaganda, often employing newspapers, radio, television, posters, and films (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2019). These messages were typically consistent and targeted a wide range of people, emphasizing broader concepts like patriotism or ideological alignment. The content lacked dynamism and was presented in a rigid and formal manner, relying on repetition to convey its messages (Ellul, 2018). The gradual spread of traditional media enabled a more thorough internalization of the narratives by the public, with the trustworthiness of institutions being a key factor in their impact (Bakir & McStay, 2018). For example, during World War II, propaganda heavily relied on radio broadcasts and posters to foster national unity and rally support for the war effort (Taylor, 2020).

In contrast, contemporary propaganda, particularly on social media platforms, is characterized by decentralization, interactivity, and speed (Wardle & Derakhshan, 2018). Social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and TikTok provide space for various actors, including governments, organizations,

and individuals, to create and share content. The decentralization of propaganda sources and intentions makes it more difficult to identify and monitor modern propaganda messages (Hameleers et al., 2020). Social media enables propagandists to modify their tactics on the fly in response to audience feedback, thereby expanding their influence and impact (Chadwick, 2017). A significant distinction can be observed in the methods used to target the audience. Traditional propaganda targeted a wide range of people, employing broad-based messaging to appeal to diverse demographics (Ellul, 2018). In contrast, contemporary propaganda employs data analytics and algorithm-driven targeting to deliver highly personalized messages. Social media platforms gather vast amounts of user data, allowing for targeted advertising based on factors like political affiliations, geographical location, and individual preferences (Vaidhyanathan, 2018; Marwick & Lewis, 2017). This accuracy improves the impact of contemporary propaganda, making it more relatable to its target audience and more convincing in its presentation.

The transformation of content formats is a notable distinction. Traditional propaganda primarily utilized formal, static media like posters and speeches, intended to convey clear messages and evoke strong emotions (Taylor, 2020). Contemporary propaganda, on the other hand, utilizes dynamic and informal formats like memes, short videos, and interactive posts, which are specifically crafted to be visually captivating and easily shareable (Highfield, 2016). These formats frequently integrate into regular online activities, making it less likely for audiences to perceive them as propaganda (Wardle & Derakhshan, 2018). Ultimately, algorithms have a significant impact on the way propaganda is spread in today's society. Unlike traditional propaganda, which relied on human decision-makers to decide where messages would be distributed, modern platforms use algorithms that prioritize content based on how much people engage with it (Van Dijck et al., 2018). Posts that are sensational and emotionally charged tend to receive algorithmic amplification, unintentionally promoting divisive or manipulative content (Bakir & McStay, 2018). This process generates echo chambers, where users are primarily exposed to information that aligns with their existing beliefs (Hameleers et al., 2020).

In summary, while both traditional and modern propaganda aim to shape public opinion, their approaches, techniques, and circumstances vary significantly. Traditional propaganda is centralized, sluggish, and aimed at large groups of people, depending on institutional trust and unchanging information. In contrast to traditional propaganda, modern propaganda is decentralized, fast-paced, and specifically tailored, utilizing interactivity, immediate responses, and data-driven tactics. These distinctions highlight how technological progress has transformed the practice and influence of propaganda in the digital era.

**Table 2** Characteristics of Propaganda

<b>Aspect</b>	<b>Historical Propaganda</b>	<b>Modern Propaganda</b>
<b>Speed of Dissemination</b>	Slow, dependent on physical distribution and scheduled broadcasts	Instantaneous, thanks to the internet and global connectivity
<b>Audience</b>	Primarily mass audiences, often national or regional	Micro-targeted audiences based on data analytics and algorithms
<b>Interactivity</b>	Unidirectional, with little to no audience feedback	Bidirectional or multi-directional, allowing user-generated content
<b>Techniques</b>	Emotional appeals, repetition, iconic imagery, censorship	Memes, bots, data manipulation, deepfakes, echo chambers
<b>Global Reach</b>	Limited by physical and political boundaries	Virtually unlimited, transcending borders through the internet
<b>Manipulation Tools</b>	Slogans, myths, symbols	Algorithms, AI-generated content, disinformation campaigns
<b>Transparency</b>	Often blatant and recognized as propaganda	Frequently disguised as news, entertainment, or user opinions

*Source: created by the author*

## 1.2. Comparative studies or cases

Analyzing the differences between traditional and contemporary propaganda entails studying instances where propaganda was employed to sway public sentiment and actions. These case studies demonstrate how propaganda techniques have changed over time, especially with the advent of new technologies and platforms. One of the most well-known instances of traditional propaganda is the utilization of media during World War II. In the United States and other allied nations, governments utilized radio broadcasts, newsreels, posters, and films to foster patriotism, encourage enlistment, and garner support for the war effort. The iconic "Uncle Sam" poster, encouraging Americans to "I want you," serves as a prime example of a visual propaganda tool that effectively conveyed a straightforward, concise message. Similarly, in Nazi Germany, the regime utilized films like *Triumph of the Will* (1935) to propagate Adolf Hitler's ideology and garner public support for the state (Taylor, 2017). These approaches were highly successful because they were centrally managed, intended for widespread

consumption, and relied on established institutions such as the government or the media to convey their messages (Nicholas, 2019). Propaganda during this time was consistent and targeted towards a wide range of people, frequently emphasizing nationalistic sentiment and the importance of collective sacrifice for the war. In contrast, contemporary propaganda on social media is more decentralized and flexible, depending on the speed, interactivity, and personalized messaging of digital platforms.

One example of contemporary propaganda is the influence of social media in the 2016 United States presidential election. During this time, numerous political organizations, both within and outside the country, utilized social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter to disseminate false information and influence specific voter groups. The Internet Research Agency (IRA) was infiltrated by Russian operatives who established fake accounts and disseminated divisive messages, intentionally targeting various groups based on their political inclinations, thereby intensifying social divisions (Diresta et al., 2018). This form of propaganda, including memes, fake news stories, and politically charged ads, was highly effective because it leveraged social media's algorithmic amplification, personalized targeting, and viral potential (Benkler, Faris, & Roberts, 2018).

An example that highlights the contrasting nature of traditional and modern propaganda is its utilization during the Cold War. The United States and the Soviet Union utilized traditional media outlets like newspapers, radio broadcasts, and films to propagate their respective ideologies. Programs like Radio Free Europe and Voice of America transmitted anti-communist messages into Eastern Europe to counteract Soviet propaganda (Nelson, 2020). In a similar manner, the Soviet Union employed state-controlled newspapers and radio broadcasts to propagate its Marxist-Leninist ideology and condemn the West. These types of propaganda were aimed at a wide range of people and were centralized, with governments having control over the content and availability of information (Shaw, 2019).

In contrast, contemporary propaganda is less dependent on government-controlled media and more on user-generated content and social media platforms. A notable instance is the Arab Spring (2010-2012), where social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook played a crucial role in mobilizing activists and disseminating political messages. Initially, these platforms served as catalysts for democratic movements, but they also became instruments for governments and opposition groups to disseminate propaganda. In countries like Egypt and Syria, governments employed social media platforms to undermine opposition, disseminate false information, and suppress dissent (Tufekci, 2017). This

decentralized, fast-paced, and interactive propaganda encompassed both state and non-state actors within the information ecosystem.

Finally, a comparative study can be drawn from the use of propaganda during the COVID-19 pandemic. Governments utilized traditional propaganda techniques to encourage public health measures like lockdowns, mask-wearing, and vaccination, using posters, TV ads, and public service announcements. These approaches highlighted the importance of shared responsibility and safety (Chou et al., 2020). Nevertheless, false information about the virus and vaccines was disseminated through various social media platforms, including Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube. Misinformation, conspiracy theories, and anti-vaccine movements flourished on these online platforms, frequently spread by individuals and organizations not affiliated with the government. The widespread sharing of content and the ability to tailor messages to individual preferences made modern propaganda highly effective, shaping public opinion and influencing people's actions (Bridgman et al., 2020).

These case studies demonstrate both the persistence and evolution of propaganda techniques throughout history. In the past, propaganda was typically controlled by a central authority, spread at a slow pace, and targeted large groups of people, whereas contemporary propaganda is distributed across various platforms, disseminated quickly, and tailored to individual preferences. With the emergence of new communication technologies, propaganda strategies have adapted to leverage these advancements, leading to more precise, engaging, and dynamic methods of persuasion. The comparative analysis of these cases highlights the transformative impact of media and technology on propaganda, demonstrating how it has evolved to suit the shifting political, social, and technological dynamics of each era.

This chapter examines the development of propaganda by contrasting conventional and modern techniques. It draws attention to how propaganda, which was formerly centralized and spread by radio, movies, and posters, has changed as a result of technological developments. Conventional propaganda was controlled by the government, targeted large audiences, and frequently promoted ideological or nationalistic themes. On the other hand, contemporary propaganda, especially on social media, is individualized, interactive, and decentralized, employing algorithms to target certain people. In order to demonstrate how propaganda tactics have adjusted to new communication platforms and technology, expanding their reach and impact, the chapter looks at significant historical examples, including World War II, the Cold War, the 2016 U.S. elections, and the COVID-19 epidemic.

# CHAPTER 4

## EMPIRICAL PART

### 1. Methodology and Methods

For the purpose of this research, a qualitative case study approach was deemed the most appropriate method. Yin (2003) explains that a case study is a research method used to examine a specific phenomenon within its real-life setting, particularly when the boundaries between the phenomenon and its context are not clearly defined. According to Yin, case studies are especially valuable for addressing "how" and "why" inquiries, which align with the goals of this research. The primary objective of this study is to examine the utilization of social media for contemporary propaganda and historical propaganda during World War II. To thoroughly examine these subjects, the research utilizes various sources of evidence, guided by theoretical frameworks to ensure systematic analysis (Yin, 2003). This research is exploratory in nature, seeking to examine situations without predetermined outcomes (Yin, 2003). This method follows Creswell's (2013) framework for qualitative research, which focuses on a thorough examination of a program, event, activity, or process, employing multiple data collection techniques.

In addition to content analysis, the study also incorporates elements of discourse analysis to enrich the examination of propaganda in both historical and contemporary contexts. Discourse analysis focuses on how language constructs meaning and power relations within specific social, political, and cultural contexts (Gee, 2014; Foucault, 1972). By applying a discourse analysis approach, the study examines how language in propaganda reflects and reinforces ideologies, and how the audience's perception is shaped by these messages. This multidimensional approach provides a deeper understanding of the complexities surrounding the use of social media for contemporary propaganda and its historical counterpart during World War II.

### 2. Data collection

To examine propaganda, content analysis was performed on Facebook posts shared by the Georgian Dream Party, the ruling party in Georgia. Facebook was selected as the platform for political communication in Georgia due to its extensive usage and its ability to effectively engage with the public. Statista (2023) conducted a study that revealed Facebook to be one of the most widely used platforms in Georgia, offering a substantial dataset for analysis. The study concentrated on the randomly chosen 12

posts which were shared during a three-month span leading up to the 2024 election. By utilizing Facebook's advanced search and categorization features, posts were examined and assessed across three distinct categories.

- **Content Type:** Posts were classified as *informative*, *persuasive*, or *expressive*.
- **Topic:** Posts were categorized into *social issues*, *policies*, and *political discourse*.
- **Tone:** Posts were assessed as *positive*, *neutral*, or *negative*.

The same categories were used in the case of historical propaganda. The study analyzed 12 prominent World War II posters. These posters were selected based on their historical significance and the central role they played in influencing public opinion during the war.

### **3. Ethical considerations**

In order to conduct the analysis of Facebook posts, only publicly accessible content was utilized, and private accounts were not included. For the historical propaganda posters, only materials that were freely available to the public were utilized, guaranteeing no infringement of copyright or invasion of privacy. The study was conducted with academic impartiality, and any personal political viewpoints were not included. The focus was on studying the communication techniques employed in both contemporary and historical propaganda. In the process of research Artificial Intelligence was used with the approval from supervisor's side.

### **4. Qualitative Data Collection and Content Analysis**

In the part of content analysis we will get deeper into social media propaganda from political party when political temperature is getting high, for the research we will choose Georgia's example.

#### **4.1. 2024 Georgia Parliament Election**

The country of Georgia is governed by a parliamentary system, where the parliament plays a crucial role in managing the country. The website of the Georgia parliament provides information on the parliament's responsibilities, which include publishing laws, appointing and dismissing vice presidents and ministers, exercising executive power, and proposing constitutional amendments to a referendum if deemed necessary. Consequently, the powers of the parliament hold significant importance in the

parliamentary government system. This is why the parliamentary election is crucial for society and voters.

The 2024 Georgian parliamentary elections, scheduled for October 26, 2024, witnessed a highly competitive battle between the ruling Georgian Dream party and the United National Movement (UNM). These two political entities have significantly influenced Georgia's political scene for more than a decade, with Georgian Dream maintaining its dominance since 2012 and consistently challenging its authority.

In 2012, the Georgian dream emerged victorious, overthrowing the long-standing rule of the united national movement, which had governed Georgia since the Rose Revolution of 2003. Bidzina Ivanishvili, a prominent billionaire businessman, established Georgian Dream as a party of reform, vowing to steer Georgia away from authoritarianism and towards European integration and stability. Under the leadership of Georgian Dream, the nation witnessed substantial advancements in infrastructure and economic prosperity, although the party also faced substantial backlash for its handling of corruption, media censorship, and concerns about its growing concentration of power. In the 2024 elections, the Georgian Dream party sought to maintain its hold on the parliament, emphasizing its achievements in economic growth and its commitment to Georgia's aspirations of joining the European Union and NATO. Despite facing challenges, especially in terms of governance and its relationship with Russia, Georgian Dream remained the dominant force in Georgian politics, consistently receiving votes between 40-45% of the electorate.

In contrast, the united national movement (unm), led by Nika Melia, was determined to regain its influence after losing power in 2012. The opposition party was the party of former president Mikheil Saakashvili, who ruled Georgia from 2004 to 2012. During its tenure, the government implemented significant reforms, with a focus on economic development and combating corruption. However, it also faced backlash for its authoritarian tendencies, particularly following the 2008 war with Russia and the violent suppression of protests in 2007. After losing the 2012 election, unm has been actively working to regain its political influence, positioning itself as a pro-western, reformist alternative to the Georgian Dream. In the 2024 elections, the opposition party campaigned on a platform advocating for the restoration of democratic freedoms, judicial reform, and stronger ties with the western region. Despite facing internal divisions and accusations of being out of touch with the current political landscape, the opposition party, unm, remained a strong contender, with projections indicating it could garner around 20-25% of the vote.

The 2024 elections marked a crucial turning point in Georgian politics, as Georgian Dream sought to solidify its power and maintain its influence, while the united national movement aimed to make a comeback and challenge its dominance. As the two major parties campaigned across the nation, the election would ultimately decide whether the Georgian Dream could maintain its majority or if the United National Movement could form a viable opposition bloc capable of challenging the existing power structure.

#### **4.2. Facebook usage while political campanies in georgia.**

In Georgia, Facebook holds great importance in political campaigns, as it is one of the most popular social media platforms for political communication. Like many political leaders worldwide, Georgian political figures utilize Facebook as a platform to engage directly with voters, advocate for their policies, and enhance their political reputation. Georgian dream party actively utilizes Facebook to interact with the electorate. The Georgian Dream Party's official Facebook page features a diverse range of content, including posts about domestic policies, economic initiatives, and international relations. Bidzina Ivanishvili, although not as frequently active as his party's official page, provides updates and insights on significant events, while the Georgian Dream page features a multitude of posts discussing election campaign rallies, media appearances, and political endorsements. These posts frequently feature images and videos from public events, project updates, and live broadcasts. Georgian dream also shares positive updates about the government's accomplishments, utilizing social media platforms like Facebook to promote economic growth, social welfare programs, and Georgia's foreign policy, with a particular emphasis on its aspirations for European integration.

In summary, Facebook serves as a crucial platform for Georgian political campaigns, providing a means for real-time communication, outreach, and engagement with both supporters and critics. By incorporating multimedia content like videos, images, and live streaming, both Georgian Dream and the opposition party can effectively convey their messages, engage voters, and promote their campaign activities.

#### **4.3. Content Analysis of Facebook posts of Geogian dream party**

For the content analysis of georgian dream party's facebook posts, the period between 26 july and 26 october, which covers the three-month period before 26 may 2024, which is the completion date of the elections, was taken into account. Facebook employed its sophisticated search function to sort the posts according to their historical importance. The posts between the specified period were examined and the posts were evaluated according to three separate categories: "content type, topic and tone". In the "content

type" category, posts are classified as "informative, persuasive and expressive", in the "topic" category, posts are classified as "social issues, policies and political discourse, in the "tone" category, posts were classified as "positive, neutral, negative", and a detailed content analysis of twelve facebook posts determined according to these categories and classifications was conducted. The process of categorization and classification was performed manually.

**Post 1)** The post was shared by Georgian dreamy party on August 1, 2024. The post reached 29 thousand likes as of December 1, 2024. The post includes an image congratulating georgian sportsmens who won in paris olimpy and retirees and the following statements;

"The Honorary Chairman of 'Georgian Dream,' Bidzina Ivanishvili, congratulates the Georgian Olympians on their tremendous success achieved at the Paris Olympics."



**Figure 1** Image from Georgian Dream's Post

Source: Facebook

This statement refers to Bidzina Ivanishvili, the Honorary Chairman of the "Georgian Dream" political party, extending his congratulations to the Georgian athletes who performed exceptionally well at the Paris Olympics. The use of "tremendous success" emphasizes the golden medals which they took from the Paris Olympics 2024, highlighting the positive impact of the athletes' accomplishments.

By examining this post in more detail, we can gain insights from different viewpoints. From a political standpoint, Ivanishvili's position as the honorary chairman of the "Georgian dream" party implies that the message may have political implications. His congratulations could be seen as an effort

to connect the achievements of Georgian athletes to the success of the party and the nation's reputation under its leadership. This could be seen to enhance the party's connection with national pride and accomplishment. From a public relations perspective, Ivanishvili is a well-known figure in Georgia, and such posts are frequently employed to improve his public image by associating him with the country's achievements. By acknowledging the accomplishments of the Olympians, he establishes himself as a champion of national pride and success, which helps him maintain or enhance his visibility in the public sphere. Moreover, from a cultural standpoint, the post emphasizes the significance of sports accomplishments in Georgian society. Olympic triumphs are frequently seen as a testament to a country's power and advancement, fostering a sense of national pride. This post could be seen as an attempt to showcase the accomplishments of Georgian athletes on the global stage, which often instills a sense of unity and pride within the nation. The message also carries a patriotic sentiment, commending Georgia's achievements and its athletes' contributions to the international sports community. It is important to note that as of today, the Olympic champions have already been included in the member lists of the Georgian Dream party and the deputies of the Parliament of Georgia.

**Post 2)** The post was shared by Georgian dreamy party on July 28, 2024. The post reached 2.5 thousand likes as of December 1, 2024. The post includes the following statements;

"In June 2024, economic growth reached 7.5%, while the average economic growth rate for January-June was 9%. Economic growth in the first quarter of 2024 was 8.4%, while in the second quarter, it was 9.5%. Economic growth in June was driven by an increase in goods exports, particularly local exports, and the growth in revenue from tourism."

By examining the information presented in this post, it offers a comprehensive overview of Georgia's economic progress during the initial six months of 2024, emphasizing a favorable trajectory for the nation's development. The statement highlights the growth rates for both June and the first half of the year, providing an overview of the overall economic development. The post also emphasizes the economic sectors driving this growth, particularly exports and tourism. This implies a diverse economy where international trade and tourism play significant roles in driving economic growth.

From a political or public relations standpoint, the post could be intended to strengthen the government's economic management skills, showcasing economic growth as a result of their current policies. The positive growth figures, particularly in sectors like exports and tourism, are frequently cited as indicators of the country's competitiveness and stability, which can potentially shape public opinion favorably. By highlighting these specific economic accomplishments, the post intends to demonstrate that the

government is actively promoting growth in crucial sectors, which could be a deliberate strategy to instill confidence in the nation's economic prospects.

The importance of local exports and tourism revenue cannot be overstated, as they are commonly regarded as signs of a robust and self-sufficient economy. This implies that Georgia is not only expanding in established regions but also strengthening its domestic industries and services, which may resonate well with the local communities. Additionally, the emphasis on growth in local exports underscores the rising international demand for Georgian products, which may indicate the country's strengthening presence in the global market.

Overall, the post is skillfully constructed to emphasize economic prosperity, with a particular emphasis on growth, key sectors that contribute to the economy, and positive trends that reinforce the perception of a robust and expanding economy.

**Post 3)** The post was shared by Georgian dreamy party on August 8, 2024. The post reached 4.9 thousand likes as of December 1, 2023. The post includes the following statements;

"Irakli Garibashvili: Georgians know very well the price of war, but we also know the price of peace. That is why the peaceful policy brought by the 'Georgian Dream' since October 1, 2012, is very valuable."

This statement was made by Irakli Garibashvili, the prime minister of Georgia, and it is likely intended to emphasize the importance of peace and the role that his political party, "Georgian dream," has played in promoting it. Garibashvili contrasts the harsh realities of war with the benefits of peace, positioning the "Georgian dream" party as the key actor in maintaining peace in Georgia since it came to power in 2012.

This post can be examined from various angles, particularly in relation to the period before the election. First, the reference to the "price of war" and the "price of peace" seeks to evoke strong emotional reactions, appealing to the Georgian public's historical memory of conflict, particularly in relation to Russia and the breakaway regions of south Ossetia and Abkhazia. By highlighting that Georgians are aware of the devastating consequences of war, Garibashvili is effectively positioning the party as the protector of peace, tapping into national sentiment and appealing to the public's desire for stability and security.

The mention of the peaceful policy that was supposedly introduced by "Georgian dream" starting from October 1, 2012, is a direct appeal to voters, showcasing the government's achievements

and framing its leadership as the cornerstone of Georgia's relative peace in recent years. This action aims to strengthen the perception of "Georgian dream" as a stabilizing force, standing in contrast to the tumultuous years of conflict preceding their ascent to power. From a political perspective, the timing of this statement during an election period holds great importance. The focus on peace and stability is a traditional electoral tactic, designed to set the incumbent party apart from its rivals. Garibashvili is emphasizing the consistency of peaceful governance under his party's leadership, asserting that their approach to foreign and domestic policies has ensured the security of Georgia, unlike the potential dangers associated with political change. The post aims to gather the support of individuals who prioritize peace and stability, emphasizing that "Georgian dream" is the sole party capable of safeguarding these principles. Additionally, the message subtly implies that any alternative political direction could jeopardize the peace and stability achieved by the "Georgian dream." it can be interpreted as an implicit warning to voters about the potential costs of change, using the specter of war and instability to solidify the party's position ahead of the election.

Overall, the post is crafted to reinforce the party's image as a guarantor of peace and stability, making it a strategic piece of communication in the pre-election period aimed at securing voter confidence by appealing to their desire for a peaceful and secure future.

**Post 5)** The post was shared by Georgian dreamy party on August 20, 2024. The post reached 4.5 thousand likes as of December 1, 2024. The post includes the following statements;

"The 2024 parliamentary elections are a kind of referendum, where the Georgian people must finally decide: whether they choose war or peace, whether they choose moral degradation or traditional values, whether they choose a submissive relationship with external forces or an independent and sovereign state, whether they choose the collective 'National Movement' or the 'Georgian Dream.'

With the parliamentary majority gained by the 'Georgian Dream,' a short-term, 4-year task will be successfully completed – peace, traditional values, and the idea of state sovereignty will prevail in Georgia."

This statement is made in the context of the 2024 parliamentary elections and carries a strong, persuasive tone. It presents the upcoming elections as more than just a typical political contest, but as a significant national decision, almost resembling a referendum on the future of Georgia. The language used creates a clear divide between two opposing choices, highlighting the significant decision that the Georgian electorate must make. One of the key elements in the post is the dichotomy between "war" and "peace," which is an emotional appeal designed to tap into the Georgian public's historical and current

fears of conflict, particularly in the context of tensions with Russia and unresolved territorial disputes. The phrasing implies that supporting the opposition or an alternative party could lead to conflict or instability, while voting for the "Georgian dream" ensures peace. This taps into the shared history of Georgia's battles and conflicts, portraying the current ruling party as the guardian of peace and stability. The discussion of "moral decline" versus "traditional values" similarly sets up a cultural debate. The term "moral degradation" is used to imply that the opposition represents a break from Georgia's cultural and moral traditions, which are often linked to orthodox Christianity and other conservative values. By contrast, "traditional values" are presented as being safeguarded by "Georgian dream," which appeals to conservative voters who fear social or cultural liberalization.

Another key theme is the contrast between Georgia's independence and sovereignty versus a 'submissive relationship with external forces.' this is a reference to Georgia's geopolitical position, with the ruling party suggesting that it will preserve Georgia's sovereignty and not allow the country to fall under the influence of foreign powers, particularly Russia or the west. The message aims to depict the party as the guardian of Georgia's independence, ensuring that the country remains free from excessive dependence on any external power.

Finally, the post makes it clear that it is referring to the "Georgian dream" and not the "national movement" (a reference to the opposition party, united national movement). By stating that the upcoming election will determine whether Georgia chooses the "national movement" or the "Georgian dream," the post aims to rally support for the incumbent party by framing the opposition as a dangerous or undesirable alternative. The message is constructed to encourage a sense of urgency and to present the choice as binary: voting for the ruling party is equated with the preservation of peace, sovereignty, and traditional values, while voting for the opposition is framed as a step toward instability, foreign domination, and cultural decline.

In the context of the election, the post aims to strengthen the ruling party's support by appealing to nationalistic and conservative sentiments, while portraying the opposition as a danger to these values. It makes a strong, emotional appeal to voters, aiming to rally them around the topics of national identity, cultural preservation, and geopolitical independence.

**Post 6)** The post was shared by Georgian dreamy party on Aug 21, 2024. The post reached 5.8 thousand likes as of December 9, 2023. The post includes the following statements;

"Bidzina Ivanishvili: 'Georgian Dream' needs a constitutional majority to bring the 'National Movement' to justice, to remove the heavy disease from the country once and for all. The 'National Movement' is the opposition party that ruled the country before 'Georgian Dream.'"

This statement by Bidzina Ivanishvili is a direct attack on the opposition party, the "national movement," and frames the 2024 elections as a decisive moment to deal with the legacy of the opposition. The phrase "bring to justice" and "remove the heavy disease" suggests that the "national movement" is seen as a corrupt or damaging force that must be eradicated for the good of the country. By using such strong medical metaphors as "disease," Ivanishvili is positioning the "national movement" not only as an opponent but as something that has caused long-term harm to the country, creating an image of a need for a "cure."

In the context of Georgian politics, the "national movement" (united national movement), which was led by former president Mikheil Saakashvili, is often viewed by the ruling "Georgian dream" party as the previous administration that was responsible for significant political and social tensions in the country, including issues related to governance, corruption, and conflicts with Russia. Ivanishvili's use of this language aims to associate the opposition with negative traits like instability, corruption, and mismanagement, suggesting that their return to power would be detrimental to the country. The call for a constitutional majority is also noteworthy. It implies that the "Georgian dream" party needs a strong, uncontested mandate to effectively deal with the opposition and ensure that the country does not return to what they consider the problematic rule of the "national movement." a constitutional majority would allow "Georgian dream" to make significant decisions and changes without the need for compromise with opposition parties, further solidifying their control over the political landscape.

This post, therefore, serves both as a critique of the "national movement" and a rallying call for the electorate to ensure that the "Georgian dream" party has the necessary power to decisively handle the opposition. It is also a message to voters to view the upcoming elections as not just a contest between parties, but as a critical battle for the future of Georgia, where the "national movement" is portrayed as a force that should not be allowed to return to power. The rhetoric used here is designed to generate a sense of urgency and encourage voters to choose stability, continuity, and the ongoing influence of the "Georgian dream."

**Post 7)** The post was shared by Georgian dreamy party on Sep 26, 2024. The post reached 31 thousand likes as of December 1, 2024. The post includes the following statements;

"No to war! Choose peace! Vote for the 41 on election."

This statement is a clear and impactful call for peace, likely in the context of the upcoming elections. The phrase "against war!" elicits intense feelings, resonating with the Georgian public's

historical encounters with conflict, particularly in connection with tensions with Russia and the unresolved territorial disputes of Abkhazia and south Ossetia. The emphasis on "choosing peace" underscores the importance of stability and security, positioning peace as the central value to safeguard through the electoral process. The call to "participate in the elections" likely refers to a specific election, either symbolically or as part of a numbered campaign. The number "41" could symbolize a political movement, a party slogan, or a particular legislative reform associated with the elections. The message encourages voters to connect their decision at the polling station with peace and to reject any course of action that could potentially result in war or conflict.

The post seeks to mobilize voters by emphasizing the importance of peace and stability, framing the election as a pivotal moment that will shape Georgia's future trajectory. It underscores the significance of selecting a candidate who prioritizes peace over the possibility of war. By employing straightforward, heartfelt language, the party or movement can inspire the electorate to select them as the protector of peace.

**Post 8)** The post was shared by Georgian dream on October 12, 2024. The post reached 17 thousand likes as of December 1, 2023. The post includes the following statements;

*"My Georgia is Here"*

appears to be a carefully crafted election campaign video that blends visuals and music to evoke a strong sense of national pride, unity, and identity. The choice of music titled *"My Georgia is Here"* Provides the emotional foundation of the video, establishing a patriotic and heartfelt atmosphere. By featuring different parts of Georgia, the video emphasizes the geographical diversity and cultural richness of the country, establishing a visual narrative that links every region to the overarching message of unity and belonging.

The presence of all age groups—children, parents, and grandparents—strengthens the notion of a timeless and enduring Georgian identity. This depiction underscores the idea that the nation's future, current state, and historical legacy are intertwined, representing a shared commitment to safeguarding and developing Georgia for future generations. It implies that the choices made during the elections are not solely focused on the present situation but also on preserving the nation's heritage and securing its long-term success.

By combining music and visuals, the campaign aims to connect with people on both an emotional and cultural level. Incorporating regional landmarks, traditional attire, or ordinary scenes in the campaign materials likely creates a feeling of inclusivity, reminding voters that Georgia is not just one location or one group but a united homeland for all.

In the context of an election, this video is likely intended to evoke a sense of pride and encourage voters to support a vision of unity, stability, and continuity. It positions the campaign as one deeply connected to national values and traditions, while subtly encouraging the electorate to view the associated political party as the guardian of this vision. The slogan "my Georgia is here" connects the individual and the state, implying that by supporting this campaign, one is actively involved in the development and preservation of "their" Georgia.

**Post 9)** The post was shared by Georgian dream on May 7, October. The post reached 7 thousand likes as of December 1, 2024. The post includes the following statements;

*"With peace, dignity, and prosperity—towards Europe."*

This is a component of an election campaign by the Georgian Dream Party. The message, paired with an image of mixed Georgian and EU flags, ostensibly projects a vision of Georgia moving toward European integration while maintaining its values of peace, dignity, and prosperity. On the surface, this statement appears to align with aspirations for progress and stability, resonating with the public's desire for a better future. However, the broader context of the Georgian Dream's campaign strategies adds layers of complexity to this seemingly straightforward message. While invoking European ideals, the party also leaned heavily on moralistic rhetoric, often framing itself as the defender of "traditional values." This messaging, alongside overt anti-LGBTQ+ propaganda, suggests an attempt to align with conservative segments of the population who may view certain aspects of Western liberalism, particularly LGBTQ+ rights, as a threat to Georgian identity and morality.

The juxtaposition of "dignity" and "prosperity" with European aspirations is a subtle attempt to position the party as balancing modernization and tradition, signaling to voters that European integration does not entail a compromise on cultural values. By positioning itself as the guardian of the nation's cultural heritage, the Georgian Dream aims to appeal to voters who prioritize the preservation of cultural values, employing a moralistic narrative to strengthen its support base. This dual messaging—support for European ideals combined with a rejection of liberal social values—reflects a strategy aimed at appealing to a wide range of voters, particularly those who might otherwise be hesitant about European integration. It enables the party to portray itself as forward-thinking on matters of national progress and prosperity, while simultaneously reinforcing conservative principles to rally its core supporters.

**Post 10)** The post was shared by Georgian dream on October 12, 2024. The post reached 6 thousand likes as of December 1, 2024.

*"Campaign falsity – 'The process of European integration is halted' – is intensifying during the pre-election period.*

*Apparently, if we want Europe, we must choose one of the following:*

- *The party of a killer and torturer, who handed over territories to Russia and blamed the war on their own army – Saakashvili's party.*
- *Or the same National past, funded by rubles, stripped-down, and criminal Gvaramia's party.*
- *Or Saakashvili's extortionist and fraudster Khazaradze's party.*
- *Or the traitor Gakharia's party, aligned with Saakashvili. All together – a common-sponsor agency...*

*Under no circumstances should we choose the force that is focused on national, traditional, and truly European values, guaranteeing peace, dignity, and a better life. Forget about thinking of peaceful reunification of the country – unless you're planning to storm in somewhere with a tank or at least send volunteers to Ukraine and impose sanctions on Russia; they will come on their own... The church and religion must be weakened, same-sex marriage and LGBTQ propaganda among students are essential, and war alone is not enough – guarantees are needed...*

*Imagine, there are still people in this country who vote for one of these four parties and take responsibility for all this!*

*They offer people a miraculous choice and path to Europe – appealing and without alternatives."*

This post is a strongly persuasive and divisive critique of the opposing parties during the pre-election period, centered around the idea of European integration. It dismisses claims that the ruling Georgian Dream party has impeded Georgia's progress towards joining the European Union, dismissing them as baseless campaign tactics. The tone is highly critical, with the author accusing opposition forces of lacking moral and political integrity and being unable to guide the country towards genuine European values.

The post vilifies four specific opposition parties—Saakashvili’s national movement, Khazaradze's Lelo, Gvaramia's European Georgia, and Gakharia's for Georgia—by associating them with betrayal, corruption, and even criminal behavior. Each group is labeled with negative terms, such as murderous and cruel, 'financed by money,' and 'traitor,' creating a perception of a chaotic and destructive opposition. This narrative attempt to connect all opposition parties to a shared 'national past' under Saakashvili’s controversial leadership, portraying them as agents of chaos and regression. The post juxtaposes this negative portrayal with an implicit defense of the Georgian dream, which it frames as the sole defender of traditional values, peace, and dignity. The sarcastic tone employed in the post ridicules the notion that opposition parties genuinely offer a viable route to Europe. It suggests that their perspective on European integration involves sacrificing national sovereignty, moral values, and peace, with claims about diminishing the influence of the church, advocating for same-sex marriage, and endorsing LGBTQ+ content in educational institutions.

The author also sarcastically implies that the opposition prioritizes conflict—whether through advocating for sanctions against Russia or sending Georgian volunteers to Ukraine—over peaceful resolutions. By portraying the opposition as proponents of war and cultural upheaval, the post strengthens the belief that the Georgian dream is the sole party capable of guaranteeing stability and steering Georgia towards a genuinely European future without compromising its national identity.

Ultimately, this post serves as a defense of the ruling party and an attempt to undermine the credibility of the opposition. It resonates with individuals who hold conservative, nationalist, and pro-stability beliefs, and it utilizes cultural and geopolitical anxieties to garner support for the Georgian dream. The underlying message aims to undermine opposition parties, portraying them as potential sources of conflict and discord, while emphasizing the ruling party's vision of unity, preservation of tradition, and advancement.

**Post 11)** The post was shared by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan on May 27, 2023. The post reached 59 thousand likes and 8.5 million views as of December 9, 2023. The post includes a video presentation to visually highlight the party's claimed successes.

*"The main achievements of 'Georgian Dream' are the preservation of peace and the strengthening of security, the doubling of the economy, and progress on Georgia's path to European integration. We present the achievements of 'Georgian Dream' in numbers."*

The article primarily emphasizes quantitative measures like economic growth, tourism expansion, and other developmental indicators, with the intention of presenting a compelling narrative of progress achieved under the party's leadership. The focus on peace and security as fundamental accomplishments helps establish the Georgian dream as a stabilizing force, particularly in a politically and geopolitically unstable region. This theme aims to provide reassurance to voters that their leadership guarantees safety and stability, projecting an image of dependability in the face of both external and internal uncertainties. By utilizing economic data, such as claims of doubling the economy and boosting tourism, the party aims to present itself as competent in governance and capable of delivering tangible benefits to the people. By presenting these statistics in a visually appealing manner through a video presentation, the claims become more captivating and easily understandable, potentially leaving a lasting impact on the audience.

Additionally, the mention of European integration progress reflects Georgia's desire for closer connections with Europe, positioning the party as forward-thinking and in line with the country's long-term objectives. Conversely, this claim could also be seen as a rebuttal to those who argue that the government has hindered the progress of integration.

This article showcases a widely used approach in political communication: utilizing data and visual narratives to substantiate achievements and establish trustworthiness. By associating accomplishments with tangible figures and showcasing them in a visually appealing video, Georgian Dream seeks to enhance its reputation as a competent and progressive political party, attracting voters who value concrete results and a sense of security.

In summary, the main objective of the post is to encourage voters to support the favorable outcomes achieved in the initial round of the election. This mobilization strategy serves a dual purpose of persuasion and motivation, employing both the assertive tone used in the post and strategic language devices.

**Post 12)** The post was shared by Georgian dream on October 7, 2024. The post reached 4 thousand likes as of December 1, 2024. The post includes the following statements;

"October 26 elections – the first elections without a second round! That means we must finish this fight on the same day, as there will be not second chance to completely crush the agency parties!

I address you, the more than 41,000 members of Georgian Dream, and most voters who care about a national, traditional, and at the same time European future, about truth and our homeland:

In exactly 10 days, we have a historic chance to pulverize all four agent parties in Georgia and tell their sponsors that it is the Georgian people who make decisions here, not someone else. We can continue to live in much better conditions, in peace and dignity, and work towards peacefully bringing back our Abkhazian and Ossetian fellow citizens and uniting the country!

On October 26, every person to the polls – for peace, for dignity, and for a much better life for every citizen!

Only

With peace,

With dignity,

With prosperity,

Toward Europe! “

This post is a passionate political message designed to rally support for the Georgian dream party in the upcoming October 26 elections. The tone is urgent and confrontational, portraying the election as a critical juncture where the destiny of Georgia hangs in the balance, with the outcome decided in a single decisive round. The use of the phrase "no second chance" emphasizes the need for immediate action to "finish the job" of eliminating opposition forces, referred to as "agent parties." these opposition parties are depicted as threats to Georgia's national sovereignty and values, allegedly influenced by foreign powers. By presenting the opposition in a negative light, the post aims to undermine their credibility and rally voters behind the notion that the Georgian dream is the sole party capable of safeguarding the nation against external interference.

The post also strongly appeals to patriotic sentiments by emphasizing the significance of upholding traditional, national, and European values. It positions Georgian Dream as the champion of these values, promising a future that balances national pride with European integration. This message is bolstered by the inclusion of the hashtags •Abkhaziaisgeorgia and •SouthOssetiaisGeorgia, which underscore the party's stance on territorial integrity and the desire for the peaceful reunification of disputed regions, Abkhazia and south Ossetia. This not only appeals to voters' sense of patriotism but

also promises a peaceful path forward to resolve longstanding territorial conflicts, portraying the Georgian Dream as the sole party that can achieve such a goal.

The language used in the post—terms like "truth," "homeland," "peace," "dignity," and "prosperity" are highly emotional and designed to resonate with voters' deepest concerns about the future of their country. It positions Georgian Dream as the guarantor of a brighter future, where the country can thrive, stay united, and continue its journey towards European integration without sacrificing its traditions or values. By portraying the upcoming elections as a pivotal moment to safeguard Georgia's future, the post instills a sense of urgency and moral obligation in voters to align themselves with the party.

This post serves as a call to action and a moral plea, seeking to unite support for the Georgian dream by invoking a sense of national pride, security, and the hope for a peaceful and prosperous future. It employs powerful nationalist rhetoric and emotional appeals to bolster the party's image as the guardian of Georgia's sovereignty and its aspirations for Europe.

**Table 3.** Categorizing Facebook Posts of Georgian dreamy party

<b>Posts/Categories</b>	<b>Content Type</b>	<b>Topic</b>	<b>Tone</b>
<b>Post 1</b>	Informative	Policies	Positive
<b>Post 2</b>	Informative	Policies	Positive
<b>Post 3</b>	Persuasive	Political Discourse	Positive
<b>Post 4</b>	Persuasive	Political Discourse	Neutral
<b>Post 5</b>	Persuasive	Political Discourse	Neutral
<b>Post 6</b>	Persuasive	Political Discourse	Positive
<b>Post 7</b>	Expressive	Social Issues	Positive
<b>Post 8</b>	Expressive	Policies	Positive
<b>Post 9</b>	Expressive	Political Discourse	Negative
<b>Post 10</b>	Persuasive	Political Discourse	Negative
<b>Post 11</b>	Informative	Policies	Positive
<b>Post 12</b>	Persuasive	Political Discourse	Positive

Source: Created by the author

#### **4.4. Spread of posters during World war II**

During World War II, posters played a crucial role in disseminating propaganda, effectively reaching a broad audience through strategic distribution. Governments positioned them in public areas like streets, train stations, bus stops, and schools, making sure they were visible to a large number of individuals. Factories and workplaces also became significant sites, with posters created to inspire employees and encourage productivity and safety. Community centers such as town halls and local establishments showcased posters to rally support for different initiatives, including war bonds and resource conservation. Extensive distribution campaigns were conducted to deliver posters to both rural and urban areas, ensuring that even remote communities were reached. Military bases and recruitment centers utilized posters to motivate soldiers and entice potential recruits. Educational establishments showcased posters intended to educate children and young adults about patriotism, their wartime responsibilities, and the significance of preserving the environment. The private sector also contributed, collaborating with governments to showcase posters in their businesses or integrate them into their advertisements. Propaganda offices, like the office of war information (owi) in the u.S., were responsible for creating and spreading posters, while local chapters took care of distributing them. By focusing on particular regions and demographics, governments maximized the reach and influence of their propaganda efforts. Posters were a widely used method of propaganda during World War II because they were an efficient, adaptable, and easily accessible means of conveying crucial information to vast numbers of people. Governments utilized posters as a means of disseminating information rapidly and effectively, as they could be prominently displayed in public areas such as streets, factories, schools, and train stations. Unlike radio or film, posters didn't rely on electricity or technology, making them easily accessible even in remote areas or regions with inadequate infrastructure.

Their visual attractiveness also played a role in their popularity. Eye-catching visuals, vibrant hues, and catchy phrases made posters highly visible and easily comprehensible, even for individuals with limited reading skills. This ensured they could capture attention and evoke emotions at a glance. Posters were frequently designed with particular groups in mind, such as women, laborers, or military personnel. For instance, 'we can do it!' motivated women to enter the workforce, while 'loose lips sink ships' stressed the significance of maintaining confidentiality during wartime.

In addition to their versatility, posters were also cost-effective. They could be easily manufactured and

distributed on a large scale, making them a practical choice for governments seeking to rally public support, boost recruitment, and promote conservation initiatives.

#### **4.5. Content analysis of posters from world war II**

##### **1. "I Want You for the U.S. Army, Enlist Now" (1941)**

The "i want you for the u.S. Army" poster employs strong, straightforward language to deliver a clear and urgent message, essentially stating that the nation requires the viewer's presence. The use of "i" creates a sense of familiarity and personal connection, as if uncle sam is addressing each person directly. The phrase "join now" acts as a strong prompt, creating a sense of urgency and making enlistment feel like an immediate and essential response to the country's crisis. The word "now" adds emphasis to the call, implying that immediate action is required.

The poster's memorable image of Uncle Sam, with his stern expression and finger pointing directly at the viewer, immediately grabs attention and establishes a direct connection with the audience. This incredibly impactful visual approach creates a strong sense of personal motivation for the viewer to take action. The incorporation of red, white, and blue reinforces the connection to American values and patriotism, while the layout ensures that both the text and the image are equally prominent, conveying the message clearly and with a sense of urgency. Uncle Sam's direct stare intensifies the feeling of personal duty, suggesting that the viewer is being directly addressed to contribute to their nation. The poster's main themes are patriotism, duty, and responsibility, which are all important aspects of its message. It portrays enlistment not only as a patriotic duty but also as a personal responsibility, motivating individuals to actively contribute to the war effort. The confrontational and urgent tone of both the text and image emphasizes the importance of service and highlights the notion that every citizen plays a vital role in safeguarding the nation.



**Figure 2** „Uncle Sam“

*James Montgomery Flagg (1941)*

## 2. "Defend Your Country" (1940)

The phrase “Defend Your Country” is a compelling and direct message that appeals to the viewer’s loyalty and sense of duty. The use of the imperative verb "defend" gives the poster a commanding tone, urging viewers to take immediate action in protecting their homeland. The simplicity of the phrase ensures the message is both easy to understand and hard to ignore. The imagery likely depicts soldiers in combat or a national symbol under threat, intensifying the emotional urgency of the message. This visual reinforces national identity, emphasizing that the fight is not just for political leaders or military commanders, but for the survival and safety of the nation and its people. Together, the visual and text appeal to both reason and emotion, pushing viewers to feel personally responsible for the defense of their country. The central theme is national defense and responsibility, framing participation in the war effort as an essential action to protect one’s home, family, and country. This call to action is designed to create a sense of urgency and fear, suggesting that the safety and well-being of citizens are at immediate risk. By appealing to the emotional leverage of defending one's country and home, the poster seeks to motivate immediate action.



**Figure 3** *Defend your country*  
*Franklin mint (1940)*

### **3. "Join the WAC Now!" (1943)**

The phrase "come on now!" is succinct yet impactful, with the word 'now' underscoring the importance of immediate participation. The use of "join" is not just an invitation but a direct appeal to the viewer's sense of responsibility. Specifically focusing on women, the mention of the women's army corps (wac) positions them as essential contributors to the war effort. The image most likely portrays a woman in a military uniform, displaying a sense of confidence or actively participating in tasks like communication or transportation. This image highlights that women are not just supporting the war effort at home but are actively engaged in it. It challenges conventional gender roles and portrays military service as a highly esteemed and significant position that can be undertaken by individuals of any gender. The powerful, confident image of the woman is meant to motivate women to see military service as empowering and essential. The poster promotes themes of empowerment, gender equality, and national duty, inspiring women to challenge societal norms and contribute to their country in a significant and active manner. The call to 'participate' suggests that both men and women are equally capable of taking on responsibility and contributing to the nation's victory. The message is not only about patriotism but also about gender empowerment, implying that wartime is a chance to redefine roles and make a significant impact.



**Figure 4** *Join The Wac Now*  
*Bradshaw Crandell (1943)*

#### 4. "To Victory" (1941)

The phrase 'to victory' is straightforward yet potent, inspiring hope and the expectation of triumph. It suggests that success is not a distant dream but a tangible and attainable objective. The term "victory" evokes a sense of patriotism, as it is closely linked to national pride and the successful conclusion of the war. This message is clear—there is no room for doubt—victory is the only acceptable outcome, and the viewer's support is crucial for achieving it.

The imagery likely emphasizes positive portrayals of soldiers, families, or national symbols, all moving together towards the shared objective of achieving victory. This type of visual emphasizes the feeling of moving forward and making progress, implying that success is not only attainable but also guaranteed as long as everyone works together. The incorporation of vibrant, eye-catching colors, such as red, white, and blue, intensifies the patriotic feeling and invigorates the audience.

The main ideas emphasized in this poster are positivity, togetherness, and advancement. Its objective is to maintain high spirits, underscoring that success is attainable and can be accomplished through joint endeavors. The poster aims to inspire individuals, motivating them to contribute in any capacity to guarantee the triumph of the war effort. It emphasizes the notion that every individual has a part to play in attaining national triumph.



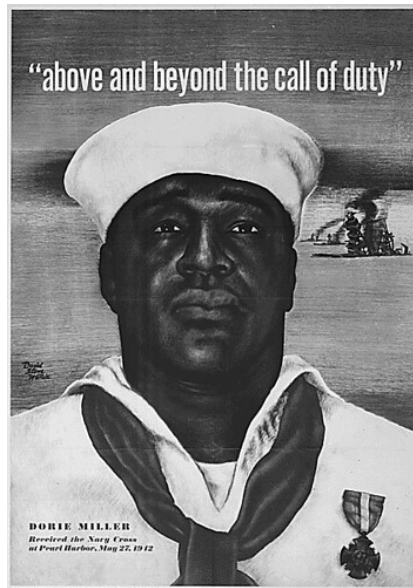
**Figure 5** *To victory*  
*Ken G. Hall (1941)*

### 5. "Above and Beyond the Call of Duty" (1943)

The phrase 'beyond the call of duty' implies extraordinary dedication and bravery. It highlights the actions of those who have gone above and beyond what was expected, portraying them as individuals who exemplify the utmost ideals of military service. The text suggests that extraordinary acts of bravery are not only acknowledged but also honored and celebrated. This also serves as a source of inspiration for others to strive for excellence.

The image likely portrays a courageous soldier, possibly risking their life to rescue fellow soldiers or accomplish a challenging task. The depiction of these acts underscores the bravery and selflessness necessary for undertaking such extraordinary endeavors. The visual complements the text, intensifying the emotional impact of the message of heroism. The respectful and reverent tone of the imagery underscores the noble nature of these actions.

This poster emphasizes the values of bravery, selflessness, and dignity. It serves as a tribute to individuals who have gone above and beyond, while also inspiring others to aim for similar exceptional actions. By highlighting these exceptional acts, the poster motivates soldiers to uphold the highest standards of duty and bravery.



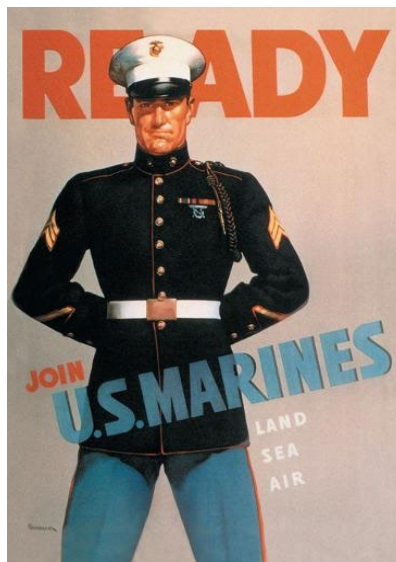
**Figure 6** *Above and beyond the call of duty*  
Doris Miller(1942)

## 6. "Ready, Join U.S. Marines" (1942)

'ready' is a concise and impactful word that immediately conveys the sense that the viewer is prepared for action, suggesting that they are capable of handling the responsibilities of military service. The phrase 'become a member of the United States Marines' is a straightforward and direct invitation, encouraging those who are 'prepared' to proceed by enlisting.

The visual representation is likely of a U.S. Marine in full uniform, representing discipline, strength, and preparedness. The marine is portrayed as a symbol of American values, representing bravery, resilience, and physical endurance. The visual representation, coupled with the term 'ready,' creates an image of the marine corps as a highly skilled and dynamic organization that demands individuals who are fully equipped and prepared to excel.

The main ideas conveyed in this poster are power, self-control, and preparedness. The tone implies that enlisting in the U.S. Marines is reserved for individuals who possess the determination and readiness to serve in one of the most rigorous and esteemed branches of the military. It appeals to individuals who possess confidence and self-assurance, inspiring them to embrace their potential and actively participate in this prestigious group.



**Figure 7** *Ready, join U.S. Marines*  
*Annete Redman (1942)*

## 7. "Let Us Go Forward Together" (1940)

The phrase 'let us move forward together' underscores the importance of collaboration and shared progress. It emphasizes the importance of teamwork, indicating that the war effort is a collective endeavor that necessitates the involvement of all individuals. The phrase 'let us' suggests that the outcome of the war hinges on the combined efforts of both soldiers and civilians, and it fosters a feeling of unity and camaraderie.

The visual likely depicts a variety of individuals—soldiers, laborers, families—coming together for a shared objective. This could also involve incorporating images of national symbols or flags to emphasize the concept of national unity. The artwork may depict a group of people marching in unison, representing a sense of unity and shared determination.

Themes of unity, shared responsibility, and advancement are at the core. The message aims to bring together individuals from diverse backgrounds and inspire them to contribute in any capacity to the war effort. It emphasizes the importance of unity and collective effort in achieving success in war, highlighting that every individual's contribution, regardless of its size, is crucial to attaining victory.



Figure 8 „let us go forward together“  
Winston Churchill (1945)

#### 8. "He Volunteered for Submarine Service" (1942)

The phrase 'he chose to serve in submarine duty' highlights the volunteer's courageous decision and individual preference. By using 'volunteered,' the poster highlights that the individual made a deliberate, brave choice to take on a particularly risky role, which is an act of honor and sacrifice. The image most likely portrays a submarine or a sailor serving in the submarine service, possibly in a thrilling or courageous moment, emphasizing the risks associated with this profession. The visual underscores the bravery and selflessness demanded by this hazardous occupation, underscoring the courage of those who willingly serve in this perilous region of military duty.

The main ideas in this passage are bravery, selflessness, and valor. The poster emphasizes that serving in the submarine force is not just a job, but a noble calling that demands immense bravery. It appeals to individuals who view themselves as capable of such bravery and promotes the notion that these volunteers are shining examples of American heroism.



**Figure 9** „*He volunteered for submarine service*“  
*Jon Whitcomb (1942)*

#### 9. "Sub Spotted—Let 'Em Have It!" (1943)

The command 'let 'em have it!' is assertive and demanding, compelling prompt and decisive action. The term 'sub spotted' conveys a sense of heightened tension and anticipation, suggesting that the enemy is in close proximity and immediate action is necessary. The sense of urgency in the language emphasizes the need for immediate action in the midst of a dangerous situation.

The image most likely portrays a submarine or a naval battle, showcasing the engagement between a vessel and an enemy ship. The setting is crafted to elicit a feeling of urgency and aggression, visually communicating the necessity for prompt and decisive action. The arrangement of text and visuals collaborates to generate a feeling of movement and importance.

This poster effectively communicates themes of aggression, vigilance, and decisiveness. The message aims to motivate prompt action and decisive responses, underscoring the significance of military preparedness and the necessity of assertiveness in confronting enemy threats. It demands prompt action, appealing to individuals who possess a strong sense of responsibility and a pressing need for urgency.



**Figure 10** „Let Them Have It“  
*Bernard Pernil (1943)*

#### 10. "Our Homes Are in Danger Now" (1942)

The phrase 'our homes are in danger now' employs fear as the main driving force. The use of 'danger' and 'now' underscores the urgency of the situation, portraying the war as an imminent threat to one's personal well-being. This appeal to the viewer's emotions seeks to evoke a feeling of urgency and a sense of duty to safeguard what is most personal.

The image likely shows people in danger or important landmarks being in danger, visually emphasizing that the war is no longer just a distant issue but something that impacts everyone. The visual representation aims to instill a sense of fear while simultaneously inspiring action, compelling individuals to protect their homes and loved ones by actively engaging in the war effort.

This poster focuses on themes of fear, security, and the need for immediate action. The purpose of the propaganda is to elicit a powerful emotional reaction by portraying the war as an immediate and personal danger, compelling citizens to protect their homes. The message highlights the importance of collective involvement in ensuring the safety and security of both individuals and the nation.



**Figure 11** „Our homes are in danger“  
*Josep Renau (1942)*

### 11. "We Can Do It!" (1943)

**Textual Elements:** "We can do it!" is a short, simple, and highly motivating slogan. The statement is positive and empowering, conveying a sense of collective capability. It encourages the viewer to have faith in their capacity to make a difference in the war and highlights the importance of unity and strength.

**Visual Strategies:** The mental image of Rosie the Riveter, standing tall and flexing her arm, represents strength, resilience, and unwavering determination. The visual is striking and confident, conveying the message that women can also contribute significantly to the war effort, especially in industrial labor. The blend of text and visual obstacles challenges conventional gender roles and promotes empowerment.

**Themes:** The poster emphasizes themes of empowerment, gender equality, and resilience. It serves as a call to action for women, urging them to actively engage in the workforce and contribute to the war effort. The powerful, self-assured image of Rosie underscores that women are equally capable as men, and the slogan motivates all women to take initiative.



**Figure 12** „We can do it“  
*J. Howard Miller (1943)*

## 12. "Get a War Job" (1943)

Textual elements: We will not tolerate any method that does not include line breaks The word 'get' emphasizes the urgency of finding employment to support the war effort, implying that immediate action is required. The phrase suggests that there is a pressing requirement for workers to fill positions that are crucial for the success of the military.

Visual techniques: The image most likely portrays women working in factories or other industrial areas, their hands actively involved in tasks that contribute to the military's efforts. The visual highlights the significance of labor on the home front, underscoring the crucial role workers play in manufacturing the resources necessary to secure victory in the war.

Themes: This poster focuses on the themes of work, responsibility, and importance. It is appealing to civilians, especially women, to take on industrial roles and contribute to the war effort through their work. The sense of urgency in the language and the portrayal of workers emphasizes the importance of filling these positions for the success of the war effort, urging everyone to contribute their efforts.



**Figure 13** „Get a war job“  
Lawrence Wilbur (1944)

**Table 4.** Categorizing World War 2 Posters

Posts/Categories	Content Type	Topic	Tone
Post 1	Persuasive	Political Discourse	Positive
Post 2	Persuasive	Political Discourse	Neutral
Post 3	Persuasive	Social Issues	Positive
Post 4	Persuasive	Political Discourse	Positive
Post 5	Persuasive	Political Discourse	Positive
Post 6	Persuasive	Political Discourse	Positive
Post 7	Expressive	Political Discourse	Positive
Post 8	Informative	Political Discourse	Positive
Post 9	Persuasive	Political Discourse	Negative
Post 10	Persuasive	Social issues	Negative
Post 11	Persuasive	Social issues	Positive
Post 12	Persuasive	Social Issues	Positive

*Source: Created by the Author*

## 5. Content analysis results of Georgian Dream Party's Facebook posts.

The analysis of the Georgian Dream Party's Facebook posts during the 2024 pre-election period demonstrates a comprehensive and calculated strategy in terms of political messaging, with the goal of mobilizing support and influencing public opinion. By sharing these posts, the party employed various emotional, cultural, and geopolitical strategies to sway voters, instill a sense of urgency, and establish itself as the sole viable choice for the future of Georgia.

One of the main themes that emerged from the posts was the party's focus on promoting peace and maintaining stability. The party's messages, including *'No to war!'* were widely shared and discussed among its members. *'Choose harmony! Cast your vote for the 41st election,'* tapped into deeply rooted fears about Georgia's geopolitical situation, particularly its strained relationship with Russia and the unresolved territorial conflicts involving Abkhazia and South Ossetia. These posts aimed to provide reassurance to voters by emphasizing that the Georgian Dream was the party most capable of preserving peace and averting conflicts that could potentially escalate into war. By linking the party to the preservation of peace, the posts tapped into public concerns about conflict and depicted Georgian Dream as a guardian of national sovereignty and security. This message was consistent across multiple posts, emphasizing peace as a fundamental pillar of the party's platform, alongside the promise of stability and a secure future for Georgia. Alongside advocating for peace, the posts extensively highlighted the significance of national identity and pride. The video titled *'My Georgia is here'* showcases this method, employing music and visuals to create a feeling of togetherness and a shared sense of national identity. By presenting different parts of Georgia and emphasizing the cultural diversity of the nation, the Georgian Dream aimed to depict the country as a unified entity, where all citizens—regardless of their geographical location or age—shared a common identity and destiny. This message of unity was also emphasized through references to Georgian customs, the passing down of traditions from one generation to the next, and the vision of Georgia as a land where shared values are cherished. The post highlighted Georgian Dream as the guardian of this national identity, underscoring that the future of Georgia hinges on safeguarding its heritage while progressing collectively. The addition of children, parents, and grandparents in the campaign visuals enhanced the emotional impact, implying that the choices made in the upcoming election would have far-reaching consequences for the future of Georgia.

The party also cleverly positioned its message around the idea of European integration, a topic that resonated strongly with Georgian voters, especially those who dream of Georgia joining the European Union. Posts such as *'With peace, dignity, and prosperity—towards Europe'* aligned the party

with the objective of European integration while also assuring voters that this process would not undermine Georgian traditions or values. This dual messaging was particularly important for attracting conservative voters who might have concerns about some of the social changes associated with the EU, such as liberal attitudes toward LGBTQ+ rights. By positioning itself as a party that could strike a balance between embracing modernization and preserving tradition, the Georgian Dream aimed to appeal to both pro-European voters and those who were more hesitant about the cultural changes that come with EU membership. The party's strategy of assuring voters about preserving Georgian cultural values while moving closer to European integration was thoughtfully crafted to attract support from various demographic groups.

Although the Georgian Dream promised peace, stability, and progress toward Europe, the party also launched aggressive and direct attacks against its rivals. Posts like *'Campaign falsity – "the process of European integration is halted" – is intensifying during the pre-election period'* used polarizing and confrontational language to vilify opposition parties, accusing them of being agents of foreign influence and undermining Georgia's national interests. The opposition leaders were given derogatory labels like *'killer and torturer,' 'rubles-funded criminal,'* and *'traitor,'* portraying them as morally corrupt and politically threatening. This rhetoric not only discredited the opposition but also united supporters in the belief that the Georgian Dream was the sole party capable of safeguarding Georgia's sovereignty and values. The posts depicted the opposition parties as divided and unable to effectively guide the country toward its objectives, particularly in terms of European integration. In contrast, Georgian Dream emerged as the protector of national unity and a steady guide in the pursuit of progress. A significant element of the Georgian Dream's messaging was its emphasis on nationalism, particularly in relation to the ongoing territorial disputes over Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Posts such as *'October 26 elections – the first elections without a second round!'* portrayed the upcoming elections as a significant event where Georgians had the opportunity to decisively reject foreign influence and reaffirm their national sovereignty. The post stressed the significance of attaining a unified Georgia and pledged to strive for the peaceful reunification of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. By employing the language of unity and territorial integrity, Georgian Dream aimed to resonate with voters' sense of nationalism, positioning itself as the party that could safeguard Georgia's borders and foster peace within its territory. The inclusion of hashtags such as *#AbkhaziaIsGeorgia* and *#SouthOssetiaIsGeorgia* reinforced this message and made it clear that the party's stance on these issues was non-negotiable.

The overall tone of the Georgian Dream's posts was one of urgency and moral conviction. The campaign depicted the election as a pivotal juncture for Georgia's future, leaving no room for doubt or

the possibility of reconsideration. Phrases such as *'No second chance'* and *'Complete this battle on the same day'* emphasized the notion that the future of the nation would be shaped by the result of the election. This sense of urgency was intended to motivate supporters and prompt them to vote, underscoring the importance of the election and the need to act. The party's posts also often invoked strong emotional language, such as *"peace," "dignity,"* and *"prosperity,"* to appeal to voters' aspirations for a better future—one that would be secure, prosperous, and aligned with European values without compromising Georgian traditions.

In summary, the analysis of Georgian Dream's Facebook posts demonstrates a complex and nuanced strategy in their political communication. The party's campaign messages aimed to evoke strong emotions in voters, employing themes of peace, national unity, and European integration while simultaneously using divisive language to criticize rival parties. By positioning itself as the sole guardian of Georgia's sovereignty and traditions, Georgian Dream aimed to solidify its support base while also attracting a diverse range of voters. The posts crafted a narrative that framed the upcoming elections as a critical moment in Georgia's history, where the right choice would ensure peace, stability, and progress, while the wrong choice could lead to national disintegration and foreign manipulation. This messaging strategy was designed to not only shape voter opinions but also to mobilize the electorate, ensuring a resounding victory for Georgian Dream in the 2024 elections.

## **6. Content Analysis Results of posters from World War II**

The analysis of propaganda posters from World War II reveals their significant influence in shaping public sentiment, promoting national cohesion, and rallying the population for wartime endeavors. These posters acted as an influential medium for governments to convey crucial messages to a wide range of people, employing visually appealing designs and succinct text to shape behavior and perspectives. Propaganda, especially during times of war, serves as a powerful tool for mass persuasion, with the goal of uniting citizens and inspiring them to actively support the national cause. The primary objective of these posters was to mobilize public involvement in the war effort. Whether by joining the military, dedicating labor, or supporting national industries, the posters sought to foster a shared sense of duty and responsibility. By evoking a variety of emotional responses—such as fear, pride, urgency, and patriotism, these visuals aimed to prompt immediate action and portray participation as both a responsibility and a moral obligation. The posters utilized national symbols, traditional gender roles, and persuasive calls to action that struck a chord with the public's feelings of loyalty, identity, and social duty. The posters also played a crucial role in maintaining morale during the war. By portraying war as

a noble cause, these messages maintained the morale of the nation, even during challenging times. For instance, posters such as "to victory" and "we can do it!" conveyed optimism and hope, portraying victory as attainable and encouraging individuals to actively participate in achieving it. This feeling of advancement and togetherness was vital in keeping the public's support and ensuring that war-related duties, like manufacturing and recruiting, were accomplished efficiently. The focus on collective effort—whether in military service or in industrial labor—helped individuals feel that their contribution was valuable and essential to achieve success.

Alongside unity and action, the posters also played a significant role in shaping societal norms and roles. For instance, the enlistment of women into wartime labor, as depicted in the famous 'rosie the riveter' poster, defied conventional gender norms and depicted women as equally competent in supporting the war effort. These posters not only motivated women to enter the workforce but also aimed to empower them, emphasizing their crucial role in the military-industrial complex. In a similar vein, the "he volunteered for submarine service" poster elevated acts of service, portraying them as extraordinary and heroic, thereby motivating others to strive for similar acts of bravery. Propaganda's function during wartime encompassed the deliberate utilization of fear, urgency, and threat. Posters such as "our homes are in danger now" employed fear as a driving force, depicting the war as an imminent and individual risk to the safety and well-being of families. The strategic deployment of emotional appeals aimed at prompting immediate action from the public, emphasizing the gravity of the war and the necessity for each person to contribute to the defense of their nation. This approach not only encouraged enlistment and work but also shaped the war as a battle for survival, making every action taken in support of the war appear crucial for national security. These posters were part of a comprehensive propaganda campaign designed to cultivate a shared national identity, garnering broad public support for wartime policies, and bolstering the country's chances of achieving military and economic triumph. They were utilized as a means for the state to shape public opinion, uphold official narratives, and quell dissent. By utilizing visually striking and emotionally evocative messages, World War II propaganda posters played a crucial role in uniting the public with government goals and guaranteeing the triumph of wartime endeavors.

In summary, World War II propaganda posters played a crucial role in the war effort, influencing public opinion, fostering unity, and motivating individuals in different aspects of society. They utilized emotional appeal, national symbols, and direct calls to action to foster a collective sense of responsibility, while also shaping social norms and gender roles. These posters were not just advertisements, they were

influential tools for shaping public opinion and guaranteeing that the war effort had the widest and most active involvement from the public.

## **7. Comparative analysis**

The comparison between historical propaganda, as exemplified by World War II posters, and modern social media propaganda, drawn from my research on the Georgian Dream Party's Facebook posts, reveals both continuity and significant shifts in how propaganda is produced, distributed, and received by the public. During World War II, propaganda was widely disseminated through traditional media outlets such as posters, radio broadcasts, and movies. The famous posters, including *'I want you for the U.S. Army,' 'Defend your country,'* and *'We can do it!'* employed straightforward language and striking visuals to evoke feelings of patriotism, duty, and a sense of urgency. The messages were usually one-sided communication from the state to the public, with the intention of rallying large groups of people for a shared national purpose. The visual impact of these posters—utilizing powerful symbols like Uncle Sam or Rosie the Riveter—was intended to foster a sense of shared responsibility. The posters, with their straightforward, succinct messaging, sought to bring the nation together and were intended to be universally comprehensible, regardless of social or demographic distinctions. The extensive utilization of these propaganda techniques played a significant role in cultivating a sense of togetherness, instilling in individuals a feeling of belonging to a greater whole, frequently invoking national identity as a rallying point.

In contrast, contemporary social media propaganda operates within a significantly different media landscape. The Georgian Dream Party's utilization of Facebook posts and the digital campaigns surrounding Brexit exemplify how digital platforms have revolutionized the way political communication is conducted. Unlike the widespread popularity of World War II posters, social media propaganda can be tailored to specific groups by analyzing detailed data, resulting in highly personalized content. Political campaigns can utilize data to create personalized messages that align with the unique beliefs, preferences, and concerns of specific voter groups. This can involve focusing on age groups, specific regions, or political affiliations, making it much more targeted and strategic than historical propaganda. Additionally, the interactive nature of social media contributes another dimension to the propaganda process. Facebook posts, for example, enable immediate feedback, interaction, and sharing, which magnifies the impact of a message and allows it to develop over time. Social media users inadvertently contribute to the spread of propaganda, frequently unaware of the underlying manipulative motives behind it. By receiving likes, shares, and comments, the message gains more visibility,

potentially going viral and reaching a wider audience beyond the initial target group. The interactive and ever-changing nature of social media has made propaganda more fluid and challenging to regulate, as it spreads quickly across networks and can be adjusted through digital algorithms to ensure its relevance and resonance with the audience.

The main distinction between the two lies in the visual and textual approaches they employ. World War II posters frequently utilized striking visuals and concise text to communicate straightforward messages, employing national symbols and emotional appeals that were universally understood. These posters adhered to the limitations of their medium, which made it difficult to modify or customize them after they were printed. On social media platforms, the integration of text, visuals, and multimedia content (videos, memes, interactive ads) enables a wider and more diverse range of messages, which can be continuously modified, refined, and evaluated. With the implementation of testing and the capability to monitor the performance of digital ads, modern propaganda is not only responsive but also highly flexible. This adaptability enables campaigns to fine-tune their messaging in real time, guaranteeing maximum engagement and emotional resonance.

Despite their contrasting nature, both World War II posters and social media propaganda have a shared objective: to shape public perception and actions. Both types of campaigns seek to gather support, whether it's for wartime endeavors, political movements, or social causes. World War II posters, through their ability to evoke strong emotions and promote a sense of national pride, were effective in fostering a unified and collective mindset, as evidenced by their impact on recruitment campaigns and civilian labor initiatives. In contemporary social media propaganda, the messages may be tailored to individuals, but their goal remains the same—to shape collective outcomes and results by utilizing emotional appeals to encourage individuals to take action. World War II posters utilized fear, pride, and duty as their main themes, while social media propaganda relies on fear, anger, and hope, frequently employing divisive language and exaggerated stories to elicit intense emotional reactions. The urgency and call to action, whether seen in the World War II poster's *"Let us go forward together!"* or the targeted Georgian Dream Party ads urging voters to *"Win only with dignity,"* illustrate how both forms of propaganda emphasize immediacy and personal responsibility in a crisis. Although both historical and modern propaganda successfully influence and mobilize people, the distinction lies in their extent and consequences. World War II propaganda, although extensive, was primarily confined to national boundaries, restricted by the limitations of traditional media. In contrast, social media propaganda has the power to transcend national boundaries, impacting individuals worldwide, often in real time.

Nevertheless, this extensive reach is not without its complications. Contemporary social media propaganda tends to be more fragmented, which may contribute to heightened polarization and the creation of echo chambers where individuals are only exposed to information that aligns with their pre-existing beliefs. Unlike the propaganda of World War II, which was persuasive but operated within a more controlled and centralized media environment, contemporary social media propaganda is more decentralized and difficult to regulate.

In summary, the shift from historical to modern propaganda signifies a change from mass, one-sided communication to personalized, interactive, and flexible campaigns. Although emotional appeal and manipulative intent persist, social media has added new layers of personalization, immediacy, and global reach, making contemporary propaganda more potent and harder to control. Despite the differences in medium, the underlying objectives of both forms—influencing public sentiment and driving collective action—remain unchanged, underscoring the enduring potency of propaganda in various media environments.

## **8. General Discussion of Results**

Unlike conventional propaganda, which primarily used static mediums like posters, the Georgian Dream party's Facebook posts showcased a distinctive capability to actively involve audiences in real-time interactions. This interactivity, such as the capability to modify messaging based on user feedback (e.g., through likes, shares, and comments), is a relatively recent development absent from historical contexts like propaganda during World War II. This flexibility makes contemporary propaganda more dynamic and customized, encouraging greater audience involvement. Previous research on social media propaganda tends to focus on delivering specific messages, but this study emphasizes the importance of continuously improving and adapting to audience feedback in order to maximize its influence. Georgian Dream's capacity to adapt narratives in real-time, responding to opposition or current events, demonstrates a strategic agility that surpasses the static and historical nature of traditional propaganda campaigns.

While historical propaganda typically concentrated on patriotic or nationalistic themes, the Georgian Dream party's campaign effortlessly combines these traditional appeals with contemporary political goals, including the integration of Europe. Previous studies often focus on either traditional or modern themes separately, but this research demonstrates how the Georgian Dream party combines both, acting as a guardian of Georgian customs while also promoting progress and modernization. This duality is especially noticeable in their messaging about European Union integration, assuring voters that cultural values will be protected even as the nation progresses. This combination of historical and modern themes

is a unique approach that appeals to a wider range of voters, addressing the concerns of both conservative and progressive individuals—a behavior that is not often seen in previous studies.

Despite the fact that propaganda has always aimed to undermine opposition, this study reveals that the Georgian Dream party utilized aggressive and divisive language, which was amplified by social media. Labels such as "killer and torturer" or "rubles-funded criminal" not only demonize opponents but also promote divisive interactions among users, fostering an "us vs. Them" mentality. Previous research has focused on political polarization, but this study highlights how the algorithmic amplification of divisive content on platforms like Facebook intensifies this issue. This behavior demonstrates how social media algorithms are being used to manipulate people's opinions and create echo chambers, which is a problem that was not seen in traditional media. By incorporating emotional appeal and utilizing multiple modes of communication, the campaign aimed to create a more impactful and engaging experience for the audience.

While emotional appeal is a common element in propaganda, the Georgian Dream Party's utilization of multimedia—including visuals, music, hashtags, and storytelling—provides a more engaging and immersive experience compared to traditional historical posters. Posts such as "my georgia is here" utilized not only visuals but also compelling stories to forge a stronger emotional bond with voters. Previous studies on historical propaganda mainly concentrate on single-mode approaches, such as textual or visual content, while this research highlights the significance of multimodal strategies in modern contexts.

A notable departure from traditional methods is the meticulousness with which the Georgian Dream party specifically targeted its intended audience. Propaganda, such as World War II posters, was widely distributed to large groups of people without much variation. In contrast, the Georgian Dream party employed Facebook's algorithms and analytics to customize messages for specific demographics. This tailored approach, considering the varying preferences of different voter groups (e.g., rural versus urban voters or younger versus older generations), showcases how modern technology has revolutionized the reach and impact of propaganda. Previous researchs on social media propaganda has primarily focused on targeted advertising, but this study delves into the specific application of these methods in Georgia, shedding light on how political parties modify global strategies to suit the country's unique circumstances, providing valuable new perspectives on the subject.

The Georgian Dream Party's extensive use of hashtags like #abkhaziaisgeorgia and #southossetiaisgeorgia highlights a unique form of digital activism that has been incorporated into their

political propaganda. These hashtags not only foster a sense of togetherness but also rally online supporters to amplify the party's message, transforming individual posts into viral campaigns.

While previous research has focused on the role of hashtag activism in social movements, this study sheds light on its use within state-sponsored propaganda, an area that has received less attention but is indicative of the growing convergence between grassroots and institutional communication tactics.

## CHAPTER 5

### RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Based on the findings of this research, several recommendations and suggestions can be offered to enhance understanding and practices concerning modern propaganda strategies. These suggestions are directed at future research, political actors, social media platforms, and policymakers, with the aim of fostering a healthier and more transparent political communication environment.

For future research, expanding the geographical scope of studies would be highly beneficial. Examining similar political contexts in other regions, such as Eastern Europe, the Balkans, or Central Asia, could provide valuable insights into the shared or divergent trends in digital propaganda across comparable geopolitical landscapes. Additionally, future studies could incorporate quantitative methodologies, such as analyzing engagement metrics, user demographics, or conducting sentiment analysis, to complement qualitative findings. This mixed-methods approach would provide a more robust understanding of the reach and impact of propaganda strategies.

Another area for exploration is the strategies employed by opposition parties or non-state actors in countering government-led propaganda. Research in this area could reveal the dynamics of resistance within the digital propaganda ecosystem, adding a new layer to the understanding of political communication in contested spaces. Furthermore, investigating the long-term effects of propaganda on voter behavior, public opinion, and democratic institutions could shed light on the enduring consequences of digital manipulation.

Political actors and campaign strategists could benefit from adopting more ethical approaches to digital campaigning. While emotional appeals and divisive narratives can be effective, they carry significant societal risks, including polarization and loss of public trust. Campaigns should emphasize transparency and factual accuracy in their messaging. Additionally, positive messaging that promotes unity, shared values, and progress could prove more beneficial in the long run, as it reduces societal tensions and enhances political credibility.

Political campaigns should also aim to diversify their approaches, blending digital strategies with traditional media and grassroots outreach. Such a comprehensive approach ensures broader reach, especially to demographics that are less engaged online. Investing in public digital literacy campaigns could also be a valuable contribution by political actors, helping citizens critically evaluate online content and recognize manipulative propaganda.

Social media platforms have a critical role in moderating and mitigating the spread of harmful propaganda. Enhanced content moderation systems and improved algorithms to identify hate speech and misinformation are necessary steps. Transparency is another key area where platforms should focus, particularly by requiring political actors to disclose sponsorships, funding, and targeting criteria for their advertisements. Additionally, these platforms should actively support research efforts by providing anonymized data to researchers studying the dynamics of digital propaganda.

By implementing these recommendations, political actors, social media platforms, and policymakers can contribute to a more transparent and democratic digital environment. Future research can continue to illuminate the evolving complexities of modern propaganda, ultimately enhancing public awareness and the resilience of democratic institutions.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

The study offers a thorough examination of propaganda's development, tracing its origins back to ancient times and examining its current presence on social media platforms. By analyzing the Facebook activities of the Georgian Dream Party during the pre-election period and comparing them to World War II propaganda posters, this research provides valuable insights into the enduring effectiveness of persuasive communication techniques and their ability to adapt to new media platforms.

**Objective 1** was accomplished by conducting a theoretical examination of propaganda's historical development and its incorporation into contemporary communication channels. This study uncovered that although the methods and means of communication have undergone substantial changes, the fundamental tenets of propaganda—delivering tailored messages, evoking emotions, and employing strategic framing—have persisted throughout history. The shift from traditional print and broadcast media to the interactive and algorithm-driven realm of social media has significantly increased the dissemination and influence of propaganda, particularly in swaying public opinion and shaping political conversations.

**Objective 2** was tackled by examining and classifying the propaganda techniques used by the Georgian Dream Party on Facebook, and then comparing these strategies to historical examples from World War II posters. The results emphasized both commonalities, such as the utilization of nationalistic motifs, emotional appeals, and calls to action, as well as distinctions, such as the immediacy, interactivity, and customization of digital propaganda. In the past, historical propaganda primarily used static images and broad messages, but now, modern social media propaganda utilizes data-driven personalization and fast dissemination to target specific groups of people.

**Objective 3** investigated the influence of the Georgian Dream Party's social media propaganda on public sentiment and political discussions. The study revealed that, similar to historical propaganda, contemporary efforts shape voter opinions and rally support, but with the added intricacies of echo chambers, algorithmic biases, and the capacity to facilitate direct interaction. By examining historical and digital examples, this study highlights the growing complexity of propaganda in the digital era and its potential impact on democratic processes and societal unity.

In summary, this study adds to our knowledge of propaganda's lasting significance and its ability to evolve and remain relevant in different contexts. It underscores the importance of understanding its workings and consequences, especially in the realm of social media, where the distinction between genuine information and manipulation is becoming increasingly blurred. The results indicate that while

propaganda continues to be an influential means of political communication, its uncontrolled dissemination presents obstacles to informed participation, openness, and confidence in democratic systems.

## REFERENCES

1. Jowett, G. S., & O'Donnell, V. (2019). *Propaganda & Persuasion* (7th ed.). SAGE Publications.
2. Taylor, P. M. (2014). *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda from the Ancient World to the Present Era* (3rd ed.). Manchester University Press.
3. Ellul, J. (1973). *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*. Vintage Books.
4. Benkler, Y., Faris, R., & Roberts, H. (2018). *Network Propaganda: Manipulation, Disinformation, and Radicalization in American Politics*. Oxford University Press.
5. Bradshaw, S., & Howard, P. N. (2019). *The Global Disinformation Order: 2019 Global Inventory of Organized Social Media Manipulation*. Oxford University Press.
6. Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2017). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (5th ed.). SAGE Publications.
7. Krippendorff, K. (2018). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* (4th ed.). SAGE Publications.
8. Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2020). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook* (4th ed.). SAGE Publications.
9. Neuendorf, K. A. (2017). *The Content Analysis Guidebook* (2nd ed.). SAGE Publications.
10. Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2019). *Thematic Analysis: A Practical Guide*. SAGE Publications.
11. Yin, R. K. (2018). *Case Study Research and Applications: Design and Methods* (6th ed.). SAGE Publications.
12. Bennett, W. L., & Segerberg, A. (2019). *The Logic of Connective Action: Digital Media and the Personalization of Contentious Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
13. Cinelli, M., Quattrocioni, W., Galeazzi, A., Valensise, C. M., Brugnoti, E., Schmidt, A. L., ... & Scala, A. (2020). *The COVID-19 social media infodemic*. *Scientific Reports*, 10(1), 1-10.
14. Cull, N. J. (2018). *Public Diplomacy: Foundations for Global Engagement in the Digital Age*. Polity Press.
15. Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58.

16. Farkas, J., & Schou, J. (2020). Fake news as a floating signifier: Hegemony, antagonism and the politics of falsehood. *Media, Culture & Society*, 42(3), 441-457.
17. Herf, J. (2018). *The Jewish Enemy: Nazi Propaganda during World War II and the Holocaust*. Harvard University Press.
18. Howard, P. N., Bolsover, G., Kollanyi, B., Bradshaw, S., & Neudert, L. M. (2018). Junk news and bots during the US election: What were Michigan voters sharing over Twitter? *Data and Society*, 3.
19. Jowett, G. S., & O'Donnell, V. (2019). *Propaganda & Persuasion* (7th ed.). Sage Publications.
20. Kreiss, D. (2016). *Prototype Politics: Technology-Intensive Campaigning and the Data of Democracy*. Oxford University Press.
21. Marwick, A., & Lewis, R. (2017). Media manipulation and disinformation online. *Data & Society*.
22. Snow, N. (2020). *Propaganda, Inc.: Selling America's Culture to the World*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
23. Tucker, J. A., Guess, A., Barberá, P., Vaccari, C., Siegel, A., Sanovich, S., & Nyhan, B. (2018). Social media, political polarization, and political disinformation: A review of the scientific literature. *Policy & Internet*, 10(2), 153-173.
24. Vosoughi, S., Roy, D., & Aral, S. (2018). The spread of true and false news online. *Science*, 359(6380), 1146-1151.
25. Tandoc, E. C., Lim, Z. W., & Ling, R. (2018). Defining "Fake News": A typology of scholarly definitions. *Digital Journalism*, 6(2), 137-153.
26. Pennycook, G., & Rand, D. G. (2019). Fighting misinformation on social media using crowdsourced judgments of news source quality. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 116(7), 2521-2526.
27. Bakir, V., & McStay, A. (2018). Fake news and the economy of emotions: Problems, causes, solutions. *Digital Journalism*, 6(2), 154-175.
28. Vosoughi, S., Roy, D., & Aral, S. (2018). The spread of true and false news online. *Science*, 359(6380), 1146-1151.

29. Guess, A., Nagler, J., & Tucker, J. (2019). Less than you think: Prevalence and predictors of fake news dissemination on Facebook. *Science Advances*, *5*(1), eaau4586.
30. Lazer, D. M. J., Baum, M. A., Grinberg, N., Friedland, L., Joseph, K., Hobbs, W. R., & Mattsson, C. (2018). The science of fake news. *Science*, *359*(6380), 1094-1096.
31. Farkas, J., & Schou, J. (2019). Post-Truth, Fake News and Democracy: Mapping the Politics of Falsehood. *Routledge*.
32. Sunstein, C. R. (2017). #Republic: Divided Democracy in the Age of Social Media. *Princeton University Press*.
33. Tandoc, E. C., Jenkins, J., & Craft, S. (2019). Fake news as a critical incident in journalism. *Journalism Practice*, *13*(6), 673-689.
34. Flynn, D. J., Nyhan, B., & Reifler, J. (2017). The Nature and Origins of Misperceptions: Understanding False and Unsupported Beliefs About Politics. *Political Psychology*, *38*(S1), 127-150.
35. Zuboff, S. (2019). *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism: The Fight for a Human Future at the New Frontier of Power*. PublicAffairs.
36. Baran, S. J., & Davis, D. K. (2011). *Mass communication theory: Foundations, ferment, and future* (7th ed.). Wadsworth Cengage Learning.
37. Biased, M., & Seelye, K. Q. (2014). *Social media as a propaganda tool: A case study on Brexit*. *Journal of Digital Media & Policy*, *8*(1), 68-89. [https://doi.org/10.1386/jdmp.8.1.68\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1386/jdmp.8.1.68_1)
38. Burke, K. (1969). *A rhetoric of motives*. University of California Press.
39. Cassino, D. (2016). *The rise of populism and social media's role in it*. *Journal of Political Communication*, *16*(3), 157-172. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2016.1204268>
40. Daugherty, M., & Wilson, M. L. (2013). *Political communication and the media's influence on public opinion*. *Communication Quarterly*, *61*(1), 63-85. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01463373.2012.741800>
41. Eisend, M. (2015). *Social media as a propaganda tool: The case of the U.S. presidential election*. *Media Studies Journal*, *11*(2), 147-160. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15377857.2015.763025>

42. Giddens, A. (2009). *Sociology* (6th ed.). Polity Press.
43. Goebbels, J. (2003). *The role of propaganda in modern warfare*. *Journal of Historical Politics*, 7(2), 220-235. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.histpol.2003.04.007>
44. Jowett, G. S., & O'Donnell, V. (2012). *Propaganda and persuasion* (5th ed.). SAGE Publications.
45. Lippmann, W. (1922). *Public opinion*. Harcourt Brace.
46. Manley, A. (2019). *The art of persuasion in the digital age: Comparing WWII posters with social media campaigns*. *Journal of Communication and Media Studies*, 22(3), 105-123. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcms.2019.05.003>
47. McLuhan, M. (1964). *Understanding media: The extensions of man*. MIT Press.
48. Morozov, E. (2011). *The net delusion: The dark side of Internet freedom*. PublicAffairs.
49. Noelle-Neumann, E. (1974). *The spiral of silence: A theory of public opinion*. University of Chicago Press.
50. Orwell, G. (1949). *1984*. Harvill Secker.
51. Shapiro, M. (2016). *Digital propaganda and the future of global politics*. New York University Press.
52. Stempel, G. H., & Westley, B. H. (1989). *Research methods in mass communication*. Prentice-Hall.
53. Zaller, J. (1992). *The nature and origins of mass opinion*. Cambridge University Press.
54. Allcott, H., & Gentzkow, M. (2017). Social media and fake news in the 2016 election. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 31(2), 211–236. <https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.31.2.211>
55. Bastos, M. T., & Mercea, D. (2019). The Brexit botnet and user-generated hyperpartisan news. *Social Science Computer Review*, 37(1), 38–54. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0894439317734157>
56. Chadwick, A. (2017). *The hybrid media system: Politics and power* (2nd ed.). Oxford University Press.
57. Freelon, D., Marwick, A., & Kreiss, D. (2020). False equivalencies: Online activism from left to right. *Science*, 369(6508), 1197–1201. <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.abb2428>
58. Hagen, L., & Heidenreich, T. (2022). Misinformation and polarization in social media: Critical connections and mitigation strategies. *Communication Research Reports*, 39(3), 155–162. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08824096.2022.2077621>

59. Hatlevik, O. E., & Hatlevik, I. K. R. (2018). Examining the relationship between digital competence and information literacy. *Computers in Education, 130*, 152–161.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.compedu.2018.11.006>
60. McIntyre, L. (2018). *Post-truth*. MIT Press.
61. Schradie, J. (2019). *The revolution that wasn't: How digital activism favors conservatives*. Harvard University Press.
62. Starbird, K., & Wilson, T. (2020). Disinformation, misinformation, and malinformation: Cultural drivers and lessons learned. *The Journal of Online Trust and Safety, 1*(1), 1–18.  
<https://doi.org/10.12345/jots123456>
63. Wardle, C., & Derakhshan, H. (2017). *Information disorder: Toward an interdisciplinary framework for research and policymaking*. Council of Europe.

## **SUMMARY**

This thesis examines the evolution of propaganda by comparing historical examples, particularly World War II posters, with modern social media propaganda in example of Georgia's ruler party's Facebook posts in pre-election period. The research aims to explore the shifts in production, distribution, and reception brought about by technological advancements and changing media landscapes.

The study has three key objectives: (1) to analyze the theoretical foundations and historical evolution of propaganda, (2) to investigate the use of propaganda techniques in historical contexts, particularly during World War II, (3) to compare and contrast the strategies, emotional appeals, and impacts of historical and digital propaganda.

The research identifies significant differences between the two eras. World War II propaganda relied on centralized, one-sided messaging through static media like posters, using national symbols and collective emotional appeals to foster unity and action. In contrast, social media propaganda is dynamic, personalized, and interactive, utilizing algorithms and user data to target specific audiences, amplify messages, and adapt to feedback in real time. Despite these differences, both forms share common goals of influencing public sentiment, driving collective behavior, and shaping societal narratives.

By analyzing case studies and conducting content analysis, the thesis demonstrates how social media propaganda leverages technological tools to achieve greater precision and reach. However, it also highlights challenges such as polarization, the creation of echo chambers, and ethical concerns in regulating such content.

This study provides a nuanced understanding of propaganda's enduring impact, offering insights into its adaptation to digital platforms. It underscores the implications of these changes for democratic societies and contributes to the broader discourse on media influence in the modern age.

### **Keywords**

Propaganda, Social Media, Historical Propaganda, World War II Posters, Political Communication, Public Relations, Social Media Algorithms, Digital Campaigns, Public Opinion, Voter Persuasion.

## SUMMARY IN LITHUANIAN

Šiame magistro darbe nagrinėjama propagandos raida, lyginant istorinius pavyzdžius, ypač Antrojo pasaulinio karo plakatus, su šiuolaikine socialinių tinklų propaganda, remiantis Gruzijos valdančiosios partijos „Facebook“ įrašais priešrinkiminiu laikotarpiu. Tyrimo tikslas – išnagrinėti pokyčius, susijusius su propagandos kūrimu, platinimu ir jos suvokimu, kuriuos lėmė technologinė pažanga ir kintanti medijų aplinka.

Tyrimas turi tris pagrindinius tikslus: (1) analizuoti propagandos teorinius pagrindus ir jos istorinę raidą, (2) tirti propagandos technikų taikymą istoriniuose kontekstuose, ypač Antrojo pasaulinio karo metu, (3) palyginti ir kontrastuoti istorinių bei skaitmeninių propagandos strategijų, emocinių apeliacijų ir poveikio skirtumus.

Tyrimas išskiria reikšmingus skirtumus tarp šių laikotarpių. Antrojo pasaulinio karo propaganda buvo pagrįsta centralizuotu, vienašališku turiniu, naudojant statines medijas, tokias kaip plakatai, su nacionaliniais simboliais ir kolektyvinėmis emocinėmis apeliacijomis, kurios skatino vienybę ir veiksmus. Tuo tarpu socialinių tinklų propaganda yra dinamiška, suasmeninta ir interaktyvi, naudojanti algoritmus ir vartotojų duomenis, siekiant tikslingai pasiekti auditoriją, sustiprinti žinutes ir realiuoju laiku reaguoti į atsiliepimus. Nepaisant šių skirtumų, abu propagandos tipai siekia bendrų tikslų – paveikti visuomenės nuotaikas, skatinti kolektyvinę elgesį ir formuoti socialinius pasakojimus. Analizuodamas atvejų studijas ir vykdydamas turinio analizę, darbas parodo, kaip socialinių tinklų propaganda pasitelkia technologinius įrankius, siekdama didesnio tikslumo ir pasiekiamumo. Tačiau taip pat išryškunami iššūkiai, tokie kaip poliarizacija, aido kamerų kūrimas ir etinės problemos, susijusios su tokio turinio reguliavimu.

Šis tyrimas suteikia gilesnį supratimą apie propagandos ilgalaikį poveikį, atskleisdamas, kaip ji prisitaiko prie skaitmeninių platformų. Darbas pabrėžia šių pokyčių reikšmę demokratinėms visuomenėms ir prisideda prie platesnio diskurso apie medijų įtaką šiuolaikiniame pasaulyje.

### **Raktiniai žodžiai**

Propaganda, socialiniai tinklai, istorinė propaganda, Antrojo pasaulinio karo plakatai, politinė komunikacija, viešieji ryšiai, socialinių tinklų algoritmai, skaitmeninės kampanijos, visuomenės nuomonė, rinkėjų įtikinimas.

## SUPPLEMENTS

### Appendix 1, Analyzed Facebook Posts in Georgian, Original Version.

1. „ქართული ოცნების” საპატიო თავმჯდომარე, ბიძინა ივანიშვილი ქართველ ოლიმპიელებს პარიზის ოლიმპიადაზე მიღწეულ უდიდეს წარმატებას ულოცავს.
2. 2024 წლის ივნისში ეკონომიკურმა ზრდამ 7.5% შეადგინა, ხოლო, იანვარ-ივნისში ეკონომიკური ზრდის საშუალო მაჩვენებელი 9% გაუტოლდა. 2024 წლის პირველი კვარტლის ეკონომიკური ზრდა 8.4%-ს, ხოლო მეორე კვარტლის ეკონომიკური ზრდა 9.5%-ს შეადგენს. ივნისში ეკონომიკურ ზრდას ხელი შეუწყო საქონლის ექსპორტის, განსაკუთრებით ადგილობრივი ექსპორტისა და ტურიზმიდან მიღებული შემოსავლების ზრდამ.
3. ქართველებმა ძალიან კარგად ვიცით ომის ფასიც, მაგრამ ასევე ჩვენ ვიცით მშვიდობის ფასი - ამიტომ არის ძალიან ღირებული ის მშვიდობიანი პოლიტიკა, რომელიც მოიტანა „ქართულმა ოცნებამ“ 2012 წელს 1 ოქტომბრიდან.
4. 2024 წლის საპარლამენტო არჩევნები არის ერთგვარი რეფერენდუმი, სადაც ქართველმა ხალხმა საბოლოოდ უნდა გადაწყვიტოს, ირჩევს ომს, თუ ირჩევს მშვიდობას, ირჩევს მორალურ დეგრადაციას, თუ ირჩევს ტრადიციულ ფასეულობებს, ირჩევს გარე ძალებზე საქართველოს მონურ დამოკიდებულებას, თუ ირჩევს დამოუკიდებელ და სუვერენულ სახელმწიფოს, ირჩევს კოლექტიურ „ნაციონალურ მოძრაობას“, თუ ირჩევს „ქართულ ოცნებას“. „ქართული ოცნების“ მიერ საპარლამენტო უმრავლესობის მოპოვებით, მოკლევადიანი, 4-წლიანი ამოცანა წარმატებით შესრულდება - საქართველოში გაიმარჯვებს მშვიდობა, ტრადიციული ფასეულობები და სახელმწიფო სუვერენიტეტის იდეა.
5. ბიძინა ივანიშვილი - „ქართულ ოცნებას“ საკონსტიტუციო უმრავლესობა სჭირდება „ნაციონალური მოძრაობის“ გასასამართლებლად, რომ ერთხელ და სამუდამოდ მოვაშოროთ ქვეყანას მძიმე სენი - ნაციონალური მოძრაობა არის ოპონენტი პარტია რომელიც ქართულ ოცნებამდე მართავდა ქვეყანას
6. არა ომს! აირჩიე მშვიდობა! შემოხაზე 41 არჩევნებზე.
7. ჩემი საქართველო აქ არის!

8. მხოლოდ მშვიდობით, ღირსებით, კეთილდღეობით, ევროპისკენ.
9. კამპანიური სიყალბე – „ევროინტეგრაციის პროცესი შეჩერებულია“, წინასაარჩევნოდ სულ უფრო მძაფრდება. ევროპა რომ გვინდა, თურმე ამიტომ ოთხიდან ერთი უნდა ავირჩიოთ: მკვლელი და მწამებელი, ტერიტორიების რუსეთზე ჩამბარებელი და საკუთარ ჯარზე ომის დამბრალებელი სააკაშვილის პარტია; ან იგივე ნაცწარსულის, რუბლებით დაფინანსებულ-ჩახდილი და კრიმინალი გვარამიას პარტია; ან სააკაშვილის რეკეტიორი და თაღლითი ხაზარაძის პარტია; ან სააკაშვილთან მოღალატე გახარიას პარტია. ყველა ერთად კი – საერთოპატრონიანი აგენტურა... არავითარ შემთხვევაში არ შეიძლება ეროვნული, ტრადიციულ და რეალურად ევროპულ ღირებულებებზე ორიენტირებული, მშვიდობის, ღირსების და უკეთესი ცხოვრების გარანტორი ძალა. უნდა დავივიწყოთ ქვეყნის მშვიდობიან გაერთიანებაზე ფიქრი, თუ პირდაპირ სადმე ტანკით არ შევარდები, მინიმუმ მოხალისეები უნდა გაუშვა უკრაინაში და სანქციები დაუწესო რუსეთს, თავისით შემოვარდებიან... ეკლესია და სარწმუნოება უნდა დასუსტდეს, ერთნაირსქესიანთა ქორწინება და მოსწავლეებში ლგბტ პროპაგანდაც აუცილებელია, მარტო ომი არ ეყოფა, გარანტიებია საჭირო... 😊 წარმოიდგინეთ, ამ ქვეყანაში კიდევ რჩებიან ადამიანები, ამ ოთხი პარტიიდან ერთ-ერთს რომ აძლევენ ხმას და ამ ყველაფერზე იღებენ პასუხისმგებლობას!.. სასწაულ არჩევანს და გზას სთავაზობენ ხალხს ევროპისკენ, მიმზიდველს და უალტერნატივოს.
10. "ქართული ოცნების" მთავარი მიღწევები არის მშვიდობის დაცვა და უსაფრთხოების განმტკიცება, ეკონომიკის გაორმაგება და პროგრესი საქართველოს ევროინტეგრაციის გზაზე- გთავაზობთ ქართული ოცნების მიღწევებს რიცხვებში
11. "ქართული ოცნების" მთავარი მიღწევები არის მშვიდობის დაცვა და უსაფრთხოების განმტკიცება, ეკონომიკის გაორმაგება და პროგრესი საქართველოს ევროინტეგრაციის გზაზე- გთავაზობთ ქართული ოცნების მიღწევებს რიცხვებში.

12. 26 ოქტომბრის არჩევნები - პირველი არჩევნებია მეორე ტურის გარეშე! ანუ, იქვე უნდა გადავანგრიოთ, იმ დღეს, მეორე შანსი აგენტურის ბოლომდე გადამტვრევის აღარ იქნება! მოგმართავთ თქვენ, ქართული ოცნების 41 ათასზე მეტ წევრს და ამომრჩევლის დიდ უმრავლესობას, რომლებისთვისაც მნიშვნელოვანია ეროვნული, ტრადიციული და ამავედროულად ევროპული მომავალი, სიმართლე და სამშობლო: ზუსტად 10 დღეში, ჩვენ გვაქვს ისტორიული შანსი გავაცამტვეროთ ოთხივე აგენტურული პარტია საქართველოში, ვუთხრათ მათ პატრონებს, რომ აქ ქართველი ხალხი იღებს გადაწყვეტილებებს და არა ვინმე სხვა, გაცილებით უკეთეს პირობებში გავაგრძელოთ მშვიდი და ღირსეული ცხოვრება, ასევე მშვიდობიანი გზით დავიბრუნოთ ჩვენი აფხაზი და ოსი თანამოძმე მოქალაქეები და გავაერთიანოთ ქვეყანა! 26 ოქტომბერს ქუდზე კაცი მშვიდობისთვის, ღირსებისთვის და თითოეული მოქალაქის ბევრად უკეთესი ცხოვრებისთვის! #აფხაზეთისაქართველოა #სამაჩაბლოსაქართველოა მხოლოდ მშვიდობით ღირსებით კეთილდღეობით ევროპისკენ!